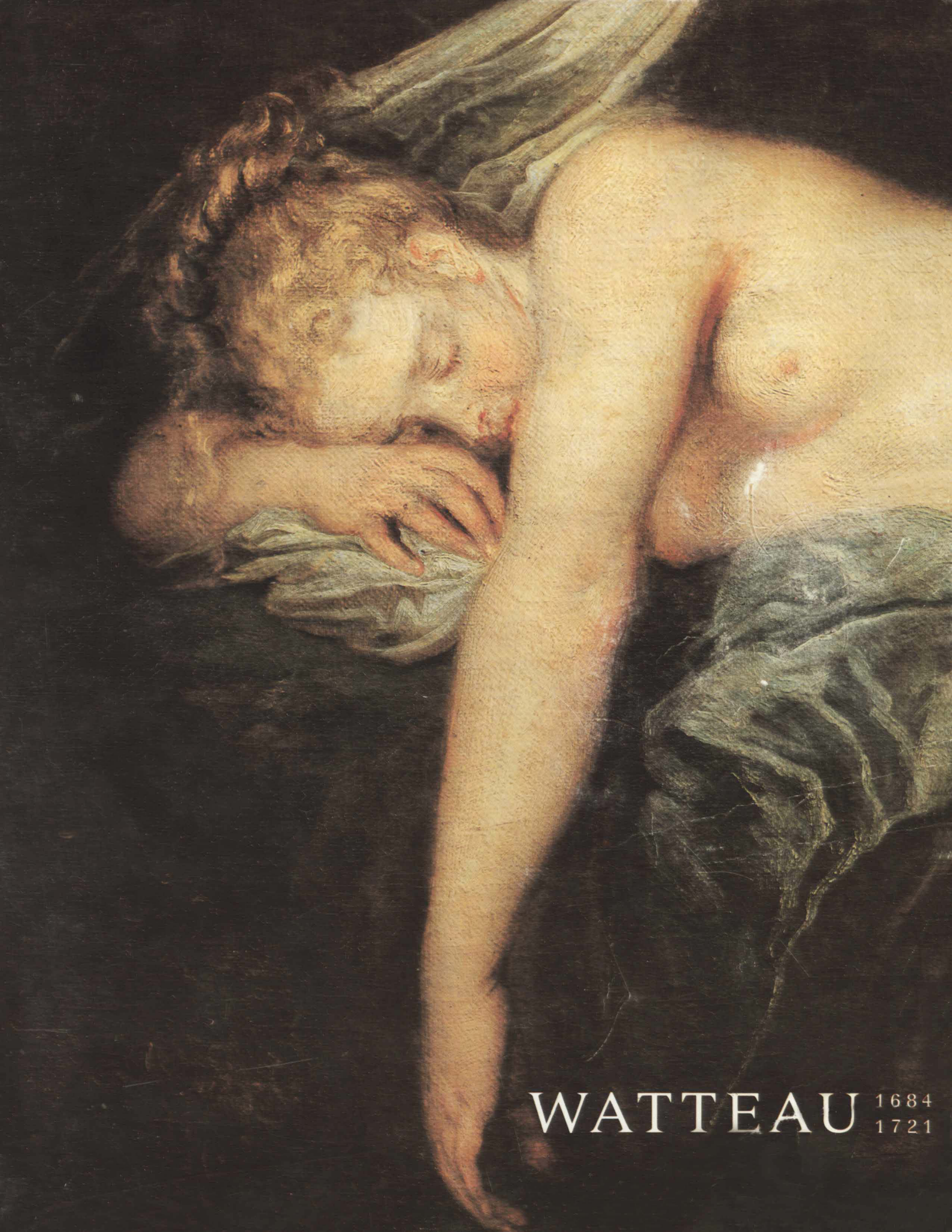


# WATTEAU 1684 1721

# WATTEAU 1684 1721

Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg

with the assistance of Nicole Parmantier

# WATTEAU 1684 1721

National Gallery of Art, Washington

All rights reserved © 1984 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565.
© Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris 1984.

This catalogue was produced by the Editors Office, National Gallery of Art, Washington.
The type is Versailles (designed by Adrian Frutiger), set by Composition Systems Inc., Falls Church, Virginia.
Printed in France by Imprimerie Blanchard.
Edited by Mary Yakush.
Designed by Bruno Pfäffli.

Translation of the paintings entries: Thomas D. Bowie

Cover: Detail, *Nymph and Satyr* or *Jupiter and Antiope* (cat. P. 36).

Exhibition dates: National Gallery of Art, June 17—September 23, 1984; Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, October 23, 1984—January 28, 1985; Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, February 22—May 26, 1985.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Grasselli, Margaret Morgan, 1951-
Watteau, 1684-1721.
Bibliography : p. 562
Includes index.
1. Watteau, Antoine, 1684-1721—Exhibitions.
I. Rosenberg, Pierre. II. Parmantier, Nicole.
III. Title.
N6853.W38A4 1984 760'.092'4 84-4918
ISBN 0-89468-074-9

# Contents


7 Preface

8 Lenders to the Exhibition

9 Foreword and Acknowledgments

10 Fourteen Questions Around a Name

15 Chronology

31 The Friends of Watteau

51 Catalogue, Note to the Reader
53 Drawings
Margaret Morgan Grasselli

227 Etchings
Nicole Parmantier

241 Paintings
Pierre Rosenberg

459 Restoration of the *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera*
Ségolène Bergeon, Lola Faillant-Dumas
465 Restoration of the *Italian Comedians*
Sarah L. Fisher

Appendices
469 A. *Watteau in His Time*
François Moureau
507 B. *Theater Costumes in the Work of Watteau*
François Moureau
527 C. *Watteau and Music*
Florence Gétreau
546 D *Frederick the Great and Watteau*
Helmut Börsch-Supan

557 Exhibitions
562 Bibliography
578 Index of Works by Location
580 Photographic Credits

# Preface

*Watteau, 1684-1721* is the first international loan exhibition ever devoted to the art of the great French eighteenth-century artist Antoine Watteau.

From the very beginning, we were aware that a large-scale Watteau show would pose special loan problems, but on this, the three-hundredth anniversary of his birth, our hopes have been far exceeded by the amazingly generous and understanding responses of our lenders. A large number of paintings could not be borrowed because of problems of condition and individual loan policies; loans of drawings were often severely restricted because of conservation considerations. Thanks to the lenders, however, the exhibition represents the full range of Watteau's art: the course of his development as both a painter and draftsman, the variety and ingenuity of his themes, the musical rhythms of his compositions, the special grace and elegance of his figures, the brilliance of his color, the purity of his draftsmanship, and the special poetry that places him among the world's great artists. We are confident that this unprecedented assembly of Watteau's works will contribute not only to a reawakened awareness of this artist's important place in French and European art, but also to new and innovative scholarship.

Much of the credit for assembling such a comprehensive exhibition goes to co-curators Margaret Morgan Grasselli of the National Gallery and Pierre Rosenberg of the Louvre. Their diligence, patience, and persistence have been rewarded by the overwhelmingly positive response of all those who have agreed to participate. For assisting them and coping with the difficult logistical problems posed by this complex exhibition, we would like to thank the numerous staff members from all three organizing institutions who have contributed to its success. Loan officers, editors, installation designers, curators, registrars, and many others have all given unstintingly of their time and energy. This marks the first time a loan exhibition has been shared among Paris, Berlin, and Washington, and our dedicated colleagues in all three cities who have worked so diligently toward the realization of this complex undertaking deserves our heartfelt thanks.

Finally, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to all those who have helped make this exibition financially possible, including the Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, who granted an indemnity for the U.S. showing. Such support has allowed us to realize our vision of a show that would do justice to the full brilliance of Watteau's art.

J. Carter Brown
Director
National Gallery
of Art

Hubert Landais
Directeur
des Musées
de France

Helmut Börsch-Supan
Museums direktor
Schloss
Charlottenburg

# Lenders to the Exhibition

Anonymous Lenders
The Art Institute of Chicago
The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris
The Trustees of the British Museum, London
Mrs. Gertrude Laughlin Chanler
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown
The Cleveland Museum of Art
The Governors of the Dulwich Picture Gallery, London
The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
The Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna
Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt-am-Main
The Armand Hammer Collection, Los Angeles
The Hermitage, Leningrad
Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt
Institut Néerlandais, Fondation Custodia Lugt, Paris
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, New York
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Quimper
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes
Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon
Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures, Paris
Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris
Musée du Petit Palais, Paris
Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris
Museo del Prado, Madrid
Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon
Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
National Gallery of Art, Washington
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin
National Trust for Scotland Edinburgh
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm
Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City
Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real, Madrid
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Rijksprentenkabinet Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Santa Barbara Museum of Art
Mrs. Francis Springell, Courtesy of Mr. G. M. L. Springell
Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt-am-Main
Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin
Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin
Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg
Teylers Museum, Haarlem
Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Victor Thaw, New York
The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano
Toledo Museum of Art
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven
York City Art Gallery

# Foreword and Acknowledgments

*To Inna Nemilova (1927-1982)*
*and Harold Joachim (1909-1983)*
*who would have liked so much to see this exhibition*

We offer here the first true Watteau exhibition that brings together his principal paintings, his most beautiful drawings, and his rare prints. Commemorating the tercentenary of the artist's birth (he was born and died exactly two hundred and one years after Raphael), it is the first such exhibition for the very simple reason that it was difficult (some thought it would be impossible) to produce. Watteau painted little and his paintings are often in poor condition. Both his paintings and his drawings are fragile, and some of them belong to museums that are prevented by their regulations from lending.

A popular and well-loved artist, Watteau, like all great inventors, is no less a "difficult" painter. For that reason, we have attempted to study his oeuvre from several different perspectives. Watteau's brief life, his illness, and his friends are described, and his drawings, prints, and paintings are the subject of detailed catalogue entries. We have also tried to familiarize the reader with Watteau's Parisian milieu and the world of the theater, opera, and music. Watteau lived in troubled times—what did he know of it; what did he retain? The reader will find here not only a thorough study that places Watteau in his time, but also discussions of theater costumes and musical instruments. There is also an essay on Watteau and Frederick the Great, as well as two reports on the spectacular and exemplary restorations of the *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* at the Louvre and the *Italian Comedians* at the National Gallery, Washington, written by the respective conservators. Our catalogue is not, then, a monograph. Rather, it attempts to place Watteau's oeuvre in a context that will give the reader a better understanding of the artist's intentions and a better appreciation of his works.

The exhibition is a collective effort of three great institutions, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, the Réunion des Musées Nationaux de France, and the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Berlin, while the catalogue is a collaboration of nine authors from all three countries.

We wish to thank the museums and collectors who have generously agreed to lend their works by Watteau. We would also like to express our gratitude to the many people who have contributed to the successful conclusion of this project.

I. Aaser, A. Abramovitch, H. Adhémar, C. Alégret, P. Abondance, K. Agius, R. Amt, G. Anson, H. Baderou, J. Baticle, T. and V. Bajou, I. Barnes, F. Barthet, G. Bartoschek, H. Bauer, B. de Bayser, J. Bean, D. Beasom, A. Bigley, I. Bizot, Y. Boerlin-Brodbeck, B. de Boissaison, M. Bourel, J. Boyer, J. Bran-Ricci, D. Breme, J. Brealey, G. Bresc, J. Cailleux, Y. Cantarel-Besson, V. Carlson, C. de Couessin, C. Chagneau, M. Chiarini, K. Christiansen, U. Collinet, F. Coman, I. Compin, P. Conisbee, S. Cook, O. Cottet, E. Croog, Y. Davreu, D. DeGrazia, C. Denison, R. Démoris, Y. Deslandres, J. Dugot, P. Duwez, J. Edwards, G. Ehrmann, M. Eidelberg, P. Ettesvold, S. Ferrand, C. Filhos-Petit, R. Fine, B. Fink, B. Foucart, J. Foucart, E. Foucart-Walter, B. Fredericksen, S. Freedberg, J. R. Gaborit, C. Gallagher, D. Gazier, A. R. Gordon, M. Grassi, R. Green, C. Greer, N. Guibert, F. Haskell, P. Hecht, H. Henkel, J. and P. Herring, J. G. von Hohenzollern, R. Hohl, P. Hourcade, N. Iacomini, J. Ingamells, C. Innes, B. S. Jacoby, A. Janson, B. Jestaz, A. Joyaux, J. Kotalik, M. Kraan, I. Kouznietsova, E. Kwiatkowski, E. de La Haye Jousselin, A. Laing, J. de La Gorce, J. Lauts, T. Lefrançois, M. Leithauser, Sir M. Levey, L. Libin, A. Lossignol, B. Lossky, J. J. Luna, V. Lyle, Maitre-Alain, M. Malinski, M. Marlière, G. Macchia, H. Marx, S. F. McCullagh, G. McKenna, B. Meij, A. P. de Mirimonde, M. Modestini, A. Mongan, J. Montagu, M. Ness, C. Nordenfalk, R. Nungesser, K. Oberhuber, D. Ojalvo, G. Ortiz, Sir K. T. Parker, A. Pastan, C. Perron, Dr. Pettenati, A. Perez-Sanchez, C. Perez, B. Pfäffli, A. Pingeot, H. Phibbs, B. Phillpotts, D. Posner, O. Potterton, H. and M. Prouté, S. de Pury, C. and C. Quenson, R. Raines, G. Ravenel, J. Repusseau, H. Reyne, L. Richards, M. Rebois, M. Robin, A. Robison, M. Roland-Michel, C. Rosenberg, J. Roslin, J. Roullet, D. Rousseau, D. Russell, F. Russell, C. de Saint Hypolyte, M. C. Sahut, A. Salz, P. Sandstrom, B. Sani, A. Schnapper, C. Schneider, F. Sironi, C. Soalhat, P. Smiley, F. Smyth, M. R. Smyth, J. Spinx, F. Stampfle, M. Stewart, J. Stock, M. Stuffmann, M. Suzor, P. Tang, D. Thompson, V. Tuttle, J. H. van Borssum-Buisman, M. Vangheluwe, C. and M. Vasselin, E. Viginet, C. Vogèl, J. Weaver, P. Whitesides, S. Whittingham, E. Williams, R. Woodman-Savage, M. Yakush, Y. Zolotov.

# Fourteen Questions Around a Name

Antoine Watteau, of all French painters including Cézanne, is the one who has inspired the most critical attention. For over a century critics and historians, novelists and art historians, poets and essayists, psychologists and musicologists have written studies and articles, interpretations and hypotheses, analyses and catalogues raisonnés. His work has fascinated writers primarily, but also musicians, like Ravel, and film directors, like Jean Renoir, designers and socialites, and artists too, even those, from Ingres to Rodin, whose aesthetics seem furthest from Watteau's.
Can one suggest some explanation for this extraordinary popularity other than the painter's mysterious life and premature death?

Not to be underestimated is the famous quote by Père Claude-François Fraguier in his *Epitaph for Watteau* (1726): "Watteau, a Flemish painter. . . ." In 1684 Valenciennes had only just become French. The city and surrounding area possessed a wealth of Flemish masterpieces that must have made a strong impression on the young Watteau.
In Paris, according to all his biographers, Watteau never ceased to admire Rubens' work, especially those in the Marie de' Medici gallery in the Luxembourg Palace. Watteau returned to Valenciennes in 1709 and wanted to return there on the eve of his death. Some of his best friends, like the painters Jean-Jacques Spoede and Nicolas Vleughels, were of Flemish origin.
His technique betrays his attachment to Flemish practices, at a time when the Northern masters had many followers.
How is it then that since the middle of the nineteenth century Watteau has been cited by art historians as proof that an autonomous, original French school exists and that he has been considered one of the beacons, one of the symbols of French genius?

That Watteau's first years in Paris were difficult is affirmed by all his early biographers. We know only that in order to survive he worked on a sort of assembly line for a painter on the Pont Notre-Dame, copying an *Old Woman Reading* by Gerrit Dou and a *Saint Nicholas*. His entrance into Gillot's studio, and later into Audran's, marked the beginning of a new phase for the young artist. The world of the theater and the great Parisian residences, which he was helping to decorate, opened up for him. By 1709, Watteau was already twenty-five, yet the circumstances of his life as a painter and his social and intellectual contacts are almost totally unknown to us.
How did Watteau discover the pleasures of reading, the charms of music, the joys of the theater and opera? How did he become cultured? How did he come to meet professionals in the arts and their patrons as equals?

Once again, Watteau owed much to Flemish models. But in Paris and Versailles he could have seen the paintings and sculpture brought together by the king as well as the great collections such as that of Crozat, who had brought a rich harvest from Italy in 1715. Venice and painters like La Fosse, himself a master colorist, inspired him more than Raphael or Poussin (but Albani had a greater influence on his work than has yet been measured). Yet Rome was the city he wanted to visit—in vain—and it was to London that he made his only real journey, though at a time when he gave more than he received. Noticed in 1709, recognized in 1712, admired by 1717, Watteau died famous: within a dozen years he had imposed a style, a new type of painting, a new genre, a new aesthetic. From where did his ideas spring?

In 1744, Gersaint wrote that Watteau would always pass for "one of the greatest and best draftsmen that France has ever produced." While his drawings are indeed universally admired, critical opinion regarding Watteau's paintings is sometimes more reserved (except, of course, for the two versions of *The Pilgrimage,* the *Pierrot [Gilles],* the *Shopsign,* and a few small jewels). Obviously, their condition is much at fault, as we shall explain in the introduction to the paintings section of the catalogue. But one senses that some critics have reservations or doubts about the rank to which the painter is entitled: Diderot, for one, who preferred "rusticity" to "migniardise," would have given "ten Watteaus for one Teniers" (*Diderot,* 1768, p. 749). It seems difficult to dissociate the painter from the draftsman, and we may have been wrong to study them separately here. However, the very fact that they have been brought together in the same exhibition should enable us to become aware of the unity and uniqueness of Watteau's œuvre.

Next, is it not contradictory to insist on Watteau's separate and special place in the history of French painting while admitting his influence, which was and remains considerable? He had less effect on the painters of his time, if Lancret and Pater (who were only clever imitators) can be called painters, than on the decorative arts; less perhaps on nineteenth-century painters (except Turner and Monet) or on our contemporaries (those whom we know personally, from Balthus to Szafran, from R. Mason to A. Arikha, from Lucian Freud to Otto Schauer, have told us how much they revere his work) than on poetry, cinema, and fashion.
Watteau's influence is more subtle and more profound. It is not limited to painting or to the liberal arts—hence its originality. His œuvre depicts human relationships as we dream of them; it presents an image of an ideal of life. From this world other creators would derive inspiration; in their own turn, in their own way, in their own style, they would evoke this world.

Even though Watteau was a contemporary of Chardin and Boucher, his work seems to belong to another century. Watteau totally ignored still-life painting; Chardin was not interested in nature, trees, or rivers. Watteau's women, with their faraway looks, appear inaccessible, in contrast to those painted by Boucher. Watteau's eroticism is intellectual; Boucher's is only skin-deep. Chardin was as careful and miserly with his pictures as Watteau and Boucher were prodigal with theirs; he sought calm and silence while Watteau's work is full of music and tension. Boucher's ease is astounding; Watteau strains at times, at least in his paintings. Chardin belongs to a tradition that includes Poussin and Le Nain, Corot, Cézanne, and the cubists. Boucher finds his place between Fontainebleau and Delacroix, between Blanchard and Renoir.
Yet the three artists were born within a span of less than twenty years, and might very well have met in the streets of Paris. Chardin's first picture, like Watteau's last one, was a shopsign. The young Boucher etched many of Watteau's works and devoted himself to the older artist's œuvre. But then, how can we explain why Boucher and Chardin chose such different paths?

We come now to one of the major difficulties in the study of Watteau: the interpretation of his work. Did Watteau want to give his paintings subjects? Or should they be seen only as simple pastoral entertainments, strewn with musical or erotic symbols? The experts are still divided on this issue.
His contemporary biographers do not take a clear position on the matter. Caylus expressed regret that Watteau's canvases had "no object," but those he cited as examples and which might—exceptionally—have had one were not especially different from the other works of Watteau. Would not the titles of the engravings in the *Recueil Jullienne,* which are generally attributed to Jullienne himself, reflect Watteau's intentions? *Party of Four* (cat. P. 14), *The Adventuress* (cat. P. 18, 20) *The Dreamer* (cat. P. 26), *The Two Cousins* (cat. P. 47), and *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55) allow our imagination to wander, and by their very imprecision lead to reverie. Did not Watteau, like Titian, about whom Taine wrote these words in 1876 (II, p. 352), possess "the talent to imitate things closely enough for illusion to seize us, and to transform things profoundly enough for dreams to wake in us"?

As he was seen by his contemporaries, and as he is still seen today, Watteau is considered a painter of modern life. He did not, it is true, paint many pictures of religious subjects, or mythological scenes. History occupies only a slight place in his work. But it would be absurd to pretend that Watteau is a witness of his time. On the contrary, with the entirely relative exception of his military paintings, Watteau seemed to turn his back on daily reality and to paint only rather stiff lords and richly costumed actors. He was the painter of feminine beauty, of women, of women's necks and napes—nothing that evokes everyday life.
What is meant by "modern life"? Caravaggio, Poussin, and Rembrandt had depicted love, death, violence, trickery, or tenderness, but they addressed our intellect more than our sensibilities. Watteau is no painter of ideas. He speaks to our senses: that is why he was, and still is, thought of as a modern painter. Love, which he painted in all its varieties, in all its forms, at all its different stages, was his preferred subject. He portrayed it in a timeless manner, with an *intimacy* that touches all of us.

Though sad and nostalgic to some, gay and cheerful to others, Watteau's works are definitely *musical.* To be sure, they often show musicians, but more important, the world of sound is extraordinarily present in them. "Chamber music" answering "Rubens' brass" (Malraux, *L'intemporel,* 1977, p. 1), Watteau's works have long been compared to those of Mozart. The latter certainly knew nothing about Watteau, who was already forgotten at the time of *Così fan tutte* or *Don Giovanni.* This parallel, which is historically less convincing than the comparison between Watteau and Couperin (1668-1733), has at least one merit: it is a well-known fact that interpretations of Mozart's operas and of his intentions have changed with each generation, with the conductors and producers. Does not the same hold true for Watteau, is not his work rich enough to allow several readings, each one just as convincing as the next?

Those who have reflected on Watteau have almost always been tempted to adopt a literary interpretation of his work. These multifarious readings, sometimes ingenious, often extremely complex, always too precise because they attempt to enclose the artist within a single system, have made people forget that Watteau was also a painter easy to love and to understand, as evidenced by his popularity with a broad public that is not given to questioning the reasons for its fascination. A more serious consequence is the too often forgotten fact that Watteau's pictures are wonderful pieces of painting, a "feast for the eyes." Unlike the connoisseurs of his drawings, the students of his paintings have lost sight of the artist's masterly ease, of his virtuosity, of the beauty and freedom of his touch, of his brilliance as a colorist, of the beauty of his light and sun. . . . Not one of his contemporaries, not even G. M. Crespi in Bologna, gives much pleasure through his *craft.*

Even if his contemporaries had some difficulty in defining it clearly, they sensed the novelty of Watteau's art, as did nineteenth-century art lovers, though they knew only the *Pilgrimage to the Isle of Cythera* (cat. P.61), the only Watteau picture shown in the Louvre prior to the arrival of the La Caze collection in 1869. Is it conceivable that Watteau's pictures could be only pure painting and that the artist had no greater requirement? Watteau, like all great creators, was *also* a difficult painter, an ambitious artist. But more than others, he tempted and defied words; he invited discussion and explanation, but he then shied away.

Ambiguity therefore seems to be the primary characteristic of Watteau's work, a quality that was deliberately chosen and knowingly nurtured by the artist. There is the ambiguity of a secret life, of an œuvre that developed along totally illogical lines, there is the "social" ambiguity of his models, and above all the ambiguity of Watteau's intentions, of his pictures, which are at once anxious and serene. Watteau was the painter of indecision, the kind of indecision shown by the art lovers who entered Gersaint's shop. But ambiguity does not mean impenetrability. To us, Watteau appears essentially an introverted and feminine painter, thus radically opposed to Rubens, who is extroverted and virile.

Ultimately, one question remains: what is left to be learned about Watteau and his work? The man has hidden himself, as we have said, and the archival documents that may yet be discovered will probably not add major revelations about his life.
New drawings will be identified; his paintings will be dated more precisely; some that have been lost since the eighteenth century will resurface; the publication and reproduction of the *Figures de différents caractères,* the collection of etchings after Watteau's principal drawings, will result in more precise knowledge of Watteau's drawings. More attention should be focused on the eighteenth-century collectors.
Our personal wish was that this catalogue would bring together the essentials of what is known today about the life and work of a great artist who died on the threshold of maturity. If it serves as a point of departure for new research on Watteau, if it can lead to a better understanding and therefore a better appreciation of him, then our aim will have been accomplished.

(Translated by Michèle R. Morris)

F. Boucher, *Portrait of Watteau*. Musée Condé, Chantilly.



# Chronology

Rarely has the life of a painter remained as enigmatic and as obscure as that of Antoine Watteau. Born in Valenciennes, where he lived until the age of eighteen, he is believed to have been the student of the city's best-known painter. His name does not appear in any of the numerous recorded documents mentioning Watteau during that time, except the record of his baptism. Watteau never married. In Paris, he lived with various friends: Pierre Sirois, Edme François Gersaint, Pierre Crozat, Nicholas Vleughels. He is not known to have had any fixed domicile or personal residence. He was solitary and misanthropic (the word is Caylus').

The biographies published during his lifetime (in Père Orlandi's *Abecedario pittorico*), just after his death, and throughout the eighteenth century are sometimes contradictory.and confuse much more than they clarify. There are seven principal "bibles" on Watteau, written for the most part by friendly hands: the very short obituary by La Roque (1721), the one by Leclerc (who is identified as the author for the first time in Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time"), in the Moreri *Dictionnaire* (1725 edition), the ones by Jullienne (1726), Gersaint (1744), Mariette (c. 1745), Dezallier d'Argenville (1745), and finally the one by Caylus (see Rubin 1968-1969) read at the Academy in 1748 but perhaps written earlier, for the definitive version was found by the Goncourts in 1856 (for more details, see the Chronology under the dates cited). Other contemporary texts, often partially published (such as the one written by the countess Ulla Tessin in 1762) contribute no new information. All of these sources have helped to throw a cloak of mystery over the artist, which research has not always been able to lift.

One must rely on the rare but dependable contemporary sources of the *Archives Valenciennes* (*AV*), which thanks to archivist Michel Vangheluwe (whom we wish to thank for his painstaking work) have shed light on the Watteau family and Valenciennes at the end of the seventeenth century; the minutes (*procès-verbaux*) of the Royal Academy (*PV*) that we have recopied from the original manuscripts in the Ecole de Beaux-Arts, Paris; and finally, the precious testimony of the artist's friends published in the journal and correspondence of the Venetian artist Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757) in the Laurentian Library of Florence, the Ashburnham codex (Ashb. 1781), and the journal of the Swedish collector and diplomat Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695-1770) in the Moselius collection, Stockholm. Material from archival sources is in italics, and is translated from the original French unless otherwise noted.

To this short list can be added the few lines from Watteau's hand that appear on the versos of some of his drawings (cat. D. 51; PM 284, 493, 497) but these are rough drafts of

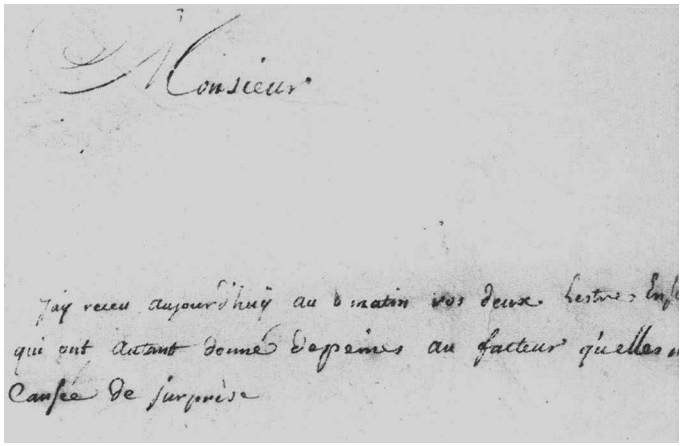
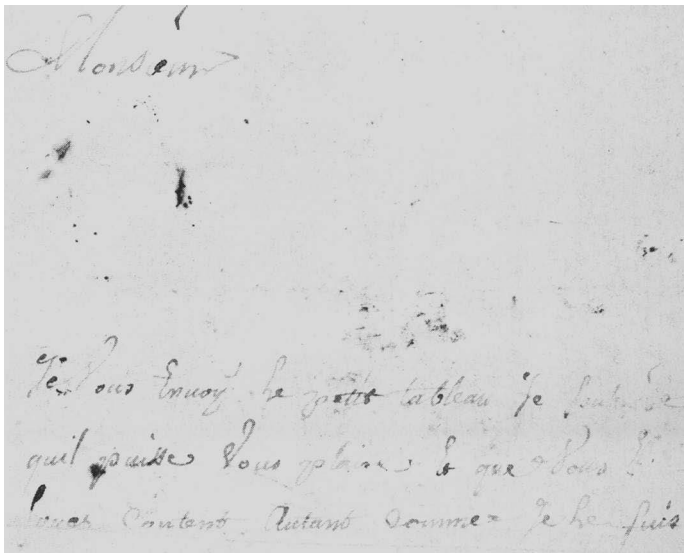


fig. 1. Verso, PM 497. The British Museum, London.

fig. 2. Verso, PM 642. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



letters, undated, often bits of disconnected sentences rendered illegible by cuts. The back of PM 462 (formerly Groult collection, location unknown) gives us nevertheless an address, perhaps one for a room rented by Caylus for Watteau: *I pray M. to send me the easel and box of paints tomorrow morning on the Quai Neuf at a perfumer at the orange (word crossed out) at the Orangerie Royal.* The letter on the verso of (cat. D. 51, fig. 1), a more finished draft of the letter found on the versos of PM 497 (British Museum) and of PM 493 (Uffizi) remains enigmatic: all three of the drawings are of Savoyards. The fragmentary prescription written in an unknown hand in pen on the back of PM 929 (fig. 2) . . . *of peeled licorice and then the whole thing strained and cook it with a pound of clarified sugar,* seems to confirm that the artist suffered from tuberculosis. The *Mercure* of November 1729 praises this remedy as a cure for that terrible illness.

Four signed letters, published in the *Archives de l'Art Français* (1852, pp. 208-213) from transcriptions supplied by the Baron de Vèze, are very perplexing. Once attributed to Watteau, they have since been challenged. They are hardly eighteenth-century in style, and the facts they cite cannot be verified (or sometimes contradict what we know). The capital letters, A. WATTEAU, of the signatures are completely different from the simple and unchallengeable *Vateau* placed at the bottom of the Academy minutes (see Biography 1717). Finally, the secrecy of the owners of these missives, lost since 1852, has precluded any analysis of the handwriting and hence their authentication. A fifth letter about Watteau from Sirois to a bookseller (23 November 1711) seems even more suspicious, if only because of its provenance, Benjamin Fillon. We nevertheless have included these letters at the end of this chronology.

We have excluded a receipt of 14 August 1719, for payment by the Duc d'Orlèans, which has been confirmed as a forgery by Mirimonde.

1677
17 March: During the war (1672-1677), Valenciennes, a city of French Flanders under Spanish domination, taken by surprise assault in half an hour by the French army commanded by Louis XIV and Vauban.

1678
17 September: Treaty of Nijmegen: Spain cedes Valenciennes to France. Magalotti becomes governor.
Birth of Antonio Vivaldi (d. 1741).

1680
5 August: King Louis XIV and Queen Marie-Thérèse make their entry into Valenciennes.

1681
Birth of Georg Phillip Telemann (d. 1767).

1682
Birth of Giovanni-Battista Piazzetta (d. 1754).
Death of Claude Lorrain (b. 1600).

1683
Birth of Jean-Philippe Rameau (d. 1764).
Deaths of Colbert and Queen Marie-Thérèse.

1684
Death of Pierre Corneille (b. 1606).

1685
Births of Peter Angelis, painter and imitator of Watteau (d. 1734), Johann Sebastian Bach (d. 1750), Georg-Friedrich Händel (d. 1754), Jean-Marc Nattier (d. 1766), Antoine Pesne

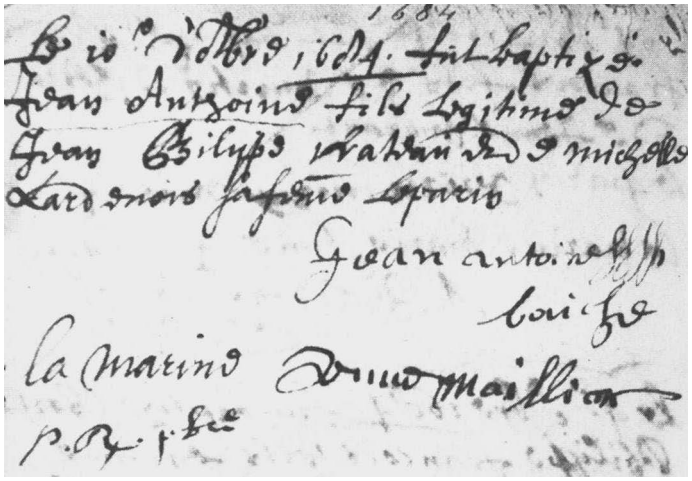


fig. 3. Notice of the baptism of Jean-Antoine Watteau. Archives Valenciennes.

## 1684-1701: Birth and Childhood of Watteau in Valenciennes

1684
10 October: Baptism of Jean-Antoine Watteau at Valenciennes, parish of Saint-Jacques: *On 10 October 1684 was baptized Jean Antoine, legitimate son of Jean Philippe Wateau and of Michele Lardenois, his wife. Godfather Jean Antoine Bouche, godmother Anne Maillart (or Malliot)* (*AV,* baptismal register, parish of Saint-Jacques) (fig. 3.)

(d. 1757), and Domenico Scarlatti (d. 1757).
20 October: Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1598): Protestants driven out of France.

1686
Birth of Jean de Jullienne (d. 1766; ennobled only in 1736).
Formation of the Augsburg League against France.
Birth of Jean-Baptiste Oudry (d. 1755).

1687
Death of Jean-Baptiste Lully (b. 1632).

1688
Births of Marivaux (d. 1763), Charles Parrocel (d. 1752), and Henri-Simon Thomassin the Younger (d. 1741).

1689
Birth of Montesquieu (d. 1755).

1689-1697
War of the Augsburg League.

1690
Birth of Nicolas Lancret (d. 1745).
Deaths of Charles Le Brun (b. 1619) and Adam Frans Van der Meulen (b. 1632).

Jean-Philippe Watteau, Antoine's father, the eldest of a family of ten children, baptized 4 April 1660: *On 4 April 1660 was baptized the child of Bartholomé Vuateau and of Catherine Reuse . . . A child named Philippe* (*AV,* baptismal register, parish of Saint-Jacques.)

Bartholomé Watteau, grandfather of Jean-Antoine, was a roof tiler.

At least three of his children followed the same trade: Jean-Philippe, the father of Antoine, presented his masterpiece as roofer, about which he took legal action against the constables and master roofers of the city on 26 February 1680 (AV,FF 103). He is again cited as a *dealer in* escailles (slates) in 1688-1689, *in wood* in 1689-1690 (*AV,* H 2/165), and, more strangely, *in fish* in 1695 (*AV,* FF 107); Thimothée, the sixth child of Bartholomé, baptized 18 April 1670, also was involved in a lawsuit about his masterpiece as roofer in November 1688 (*AV,* FF 105) and Antoine Roch, seventh child, baptized 5 May 1672, apprenticed as *a roofer in* escailles *under Thimothée his brother* in 1695-1696 (*AV,* H2/165).

Michèle Lardenois, Antoine's mother, seven years older than her husband, was baptized 12 September 1653: *the 12th was baptized the Child* [of] *Jean Lardenois* (deceased shortly before the birth of Jean-Antoine, 3 June 1684) *and of françois hotteau . . . a child named Michelle* (*AV,* baptismal register and register of deaths of the parish of Saint-Jacques).

Engaged 8 December 1680, married 7 January 1681 (*AV,* register of marriages, parish of Saint-Jacques). Philippe Watteau and Michèle Lardenois had four sons: Jean-François, baptized 4 June 1682; Jean-Antoine, our painter; Antoine-Roch, baptized 13 February 1687, died 31 August 1689; and finally Noël, whose date of birth is unknown, *master roofer in slates* in 1706-1707 after having been *apprenticed to Timoté Watteau, roofer in slates* (his uncle) in 1700-1701 (*AV,* H 2/165). He had a son and grandson, painters, known under the name of "Watteau de Lille" (1731-1798 and 1758-1823).

Jean-Antoine Bouche, the godfather, who married Jeanne Lesage in 1645, was on several occasions between 1685 and 1696 *charged with the general maintenance of the masonry of this city* (*AV,* CC 2620).

This same year, Jean-Philippe Watteau, the artist's father, is employed *in covering with slates places of the aforesaid* [citadel] *including the stables.* Bartholomé, the grandfather, is responsible for the *maintenance of the roof tiling of the gunners' barracks and the farm of the black sheep* (*AV,* CC 2619). They were still paid for this work in 1685 and 1686 (*AV,* CC 2620).

1690
Jean-Philippe Watteau is accused of having broken the leg of Abraham Lesne, burgher of Valenciennes, and must pay damages and interest (*AV,* FF 106, 19 October). [This incident is cited as an example of the numerous charges of this type brought against Watteau's violent father; other examples have been omitted.]

1691
Birth of Panini (d. 1765).
Death of Louvois.

1691
The two generations of the Watteau family, roofers of Valenciennes, seem to have been industrious. Bartholomé, the grandfather, was employed since at least the beginning of 1688 on *work at the place d'Esgardt* (*AV,* FF 106, 26 February 1691) and *on the repair of the black-sheep barn.*

Jean-Philippe, the father, is still working on the *maintenance of the roofing slate of the barracks, of the Citadel, houses and canteens,* for *old and new buildings of this city, the church school and its outbuildings* (he received money in 1693 for these jobs). He is also paid for having *roofed with slate several* hiacinthes *in the secret parts of the Capucin barracks, of the* marché au fillé *and other places and for several repairs made to the house of Jean Berne, near the watering place on the Scheldt, to house senior officers, and for the repair of several holes in the tile roofs of the archers barracks* (*AV,* CC 761 accounts for 1691).

The three generations of Watteaus probably lived under the same roof. A lawsuit against Jean-Philippe informs us that he *has his domicile on the said river* (the Scheldt) (*AV,* FF 106, 23 July and FF, 1692), and this house seems to be the one that Bartholomé bought on rue Cohue, 11 July 1684 (*AV,* series II).

1692
Birth of the Comte de Caylus (d. 1765).

1692
The Watteaus move to rue du Fossart.

23 July: Jean-Philippe Watteau and Michèle Lardenois purchase *that house and property newly rebuilt by the said Watteau . . . located on the rue du Fossart at the back gate of the convent* (*AV,* series II).

5 September: Jean-Philippe Watteau is fined for "remenage" *on the street in front of his property on the Fossart* (*AV,* FF 235).

12 October: He is mentioned as living on rue Saint-Jèry.

1693
7 April: Jean-Philippe Watteau and Michèle Lardenois sell their new house on the rue du Fossart (*AV,* series II). In addition to continuing the work mentioned above, Jean-Philippe is paid for the construction *of extensions to the housing for pumps used to put out fires* (*AV,* CC 762).

1694
Births of Charles-Antoine Coypel (d. 1752), Pierre-Jean Mariette (d. 1774), and Voltaire (d. 1778).

1694-1695
*Watteau, who was only ten to eleven years old at the time* (Jullienne), is apprenticed to a Valenciennes painter (Leclerc, Gersaint, Jullienne, Dezallier d'Argenville, Caylus), who according to Hécart (1826) would be Jacques-Albert Gérin (c. 1640-1702). We have found no trace of such an early artistic education, thus it must remain hypothetical.

1695
Deaths of La Fontaine (b. 1621), Pierre Mignard (b. 1612), and Henry Purcell (b. 1658).

1695
29 December: Birth at Valenciennes, of Jean-Baptiste Pater, the only certified pupil of Watteau,: *M. L. Vandeville, vicar . . . did baptize the son born on the said day of a legitimate marriage between Anthoine Pater, master sculptor, and Jenne Elisabeth defontaine . . .* (*AV,* baptismal register of the parish of Saint-Jacques).

1696
Births of Bibiena (d. 1770), Giambattista Tiepolo (d. 1770), and Louis Tocqué (d. 1772).

1697
Births of Canaletto (d. 1768) and Hogarth (d. 1764).
Treaty of Ryswick, marking the triumph of William II of Orange and of England.

1698
The Italian comedians banished from Paris by royal order.

1699
Census of Valenciennes by governor Magalotti.
Births of Chardin (d. 1779), Etienne Jeaurat (d. 1789), and Pierre Subleyras (d. 1749).
Deaths of Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (b. 1630) and Racine (b. 1639).

1700
Birth of Natoire (d. 1777).
Death of André Le Nôtre (b. 1613).

1701-1713
War of the Spanish Succession. In 1700 Louis XIV accepts the will of Charles II, King of Spain, naming the Duc d'Anjou (grandson of Louis XIV) King of Spain under the name of Philippe V. England, Holland, Austria, most German princes, Denmark, and Brandenburg unite against France, who was allied to Spain, to the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, to Hungary, to Sweden, to the Duke of Savoy, and to Portugal.

1702
Births of Jean-Etienne Liotard (d. 1789) and Pietro Longhi (d. 1785).

1703
Birth of François Boucher (d. 1770).
Death of Gérard Audran II (b. 1640).

1704
Birth of Maurice Quentin de La Tour (d. 1778).
Death of Bossuet (b. 1627).

1697
The Watteau family moves again, to the rue des Chartreaux (*AV,* register of capitations).

1699
Jean-Philippe Watteau resides at 48 place Saint-Jean; Bartholomé, 5 rue Cohue; Jacques-Albert Gérin, 6 rue Monsieur le Gouverneur; Antoine Pater, 22 rue de Tournai (*AV,* AMV T1/11).

## 1702-1709: Watteau's First Years in Paris

1702
Jean-Philippe Watteau lives at place Saint-Jean (*AV,* register of captitations, 1702).

7 June: Death of Jacques-Albert Gérin, Valenciennes painter, cited by Hécart (1826) as the first teacher of Watteau: *In the year one thousand seven hundred two, the seventh of June there died in this parish of S Jacques, Jacques Albert Gérin, married to Gabriel Hayez;* married 3 February 1664 in the same parish (*AV,* register of deaths and register of marriages, parish of Saint-Jacques).

Antoine Watteau arrives in Paris (Leclerc, Jullienne, and Dezallier d'Argenville), either on his own initiative, for self improvement (Gersaint), to *cultivate there a Muse that he cherished* (Caylus), or perhaps (but highly unlikely in our view) brought there by a decorator from Valenciennes who had been summoned by the Paris Opéra (Jullienne, Dezallier d'Argenville).

1703-1708
Antoine Watteau is in Paris. He is first employed by a seller of religious images who had a shop on the Pont Notre-Dame (Leclerc, Jullienne, Gersaint, Dezallier d'Argenville, Caylus). Throughout the day he copied portraits of Saint Nicholas and northern paintings including one of an old woman reading and wearing spectacles after Gerard Dou (Caylus). This

12 September: Opening of the Salon exhibition in the Louvre's Grand Gallery, the only salon Watteau could have known (the preceding one had taken place in 1699, the next would take place in 1725).

1705
Birth of Carle Vanloo (d. 1765).

1708
Death of Jules Hardouin-Mansart (b. 1646).

1709
Death of Meindert Hobbema (b. 1638).
11 September: Murderous battle of Malplaquet (near Valenciennes). French army, commanded by Villars, is beaten, but the enemy decimated. La Roque (1672-1744), the future friend of Watteau, loses his leg there.
October: Jansenist nuns are driven out of Port-Royal des Champs; their convent would be destroyed the next year.
Great famine in the winter.

painting is perhaps the one later owned by Jullienne, now in The Hermitage, Leningrad.

Tired of this work, he enters the studio of Claude Gillot (1673-1722) (La Roque, Leclerc, Jullienne, Gersaint, Mariette, Dezallier d'Argenville, Caylus).

He leaves Gillot to work with Claude Audran III (1658-1734) who lives at the Luxembourg Palace where he is the *concierge,* that is, the curator. He works on decorative pieces for various Parisian residences (Leclerc, Jullienne, Gersaint, Mariette, Dezallier d'Argenville, Caylus), and studies at his leisure the famous series of paintings on the life of Marie de' Medici painted by Rubens for the palace gallery.

1709
First appearances at the Academy.

6 April: Watteau is approved by the Academy for participation in the prize competition. *The officers on duty brought out the sketches that had been done by the students on a subject that they executed on the spot in the Academy to learn which ones were able to compete for the grand prizes. After having examined them the company chose those named: Hutin, Vernansal l'esne, Grison, Parrossel, Vateau, painters and Boule and Du Mont, sculptors to work in the loges . . . The Director will give them a subject taken from the Bible following the last subject which was executed* (*PV,* 4th register).

31 August: The works are judged. Antoine wins second prize. His painting has since been lost. *The Academy being assembled in general meeting for the judgment of the grand prizes on the students' works which have as subject the return of David after the defeat of Goliath and the subject of Abigail who brings food to David and at the opening of the boxes which was done in the usual way, Antoine Grison P. who made the painting marked "C" earned the first prize in painting . . . Antoine Watteau, painter who made the painting marked "D," the second prize in painting* (*PV,* 4th register).

Watteau meets the dealer Pierre Sirois (1665-1726) who buys a painting from him (Gersaint in Champion 1921, pp. 58-59).

## 1709-1711: Watteau's Stay in Valenciennes and Return to Paris

1709
After his partial success at the Academy, Watteau leaves Paris for Valenciennes (Julienne, Dezallier d'Argenville). *After such an honor . . ., he became disgusted with Paris and decided to go back to his native city* (Jullienne).

Jean-Philippe Watteau had been living at rue du vieux Bourdeaux, parish of Saint-Jacques, since 1705 (*AV,* capitations of 1705, 1713, 1714, 1717).

To be a painter in Valenciennes, one had to be a member of the brotherhood of Saint Luke (on this subject see the lawsuit between Pierre Moiron and the masters of the art of

painting of 16 May 1709, *AV,* FF 120), which Watteau was not. He might have moved to a town without restrictions in the vicinity, such as Le Quesnoye, a military town where some "Watteaus" lived (according to Vanghelluwe). He remained only a short time at Valenciennes (Leclerc, Jullienne, Gersaint, Dezallier d'Argenville, Caylus). *He thus left his native land, he did not stay there long and returned to Paris* (Caylus).

1710
Birth of Pergolese (d. 1736).
Death of René-Antoine Houasse (b. 1644).

1710
22 February: Death in Valenciennes of Bartholomé Watteau, paternal grandfather of Jean-Antoine: *In the year one thousand seven hundred ten, on twenty-two February, there died in this parish Bartholomée Wateau, member of Saint druon* (*AV,* register of deaths in the parish of Saint-Jacques).

26 July: Claude Gillot presents himself to the Academy.

1711
Deaths of Jean Berain (b. 1639) of Boileau (b. 1636) and of the Grand Dauphin, Louis de France. His son, the Duc de Bourgogne, becomes the Grand Dauphin.
8 October: Preliminary discussions of peace between France and England.

1711
8 April: Nicolas Lancret, former student of Gillot and friend of Watteau, *is chosen among the students capable of competing for the prizes* (*PV,* 4th register).

## 1712-1717: Watteau and the Academy

1712
Births of Francesco Guardi (d. 1793), Michel-Barthélémy Ollivier, painter of *fêtes galantes* (d. 1784), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (d. 1778), and Frederick of Prussia (d. 1786).
Series of bereavements in the royal family: deaths of the Duc de Bourgogne, Second Dauphin (12 February), his wife, the Princesse de Savoie (19 February), and their son, the Duc de Bretagne (8 March).

1712
Watteau presents himself and brings some of his works to the Academy, hoping to receive a pension and go to Rome to complete his studies. The Academy accepts him on the spot and orders him to paint his reception piece (La Roque, Leclerc, Jullienne, Gersaint, Mariette, Dezallier d'Argenville). Mariette, in his *Notes manuscrites,* cites *Jealousy* (DV 127, CR 80) among the paintings represented (IX, fol. 193 [51]).

30 July: *The Academy, meeting in regular session, sieur Antoine Watau, painter at Valenciennes, presented himself to be received as an Academician and showed some of his paintings. After voting* par les fèves *the Company accepted his presentation. He will receive from Monsieur Van Clève Director a subject for a reception piece for which he will present a sketch.* This last sentence was crossed out and replaced by: *The subject of his reception piece was left to his pleasure, Monsieur Jouvenet and Mr. Magnier were named to watch sr. Gillot at work and Mons. Coypel and Mons. Barrois to watch the said sr. Watteau at work* (*PV,* 4th register).

1713
11 April: Treaty of Utrecht marks the end of the War of Spanish Succession (1701). Philip V renounces his right to the crown of France, but keeps Spain. France, exhausted, must demolish Dunkirk and cedes Acadia, Newfoundland, and the shores of Hudson's Bay to England and Tournai, Ypres, and Menin to Austria, but gains the Barcelonnette valley (Alps).
Birth of Diderot (d. 1784).
Louis XIV requires the Parlement to register the *Bull Unigenitas,* which condemns the 101 propositions of Jansenist P. Quesnel.

1714
Births of Christoph Willibald von Gluck (d. 1784) and Joseph Vernet (d. 1789).
Deaths of Sébastien Leclerc (b. 1637) and the Duc de Berry, second grandson of Louis XIV.
Imperial treaty of Rastadt: the emperor joins in the peace treaty of Ryswick.
7 February: The ambassador of Persia, Mehemet Riza Bey, makes his entry into Paris. He is received in a formal audi-

1714
5 January: Watteau and Gillot are called to order by the Academy: *The Company, having received the names of the candidates and the time of their presentation, resolved to advise sieurs Le Moyne sc.* [sculptor] *Gillot, painter Vuateau also painter and Tardieu engraver to account for their delay to the Academy* (*PV,* 4th register).

27 January: Gillot explains his delay and requests six extra months.

ence by Louis XIV (19 February). It seems that Watteau drew several members of the ambassador's party (cats. D. 45-49).

November: Pierre Crozat (1665-1740) has been in Rome for a short time to negotiate the purchase of some painting from the prince Dom Livio Odescalchi for the Regent: *M. Crozat has been in Rome for six days and is beginning to see the beauties of this city* (letter from Charles Poerson, director of the French Academy in Rome, to the Duc d'Antin, superintendent of buildings, 6 November 1714 (*AN*, $O^1$1954, publ. Montaiglon, IV, p. 342).

18 December: Crozat in Naples (Montaiglon, IV, p. 350).

25 December: Crozat returns to Rome (Montaiglon, IV, p. 352).

1715

Birth of Jean-Baptiste Perronneau (d. 1783).

13 August: After his audience of departure, Mehemet Riza Bey leaves France.

1 September: The King dies at Versailles. Louis XV, his great-grandson, is only five years old.

Parlement breaks the will of Louis XIV and gives the regency to Philippe d'Orléans, son of Monsieur, to the detriment of the illegitimate princes, sons of the king and of Mme. de Maintenon: the Duc de Maine and the Comte de Toulouse.

1715-1722

Regency of Philippe d'Orléans. Installation of eight councils of ten members each: the *polysynodie* system. Less than five years later, there would be a return to absolutism.

1715

5 January: The Academy, for a second time, claims its reception piece from Watteau: *The Academy, having heard the names of the candidates who have not furnished their reception piece, has warned sieurs Vatteau, Le Moyne, Gilot and Tardieu to account for their delay to the Academy* (*PV*, 4th register).

2 April: Pierre Crozat leaves Rome: *M. Crozat has left without coming to terms with the Odescalchis* (Montaiglon, IV, p. 385).

27 April: Gillot is received into the Academy with *A Christ at the time he is to be attached to the cross* (now in the church of Noailles, Corrèze).

13 June: Watteau is living at the quai Conti and receives a visit from the young Swedish collector Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695-1770) who on that date writes in his diary: *Watho, a pupil of Gillot, Flemish by birth, succeeds very well in grotesques, landscapes, fashions, lives on the quai de Conti at the Suisse at the descent from the Pont Neuf* (from the Swedish). This short text is the oldest written document referring to Watteau. Watteau owns drawings by the architect Gilles-Marie Oppenordt (1672-1742), which he shows to Tessin. *At Watteau's I saw a quantity of architectural plans, as well as a book of fountains, the first in wash, the others in red chalk made and drawn by Oppenordt* (Tessin's diary, 23 June 1715 relating his visit to Oppenordt).

Tessin and Watteau remain in touch, at least during the time of the Swede's stay in Paris. Tessin in fact wrote the following inscription in French on the mount of two Van Dyck drawings he bought in Paris in 1715: on the first one, a study of a woman's head: *I bought this fine head in 1715 in Paris, from the inventory of a collector named Lober. Watteau was charmed by it and he borrowed it from me to copy it several times.* [Thus] *there are several of his paintings in which one can see that he had a strong impression of it.* On the other one, a study of the infant Jesus and his Mother (private collection, Stockholm): *I bought this drawing at the Inventory of a collector named Lober in Paris in 1715. Watteau never saw these 4 strokes of the pen without falling into ecstasy* (Nordenfalk 1953, pp. 64-65).

1716

Birth of Joseph-Marie Vien (d. 1809).

Death of Claude Simpol (b. 1666).

1716

25 January: The Academy grants Watteau a new postponement for his reception piece: *Since several candidates have*

John Law, Scottish financier (1671-1729), offers his services to the regent to revitalize France's economy.
2 May: He is authorized to create a "General Bank" that issues banknotes, which it exchanges for coins. With the money collected the State can pay its debts and make loans to industrial and commercial enterprises.
18 May: A new troupe of Italian actors chosen by Principe Antonio Farnese at the request of the Duc d'Orléans gives a first performance, *L'Inganno Fortunato* [The Lucky Dupe] (Courville 1945, pp. 41-43).

1717
Deaths of Bon de Boullongne (b. 1649) and Jean Jouvenet (b. 1644).
August: John Law creates the company of the Occident, also called the Mississippi Company, founded for the development of Louisiana and Canada and financed by the "General Bank." Peter the Great, tsar of Russia, visits Paris.
A "Triple Alliance" between France, England, and Holland is signed.

*not at all satisfied the academy for their reception, it has extended the time to sieurs Vatteau, Thierry and Tardieu* (*PV,* 4th register).

13 December: Charles de la Fosse, born in 1636, dies in the house of Pierre Crozat, rue de Richelieu.

Before 22 December: Pierre Crozat introduces Watteau to the Venetian painter Sebastiano Ricci (1659-1734). Crozat writes to Rosalba Carriera and praises Watteau. *Of all our painters I only know M. Vateau capable of making some work that can be presented to you. He is a young man to whom I took the sig*$^{n}$ *Sebastian Rizzi, if he has any fault, it is that he is very long in everything he does* (letter from Crozat to Rosalba, 22 December 1716, Ashb. 1782[2]). Thus, Watteau is not living at Crozat's.

1717
9 January: The Academy grants Watteau six extra months to deliver his reception piece: *The Academy, having informed the candidates* [that they should] *come and explain their delay, has given s. Thierry six months sieur Vuattau six months . . .* (*PV,* 4th register).

4 May: Watteau receives 200 livres from the Duc d'Arenberg for two paintings. *I received from Mr. Bureau de St André the sum of Two hundred livres for two paintings which I made for his Highness Mgr. le Duc D'Arenberg in Paris this 4 May 1717 bond for 200 L. Vateau.* Only the last three words and the signature are by Watteau. The receipt, found 14 May 1914 by La Loire in the d'Arenberg archives, Brussels, was published for the first time in the *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* (January 1922, pp. 116-118) (repr. DV, 1929, I, p. 77).

28 August: Watteau is finally received into the Academy: *Sieur Antoine Watteau painter from Valenciennes, approved the thirtieth of July one thousand seven hundred twelve has brought the said painting that had been ordered from him representing le pelérinage à Lisle de Citere* [the title is crossed out and replaced by *a feste galante*]. *The Academy, after having taken the vote in the customary way, received the said sieur Watteau as an academician.*

4 September and 31 December: Watteau attends the sessions of the Academy (*PV,* 5th register).

End of the year: Watteau is living at Crozat's: *Vateau, P. Faubourg de Richelieu at M. Crozat's.* (*Almanach Royal,* 1718, p. 252). The *Almanach* was put together at the end of the year preceding its publication (fig. 4).



fig. 4. Watteau's signature.

# 1718-1720

1718

August: The Emperor joins the triple alliance, which become the "Quadruple Alliance."

4 December: By edict, the Law bank becomes a State bank. Opening of branches.

1719-1720

Franco-Spanish war. In early 1719, France and England declare war on Spain.

November: Philippe V of Spain sues for peace and joins the quadruple alliance.

Law cedes to himself licenses for all the commercial companies (East Indies, China, Senegal, Guinea, Santo Domingo), and from their merger with the company of the Occident is born the Company of the Indies.

George I has reigned in England since 1714. The Regent hopes for peace and rapprochement with England.

1718

15 January: Antoine Dieu (c. 1662-1727), painter and dealer, sells his business on the Petit Pont at the sign *Au Grand Monarch* to Marie Rigaud for Edme-Françoise Gersaint, her nephew and heir (*MC*, XXIV, 334).

30 January: Marriage of Edme-François Gersaint to Marie-Louise Sirois, one of the daughters of Pierre Sirois.

28 April: The shops of the Petit Pont, including Gersaint's, burn.

28 October: Gersaint moves to Pont Notre-Dame keeping *Au Grand Monarch* as his sign (DV, 1929, I, p. 106). For this shop Watteau would later paint his famous sign (cat. P. 72; see 1720).

28 February: Nicolas Lancret presents himself to the Academy; *he brought to the Academy several paintings on a particular talent* (*PV*, 5th register).

End of the year: Watteau lives with his friend the painter Nicolas Vleughels (1668-1737) at the home of the nephew of Lebrun, the painter. *Vleughel, p., on the Fossez S. Victor, at the home of M. Le Brun Vateau, p. on the Fossez, S. Victor, at the home of M. Le Brun* (*Almanach Royal*, 1719, p. 253, see also 1 September 1719). This house still stands: it is now no. 49 rue du Cardinal-Lemoine.

1719

24 March: Nicolas Lancret is received as academician with a *feste galante* (*PV*, 5th register).

First biography on Watteau: Père Orlandi dedicates his *Abecedario pittorico* to Pierre Crozat; in it appears a note on *Antonio Vateau* (p. 83). According to Hérold and Vuaflart, its author is Dubois de Saint-Gelais (DV, I, pp. 89-90).

Two dated engravings made after paintings by Watteau, *The Music Lesson* (DV 96, CR 154) and *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin.* (DV 97, CR 155), are published by Sirois at the *Quay Neuf aux Armes de France.*

20 September: Watteau still living with Vleughels. He indicates an interest in knowing Rosalba Carriera and in exchanging works: *There is an excellent man here named Mr. Vateau whom you have perhaps heard of. He would like to make your acquaintance, but since that is impossible he would like to have a little piece from you. He would send you one from his hand. I have no doubt that Mr. Crozat has spoken to you of this skillful man. Not only will he send something of his own, but if that cannot be, money is easy to come by—thus you have only to choose. He is my friend; we live togther. He asked me to send you his very humble respects* (letter from Nicolas Vleughels to Rosalba, Ashb. 1781[4]). On the envelope Rosalba drew two figures of Juno seated next to her peacock.

# 1719-1720: Watteau in England

End of the year: *Wateau, P. is in London* (*Almanach Royal*, 1720, p. 241).

The exact date he left for England is not known. (1718 according to Leclerc, Jullienne, and Dezallier d'Argenville, which is impossible since they place this trip after he had stayed with Vleughels, a stay known to have lasted from 1718-1719 (see above); 1720 according to Gersaint, but later contradicts himself (see Alfassa 1910; 1719 for Caylus who seems to be correct.)

1720
15 January: John Law is named controller general and superintendent of finances. To satisfy the Regent he issues many more banknotes than there are deposits in the bank.
22 March: Collapse of the Law system and closing of the bank at rue Quincampoix; many people, including Gillot, are ruined.
July: Plague ravages the city of Marseille, which is declared a "dead city." A wave of panic overtakes France.

1720
Watteau in England about one year (Leclerc, Jullienne, Gersaint, Dezallier d'Argenville, Caylus). Meets the famous doctor Richard Mead (1673-1754) who treats his illness and for whom he paints two pictures (Walpole 1798, pp. 426-427). Returns to Paris sicker than ever (Leclerc, Jullienne, Mariette, Dezallier d'Argenville, Caylus), *So strongly attacked by the sickness that they call in that country Consumption* (Gersaint in Champion 1921, p. 183).

6 January: Death at Valenciennes of Jean-Philippe Watteau, father of the painter: *In the year one thousand seven hundred twenty the sixth of January there died in his parish Jean philippe Watiau, husband of Michelle Lardenois* (*AV,* register of deaths of the parish of Saint-Jacques).

End of March: Rosalba Carriera arrives in Paris accompanied by the painter Pellegrini (1675-1741), his brother-in-law, and his sister. She stays at Crozat's.

9 May: Marriage of Jean de Jullienne and Marie-Louise de Brecey (*MC,* XXIX, 349). Numerous members of the Glucq family, Jullienne's cousins, including Claude and Jean Baptiste, both of them future owners of Watteau paintings, attend the wedding.

## 1720-1721: Return to Paris and Death of Watteau

20 August: Watteau is back in Paris and meets Rosalba: *I saw M. Vato. An Englishman* (diary of Rosalba [from the Italian] Ashb. 1781[5]).

30 September: Crozat gives a concert at his home attended by Rosalba, Watteau (see cat. D.127), and Mariette: *I saw at the concert given at the home of Mr. Crozat the Regent, Law and others* (diary of Rosalba [from the Italian], Ashb. 1781[5]).

26 October: Rosalba is received as an Academician with a *Nymph from the Suite of Apollo* (Louvre).

End of the year: Watteau living with his friend, the dealer Gersaint: *Vateau, P. on the pont Notre-Dame, at the Grand Monarch (Almanach Royal,* 1721, p. 252). Surely at this time he painted the famous shopsign for Gersaint (cat. P. 73).

Rosalba still at Crozat's: *Melle Rosa-Alba Carriera, P., at M. Crozat's, Faub. de Richelieu* (*Almanach Royal,* 1721, p. 252).

1721
9 February: Watteau is visited by Rosalba Carriera: *Went to*



fig. 5. R. Carriera, *Portrait of Watteau* (?). Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.



fig. 6. R. Carriera, *Portrait of Watteau.* Museo Civico, Treviso.

fig. 7. Watteau, *Two Faces,* chalk. Private collection.



*see Mr. Vateau, Mr. Enen* [Hénin] (diary of Rosalba [from the Italian], Ashb. 1781[5]). (See Hénin under the Friends of Watteau.)

11 February: Watteau poses for Rosalba at the request of Crozat: *Undertook for M. Crozat M. Watteau's portrait, pastel* (Ashb. 1781[5]). Wilhelm (1953) thought it was a pastel in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (fig. 5). More recently Cailleux (1968) identified it as a pastel in the Museo Civico, Treviso (fig. 6).

February: Crozat commissions Watteau to make drawings of the paintings in the collection of the king, of the Regent, and of other collectors such as Crozat himself: *M. Crozat the younger is having engraved also by subscription the Paintings of the King, of the Regent, and those of other excellent masters that are in the famous Cabinets of Paris, Messieurs Watot, Nattier and one other, are entrusted to draw them* (*Le Nouveau Mercure,* February 1721, p. 152).

An academic drawing representing two faces, on which is written *The drawing is by M. Watteau* (private collection), bears the date of 6 May 1721 (fig. 7).

Spring: Watteau at Nogent-sur-Marne. The Abbé Haranger (canon at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois), a friend, finds a refuge for him: the house of M. Le Febvre, administrator of the *menus plaisirs,* at Nogent-sur-Marne, near Paris (Gersaint, Caylus).

1 May: Death of Catherine Reuse, paternal grandmother of Antoine, at Valenciennes: *in the year one thousand seven hundred twenty-one the first day of May there died in this parish Catherine Reuse, the widow of Bartholomé Wateau . . .* (*AV,* register of deaths of the parish of Saint-Jacques).

According to Gersaint, Watteau invites the painter Pater, his former pupil with whom he had previously quarreled, to come and study with him. But he grows increasingly more sick, and according to Gersaint and Caylus, *he thought he could recover from this illness by deciding to return to the air of his birthplace* (Gersaint).

18 July: Jean-Antoine Watteau dies at Nogent-sur-Marne, not yet thirty-seven years old (Leclerc, Jullienne, Gersaint, Caylus, Dezallier d'Argenville).

Before dying (Gersaint and Caylus), Watteau entrusts Gersaint with dividing his drawings among four of his friends: Jullienne, Haranger, Hénin, and Gersaint himself. At his death (Gersaint and Caylus) Watteau has 9000 livres, of which 3000 was in goods and 6000 had been saved for him by Jullienne when the Law system failed during his trip to England, and which were returned to his family.

# After the Death of Watteau

1721

26 July: The death of Watteau is announced at the Academy: *The death of Monsieur Antone Vattau, painter academician was announced who died the eighteenth instant at Nogent-sur-Marne aged thirty five years* (*PV,* 5th register) (fig. 8).

11 August: Crozat announces Watteau's death to Rosalba: *We have lost poor Vateau who died with brush in hand. His friends are to give a public discourse on his life and on his rare talents. It will not be forgotten to call attention to the portrait that you made shortly before his death* (letter from Crozat to Rosalba, Ashb. 1781[2]).

August: An obituary on Watteau, not signed, but surely composed by La Roque, appears in *Le Mercure,* August 1721 (pp. 81-83).

3 November: Marriage of Noël Watteau, brother of Antoine, to Marie-Charles de Noyelles (*AV,* register of marriages of the parish of Saint-Jacques).

1725

Morèri's *Dictionnaire,* in its new edition, includes a eulogy to Watteau; the author has been identified as the Abbé Josse Leclerc, son of the famous engraver, Sébastien Leclerc (see Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time").

1726

November: The first volume of prints, entitled *Figures de différents caractères, de Paysages, et d'Etudes dessinées d'après Nature par Antoine Watteau,* announced in *Le Mercure,* p. 2527). It is on sale for 48 livres, at the shop Audran et Chereau. Jullienne played the major role in this undertaking. The prints are preceded by an *Abrégé de la vie d'Antoine Watteau* followed by an epitaph in Latin and in French written by Abbé Fraguier (fig. 9).

1727

August: The first *prints on separate sheets newly engraved after the paintings by the celebrated Watteau* are announced without further detail by the *Mercure* (pp. 1848-1849). Having just obtained the rights for the exclusive reproduction of Watteau's oeuvre (August 5, BN mss. fr. 21953, no. 678), Jullienne would then have the principal paintings by Watteau

fig. 8. F. Boucher, *The Graces at the Tomb of Watteau.* Etching.

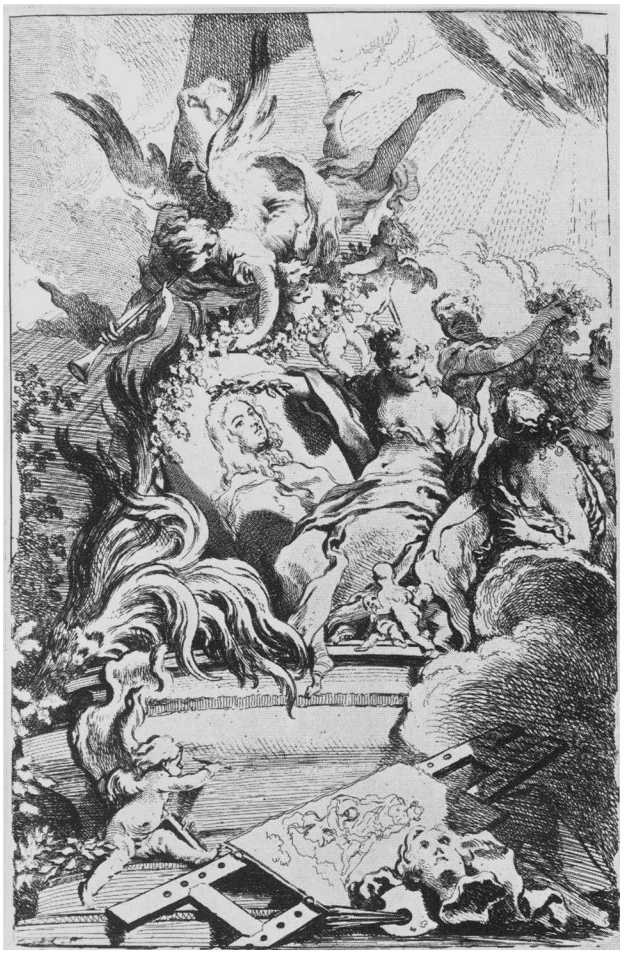


fig. 9. N.-H. Tardieu, engraving after Watteau (?), *Seated Beside Thee.*



engraved. The prints, sold one by one, would later be bound in two volumes, thereafter called the *Recueil Jullienne*.

17 September: Death of Michelle Lardenois, mother of the artist, at Valenciennes, at the age of seventy-five years (*AV*, register of deaths of the parish of Saint-Jacques).

Dubois de Saint-Gelais devotes a passage of his *Description des Tableaux du Palais-Royal* to Watteau (pp. 75-77).

1727-1728

Jullienne sends Rosalba the first volume of the *Figures de différents caractères*. The Venetian thanks him: *the book of the studies by the inimitable Mr. Vato which I have just received through Mor. Zanetti fills me at the same time with joy and confusion. Having always been among those who admired all the productions of such a unique genius as that able man I therefore sincerely admit that it was a charming surprise for me to see this jewel in my hands* . . . (Ashb. $1781^2$, undated letter from Rosalba to Jullienne).

1728

February: The second volume of the *Figures de différents caractères* is put on sale at Chereau (*Le Mercure*, p. 36) after having been announced in *Le Mercure* of December 1727 (p. 2676). Jullienne plans to send it to Rosalba: *I am asking Mr. Mariette to find me the opportunity of forwarding to you the second volume which is filled with beautiful things and is much more extensive than the former* . . . (letter from Jullienne to Rosalba, 6 December 1728, Ashb. $1781^2$). She receives it and replies: *You overwhelm me with kindnesses, which puts my negligence to shame. . . . The more you show me the fine productions of the unique genius of our dear friend Mr. V, the more I lose hope of fulfilling my obligations toward you* . . . (undated letter from Rosalba to Jullienne, Ashb. $1781^2$).

1731

Birth at Valenciennes of Louis-Joseph Watteau, son of Noël Watteau, the brother of Jean-Antoine. He would become a painter, known as Watteau de Lille. *In the year one thousand seven hundred thirty one, the tenth of the month of April there was baptized Louis Joseph Watteau, born the same day legitimate son of Noël Joseph Wateau, master roofer* . . . (*AV*, register of baptisms of the parish of Notre-Dame de la Grange).

1734

November: *Le Mercure* reproduces a prospectus announcing the publication of the *Recueil Jullienne*. In fact, it would not appear until the following year. Jullienne had made up an initial copy in order to make a present of it to Rosalba. He tells her about it as early as February: *Since you like the works of our late friend Watteau I shall at the first opportunity send all the Prints that I have had engraved after his paintings* (letter of 17 February 1734, Ashb. $1781^2$), but only sent to her several months later: *Mademoisel, not having found the opportunity to send you the engraved works after the paintings of our late friend Watteau, I decided to send them to Mr. Fayolle, my friend, at Lyon, with the request that he forward them to you* (letter of 16 September, Ashb. $1781^2$).

1735

Publication of the *Recueil Jullienne*, announced in 1734. Jullienne will make a gift of the whole of the *Oeuvre gravé* after Watteau (four volumes) to the Academy in December 1739, at the time of his entry as *Conseiller honoraire et Amateur* (now conserved at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris).

1744

In the catalogue of the Cabinet Quentin de Lorangère whose sale took place on 2 March appears an *Abrégé de la Vie d'Antoine Watteau* by Edme François Gersaint (pp. 170-188).

1745

"New Life of Antoine Watteau" by Dezallier d'Argenville in his *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres* (pp. 420-424).

1748

27 January: The secretary of the Academy announces that *at the next meeting he would read the life of Antoine Wateau done by M. le comte de Caylus* (*PV*, 6th register).

3 February: The secretary opens the lectures by *the reading of the life of Antoine Watteau done by M. Le Comte de Caylus* (*PV*, 6th register). It would be read a second time on 20 August 1760, and a third time on 5 December 1767. Rubin (1968-1969) believes that biography was written much earlier, immediately after the death of the painter.

1758

19 August: Baptism of François-Louis-Joseph Watteau, son of the painter Louis-Joseph, and grandnephew of Jean-Antoine, who would also be a painter. He is the second "Watteau de Lille." *In the year one thousand seven hundred fifty eight the nineteenth of August there was baptized by the curate named Daguier françois louis joseph . . . legitimate son of the sieur louis joseph Wateau master painter* . . . (*AV*, register of baptisms of the parish of La Chaussée).

# The Five Disputed Letters

The first is a letter dated 23 November 1711 from Sirois the dealer to a female friend who was a bookseller in Paris, Madame Josset. In it Sirois discusses Watteau. It was published in the catalogue of autographs in the Benjamin Fillon collection (sale 15-17 July 1879, no. 1701).

This original, who makes an abundance of paintings as Monsieur Le Sage makes plays and books, with the difference that Monsieur Le Sage is sometimes satisfied with his books, his plays, and that the poor Watteau is never satisfied with his paintings. Which does not prevent him from being one of the reigning kings of the brush. He promised to paint me *A Festival of the Lenten Fair,* for which I have advanced one hundred livres of the agreed three hundred. It will be his masterpiece, provided he puts the final touches on it, but if he falls into his black humor and his mind is possessed, then away he'll go, and goodbye masterpiece. Monsieur Le Sage procured for him a commission for two pendants, taken from the *Diable Boiteux,* at one hundred thirty livres each. He only hopes that they will be done; because Watteau paints according to his whim and does not like commissioned subjects. If he can get to it, his first painting will be for monsieur Duchange, without his knowing anything about it, for fear of disillusionment. The doctor put him back on the quinine regimen five days after his return.

The four others, communicated by the Baron de Vèze to the *Archives de l'Art Français* of 1852 (see preface), are all signed letters by Watteau.

The first, undated, is addressed to "Gersaint, on the Notre Dame bridge Saturday."

My friend Gersaint,

Yes, as you wish, I shall come to your house tomorrow to dine with Antoine de la Roque. I expect to go to the ten o'clock mass at St-Germain-de-Lauxerrois; and surely I shall be at your place by noon, since I shall only have one visit to make to my friend Molinet who has been having a little purpura fever for two weeks.

Meanwhile, your friend, A. Watteau

The three other letters are from Watteau to Jullienne.

To M Mon Sieur (*sic*) de Jullienne
Monsieur!

It pleased Mon Sieur the Abbé de Noirterre to send me that painting of P. Rubens where there are the two heads of angels, and above on the cloud that figure of a woman plunged in contemplation. Certainly nothing could have made me happier than to be certain that it is through the friendship that he has for you and for your nephew that Monsieur de Noirterre gave up on my behalf such a rare painting as that one. From the moment I received it I have been unable to rest and my eyes never tire of turning toward the desk where I placed it as if over a tabernacle!! It will be hard for anyone to believe that P. Rubens ever did anything more finished then that Painting. Would you be so kind Monsieur, as to convey my true thanks to Monsieur the Abbé de Noirterre until I am able to thank him personally. I shall take advantage of the next d'Orléans messenger to write him and send him the painting of the rest of the Holy family that I send to him in thanks.

Your faithful friend and servant [Monsieur], A. Watteau

Only the two following letters of 3 September and 3 May can be dated. Watteau speaks of *Madame de Jullienne,* but as Jullienne married on 9 May 1720 the two letters must date from 3 September 1720 and 3 May 1721.

To Mr Monsieur (*sic*) de Julienne from Watteau.
From Paris, 3 September

Monsieur!

By the return of Marin who brought me the venison that you were kind enough to send me as of the morning I send you the Painting on which I painted the boar head and the head of the black fox and you can speed them on to Mr de Losmesnil, since I have finished with them for the moment. I cannot hide the fact that that painting pleases me and I expect some corresponding satisfaction on your part and on the part of Madame de Julienne who like me, so infinitely loves the subject of hunting. Gersaint had to bring me the good La Serre to enlarge the painting on the right, where I have added the horses under the trees, since I felt uncomfortable after I had added everything that was so decided. I am think-

ing of taking up again that side beginning Monday afternoon, since in the morning I am occupied with thoughts in red chalk. I ask you not to forget me to Madame de Julienne whose hands I kiss.

A. Watteau

To Mr Monsieur (*sic*) de Julienne, from Watteau by express.

From Paris, 3 May

Monsieur!

I return to you the large first volume of the Writings of Leonardo da Vinci and at the same time I wish to express my sincere thanks to you. As for the manuscript Letters of P. Rubens I shall keep them with me still if that is not too disagreeable for you since I have not yet finished them!! That pain in the left side of my head has not let me sleep since Tuesday and Mariotti wants me to take a purge beginning tomorrow morning, he says that the great heat we are now having will help considerably. You will make me glad beyond my hopes if you come to visit me between now and Sunday; I will show you a few trifles such as the landscapes of Nogent that you value well enough for the reason that I made the thoughts in the presence of Madame de Julienne whose hands I most respectfully kiss.

I am not doing what I want since the gray chalk and the red chalk are very hard at this time, I cannot have any other.

A. Watteau

# The Friends of Watteau

Nicole Parmantier

"A good friend, but a difficult one" (Gersaint in Champion 1921, p. 64).

One way to arrive at an understanding of the mysterious painter Watteau is through investigation of his friends. In the following lexicon—admittedly fragmentary—are included all those mentioned in the seven eighteenth-century biographies on Watteau. Six of the biographies, those by La Roque, Jullienne, Gersaint, Mariette, Dezallier d'Argenville, and Caylus (all of whom, except Dezallier d'Argenville, personally knew the painter) were brought together in one volume in 1921, by Champion. The seventh biography, which was discovered and published by Levy in 1958, is taken from Moréri's *Dictionnaire* of 1725. Moureau here attributes its authorship to the Abbé Leclerc (Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time.")

We have added the names of all the people who we thought could have met Watteau at some time during his life. We have relied on the minutes of the Academy and above all on the rich study by Dacier, Hérold, and Vuaflart (1921-1929) dedicated to Jullienne and his circle. In some cases these are only putative friends of Watteau, but we have tried to justify their presence.

We have not retained the few names mentioned in the letters signed by Watteau published in the *Archives de l'art français* of 1852, nor in the one from the Benjamin Fillon sale. As we have mentioned in the Chronology, their authenticity is doubtful.

It may seem surprising that no actor's name is included, but Watteau's personal friends from the theater are not known. In fact, he is not known to have had any close friends. Also, Watteau's fiercely determined self-effacement has made research difficult.

The forty-six names cited here certainly represent only a small percentage of the painter's acquaintances. Some are illustrious (Crozat, La Fosse); others are unknown (Grison, Bandol, Valjoin). Can they be considered to reflect Watteau's circle, if indeed, there was any such circle?

Watteau's world was basically made up of young beginning collectors (Tessin, Jullienne) or experienced ones (Crozat, Mead), of dealers (Sirois, Gersaint), men of letters (La Roque, Fraguier) and above all artists, including one lone architect (Oppenordt). Some of the painters (Lancret, Pater, Quillard) followed in Watteau's footsteps; friends from the north (Vleughels, Spoede) or even Venetians visited Paris (Ricci, Carriera, Pellegrini). With the exception of La Fosse, none belonged to the circle of official painters.

Watteau's world also included Crozat's salon, one of the most refined of the time. Even though Watteau intentionally ignored the official world, he nevertheless associated with the most cultivated minds of the time. His paintings confirm it.

## The Anonymous Decorator of the Valenciennes Theater

At Valenciennes the young Watteau, bored by his first teacher (see Gérin), "became acquainted with another painter who let it be known he was an expert in theater decoration, and who on the basis of this reputation in 1702 was sent for by the Paris Opéra. Young Watteau . . . secured permission from his new teacher to accompany him there. . . . But this painter who did not succeed in business as well as he had expected was forced to return to his homeland, but his pupil did not consider it opportune to follow him back" (Jullienne in Champion 1921, pp. 46-47). The anecdote is repeated by Dezallier d'Argenville (Champion 1921, p. 69). The various efforts to identify this decorator have been fruitless. In the absence of any evidence, the name of Vigouroux-Duplessis, suggested by Hérold (DV, I, p. 7) is no longer accepted. It seems strange that the Paris Opéra should have called in a provincial painter who probably was little-known, and about whom we know absolutely nothing more. Neither La Roque, Leclerc, Mariette, or even Caylus wrote of this master. Did he really exist?

## Audran, Claude III

Lyon 1658-Paris 1734

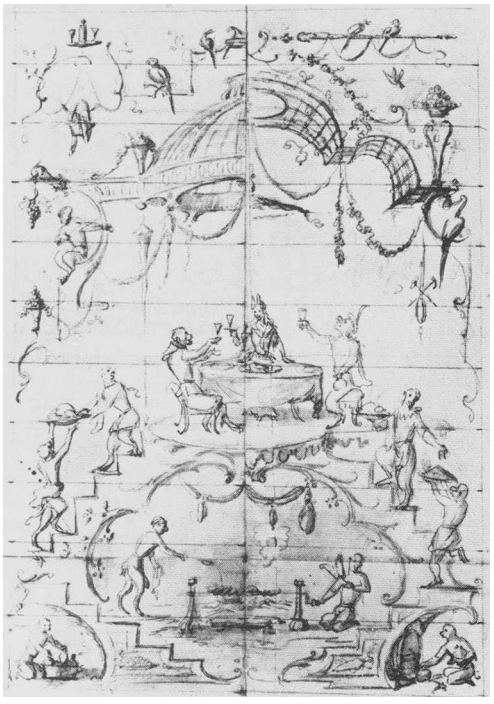
Son of Germain Audran and nephew of Gérard, both engravers in the classic tradition, Claude III lived with his uncle Claude II, a painter and associate of Le Brun, Jouvenet, and Coypel on the great royal and religious commissions of the second half of the seventeenth century.

Claude III, ordinary painter to the king, was appointed concierge (curator) of the Luxembourg Palace in 1704.

After Jean Bérain, Claude Audran III played a major role in eighteenth-century decorative art. The accounts for the Buildings of the King show that he participated in the decoration of the largest residences, in the Ménagerie, the chapel of Versailles, Fontainebleau, Anet, Meudon, Les Invalides, and Les Gobelins. Unfortunately, his painted oeuvre disappeared with the *hôtels* that he decorated. Evidence of his imagination and talent remains in the tapestries executed from his designs and especially in the 1,900 drawings purchased at the artist's death by the Swedish collector, Carl Johan Cronstedt. Discovered by the historian Moselius in 1915 in Fullerö Castle after two centuries of oblivion, they have been in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, since 1938. A selection of the drawings was exhibited at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in 1950.

Audran employed a large team of gilders, sculptors, and painters. Watteau entered into Audran's service as an apprentice, after having been the pupil of Claude Gillot. He surely profited from his stay with this inventive designer. The lightness of his graceful architecture, housing small figures, is found in several decorative panels from Watteau's youth.

C. Audran, *Ornamental Design for Marly,* 1709.
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



These suffered the same fate as Audran's decorations, except for the ones in the old Hôtel de Poulpry (cats. P. 2, 3).

At the Luxembourg Palace Watteau would have seen the series of Rubens paintings on the life of Marie de' Medici, and the debt Watteau owed this master is evident.

According to Gersaint, Audran had recognized his genius and sought to keep Watteau with him, but Watteau's desire to return to Valenciennes gave him an excuse to leave. Watteau returned to Valenciennes in 1709, and thus his stay with Audran should be fixed just before. At that time Audran was working at Versailles, Marly, and Meudon (exh. cat. Paris 1950, pp. 61-62).

## Bandol, François II de Boyer de

Aix-en-Provence? 1673-1748

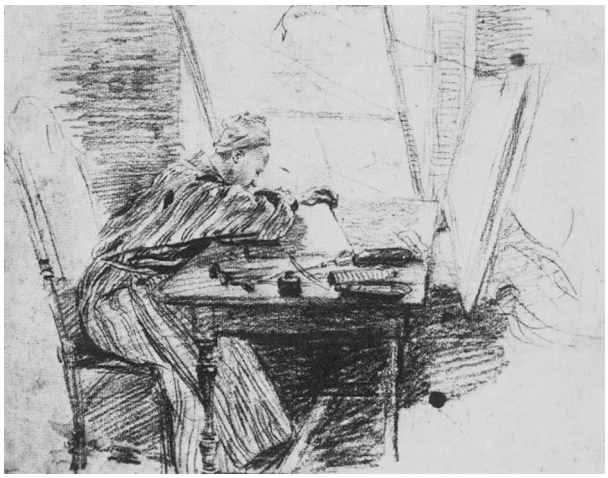
" . . . A ball executed for President Bandolle . . ." (Caylus in Champion 1921, p. 102, n. 3). This man, who commissioned a painting from Watteau that might be *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51), appears to have been the François de Boyer de Bandol II, a native of Aix, a collector and president of the Provençal Parlement.

## Baron, Bernard

Paris 1696-London 1762

Bernard Baron received his primary training from his stepfather, the engraver Nicolas-Henri Tardieu (1674-1749). According to Vertue, Baron left for England very early on, summoned there by Claude Dubosc, another French engraver established in London (Roux 1933, II, p. 53). We presume that Watteau made his acquaintance in London in 1720. This idea stems from a drawing by Watteau in the British Museum, London (PM 913), representing an engraver at work, seated at his table and wearing a housecoat. He is thought to be Bernard Baron.

Watteau, *Baron,* red chalk.
The British Museum, London.



Baron engraved four Watteau paintings in English collections for the *Recueil Jullienne*, including the two owned by Doctor Mead (see cat. P. 71), *The Two Cousins* (cat. P. 47), and *Perfect Accord* (Private coll.; DV 120, CR 196).

## Barrois, François

Paris 1656-1726

30 July 1712: "presentation of Sieur Watau . . . The company, after having voted . . . , approved his presentation. The subject of his reception piece was left to his choice; Mons. Coypel and Mons. Barrois [were designated] to see the said Sieur Watteau at work" (*PV*, 4th register). (Watteau took five years before painting his reception piece, which the Academy had requested from him four times, at the beginning of each year.)

Barrois had a brilliant career as a sculptor. Winner of the Premier Prix de Rome in 1683, he stayed in Italy three years, became a member of the French Academy at Rome in 1700, was named professor in 1706, and finally rector in 1729. He executed several sculptural groups for the royal residences at Versailles and Marly, and worked at Les Invalides.

## Bougi

"The country concert . . . in the collection of M. Bougi, who is pictured there playing the bass viola" (Mariette, *Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 192 [33]). But who was this Bougi? Schéfer (1896) wavered between Guillaume-Joseph de Croissy, Seigneur de Bougy, counselor of the Rouen Parlement, and Jean-Jacques Révérend de Bougy, Marquis de Colonges, brigadier of the king's armies. More likely, as Dacier and Vuaflart (DV 72) believe, he was Claude Bougy, one of the tax gatherers of the time. It would be nice to know whether one of these three men, above all the latter, played a musical instrument. Are the persons around him part of his family, as in the portrait of Sirois in *In the Guise of Mezzetin* (Wallace Collection; DV 131, CR 181) or in the one of Le Bouc-Santussan (cat. P. 54)? Neither the place, one of those parks favored by the painter, nor the excessively fanciful clothes provide an answer.

B. Audran, engraving after Watteau, *Country Concert*.




## Carreau, Charles

d. Nogent-sur-Marne 1742

"The village curate [of Nogent] who was attending him at his death held out the crucifix to him, according to the custom. . . . This curate who had a handsome face and whom the painter had known for a long time, had often been used in his works: the character of Gilles whom he represented was not very dignified and he apologized profusely for it" (Dezallier d'Argenville in Champion 1921, pp. 71-72; this anecdote is found only in the 1745 edition of *L'Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*).

"He filled the last days of his life painting a *Christ on the Cross* for the curate of Nogent" (Caylus in Champion 1921, p. 109).

The curate of Nogent in 1721 was called Carreau. This noble-hearted person is known to us through the numerous archival documents that bear his name (*AN*).

## Carriera, Rosalba

Venice 1675-1757

The first meeting between Watteau and Rosalba Carriera took place only in August 1720; Watteau, who was ill, had returned from England. But the two artists had known each other by repute for several years. Crozat, who particularly admired the Venetian pastellist, had spoken highly of Watteau to her (letter of 22 December 1716). Rosalba decided in 1720 to accompany her brother-in-law, the painter Pellegrini (1675-1741), to Paris. (Watteau surely met Pellegrini on that occasion.) She was Crozat's guest and met Watteau several times, as her diary shows (now in Florence, in the Laurentian Library, Ashburnham codex, 1781, published in French by Sensier in 1865). Crozat commissioned a portrait of Watteau from her (11 February 1721), identified by Cailleux (1969) as the pastel in the Museo Civico, Treviso (repr. in the Chronology). For his part Watteau made a drawing of Rosalba (cat. D. 128). He had previously shown his enthusiasm for her to Vleughels by having him ask for one of her works in exchange for one of his (20 September 1716).



R. Carriera, *Self-portrait,*
Uffizi, Florence.



Dagoty, *Caylus.*
Engraving.

In 1732 Jullienne gave Rosalba, as a gift of thanks, an advance copy of the volume of Watteau's *Oeuvre,* engraved under his care. There is no doubt about the sincerity of Rosalba's laudatory remarks about "the inimitable M. Vato" in her letter of thanks. Judging by his lack of attention to the members of the Academy, Watteau was usually rather neglectful of his colleagues, but he seems to have felt some liking for Rosalba. It is true that she had received a warm and triumphant welcome from all Paris. Before leaving France she was accepted into the Academy on 26 October 1720, with her *Nymph from the Suite of Apollo* (Louvre).

## Caylus, Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières de Grimoard de Pestels de Levis, Comte de

Paris 1692-1765

Caylus' account of Watteau's life, read before the Academy for the first time on 3 February 1748, is the most anecdotal of all the eighteenth-century biographies of the painter. It is the one that best describes to us his changeable character. Rubin (1968-1969) has tried to show that it was written immediately after the painter's death, well before 1748.

Caylus was the subject of a monograph by S. Rocheblave (1889). The son of Marthe-Marguerite Le Valois, niece of Madame de Maintenon, Caylus at a very early age began a brilliant military career by fighting alongside La Roque at Malplaquet, but after the treaty of Rastatt in 1714, he abandoned it. One year later he left for Italy, but returned in October 1715 when he was called back by his mother. In July 1717, he sailed for Constantinople, and traveled for seven months before finally returning to settle in Paris. He must surely have met Watteau after his return.

Caylus, who boasted of having placed some rooms in Paris at the painter's disposal, "which we used only for posing models, for painting and drawing" tells us that there "this Watteau, so gloomy, so moody, so caustic, everywhere else, became the Watteau of his paintings: that is, the author whose paintings make one think he is pleasant, affectionate and perhaps a little countrified" (Champion 1921, p. 94). His words suggest a great intimacy between the two men.

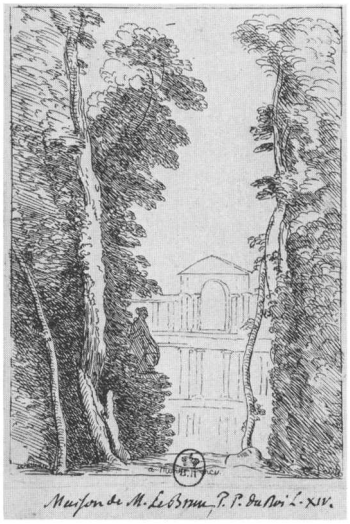
Although Caylus' life of Watteau does not appear to be always laudatory, one should not forget that it was intended for the Academy at a date when history painting was gaining in popularity. Caylus made some sixty prints after Watteau (Dacier 1927).

## Crozat, Pierre

Toulouse 1665-Paris 1740

When and how many times did Watteau stay at Crozat's? All his eighteenth-century biographers speak of a stay with the rich financier and passionate collector, but no date has been fixed. Jullienne, Mariette, and Dezallier d'Argenville placed it after his acceptance by the Academy in 1712 and just before his stay with Vleughels, which took place in 1718-1719. The *Almanach Royal* of 1718 registered him at Crozat's. Charles de La Fosse, Crozat's guest from 1708, is generally thought to have acted as intermediary between the two men after Watteau's success at the Academy. We know that Crozat left Paris for Rome in 1714, charged by the future regent to acquire the paintings of Prince Dom Livio Odescalchi. He returned in 1715. (See Stuffmann 1968.)

According to Jullienne, Crozat entrusted Watteau with the decoration of the dining room of his house on the rue de Richelieu. There he painted four decorative panels representing the seasons, of which only *Summer* is extant (cat. P. 35). On several occasions Watteau went to Montmorency, Crozat's country residence, which inspired him to



Caylus, *The Park of Montmorency.*
Etching after Watteau.

paint *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25). Crozat chose Watteau in 1721, to assist in his project of engraving the paintings belonging to the king, the Regent, and himself. (See Chronology.)

At Crozat's, Watteau "found a collection of paintings and drawings by the great masters, which completed his training" (Dezallier d'Argenville in Champion 1921, p. 71). The collector's salon, especially after his return from Italy, was a privileged place where Watteau could meet Rosalba Carriera, Oppenordt, and Mariette. Crozat himself brought Sebastiano Ricci, who was passing through Paris, to meet Watteau in 1716. Finally, it was Crozat who informed Rosalba Carriera of Watteau's death.

Crozat bought none of Watteau's works. At his death he owned no paintings by the painter (though his nephew the Baron de Thiers had five of them; see Stuffmann 1968 and cats. P. 15, 16, 37). The nine drawings sold after Crozat's death in 1741 (no. 1063) were purchased in part by Tessin, and were, according to Mariette, the author of the catalogue, the ones "that the painter bequeathed at his death to M. Crozat in grateful recognition of all the kindness he had received from him," although neither La Roque (Champion p. 43) nor Gersaint mentioned Crozat among Watteau's heirs. (See Gersaint, Champion p. 64.) Nevertheless, Crozat thought highly of the painter, who was in his eyes the only artist worthy of being introduced to Rosalba Carriera (letter of 22 December 1716).

## Dieu, Antoine

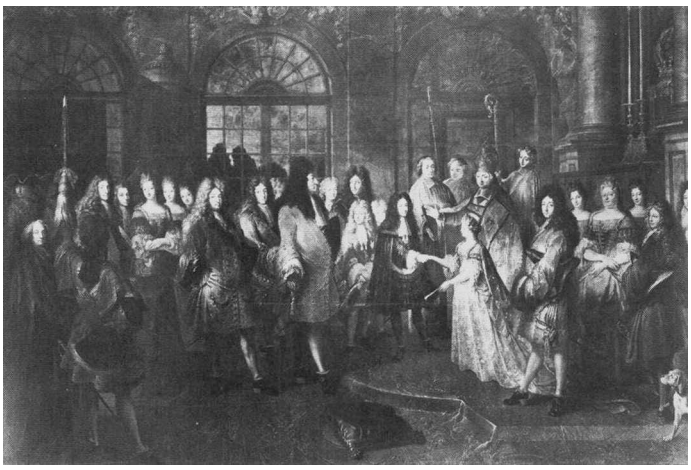
Paris c. 1662-1727

Antoine Dieu had two activities: painting and business. A dealer in prints and paintings, established on the Petit Pont at the sign of the *Grand Monarque,* he had business relations with the dealer Sirois, Watteau's first client (see DV, I, pp. 35-36).

Before Sirois married off his second daughter to Edme-François Gersaint on 30 January 1718, Dieu sold his shop and his stock on 15 January to Marie Rigaud (*AN, MC* XXIX, 334). She bought it for the bridegroom-to-be, Gersaint, her nephew and heir.

Having given up his business, Dieu devoted himself to his first passion, painting and drawing. In 1722, late in life, he was admitted to the Academy with the *Battle of the Romans and Carthaginians* (see Rosenberg 1979).

Mariette (*Notes mss.,* fol. 193 [49]) wrote about a painting by Watteau depicting *Louis XIV Bestowing the Blue Ribbon on the Duc de Bourgogne, Father of Louis XV, King of France,* engraved by Larmessin (DV 227, CR 72): "Watteau painted this picture for M. Dieu who had undertaken to paint all the events of the life of the King to be executed in tapestry, which was not at all effective." This tells us two things: that



A. Dieu, *The Marriage of Louis de France, Duc de Bourgogne, and Marie-Adelaide of Savoy,* Cartoon for a tapestry from the series on the life of the king, Musée de Versailles.

Dieu had received from the king an important commission that was never completed and in which he had Watteau collaborate, perhaps through the intermediary of Sirois. The Watteau painting, the only one dealing with contemporary history, was still recorded by Seidel in 1900 as in the Berlin palaces, but it has since disappeared. The painting by Dieu still exists at Versailles. The Larmessin engraving after the one by Watteau makes it possible to compare the two works, which closely resemble each other. Was Dieu really inspired by the Watteau painting? Roland-Michel (1984) suggested the opposite.

The problem of relations between Watteau and Dieu is further complicated by the existence of four drawings, which in our view were by Antoine Dieu (sale, Paris, 7 December 1982, no. 5, ill.). They faithfully reproduce four Watteau paintings forming a cycle known as the Jullienne Seasons (DV 200-203, CR 22 A-D; see Roland-Michel 1984). A painting in this series was recently sold in London at Christie's, 8 July 1983, no 48. Did Dieu copy Watteau or was it the other way around?

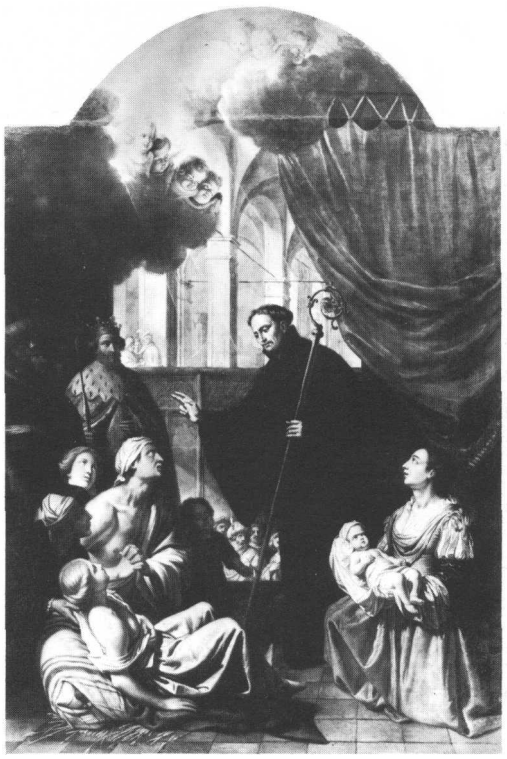
## Dubois

Valenciennes

"Dubois, a landscape painter who sometimes mixed in some historical features, worked for Billet, a carpet manufacturer in Valenciennes. . . . This painter had been a fellow student of Antoine Watteau. Seeing that the latter had been accepted as painter in the Royal Academy, he sent him one of his paintings and asked him to have him admitted. Watteau advised him to wait: he pointed out to him that his trees, although often well done, were stylized, that one could count each leaf; the planes were not varied enough; everything was too piled up; and the lighting was too even and lacked gradation. He advised him to study nature and offered to provide him further advice if needed" (Hécart 1826, pp. 7-8).

What do we know now about this painter? Two of his paintings were included in the Henri de Gise sale, 30 October 1742 (no. 357).

According to Hécart, Dubois and Watteau started out with Gérin, the best-known painter in Valenciennes. But while Watteau very soon found his town too restrictive, Dubois seems to have settled there. His reputation, too, never spread beyond the city limits. Still according to Hécart, the two painters remained in touch until 1717, when Dubois asked for advice from Watteau after Watteau had been admitted into the Academy.



A. Gérin, *Saint Gilles Healing the Sick,*
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes.

## Fraguier, Claude-François

Paris 1660-1728

The Abbé Fraguier, academician and art lover, probably knew Watteau through Caylus. He was responsible for Watteau's epitaph, written in Latin and placed after the "Life of Watteau" as a preface to the *Figures des différents caractères.* See Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time."

## Gérin, Jacques-Albert

Valenciennes c. 1640-1702

Watteau's first biographers described the young Antoine's beginnings in his native city, Valenciennes. His father apprenticed him to "a very mediocre master" (Leclerc); "A rather bad painter" (Julienne, Dezallier d'Argenville); "A rather bad master from Valenciennes" (Gersaint). Caylus, harsher yet, called him "a crude painter." But this obscure artist was unnamed. Not until Hécart published his *Biographies Valenciennoises* in 1826 did his identity become known. Since that time he has been the subject of several studies (Cellier, Dinaux, Foucart, and Marmottan; see especially Marmottan 1893).

Jacques-Albert Gérin, born c. 1640, nevertheless enjoyed a good local reputation during his lifetime. Considered the best painter in the city, he received important religious commissions for the numerous convents and churches of the region and official commissions from the Valenciennes magistrates. He also contracted to design a series of tapestry cartoons on the life of Saint Giles, patron saint of the city. The only certain work by him known today is the *Saint Giles Healing the Sick in the Presence of the King* (Musée des Beaux Arts, Valenciennes), signed and dated 1691, which shows a far from insignificant talent. At Gérin's school the young Watteau could have learned something more than the vague rudiments of his craft.

How did Hécart discover the name of this painter? Before him neither the author of the article on the Academy, published in the *Almanach de Valenciennes* in 1786 (pp. 65-66), nor Debavay, in his discourse given before the Valenciennes painting school on 8 October 1812 (pp. 14-15) in which both Gérin and Watteau were mentioned, noted any connection between the two. Perhaps the name of Gérin had been passed by word of mouth in the circle of the biographer who was himself a native of the same city.

The name of the young Antoine in fact appears in no register or document in the Valenciennes Archives, except on his baptismal certificate. Might one believe, as does Vangheluwe, that Watteau perhaps did not do his apprenticeship in his native city?

Even if Gérin had not been Watteau's first teacher, the pupil must have known his paintings, which were found in numerous churches in Valenciennes.

# Gersaint, Edme-François

Paris 1694-1750

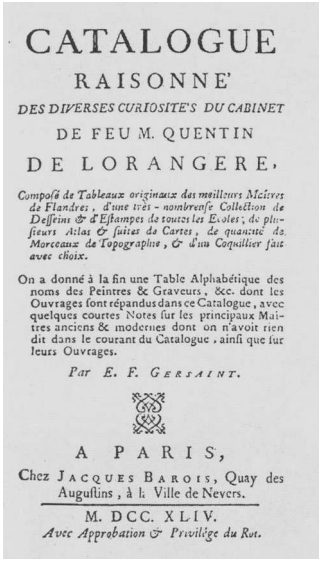
"I have lived with Watteau long enough, and we were close enough friends, for me to have learned some of his peculiarities" (Gersaint in Champion 1921, p. 54).

Gersaint was one of Watteau's first biographers. In the catalogue of the Quentin de Lorangère sale, which he wrote in 1744, following no. 94, *Oeuvre gravé de Watteau,* he included a "Brief Life of Antoine Watteau" (pp. 170-193). This biography was strongly criticized by the author of the *Dictionnaire abrégé de peinture et de sculpture* in 1746 (pp. 375-376), leading Gersaint to reply in the catalogue for the Augran de Fonspertuis sale (December 1747-March 1748, pp. 261-266).

On 30 January 1718 Gersaint married Sirois' second daughter. On 15 April 1718, in honor of his marriage, his aunt bought him a shop for selling paintings, complete with inventory, on the Petit Pont (see Antoine Dieu). In 1718 the shop burned and Gersaint had to move to the Pont Notre-Dame to a shop at the sign of the *Grand Monarque.*

Gersaint provided a home for Watteau on several occasions. As is so often the case, we do not know the nature of the relations between Watteau and Gersaint, but the famous *Shopsign* (cat. P. 73) that Watteau painted for Gersaint's shop upon his return from England in 1720 seems to be evidence of gratitude and friendship. We know through Gersaint himself that he was one of the four heirs to Watteau's drawings, which the artist, on his deathbed, entrusted to him. "Some time before his death he gave me proof of his friendship and confidence, by numbering me among his best friends, who were M. de Jullienne, the late Abbé Haranger, canon of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, and the late M. Hénin, and desired that his drawings, for which he made me the trustee, be divided equally among the four of us; which was done" (Champion 1921, p. 64).

Frontispiece for the
*Quentin de Lorangère catalogue.*



CATALOGUE
RAISONNE'
DES DIVERSES CURIOSITE'S DU CABINET
DE FEU M. QUENTIN
DE LORANGERE,

*Composé de Tableaux originaux des meilleurs Maîtres de Flandres, d'une très-nombreuse Collection de Desseins & d'Estampes de toutes les Ecoles; de plusieurs Atlas & suites de Cartes, de quantité de Morceaux de Topographie, & d'un Coquillier fait avec choix.*

On a donné à la fin une Table Alphabétique des noms des Peintres & Graveurs, &c. dont les Ouvrages sont répandus dans ce Catalogue, avec quelques courtes Notes sur les principaux Maîtres anciens & modernes dont on n'avoit rien dit dans le courant du Catalogue, ainsi que sur leurs Ouvrages.

*Par E. F. Gersaint.*

A PARIS,
Chez Jacques Barois, Quay des Augustins, à la Ville de Nevers.

M. DCC. XLIV.
*Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roi.*

# Gillot, Claude

Langres 1673-Paris 1722

"Gillot was the only teacher who can truly be assigned to Watteau" (Gersaint in Champion 1921, p. 53).

Even if Gillot were not Watteau's first teacher, he was the one who shaped his career. Under Gillot, Watteau discovered a new repertory of theater scenes. A skillful draftsman, Gillot influenced Watteau to such an extent that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between master and pupil. A Watteau painting after a lost Gillot drawing (engraved by Huquier, 1695-1772), *Harlequin Emperor in the Moon* (cat. P. 1), was for many years believed to be a work by Gillot.

According to Gersaint and Caylus, Watteau and Gillot were of similar disposition, and this was the cause of their separation. But Jullienne and Dezallier d'Argenville wrote that Gillot "regarded this imitator [Watteau] with a jealous eye, and as a rival whose rapid progress inspired fear; he got away from him by getting him into the Luxembourg with M. Audran" (Jullienne in Champion 1921, p. 48).

The two painters were both called to order by the Academy (Gillot, three times; Watteau, four times) before they delivered their respective reception pieces. Gillot preceded Watteau by sixteen months, presenting on 27 April 1715 a *Christ at the Time He Was About to Be Attached to the Cross,* the only religious painting by him that is known today (Church of Noailles, Corrèze).

Populus' 1930 volume is still the best study on Gillot. Those by Valabrègue (1882) and Poley (1938) should also be mentioned.

J. Aubert, *Gillot.*
Engraving after Gillot.



## Glucq, Claude

Paris after 1674-1742

## and Jean-Baptiste

Paris 1674-1748

The Glucqs were cousins of Jean de Jullienne. This large family, judging from the number of Glucqs present at the marriage of Jean de Jullienne and Marie-Louise Brecey, 9 May 1720 (*AN, MC,* XXIX, 349), included several patrons of the arts. The two most famous ones were Claude, counselor of Parlement, and Jean-Baptiste, called Glucq de Saint-Port (see DV, I, pp. 201-210). It is not known whether they personally knew Watteau, the painter of *fêtes galantes,* but they admired his talent, as did the Comtesse de Verrue, a close friend of one of them.

According to the captions on the engravings by Watteau that Claude owned, *The Delights of Summer* (DV 102, CR 2-W) and *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51), he bought the famous *Shopsign* (cat. P. 73) from Gersaint. A fourth painting, *The Charms of Life* (Wallace Collection; DV 183, CR 184) belonged to a Mr. Glucq at the time Aveline engraved it in 1732. But was this Claude or Jean-Baptiste?

## Grison, Antoine

He was the fortunate rival of Antoine Watteau at the Academy on 31 August 1709. He carried off the first prize with a *David's Return after the Defeat of Goliath.* Watteau received only a second with *Abigail Bringing Food to David.* (See Chronology.) These two paintings are lost.

It was a short-lived success and Antoine Grison, whose birth and death dates are unknown, is remembered only for that first prize.

## Haranger, Pierre-Maurice

d. 1735

"He left his drawings and his studies to the Abbé Haranger, his friend, canon of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, who loves fine paintings and who has some by the best masters in his collection" (La Roque in Champion 1921, p. 43). In fact, Gersaint named Haranger as one of the four heirs of Watteau's drawings (Champion 1921, p. 64). According to Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 191 [9]) the Abbé owned *The Anxious Lover* (Chantilly; DV 165, CR 211) and perhaps *The Dreamer* (cat. P. 26).

According to Gersaint and Caylus, "The Abbé Haranger . . . had M. Le Fevre lend him . . . his house at Nogent," where Watteau died (Caylus in Champion 1921, p. 109).

## Hénin, Nicolas

Paris 1691-1724

"The place where he [Watteau] stayed most frequently was in some rooms that I had in different parts of Paris, which we used only to pose the model, to paint and draw. In these places dedicated solely to art, free from all intrusion, he and I experienced, along with a mutual friend attracted by the same tastes, the pure joy of youth combined with the liveliness of imagination, both ceaselessly united with the fascinations of painting" (Caylus in Champion 1921, p. 94). Later, Caylus named this mutual friend as "M. Hénin."

In 1715 Caylus and Hénin were drawn together, as amateurs, at the French Academy in Rome. King's counselor at the Châtelet of Paris since 1713, Nicolas Hénin purchased in 1720 a position as manager and administrator of the King's Buildings (Bruand and Hébert 1970, pp. 312-313).

Hénin was among the four friends of the artist who each received one quarter of Watteau's drawings (see Gersaint) upon Watteau's death.

According to Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 193 [37, 38]), Hénin owned two paintings by Watteau, *Perfect Accord* (DV 23, CR 196) and *The Surprise* (DV 31, CR 144). Both paintings appear in the inventory drawn up after Hénin's death, 20 July 1724, and in the one taken after the death of his wife, Angélique Boucot, 4 February 1724 (see DV, III, no. 23). A third painting, *The Holy Family* (cat. P. 30) is also mentioned in these two inventories.

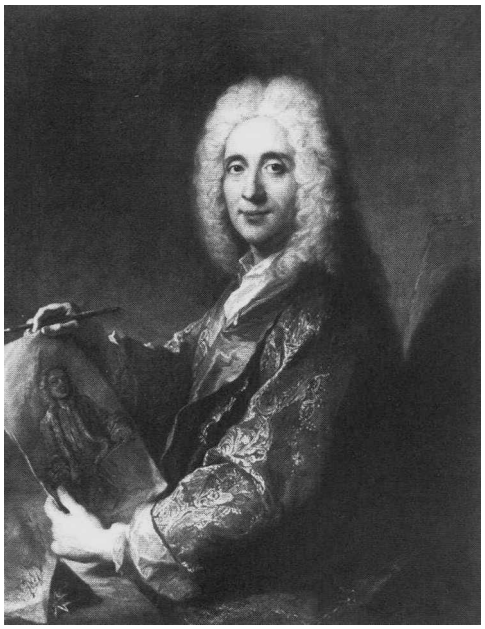
## Jullienne, Jean de

Paris 1686-1766

Because the *Recueil Jullienne* bears the name of the illustrious collector, he will remain forever connected with Watteau. But what was Jullienne's real role?

Son of Claude Jullienne, a draper, nephew of François Jullienne, a textile manufacturer, and nephew and godson of the dyer Jean Glucq (father of Claude and Jean-Baptiste), all working at the Gobelin manufactory, Jean de Jullienne (who was not raised to the nobility until 1736) chose to go into the dyeing business. Beginning in 1718, Jean helped his uncle, François Jullienne, who from 1684 had managed both the dyeing establishment of his brother-in-law Jean Glucq as well as his own textile factory. When François Jullienne retired, Jean, his sole heir, was named the single director of the plant (Hérold in DV, I, pp. 201-211).

We do not know where Jullienne met Watteau. At the painter's death, Jullienne had all of Watteau's drawings engraved and brought together in two volumes (*Les Figures de différents caractères*). Then he had all the artist's paintings engraved after buying up most of the works. These engravings, bound into two volumes, form the *Recueil Jullienne.* At one time Jullienne owned almost all of Watteau's paintings, which he later sold. By 1756, when a manuscript catalogue of



J.-F. de Troy, *Jean de Jullienne.*
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes.



A. Bouys, *Charles de La Fosse.*
Musée de Versailles.

his collection was drawn up (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), he owned only eight Watteau paintings.

On 31 December 1739 Jullienne presented the Academy with his "four fine volumes bound in moroccan leather containing a suite of all the prints engraved after Watteau" (*PV,* 5th register; now in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris). He would later be named "Honorary Counselor and Amateur."

## La Fosse, Charles de

Paris 1636-1716

"In 1712, he presented you [the Academy] some paintings in his style, much superior to the one that had earned him the prize. His mature, very refined talent and the uselessness of the trip he sought supplied the reasons for asking the Academy to admit him. He was received with the extra distinction that M. De la Fosse, that honorable man, so commendable for his excellence in several areas of painting, stressed his worthiness, helped him prevail, and, knowing him only through his works, took a lively interest in him" (Caylus in Champion 1921, pp. 86-87).

After the deaths of Le Brun, his first teacher (1690) and Mignard (1695), who were successively First Painters to the king, Charles de La Fosse, under the protection of his friend Hardouin-Mansart, played an important role at the Academy. A friend of Roger de Piles, La Fosse became the defender of color, Venetian art, and Rubens against the supporters of Roman painting and Poussin.

From 1708, La Fosse was a guest in Crozat's house, and it was probably he who introduced the painter to the financier. Watteau knew La Fosse's *trois-crayons* drawings, which he used to paint the Crozat Seasons.

Summoned by Lord Montague to decorate his residence, La Fosse was in England between 1689 and 1692. Did Watteau remember this trip before crossing the Channel at the end of his life? (On La Fosse, see Stuffmann, 1964.)

## La Roque, Antoine de

Marseilles 1672-Paris 1744

Before becoming a man of letters and a collector, La Roque had led an adventurous life. Son of a merchant of products from the Levant, he was a good student in his native city of Marseille. Then, intending to follow in his father's footsteps, he traveled abroad. Soon, however, he followed his brother

Watteau, *Antoine de La Roque,* detail.
Private collection, New York.



to Paris and enlisted in the king's army. As gendarme of the king's guard he participated in the bloody battle of Malplaquet on 11 September 1709. A cannonball shattered his leg and ended his military career, confining him to Valenciennes until April 1710. That was the time when Watteau, after his partial success at the Academy in 1709, reappeared in his native city. The two men could have met then; it is more likely that they became acquainted in the theaters of Paris.

The holder of two pensions, La Roque dedicated himself to writing. He is thought to have collaborated in two operas: *Médée et Jason,* presented on 24 April 1713, and *Théoné,* presented at the end of 1715. In 1721, with his brother Jean, he took over part of the charter of *Le Nouveau Mercure,* which became *Le Mercure* and later, the *Mercure de France.* He became its director in 1724. As an art lover, La Roque accorded a larger place to the fine arts, for which he himself wrote the columns. The unsigned obituary notice for Antoine Watteau, which appeared in the *Mercure* of August 1721, can be attributed to him with complete certainty.

At his death La Roque owned three paintings by Watteau, the two paintings on copper now in the Hermitage (cats. P. 15, 16) and a *Saint Francis* (lost; DV 114, CR 50).

We know of two portraits of La Roque by Watteau, a drawing (cat. D. 113), and a painting (Private coll., New York; DV 269, CR 118). (The most recent study on La Roque is by Guenot 1984.)

## Lancret, Nicolas

Paris 1690-1743

Lancret and Watteau became acquainted as young men in Claude Gillot's studio. But Watteau soon managed to take Gillot's place with Lancret, his junior by six years. He advised him to leave his master and take for his sole guide the "master of masters, Nature," as Ballot de Sovot, lawyer, writer, and faithful friend of Lancret, wrote in his *Eloge de Monsieur Lancret,* which was published on the painter's death in November 1743. But the relationship between Watteau and Lancret soured: "At the Place Dauphine M. Lancret exhibited . . . two paintings in the style of Watteau, which people thought were by Watteau himself and for which several of his friends complimented him. That is what M. Lancret learned later, and to which one must attribute the cool reception he received from Watteau soon thereafter. All relations between them were cut off from that time on, and matters continued on this basis until Watteau's death" (Sovot, pp. 6-7).

Lancret was admitted into the Academy two years after Watteau, in 1719, as a painter of *fêtes galantes,* a title that was used only for the second time.

Lancret never abandoned this genre, which had become quite popular. With much facility and cleverness he augmented the gallant subjects of the masters, using a set formula without understanding their poetry and originality. Lancret's paintings, executed with greater care than those by Watteau, are often in much better condition than his. (On Lancret, see Wildenstein 1924.)

## The Le Bouc-Santussan family

Ever since Dacier and Vuaflart first proposed it, several historians (Réau, Adhémar, Posner) have agreed that Watteau's painting *The Family* (cat. P. 54) represents the three members of the Le Bouc-Santussan family: father, mother, and their young son Jean. This identification is based on the inventory drawn up after the death of Marie-Louise Gersaint, dated 17 May 1777 (lost, though it appears in the registers of the *Minutier Central,* Paris [*AV, MC,* XXVI, 389]: "Concerning a print under glass and in its frame of gilded wood engraved by Ave-

N. Lancret, *Self-portrait.*
Private collection.



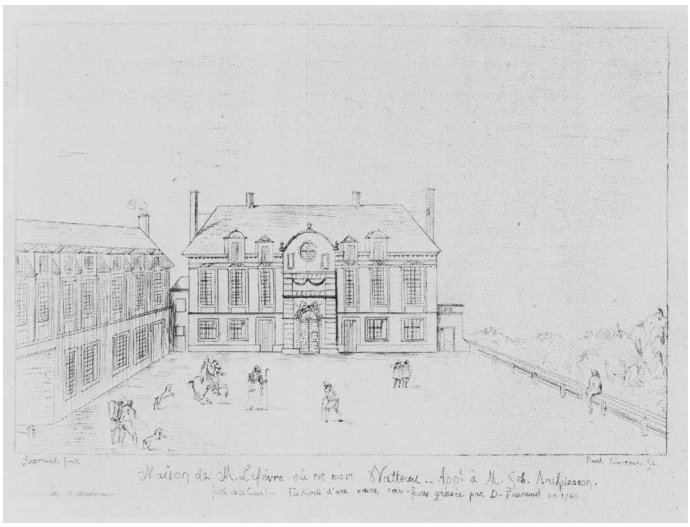
Watteau, *The Family,* detail.
Cat. P. 54.



line after Watteau, . . . as representing the late Sr Le Boucq-Santussan and his family" [DV 86]).

Although we know nothing about the two Le Bouc-Santussan parents in *The Family,* we are better informed about their son Jean, thanks to his connection with the Gersaint family. He married Marie-Louise Gersaint, Gersaint's eldest child by his first wife, Marie-Louise Sirois, who was a little more than six years old at her mother's death (inventory of 26 April 1725, *AN, MC,* LX, 232). Her husband must have been older than she, if the age and identity of the child in *The Family* can be believed. In 1750, on the death of his father-in-law, Edme-François Gersaint, Jean Le Bouc-Santussan, husband of "Dame Marie-Louise Gersaint [was] qualified as m[erchan]t goldsmith jeweler in Paris, l[iving] at Rue S[aint] Louis p[ari]sh of S[aint] Barthelemy." It is very possible that the two families knew each other well before this marriage and that it was through the Gersaint family that Watteau came to know the Le Bouc-Santussans. Jean was only a child at the time, but his parents belonged to the painter's generation.

One might wonder why *The Family* did not belong (or no longer belonged) to the Le Bouc-Santussan family in 1729. In fact we know through the engraving that at that date it was a part of the Titon du Tillet collection. Perhaps Watteau only made drawings of the Le Bouc-Santussans and later on used them for his painting, which he changed into a *fête galante.*



P. Fournier, *House of M. Le Febvre at Nogent-sur-Marne.* Engraving.

## Le Febvre

"M. Le Febvre, who was then manager of the Small [Pleasures], had given him a retreat in his Nogent house, above Vincennes, at the earnest request of the late Abbé Haranger, canon of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, his friend" (Gersaint in Champion 1921, p. 63).

Did Watteau ever know the Manager of the Small Pleasures of the King? We do not know.

## Mariette, Pierre-Jean

Paris 1694-1774

Did Watteau know this famous print dealer, collector, and art historian? Opinion is divided. While Dacier and Vuaflart believe such a connection was impossible, Roland-Michel (1984) has recently attempted to prove the contrary.

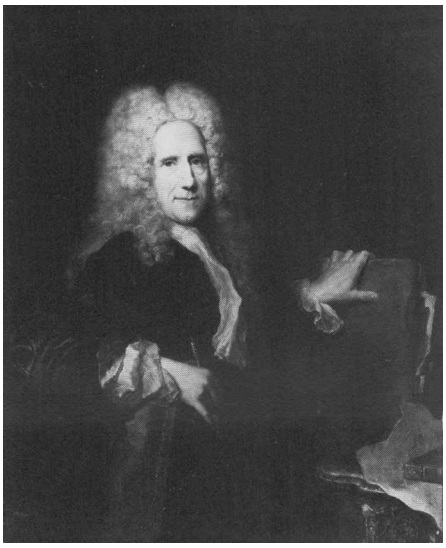
It is true that Pierre-Jean left Paris after having completed his apprenticeship in his father's shop at the sign of the *Colonnes d'Hercule,* rue Saint Jacques, in 1717, just at the time Watteau was beginning to become known. He only returned three years later, in 1720. However, several facts indicate that they may have known each other. Gillot, Watteau's teacher, had been in his youth on visiting terms with the Mariette family. Until 1695, Gillot had studied with Jean Mariette under the painter Jean-Baptiste Corneille, who was the husband of Jean's sister and Pierre-Jean's aunt, Marie-Madeleine Mariette.

Installed on the Pont Notre-Dame or on the rue Saint-Jacques, the print sellers and painting dealers were acquainted with one another. Is it even necessary to mention Watteau's frequent stays with Sirois and Gersaint?

Although Pierre-Jean Mariette may have seemed quite young to Watteau before 1717, that was no longer the case in 1720. Mariette, rich in foreign experience, was thenceforth part of Crozat's circle at a time when Watteau, attracted by the presence of Rosalba Carriera, visited the financier's home. A drawing conserved in the Louvre (cat. D. 127) represents the three musicians at a concert given at Crozat's, sketched from life by Watteau. Mariette owned this drawing, on which he explained the identity of the models. Mariette and Watteau thus were both at Crozat's that day. At his death Mariette owned some Watteau drawings (nos. 1387-1394 of his estate sale, 15 November 1775).

More evidence of the connection between Watteau and Mariette is provided by a print by Jullienne, after a drawing by Schedone (see fig. P. 30-7), which bears the inscription,

A. Pesne, *Mariette,*
Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



"The original drawing is by Schedone, it is two-thirds smaller and it can be seen in M. Mariette's collection. Watteau, who found it charming, drew it, as can be seen here, and it is M. de Julienne who engraved it."

An exhibition on Mariette was presented in the Louvre in 1967 (see exh. cat. Paris 1967).

## The "Master Painter" on the Pont Notre-Dame

All of Watteau's eighteenth-century biographers, with the exception of La Roque and Mariette, mention this "wretched painter" (Leclerc) "who worked for the dealers of common paintings that were sold by the dozen" (Jullienne). Scarcely paying them anything, he hired "poor students whom he used as hacks" (Gersaint) to make "production line" copies as quickly as possible. He divided the work into categories and had several students work on the same painting, according to Gersaint. Watteau, who was more gifted than his companions, had the monopoly on a Saint Nicolas and Caylus informed us that he copied with facility "an old woman after Gerrit Dou who is consulting her ledgers" (Champion 1921, p. 80), calling for the model only for the placement of her spectacles. The painting by Dou (1613-1675) is perhaps the one that later belonged to Jullienne, now in the Hermitage. The master exploited the young Watteau, who was then without means, until the day he tried his luck with Gillot.

G. Dou, *Portrait of an Old Woman,*
The Hermitage, Leningrad.



## Mead, Richard

Stepney 1673-Holborn 1754

Richard Mead's reputation as a learned man, doctor, philosopher, and writer quickly went beyond the frontiers of England, his native country. When he did not write in Latin, his writings in English were quickly translated. Thanks to M. Coste, a doctor at the royal and military hospital of Nancy, his complete works were published in French. After his death on 16 February 1754, the *Journal Britannique* of July-August devoted a long eulogy to him (by F. Maty) reported in the *Annonces, Affiches et Avis Divers* of 7 May 1755 (p. 74).

At the time of his meeting with Watteau, the future doctor to the English royal family (a post he would take up in 1727, upon the accession of George II) had as yet published only two books; a long and daring *Essay on Poisons* in 1702, followed two years later by a work in Latin, on the *Influence of the Sun and the Moon on the Human Body,* which was praised for its great scholarship in 1705 by the *Journal des Savans.* In 1716 his research had enabled him to prove the efficacy of purgatives on smallpox, and this led him to become interested in the benefits of innoculation in 1721, which he helped introduce into his country. Shortly before he received Watteau in 1719, the terrible epidemic in Marseille had led him to do research on the plague. Against the views of almost all his colleagues, he perceived that the sickness was spread by contagion and he imposed a quarantine.

According to Walpole (1871), Watteau, already ill, went to London solely to consult the celebrated doctor, for whom he painted two pictures. For his French biographers it was more likely his restlessness, together with a budding desire to make money (Gersaint), which made him decide to cross the channel. Mead was well-known in France. His speciality was not the treatment of tuberculosis, Watteau's illness, but the treatment of infectious diseases. Whether or not

Anonymous, *Dr. Mead.*
Engraving.



Watteau came to London especially to consult Mead, he most certainly met him. In the eulogy cited above, we can read: "If any foreigner came to London, who had any knowledge, taste, or simple curiosity, he did not fail to be presented to the Doctor Mead" (p. 245).

Mead owned two paintings that he had commissioned from Watteau and which appeared in his estate sale, 20 March 1754 (nos. 42, 43; see cat. P. 71).

Without being able to prove it, Robert Raines (1966, p. 53) thought that Mead had taken Watteau to Old Slaughter's, a pub frequented by artists that was located in Saint Martin's Lane. The troupe of French comedians, then in London, also went there.

## Mercier, Philippe

Berlin 1689-London 1760

Born in Germany of French parents, this portraitist, genre painter, and engraver made his career in England. Mercier was the son of a Huguenot weaver, who had emigrated to Germany in the service of Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg (who became King of Prussia in 1701). According to Vertue, the young Philippe studied under Antoine Pesne, First Painter to the King. Still according to Vertue, he arrived in England in c. 1716 after a trip to Italy and France, and settled in London. He worked for different patrons before becoming the protégé of Frederick, Prince of Wales (on Mercier, see Ingamells and Raines 1976-1978).

Mercier probably met Watteau, who was in England in 1719-1720, at the beginning of his London period. We know nothing of Mercier's activity at that time, and scarcely more about Watteau's, but it is obvious that Mercier knew Watteau's works. His paintings amply demonstrate it.

P. Mercier, *Family Concert.*
Collection of the Earl of Pembroke.



Mercier engraved ten Watteau paintings, including *The Intimate Toilette* (cat. P. 37; DV 66A, 155A, 263A, 303-309). Jullienne included none of these ten engravings in his *Recueil,* but instead had three of them engraved again by other artists (*The Picnic* by Moyreau, DV 66, CR 101; *The Island of Cythera* [cat. P. 9] by Larmessin; and *The Love Lesson* [cat. P. 55] by Dupuis).

According to Ingamells and Raines (p. 2), who repeated an idea proposed by Eidelberg (1975), Mercier and the dealer Salomon Gautier specialized in selling works by Watteau, some of questionable attribution, in London.

## Métayer

It is known through Gersaint that this "mediocre painter" employed Watteau on his arrival in Paris, but "Watteau soon left him for lack of work." Is Métayer the Valenciennes decorator (see The Anonymous Decorator of the Valenciennes Theater) mentioned by Jullienne and Dezallier d'Argenville? The greatest confusion reigns in regard to Watteau's first teachers; the seven early biographies on him are of little help in solving the problem.

## Oppenordt, Gilles-Marie

Paris 1672-1742

In the diary that he kept during his first stay in Paris, Carl Gustaf Tessin reported on 23 June 1715 that ten days earlier he had seen in Watteau's hands projects for fountains drawn by Oppenordt (see Chronology). Oppenordt owned two paintings by Watteau, engraved while they belonged to him: *The Fortuneteller* (cat. P. 8) and *Jealous Harlequin* (lost; DV 77, CR 83; see cat. P. 13). These two paintings appear in the inventory drawn up after his death on 9 May 1742 (*AN, MC,* IV, 517). Did the two artists exchange their works?

Did they meet before 1715 in the salon of the collector Crozat, whom both knew? *Jealous Harlequin* was situated at a turning point in Watteau's career. A variant of *Jealousy,* the work he probably presented to the Academy in 1712, it is one of Watteau's first fanciful paintings.

Oppenordt, the only architect among Watteau's friends, was the official architect to the Regent. He worked for Crozat who had entrusted him with the construction of an orangery in his park at Montmorency and also asked him to make numerous changes in his residence on the rue de Richelieu. Oppenordt built very little, however, as his role was basically in the field of decoration. He was one of the principal creators of *rocaille.*

Mathey and Nordenfalk (1955) attributed to Watteau the series of fountain projects (now in Stockholm) that had previously been given to Oppenordt. Were these designs made by Watteau, as they believed, after Oppenordt, or

should both the originals and copies be left in Watteau's camp, as Cailleux proposed (1967)? Eidelberg (1969) showed that the earlier attribution to Oppenordt should be restored, a solution that was finally accepted by Nordenfalk (1969) but rejected by Parker (1969).

## Pater, Antoine

Valenciennes 1670-1747

The two artists must have met in Valenciennes. According to his epitaph in the church of Saint-Géry, Valenciennes, the sculptor Antoine Pater, "estimable author of statues, decorative sculptures, particularly organ-chests, had a shop for the sale of statuary" (Ingersoll-Smouse 1921, p. 1). The only sure work by the artist is the sculpture in the Valenciennes museum reproduced here.

On 28 July 1692 Pater married Jeanne-Elisabeth Desfontaines (*AV,* marriage register of the parish of Saint-Jacques), with whom he had five children. One of them, Jean-François, born in 1700, followed obscurely in his father's footsteps. The second, Jean-Baptiste, was the painter and the only real pupil of Watteau.

We believe the magnificent *Portrait of Antoine Pater* conserved in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, has been misattributed to Watteau. Can one be certain that it represents the sculptor?

## Pater, Jean-Baptiste

Valenciennes 1695-1736

Pater admitted to Gersaint "that he owed all that he knew to that little time that he had put to good use" with Watteau at Nogent-sur-Marne, one month before the master's death in 1721 (Champion 1921, p. 66).

According to Gersaint, however, Watteau had originally given his fellow townsman a poor reception when he came to Paris the first time to complete his training as a painter. "The young Pater found a teacher with too difficult a disposition, too impatient a character to be able to lend himself to the weakness and advancement of a pupil; he was obliged to leave him" (Champion 1921, p. 66).

We have no information about Pater's first stay in Paris. Son of the sculptor (see Antoine Pater), Jean-Baptiste was apprenticed in 1704 to a Valenciennes painter, Jean-Baptiste Guidé, who died in 1711. In the only monograph on the painter, Ingersoll-Smouse (1921) presumed that Pater accompanied Watteau on his return to Paris from Valenciennes in c. 1710, and that he remained with Watteau until perhaps 1713. From the numerous difficulties Pater had with the Corporation of Painters and Sculptors of Valenciennes for refusing to submit to their regulations, we learn that he had returned to Valenciennes by 1716. In 1718 he was once again back in Paris.

Pater had the same admirers as Watteau: Jullienne, Glucq de Saint-Port, the Comtesse de Verrue, Leriget de La Faye, and later, Frederick the Great of Prussia.

A desperately hard worker who was haunted by the fear of poverty (Gersaint and Mariette), Pater painted with the sole aim of making money, seeking above all to make as much as possible, as quickly as possible. In 1744, Gersaint stated, "His works are neither rare nor expensive" (Champion 1921, p. 19).

A. Pater, *God the Father.*
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes.



J.-B. Pater, *Soldiers Making Merry.*
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



With Lancret, Pater is the most famous of Watteau's imitators. Pater was not an inventive artist and unlike Lancret, who was a more diversified painter, he constantly repeated himself. His works, less vigorous than Lancret's, can be recognized by their acid blues and pearly pinks.

## Pesne, Antoine

Paris 1683-Berlin 1757

"I am sending you this plan of my academy painting to obtain your valued opinion as a brother; you are more familiar with these matters than anyone else . . . show this plan to no one, unless it be to my father, since it is quickly done by people in the know, they understand at half a glance. Show it also to Monsieur Watau, he has insights which I do not have, and does not flatter."

These few lines are inscribed on a drawing by Pesne (Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) sent from Germany to Vleughels and show what a reputation Watteau had.

Admitted into the Academy on 26 November 1718, Pesne was received on 27 July 1719 with *Lot and his Daughters.* The drawing he sent to Vleughels, the "plan for [his] academy painting," could then be dated between the end of 1718 and mid-1719. Watteau lived with Vleughels at that time.

Pesne did not know Watteau personally. Son of the painter Thomas Pesne and of a niece of Charles de La Fosse, Pesne left Paris in 1704. After a stay in Italy he settled in Germany in 1710 and became the official painter of the princes of Prussia, particularly Frederick the Great, who was one of the great collectors of French eighteenth-century paintings and of the paintings of Watteau in particular. (See Appendix D, "Frederick the Great and Watteau" and the 1958 monograph on Pesne by Berckenhagen, du Columbier, Kühn, and Poensgen.)

## Quillard, Pierre-Antoine

Paris 1701/1704-Lisbon 1733

Quillard's works were long confused with Watteau's. In 1927 the Louvre purchased two paintings, *The Planting of the May* and *The Village Fête,* believing both to have been painted by Watteau. They were soon found to be by Quillard. This misattribution gave rise to several studies, which made Quillard known (Messelet 1928-1930; Guiffrey 1929; Hérold in DV, I, pp. 168-173; Hévesy 1929; de Figueiredo 1930-1931; Esperel 1930-1931; Miller 1930; Alvin-Beaumont 1932; Smith 1936).

In three articles (1970, 1971, 1980) Eidelberg has brought the artist to the fore and has sought to demonstrate his connections with Watteau. Quillard might have been a very young pupil of Watteau and might have assisted in his paintings. Thus the two Prado paintings (cats. P. 21, 22) would be by two different hands, the weaker one belonging to Quillard. He also attributes to Quillard some drawings that copy details from Watteau's works, most of them paintings from before 1712 that were not engraved (*Pierrot Content,* cat. P. 13, and *Actors at a Fair,* cat. P. 10). But Quillard was only a child. A collaboration between the two painters seems difficult to imagine at that date, even if he was the precocious child described by Guarienti in the 1733 edition of Orlandi's *Abecedario* (p. 415). And would Watteau, who had such strict standards for himself, have agreed to let Quillard participate in his paintings?

A. Pesne, *The Painter and His Daughters,* detail. Berlin.



P. Quillard, *Wedding Party.*
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.



## Raoux, Jean

Montpellier 1677-Paris 1734

Too much evidence links Raoux with Watteau; one cannot pass over it in silence. Both were admitted to the Academy on the same day, 15 August 1717—Watteau, with his *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 61), and Raoux, with his *Pygmalion in Love with His Statue* (Montpellier). Raoux, who was older than the native of Valenciennes, had been *agréé* on 27 July 1715. He produced his reception piece more quickly.

The two men frequented the Crozat salon on the rue de Richelieu and had a mutual friend in Vleughels. Further, both artists visited England. Raoux' trip, according to the *Almanach Royal,* followed Watteau's by one year. The 1720 *Almanach* (p. 241) noted that Watteau was in London and the 1721 *Almanach* (p. 252) stated that Raoux was abroad.




Moyreau after Watteau, *Jean-Féry Rebel,* Engraving. Location unknown (DV 104).

## Rebel, Jean-Féry

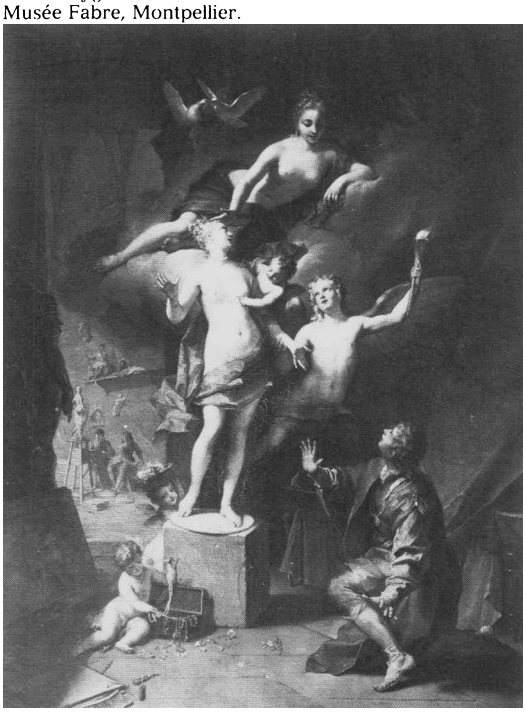
Paris 1666-1747

"A portrait of J. B. [*sic*] Rebel, music master of the King's chamber, by Watteau, his friend" (Chiquet de Champ-Renard sale, 14 March 1768, no. 116). The location of this drawing (PM 926) is unknown; a copy of it is in the Musée Magnin, Dijon.

A precocious violinist, son of a musician, Jean-Féry Rebel amazed the king and Lully. He was named first violinist at the Royal Academy of Music (that is, at the Opéra) in 1699. Beginning in 1705, after a stay abroad, he was one of the twenty-four violinists of the king, then became music composer of the king's chamber, receiving one-half the title in 1718 by right of succession of his brother-in-law, Lalande (1657-1726), and finally the complete title in 1726 (see Daub, in *The New Grove,* 1980, pp. 638-640). In 1716, he became music master at the Opéra as early as 1716 and director of the twenty-four violinists of Versailles. This virtuoso violinist and great composer was not above sitting down at the harpsichord to play the continuo and to accompany the violins (see also Appendix C, "Watteau and Music," and Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time".) That is how Watteau portrayed him in the drawing mentioned above, quill in hand and with a violin placed on his harpsichord. Mirimonde (1961) presumed that La Roque introduced the musician to the painter c. 1715.

This portrait is unique among Watteau's works since he left so few finished drawings (other than the ones of Savoyards and Persians). It can be compared to the drawing, *The Italian Troupe* (cat. D. 55), which was intended to be engraved (cat. E. 8). Perhaps Watteau also considered engraving the portrait of Rebel.

Raoux, *Pygmalion.*
Musée Fabre, Montpellier.



## Ricci, Sebastiano

Cividal di Belluno 1659-Venice 1734

"A young man [M Vateau] to whom I brought Signore Sebastian Rizzi" (letter from Crozat to Rosalba Carriera, 22 December 1716). It was therefore Crozat who introduced Watteau to Sebastiano Ricci, the Venetian painter. Sebastiano, accompanied by his nephew and faithful assistant,



S. Ricci, *Self-portrait,*
Uffizi, Florence.



Watteau, *In the Guise of Mezzetin.*
Wallace Collection, London.

Marco Ricci (1656-1730), stopped in Paris on the way back to Venice from London.

Sebastiano Ricci's passage through Paris was neither his first nor his only contact with France. He had already painted for Louis XIV a copy after the *Coronation of Charlemagne* at the Vatican, then attributed to Raphael (Rosenberg 1975). In 1717 he wanted to become a member of the Academy and was admitted with *France, As Minerva, Trampling Ignorance and Crowning Martial Virtue* (Louvre). An artist who was interested in all that went on around him, Ricci took a genuine interest in his young colleague. This man of fifty-seven years honored Watteau by copying several of his drawings. Four of his copies, studies of children, are in Windsor Castle. The largest one, a sheet with five studies of little girls' heads, reproduces a Watteau drawing (PM 691, Private coll.; New York; see Croft-Murray 1957, pp. 61-62), but in a different order and on a different scale (on Sebastiano Ricci, see Daniels 1976).

## Sirois, Pierre

Paris 1665-1726

"Sieur Sirois, a friend of Watteau, is represented in the midst of his family dressed up as Mezetin playing the guitar." With these words Mariette (*Notes mss.*, fol. 191 [7]) described the engraving after the painting *In the Guise of Mezzetin* (Wallace Collection). It shows the glass merchant, Pierre Sirois, surrounded by five of his children. A preliminary study for the central figure (PM 931, formerly Bordeaux-Groult coll.) bearing the inscription, *Syroie,* which is surely by Watteau's hand, confirms this identification. (See cat. P. 69.)

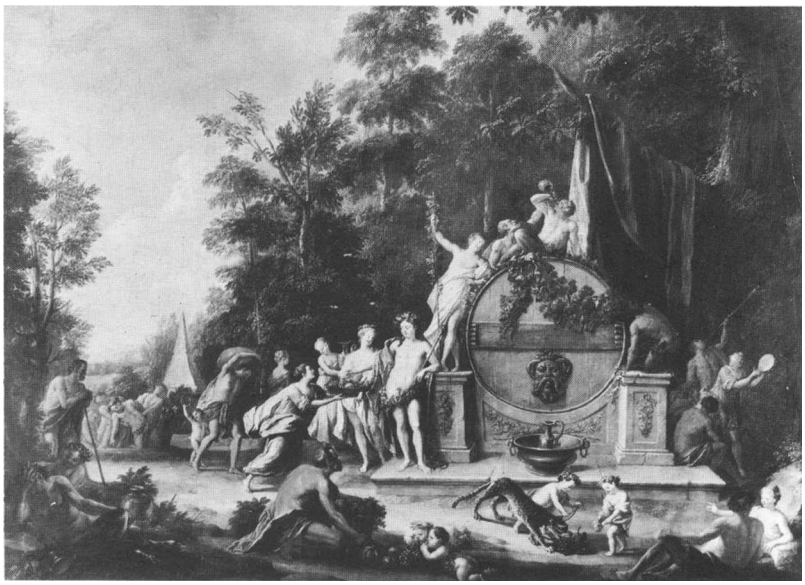
Sirois was married twice. He had one daughter by his first wife, who died in 1694; six children were born of his second marriage, three boys and three girls (DV, I, pp. 34-35). The eldest, Marie-Louise, became Madame Gersaint in 1718. Edme-François Gersaint, son-in-law and friend of Sirois, recounted the first meeting between the painter and the dealer. Watteau had painted a small military scene. Tired of working for Audran, he wished to return to his native Valenciennes. Short of money, he turned to his friend, Spoede: "Chance led M. Spoude to Sieur Sirois, my father-in-law, to whom he showed the painting; the price was fixed at 60 livres and the deal was made on the spot. Watteau came to get his money; he merrily left for Valenciennes. . . . The sale was the origin of the relationship that my late father-in-law enjoyed with him until his death, and he was so pleased with this painting that he immediately pressed him to paint the pendant to it . . ." (Champion 1921, pp. 58-59).

Watteau's first known customer, Sirois has the inestimable merit of having recognized a true talent in this timid twenty-five-year-old artist. The meeting can be dated to 1709. Thereafter Sirois gave the painter shelter at least twice, after his return from Valenciennes and after his stay with Crozat (Gersaint).

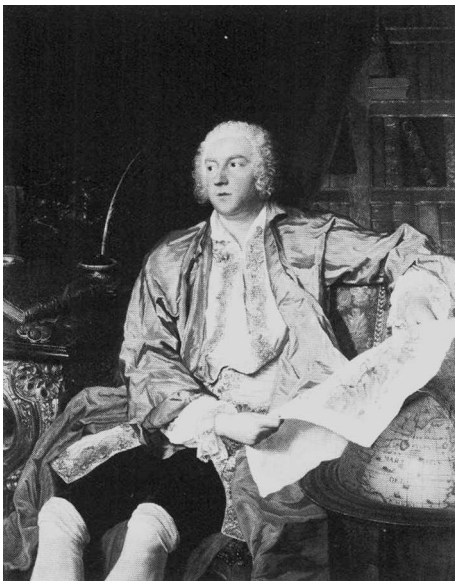
Ten engravings after Watteau's paintings were sold at Sirois' shop at the sign of the *Armes de France* on the quai Neuf. Two of these, dated 1719, were executed during Watteau's lifetime. Two others were the compositions etched by Watteau himself, then retouched by Simonneau and Thomassin (see cats. E. 7, 8).

Was Sirois' generosity entirely disinterested? He was a friend of the painter, but he was also a dealer. The research of Hérold and Vuaflart has revealed a not very conscientious man, quite ready to leave his shop to gamble (DV, I, pp. 34-35).

Why did Watteau paint Sirois dressed up as an actor?



J.-J. Spoede, *Bacchanale.*
Location unknown, on the art market in 1958.



J. Aved, *Tessin,*
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Was the dealer a musician? One must refer back to Caylus (Champion 1921, p. 101), who reported that Watteau owned a small collection of theater costumes. (See also Appendix B, "Theater Costumes in the Work of Watteau.") He would ask his friends to put them on and then would paint them. It is likely then that Sirois was accommodating his friend's request.

## Spoede, Jean-Jacques

Antwerp c. 1680-Paris 1757

From Gersaint, we know that Spoede and Watteau met before 1709. At that date Watteau was working for Audran, but was bored there and wished to return to Valenciennes. He had just painted a little military painting and "had recourse to M. Spoude . . . a painter from about the same area as he, and his special friend" who brought the work to Sirois (Champion 1921, p. 58).

Spoede, like Vleughels, another friend of Watteau, was of Flemish origin. The date when he arrived in Paris is not known. A few paintings and drawings by Spoede are known, which show that Watteau had influenced his work.

## Tessin, Carl Gustaf

Stockholm 1695-Akerö 1770

The son of Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728) and grandson of Nicodemus Tessin the Elder (1625-1681), both noted architects, Carl Gustaf from his earliest years maintained close ties with France. In order to develop his artistic tastes, his father sent him to France and Germany to fill out his collection of books, drawings, and engravings. He met Watteau during his first stay in Paris, in 1715. The diary of the future collector (Private coll., Stockholm) informs us that the first meeting took place in the painter's studio, 13 June 1715, on the quai Conti (see Chronology). However, relations between Watteau and Tessin were not confined to that single visit. Master drawings purchased by Tessin pleased Watteau enormously; he borrowed from him several by Van Dyck, bought in Paris at the Lober sale, in order to copy them (Nordenfalk 1953, pp. 61-72 and Chronology). Carl Gustaf was only twenty years old in 1715 and had scarcely any personal fortune. That year, he bought for very little money approximately twenty-five Watteau counterproofs and about ten originals now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Björstrom 1982). In 1728, when Tessin returned to Paris accompanied by his wife, Watteau was dead. Meanwhile, having become rich through an inheritance upon the death of his father and through his marriage to Ulla, Tessin purchased many eighteenth-century French paintings for his collection—but none by Watteau. However, he continued to appreciate his late friend's talent as a draftsman and at the Crozat sale in 1741 he purchased several Watteau drawings (no. 1063, see Björstrom 1982, nos. 1301, 1306, 1308).

Like so many of his contemporaries, Tessin's tastes had changed toward the end of his life. The unpublished note on Watteau written by Ulla Tessin as part of the *Portraits des hommes illustres* (now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) in 1764, no doubt at her husband's dictation, is hardly complimentary.

## Thomassin, Henri-Simon

Paris 1687-1741

In Watteau's own lifetime Henri-Simon Thomassin retouched almost all of Watteau's etched plates, the *Figures de modes* (cats. E. 1-6) and *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment* (cat. E. 7). The two artists certainly must have met. Proof of this seems to be found in a drawing, *The Italian Troupe* (cat. D. 55), which bears on its verso a counterproof of the pure etching state of *Recruits,* retouched with red chalk. Like Eidelberg (1977, pp. 102-103), we believe that the red chalk corrections were made by Watteau in order to guide Thomassin in his reworking of the plate.

The *Figures de modes,* reworked by Thomassin and bound together as a small book, were sold at his father's shop in 1710 (DV, II, p. 72). (Watteau also knew Simon Thomassin [c. 1655-1733], the father of Henri-Simon and a print dealer on the rue Saint-Jacques.)



Watteau, *Venetian Fêtes,* detail *(Vleughels).* National Gallery, Edinburgh.

## Valjoin

Other than a brief reference made by Caylus, "In a word, except for a Village Betrothal or Wedding made for M. de Valjoin" (Champion 1921, p. 102, n. 3), we know nothing of M. de Valjoin.

Watteau made several paintings of village weddings. Caylus could have been alluding to *The Village Wedding* of Berlin (cat. P. 11), *The Marriage Contract* of the Prado (cat. P. 21), or *The Village Betrothal* of the Soane Museum, London.

## Vleughels, Nicolas

Paris 1668-Rome 1737

According to the *Almanach Royal* of 1719, Watteau and Vleughels lived together, at least from the end of 1718, in the house belonging to Lebrun, nephew of the famous first painter to Louis XIV, "on the fossés Saint-Victor." It would appear that Watteau lived with Vleughels for about one year, until his departure for England at the end of 1719. However, since they were both northerners, it is very possible that the two painters had known each other much longer.

Nicolas' father, Philippe Vleughels, a Fleming by birth, went to Paris in 1642 and settled in the Flemish colony of Saint Germain-des-Près. On his arrival in Paris in 1702, the young Watteau may have joined this group of artists.

At least twice Vleughels served as Watteau's intermediary. He wrote to Rosalba Carriera (letter of 22 September 1719; see Chronology) to convey Watteau's great admiration for her. On another occasion Pesne asked Vleughels to seek Watteau's opinion about a painting (see Pesne).

Vleughels posed for Watteau several times (cats. D. 111, 112; PM 359, 619, 918), and Vleughels' characteristic silhouette can be seen in several of Watteau's paintings (for example, the man dancing in *Venetian Fêtes,* National Gallery of Scotland; the man standing to the left in *The Charms of Life,* Wallace Collection).

Although there are superficial resemblances between the works of Watteau and Vleughels, these stem from their mutual admiration for the art of Rubens and Veronese. For a long time Vleughels' landscape drawings were thought to be by Watteau.

After Watteau's death, Vleughels was named deputy director, and later, in 1724, became the first of the great directors of the French Academy in Rome. (See Hercenberg 1975.)

## Zanetti, Anton Maria

Venice 1680-1767

Like Pierre-Jean Mariette, his faithful friend and collaborator, Anton Maria Zanetti did not belong solely to his native city of Venice but to the whole of artistic Europe. Engraver, draftsman, and above all an enlightened amateur, his passion for collecting took him to Flanders, France, England, and Austria and led to friendships with the foremost connoisseurs of his time. He skillfully encouraged contacts between Venetian artists and patrons. His first known work, executed in 1694 when he was only fourteen, was a series of etched heads dedicated to Doctor Mead, Watteau's future friend.

In 1720, Zanetti came to Paris at the invitation of Crozat and, more important, of Mariette. On his return from Flanders he joined the little Venetian group around Rosalba Carriera and Pellegrini. Even if there is no written evidence



R. Carriera, *Zanetti,*
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

of their meeting, Zanetti and Watteau, who both knew Crozat and Mariette and admired Rosalba, must have met. In May 1721 Zanetti continued his trip to London.

The ties between the two artists seem confirmed by Rosenberg's hypothesis (accepted by Viatte 1970, pp. 92-93) that a caricature in the Cini Album formerly attributed to Zanetti was by Watteau. (The Cini Album was a collection of caricatures drawn by Zanetti, conserved in Venice at the Cini Foundation.) The style of this drawing, the only one in the collection done in Watteau's favorite red chalk technique, the background landscape modeled on the *Figures de modes* (cats. E. 1-6), as well as the very spirit of this caricature, set it apart from the rest of the album. Did Watteau execute this caricature before giving it to Zanetti?

The drawing bears a handwritten inscription: *Pittoni a Parigi Broccantor da Quadri, Pittore et Amico del Zanetti.* This man does not seem to be the painter Gian-Battista Pittoni (1687-1767).

# Catalogue

## Note to the Reader

titles

French titles of the paintings are given parenthetically in italics, after the English titles. In the case of paintings engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne,* French titles are given within quotation marks; the original spellings have been retained.

dimensions

Height precedes width. Dimensions are given in millimeters for drawings and etchings and in centimeters for paintings; dimensions in inches are given parenthetically.

loans

| | |
|---|---|
| W | exhibited in Washington |
| P | exhibited in Paris |
| B | exhibited in Berlin |

abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AH | Adhémar and Huyghe 1950 |
| CR | Camesasca and Rosenberg 1970 |
| DV | Dacier and Vuaflart 1922-1929 |
| F | Ferré 1972 |
| G | Goncourt 1875 |
| H | Hédouin 1845 and 1856 |
| M | Mathey 1959 |
| P | Posner 1984 |
| PM | Parker and Mathey 1957 |
| R | Réau 1928 |
| RD | Robert-Dumesnil 1836-1871 |
| RM | Roland-Michel 1982 and 1984 |
| Z | Zimmermann 1912 |

| | |
|---|---|
| AN | Archives Nationales, Paris |
| AV | Archives de Valenciennes |
| BN | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris |
| *Fddc* | *Figures de différents caractères* |
| MC | Minutier Central, Paris |
| PV | *Procès Verbaux* (minutes of the meetings of the French Academy) |
| SRPMN | Service de Restauration des Peintures des Musées Nationaux, Paris |

# The Drawings

Margaret Morgan Grasselli

Watteau's prowess as a draftsman was almost universally recognized in his own time. The early biographers unanimously praised his drawings for their "freedom of execution," "delicacy of contour," "lightness of touch," and "grace of expression," and his friend Edme Gersaint even prophesied that Watteau would "always pass for one of the greatest and best draftsmen that France has ever produced." But the strongest proof of the extraordinary esteem in which his drawings were held is provided by Jean de Jullienne's *Figures de différents caractères, de paysages, et études dessinées d'après nature par Antoine Watteau . . .*, two volumes of etchings reproducing 351 studies by Watteau. Published in 1726 and 1728 and followed by two volumes of engravings after 269 other works, including 196 paintings, it was an unprecedented tribute to his genius. To this day the *Figures de différents caractères* is regarded as both an invaluable compendium of Watteau's drawings and a monument to his friend's devotion. In the preface to the first volume, Jullienne himself explained the attractions of Watteau's studies:

> They belong to a new taste; they have graces that are so much a part of the author's spirit that they can be considered inimitable. Each figure from the hand of this excellent man has a character that is so true and natural that all by itself it can hold and satisfy one's attention, seeming to have no need for a supporting composition on a greater subject. In any case, the reputation that he has made for himself, both in France and abroad, leads us to believe, with reason, that the least morsels produced by him are precious and cannot be preserved with too much care.

The importance of Watteau's drawings in any study of his life and work cannot be overestimated, the more so because Watteau himself had a special regard for them. As Gersaint testified: "[He] was more satisfied with his drawings than with his paintings and I can affirm that in this matter he was not blinded by self-esteem to any of his defects. He found more pleasure in drawing than in painting. I have often seen him sulking because he could not render in paint the spirit and truth that he could express with his pencil." His drawings are essential to a real understanding of Watteau as an artist: they record his most direct and accessible response to the world around him; they give clues to the course of his development, identify the artists he studied, and demonstrate the full range of his subject matter; they point up his particular preoccupations; they underline his strong roots in a northern, non-French tradition of art. Unfortunately, however, they do not amplify the sketchy details that are known of his life nor do they increase our understanding of his personality, for even in his drawings, those most intimate and immediate expressions of his art, Watteau remained reserved and slightly detached, preventing any clear revelation of his innermost, private self.

## About the Exhibition

The drawings in this exhibition were selected to show as completely as possible the full range of Watteau's capacity as a draftsman, the evolution of his style from his earliest years with Claude Gillot (1673-1722) to the months before he died, and the relationship between his drawings and his paintings. To an extent, we have been able to do just that, but the length of the exhibition and the understandable reluctance of some owners to part with their drawings for such a long period have created some substantial organizational difficulties. We have tried to divide the available drawings equally among the three participating museums so that the American, French, and German public will be able to see approximately the same range of material. But because some sheets that could only be shown in one or two cities are unique (for example, *Three Studies of a Black Boy's Head,* cat. D. 81) or because sheets that might have served as replacements were simply not available, the drawings presented in each location do not necessarily give an ideally balanced view of Watteau's draftsmanship.

We are fortunate to be able to include a large number of drawings that are related to paintings in the exhibition, but we were unable to show a complete set of drawings for any particular canvas. The painting for which we have the most studies is the National Gallery's *Italian Comedians,* with five related drawings: three figure and detail studies (cats. D. 120-122) and two compositional sketches that show part of the process that resulted in the final composition (cats. D. 101, 102). Regrettably, our representation of Watteau's studies for his most famous paintings, *The Embarkation for Cythera* (cat. P. 61), *Gersaint's Shopsign* (cat. P. 73), and *Pierrot (Gilles)* (cat. P. 69) is meager. However, we have included some fine drawings for a number of paintings that no longer exist, most

notably for *Autumn* and *Spring* of the Crozat Seasons (cats. D. 60, 62-64). Quite a number have no connection with any of Watteau's paintings, indicating that drawing, for him, was not simply a means to an end—a finished painting—but an end in itself.

Recent changes in scholarly opinions and our own study of Watteau's drawings have led us to exclude deliberately several groups of drawings from this exhibition. Watteau's drawings from his time with Claude Gillot (c. 1705-1708), for example, are among the most sparsely represented, mainly because of attribution problems. A series of drawings of single theatrical figures (fig. 1) that have been tossed back and forth between Watteau's and Gillot's oeuvres (see PM 68-73; Eidelberg 1973; RM 1984 [in press]) was specifically rejected for that reason. Those drawings are certainly not by Gillot, since his figure studies, though occasionally presented in the same format, are drawn in an obviously different, more practiced way that has nothing in common with the rather heavy execution and graceless poses of these figures. But whether the drawings are by Watteau or by some other artist working in the same vein is unclear. Given the shadowy nature of Watteau's beginnings and his strongly Flemish roots, the attribution of these drawings to him is not entirely impossible. However, if he did make them, they were obviously early efforts, before he had assimilated the grace and elegance of both form and line that soon became his hallmarks. Since this series of theatrical figures is completely different from any of the accepted early drawings by Watteau, the attribution problem will not be resolved until some convincing documentary proof is discovered.

Attribution problems also account for the lack of a single example of decorative work from c. 1708-1709, when he

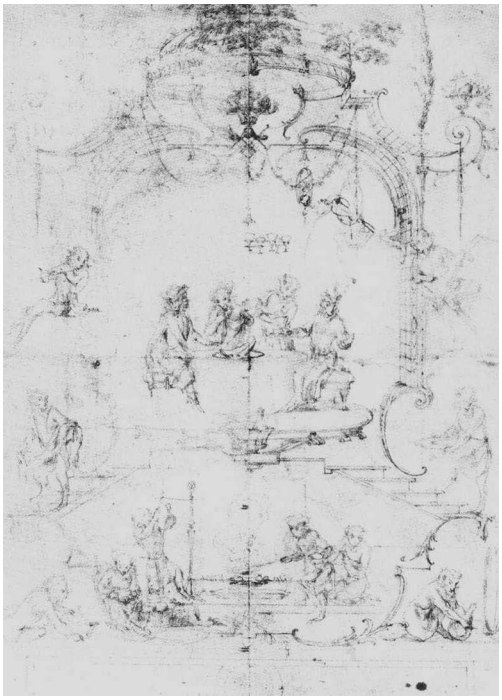


fig. 2. C. Audran III, *Singerie,* red chalk and graphite Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (inv. CC II:163).

fig. 1. Watteau (?), *Weeping Actress,* red chalk location unknown.



fig. 3. G.-M. Oppenordt, *Fountain Design,* red chalk Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (inv. 19511).



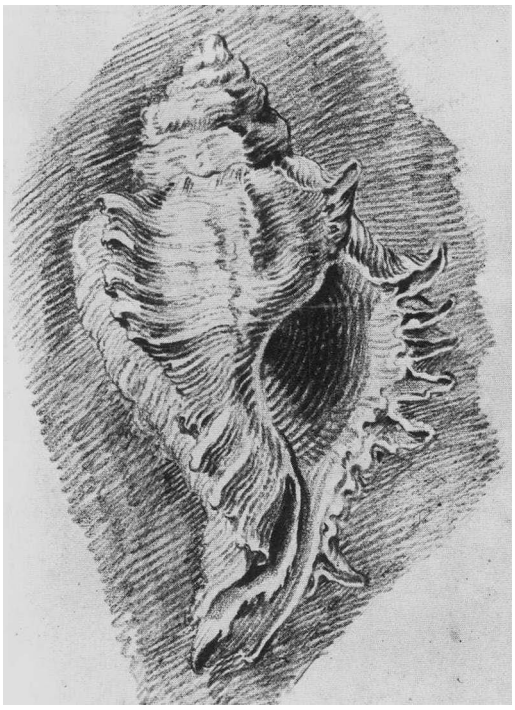


fig. 4. Anonymous, *A Seashell,* red and black chalks
Fondation Custodia Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris (inv. 7634).

was with Claude Audran III (1658–1734), or even from before 1714. Of those attributed to Watteau by Parker and Mathey (1957), the *Singerie* in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (fig. 2), which was purchased with the contents of Audran's studio by Carl Johan Cronstedt after Audran's death, has the greatest claim to his authorship, for it is related to the decorations in the Château de Marly that were carried out by Audran and his studio in 1708-1709, when Watteau was working there. However, it is highly unlikely that Audran would have had an assistant provide the designs for a royal commission, and indeed a variant design for the *Singerie* by Audran is known (also in Stockholm; see exh. cat. Paris 1950, pl. xvi). Since there are no features in the rather mechanical execution of the Stockholm drawing that mark it clearly as a work of Watteau, we cannot sustain the attribution to him. Parker and Mathey also included thirteen more drawings, also from Audran's studio (PM 184-187), which ultimately have even less claim to Watteau's authorship. Only such mature arabesque designs as the two in The Hermitage (cats. D. 40, 41) and *The Bower* and *The Temple of Diana* (cats. D. 70, 71) can be given to Watteau with real confidence, but these are obviously not early works.

Recent scholarship (Eidelberg 1968) has convincingly eliminated from Watteau's oeuvre the large series of drawings of fountains catalogued by Parker and Mathey (PM 193, 198-203, 206-234). The attribution to Watteau's friend and contemporary Gilles-Marie Oppenordt (1672-1742) of the large majority of these seems certain since Count Tessin mentioned having seen an album of red chalk drawings of fountains by Oppenordt in Watteau's studio on 13 June 1715 (see Chronology). Though Watteau could well have copied Oppenordt's designs, the fountains that have been attributed to him (fig. 3) lack the clean accenting and strong, vibrant line that would indicate Watteau's hand.

Another group of drawings that is absent for reasons of attribution is the series of seashells (fig. 4; see PM 901-907), which, although studies of surpassing beauty, are not by Watteau. The intricately ornamental handling of both the contours and the modeling suggests that they were the work of a designer of decorative pieces, perhaps even a sculptor. Nowhere in Watteau's oeuvre can one find drawings of comparable execution with the same thickly hatched background and the same distinct separation of the red and black chalks.

None of the small group of oil counterproofs (PM 856, 863-864, 866-868) that Watteau made himself from his preliminary underpaintings is exhibited, for they are more properly monotypes than drawings (fig. 5). They are, however, splendid documents of Watteau's workshop practices, providing an unusual peek at the invisible underpinnings of his paintings. (See Eidelberg 1977, pp. 173-204, for a comprehensive study of the oil counterproofs.)

Watteau's copies after other masters offered a vast array of possibilities for the exhibition. (Parker and Mathey included nearly two hundred in their catalogue, PM 258-443.) Among the copies presented here, we have tried to include a representative sampling of the artists that Watteau copied and the types of copies that he made. In date, they cover the entire span of his career, showing that he was an indefatigable student who continued to learn from others to the end of his days. The attribution problems among the copies are undoubtedly the most complicated of all, making it necessary for scholars to study and judge each drawing individually. However, one substantial group that should be eliminated from Watteau's oeuvre is the series of Italianate landscapes

fig. 5. Watteau, *A Couple Promenading,* oil counterproof
British Museum, London (inv. P. 54).





fig. 6. N. Vleughels, *Houses Behind Saint Peter's, Rome*
red chalk, pen and brown ink, gray washes, British Museum (inv. 1963-12-14-22).

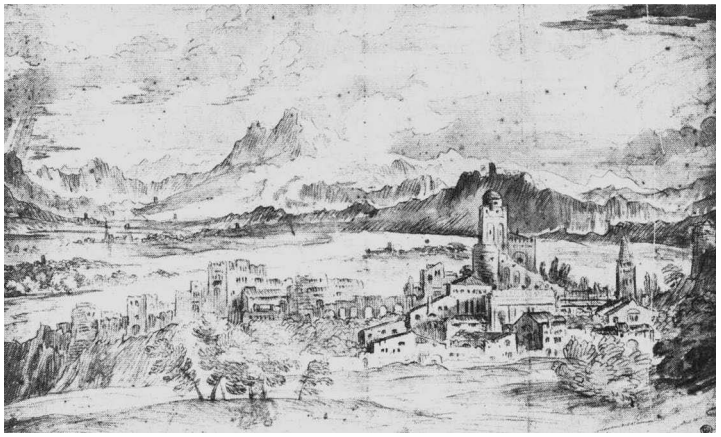


fig. 7. Anonymous, *View of a Town on a Lake,* red chalk with brown washes
École des Beaux-Arts, Paris (inv. M. 941).

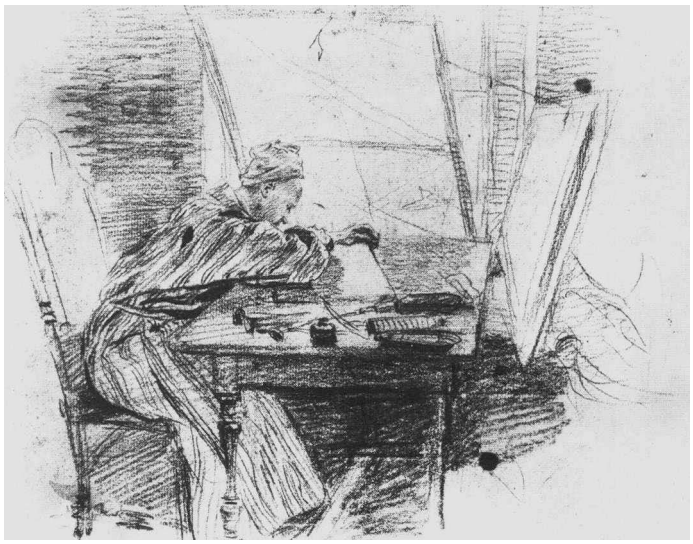
executed in red chalk and greenish washes (PM 376; 402-416; 420, 423-425). Rosenberg (1973) proposed an attribution to Watteau's friend Nicolas Vleughels on the basis of a Vleughels landscape drawing in Dijon (copied by Watteau in red chalk, PM 390), and though that suggestion has some merit for a drawing such as *Houses behind Saint Peter's, Rome* (fig. 6), the rest of the landscapes (fig. 7) appear to be by another, yet unidentified hand.

## Watteau's Media

Watteau's present fame as a draftsman rests largely on his magnificent studies in *trois crayons,* the mixture of red, black, and white chalks that he mastered so completely. But that was only the most spectacular of the several media that Watteau used in his drawings, some of which would not now be associated with his name were it not for their inclusion in the discussion of his techniques found in Dezallier d'Argenville's 1745 biography:

> . . . sanguine [red chalk] was the one that he used most often on white paper, so that he could have counterproofs which yielded the subject in both directions; he rarely heightened his drawings with white, the paper background achieving this effect; a lot of drawings were done in two colors, black and red chalks or in graphite and sanguine which he used in the heads, hands, and flesh; sometimes he employed *trois crayons;* at other times he used pastel, oil colors, and gouache; indeed they were all acceptable to him, except the pen, provided they achieved the effect that he sought; the hatchings in his drawings were almost perpendicular, sometimes leaning slightly from right to left while others were stumped with some light washes and accent strokes. . . . (in Champion 1921, pp. 73-74)

fig. 8. Watteau, *An Engraver at Work,* red chalk
British Museum, London (inv. P. 51).



The majority of Watteau's drawings were indeed executed in red chalk, for he seems to have used it for all of his studies prior to at least 1712; for all of his full figure studies until about 1714; for most of his copies after other masters; and for most of his compositional drawings. Even after he moved on to more complex techniques, he continued to use sanguine alone throughout his career (cats. D. 103, 112, 121). It was perhaps one of Watteau's most impressive technical achievements that as he matured, he could obtain as broad a range of tone and color with red chalk alone as he could create with a mixture of chalks (fig. 8). Dezallier suggested that Watteau rarely heightened his red chalk drawings with white since the white of the paper generally rendered it unnecessary, but enough red and white chalk drawings on darker papers survive to indicate that in this case Dezallier had erred (cats. D. 57, 59, 111).

There is greater accuracy in Dezallier's observation that Watteau did not draw in pen and ink. Although his two Parisian mentors, Gillot and Audran, were relatively skilled in the use of pen and wash, we have no evidence that Watteau ever tried to imitate them in those techniques, though it would seem reasonable to suppose that, as their pupil, Watteau would have made efforts to use a pen. Only one study in pen and ink has been traditionally attributed to Watteau, that of a man helping a lady to dismount (fig. 9), copied after Callot's print, *The Fair at Impruneta.* Were it not for the fact that Watteau used that group in *The Hunt Meeting* (Wallace Collection, London; fig. D. 24-1) and that the drawing bears an inscribed attribution to Watteau, the authenticity of the sheet would undoubtedly have been seriously questioned. Although the drawing has considerable charm, the wobbly,

insecure lines bear out the truth of Dezallier's statement that pen was not Watteau's medium.

Surprisingly, Dezallier notes that Watteau used *trois crayons* only "sometimes" even though that is the medium most associated with his name. More often, apparently, Watteau left out the white and mixed red and black chalks alone. Such drawings are indeed numerous and identify the technique as a favorite (for example, cats. D. 45-53). But Dezallier also cited red chalk and graphite as a common mixture in Watteau's oeuvre, though examples of it are relatively scarce today (cats. D. 84, 92, 113; and fig. 10).

Dezallier made no mention of more complicated mixtures of media involving, for example, chalks, graphite, and washes, though some spectacular examples are known today, including the *Three Studies of a Woman's Head* in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (cat. D. 99) and the *Eight Studies of Heads* in the Louvre (cat. D. 27). The latter drawing is unique in its partial use of pastel, though Dezallier did cite pastel as one of Watteau's media. No pure pastels or oil sketches by Watteau are known today, and only one gouache that has a strong claim to his authorship survives (fig. 11).

In accordance with Dezallier, Watteau's oeuvre includes a number of drawings with stumping or wash, and in fact both techniques were used much more commonly than one might expect. The stumping appears most prominently in such stellar drawings as the Chicago *Bearded Savoyard* (cat. D. 52) and the Thaw *Nude Woman Seated on the Ground* (cat. D. 68); washes were used in both landscapes and head studies (cats. D. 22, verso; 29, verso; 36) and even to enhance such figure studies as the Uffizi *Seated Savoyard* (fig. D. 52-1).



fig. 10. Watteau, *Two Studies of a Woman Seated on the Ground,* red chalk and graphite, Musée Condé, Chantilly (inv. 301 F).

## Working Method

Our present knowledge of Watteau's working method is derived almost exclusively from a key, often-quoted passage in Caylus' *Life of Watteau*:

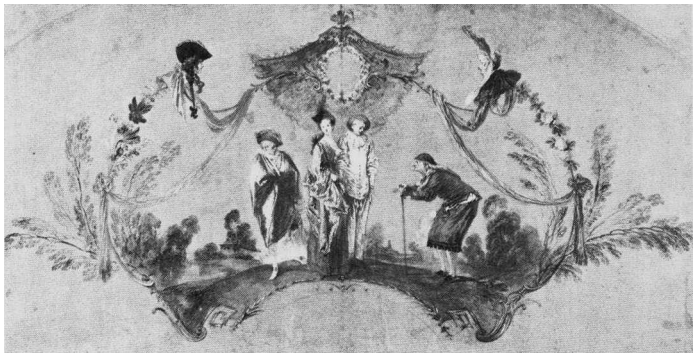
> . . . most ordinarily [Watteau] drew without object. For never did he make either a sketch or a study for any of his paintings, no matter how light or abbreviated. His custom was to draw his studies in a bound book, in such a way that he always had a large number at hand. . . . When he took it into his mind to make a painting he had recourse to his collection. From it he chose the figures that suited best his needs of the moment. He formed his groups from them, most often according to a landscape background that he had conceived or prepared. Rarely did he do otherwise. (in Champion 1921, pp. 100-101)

Through Caylus we know that, in a time when the steps for composing paintings were well-established and were followed almost universally by members of the French

fig. 9. Watteau, *A Man Helping a Woman to Dismount,* pen and brown ink location unknown (PM 332).



fig. 11. Watteau, *Design for a Fan Leaf,* gouache and watercolor British Museum, London (inv. 1965-6-12-1).



Academy and their pupils, Watteau had a more personal, less structured method. Skipping over the long and careful preparation espoused by the Italian and French schools (compositional sketches, followed by studies of individual figures and details, followed by a final modello or cartoon), Watteau chose, almost at random, figure studies that he had already made at leisure and kept on hand for just such a purpose. Often he selected figures that he had used before, mixing and matching them in a variety of groupings that were appropriate to his *fêtes galantes* and theatrical subjects. Such a work as *Gallant Recreation* (cat. P. 63), which presents a variation on a composition that Watteau had made earlier (see fig. D. 78-1), was probably made in that fashion, as were also such pictures as *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25), *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56), and *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 66). Caylus' disapproval of Watteau's patchwork method is clearly apparent from his declaration, "This manner of composing, which is assuredly not to be copied, is the real cause of that uniformity for which Watteau's paintings can be reproached."

Although Caylus' testimony gives an invaluable glimpse of the artist at work, it is not entirely error-free: his statement that Watteau "never [made] a sketch or a study for any of his paintings" is directly contradicted by many of the drawings themselves. Not only do we have today studies that were obviously made for specific pictures (most notably the nudes for the Crozat Seasons, cats. D. 60, 62-64; but see also cats. D. 120, 126), but also we have many others in which subtle details indicate that at least part of the study sheet was made for a particular purpose. These can be detected through details of costumes (cat. D. 22); through quirks of pose, gesture, and expression that must have been dictated by the painting-in-progress (as in cats. D. 36, 97, 104); through brief indications of other figures or details that suggest that Watteau already knew how he would use the drawing in a painting (cats. D. 31, 74, 110).

That Watteau did, now and then, resort to a more careful preparation when he was working on some of his paintings is proved by the existence of a number of fairly complete compositional drawings. Some are clearly related to extant paintings (cats. D. 88, 98, 101, 102); others seem to record ideas that he abandoned or altered radically (cat. D. 87); another group served as modelli for prints made either by Watteau himself or by professional engravers during his lifetime (cats. 8, 9, 43, 44, 55); still others, relatively finished but unrelated to any other works, appear to be the final expression of ideas that were never intended to be carried any further (cats. D. 70, 123).

Watteau's extant drawings indicate that he used drawings in a flexible, pragmatic way. Although he never once followed in succession all of the preparatory steps advocated by the Academy for any single painting, he did use the different kinds of drawings that were part of that process as the need arose. In general, though, and especially in the last years of his life when he had achieved the skills and confidence that permitted him to compose successful paintings without extensive preparation, he surely followed the unorthodox procedure outlined by Caylus.

## Problems of Chronology

Dating Watteau's drawings and establishing some semblance of chronological order among them have long been considered impracticable or even impossible tasks (Parker 1931, p. 14; Parker and Mathey 1957, pp. x-xi), and with good reason. Not one of Watteau's studies bears an inscribed date; except for obvious differences between juvenile and mature studies, the evolutionary changes in his drawings are often very slight; and most important, Watteau's working method prevents the kind of one-to-one correspondence with datable paintings (also rare in Watteau's oeuvre) that is a tried and true method of establishing dates for drawings. Since Watteau certainly kept many of his drawings for long periods, in theory he could have used early studies in late compositions (the most frequently cited example of this is the compositional connection between the drawing of a *Draper's Shop* of c. 1705-1706 and *Gersaint's Shopsign* of 1720; see cats. D. 1; P. 73). Thus, no matter how securely some of Watteau's paintings or prints could be dated, the related drawings would still be largely undatable. However, even though most of Caylus' description of Watteau's method of composition can be accepted as true, it is highly probable that Watteau, whether consciously or unconsciously, tended to use his most recent studies when he was assembling a work. Since the proportions, forms, and poses of his drawn figures changed and developed while his groupings and compositions for his paintings were also evolving, his latest drawings were naturally best suited to the needs of his latest pictures. That would mean that the majority of Watteau's drawings could logically be dated within a year or two of the paintings in which they appear.

Fortunately, dates for several of Watteau's paintings can be established through documentary evidence. The most important are *The Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* (1717; cat. P. 61) and *Gersaint's Shopsign* (1720; cat. P. 73), but other useful points of reference are provided by Watteau's earliest military paintings dating from 1708-1710 (cats. P. 4-6); by *Jealousy* (DV 127, CR 80; see cats. P. 13, 14) presented to the Academy in 1712; and by the *Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71) executed during Watteau's stay in England, 1719-1720. Two other paintings were engraved in 1719, *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* (fig. D. 96-1) and *The Music Lesson* (fig. D. 89-1), supplying a *terminus ante quem* for both of those paintings and their related drawings. Presumably the two compositions would have been relatively new additions to Watteau's oeuvre when they were engraved.

Some drawings can be dated without the help of Watteau's paintings, through their relationship with known events, through the models' identities, or through related prints made during Watteau's lifetime (cats. E. 1-8). In the first group are Watteau's portraits of Persians, which must have been made in 1715 when the Persian embassy to Louis XIV's court was in Paris. His compositional drawing of *The Shipwreck* (cat. D. 123), an allegory that is related to the collapse of the Law Bank in 1720, also belongs in that group. The second group includes Watteau's depictions of Rosalba Car-

riera (1675-1757), which must have been made during her visit to Paris in 1720-1721; his drawing of the two daughters of Pierre Sirois (cat. D. 109), probably executed during his last stay with Sirois in c. 1718; and perhaps also the portraits of Nicolas Vleughels (1668-1737) (cats. D. 111, 112), probably made when the two artists were living together c. 1718-1719, as reported in the *Almanach Royal* (though they might have lived together at other times also since Watteau is known to have changed his residence frequently). The last group is comprised of the studies for Watteau's own series of prints called the *Figures de modes,* which have been dated convincingly to 1710 by Dacier and Vuaflart (see cats. D. 8, 9), and at least some of the drawings related to a similar series of prints known as the *Figures françoises et comiques* which, as Dacier and Vuaflart concluded, must have been published in or after 1715 (see cat. D. 43).

Comparatively few of Watteau's paintings and drawings are datable, but fortunately those fall at intervals of no more than three years. (There are, however, no established dates prior to Watteau's move to Audran's studio in c. 1707-1708, when he was first introduced to Rubens' great cycle of paintings devoted to the life of Marie de' Medici; see cat. D. 130.) We therefore have a rough chronological framework that allows us to assign tentative dates to most of the drawings in Watteau's oeuvre. There is one important drawback: with so few datable works, we can only establish a linear development from the beginning to the end of Watteau's career, with no allowance for experimental or atypical works and ultimately no way of knowing if the datable works were themselves typical of Watteau's work at a particular time. Moreover, the different kinds of drawings that Watteau made—figure studies; details of heads, hands, or partial figures; portraits; landscapes; compositional drawings—evolved at different rates, so that a late compositional drawing could still retain a surprising residue of Gillot's influence (cats. D. 101, 123), while an early sheet of head studies could be more advanced than figure studies of about the same time (compare cats. D. 25, 27).

Despite the manifold difficulties involved, we have tried to catalogue the drawings in an approximate chronological order that will allow the reader to follow the thread of Watteau's evolution as a draftsman. The proposed dates are by no means put forth as absolutes; rather, they are suggestions based on logic, stylistic analysis, comparisons with other drawings, connections with Watteau's paintings, and other appropriate criteria. The opportunity offered by this exhibition to study a large selection of these drawings will undoubtedly lead to new insights and ideas about the course of Watteau's development.



## 1 The Interior of a Draper's Shop

Red chalk on cream paper
152 x 221 (6 x 8¾)
Inscribed (signed?) in red chalk at lower left, *Watteau* (partially effaced)
W Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

*The Draper's Shop* is one of Watteau's earliest identifiable drawings, almost all of which are marked by the strong influence of his most important mentor, Claude Gillot (1673-1722). The two artists worked together from about 1705-1708 (see Chronology), and it was during that period that Watteau, as his friend Gersaint put it (Champion 1921, p. 57), "began to give surer signs of a talent that he could develop further." It was to Gillot that Watteau owed not only the range of subjects that he pursued throughout his career, including especially the *fêtes galantes* and theater pieces, but also the highly abstract style found in his early drawings.

In *The Draper's Shop,* the extreme tapering of the figures' legs and the reduction of the features to dots and dashes were derived directly from Gillot's example, so much so that the drawing might well have been confused with Gillot's own work were it not for certain details that distinguish Watteau's hand even this early in his career. For example, the drawing already has the emphatic accents that will animate contours and pick out small details of costume and gesture in drawings throughout his career. The unaffected presentation of the scene and its complete lack of theatricality in the posing of the figures are also Watteau's, as is the sense of a drifting light and palpable atmosphere. The specific date of the drawing cannot be pinpointed, though Watteau must already have been working with Gillot for some time since he had completely absorbed the idiosyncracies of his style. The drawing can therefore be placed in about 1705-1706.

The diagonal placement of the counter at right, the presentation of the interior space, and the figure entering the shop from the street anticipate similar details in *Gersaint's Shopsign* of 1720 (cat. P. 73). These compositional similarities have long been recognized, and in spite of the disparities in

date and subject matter, the drawing has occasionally been referred to as a study for the *Shopsign* (Zimmermann 1912, p. xiv; Eisenstadt 1930, p. 68). Indeed, though the *Draper's Shop* was itself probably a design for a sign, its relationship with *Gersaint's Shopsign* may have been due simply to the fact that both belonged to the same tradition of signpainting, which was already well-established by the end of the seventeenth century (see Wilhelm 1951, Boucher 1957, and Eidelberg 1977).

Eidelberg has suggested that Watteau's *Draper's Shop* represents only the right half of a bipartite composition, for the diagonal of the counter would appear to need a corresponding diagonal from the other direction to balance the composition. A similar two-part shopsign by an unknown contemporary, also representing a draper's shop, was reproduced in Boucher (1957, figs. 1, 2). Indeed, Watteau's own *Shopsign* for Gersaint was composed of two distinct halves, only the right part of which corresponds to the Louvre study.

The inscription at lower left has never been considered an actual signature (Parker and Mathey [1957] said that it "resembles" a signature), but it should be noted that the chalk in which it was written appears to be the same as the chalk used for the drawing. If it were indeed a signature, Watteau would presumably have included it in an effort to show that the work was *not* by Gillot.

PROVENANCE
Seized during the French Revolution; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1886), 33,362.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1952, no. 159; USA 1955-1956, no. 54; Paris 1977a, no. 48.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Morel d'Arleux, VIII, no. 11,131; Fourcaud 1901, p. 324, no. 2; Z 1912, pp. xxiv-xxv (Fr. ed., p. xxvii); Lebel 1921, p. 58; Lavallée, *Fig. Art.* 1924, p. 2; DV, I, pp. 15, 114; Eisenstadt 1930, p. 68; Dacier 1930, no. 33; de Vallée (Adhémar) 1939, p. 71; Wilhelm 1951, pp. 227-228; PM 1957, no. 140; Boucher 1957, pp. 124-126, 128; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, p. 29; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 237, 245-252; P 1984, pp. 42, 273, 276, fig. 199.

## 2 The Mountebank

verso: a variant of the same
Red chalk on white paper with a fragmentary watermark of the top of a crowned escutcheon
178 x 228 (7 x 9)
The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Watteau's early predilection for drawing medicine shows and street players is well-known through the testimony of his friend Edme-François Gersaint (1698-1750) who stated that from his earliest youth, Watteau "profited from his moments of freedom to draw on the spot different comic scenes that roving quacks and charlatans customarily presented to the public. Perhaps that occasioned his long-held taste for pleasant and comic subjects, despite the sad character that was dominant in him" (Champion 1921, pp. 54-55). *The Mountebank,* one of the earliest drawings exhibited here, is an exam-



ple of that kind of casual study obviously made from life. Although it cannot be dated with any precision within the span of Watteau's early years in Paris, it seems logical to place it during his time with Gillot, perhaps 1706-1707.

The spectators are gathered to watch the quack, standing on an improvised platform with his wares set out next to him, giving his sales pitch. A curtain hanging between two trees marks the stage, where a comic performance will be given after the "doctor" is finished. In the meantime, two monkeys frolic on the cord that holds up the curtain. The sketch on the verso depicts another scene from the same medicine show, again showing a playful monkey, but this time including also some of the actors who look over the doctor's shoulder. The actors' costumes will be found repeatedly in Watteau's later theatrical paintings, proving that in the absence of the troupe of Italian comedians, which was banished from Paris between 1697 and 1716, Watteau had easy access to theatrical presentations in a similarly comic vein at the fairs and medicine shows. (See Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time" and Appendix B, "Theater Costumes in the Work of Watteau.")

PROVENANCE
Francis Douce (1757-1834); (Lugt 987); bequeathed by him to the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, 1834; transferred to the University Galleries (now the Ashmolean Museum), 1863, P.I. 554.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*Vasari*, 2nd ser., IV, no. 17; Parker 1938, I, p. 267, no. 554; PM 1957, nos. 144 (recto), 146 (verso); Cormack 1970, no. 107 (recto); P 1984, p. 291, n. 72.

## 3 Three Studies of the Doctor from the Italian Comedy

Red chalk on cream paper
130 x 180 (5⅛ x 7⅛)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes

The two left figures are connected with a figure at left in *Harlequin Emperor in the Moon* (cat. P. 1), which has been given to both Watteau and his master Claude Gillot (1673-1722). The painting's longstanding attribution to Gillot was based on a notation on the print of the composition by Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772): "Gillot inv." (Gillot invented it.) However, "invenit" in print terminology usually indicates that the print was made after a drawing; "pinxit" was used when a painting was the model. For that reason and because there are differences between the composition of the print and that of the painting, it is now agreed that Huquier made his print after a lost drawing by Gillot and not from the Nantes painting. The print therefore has no bearing on the attribution of the painting and the possibility remains that it is at least partially the work of Watteau.

The Valenciennes drawing offers considerable support for the belief that Watteau participated in the design and execution of the Nantes canvas. Although none of the three studies on the page matches exactly the pose of the doctor in *Harlequin Emperor in the Moon,* there can be no doubt that it





fig. 1. Gillot, *The Doctor from the Italian Comedy,* location unknown.

is related to the project. That the drawing is by Watteau and not Gillot is shown by the figures' firm stances, the weighty solidity of the forms, the rapid, varied strokes, and the atmospheric handling of light and air. However, the recent discovery of a drawing by Gillot (sold London, Christie's, 9 December 1982, no. 221) that repeats almost exactly a figure from the Valenciennes sheet shows that Gillot also was active in the project (fig. 1). Curiously, though, comparison of the Watteau and Gillot drawings shows that Watteau's drawing must have come first. Its pentimenti, especially in the head of the central figure, and the overall spontaneity of execution prove that it is not a copy after Gillot. Instead, Gillot's figure is a composite of the two figures at left in the Watteau drawing, taking the head and ruff and the right leg from the one at left and the rest from the central sketch. The Gillot drawing must therefore have been made *after* the Watteau sheet, perhaps in an attempt to clarify and refine the poses of the figures. Clearly, the two artists collaborated in the preparation of the composition; presumably the collaboration continued into work on the painting itself.

This is the only instance in which drawings by both Gillot and Watteau show them working on the same identifiable project, and it appears that, in this case, they worked together as equals rather than in a teacher-pupil relationship. The Nantes painting and its related drawings are also unusual because they represent the only project that can be dated securely within the period of Watteau's association with Gillot. The subject of the painting was taken from Nolant de Fatouville's comedy in three acts, *Arlequin empereur dans la lune,* which premiered in 1684, the year of Watteau's birth. It was presented again in 1707 at the Foire Saint-Laurent, in 1712 at the Foire Saint-Germain, and finally in 1719 at the new Italian Theater. It was surely the 1707 presentation that inspired Gillot and Watteau to paint the scene, placing the Valenciennes drawing and the Nantes canvas toward the end of their relationship, in 1707-1708.

PROVENANCE
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, 46.2.453.

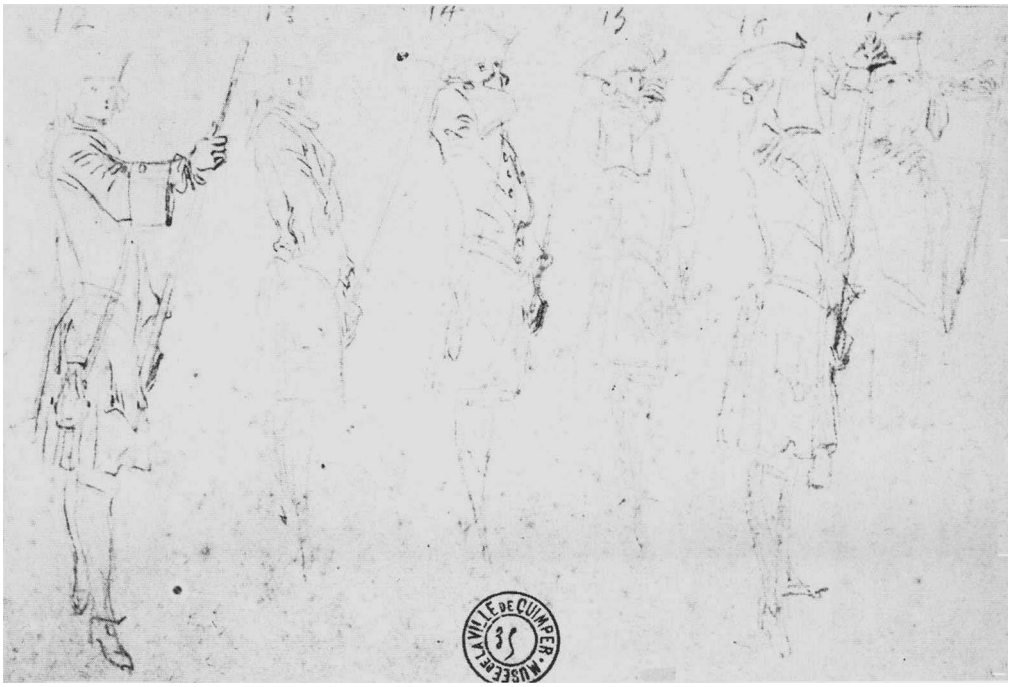
EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1933a, no. 188; San Francisco 1949, no. 56; Valenciennes 1962, no. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 344; Lefrancq 1931, no. 590; PM 1957, no. 45; M 1959, pp. 26, 74, no. 24; Exh. cat. Paris 1968, under no. 29.

## 4 Six Studies of a Soldier Loading His Rifle

Red chalk
130 x 194 (5⅛ x 7⅝)
Inscribed at lower left of the mount, *A. Vatiau;* the figures are numbered in red chalk, *12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17*
B Musée des Beaux-Arts, Quimper

It is well known that Watteau's so-called military paintings and drawings actually depict the pacific side of military life, showing marches and scenes of camp life rather than actual battles or even drills. (For discussions of Watteau's military paintings, see cats. P. 4-6, 15-16.) In the Quimper drawing, however, he made six consecutive sketches of an infantry-



man demonstrating the proper way to load a rifle. As Lavallée noted (1924), the figures, numbered from *12* to *17,* correspond to the sequence of commands that orders a soldier to take a cartridge from his munitions bag *(12, 13),* to tear the cartridge open with his teeth *(14, 15),* and to pour the powder down the barrel of his rifle *(16, 17).* The soldier would then return to the position of the first figure.

Although the lining up of the figures across the Quimper sheet suggests that Watteau recorded an entire squad executing the drill, only one soldier actually posed for him, going through the individual steps of the loading procedure and holding each position for as long as it was necessary for the young artist to set it down in a rapid sketch. Accordingly, the six consecutive studies are drawn in an extremely quick, abbreviated style that captures the essentials of pose but glosses over superfluous details of expression and anatomy. Several idiosyncracies of the execution, including the pointing of the feet, the extreme slenderness of the figures, and the schematic rendering of the faces, strongly recall Gillot's influence. The drawing was probably made c. 1708-1709, when Watteau was first exploring military themes.

Watteau's purpose in recording the drill is unknown. It is possible that the Quimper sheet was part of a series of drawings intended to illustrate a military manual, a project that seems never to have been carried out; or perhaps Watteau simply wanted a record of some drills to have on hand when he was composing military paintings. In any case, no other sheet of this type or with similar numbering is known and none of the Quimper figures appear in any of Watteau's compositions.

PROVENANCE
Comte de Silguy; bequeathed by him to the city of Quimper in 1864; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Quimper, Q. 14.

EXHIBITIONS
Rome-Milan 1959-1960, no. 71; Quimper 1971, no. 13; Brussels 1975, no. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Lavallée 1924, pp. 117-119; Lavallée, *Fig. Art.* 1924, p. 3; Delacre and Lavallée 1927, no. 36a; R 1928, p. 51, no. 4*bis;* AH 1950, p. 75; PM 1957, no. 244; Cailleux 1959, p. ii.

PRINTS
The figures were etched by Caylus but were not included in the *Fddc.* (See Dacier 1926-1927, no. 59.)

## 5 Seated Artist and Standing Man

Red chalk on white paper
124 x 92 (4⅞ x 3⅝)
Private Collection, England



These two figures are not identifiable either as soldiers or as camp followers, but the standing man is very similar to the officer standing at center in *The Bivouac* (cat. P. 6). In the painting Watteau added a wide leather belt, a sword, and a large three-cornered hat to the figure's costume to show clearly his status as an officer. He also made the man's face considerably more youthful, changed the lace ruffles to plain cuffs, and opened his coat to reveal more of his shirt. The relationship between cat. D. 5 and *The Bivouac* is slight and could be considered entirely negligible were it not for the existence of a counterproof in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (repr. Bjurström 1982, no. 1299), which shows that the page originally was larger and included a study for the cook standing at right in the same painting. (The location of the drawing of the cook, PM 257, is now unknown, though it was in the Galerie Cailleux, Paris, in 1968.)

The drawing's connection with the Moscow painting immediately links it to Watteau's first involvement with military subjects. Since *The Bivouac* is now generally recognized as the painting commissioned by Pierre Sirois (1665-1726) and executed, or at least researched, during Watteau's stay in Valenciennes in the winter of 1709-1710 (see Chronology), the drawing can probably be dated accordingly.

By the time he made this drawing, Watteau had shed most of the idiosyncracies that he had learned from Gillot (except for those that cropped up every now and then in his

compositional drawings, such as cats. D. 98, 123), and his teacher's influence is still felt only in such a small detail as the abstraction of the artist's face. Otherwise Watteau's concern for reality and "truth to nature," for which he was so much admired, is already much in evidence, as are the crisp accenting, tightly controlled strokes, and firm contours characteristic of Watteau's drawings through c. 1713-1714. The figures' comparatively insubstantial forms, however, are evidence of this drawing's early date.

The pose of the standing man with his left hand tucked into the front of his coat is found in a number of Watteau's drawings from about this time, including four drawings related to the *Figures de modes* (Figures of Fashion) and the *Figures françoises et comiques* (French and Comic Figures) (cat. D. 8; PM 162, 165, 175) and two other military drawings (PM 238, 243). Through the same standing man, the drawing may also be connected with a figure at right in *The Delights of Summer* (lost; DV 102, CR 2°-W), if indeed that painting is by Watteau (Adhémar 1950, no. 246, gave it to Pater and Camesasca 1970 listed it among the doubted works). The seated artist does not appear in any of Watteau's paintings, though Parker and Mathey thought incorrectly that he could be found in *The Detachment Making Camp* (lost; DV 179, CR 55).

We do not know when the sheet bearing the artist, the standing man, and the cook was cut in two, but the pieces were kept together until the 1960s, when they were sold separately.

PROVENANCE
C. Groult; Anonymous sale, Paris, 19 December 1941, no. 17 (as Quillard); Thomas Agnew and Son, London; Mrs. John Dewar; purchased by the present owner in the 1960s.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1968, no. 740.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 255; Exh. cat. Paris 1968, under no. 28; P 1984, p. 279, n. 37.

## 6 Two Cavaliers and a Lady

verso: Five Marching Soldiers and Two Mounted Officers
Red chalk on beige paper
160 x 195 (7 1/16 x 7 11/16)
P Private Collection, London

This is one of the few relatively early drawings that is related to datable works; it is therefore vitally important to a chronological study of Watteau's drawings. The man standing at center was almost certainly used as the model for the *Gentleman with a Cane* of the *Figures de modes* (see cats. E. 3, 3a), even though there are major differences in the positions of both the right arm and the head. For both that series and the *Figures françoises et comiques,* it seems to have been Watteau's standard practice to borrow figures that he had already made for other purposes. Dacier and Vuaflart dated



verso



the *Figures de modes* to 1709-1710 (DV, II, pp. 71-74), now accepted as definitive, thus placing them at exactly the time when Watteau was making his first military pictures. (See cats. D. 8, 9, 42, 43 for a discussion of the other exhibited drawings related to the *Figures de modes* and *Figures françoises et comiques*.) It is not simply coincidental, then, that Watteau made sketches of marching soldiers, probably drawn from life, on the verso of this sheet. Cailleux (1959) noted that although none of those sketches were used in any of Watteau's military paintings, they do have strong affinities with figures in the *Return from the Campaign* (fig. 1). (Notice especially the soldier who carries a dead bird slung over the barrel of his musket and the drummer carrying his drum on his back.) That is now generally believed to be the painting that Watteau sold to Pierre Sirois in about 1709 (see Chronology), providing a likely date for these sketches, close to the time indicated by the sketch of the gentleman on the recto.

Watteau kept the drawing in his studio and used the seated woman nearly three years later in *Pierrot Content* (cat. P. 13), now generally dated to c. 1712. Aside from the obvious alteration in the gesture of the woman's right arm, only the apron draped across her lap has been changed in the painting, replaced by a peplum. Certainly Watteau could have returned to this study when he was working on *Pierrot Content,* but the connection also raises the possibility that the painting was made at a time closer to the drawing. The arguments for the 1712 date are strong, but one should not lose sight of the fact that the dating rests ultimately on Mariette's statement (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 193 [51]) that *Jealousy* (lost; DV 127, CR 80) was one of the paintings Watteau submitted to the Academy when he was *agréé* (provisionally accepted) in 1712, but that statement was made several years after the event. That is not to say that *Pierrot Content* must have been painted earlier nor that Mariette was necessarily wrong. It merely points up the very fragile nature of the web of datable works from which any Watteau chronology must be constructed.

Because of close stylistic similarities with cat. D. 6, two other sheets can be dated to about the same time: a study of *Three Gentlemen* in an American private collection (PM 59) and a study of *Two Gentlemen and Two Heads* in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris (fig. 2). The three sheets are identical in handling, with the same kind of delineation of clothing details (note especially the coat buttons, pockets, and shoes), hair, faces, and hands. They even seem to represent the same male model. Coincidentally, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts study sheet, like the exhibited drawing, bears a figure that was later used as the basis of a print, this time for one of the *Figures françoises et comiques* (DV 54). Not surprisingly, the execution and figural proportions are comparable to Watteau's earliest soldier drawings (such as the *Seated Artist and Standing Man* [cat. D. 5]), further supporting the 1709-1710 date for all of them.

PROVENANCE

J.-D. Lempereur (1701-1779) (Lugt 1740; possibly included in his sale, Paris, 24 May 1773); Villeboeuf; Colnaghi, London; Mrs. Eliot Hodgkin, London; Private collection, London.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1951, no. 50; London 1953, no. 400; Norwich 1954, no. 19; London 1968, no. 738.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PM 1957, nos. 61 (recto), 246 (verso); Cailleux 1959, pp. ii, iii-iv, v (verso); Cormack 1970, no. 4 (recto); Eidelberg 1977, pp. 90-91, fig. 47.

PRINTS

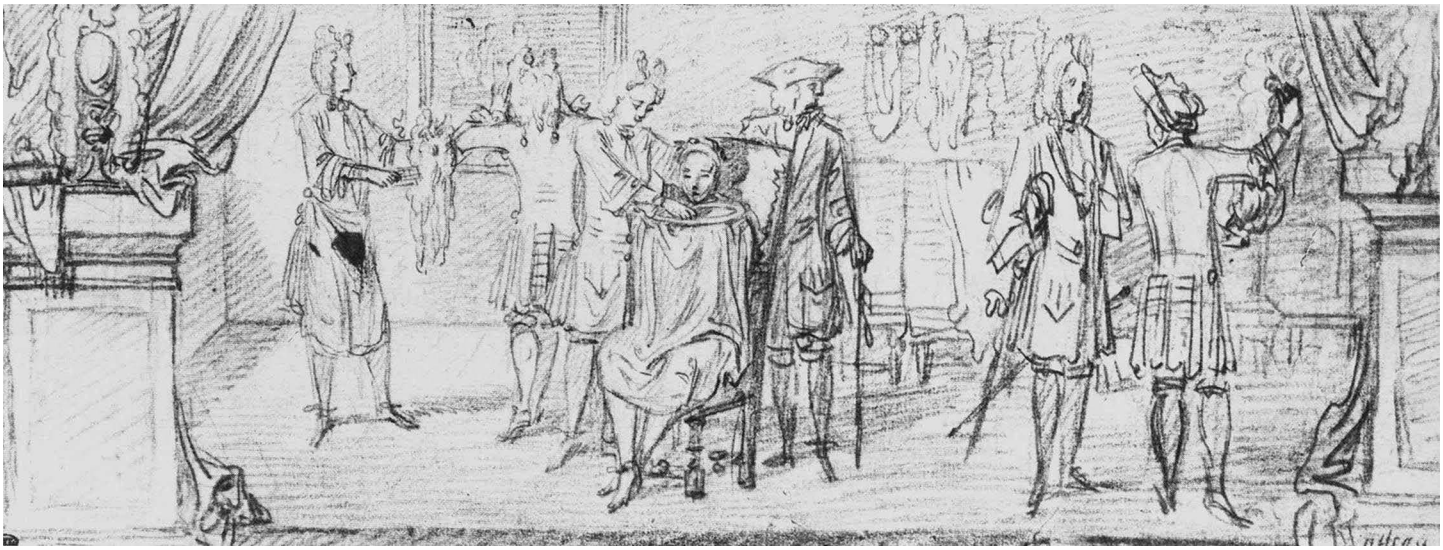
The central figure was etched by Watteau himself for the *Figures de modes* (see cats. E. 3, 3a) and by J. Audran (*Fddc* 274) with changes in the turn of the head and the position of the right arm.



fig. 1. Cochin after Watteau, *Return from the Campaign,* engraving (DV 147).



fig. 2. Watteau, *Two Gentlemen and Two Studies of Heads,* École des Beaux-Arts, Paris (inv. D 1607).



# 7 The Interior of a Barbershop

Red chalk
122 x 335 (4 13/16 x 13 3/16)
Inscribed (signed?) in red chalk at lower right, *Watteau*
B Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

Like *The Draper's Shop* (cat. D. 1) with which it has been paired at least since it entered the French national collections at the end of the eighteenth century, *The Barbershop* was probably also a study for a signboard. But the style of this drawing is quite different, with almost no hint of Gillot's influence, suggesting that *The Barbershop* must have been made somewhat later than its mate. The poses of its figures recall specifically the attitudes that Watteau used in his *Figures de modes* prints and drawings of 1709-1710 (cats. D. 8, 9 and E. 1-6). Although similarly rounded and slightly drooping coat hems are found in such early military drawings as the *Six Studies of a Soldier Loading a Rifle* (cat. D. 4) and *Five Marching Soldiers* (cat. D. 6), which can be dated respectively to c. 1708-1709 and c. 1709, the fuller forms and more elegant poses of the figures in this drawing allow it to be dated to about 1709-1710.

A similar shopsign, also for a barbershop and known now only by description, was painted by François Lemoine (1688-1737) in 1718 and appears to have been remarkably close to Watteau's design in many ways:

> This signboard is composed of fifteen figures, the chief of them being a wigmaker showing a great periwig to three gentlemen; near them is a valet nonchalantly leaning on the back of a chair; a young man lolls in an easy chair, another looks at himself in a mirror; there is a young man having his hair cut; one helper sharpens his razor, another dresses a periwig; finally three or four women seem to be braiding hair in a little closet which fills up one of the corners of the painting (Dezallier d'Argenville 1762, translated in Wilhelm 1951, p. 225).

It is remarkable that all of the activities of Watteau's seven figures are represented in Lemoine's painting. Eidelberg (1977) deduced from this that Watteau had actually made a painting of *The Barbershop,* now lost, but which Lemoine knew and imitated when he made his own signboard of the same subject. That is certainly possible, but it seems even more likely that, as was the case for Watteau in *The Draper's Shop* and *Gersaint's Shopsign,* both artists were following an established tradition of signpainting that dictated what activities would be included in a representation of a barber shop.

Like *The Draper's Shop,* this drawing also bears the simple inscription *Watteau* in red chalk, but in this case the chalk appears to be slightly different from the rest of the drawing and so there is cause to doubt that it is a signature.

PROVENANCE
Seized during the French Revolution; Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1886), 33,362*bis*.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1928; Paris 1954, no. 45.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Morel d'Arleux, VIII, no. 11,130; Fourcaud 1901, p. 324, no. 2; Z 1912, p. xxv (Fr. ed., p. xxix); Lebel 1921, p. 58; Lavallée, *Fig. Art.,* 1924, p. 2; DV, I, pp. 15, 114; Dacier 1930, no. 32; Wilhelm 1951, pp. 226-228; PM 1957, no. 139; Boucher 1957, p. 125; Exh. cat. Toronto 1972-1973, under no. 152; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, p. 29; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 236-245; P 1984, pp. 42, 273, fig. 200.

# 8 Standing Officer

Red chalk
115 x 75 (4½ x 2 15/16)
P Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

This sheet and the following one belong to a group of drawings of similar size, format, and presentation, which Watteau made as models for a series of prints called the *Figures de modes*. The suite consisted of a title page and seven plates (see cats. E. 1-6). Watteau himself made the initial etchings, which were then supplemented with engraving by Henri-Simon Thomassin the Younger (1687-1741).

According to Dacier and Vuaflart (DV, II, p. 72), the *Figures de modes* prints must have been made in or before 1710 because of information provided by the title page: the artist is named simply as *Vatteau* and it is clearly stated that the prints were "finished with the burin by Thomassin the son." But Thomassin was in Holland between 1710 and 1713, and if he completed the prints after Watteau was *agréé* by the Academy in 1712 then Watteau could have used the honorific "peintre du roi" (Painter of the King). Dacier and Vuaflart therefore concluded that the prints must have been finished before Thomassin's departure for the Netherlands, that is, in 1709-1710. Their dating has been accepted ever since and is supported by the preparatory drawings themselves.

The pose of the *Standing Officer* is very close in many respects to one of the figures standing at the center of *The Bivouac* (cat. P. 6), linking it chronologically to Watteau's early military paintings. One also finds a standing woman seen from behind, holding up her skirt with one hand—quite similar to the Stockholm figure (cat. D. 9)—in another early painting, *The Halt* (cat. P. 5), so there is no question that the poses were already in Watteau's repertory by 1709. The two sheets are rendered in a considerably finer, more studied manner than those early drawings that we have studied so far, but that was certainly due to their intended purpose as models for prints. They were therefore executed with special care and minute attention to detail, which set them apart from all of Watteau's preceding drawings. Even so, Watteau's youth is betrayed in these drawings through his concentration on surface line and pattern at the expense of plastic form. That is not to say that the figures are completely flat, but they do not yet have the rotund volumes that are found soon afterward (for example, cat. D. 18).

In his prints, Watteau copied the figures very faithfully, but changed the settings considerably. For the *Standing Woman* he substituted a village (see cat. E. 5); for the *Standing Officer* he clarified the little fountain at left and reduced and simplified the landscape background (see cat. E. 2). He also made the transition from foreground to background less abrupt and attempted to situate the figures more convincingly within the landscape, though with only moderate success.

PROVENANCE
Carl Gustav Tessin (1695-1770); sold to King Adolph Frederick of Sweden, 1750 (sale, 1777); repurchased by King Gustav III; given by him to the Kongliga Biblioteket; transferred to the Kongliga Museum at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lugt 1638); incorporated into the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, in 1866, NM 2821d/1863.

EXHIBITIONS
Stockholm 1922, no. 18; Copenhagen 1935, no. 543; Paris 1935, no. 78; Leningrad 1963; Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam 1970-1971, no. 50.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Tessin 1739-1742, p. 43v.; Tessin 1749, *livré* 14, no. 36; Sparre 1790, no. 2707d; DV, II, p. 72 (the dating of the prints), and III, under no. 46; Engwall 1935, no. 8; PM 1957, no. 167; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 89-90, fig. 43, Bjurström 1982, no. 1293.

PRINTS
See the entry and cat. E. 2.

8



9



## 9 Standing Woman Seen from Behind

Red chalk
115 x 75 (4½ x 2 15/16)
P Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE
Same as preceding entry. NM 2821a/1863.

EXHIBITIONS
Stockholm 1922, no. 18; Paris 1935, no. 79; Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam 1970-1971, no. 51.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Tessin 1739-1742, p. 43v; Tessin 1749, *livré* 14, no. 33; Sparre 1790, no. 2707a; DV, II, p. 72 (the dating of the prints) and III, under no. 47; Engwall 1935, no. 9; PM 1957, no. 181; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 90, 92, fig. 55; Bjurström 1982, no. 1296.

PRINTS
See preceding entry and cat. E. 5. The same figure was also etched in reverse by Jean Audran (*Fddc* 275).

## 10 Landscape with a Cottage and Peasants at Work

Red chalk on cream paper
167 x 237 (6⅝ x 9⅜)
Inscribed in red chalk at lower left, *Ant. Watteau* (possibly a signature?)
W The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Much of the charm of this early landscape lies in the errors of perspective and spatial definition that betray Watteau's youth and inexperience. The rickety structure of the cottage at left is one of the more obvious weak spots. Less noticeable is the wavering foreground space that expands or contracts as the viewer's eye rests on the main elements of the composition. For example, the wall that appears to be quite close behind the central figures is actually attached to the cottage and must therefore be some distance away; the small scale of the figure hobbling toward the cottage door at left places the building in the middle distance, yet the ladder and haystack beside the cottage seem to rest next to the man standing at center. Even with those faults, however, the drawing is enriched by the buoyantly fresh chalkstrokes, by the wealth of observed detail, and by the decorative use of curling vines and foliage that fill some of the empty spaces. The peasants are drawn with deft, sharp precision, suggesting that Watteau was at this point more accustomed to drawing figures than landscape.

Although a number of Watteau's landscapes drawn from life have survived, only a handful are so simply conceived and presented. Closest to this sheet in type, but more advanced in execution, is the newly discovered *View with a House* on the verso of a drawing in the National Gallery, Washington (cat. D. 36). The place represented in both drawings has not been positively identified, though Parker and Mathey noted that there are analogous elements in Watteau's painting *The Marsh* (fig. 1), which is presumed to represent a market-garden area of Paris known as Les Porcherons. Since Pierre Crozat's *hôtel* on the rue de Richelieu bordered on the





fig. 1. Jacob after Watteau, *The Marsh*, engraving (DV 136).

Porcherons section, it is generally thought that Watteau's drawings of the area were made when Watteau was staying with Crozat (sometime between 1712 and 1717). But Watteau could easily have explored that quarter on his own, before he became Crozat's guest. The British Museum sheet has been dated by Parker and Mathey to 1712, but the spatial difficulties indicate that it could well have been made earlier, perhaps c. 1710 as Zimmerman (1912) suggested. (See cat. D. 36 for the dating of the Washington *View*.)

PROVENANCE
Castelruiz; entered the British Museum in 1846, 1846-5-9-155.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1980-1981, p. 11 and no. 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 348, no. 5; Uzanne 1908, pl. 31; Z 1912, p. x (dated c. 1710; Fr. ed. p. vi, undated); Parker 1930, no. 6; Parker 1931, p. 18; PM 1957, no. 445 (dated c. 1712); Cormack 1970, no. 38.

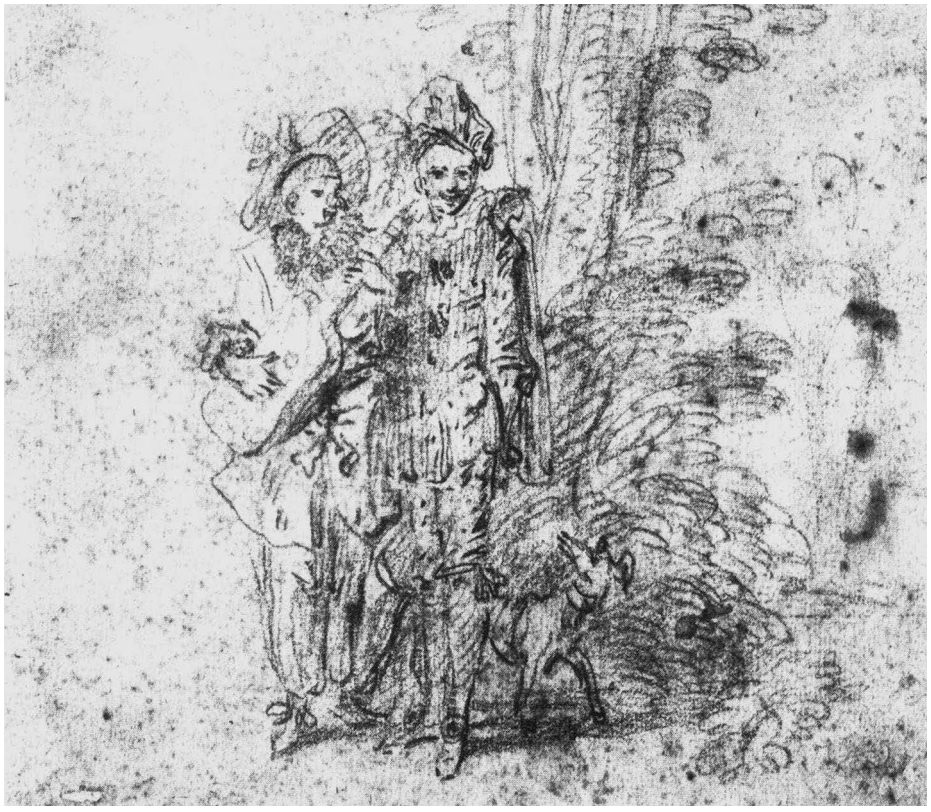
## 11 Two Actors with a Dog

verso: Palace Walls
Orange-red chalk on cream paper; verso: red chalk
136 x 158 (5⅜ x 6¼)
P, B Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

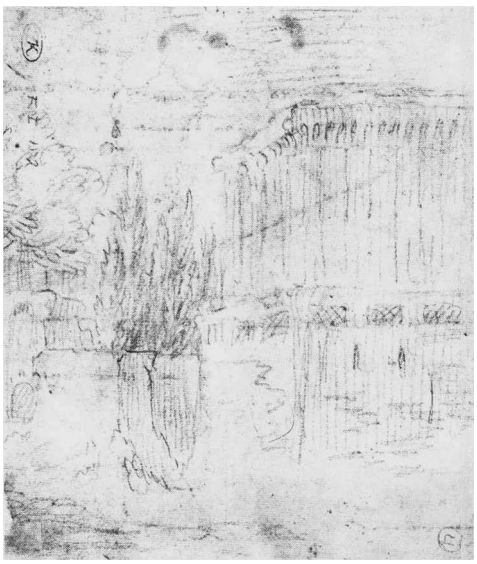
Although the two actors represented on the recto do not appear in any known painting by Watteau, they are shown against a backdrop of trees and bushes in much the same way as are figures in the group of paintings surrounding *Jealousy* (lost; DV 127, CR 80; see *Pierrot Content* and *The Party of Four*, cats. P. 13, 17). Not only are they given the same kind of self-conscious poses and expressions, but also they make the same kind of direct visual contact with the spectator (like actors playing to their audience). In addition, the lightly sketched herm at right is similar to those that appear in both *Jealousy* and *Pierrot Content*.

The execution is light, lively, and atmospheric, with quick accents and a multitude of soft strokes busily defining the figures, their costumes, and their setting. The slender figures still betray the lingering influence of Gillot, but there is no mistaking Watteau's nervous flicks and strokes, his shifting light, and his straightforward presentation of a theatrical scene.

The architectural study on the verso of the Rotterdam sheet was first mentioned only in 1965 in Eidelberg's dissertation (published in 1977) where its connection with Watteau's painting *Promenade on the Ramparts* (fig. 1) was recognized. As Eidelberg pointed out, the correspondence



verso



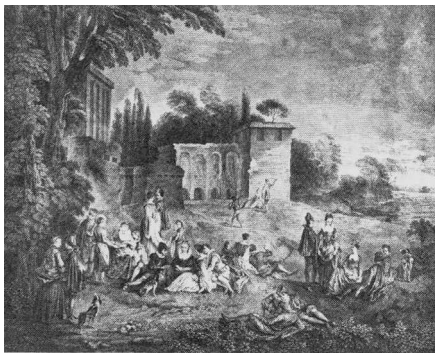


fig. 1. Aubert after Watteau, *Promenade on the Ramparts,* engraving (DV 113).

between the drawn and painted buildings is very close, and probably the drawing once included the battlements that extend to the left in the painting. Though Watteau surely made this study from life, the building has yet to be identified.

The close stylistic correspondence between the drawings on both recto and verso suggests that the studies were made contemporaneously. That is reinforced by the fact that one finds dogs similar to the one on the recto in *Promenade on the Ramparts* as well as young cavaliers who wear the same kind of puffed beret as the one worn by the actor at right in the drawing. Both the painting and the drawing probably preceded *Jealousy* and Watteau's success at the Academy in 1712, but appear to have postdated his military works of 1709-1710. They can both be dated therefore to c. 1711.

PROVENANCE
Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 360); Franz Koenigs (Lugt *suppl.* 1023a); purchased by D. G. van Beuningen and given by him with the Koenigs collection to the Boymans Museum Foundation in 1940, F.I. 152.

EXHIBITIONS
Amsterdam 1935, no. 9.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 355, no. 72; Dacier 1926-1927, no. 59; PM 1957, no. 99; Eidelberg 1967, pp. 176-177; Eidelberg 1968, p. 451; Cormack 1970, no. 5; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 68-70; RM 1984 (in press).

PRINTS
The figures were etched by Caylus but were not included in the *Fddc.* (See Dacier 1926-1927, no. 59)

## 12 Actors Parodying a Military Parade

Red chalk
139 x 214 (5½ x 8½)
Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt

This lively theatrical scene is one of a group of three such studies of comic scenes and actors in the Hessisches Landesmuseum. All three drawings were formerly attributed to Gillot, though two, including the present sheet, were reattributed to Watteau by Parker and Mathey (PM 117, 118) and the third (fig. 1) was published as Watteau by Eidelberg in 1973 (p. 236). The sheet exhibited here is the most complete compositionally, presenting what appears to be an actual theater scene showing actors imitating a military parade. At left, an officer is mounted on his "horse" formed by two men; behind him the fool holds his long stick on his shoulder, as if it were a rifle; a flutist provides the marching music while the standard-bearer and a companion move to the front of the procession.





fig. 1. Watteau, *Studies of Actors,* Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt.

Both the spirit and the presentation of the scene derive clearly from Gillot, thus explaining the past attribution to that artist, but the staccato accenting, the vibrant line, and the mobile light are all characteristic of Watteau's hand. Though the Gillotesque features might conceivably have indicated that this was copied from a Gillot original, the fluid lines and overall air of spontaneity suggest that the composition must be Watteau's own.

None of Watteau's paintings and few of his drawings present comparable scenes, making it difficult to assign a date to this sheet. The old attribution to Gillot would suggest that it might have been made when Watteau was working with him, but the style of the Darmstadt drawing is close in many ways to a sketch (PM 121; location unknown) that is related to *Actors at a Fair* (cat. P. 10), a painting that we date to about 1711, close to *Promenade on the Ramparts* (see fig. D-11.1). Moreover, some of the figure drawings on one of the other Darmstadt sheets (fig. 1) are close stylistically to the Rotterdam study of *Two Actors* (cat. D. 11), dated also to about 1711. It is therefore reasonable to assign the same date to all three Darmstadt drawings.

PROVENANCE
Count E. J. von Dalberg (1773-1833); Grand Duke Ludwig I von Hesse (1753-1830), in 1812; bequeathed by him to the Hessisches Landesmuseum in 1830, AE 2397.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1971-1972, no. 88; Frankfurt 1982, no. Cb 8 and p. 38.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*Stift und Feder* 1929, no. 103 (as Gillot); PM 1957, no. 118; Eidelberg 1970, p. 69; Eidelberg 1973, p. 236; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, p. 31.

COPIES
A counterproof was sold in London on 19 June 1980, no. 45.

## 13 Allegory of Spring

Red chalk on cream paper
156 x 214 (6⅛ x 8⁷⁄₁₆)
The Art Institute of Chicago, Margaret Day Blake Collection

This early compositional drawing was believed by Eidelberg (1966, 1977) to be one of a series of allegorical representations of the Four Seasons by Watteau (figs. 1-3). Although his reconstruction of the group has been doubted recently because of the discrepancies in the drawings' sizes and compositions (Roland-Michel 1984), the relative consistency of style and program (that is, the use of naked children to represent the seasons by the tasks they perform and the games they play), suggests that the compositions do belong together. In any case, the Chicago drawing, with its many allusions to gardening and flowers, is clearly an allegory of spring. Whether the central woman is a personification of Flora, goddess of spring, or Venus, goddess of love, is uncertain because of the lack of clear attributes. However, if the child with the bow and arrows standing next to her is meant to be Cupid, then the woman would probably be his mother, Venus.

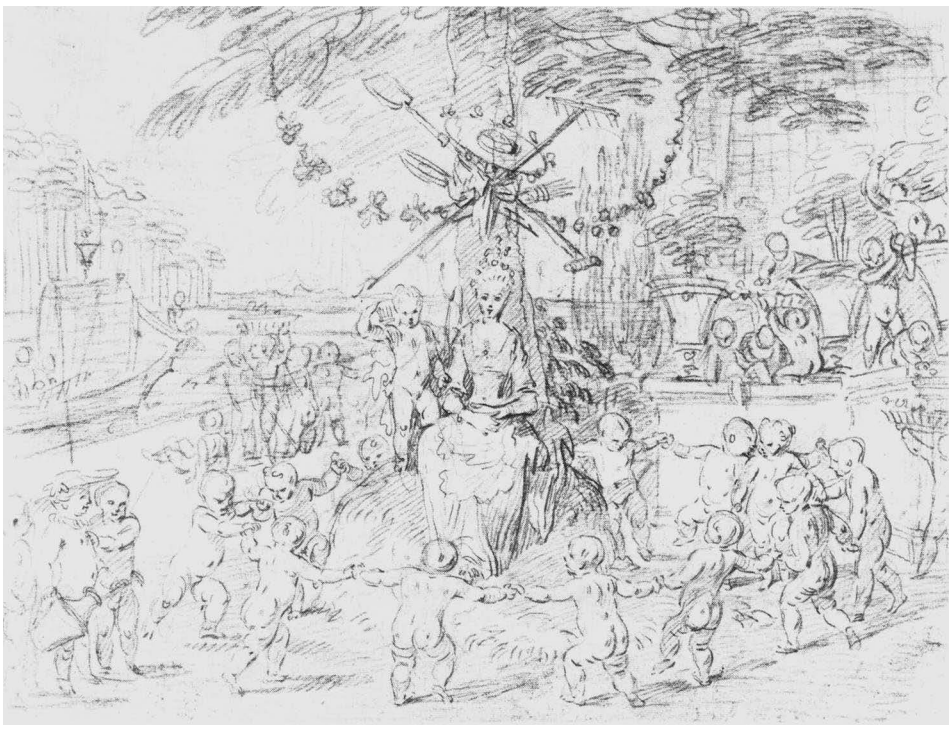




fig. 1. Watteau, *Children Parodying a Ball (Winter)*, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.

Because of some markedly Gillotesque features, the Chicago *Allegory* has been dated automatically to Watteau's stay with Gillot, c. 1705-1708. However, Gillot's influence is always most strongly present in Watteau's compositional drawings, even in those from the very end of his life (for example, *The Shipwreck,* cat. D. 123). Indeed, there are certain details in the Chicago drawing that suggest it may have been made well after the time with Gillot. The children, for example, are very similar to the ones who appear in *The Island of Cythera* that is dated to 1709-1710 by Rosenberg (in cat. P. 9), but which we believe was made c. 1713. The imaginative posing and easy movement of the child-gardeners also agree with a later date for the drawing as does the perspectival construction of the setting. That recalls the Jullienne Seasons, which have the same diagonal articulation of the space and the same use of architecture (compare, for example, *Spring,* fig. 4, sold at London, Christie's, 8 July 1983, no. 48). Since that series probably dates from c. 1711, that is the year that we would assign to the Chicago drawing.

Because a painting of *Winter,* which may or may not be by Watteau but corresponds exactly to the Frankfurt drawing (fig. 1), is known (on loan to the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin; see Mathey 1955, p. 29), Eidelberg believed that all four of the seasons drawings might have been preparatory for paintings which are now lost. No such paintings are recorded anywhere, so that if such a project did exist, it must have been quickly abandoned.

PROVENANCE
Léon Michel-Lévy (sale, Paris, 17 June 1925, no. 118); Jules Strauss (anonymous sale, Paris, 27 March 1949, no. 57; as Gillot); Private collection, Paris; Margaret Day Blake; given by her to the Art Institute of Chicago in 1955, 1955.1004.

EXHIBITIONS
New York 1963, no. 41; Chicago 1970, no. 15; Chicago 1976, no. 27; Frankfurt 1982, p. 40, no. Cb2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Dacier 1926-1927, no. 30; PM 1957, no. 94; Eidelberg 1966, pp. 271-276; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 208-210, 212-214; RM 1984 (in press).

PRINTS
Etched by Caylus but not included in the *Fddc;* inserted into the copy at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.



fig. 2. Watteau, *Children Harvesting Wheat (Summer),* Musée du Louvre, Paris.

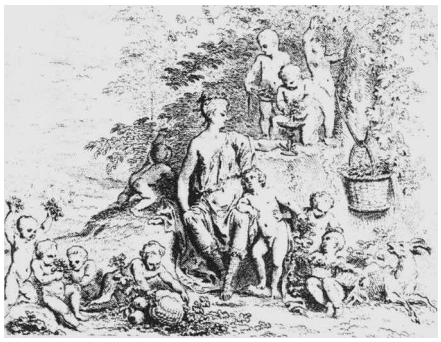


fig. 3. Audran after Watteau, *Children Harvesting Grapes (Autumn),* etching.

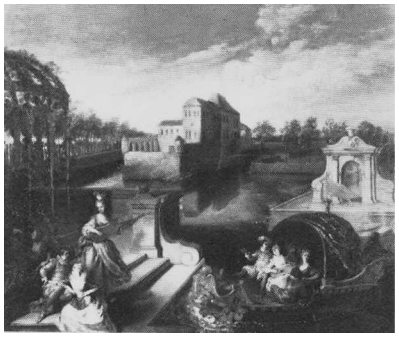


fig. 4. Watteau, *Spring* (from the Jullienne Seasons), location unknown.

## 14 Seated Pierrot and a Study of Drapery

Red chalk on white paper
178 x 195 (7 x 7 11/16)
Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right in Count Tessin's hand, *2708* and *37* (crossed out)
P Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

The painting to which these two studies are related, *The Feast to Pan* (fig. 1), was considered by Adhémar (1950, no. 10) to be "a collaboration with Gillot" and has been generally dated accordingly to Watteau's years with Gillot (see also Camesasca 1970, no. 9). But the Stockholm drawing has features that point to a later date for the painting, corresponding to Huyghe's idea (1950, pp. 37, 56, n. 1) that the painting showed the influence of both Gillot and Audran and must therefore date from about 1710-1711. For example, the minutely detailed hands correspond to the hand studies on the British Museum sheet for *What Have I Done, Cursed Assassins?* (cat. D. 16); the strongly accented drapery folds and decorative details—for example, buttons and seams—are found in such drawings as the Dijon studies for *The Village Bride* (cat. D. 18); the assured handling of the chalks and the bright contrasts of lights and darks are typical of those drawings and other comparable sheets (cats. D. 17, 19, 22). Various features of the painting itself also suggest that it could not have preceded Watteau's first military paintings, but must instead have come afterward. The *fête galante* couple at left (see fig. 1), for example, corresponds to figures in such paintings as *Promenade on the Ramparts* while a structural feature such as the walls on which the figures are perched has its equivalent in Chicago's sketch for an *Allegory of Spring* (cat. D. 13). That drawing also features a naked putto carrying a basket of flowers on his head similar to the one at right in *The Feast to Pan.* All of these connections allow us to propose a date of c. 1711 for both the painting and the Stockholm drawing.

A second study for the figure of Pierrot is known (fig.




14



fig. 1. Aubert after Watteau, *Feast to Pan,* engraving (DV 226).



fig. 2. Watteau, *Pierrot Playing a Flute,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.

2), but it is not drawn with the same force and conviction as the one in Stockholm. It does, however, have some important changes in pose, such as the drawing up of the left knee so that the foot is partially hidden by the right pantleg, the opening up of the left hand on the flute, and the slight lowering of the right arm, which identify it as the definitive study for the painting. Only the hat is changed further in the final work. The Louvre study seems to have been a rapid, general sketch in which Watteau concentrated more on the figure's pose than on details of costume and the effects of light, which he had already worked out in the Stockholm drawing.

PROVENANCE
Carl-Gustav Tessin (1695-1770) (Lugt 2985, 2999); Kongliga Biblioteket, by 1790; Kongliga Museum (Lugt 1638); incorporated into the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm in 1866, NM 2822/1863.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1935, no. 83.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Engwall 1935, pp. 342, 346, no. 17; AH 1950, pp. 37, 56, n.l; PM 1957, no. 807; Bjurström 1982, no. 1309.

## 15 Theatrical Figures

Red chalk on cream paper
165 x 205 (6½ x 8⅛)
Inscribed in graphite at lower right, *Wateau*
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

The two young men seated on the ground appear in *Gathering Near the Fountain of Neptune* (cat. P. 22). The first figure at upper left was used as the central motif of a decorative piece for the Hôtel de Nointel, *The Grape Harvester* (lost; DV 79, CR 30G); that same figure and the Bacchus at right are probably related to *The Faun* (cat. P. 3) of the same series. The pose of the cavalier in the center of the top row is very close to Amor's in *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38) and to that of the standing figure at right in *Gathering Near the Fountain;* it also matches, in reverse, the pose of the bridegroom in *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11).

The drawing is executed in two distinct styles, the top row of figures strongly reflecting the influence of Gillot and therefore apparently corresponding to a date prior to 1708; the other two figures matching the style of Watteau's early

maturity, 1712-1714. However, the uniformity of the chalk color indicates that all of the studies were in fact made at about the same time. In their catalogue, Parker and Mathey offered an ingenious and plausible explanation for the stylistic discrepancy: the Gillotesque figures were probably drawn from Watteau's imagination, while those on the bottom were made from life. Since Watteau did occasionally revert to a Gillotesque idiom throughout his career, particularly in rapid compositional drawings that sprang from his imagination (see cats. D. 13, 87, 101, 123), it is perfectly possible that the top figures on the Morgan Library sheet were indeed drawn later than it would at first appear. In fact, the sprightly poses, the mobile line, and the fully rounded (though slender) figures are more consistent with a later date.

The weight of the evidence, taking into account both the style of the drawing and the dating of the related paintings, points to a date for the whole sheet between 1712 and 1714. In execution, the two figures at the bottom of the Morgan Library study are comparable to a number of drawings from that same period, including a key drawing for *Pierrot Content* (fig. 1; destroyed during World War II) that is datable to c. 1712; the Dijon drawing for *The Village Bride* (cat. D. 18); and the *Three Figures* in a private collection related to *Love in the French Theater* (cat. D. 19). It is even more closely related to another study for this last painting, the *Studies of Two Young Men* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig. 2) in which one figure is a study for Crispin at lower right in the painting and the other is a sketch for the dancing man. In spite of differences in scale, the forms, folds, contours, and even the hands are described in much the same way; the figures are given similarly animated poses; and even the clothing worn by one of the Cambridge figures is identical to that worn by the figures in the Morgan Library drawing. Most important, however, is the fact that the young men in both drawings have precisely the same physique and the same dimpled countenance, suggesting that one model posed for both.

The related paintings—*Gathering Near the Fountain, The Village Bride,* and *Love in the French Theater*—all date from the 1712-1714 period, further supporting the dating of the drawing proposed here. The one impediment is the consistent dating of *The Faun* and the series of decorative pieces for the Hôtel de Nointel to c. 1708 (see cats. P. 2, 3). However, that date is not based on documentary evidence, but rather on the mistaken assumption that Watteau's work as a decorator was limited almost exclusively to the time that he was with Audran. It is by no means impossible that those panels could not, in fact, have been painted later. Indeed, it is more likely that Watteau would have received such a commission only after he had started making a name for himself, that is, after 1712. In that case, he could only have painted the panels in 1712 at the earliest, a time that would be consistent with the earliest date that we propose for the Morgan Library drawing.

PROVENANCE

Mr. Riggall; C. Fairfax Murray; purchased with Murray's entire collection by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1910; The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, I,275.

EXHIBITIONS

Los Angeles 1961, no. 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

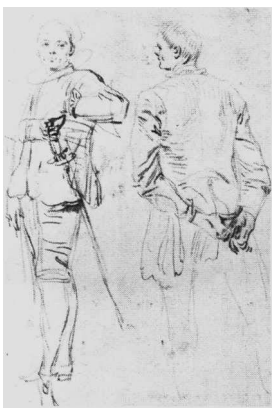
Murray [1905], no. 275; Mathey 1938, p. 161; PM 1957, no. 25; Cailleux 1961, p. iii; CR 1970, under no. 30D; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 28, 146; P 1984, pp. 47, 258, 290, n.l., fig 41.

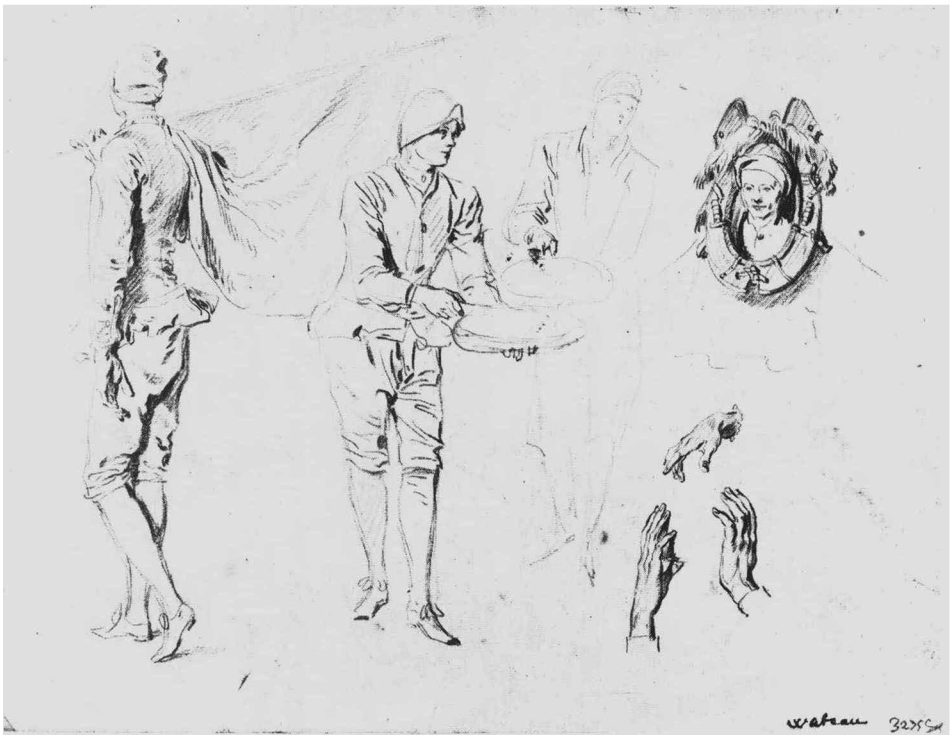


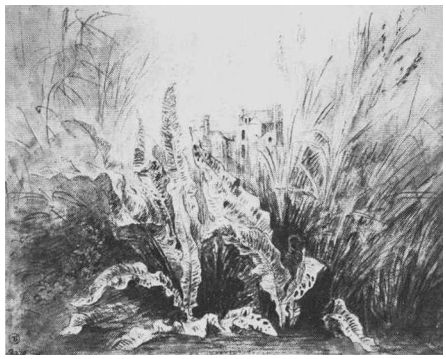
fig. 1. Watteau, *Three Studies of a Young Man,* formerly Kunsthalle, Bremen, now lost.



fig. 2. Watteau, *Two Studies of a Young Man,* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.







verso

## 16 Three Studies of a Man, Another Wearing a Yoke, Three Studies of Hands

verso: Studies of Herbage
Red chalk on cream paper; verso: black chalk and gray wash with a few scattered smudges of red chalk
173 x 228 (6 13/16 x 9)
Inscribed on the recto in brown ink at lower right, *wateau 3275* and Crozat's paraph (Lugt 2951); numbered on the verso in brown ink at lower left, *3276,* again with Crozat's paraph
W The Trustees of the British Museum, London

The flagbearer, the man wearing a horse collar, the light sketch of the man holding the basin, and the topmost study of a hand were all used in *What Have I Done, Cursed Assassins?* (fig. 1). That is another painting that has always been dated either to Watteau's stay with Gillot, or to his time with Audran, making it a predecessor to the earliest military paintings. Both the British Museum's figure studies and the painting itself, however, appear to belong more convincingly to the group of works that we date to between 1712 and 1714. In the Moscow painting, for example, even though the setting is quite stagelike, the active poses and the movement of the figures in a rhythmic procession across the canvas mark it as a work that is at least as advanced as *Pierrot Content* (cat. P. 13). The drawing, too, corresponds in style to sheets for *The Village Bride* and *The Island of Cythera,* among others (cats. D. 18, 22). Another drawing for *What Have I Done,* known now only through a counterproof formerly in the Bordeaux-Groult collection, Paris (PM 37), has the same kind of regimented order in the placement of the figures on the page as the sheet in Dijon (cat. D. 18), with similar handling of both line and form. The studies of the man wearing the horse collar and of hands are perhaps more minutely detailed than Watteau's drawings of this period generally are, but the other three rather cursory studies recall Watteau's treatment of the *Five Studies of a Man* (Louvre; PM 42) for *The Village Bride.*

The study of grasses and ferns on the verso is Watteau's only known drawing executed exclusively in black chalk with gray wash, and also his most elaborate plant study. Unlike the fragmentary tree and plant studies on the versos of two other sheets (cats. D. 16, 22), this one presents a

fig. 1. Watteau, *What Have I Done, Cursed Assassins?* Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.



complete composition. In fact, the presence of the house in the center transforms it into a landscape, with the small scale of the building implying a stretch of field and open spaces lying between it and the foreground plants. Drawn as if the artist were lying on the ground in front of them, the plants are studied in such detail that the broad-leaved plant at center can be identified as a hart's tongue fern (exh. cat. London 1980-1981, no. 11). But Watteau's interest in this vegetation is not solely botanical, for the curly-edged leaves, silhouetted against the darkly shadowed grasses and enhanced by the patterned shadings and accents that give them body, create thoroughly decorative forms that must have appealed especially to the ornamental side of his art.

Watteau's complete mastery of both the black chalks and the washes indicate that this drawing was certainly made no earlier than the figure studies on the verso. Presumably it was made at about the same time. The coincidence of the watercolor plant study on the verso of the Frankfurt *Three Pilgrims* (cat. D. 22) and the watercolor landscape on the verso of the Haarlem *Figure Sketches* (cat. D. 29), all from the same general period, makes it seem that Watteau was preoccupied with such studies between 1712 and 1715.

PROVENANCE

Pierre Crozat (1665-1740) (Lugt 2951; possibly included in lot 1063 of his sale, Paris, 10 April-13 May, 1741); Thomas Dimsdale (1758-1823) (Lugt 2426); probably bought with most of Dimsdale's collection by Samuel Woodburn (1786-1853); Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 299); purchased by the British Museum, 1891-7-13-11.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1980-1981, no. 11 (verso).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lafenestre 1907, pl. 10; Parker 1930, no. 9; Parker 1935, p. 6; Mathey 1939, p. 152; PM 1957, nos. 43 (recto), 476 (verso); Cormack 1970, no. 35 (verso); Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 31, 137; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 61-62.

## 17 Two Women Seated

Red chalk on beige paper
178 x 193 (7⅝ x 7)
The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art (Nelson Fund), Kansas City

Even Watteau's earliest drawings of women boast a simple charm that comes from the decorative handling of both contours and surfaces. In the figure on the right of the Kansas City sheet, for example, every miniature fold of the lady's mantle is clearly indicated with spidery lines that follow the twists of the cloth. In addition, the larger expanse of the skirt is decoratively patterned in two ways: through the regular alternation of patches of light and shade; and through the meticulous spacing and even weighting of the hatchings that



fig. 1. de Favannes after Watteau, *The Delights of Summer,* engraving (DV 132).

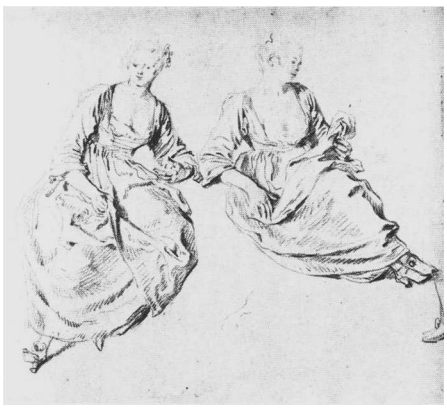


fig. 2. Watteau, *Two Women Seated,* location unknown.



form the shadows. Similar features are found in several drawings dating from 1712-1714, in particular Frankfurt's study for *The Island of Cythera* (cat. D. 22), Haarlem's sheet of *Six Figures* related to *What Have I Done, Cursed Assassins?* (PM 39), the lost study of *Three Figures* (fig. D. 15-1), for *Pierrot Content* and, more elaborately, the Dublin *Three Standing Figures* (cat. D. 23) for *The Conversation.* Since in those drawings Watteau placed more emphasis on the full rounding of each form than he did in the Kansas sheet, we would date *Two Women Seated* to the early part of that period, c. 1712. *The Delights of Summer* (fig. 1), to which the woman holding the fan on this sheet is related, has in fact been dated to 1712 by Mathey (1959), but Adhémar (1950) chose to place it as late as 1716. Unfortunately the condition of the painting is such that it is impossible to make an accurate judgment of its date.

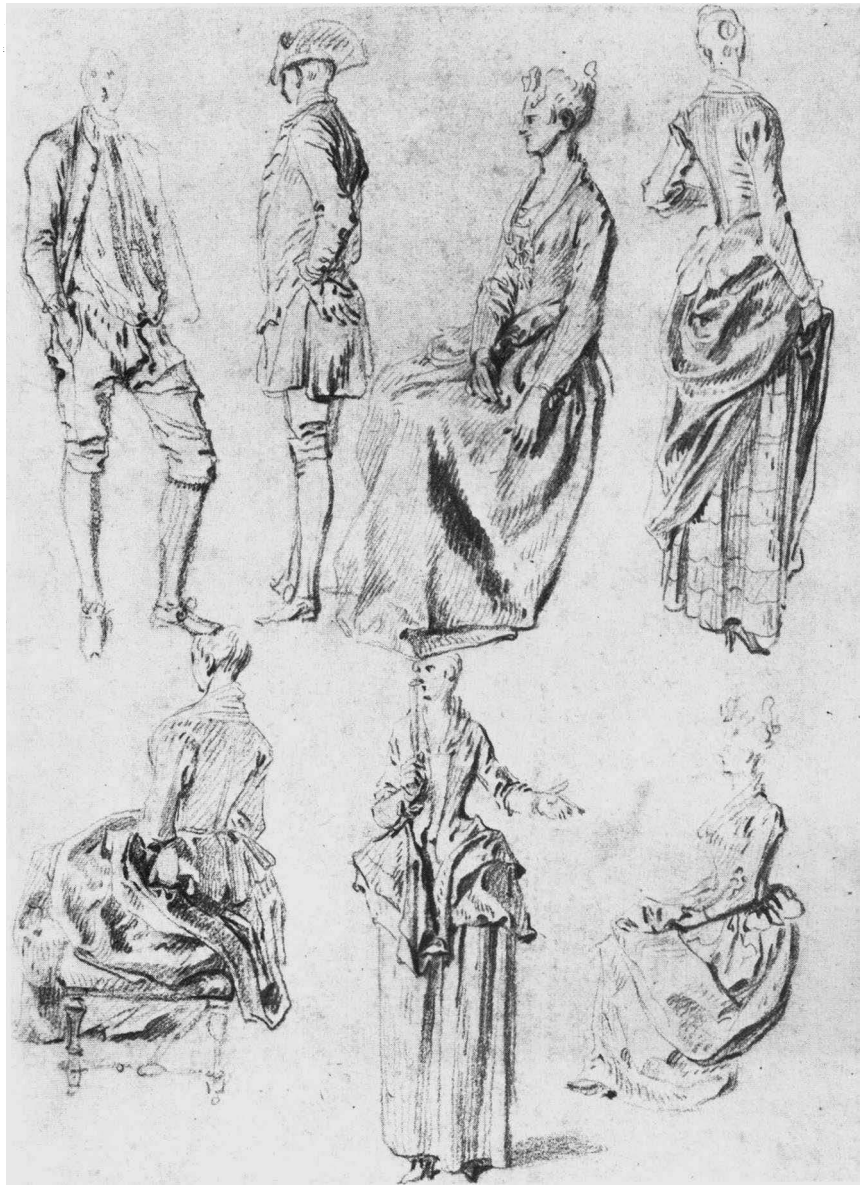
A previously unknown sheet, with two more studies of the same model drawn in an identical style, appeared recently on the Paris and London art markets (fig. 2). One of the studies on that sheet is directly related to *The Anxious Lover* (Musée Condé, Chantilly; DV 165, CR 211), which, for lack of other works executed in a similarly airy and sketchy style, is generally dated toward the end of Watteau's career. A partial study of a man's leg at right on this new sheet recalls the position of a kneeling man in the lost drawing for *Pierrot Content* and another pilgrim in the Dresden drawing of *Three Figures* (see figs. D. 15-1, 22-1), related to *The Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9), thereby providing other links to the 1712-1714 group of drawings and paintings.

PROVENANCE
Marquis de Valori (1820-1883) (Lugt 2500; sale, Paris, 25-26 November 1907, no. 246); to Roblin; Richard Owen, London; purchased by the Nelson Museum in 1934, 34-145.

EXHIBITIONS
Detroit 1950, no. 58; Los Angeles 1961, no. 13; Columbia 1979.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*Art News* (13 October 1934), p. 3; PM 1957, no. 31.

18



## 18 Two Men and Two Women Standing and Three Women Seated

Red chalk
232 x 174 (9⅛ x 6⅞)
Numbered in red chalk at upper right, *5*
P Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon

The standing man seen in lost profile to the left, the standing woman at upper right, and the woman seen from behind, seated on a stool, all appear in *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11). The man standing at upper left, his hands in his pockets, is also found in that painting, scarcely visible in the darkened area at left but clearly seen in the engraving of 1729 by C. N. Cochin (DV 111). The first standing man and the seated woman appear also in *Musette* (lost; DV 262; CR 93) and *The Country Ball* (cat. P. 24) in a group of seven figures that originated in *The Village Bride*.

Such a neatly regimented placement of several figures on a single page is uncommon in Watteau's work and can be found only in a few sheets that are all executed in a relatively uniform style. One such drawing is in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (PM 39); another is known through a counterproof that was formerly in the Bordeaux–Groult collection, Paris (PM 37). Both of those are related to *What Have I Done, Cursed Assassins?* (fig. D. 16-1). Another drawing for the same painting (cat. D. 16), although less rigidly ordered, shows similar qualities of line and form with the same kind of strong light that gives the figures solid, cylindrical volumes. Presumably all of these drawings were made at about the same time.

Although *The Village Bride* has been dated consistently to 1710-1711 (Adhémar, Mathey, Camesasca; see also cat. P. 11), the evidence of this and other preparatory drawings leads us to prefer a date of c. 1713, after *Pierrot Content* and contemporary with *The Conversation* (cat. P. 23), with which *The Village Bride* shares a preparatory drawing (cat. D. 23). Although the Dijon drawing is more rigidly arranged than the lost study for *Pierrot Content* (fig. D. 15-1) and is drawn on a smaller scale than the figures for *The Island of Cythera* (cat. D. 22), the studies have a quality of delineation, an emphatic use of accented lines, and neatly constructed volumes that allow us to group them with those others.

That the Dijon drawing was made in preparation for *The Village Bride* rather than for either of the other two paintings to which it is related is suggested by the fact that the long, slim proportions and small heads of the drawn figures match most closely the physical type of the villagers in the Berlin painting. In addition, since the sheet bears four studies for *The Village Bride* and only two for *Musette* and *The Country Ball* (and those two are for figures in the group common to all three paintings), it is logical to assume that the drawing was made originally for *The Village Bride*. One can even suggest that all seven studies were made specifically in preparation for that painting, though in the end only four of them were used.

PROVENANCE
Albert Joliet; given by him to the city of Dijon in 1928; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, 2803.

EXHIBITIONS
Dijon 1960, no. 78; Paris 1976, no. 13; York 1978, no. 13; Montauban 1981-1982, no. 49.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Lavallée 1941-1944, p. 116; PM 1957, no. 40; Quarré 1978, p. 119, fig. 4.

## 19 Three Figures

Red chalk
206 x 164 (8⅛ x 6½)
Private Collection

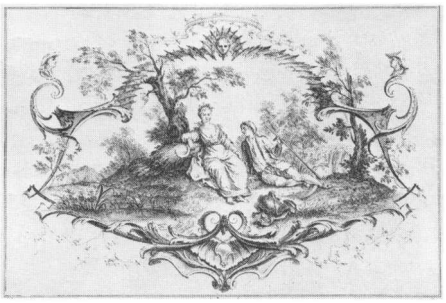
Through the reclining figure at bottom and the bagpiper at the right, this drawing is related to three different paintings. The reclining figure is a sketch for Bacchus in *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38) and was used also in *Summer*, one of a series of the Four Seasons engraved by Gabriel Huquier (fig. 1). The bagpiper is one of the musicians seen at left in *Love in the French Theater* and closely resembles another one in *The Country Ball* (cat. P. 24). The third figure was not used in any of Watteau's pictures, but two details suggest that he might have been Watteau's first idea for Bacchus in *Love in the French Theater*: he is sitting on the leopard skin that is the god's traditional attribute, and the staff he carries may be a thyrsus, another of his symbols. In the end Watteau rejected that pose, perhaps because of its rigidity and lack of grace, opting instead for the more elegant reclining pose that he sketched on the same sheet.

The style of the drawing is compatible with that of several studies dated here between 1712 and 1714, including the lost study for *Pierrot Content* (fig. D. 15-1), the British Museum sheet for *What Have I Done, Cursed Assassins?* (cat. D. 16), and the Frankfurt study for *The Island of Cythera* (cat. D. 22). It is also quite similar in style to other drawings for *Love in the French Theater*, especially the study for Amor who stands and clinks glasses with Bacchus (cat. D. 20); the study for the dancing woman in another private collection (PM 29); and the study for the dancing man in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (see fig. D. 15-2). The clean contours and multiplicity of accented lines, the neat detailing of the



19

fig. 1. Huquier after Watteau, *Summer,* engraving (DV 91).



costumes, even the youth of the model are all characteristic of drawings that belong to this time. As was the case also with Watteau's drawings for *Jealousy* and *Pierrot Content* (PM 41 and fig. D. 15-1), the model here wears ordinary clothes, with only slight concessions to his eventual appearance in the painting.

*Love in the French Theater* has always been dated to 1716 or even later because its pendant, *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 61), is thought to represent the night scene from *L'Heureuse surprise,* the first play presented by the Comédie-Italienne upon the return of that troupe to Paris in 1716 (see Appendix A, *Watteau in His Time).* But as Rosenberg has pointed out (cat. P. 38), the paintings are not true pendants and must have been made at quite different times. The style of this drawing and the other related sheets suggests in fact that Watteau started *Love in the French Theater* perhaps as early as 1713. Indeed, the painting itself has several elements in common with *The Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9), especially the peasants at left and the row of actors at right, which suggest that it was finished not much later than that.

The dating of the drawing also may shed some light on the date of *The Country Ball* (cat. P. 24), which has been placed variously at 1712 (Mathey 1959), c. 1714 (Camesasca 1970), and mid-1716 by Adhémar (1950). All of the drawings related to that painting belong to the same group as the bagpiper so there is no reason to believe that the painting was made any later than 1714. Its scale is considerably larger than most of Watteau's paintings up to that time, with the exception of the *The Village Bride* (with which it shares the same group of seven spectators), but one would expect to find some other significant changes in the posing of the figures and the compositional layout if the painting had been made in 1715 or later.

For a discussion of the Four Seasons prints to which this drawing is also related, see the following entry.

PROVENANCE

British private collection; purchased by the present owner through Richard Owen in August 1927.

EXHIBITIONS

Providence 1931; Cambridge 1934; Paris-Rotterdam-New York 1958-1959, no. 84.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PM 1957, no. 88.

# 20 Standing Man Holding a Glass

Red chalk
169 x 102 (6 11/16 x 4 1/16)
Inscribed in brown ink at lower left, *Watteau*
P Private Collection, Paris

This study is linked to the preceding sheet in two ways. It is a preparatory study for the same painting, *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38), and is related to *Autumn* (fig. 1) of the same series of arabesques representing the Four Seasons engraved by Huquier as *Summer* (fig. 19-1). Like the *Three Figures,* this standing man appears to have been drawn specifically for the Berlin picture, for, though his hat and footwear were changed in the painting, he bears the quiver of arrows that will identify him there as Amor. Another sketch of the same theatrical character, in much the same pose but wearing the plumed hat and shoes found in the painting, is on a study sheet of *Theatrical Figures* in the Morgan Library (cat. D. 15). But whereas the *Standing Man* has the careful execution that suggests a preparatory study for a specific figure in a painting, the figures on the Morgan sheet have much more the air of casual sketches made for no particular purpose. Possibly Watteau made the study of the *Standing Man Holding a Glass,* based on the pose in the Morgan Library drawing but drawn from a live model, when he was working out the composition of the Berlin painting. Here, however, he paid more careful attention to the rendering of the model's pose, gesture, and expression, without bothering to give him the costume that he would wear in the final painting. For those details Watteau must have returned to the Morgan Library drawing.

The execution of the drawing, with the neatly placed parallels and accents, the clean contours, and the careful drawing of the hands, is consistent not only with the *Three Figures* discussed in the preceding entry, but also with the other drawings that we date between 1712 and 1714 (cats. D. 15-23). It is more tightly constructed and carefully drawn than most of those but the qualities of line, light, form, and surface are nearly identical. Additionally, the same close-fitting hat is worn by the figures in the British Museum's study for *What Have I Done, Cursed Assassins?* (cat. D. 16), also from the same time, and the model himself has the same youthful appearance that one finds regularly in those drawings.

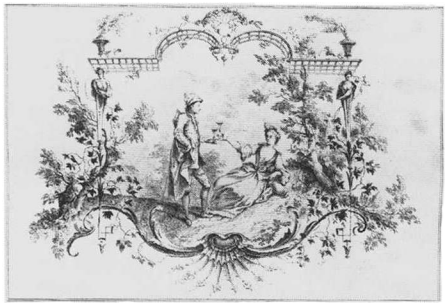


fig. 1. Huquier after Watteau, *Autumn,* engraving (DV 92).

The *Standing Man Holding a Glass,* one of the *Three Figures* (cat. D. 19), and the young man seated on the ground in the lost drawing related to *Pierrot Content* (fig. D. 15-1) all appear in compositions from a series of arabesques representing the Four Seasons known through the engravings by Huquier. Judging from the inscription *A Watteau in.* (A Watteau invented it) on the prints, the engravings were made from drawings rather than paintings, but none of the drawings have survived. It is clear, though, that all of those compositions must have been based on figure drawings that Watteau had already made, presumably around 1712-1714. Certainly, as we have shown, the three drawings of young men belong to that time, and although no drawings for the female figures have survived, their faces and proportions (at least as they were reproduced in the engravings) match those of the women from Watteau's paintings and drawings from that period (for example, *The Island of Cythera;' The Village Bride,'* and *Pierrot Content,'* cats. P. 9, 11, 13). The compositional drawings themselves were probably made during the same years.

PROVENANCE
Mario Uzielli; Robert von Hirsch, Basel (sale, London, Sotheby's, 20 June 1978, no. 64); purchased at that sale by the present owner.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Parker 1931, p. 29; PM 1957, no. 56; P 1984, p. 290, n. 56.







fig. 1. Watteau, *Five Studies of Heads,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.

## 21 Two Studies of a Child's Head and Four of a Woman's

Two shades of red chalk with black and white chalks on tan paper
222 x 216 (8¾ x 8½)
W, P Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Bequest of Meta and Paul J. Sachs

The same woman studied in the four sketches at right on this sheet can be found on other pages of head studies by Watteau, including the *Five Studies of a Woman's Head* (fig. 1) and *Nine Studies of Heads* (PM 741), both in the Louvre; the *Two Studies of a Woman's Head* in an American private collection (PM 766); and probably also on several others in which the facial resemblance is not quite so obvious (for example, PM 742, 729; PM 723, which obviously presents the same model, may actually be a copy of the central head from the Fogg sheet). The child does not appear in any other drawing by Watteau.

Closest to the Fogg drawing in technique and execution is the Louvre sheet *Five Studies of a Woman's Head.* Both drawings have the same neat diagonal hatching on the face that shapes and models the forms through changes in pressure and spacing. In addition, the eyes, nose, ears, and lips are picked out in the same way, with deep red accents marking the most critical points of each. Some of the heads on both sheets have the rather artificial tilt found in such paintings as *The Island of Cythera* and *Love in the French Theater* (cats. P. 9, 38). In fact, the head at the center of the top row in the Louvre drawing is posed at the same angle and is given the same expression as the head of the pilgrim at left in *The Island of Cythera,* and the central study on the Fogg sheet is very close to the head of the woman who stands between Bacchus and Amor in *Love in the French Theater.* Both the Fogg and Louvre drawings could well date from as early as 1713, making them two of the earliest known sheets of head studies in Watteau's oeuvre; they would also be among his earliest known drawings in *trois crayons.* Close examination of the Fogg drawing shows that Watteau was still thinking in

terms of a single-color drawing, for he first drew the heads completely in red chalk, adding the black and white only after the studies were essentially complete.

Watteau returned to the drawing several years later in c. 1719-1720 to use the head of the child at lower left in *The Dance* (cat. P. 72). In the painting the child is almost as stiff and staring as he is in the drawing, but the painting's context mitigates the awkwardness.

PROVENANCE
Lord Ivor Spencer-Churchill; Durlacher (?) to Paul J. Sachs 22 December 1922; bequeathed by him and his wife Meta to the Fogg Art Museum in 1965, 1965.336.

EXHIBITIONS
Pittsburgh 1933, no. 11; Montreal 1950, no. 98; Richmond 1952; Kansas City 1956, no. 188; Waterville 1956, no. 8; Rotterdam-Paris-New York 1958-1959, no. 91; Baltimore 1959, no. 78; Cambridge 1965, no. 28; Providence 1975, no. 43

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*Vasari*, IX, 1913-1914, no. 27; Parker 1931, no. 86; Mongan and Sachs 1943, no. 641, fig. 325; AH 1950, under no. 208; PM 1957, no. 712; Watrous 1957, pp. 96, 102-103; Mongan 1958, pp. 199-200, pl. 6; Goldstein 1982, pl. 50; P 1984, p. 289, n. 37.

## 22 Three Pilgrims

verso: Study of Plants
Red chalk on white paper; verso, black chalk, brown wash, yellow watercolor, and a touch of red chalk
165 x 199 (6½ x 7⅜)
Inscribed on the verso in graphite, *Antoine Watteau*
W, P Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt

The central figure was used for the man seen from behind at center in *The Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9). The striding man at left can be seen in the group of figures at right in the same painting and the standing woman may have been used, with slight changes, for the figure next to him.

The firm, clean contours and the crisp contrasts of light and shade here result in some of the most sculptural figures in Watteau's oeuvre. Although the handling is consistent with that of the Dijon sheet for *The Village Bride* (cat. D. 18), showing a like manipulation of the chalks and a similar solidity of form, the larger scale of the Frankfurt figures and the more carefully regulated modeling give the studies an entirely new effect. Few of Watteau's surviving drawings were made in this style. One that corresponds exactly to the *Three Pilgrims* is a study in Dresden (fig. 1) for the same painting. Both appear to have been made specifically for *The Island of Cythera,* or at least with the pilgrimage theme in mind, and could even have been made during the same drawing session. Another similar drawing is the Dublin sheet (cat. D. 23), which bears studies for both *The Conversation* (cat. P. 23) and *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11). The scale, form, and posing of the figures is almost identical to the Frankfurt studies,

verso





fig. 1. Watteau, *Three Pilgrims and a Putto,* Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden.



making it clear that both drawings must be closely contemporary. That conclusion is reinforced by the nearly exact correspondence of both drawings in such details as the handling of the faces and hair and especially in the use of verticals to define the calves and legs.

*The Island of Cythera,* to which the Frankfurt studies are so closely linked, has almost always been dated very early in Watteau's career (Adhémar, 1708-1709; Camesasca, c. 1705; Mathey, 1709; Stuffmann in exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982, and Posner, 1709-1710), but the connection between this drawing and the Dublin sheet indicates that both the painting and the drawing belong more probably to the period around 1713. Roland-Michel (exh. cat. Paris 1980) came to roughly the same conclusion, for different but equally valid reasons, in her note on the Heugel version of the painting, which is now discredited but was then thought to be the original (see cat. P. 9).

The plant study on the verso is remarkably precise, though some of the flora remain unfinished. As far as we are able to discover, the mixture of media is unique in Watteau's oeuvre. In fact, almost every one of Watteau's plant studies is executed in a different technique, demonstrating a willingness to experiment with media that is not quite so common in his figure drawings. As he did also in the British Museum study of *Herbage* (cat. D. 16), Watteau here silhouetted some of the plant's leaves in order to bring out the decorative qualities of the shapes. He apparently never used these plant studies for his paintings, but seems to have been content to make them for his own pleasure and instruction.

PROVENANCE
In the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, since the first half of the nineteenth century, 1047.

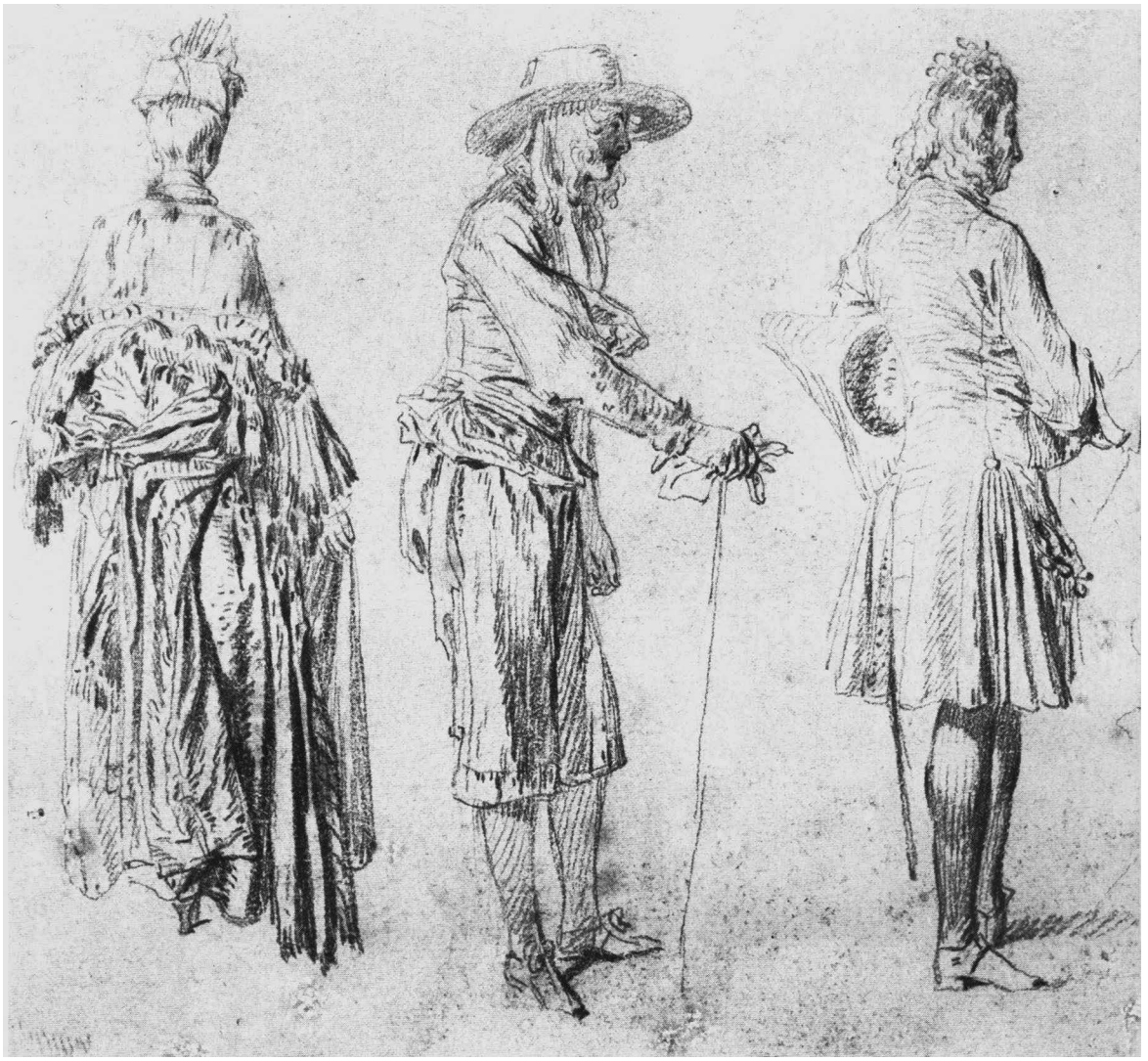
EXHIBITIONS
Frankfurt 1982, nos. Cb 9 (recto), Cb 11 (verso).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*Stift und Feder* 1926, no. 4; PM 1957, nos. 23 (recto), 453 (verso); RM 1984 (in press).



fig. 1. Watteau,
*Two Figures,*
*One Standing and One Seated,*
École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

23



## 23 Three Standing Figures, Two Men and a Woman

Red chalk on beige paper
150 x 163 (5 15/16 x 6 7/16)
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

The man with the cane was used as the bride's father in *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11). The woman at right and the man at left appear as a couple in *The Conversation* (cat. P. 23), but with the man placed at the woman's left.

The Dublin sheet, with its clean, controlled, and polished execution, is very close to two studies for *The Island of Cythera* (see cat. D. 22), and is almost identical to another sheet with studies for *The Conversation* in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris (fig. 1). All four sheets are characterized by sculptural solidity and immobility of the figures and share certain details of execution that bind the group closely together: the long vertical or diagonal parallels that shape the legs; the sharp accenting of intricate folds and clothing details; and the crisp focusing of the light.

The two paintings to which the Dublin sheet is related, *The Conversation* and *The Village Bride,* have been judged to be as many as six years apart. *The Village Bride* has been dated quite consistently to c. 1710-1711 (Adhémar, Mathey, Camesasca) while *The Conversation* has been dated variously to 1716 (Adhémar), c. 1715 (Camesasca, Roland-Michel), 1712-1713 (Parker and Mathey, under no. 729), and 1712 (Mathey). The presence of studies for both paintings on the same sheet suggests, however, that the paintings were made much closer together and that they may in fact date from about the same time. The style of the Dublin drawing clearly indicates that *The Village Bride* must have been made after 1712 and *Pierrot Content* (see cat. P. 13 for the dating of that painting and other related drawings). But neither the paintings nor the Dublin drawing can date later than about 1714, for after that date the rigid poses found in all of them disappear from Watteau's work.

PROVENANCE
Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 346; 18 gns.); purchased by Doyle for the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, 2300.

EXHIBITIONS
Dublin 1964, no. 202; London 1967, no. 50.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 51; AH 1950, under no. 110; White 1967, pp. 411-412; P 1984, p. 285, n. 53.

PRINTS
The man with the cane at center was etched by J. Audran (*Fddc* 343).

## 24 Two Standing Men with Muskets, One Standing Woman Seen from Behind

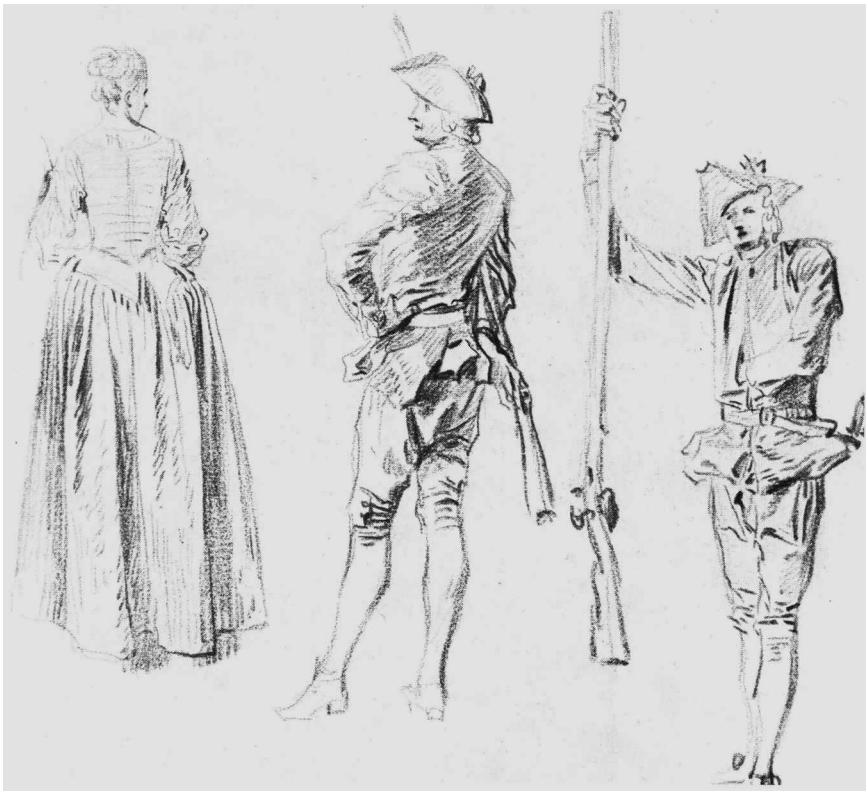
Red chalk
180 x 210 (7 1/16 x 8 1/4)
Private Collection, Baltimore

At first glance the two men, with their muskets and three-cornered hats, would appear to be soldiers, but their clothing is by no means military. It is more likely that these are hunters, and indeed the figure at right was adapted for the man standing at center in *The Hunt Meeting* (fig. 1). The pose of the central figure was a favorite of Watteau, and although he never used this particular man in any of his paintings, similar figures can be found in paintings ranging from the early military piece *The Line of March* (cat. P. 4) to a mature work like *The Champs-Elysées* (Wallace Collection; CR 156). Perhaps by coincidence that central figure is almost identical, in reverse, to one studied on a sheet in Valenciennes (cat. D. 35). The study of the woman also does not appear in any of Watteau's paintings, though similar promenading ladies seen from behind are found in many of his works.

The simple arrangement of these three figures on the page, their proportions, the character of their poses, and the definition of their forms and surfaces are consistent with Watteau's drawings dating from c. 1712-1713 (cats. D. 18-20, 22, 23). Even though here the execution is looser and the poses are less sculpted, this sheet appears to belong to that same period. But none of the figures, as far as we can discover, were used by Watteau at that time. Rather, Watteau waited until nearly the end of his life, c. 1720, to use the man at right in his large *Hunt Meeting.* It is hard to imagine why Watteau, when he was making that painting—shortly before or after completion of the stupendous *Gersaint's Shopsign* (cat. P. 73)—chose to use a relatively youthful drawing when he must have had a large stock of later drawings also available to him. But equally inexplicable in that same painting was Watteau's decision to borrow two figures (the cavalier

fig. 1. Watteau, *The Hunt Meeting,*
Wallace Collection, London.





24

helping the lady to dismount at right) from *The Fair at Impruneta,* a print by Jacques Callot, and a figure and two dogs from another print, *Venus and Adonis* by Pietro Testa (see cat. D. 124). If the painting was indeed a wedding present to Jean de Jullienne, as is often proposed (following the lead of Alfassa 1910), one would have expected a more completely original work. But the subject, which would have been chosen to please Mme. de Jullienne, who was a keen huntress, may have been partly responsible, for it was not well-suited to Watteau's style or temperament. In fact, it is the parts of the painting that are specific references to the hunt—the dogs, horses, and huntsmen—that are the weakest.

PROVENANCE
Cailleux, Paris; purchased by the present owner in 1959.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Unpublished.

PRINTS
The central figure was etched by J. Audran (*Fddc* 196).

## 25 Study Sheet with a Bust of a Woman, a Man Walking, and the Arms and Hands of an Oboe Player

verso: Study of a Tree
Two shades of red chalk on ivory paper, a faint graphite line cutting vertically through the striding figure; verso, red chalk with brown and green washes
182 x 237 (7 3/16 x 9 3/8)
Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right, *Watteau,* and numbered in graphite, *34*
B The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Watteau's uncanny ability to compose his figures from completely unrelated studies is illustrated by his use of two of the studies from this sheet. For example, he transformed the striding man into a young black servant in *The Conversation* (cat. P. 23): from the neck down the pose of the figure in the painting repeats almost exactly the study from the British Museum sheet, but the man's head has been replaced with a head of a black boy taken from a sheet of head studies now in the Louvre (cat. D. 27). He carried the transformation one step further by making the boy smaller than the other figures in the picture, thus emphasizing his youth. Similarly, the partial study of the oboist from the same British Museum sheet was combined with another head study from the same

Louvre page for use in the trio of musicians at left in *The Country Ball* (cat. P. 24).

The study of a woman on the same page is significant for another reason: Watteau clearly added the lady at right well after he had completed the other two sketches. (For another example, see cat. D. 30.) She was drawn not only in a different shade of red chalk (orange rather than purplish) from the other two studies, but also in a significantly different style. While the striding man and the oboe player's hands can be dated to 1713-1714 because of the former's relationship with *The Conversation* and the style of execution, the study of the lady could only have been made in 1715 at the earliest. The first two studies, especially that of the striding man, are sketchier, looser versions of the tight preparatory drawings that Watteau made for *The Village Bride* and *The Island of Cythera* (see cats. D. 18, 22). The hands of the oboist can also be compared to hand studies related to *What Have I Done, Cursed Assassins?* (cat. D. 16), with the same firm contours and the same detailed treatment of each finger. In the case of the lady, however, the delicate modeling of her face, the suggestion of an enveloping atmosphere, and her pensive mood indicate a later date. Moreover, her loose, cloaklike overdress is found in Watteau's paintings and drawings only from about 1715.

The lady who posed for the study at right has so far remained unidentified, but her features are quite individualized. In fact, the long nose with the slightly bulbous tip, the small pursed mouth, the tiny chin, and the large, closely set eyes suggest that she could well be Pierre Sirois' third daughter who appears on another sheet in the British Museum (see cat. D. 109). If she is indeed Marie-Anne-Elisabeth Sirois, born in 1697, then she would have been at least eighteen at the time that this drawing was made.

The unfinished study of a tree on the verso appears to have been made from nature, though probably not for a specific painting. Trees with similarly massed foliage and slender silhouettes are found in many of Watteau's park scenes, including *The Conversation* and *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25).

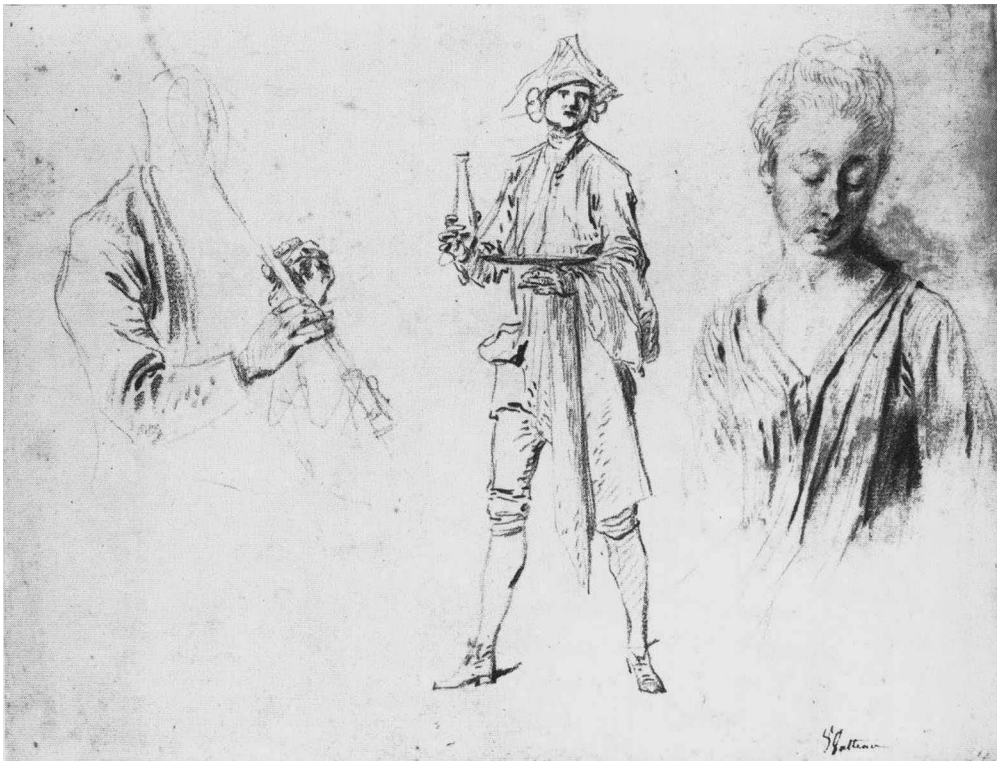
PROVENANCE
Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 321); purchased by the British Museum, London, 1891-7-13-13.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1968, no. 751; London 1980-1981, no. 12 (recto).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 353, no. 34; Lafenestre 1907, pl. 3; Parker 1931, no. 10; Parker 1935, p. 6; PM 1957, nos. 533 (recto), 456 (verso); Cormack 1970, no. 66.

verso





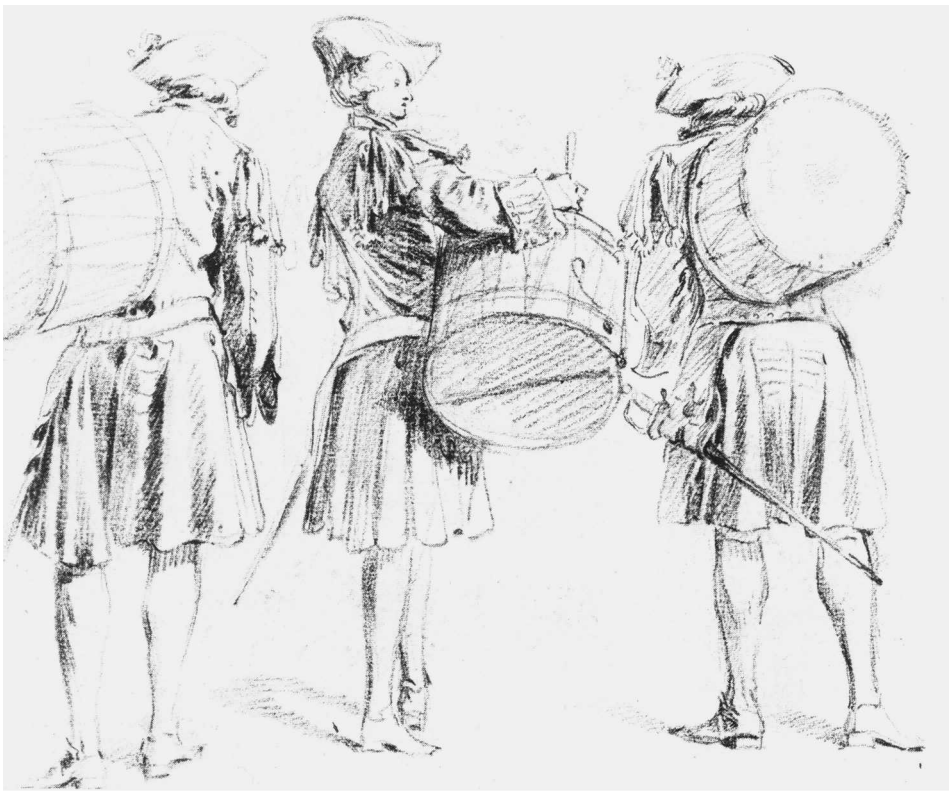




fig. 1. Ravenet after Watteau,
*Departure of the Garrison,* engraving (DV 276).

## 26 Three Studies of a Drummer

Red chalk on cream paper
153 x 193 (6 x 7⅝)
W, P Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Gift of John S. Newberry

For many years, Watteau's military drawings and paintings were dated almost as a matter of course to 1709-1710, the time when Watteau is known to have made his first works of this type. In 1959, Jean Cailleux suggested a slightly broader time span for the soldier drawings, extending the period to 1712 (Cailleux 1959, pp. i-vii). Now we propose to place some of them even later on the basis of style.

The *Three Studies of a Drummer* is related to two paintings, *A Break in the Action* and *Departure of the Garrison* (cat. P. 16 and fig. 1). Both belong among Watteau's later military compositions, perhaps dating as late as 1715-1716. (Zolotov and Nemilova [1973] dated *A Break in the Action* to 1715; Posner and Roland-Michel [1984] suggested 1714-1715, but Rosenberg here places it earlier, 1712-1713 [see cat. P. 15]. *Departure of the Garrison* has been dated invariably between 1710-1712, though at least one related drawing, cat. D. 37, indicates that it must have been made later. See also cat. D. 34.) Though the Fogg drawing appears to have been made somewhat earlier, it is considerably more advanced than Watteau's first military studies, including the sheet in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (PM 247) and cat. D. 6. In fact, stylistically the drawing compares most closely with the *Three Standing Figures* in the National Gallery of Ireland (cat. D. 23) related to both *The Conversation* and *The Village Bride* (cats. P. 23, 11). The Fogg *Drummer* has similar qualities of light and form, comparable use of accents and shading to model the forms and to pick out details of costume, and even the same type of upright poses. However, the greater smoothness and polish in the handling of the soldier's coat, the more integrated grouping of the three figures on the page, and their more active poses suggest that the studies of the drummer must have been made after the Dublin drawing, c. 1714.

PROVENANCE
Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine (1745-1830); Martin Norblin de la Gourdaine (1781-1854); Baronne de Conantré; her daughter, Baronne de Ruble; her daughter, Mme. de Witte; her daughter, the Marquise de Bryas; Cailleux, Paris, 1959; John S. Newberry; given by him to the Fogg Art Museum, 1964.14.

EXHIBITIONS
New York 1959, no. 29; Cambridge 1960, no. 33; Tokyo 1979, no. 74.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Cailleux 1959, pp. ii-v, vii (dated 1711-1712).

PRINTS
All three figures were etched separately by J. Audran (*Fddc* 240, 60, 111).

# 27 Eight Studies of Heads

Red, black, and white chalks, with brown pastel in the three heads of black boys, graphite in the second, and some stumping on buff paper
267 x 397 (10½ x 15⅝)

P Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

The head of the black boy at upper left was used in conjunction with a figure study from a page in the British Museum (cat. D. 24) for the striding servant in *The Conversation* (cat. P. 23). The second study of the same black boy's head was used in *Coquettes* (cat. P. 29), as was the woman in the lower row, but without the hat she wears in the drawing. That same study of the woman was used, this time with the hat, in the Berlin version of the *Embarkation* (cat. P. 62) where she can be seen in the ship. The woman at right may have been used in *The Cascade* (lost; DV 28, CR 133), but with a different hat. The oboist at lower left appears in *The Country Ball* in the group of musicians at left (cat. P. 24). The same female model appears on at least four other sheets of head studies: PM 720, 741, 742 (all in the Louvre), and PM 766 (Private coll., New York). The black boy is probably the same one who posed for the *Three Studies of the Head of a Young Black Boy,* which appears to have been made at a later date. In addition, similar straw hats are worn by men on study sheets in Rouen (cat. D. 80) and the Petit Palais (PM 666); and by women in PM 534 (location unknown) and PM 545 (Goethe Museum, Weimar).

Through its relationship with *The Conversation,* this drawing can be dated to c. 1714, slightly later than the sheet of head studies in the Fogg Museum (cat. D. 21). The perfect clarity and smoothness of the execution and the deliberate care with which each study is drawn match Watteau's red chalk figure drawings of the same time (for example, cat. D. 23, also related to *The Conversation*). But here the touch is firmer and the strokes are broader. Even the arrangement of the head studies in rough rows echoes the measured placement of the figures. Instead of the continuous movement that threads through Watteau's later head studies, binding them together into carefully orchestrated arabesques (for example, *Three Studies of the Head of a Young Black Boy,* the studies on this earlier sheet were made as individual entities without reference to a grand design. That is not to say that the sheet lacks organization or visual power, but rather that the



organization is simpler, with the studies lined up across the page.

Watteau's first uses of his celebrated *trois-crayons* technique apparently came as he began to make more and more study sheets of details (see, for example, cat. D. 21). His precise reasons for experimenting with that medium and for choosing to apply it first only in the detail studies are questions that must remain unanswered, for his biographers are silent on those points. As this sheet and the Fogg drawing show, at first the black and white chalks were used strictly to enhance red chalk drawings that could have been considered complete in themselves already. Even so, the black chalk served to mark important differences in color, especially in the hair and facial features, and began to replace red accents and hatching that served as the darkest shadows. The white, of course, added a new kind of sparkling light. Since the *trois-crayons* technique was already being used by Watteau's older contemporaries, La Fosse and Coypel among others, it may have been they who first encouraged him to experiment with it. The three studies of the black boy in the Louvre sheet have an extra fillip, the brown pastel that Watteau combined with the red and black chalks to shade the facial contours and to enrich the color. By the time he made the other studies of the same black boy somewhat later, Watteau knew how to suggest the brown skin using only red and black chalks and the cream of the paper.

PROVENANCE

Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) (sale, Paris, 30 March-22 May 1767, no. 770); Montullé (according to the sale catalogue in the Victoria and Albert Museum); Ymecourt (sale, 21 April 1858, no. 77; Fr 350); purchased at that sale by the Musée du Louvre (Lugt 1886), 33,383.

EXHIBITIONS

Valenciennes 1934, no. 31; Brussels 1936-1937, no. 49; Paris 1946, no. 297; London 1952, no. 165; Paris 1954, no. 49; Paris 1957, no. 25; Paris 1958, no. 9; Paris 1977, no. 42 (repr. in reverse).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Reiset 1869, no. 1324; G 1875, pp. 339-340; Lumet and Romberson 1911, I, no. 18; R 1928, p. 52, no. 7; Dacier 1930, no. 5; PM 1957, no. 729; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, under no. 6; Cuzin 1981, pp. 19-20; RM 1984 (in press).

## 28 Two Men Dancing and an Old Man with a Cane

Red chalk on white paper
173 x 228 (6 13/16 x 9)
B The Trustees of the British Museum, London

The two dancers appear in *The Village Betrothal* (fig. 1) and all three figures were used in *The Marriage Contract* (cat. P. 21). Parker (1931) noted that the old man with the long hair and the cane was probably the actor Pierre de La Thorillière (1659-1731) who may have posed for three other drawings in the exhibition (cats. D. 29, 56, 72). (See cat. D. 72 for a discussion of the identification. Further information on La Thorillière can also be found in Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time.")

These figures share several features with those in the preceding studies, including the vertical shading of the legs, the close attention to clothing details, and the decorative play of light and shade over the surfaces. But the British Museum

28





fig. 1. Watteau, *The Village Betrothal*, Sir John Soane's Museum, London.

figures move with more animation and are drawn with a lighter touch and more sprightly lines that make the previous drawings seem almost labored. Even a standing figure no longer appears to be totally static, but is imbued with a sense of energy that is partly due to the vitality of the line itself and partly to the liveliness of the poses. Even so, these studies must have been made only shortly after such drawings as the Frankfurt *Three Pilgrims* (cat. D. 22), the Dublin *Three Standing Figures* (cat. D. 23), and the study sheet in Dijon (cat. D. 18), and can therefore be dated to c. 1714.

*The Marriage Contract* is a controversial picture. It has been assigned variously to Watteau alone, to Watteau working together with his follower Pierre-Antoine Quillard (see "the Friends of Watteau"), and to Quillard alone. (See cat. P. 21 for a summary of the dispute surrounding the attribution of this painting.) This drawing and others by Watteau that are related to that same painting prove that at least some of the figures in *The Marriage Contract* were certainly invented by him. The composition, too, is Watteau's, for much of it is repeated in *The Village Betrothal,* his own more elaborate variation on the same theme. In any case, if *The Marriage Contract* is indeed by Watteau, it preceded *The Village Betrothal:* stylistically it appears to date from c. 1714, whereas *The Village Betrothal* seems to have been finished no earlier than 1716. Its landscape shows the influence of the sixteenth-century Venetians, which is most pronounced in Watteau's work from 1716-1718, and some other related drawings are executed in a later style significantly different from that of the British Museum figures (for example, *Three Studies of an Actor,* cat. D.59).

PROVENANCE
Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 352); purchased by the British Museum, London, 1891-7-13-15.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1980-1981, no. 10.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 355, no. 64; Lafenestre 1907, pl. 37; Parker 1931, no. 8; PM 1957, no. 84; Cormack 1970, no. 3.

## 29 Three Sketches of an Old Man and a Hurdy-Gurdy Player

verso: River Landscape with Church Spire
Red chalk on cream paper with a watermark of a crowned escutcheon flanked by two birds in a circle; verso, red chalk with brown and blue-green washes
162 x 220 (6⅜ x 8¹¹⁄₁₆)
Inscribed on the verso by the artist in red chalk next to the church steeple, *demi-teinte grise et généralement les ombres grises*
W Teylers Museum, Haarlem

The figures on the recto are closely linked to the studies in the preceding drawing (cat. D. 28). Not only were they drawn in identical technique and style, but they were made from the same model. In addition, one figure, the standing old man seen from behind, appears in the same painting, *The Village Betrothal* (fig. D. 28-1). The hurdy-gurdy player was used in *The Peasant Dance* (lost; DV 27, CR 134). The Haarlem drawing must therefore have been made at about the same time as the British Museum drawing and can be dated also to c. 1714. (See the preceding entry for a discussion of the dating.)

The landscape drawing on the verso ranks among Watteau's most unusual studies from nature, especially in terms of technique. If one eliminates the large number of red chalk and watercolor landscapes that Parker and Mathey included in their catalogue but which are no longer accepted (see the Introduction to this section), this group of wash or watercolor nature studies includes only two drawings in the British Museum, *Herbage* (verso, cat. D. 16) and the *Tree Study* (verso, cat. D. 24), and the *Study of Plants* in Frankfurt (verso, cat. D. 22). In none of those studies, however, is watercolor used as extensively or as pictorially as it is here. Watteau may have chosen to experiment with watercolor in these studies in an effort to capture the particular qualities of abundant foliage, which chalk lines alone could not render. While his red chalk trees are elegant and graceful, they never equal the full luxuriance of the unique Haarlem landscape.

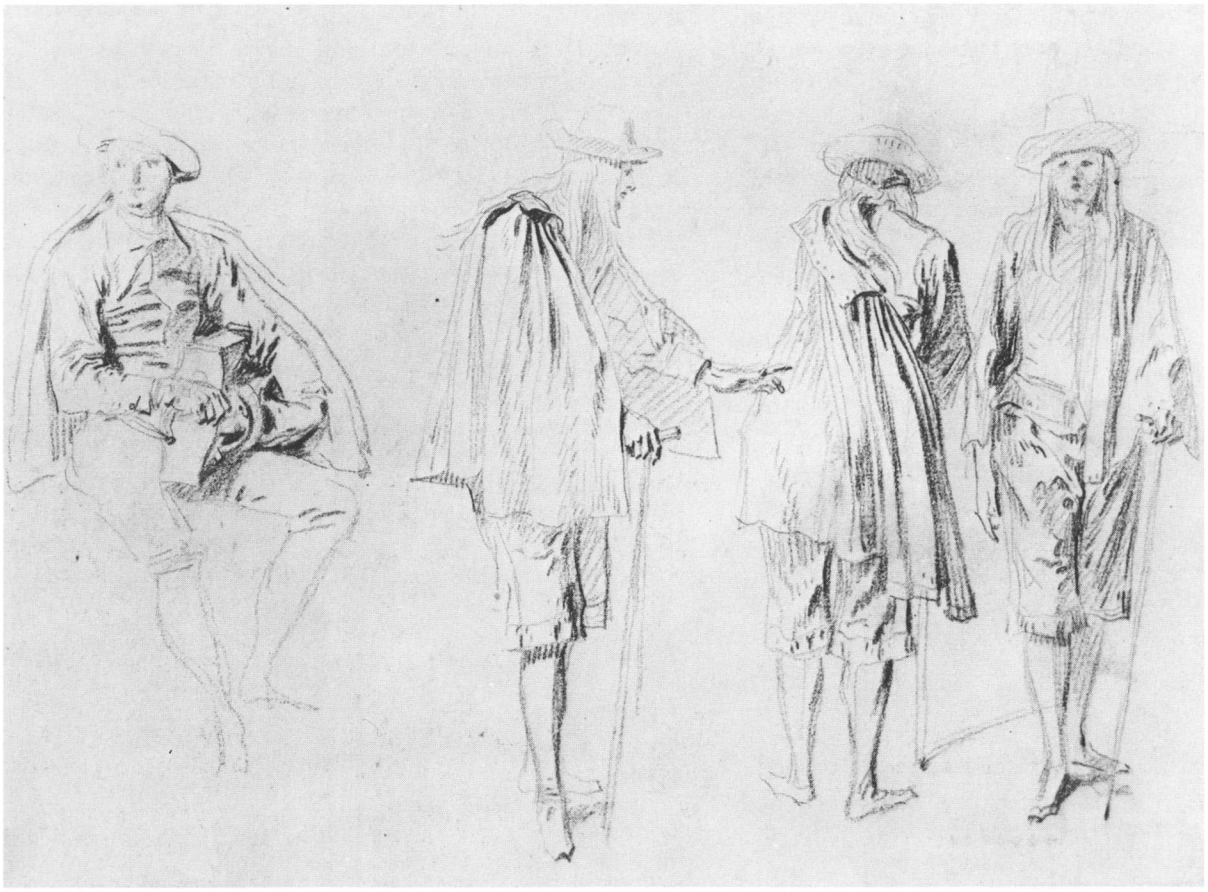
There is no reason to believe that the landscape must date from the same time as the figures on the recto. However, similar landscapes with centralized vistas and trees massed on either side are found mainly in Watteau's paintings of c. 1714-1716 (for example, *The Perspective* and *Assembly in a Park,* cats. P. 25, 56). It has been noted that similar church spires are included in the *Savoyard with a Marmot* (c. 1715; cat. P. 32) and *The Dance* (c. 1719-1720; cat. P. 72), but otherwise the view is not found in any of Watteau's paintings. Parker and Mathey (PM 472) have suggested that the church was in Gentilly-sur-Bièvre, the home of the Gobelin tapestry works and the place where Watteau must frequently have visited his friend Jean de Jullienne.

PROVENANCE
Teylers Museum, Haarlem (Lugt 2392), M. 15.

EXHIBITIONS
Amsterdam 1935, no. 21 (recto); Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 45 (recto); London 1970, no. 112 (verso); Paris 1972, no. 42; Amsterdam 1974, no. 118.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Scholten 1904, p. 22, M. 15; Parker 1935, p. 6, pl. 4; Mathey 1936, p. 13; Mathey 1947, pp. 273-274; PM 1957, p. xiii and nos. 53 (recto), 472 (verso); Cormack 1970, no. 34 (verso); Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 23, 134-135; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 62-63, 65-66, fig. 28.

PRINTS AND COPIES
The hurdy-gurdy player and the standing figure at right were etched by J. Audran (*Fddc* 341, 148). The man standing in profile at left center was etched by Jeaurat (*Fddc* 246). An excellent copy of the hurdy-gurdy player and the two figures at right is in the Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris (inv. no. 189; repr. Burollet 1980, no. 190).



29
29 verso



# 30 Standing Woman Spinning and Study of a Woman's Head

Two shades of red chalk on cream paper
164 x 122 (6½ x 4 13/16)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
P,B Bequest of Anne D. Thompson, 1923



The standing woman served as a study for *The Spinner* (fig. 1), the pendant to *Savoyard with a Marmot* (Leningrad; cat. P. 32). Although the woman in the drawing is not a Savoyard (see cat. D. 50), her indirect connection with the Leningrad painting first led Parker and Mathey to question the traditional date of all Watteau's depictions of Savoyards; Adhémar and preceding scholars agreed on c. 1708. Not only did the study of *The Spinner* seem too advanced for that time, but the other study of a woman's head on the same sheet was obviously more mature. As Parker and Mathey noted: ". . . it is very certain that once one has recognized in the head of the young woman of [the Metropolitan Museum drawing], the same one who appears in some of the most brilliant pages by the master . . ., all attempts to date the drawing to 1708 become just about impossible" (p. xii). Indeed, by her profile and beribboned coiffure the woman is recognizable as the same model who appears on study sheets in Williamstown (PM 780), British Museum (PM 788), the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (PM 786), and a French private collection (cat. D. 83), all of which we would date to 1716 or later. But what Parker and Mathey failed to remark is that the two studies on the New York drawing were executed in two entirely different shades of red chalk, a clear indication that they were probably made at separate times. (See cat. D. 25 for a similar situation.) The dating of the woman's head therefore has no bearing on the dating of the spinner. Even so, the style of the drawing of the spinner still indicates that the study was by no means an early effort. Though emphatically linear in a way that recalls some of Watteau's drawings from around 1712-1713 (cats. D. 16, 18, 19), it is rendered with less sharply defined details, a more painterly sense of the play of light, and an amplitude of form, all of which suggest a date around 1714.

PROVENANCE

Horace Walpole (1717-1797), (purchased between 1774 and 1781, according to Hazen 1969); presumably bequeathed to Anne Damer with Walpole's entire estate; transferred by her to Walpole's grandnephew, Lord Waldegrave (sale, 23 June 1842, probably part of no. 1266, ff. 43-48: "Nine various chalk and tinted sketches of pantomimic characters, etc. by Watteau;" purchased by Graves); C. S. Bale (1791-1880)[1] (Lugt 640; sale, London, 9-14 June 1881); J. P. Heseltine (1843-1929); Anne D. Thompson; bequeathed by her to the Metropolitan Museum in 1923, 23.280.5.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1909-1910, no. 40.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Heseltine 1900, p. 64; Guiraud 1913, no. 101; H.B.W. 1924, p. 64; PM 1957, no. 500; Watrous 1957, p. 99; Eisler 1966, p. 175, fig. 12; Hazen 1969, III, p. 141, under no. 3567; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, under no. 4; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 161-163, fig. 161.



fig. 1. Audran after Watteau, *The Spinner*, engraving (DV 123).





fig. 1. Brion after Watteau,
*The Contredanse,* engraving (DV 177).

# 31 Two Violinists

Red chalk over white chalk, with white heightening
on dark gray-brown paper, laid down
261 x 362 (10¼ x 14¼)
The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

This is the first of Watteau's truly animated studies of musicians, apparently executed, unlike the earlier ones (cats. D. 14, 19, 25, 29), during an actual concert, rather than from a posed model. The multiple outlines of the violinist at left, especially, suggest a figure in motion: the right arm strokes the bow across the strings, the left hand picks out the notes, the body sways with the music.

Although Watteau chose to use the two violinists sketched here in his painting *The Contredanse* (fig. 1) with the same spatial relationship that he gave them in the drawing, the studies were almost certainly made at random, without regard for the way that they would eventually be used in a composition. (The presence of hand studies at right on the same page, entirely unrelated to the two studies of violinists but certainly made at about the same time, underlines the casual nature of this study sheet.) Watteau was accustomed to mixing and matching his figures as needed and rarely used couples or groups of figures from his drawings without altering them in some way, but in this case the two musicians perfectly suited his needs in the *The Contredanse.*

The hands at right of the same sheet are larger and looser in execution than Watteau's earliest hand studies (for example, cats. D. 16, 25), but they still have some of the sharply accented contours and small detailing of knuckles and fingernails of those sheets. Part of the change is certainly due to a difference in date and to the fact that unlike the large majority of Watteau's hand studies, which include only the hand and wrist, these are part of a complete, albeit roughly blocked, figure. Watteau has even included the arm and shoulder of a second figure so that with some imagination one can see that the left figure is holding the arm of the other and is leaning toward him slightly. Watteau used that same pose and gesture for the young ingenue who hangs on Crispin's arm at far right in *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38). In fact, although the young lady's left hand is not seen in the painting, the position of her right is almost identical to the one in the drawing. Underlining the relationship with that canvas is a close stylistic similarity between the Oxford study sheet and another drawing for the same painting, the *Two Standing Men* (studies for the dancing man and Crispin) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig. D. 15-2). Through its connection with the Berlin painting, which we date here to c. 1714 (but see Rosenberg in cat. P. 38), the *Two Violinists* can be dated to about the same year.

PROVENANCE
Uvedale Price (1747-1829) (sale, London, Sotheby's, 3-4 May 1854, no. 305); Chambers Hall (1786-1855) (Lugt 551); presented by him to the University Galleries in 1855; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, P.I. 557.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1932, no. 740 (commem. cat. no. 782); Montreal 1953, no. 166; London 1968, no. 773; USA 1979-1980, no. 86.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Colvin 1907, III, pl. 41; Parker 1931, p. 11 and no. 67; Parker 1938, I, no. 557, pp. 268-269; AH 1950, under no. 156; PM 1957, no. 857; Cormack 1970, no. 96.

## 32 Kneeling Servant

Purplish-red chalk on beige paper
160 x 142 (6 5/16 x 5 5/8)
Private Collection, Switzerland



Watteau used this figure almost stroke for stroke in *The Intimate Toilette* (cat. P. 37), changing the platter to a basin with a sponge in it and adding a towel to the servant's left hand. The specificity of the pose suggests that Watteau made the drawing especially for the painting, which has been dated variously to 1715 (Posner, Rosenberg in cat. P. 37), 1716 (Adhémar, Roland-Michel), and 1717 (Camesasca, Mathey); the style of the drawing corresponds most closely with the earliest date. Although the sharply stroked folds, the close observation of costume detail, and the static pose in perfect profile recall studies datable to c. 1713-1714 (cats. D. 20, 23), the greater lightness of touch in the shading of the *Kneeling Servant,* especially in her face, and the looser, more mobile contours allow us to place the sheet slightly later, c. 1714-1715.

PROVENANCE
A. Strölin; to his son, A. Strölin; Private collection, Switzerland

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1968, no. 55 (dated 1716-1717).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 609.

PRINTS
Etched by the Comte de Caylus (*Fddc* 179).

## 33 Three Soldiers, One Standing, Two Marching, Seen from Behind

Red chalk on cream paper
173 x 199 (6 13/16 x 7 7/8)
Inscribed in graphite at lower right, *Inv. 412°*
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen
Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

The soldier at right was used in *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment* (see cat. E. 7). The Berlin drawing is otherwise not directly related to any other military paintings by Watteau, though similar figures can be found in both *Departure of the Garrison* (fig. D. 26-1) and *The Supply Train* (fig. D. 34-1). Through those three works and its own technique and execution, the Berlin *Three Soldiers* is closely connected with a group of soldier studies that includes PM 241 (location unknown); PM 243 (Rothschild coll.); a drawing in the Institut Néerlandais (fig. 1); PM 245 (Ecole des Beaux-Arts); and the sheet in Rotterdam (cat. D. 34). The first three drawings are all related to *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment,* while studies from the last two were used in *The Supply Train.* The Rotterdam page is also related to *A Break in the Action* (cat. P. 16). Like the *Three Drummers* (cat. D. 26), these drawings have always been dated no later than 1712. But the vigorous chalkstrokes and active poses, with even standing figures seeming to be constantly in motion, lead us to believe that these drawings could have been made no earlier than 1714. The Berlin drawing with its striking light effects, the monumental scale of the figures, and above all the sense of progressive movement linking the figures together could have been executed as late as 1715.

Watteau made both a painting and an etching of *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment,* something he did for only one other work, *The Italian Troupe* (see cats. D. 55 and E. 7, 8). *The Recruits* is known through a number of versions (see Adhémar 1950, no. 34), but there is no consensus about which one is the original. In fact, the poor condition of the various versions has led to serious misapprehensions about the quality of the original painting, which in turn have led to wrong conclusions about its date. To complicate the problem, the painting has several times been identified erroneously as the first one that Watteau sold to Sirois in 1709 (Dacier and



33

Vuaflart, Adhémar, Cailleux; that painting was actually the *Return from the Campaign*; see cat. P. 6). The print, on the other hand, exists in both a pure etching state by Watteau alone (cat. E. 7), and in two other states with engraving added by H.-S. Thomassin (DV 178) who also completed Watteau's *Figures de modes* prints. It gives a clear view of the figures, their poses, and their movement across the composition. In every respect, the print supports a date considerably later than 1709; the active poses of the figures alone point to a date no earlier than 1714. A counterproof of the first state of the print with red chalk corrections apparently made by Watteau himself is preserved on the verso of a *modello* drawing for Watteau's print of *The Italian Troupe* (cat. D. 55), suggesting that the two prints were probably made at about the same time. In fact the date for both prints may have been indirectly pinpointed by Jean de Jullienne, who commented in the 1734 introduction to the *Recueil* that Watteau's paintings had been recorded in prints for eighteen years. Dacier and Vuaflart (II, p. 75) concluded that Watteau's own prints must have been the first of these and could therefore be dated to c. 1716. Whether one can rely on Jullienne's uncharacteristically exact remark for the dating is not certain, but that date is the one we prefer for both prints (see cats. E. 7, 8; cat. D. 55). The painted version of *Recruits* would probably date just slightly earlier, c. 1715, with the Berlin *Three Soldiers* and other related sheets dating from 1714-1715.

PROVENANCE
Barthold Suermondt, Aix-la-Chapelle; sold by him to the Berlin Museum in 1875; Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 1771.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, no. 566; Lippmann and Grote 1910, no. 105; Parker 1931, p. 17 and no. 8; PM 1957, no. 253; Cailleux 1959, pp. iii, vi; Cormack 1970, no. 11.

PRINTS
The left and middle figures were etched by J. Audran (*Fddc* 189, 257).

fig. 1. Watteau, *Three Studies of Soldiers*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris.





fig. 1. Cars after Watteau,
*The Supply Train,* engraving (DV 125).



## 34 Four Studies of Soldiers and One of a Standing Lady

verso: light tracing from the recto of the man leaning his head on his hands
Red chalk on beige paper
179 x 198 (7 1/16 x 7 13/16)
W.P Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

All four soldiers appear in *A Break in the Action* (cat. P. 16). The man leaning on his elbows was also used in *The Supply Train* (fig. 1) and in *Country Entertainments* (Wallace Collection; CR 183).

*A Break in the Action* and its pendant, *The Burdens of War* (cat. P. 15), are generally considered to have been Watteau's last military paintings. Just how late in his career he might have made them, however, remains unresolved. They have been dated from as early as 1711-1712 (Cailleux 1959), to as late as 1715-1716 (Nemilova 1964), with all other scholars opting for dates in between (except Mantz who preferred c. 1710 and Staley who suggested 1719). Rosenberg (in cat. P. 15) prefers a date of 1712-1713, though the style of the related drawings leads us to agree with Nemilova. *The Supply Train,* on the other hand, has always been dated to 1710-1712, despite the presence of a Savoyard woman seated in the foreground. (The drawings of Savoyards presented in the exhibition are here dated to c. 1715; see cats. D. 50-53.) The Rotterdam *Four Studies of Soldiers,* which links *A Break in the Action* and *The Supply Train,* provides substantial evidence for a date c. 1715 for both paintings.

All of the soldier studies are set down in sharp, short strokes that imbue the figures with palpable nervous energy. These highly charged, vibrant studies are very different from

fig. 2. Watteau, *Standing Woman Seen from Behind,*
Musée des Arts décoratifs, Paris.



the more deliberate, minutely detailed figure studies dating from 1712-1714 (for example, cats. D. 17-25), and present far more complex poses. The woman standing at left on the same sheet and drawn in the same red chalk presents a calmer silhouette by contrast; longer strokes shade and shape her long dress and voluminous draperies. Her cloak appears to be identical to the one worn by the woman shown in a red and black chalk drawing in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (fig. 2). She may even be the same model. The style of the Paris drawing and its relationship to the Berlin painting, *Gallant Recreation* (cat. P. 63), suggest a date of about 1716 for that sheet. The Rotterdam study, drawn only in red chalk with a sharper point and on a smaller scale, seems to have been made slightly earlier, c. 1715. Given the character of the soldier sketches, the ease with which they were drawn, the firm confidence of the strokes, and the circular placement of the studies on the page, the Rotterdam sheet—and by extension the paintings to which it is related—could not have been made before that time.

PROVENANCE
Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) (Lugt 1852; sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, no. 1389; bought by Fournel); Franz Koenigs (1881-1941) (Lugt *suppl.* 1023a); bought by D. G. van Beuningen (1877-1955) and given by him with the Koenigs collection to the Boymans Museum Foundation in 1940, F.I. 150.

EXHIBITIONS
Rotterdam 1934-1935, no. 84; Amsterdam 1935, no. 22; Cologne 1939, no. 55; Paris-Brussels-Rotterdam 1949-1950, no. 55; Paris 1952, no. 66; Rotterdam 1952, no. 123; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 38; Amsterdam 1974, no. 117.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Foerster 1930, no. 6; Parker 1931, p. 17; Juynboll 1938, p. 26; PM 1957, p. 35 and no. 249; Haverkamp-Begemann 1957, no. 57; Cailleux 1959, pp. iii, v-vii; Cormack 1970, no. 10; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, under no. 3; P 1984, p. 40, fig. 32.

## 35 Two Young Men, One Seated and One Standing

Red chalk on dark beige paper
140 x 200 (5½ x 7⅞)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes

These two figures are drawn with the same attention to details of costume and anatomy that one finds in Watteau's studies dating from c. 1712-1714 (for example, cats. D. 16, 22, 23). Here, however, the strokes that round the forms, mark the areas of shade, and accent and enliven the surfaces are more broadly massed, with less emphasis on individual line. The apparent simplicity of the drawing is belied by the masterful rendering of the casual yet complex poses, the expressive hands, and the silhouetted faces. The stylistic evidence points to a date of c. 1715 for this sheet, perhaps slightly later but certainly no earlier.

Through the standing figure, this drawing is related to *The Repulsed Lover* (fig. 1). However, in accordance with Mantz' suggestion (1892, p. 122) that many Watteau pictures in England and especially those engraved by Mercier might actually have been made by Mercier, *The Repulsed Lover* is





fig. 1. Mercier after Watteau,
*The Repulsed Lover,* engraving (DV 308).

now generally excluded from Watteau's oeuvre (see, for example, Adhémar 1950, no. 219). Indeed, works by Mercier have occasionally been given to Watteau by mistake: *The Pickpocket,* a painting in the Louvre, was recognized as the work of Mercier only when Goncourt discovered Ravenet's engraving of it bearing the caption *Mercier pinx.* (Mercier painted it); and the drawing of a *Head of a Woman Seen from Behind* (formerly Heseltine coll.), which served as a study for one of the figures in that painting, was catalogued as Watteau in Heseltine 1900 (no. 23; though the attribution was corrected in Guiraud 1913, no. 51). It is worth noting, in regard to *The Repulsed Lover,* that Mariette did not appear to doubt the attribution to Watteau when he noted that Mercier had made the engraving in 1724 (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 192 [22]). The objections to *The Repulsed Lover* notwithstanding, the Valenciennes drawing is certainly by Watteau. The etchings of both figures made by Boucher for the *Figures de différents caractères* provide strong evidence of Watteau's authorship, but even more convincing is the inscription on the verso. The drawing has been laid down, so the inscription is now covered, but it can be discerned on the recto as a lighter image against the darkened paper. Although the words are indistinct, the pattern of the presentation and the length of the words match precisely the inscriptions placed on a number of Watteau drawings by the Comte de Caylus: "Dessein que Wateau a laissé en mourant/ à moy son ami Caylus/Juillet 1721" (Drawing left by the dying Watteau to me his friend Caylus July 1721). (See cat. D. 53; PM 625, 930.)

PROVENANCE
Comte de Caylus (1692-1765); Auguste Meurice; given by him to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, 46.2.7.

EXHIBITIONS
Hazebrouck 1958, no. 63; Valenciennes 1962, no. 12; Valenciennes 1972, no. 51; Brussels 1975, no. 6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Lefrancq 1931, no. 588; PM 1957, no. 640.

PRINTS
Both figures were etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 26, 78).

## 36 Three Studies of a Woman's Head and a Study of Hands

verso: View with a House, a Cottage, and Two Figures
Red chalk and graphite with touches of black chalk and sanguine wash on beige paper, watermarked F FONTAINE with a heart between, all enclosed in a long oval; verso, red chalk
179 x 159 (7 1/16 x 6 1/4)
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1963

The head at lower right was used for a figure in *The Contredanse* (fig. D. 31-1) while the head at upper left and the hands were both used for the woman seated on the ground in the same painting. The pose of that same figure was worked out on a sheet in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris (fig. 1).

At first glance the head and hand studies at left on this sheet appear to be completely unrelated, but their connection with the figure study on the Ecole des Beaux-Arts drawing shows that they were quite deliberately placed on the same page. The Washington studies were probably made after Watteau had selected the Ecole des Beaux-Arts figure for use in *The Contredanse;* they may have resulted from his efforts to perfect the tilt and expression of the lady's head and the exact positioning of her hands. Those details remained indistinct in the figure study. Presumably, then, Watteau made the Washington study sheet when the painting was already in progress, after he had already decided on the general composition. The painting is dated to 1715 (Mathey 1959) or 1716 (Adhémar 1950, Roland-Michel 1982), which is perfectly consistent with the styles of both the Washington and the Paris sheets.

It is possible that the model who posed for the Washington drawing may have been the same one who sat for the figure of Ceres in *Summer* of the Crozat Seasons (cat. P. 35). Ceres' heavy, rather fleshy face, large eyes, and cupid's-bow mouth are remarkably similar to the features of the model in the drawing, especially as she appears in the study at upper right in the National Gallery's drawing. The timing, too, would be appropriate since we believe that Watteau worked on the Four Seasons also in 1715-1716 (see cat. P. 35).

The red chalk landscape on the verso, clearly a fragment, was discovered only in 1980 when the sheet was removed from its old mount. The original appearance of the entire view is preserved in an etching by Boucher for the *Figures de différents caractères* (fig. 2). Presumably the sheet was cut down by a former owner, perhaps in an effort to improve the composition of the heads on the recto. It is ironic that in Watteau's own time it was apparently the landscape on the verso that was admired—it was etched but the heads were not.

The newly discovered *View* presents the same kind of country scene as three other Watteau sheets, including the *Landscape with a Cottage* in the British Museum (cat. D. 10) and two small studies in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which are only attributed to Watteau (figs. 3, 4). In terms of structure, space, and overall execution, the Washington drawing is obviously well advanced in comparison to the early British Museum *Landscape* and certainly belongs to a later period. It is much closer in every way to the two studies in New York, even though those were drawn on a miniature scale (approx. 84 x 143 mm). According to Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 193[51]) who owned the two Metropoli-



36

fig. 1. Watteau, *Sheet of Studies,*
École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.





36 verso

fig. 2. Boucher after Watteau,
*View with a House, a Cottage, and Two Figures,*
etching (*Fddc* 195).

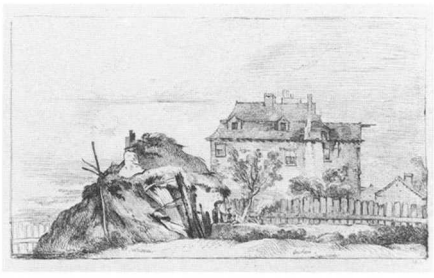


fig. 3. Watteau, *View of a Cottage,*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

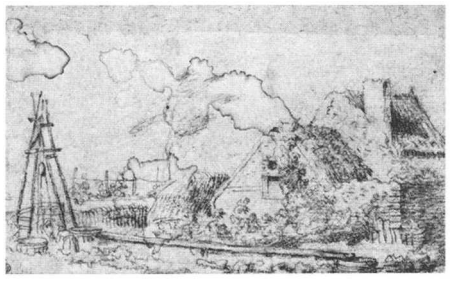
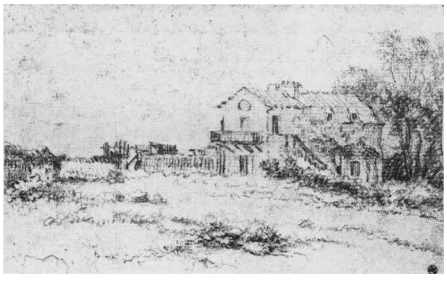


fig. 4. Watteau, *View of House,*
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



tan Museum drawings, the two paintings to which those sketches are related, *The Marsh* (fig. D. 10-1) and *The Watering Place* (DV 137), were made when Watteau lived in the part of Paris known as Les Porcherons (see cat. D. 10). Possibly the Washington *View* was made there, probably at about the same time as the New York sheets. The date when Watteau might have lived in that area is not known, but Dacier and Vuaflart have noted (III, under no. 136) that Crozat's Paris *hôtel* was situated just across the boulevard from the Porcherons, and Watteau could therefore have known the area when he was living under Crozat's roof. On the basis of style and the handling of space, the two paintings and three drawings mentioned above can be placed c. 1715, the date proposed for the paintings by Adhémar. (Mathey and Camesasca placed them in 1712, which we consider too early.) That would make the recto and verso studies on the Washington sheet nearly contemporary, as seems to be the case with just about every one of Watteau's double-sided drawings that we have examined here.

PROVENANCE
Charles Gasc, Paris (Lugt 544; not included in his sale, Paris, 17 January 1865); L. Tabourier, Paris (sale, Drouot, 20-22 June 1898, no. 144); Richard Owen, Paris; purchased by Samuel Kress, 1937; entered the National Gallery of Art, Washington, in 1963.6.34.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957 no. 781; Eisler 1977, no. dK505, p. 300, fig. 265; RM 1984 (in press).

PRINTS
The landscape on the verso was etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 195). See the entry.

## 37 Two Recruits

Red chalk
160 x 155 (6⅝ x 6¼)
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

The atmospheric shading and the softness of the outlines make this sheet unique among Watteau's soldier drawings. However, the soldiers' proportions, the lively poses, and the uniforms, not to mention the treatment of form, space, and light, fit well into the more sharply drawn series of studies (see cats. D. 26, 33, 34), related to *Departure of the Garrison* (fig. D. 26-1), *A Break in the Action* (cat. P. 16), and *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment* (cat. E. 7). Three small details





fig. 1. Watteau, *Two Soldiers, One Seated and One Standing,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.

bring them even closer to drawings in the Louvre and at Chantilly (fig. 1 and PM 242) that are related to *Departure of the Garrison*: not only do the Yale recruits have their hair tied back in the same beribboned queue as the four soldiers in those two studies, but also they wear both a sword and a bayonet (or knife) slung in their belts (all of Watteau's other soldiers wear only the sword). In addition, the studies on these sheets are presented in pairs rather than threes, and the figures move with athletic ease and a natural freedom that differs from the more studied movement of the soldiers in some of the three-figure drawings. The New Haven figures, then, would be among Watteau's last soldier drawings, made no earlier than 1715. *Departure of the Garrison,* to which the New Haven drawing is indirectly related, has never been dated later than 1712 (Cailleux 1959), but unfortunately the painting itself has not survived, and the print cannot entirely resolve the question of date. But despite some weaknesses in the composition, we believe that the painting could well be contemporary with *The Village Betrothal* (Soane Museum; fig. D. 28-1), that is, 1715-1716.

It is an unusual feature of Watteau's soldier drawings that every figure is presented only full-length. We do not know of a single detail study for either a soldier or a camp follower for any of Watteau's military paintings.

PROVENANCE
Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine (1745-1830); Martin Norblin de la Gourdaine (1781-1854); Baronne de Conantré; her daughter, Baronne de Ruble; her daughter, Mme. de Witte; her daughter, the Marquise de Bryas; Cailleux, Paris, 1959; Yale University Art Gallery, University Purchase, 1961, Everett V. Meeks, B.A., 1901, Fund, 1961.9.39.

EXHIBITIONS
Sarasota 1967; Cambridge 1967.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Cailleux 1959, pp. ii-iv, fig. 18; Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, no. 70.

PRINTS
The kneeling figure was etched by Jean Audran (*Fddc* 242).

## 38 Two Seated Women, One Playing a Guitar

Red chalk on cream paper
125 x 90 (4 15/16 x 3 9/16)
Private Collection, Switzerland

Neither figure appears in any known painting by Watteau, but x-rays of *The Embarrassing Proposal* (cat. P. 39) have revealed that the left part of that composition was originally quite different and that the female guitarist in the painting was first modeled on the one from this drawing. (See Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, p. 144, where the drawing is mistakenly identified as PM 57.) Although Zolotov and Nemilova date the first phase of the painting to 1710-1712, the confident nonchalance of the execution of the *Two Seated Women* and the loosely constructed but full-bodied forms indicate that the drawing was made c. 1715. The first version of the painting would therefore be datable to c. 1715-1716. That date is supported by another drawing for the same picture (cat. D. 54), a study for the man standing at right who, according to the



technical information published by the Russian scholars, survives from the early version of the painting.

When Watteau reworked the picture, he completely altered the pose of the lady guitarist, using as his model another drawing (cat. D. 105). The more advanced style of that study sheet suggests that Watteau returned to the painting no earlier than 1717 (see the discussion under cat. D. 105).

PROVENANCE
A. Strölin, Paris; Private collection, Switzerland

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 78.

## 39 Hunting Dogs and Dead Game

Red chalk on light beige paper
217 x 159 (8⁹⁄₁₆ x 6⁵⁄₁₆)
W, P Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

As Parker pointed out (1931), the shaped top of this design clearly suggests that the drawing was intended as a study for a decorative work. The hunting subject indicates that it was destined for a hunting lodge or a dining room. Whether this drawing was part of a decorative cycle or whether Watteau actually completed such a project is unknown; no other drawings or paintings by him have the same arched top.

Both of Watteau's only two paintings on hunting themes, *The Hunt Meeting* (fig. D. 24-1) in the Wallace Collection and *The Return from the Hunt,* known only through the engraving by B. Audran (fig. 1), have still lifes of dead game that are almost identical in composition to the one of the bird and rabbit at right in the Rotterdam drawing. Since Watteau had little experience as a painter of hunt pictures and game





fig. 1. Audran after Watteau, *Return from the Hunt,* engraving (DV 19).

fig. 2. Watteau, *Huntress with Dogs,* Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.



still lifes, he apparently repeated the same elements when he was called on to make one. To that end he might have kept either the Rotterdam drawing, or perhaps some other unknown still life sketch, in his album of drawings for use when the need arose.

The Rotterdam sketch gives few indications of a precise date. However, the careless ease with which the trees are sketched and the sense of atmosphere generated by the soft chalk strokes give the drawing a very different impression from the earlier *Huntress with Dogs* in Frankfurt (fig. 2) with its sharp lines and pointed detailing. The assured draftsmanship in the treatment of both the dogs and the dead game suggest that Watteau was already very experienced when he made this sketch. It could therefore date from anytime after c. 1714.

PROVENANCE
Lord Spencer (Lugt 1530; sale, London, 10 June 1811, no. 816); Franz Koenigs (1881-1941) (Lugt *suppl.* 1023a); purchased by D. G. van Beuningen (1877-1955) and given by him with the Koenigs collection to the Boymans Museum Foundation in 1940, F.I. 17.

EXHIBITIONS
Rotterdam 1934-1935, no. 89; Paris 1952, no. 70.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Parker 1931, pp. 26, 48, no. 88; PM 1957, no. 908.

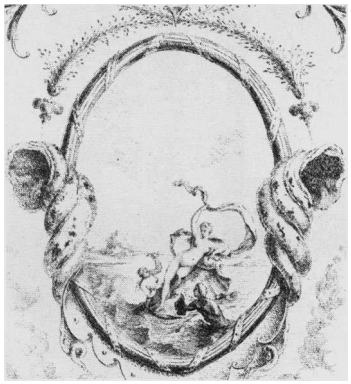
## 40 The Birth of Venus

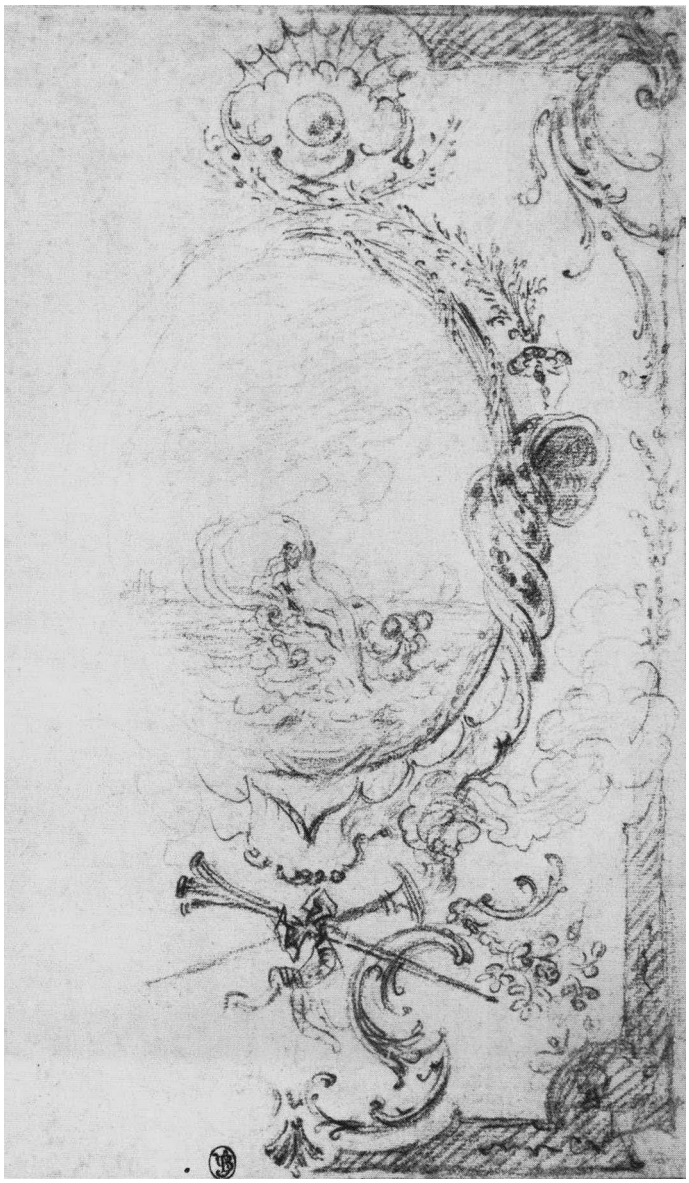
Red chalk
295 x 175 (11⅝ x 6⅞)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

This and the following drawing record two of Watteau's ideas for decorative panels. Like most of his ornamental drawings and paintings, they have been dated almost automatically to Watteau's stay with Claude Audran III (c. 1708-1709; see also cats. D. 70, 71). However, the free-flowing line, the boldly accented contours, and the animation and summary treatment of the central scenes suggest that these are more mature pieces, which belong more appropriately to c. 1715.

In both drawings Watteau seems to have felt no need either to complete the arabesque—the other side of which, in keeping with the contemporary aesthetic of balance and symmetry, would have been nearly identical—or to elaborate the central design. The central part of *The Birth of Venus* is relatively easy to read, with Venus half-reclining on her seashell, surrounded by nymphs and tritons; the prominent shell motif of the enframing arabesque echoes the maritime theme of the central scene. In the second arabesque, however, the central composition is scarcely decipherable. Nevertheless, the raffia-wrapped wine bottle, the trailing vine leaves, and

fig. 1. Huquier after Watteau, Detail *The Birth of Venus,* engraving (DV 283).





the satyr's head in the surrounding arabesque suggest that the whole is an allegorical representation of Autumn. That interpretation is confirmed by an engraving by Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772) after the drawing (fig. D. 41-1). Those parts of Watteau's drawing that were vaguely defined or almost illegible were freely interpolated by Huquier, whose final engraving shows a fully finished ornamental framework enclosing a representation of a grape harvest. Interestingly enough, what little of the central scene in the Leningrad drawing is decipherable actually appears very different from the scene composed by Huquier, though surely the harvest theme is faithful.

Huquier also made an engraving after *The Birth of Venus* (fig. 1) and published both prints after the Leningrad drawings as part of a set of six that included the Four Seasons, *The Birth of Venus,* and *Rain.* Since the last two prints are thematically unrelated to the Four Seasons, it seems likely that Huquier made up the set using arabesque designs by Watteau that were reasonably similar in format. With a few judicious adaptations in the shape of the enframement, he could compile a relatively coherent set of the kind that was quite popular at the time (see DV, III, nos. 140-143, 283, 284). The other four drawings for the suite are now lost. Since the prints clearly indicate that they reproduce drawings ("Watteau in." [Watteau invented it]), it can be assumed that Watteau never carried this project any further.

PROVENANCE
A. Beurdeley (1847-1919) (Lugt 421; the library of Baron Stieglitz College of Applied Arts, Saint Petersburg; incorporated in 1923 into the Hermitage, Leningrad, 40764.

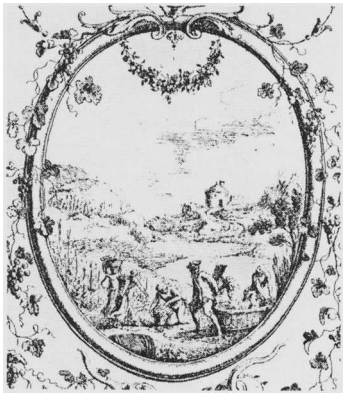
EXHIBITIONS
Saint Petersburg 1912, no. 164; Leningrad 1972, no. 58; Leningrad 1983, no. 16. 54; Aarhus 1975, no. 97; Copenhagen 1975, no. 97; Berlin 1975, no. 83; Melbourne-Sydney 1978-1979, no. 32.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 194; Nemilova 1964, pp. 33-36, pl. 8, p. 190; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 28, 150, no. 18, colorpl. (dated 1707-1708).

PRINTS
Engraved by Gabriel Huquier (fig. 1).

COPIES
A very deceptive copy, bearing also the Beurdeley mark (Lugt 421) is in the National Gallery of Prague (K 40,264). A label on the mount, brought to our attention by Jiri Kotalik, indicates that this drawing was included in the sale of objects from the Hermitage held in Leipzig in 1931, no. 261 (Boerner cat. CLXXI). Parker and Mathey, who mentioned that sale in reference to the two drawings in this exhibition, did not realize that the originals were still in the Hermitage.

fig. 1. Huquier after Watteau, Detail *Autumn,* engraving (DV 141).



## 41 Autumn

Red chalk
290 x 185 (11 15/16 x 7 1/4)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

See preceding entry.

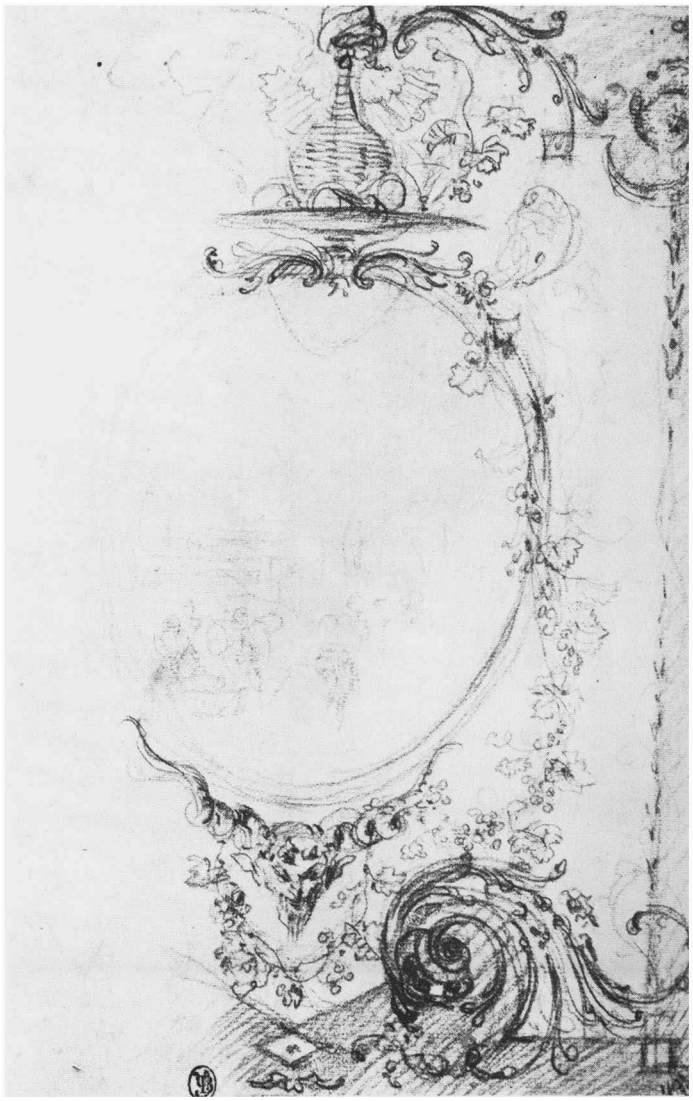
PROVENANCE
Same as preceding, 40787.

EXHIBITIONS
Saint Petersburg 1912, no. 163; Moscow 1955, p. 73; Stockholm 1963, no. 39; Leningrad-Moscow 1968, no. 8; Budapest 1970, no. 119; Leningrad 1972, no. 57; Berlin 1975, no. 82; Leningrad 1983, no. 15.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Parker 1931, p. 19 and no. 15; PM 1957, no. 197; Rosenberg 1959, p. 94, fig. 172; Dobroklonsky 1961, pl. III; Nemilova 1964, pp. 35, 36, pl. 10, p. 190; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 28, 149-150, no. 17, colorpl. (dated 1707-1708); Novosselskaya 1976, pp. 470-471.

PRINTS
Engraved by Gabriel Huquier (fig. 1).

COPIES
A deceptive copy was sold with a copy of cat. D. 40 in Leipzig, 1931, no. 261 (present location unknown).



# 42 The Actor Philippe Poisson

Red chalk over faint outlines in black chalk, with touches of black chalk in the head, hat, collar, and hands, on tan paper
337 x 187 (13 5/16 x 7 3/8)
P The Trustees of the British Museum, London

This is the original drawing from which one of the prints of the *Figures françoises et comiques* (French and Comic Figures) was derived. Watteau himself made the reduced, reversed, and highly finished copy of this figure, now in Stockholm (cat. D. 43), which served as the actual model for the print by Desplaces (fig. D. 43-1).

The title on the *Figures françoises* engraving indicates that it (and by extension both the British Museum and Stockholm drawings) represents "Poisson dressed as a peasant." Dacier and Vuaflart pointed out (III, p. 29, no. 55, revised in I, p. 260, no. 55), that two members of the Poisson family were actors during Watteau's lifetime: Paul (1658-1735) and his son Philippe (1682-1743). Since Paul would have been well over fifty when this drawing was made, the model must have been Philippe, two years older than Watteau (but see Moureau in Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time"). It may be the father, in his most famous role as Crispin, who appears in *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38). Because the same actor in the same costume, but seated, is recorded in an etching by Caylus (in his *Suite de figures inventées par Watteau;* Dacier 1926-1927, no. 8) that bears the title *Blaize,* it has been suggested that Poisson is here represented in the role of Blaise the Miller from *Les Trois Cousines* by Dancourt (DV, III, p. 29, no. 55). That play is generally thought to have inspired Watteau's paintings on the Cythera theme, including the *The Island of Cythera* and both *Embarkations* (cats. P. 9, 61, 62). Parker and Mathey, however, have suggested that the model here is the same as the one who posed for the man in *The Family* (cat. P. 54), a painting said to represent M. and Mme. Le Boucq-Santussan (see cats. D. 78, 79 and "The Friends of Watteau"). Aside from the fact that the resemblance between the man in cat. D. 79 and the man depicted here is by no means convincing, the highly theatrical, swaggering pose of the British Museum figure and its inclusion in a series of French and Comic Figures suggest that the model was indeed an actor, and therefore probably the younger Poisson.

Both the execution and the spirited pose indicate a date of c. 1715 for the British Museum sheet, close to the time that the *Figures françoises et comiques* series was probably published (see cat. D. 43). The restrained use of black is similar in the Petit Palais drawing for *Savoyard with a Marmot* (cat. D. 50) of about the same time, though the execution of *Poisson* is more spontaneous and energetic.

PROVENANCE
G. Raphael Ward; entered the British Museum in 1870, 1870-5-14-351.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1968, no. 777; Bordeaux 1980, no. 195; London 1980-1981, no. 13.

41



BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 350, no. 18; Lafenestre 1907, pl. 1; Uzanne 1908, pl. 8; R 1928, p. 54, no. 44; Parker 1930, p. 19, no. 11; Parker 1931, no. 32; PM 1957, no. 910; M 1959, p. 52; pl. 142; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 95-96, fig. 75; Rosenberg 1967, pp. 190-191; Cormack 1970, no. 99 (illustration reversed); P 1984, p. 288, nn. 13, 18.

PRINTS
Engraved for the *Figures françoises et comiques* by Desplaces (DV 55) and etched by J. Audran for the *Fddc* (202).

COPIES
Copied in reverse and on a smaller scale by Watteau himself as a *modello* for Desplaces (see cat. D. 43).

# 43 Poisson Dressed as a Peasant

Red chalk, drawn over squaring made with a stylus
120 x 75 (4 13/16 x 3)
P Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

This small drawing and the following one match precisely Watteau's studies for the *Figures de modes* (cats. D. 8, 9) in size, format, and presentation. However, these served as models for a second series of prints, the *Figures françoises et comiques*, etched not by Watteau himself but by several professional printmakers (figs. 1; D. 44-1). As they did for the *Figures de modes,* Dacier and Vuaflart (II, p. 72) established an approximate date for the publication of the second series, this time determining from the publisher's address on the prints that they were published in 1715 or later. The *Figures de mode* and the *Figures françoises et comiques* would therefore have been published at least five years apart. Nevertheless, some of the figures used in the second suite, including the *Seated Woman* (cat. D. 44), are so close in style to some of the studies for the first (notably cat. D. 9) that they must have been made at about the same time, c. 1710. Either Watteau, in compiling the *Figures françoises,* returned to figures that were originally intended for use in the *Figures de modes,* or he began planning the second set shortly after the completion of the first. In any case, he also included newly designed figures such as the one of Poisson (see cat. D. 42).

Unlike the other three exhibited drawings related to the *Figures de modes* and the *Figures françoises et comiques,* the modello for *Poisson Dressed as a Peasant* is a finely rendered copy, made by Watteau himself, after the drawing of *The Actor Philippe Poisson* in the British Museum (cat. D. 42). Since the *Figures françoises et comiques* were to be engraved by other artists and not by Watteau himself, he made a number of such clean copies (PM 168, 171, 178) to ensure that his designs could be easily read. Like *Poisson,* those copy drawings are extraordinarily precise and are all squared with a stylus. The copy after the British Museum figure is quite faithful to the original, but is much more detailed in such areas as the ruff, the sleeves, the waist, and the shoes, and in the rendering of highlights and shading. In keeping with the series format, Watteau added a landscape setting and a large vase on a high pedestal. That drawing was surely executed just prior to the publication of the prints, and like the British Museum sheet from which it was copied, could not date any earlier than 1715.

PROVENANCE
Carl Gustav Tessin (1695-1770); sold to King Adolph Frederick of Sweden, 1750 (sale, 1777); repurchased by King Gustav III; given by him to the Kongliga Biblioteket; transferred to the Kongliga Museum at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lugt 1638); incorporated into the Nationalmuseum in 1866, NM 2821b/1863.

EXHIBITIONS
Stockholm 1922, no. 18; Copenhagen 1935, no. 543; Paris 1935, no. 81; Leningrad 1963; New York-Boston-Chicago 1969, no. 99.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Tessin 1739-1742, p. 43v.; Tessin 1749, *livré* 14, no. 34; Sparre 1790, no. 2707b; DV, I, p. 198 and II, p. 72; Engwall 1935, no. 11; PM 1957, no. 172; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 95-96, fig. 74; Bjurström 1982, no. 1294; P 1984, pp. 43, 47, 206, 208, 256, 262, fig. 38.

PRINTS
Engraved by Louis Desplaces for the *Figures françoises et comiques* (fig. 1). J. Audran made an etching of the same figure, using as his model the drawing in the British Museum (cat. D. 42) (*Fddc* 202).

# 44 Seated Woman

Red chalk
113 x 77 (4 7/16 x 3 1/16)
P Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE
Same as preceding, NM 2821c/1863.

EXHIBITIONS
Stockholm 1922, no. 18; Copenhagen 1935, no. 543; Paris 1935, no. 81.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Tessin 1739-1742, p. 43v; Tessin 1749, *livré* 14, no. 35; Sparre 1790, no. 2707c; DV, I, p. 198 and II, p. 72; Engwall 1935, no. 10; PM 1957, no. 174; Eidelberg 1977, p. 94, fig. 66; Bjurström 1982, no. 1295.

PRINTS
Engraved by Henri-Simon Thomassin the Younger (fig. 1).

fig. 43-1. Desplaces after Watteau, *Poisson Dressed as a Peasant,* engraving (DV 55).



fig. 44-1. Thomassin after Watteau, *Seated Woman,* engraving (DV 45).





43



44

## 45 Seated Persian

Red and black chalks on chamois paper, laid down
302 x 199 (11⅞ x 7⅞)
Inscribed in brown ink at lower right, *Antoine Watteau fecit;* inscribed in graphite on the mount below, *Watteau;* then at center, *122;* and at right, *29;* inscribed on the verso in brown ink, *portrait de l'ambassadeur de Perse Mehemet Riza Beg/intendant de la province d'Erivan./qui fit son entré aparis le 7 février 1715/Dessiné d'après nature par Antoine Vateau/il est gravé d'ans loeuvre de ce Maitre,* and along bottom edge, *M.-Brisart's Colln.*

W Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

This and the four following drawings belong to a series of red and black chalk portraits of figures in exotic dress. For a time, it was thought that the models were members of a Turkish Embassy that was in Paris in 1721 (DV, II, pp. 113-114) and that this particular man was the Turkish ambassador, Mehemet Effendi. In 1939, however, Mathey pointed out that the costumes and especially the turbans worn by two of the models (this one and cat. D. 46) matched the garb worn by members of a Persian embassy that arrived in Paris on 7 February 1715. An anonymous print in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (fig. 1) recorded the formal entry of the legation *(The Entry of the Persian Ambassador into Paris, Seen in the Place Royale, 7 Feb.1715)* and shows the accuracy of Mathey's identification. How Watteau came to draw some of the members of the delegation has yet to be discovered, but the experience must have impressed him since the drawings rank among his most brilliant works up to that time.

The inscription on the verso of this drawing identifies the sitter as the Persian ambassador himself, Mehemet Riza Bey, intendant of the province of Erivan. However, Parker and Mathey (PM 790) pointed out that the ambassador, as contemporary prints show, was bearded, and therefore the model for this sheet must have been some other member of the embassy. Nevertheless, this man strongly resembles the ambassador who rides a white horse, his right arm akimbo, in the print of *The Entry of the Persian Ambassador.* The ambassador's large, down-turned nose, his fleshy jowls, and his imposing bulk are repeated almost exactly in Watteau's drawing. The lack of a beard, however, is critical and seems to preclude the identification of Watteau's model as the ambassador.

The Louvre Persian is a most imposing figure, filling the entire page with his powerful bulk, yet the expression on his face is quite gentle and contemplative. Watteau's sensitive mixing of red and black chalks contributes to the introspective calm of the mood, but he by no means neglects the decorative possibilities of costume details and fabric design.



45



fig. 1. Anonymous, *The Entry of the Persian Ambassador into Paris, 7 Feb. 1715,* engraving, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

PROVENANCE
M. Brisart (sale, 1849?); Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 316); Camille Groult; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; given to the Louvre in 1978 by the Société des Amis du Louvre and the Lutèce Foundation, RF 36,735.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1980-1981, no. 40.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 268, no. 493; DV, I, pp. 113-114; Parker 1931, p. 20; Mathey 1939, pp. 158-159; PM 1957, no. 790; Cormack 1970, no. 50; Sérullaz 1981, pp. 29-32; P 1984, p. 205, fig. 163.

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 122).

COPY
A copy in reverse, once thought to be the original (Parker 1928, pl. 8), is in the Forsyth Wickes coll., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

## 46 Seated Persian in Profile to the Left

Red and black chalks on cream paper, pieced together 55 mm from lower edge
250 x 212 (9 13/16 x 8 3/8)
W Teylers Museum, Haarlem

The fierce boldness of this Persian's pose and his great bulk, combined with a particularly forceful execution, make it an image unsurpassed in power and monumentality.

The sitter resembles closely the member of the entourage in the print showing *The Entry of the Persian Ambassador* (fig. D. 45-1), who is riding close behind the ambassador, partially hidden by one of the horses. In the print his head is tilted back and his massive chest is thrust forward, just as in this drawing, and the profiles match almost precisely. The only difference is in the costume, for in the drawing the characteristic turban has been replaced by a soft, fur-bordered cap and the jacket and tunic have different details. The model has not been identified, but the proud lift of his head and the uncompromising set of his arms indicate that this is a man of unusual distinction and authority and probably an important member of the Persian embassy.

PROVENANCE
Discovered by F. Lugt and H. Buisman in a folder containing anonymous Italian drawings in the Teylers Museum, 1923, M. 21a.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1932, no. 723 (commem. cat. no. 771); Amsterdam 1935, no. 16; Paris 1937, no. 592; Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris 1949-1950, no. 61; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 40; London 1970, no. 113; Amsterdam 1974, no. 133.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Buisman 1930, pp. 67-68, pl. 63; Parker 1931, pp. 16, 20, 49, and no. 99; Mathey 1939, pp. 158-159; PM 1957, no. 791.

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 156).



46

## 47 Seated Persian Wearing a Fur Cap

Brownish-red and black chalks on cream paper
295 x 200 (11⅝ x 7⅞)
Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right, *593*
Victoria and Albert Museum, London

This and the following drawing represent the same moustached young man wearing the same fleece-lined hat, but in one he is swathed in a loose mantle with a narrow fleece collar, while in the other the mantle is thrown over his left shoulder to reveal a striped garment wrapped by a wide sash at the waist. Unlike the models for the Louvre and Teylers Museum drawings (cats. D. 45, 46), this man does not appear in the print recording the entry of the Persian ambassador into Paris (fig. D. 45-1). Since he does not have quite the same commanding air as the other men, we may surmise that he was a more minor functionary in the mission.

In both drawings, the handling of the face and head is quite similar in the combining of the chalks and in the detailing of the features, but the clothing is treated in two distinct ways. The *Standing Persian* (cat. D. 48) is drawn with fine attention to the striped patterning of his clothing and manipulation of the stripes to model the surface, to indicate the form beneath, and to intensify the visual richness of the image. The *Seated Persian* is drawn with a much more abstract distribution of the lights and darks. Here, heavy accents and broad hatchings break up the surface into a geometric jigsaw puzzle. In both drawings, though, the red and black chalks are combined in the same way, with blacks strictly limited to certain special details such as the hair, eyes, eyebrows, moustache, and beard, the fur of the cap, and touches in the collar and cloak. In all cases the blacks are placed over reds, indicating that Watteau had originally conceived the figure only in red chalk and returned with the black accents only after the image was basically complete.

PROVENANCE
Rev. Alexander Dyce (1798-1869); bequeathed by him to the South Kensington Museum, 1869; incorporated into the Victoria and Albert Museum, Dyce 593.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Dyce 1880, pp. 41-42 (as Lancret); Parker 1929, p. 27, pl. 30; Parker 1930, p. 67, pl. 8; Parker 1931, p. 20 and no. 98; PM 1957, no. 798.

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 215). There is a counterproof of the drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

## 48 Standing Persian Wearing a Fur Cap

Red and black chalks
293 x 146 (11⁹⁄₁₆ x 5¾)
Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Victor Thaw, New York

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE
Claire-Amélie Masson (according to a note on the old mount); Mme. Chauffard, Paris (sale, Paris, Galliera, 7 December 1971, no. 5); Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Victor Thaw.

EXHIBITIONS
New York-Cleveland-Chicago-Ottawa 1975-1976, no. 33.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 796.

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 4).

## 49 Standing Persian

Red and black chalks on cream paper
319 x 200 (12⁹⁄₁₆ x 7⅞)
B Fondation Custodia Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris

Wearing what appears to be the same fur cap and fleece-lined mantle found in the Thaw and Victoria and Albert drawings (cats. D. 46, 47), this man would certainly be identified as the same model were it not for the absence of a mustache. In addition, this figure lacks the foreign air that distinguishes those other two, leading one to wonder whether he was in fact a member of the Persian embassy. Unlike the first two drawings in the series (cats. D. 45, 46), this man does not resemble any of the figures in the print of the *Entry of the Persian Ambassador* (fig. D. 45-1). It is possible that the man was an ordinary model dressed up in a costume that Watteau could have borrowed or could have had in his studio. If the man were not a Persian, then we could seriously reconsider the drawing's date, and indeed the curiously abstract handling of the forms and the chalks corresponds more closely to Watteau's work around 1719. It is closest in every way to two



47



48



49



fig. 1. Watteau, *Standing Persian Seen from Behind,* location unknown (PM 580).

studies of men, the *Standing Actor Spreading His Cape* for *The Italian Comedians* (cat. D. 121) and the *Standing Man* (PM 661) for *Peaceful Love,* which both date from c. 1719-1720. In those two drawings the draperies are treated with the same broad shading and abstract handling of light and shade, and they both have similarly accented contours that weave down the edge of a sleeve. Still, there is a similar element of abstraction in the Victoria and Albert Museum study of a *Seated Persian* (cat. D. 47), and it would not be wise to reject the Institut Néerlandais drawing from the group without further proof or until the works can be studied side by side.

Watteau made another, equally abstract, drawing of the same "Persian," this time seen from behind, but clearly recognizable from the distinctive hat and mantle (fig. 1, catalogued by Parker and Mathey among the studies of women). Dominated by the simple oblong shapes of the draperies, the study is concerned entirely with the bold effects offered by the sweeping areas of light and shadow.

PROVENANCE

R. Fisher (1809-1890); J. P. Heseltine (1843-1929) (Lugt 1507); Colnaghi's, London, 1912; Frits Lugt (1884-1970) (Lugt 1028); Fondation Custodia Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, 2312.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1909-1910, no. 156; Amsterdam 1926, no. 203; Amsterdam 1935, no. 12; London 1952, no. 163; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 42; Amsterdam 1974, no. 132.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Heseltine 1900, no. 3; Guiraud 1913, no. 98; Parker 1931, p. 20; PM 1957, no. 799.



## 50 Standing Savoyard with a Marmot

Red chalk with touches of black on cream paper, laid down
322 x 201 (12 11/16 x 7 15/16)
Musée du Petit Palais, Paris

By their ragged clothing, traditional headwear, and the tools of their trades that they carry, the figures in this and the following three drawings can be identified as Savoyards. Thousands of these natives of the poverty-stricken Savoy region (now French, but Italian in Watteau's time) migrated to the great cities of Europe to earn the money necessary to support their families who remained behind. They worked mainly in menial jobs as shoeshiners (cat. D. 53), woodcutters, chimney sweeps, blade sharpeners (PM 489), or porters. Some were street entertainers, with either a trained marmot (this sheet and cat. P. 32), a curiosity box, or both (cat. D. 52; PM 493-495) to attract the attention of passers-by. (See Munhall 1968, for a discussion of Savoyards in eighteenth-century French art.)

Watteau's Savoyard drawings have been dated as early as 1708 (Adhémar) and 1712 (exh. cat. Toronto 1972-1973, no. 153), but the powerful combination of red and

black chalks, the full-bodied forms, the monumentality of the presentation, and Watteau's uncritical realism mark these as more mature works. In many ways, as Parker and Mathey pointed out (p. 65), these drawings achieve the "perfection" of the Persians (cats. D. 45-49) of 1715 and of the nude studies for the Crozat Seasons belonging to 1715–1716 (cats. D. 60, 62-64). The fact that the Uffizi *Seated Savoyard* (fig. D. 52-1) was included in the *Figures françoises et comiques,* published in or after 1715, helps place these drawings also at about that time.

Drawn with a clarity and precision that set it apart from the other sheets in the Savoyard group, the *Standing Savoyard with a Marmot* has the highly finished character of a *modello* drawing. The treatment of the form, light, accenting, and shading is analogous to Watteau's drawing of *Poisson* (cat. D. 42), engraved for the *Figures françoises et comiques.* Though Watteau may have considered using this young street entertainer in that series also, in the end he constructed a painting around it instead (Leningrad; cat. P. 32). In that picture the drawn figure is faithfully reproduced, but in reverse. Parker and Mathey (under PM 490) proposed that Watteau based the painting on a lost counterproof of the Petit Palais drawing. Though that could have been the case, their idea could also be taken one step further: perhaps Watteau actually counterproofed the drawing directly onto the canvas itself. If Watteau did base his painting, literally, on a counterproof, then this would be the only such case in his oeuvre.

Watteau may have reversed the Savoyard in the painting for the simple purpose of achieving compositional symmetry with a pendant, *The Spinner* (fig. D. 30-1). As Posner first pointed out in 1975 (p. 282), the figures in the preparatory drawings for both works (the other is cat. D. 30) face in the same direction, and in order to have them face each other in the paintings Watteau had to reverse one of the images. Since the spinner could not be shown doing her work left-handed, it was the young man with his marmot who had to be changed. Posner has also explained that, even though the woman spinning is not herself a Savoyard, she was paired with the *Savoyard with a Marmot,* not simply because of their common bond as "popular figures," but rather for more salacious reasons. In Watteau's time, both the flageolet and the marmot held by the boy and the spindle and distaff held by the woman had covert sexual meanings that would have been familiar to both the artist and his audience. (See cat. P. 32 for a discussion of the date of the Leningrad painting.)

PROVENANCE
Sir J. C. Robinson (1824-1913) (Lugt 1433; sale, Paris, 7-8 May 1868); Jacques Doucet (sale, Paris, Petit, 5-8 May 1912, no. 60; Fr 14,000); bought by Lapauze for the Petit Palais with Dutuit funds in 1912; entered the Museum on 10 June 1912, Dut. 1041.

EXHIBITIONS
Vienna 1950, no. 65; Tokyo 1979, no. 31.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Parker 1931, pp. 13-19, 42, and pl. 10; Cat. Dutuit coll. 1925, p. 189, no. 1024; R 1928, p. 54 no. 34; AH 1950, under no. 13; PM 1957, no. 490; Eidelberg 1977, p. 163, fig. 162; Exh. cat. Toronto 1972-1973, under no. 154; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, under no. 4; Posner 1975, pp. 282-284; P. 1984, pp. 31, 279, n. 31.

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 6).

## 51 Standing Savoyard Woman

Red and black chalks on cream paper
312 x 203 (12 5/16 x 8) (a strip added at the top edge)
On the verso, portions of a letter written in pen and brown ink in Watteau's hand, *Monsieur, J'ay receu aujourd'huy vos deux lestres ensemble qui ont autant donné de peines au facteur pour me les remettre en main qu'elles m'ont causé de surprise par la qualitée que vous me donnée de peintre de Son A. R. Monseign. le Duc d'Orléans, moy indigne et qui n'a aucun talens pour y aspirer, à moins que d'un miracle. J'ay tant de foy en vos reliques que je ne doute nullement de son accomplissement si vous voulez avoir la bontée de joindre vos prières au désir que j'ay d'acquérir du credit et de la faveur, mes désirs sont sans bornes quand me. . . .* (The rest has been cut off.)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Therese Kuhn Straus in memory of her husband Herbert N. Straus, 1978
P, B

The same woman with the accoutrements—the long cane, marmot box, and kerchief—and the same ragged clothes also appears in another Watteau drawing in the British Museum (fig. 1). The identical handling of the two drawings and the exact correspondence of every detail of the costumes indicate that the two studies must have been made in rapid succession. A third drawing of the same woman, now lost, is known through an etching made by Caylus for the *Figures de différents caractères* (fig. 2).

Close examination of the Metropolitan drawing reveals that it was first drawn entirely in red chalk. Watteau then went over many of the folds, accents, and shadows with a sooty black chalk that added both color and visual richness to the image. He then blunted some of the black accents by going over them once again with thick red, a technique found also in the Chicago *Bearded Savoyard* (cat. D. 52). Both the simple way in which the chalks are combined and the rather self-conscious posing of the figure suggest that this drawing was made just before Watteau's art reached full maturity.

The isolation of the figure on the page, the broad shading strokes, the "exotic" nature of the subject, and the visual richness of the image point to a time near the drawings of Persians of 1715 (compare the *Seated Persian,* cat. D. 47). Its subject and presentation are also extremely close to the Petit Palais *Savoyard with a Marmot* (cat. D. 50) of roughly the same date.

Both the Metropolitan and the British Museum drawings, as well as a study of a *Seated Savoyard* in the Uffizi, Florence (fig. D. 52-1), bear on their versos snippets of three drafts of the same letter. Both the intended recipient and the date that is was written are unknown, but some phrases give possible clues to both. Tatlock (1921, p. 157) noted that Watteau's reference to the Duc d'Orléans as "Son A.R." (His Royal Highness) indicates that it was written after the duke had become Regent, and therefore after the death of Louis XIV in September 1715. (Actually, since the duke was of royal blood, he was entitled to be referred to as "Son Altesse Royale" prior to his regency.) In addition, one might point out that the duke's desire to have his own First Painter, thereby equating his patronage of the arts to that of the king, may indicate that he was already Regent when the letter was written. (As it happened, Charles-Antoine Coypel, who had been named First Painter to the King in October 1715, was also appointed First Painter to the Duc d'Orléans in July 1717.) At the same time, one must wonder who among Watteau's patrons and acquaintances might have been closely enough associated with the Regent to be able to intercede on Watteau's behalf. The most logical choice would be Pierre Crozat (1665-1740) who is known to have had very close relations with the Regent, and if indeed he was the addressee, then the letter would have to have been written prior to Crozat's departure for Italy (a trip he undertook on the duke's behalf) in October 1714, or after his return in October 1715. The latter date appears to be more likely.

Even if the draft letters were datable, the drawings would not necessarily belong to the same time. However, in the case of the Uffizi sheet, the letter is crossed out in what appears to be the same distinctive brownish-red chalk that Watteau used for the Savoyard drawing on the other side, indicating that the letter probably preceded the drawing.



51

That Savoyard is the most lavishly treated of the group, with washes added to the red and black chalks. It was etched for the *Figures françoises et comiques* published in or after 1715 (see cat. D. 43). Given those circumstances, combined with the fact that all three draft letters must certainly have been

51 verso

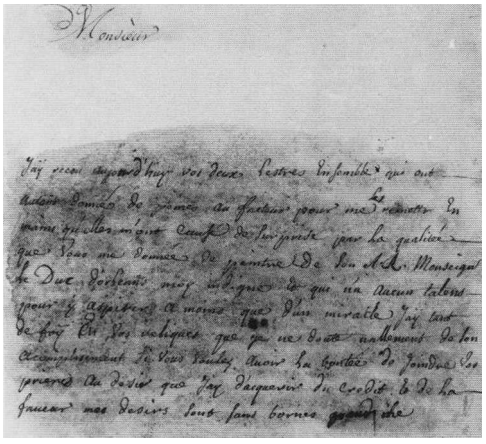


fig. 1. Watteau, *Seated Savoyard Woman,* British Museum, London.



fig. 2. Caylus after Watteau, *Seated Savoyard Woman* (*Fddc* 35).





52

written in rapid succession and that all three drawings were surely made within a short time of each other, it is logical to assume that in all three cases the letters preceded the drawings. Thus the drawing could not have been completed before the end of 1715.

PROVENANCE
Frederick Locker Lampson (1821-1895) (Lugt 1692); given by him to his son-in-law, the Right Honorable Augustine Birrell; H. N. Straus, 1929; his wife, Therese Kuhn Straus; bequeathed by her to the Metropolitan Museum in 1978, 1978.12.1.

EXHIBITIONS
Ipswich 1927, no. 102; Rotterdam-Paris-New York 1958-1959, no. 86.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Uzanne 1908, pl. 30; Tatlock 1921, pp. 156-157; Dacier 1926-1927, no. 49; R 1928, p. 53, no. 24; DV, I, pp. 155, 156, 157; PM 1957, no. 496.

PRINTS
Etched by Caylus, but the print was not included in the *Fddc*. An impression is bound into the copy at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (bet. nos. 84, 85).

## 52 Bearded Savoyard, Standing

Red and black chalks with stumping on cream paper, laid down
360 x 224 (14 3/16 x 8 7/8), cut and pieced together 32 mm from the bottom edge (the part of the figure on the added piece seems also to be in Watteau's hand)
The Art Institute of Chicago, Helen Regenstein Collection

Watteau made four drawings of this bearded man wearing the same broad-brimmed hat and carrying the same marmot case and curiosity box: the *Seated Savoyard* in the Uffizi, Florence (fig. 1); *Savoyard with a Curiosity Box* in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rottendam (PM 494); and *Standing Savoyard* in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne (PM 495). One other drawing, not lost, is known through a print by Boucher that was used as the frontispiece to the second volume of the *Figures de différents caractères* (fig. 2). Of these, the Chicago sheet is the most highly finished, the most powerfully executed, and the most gloriously pictorial. The boldly accented reds and blacks that characterize all of his Savoyard drawings are here enhanced and held together by beautifully nuanced stumping, which gives this figure rich surfaces and brilliant visual effects that the others lack. (The Rotterdam *Savoyard* also has extensive stumping, but the drawing as a whole is much rougher and the effect is much more careless.)

The directness of Watteau's observation and his sympathetic depiction, without criticism or ridicule, surely had their roots in the paintings of the Le Nain brothers, which present a similar attitude toward peasants and the poor. (Watteau's copy of Le Nain's *Preparations for the Dance* with the study of the bull's head for *Spring* of the Crozat Seasons would have been done at just about the same time as this drawing. See cat. D. 134.) The man's expression, neither happy nor sad but disturbingly forthright, is full of dignity, conveying a deep sense of self-worth that belies his rags and menial condition.

PROVENANCE
Jean de Jullienne? (possibly his sale, Paris, 30 March 1767, no. 769, but the catalogue description also corresponds to a drawing in Rotterdam, PM 494); Mrs. A. L. Grimaldi (sale, London, Sotheby's, 25 February 1948, no. 85); Georges Wildenstein, Paris; Mrs. Corina Kavanaugh, Buenos Aires (sale, London, Sotheby's, 11 March 1964, no. 220); purchased for the Art Institute of Chicago by the Regenstein Foundation, 1964.74.

EXHIBITIONS
Toronto 1972, no. 153; Chicago 1974, no. 26; Chicago 1976, no. 30; Paris 1976, no. 1; Frankfurt 1977, no. 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 492; *Art Q.*, 27, no. 4 (1964), p. 499, pl. p. 503; *GBA suppl.* (February 1965), p. 44, no. 186; Edwards 1966, pp. 9-13; Exh. cat. Florence 1968, under no. 63; Munhall 1968, p. 89; Joachim 1976, p. 4; Exh. cat. Cleveland 1980-1981, fig. 34.

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 20).

fig. 1. Watteau, *Seated Savoyard*, Uffizi, Florence.



fig. 2. Boucher after Watteau (?), *Savoyard with a Curiosity Box*, etching (*Fddc* 133).







fig. 1. Caylus after Watteau, *A Shoeshine Boy,* etching (*Fddc* 226).

## 53 Two Studies of a Shoeshine Boy

Orange-red chalk, black chalk, and stumping on beige paper, laid down (the feet are partly cut off, but have been finished by another hand on the old mount)
223 x 217 (8¾ x 8⁹⁄₁₆)
Inscribed on the verso in pen and ink in Caylus' hand (discernible from the recto), *dessein que Watteau a laissé en/mourant à moy son ami Caylus/juillet 1721*

W, P Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

This is the only example among Watteau's extant Savoyard drawings in which two studies appear on the same page. That, coupled with the unusually free execution, makes it more of a study sheet than the majority of the more formal drawings of the single figures. Nevertheless, the chalks are combined in the same pictorial way found in Chicago's *Bearded Savoyard* (cat. D. 52) and the poses have the frank directness that characterizes all of the other drawings of Savoyards. The Rotterdam sheet clearly belongs to the series and can be dated accordingly to the same period, c. 1715.

The presentation of both back and front views suggests that Watteau had a particularly keen interest in every aspect of the peddler's clothing and bearing. The model for both studies could have been the same young man, but substantial differences in the clothing—most notably in the breeches and leggings but also in the length, cut, and fit of the overcoat—suggest that Watteau may have used two models. Since a study of yet another young man with a tripod stool appears on a drawing in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, etched by Caylus (fig. 1), we can surmise that Watteau may have been searching for a suitable image for a series of *The Cries of Paris.* Such suites of prints representing different kinds of street peddlers already had an established tradition (see Beall 1975, pp. 216-227 for some French *Cries of Paris* made before Watteau's time). Watteau could have known series by Abraham Bosse (1602-1676), from the school of Callot (see Beall, pp. 220-224), or by his contemporary Nicolas Guérard (Bruand and Hébert 1970, p. 60, nos. 5-16). The title *Cries of Paris* derived from the captions, which recorded the words called out by the peddlers to attract prospective customers. Perhaps Watteau had considered making such a

series of prints as a complement to the *Figures françoises et comiques* (cat. D. 43).

PROVENANCE
Comte de Caylus (1692-1765) (Lugt 2919; sale, 18 November 1765); L. Bonnat (1833-1922) (Lugt 1714); Franz Koenigs (1881-1941) (Lugt *suppl.* 1023a); purchased by D. G. van Beuningen (1877-1955) and given by him with the Koenigs collection to the Boymans Museum Foundation in 1940, F.I. 68.

EXHIBITIONS
Amsterdam 1929, no. 314; Haarlem 1931, no. 198; Rotterdam 1934-1935, no. 88; Amsterdam 1935, no. 15; Paris 1937, no. 599; Rotterdam 1938, no. 374; Cologne 1939, no. 60; Paris-Brussels-Rotterdam 1949-1950, no. 53; Rotterdam 1952, no. 125; Paris 1952, no. 69; USA 1952-1953, no. 58; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 43; Amsterdam 1974, no. 131.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Dacier 1930, nos. 39, 41; Parker 1930, p. 28, fig. 12; Parker 1931, p. 14; Brinckmann 1943, pp. 14, 35, fig. 86; PM 1957, no. 499; Cormack 1970, no. 14; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, under no. 15; P 1984, pp. 27, 205, fig. 19.

PRINTS
The right figure was etched by Tremolières (*Fddc* 38); the same figure was also etched by Caylus in a print that was refused for the *Fddc* but was inserted into the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal's volumes (bet. pls. 37, 38) with the manuscript note, "On en a recommencé une autre et n'a pas servi."

## 54 Two Gentlemen, One Kneeling, One Standing

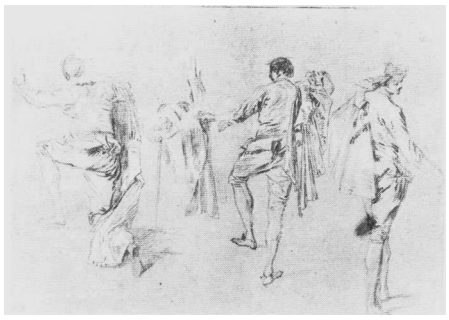
Red chalk on cream paper
173 x 165 (6 13/16 x 6½)
Private Collection

The kneeling figure on this sheet has been cited as a possible study for the pilgrim in the right foreground of the Louvre *Pilgrimage* (cat. P. 61), but the connection appears to be only coincidental. Aside from the fact that here the cavalier wears no recognizable pilgrim garb (which in itself is not conclusive since Watteau often changed details of clothing in his final paintings), his pose is significantly different in the placement of the legs and in the gesture of the right arm. In fact, the painted pilgrim corresponds in almost every detail to a figure on a sheet in Dresden (fig. D. 22-1). Since that drawing bears a study for the *Island of Cythera* of c. 1713, based on the same pilgrimage theme (cat. P. 9), it appears that Watteau may have returned to it for use in his reception piece.

The standing man, with one foot poised as if on a step,



fig. 1. Watteau, *Studies of a Cavalier,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.



can be compared to figure studies of similarly posed gallants, who even wear the same frogged short cape, from a page in the Louvre (fig. 1). That sheet, through its relationship with both *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65) and *Gallant Recreation* (cat. P. 63), among others, can be dated to about 1715-1716. The *Two Gentlemen* appears to date from about the same time, perhaps c. 1715

The dating of this drawing has an important bearing on the dating of *The Embarrassing Proposal* (cat. P. 39) for which it served as a preparatory study. According to Zolotov and Nemilova (1973, pp. 143-144), x-ray examination of the painting has revealed that much of the present painting lies over another composition that Watteau himself had scraped away (see cat. D. 38). The couple at right, however, to which this study sheet is related, appears to be part of the first painting. Zolotov mentioned a very early date for that first effort, 1710–1712, but if the standing man from this drawing was indeed used in that original composition, then Watteau first worked on the picture no earlier than 1715. He then returned to the painting sometime later, but not before 1717, as a study for the woman guitarist shows (cat. D. 105).

PROVENANCE
Miss Lyon, London; Sale, London, Christie's, 26-27 March 1974, no. 180; Miss Elizabeth Carnegy-Arbuthnott, Surrey; Colnaghi, London; purchased by the present owner in 1979.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1979, no. 77.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*Vasari*, 2nd ser., XI, pl. 13; PM 1957, no. 643; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, p. 144.

## 55 The Italian Troupe (The Clothes Are Italian)

verso: counterproof of the first state of Watteau's own etching *The Recruits Going to Join the Regiment,* with corrections and additions in red chalk
Red and black chalks, gray wash, with white heightening and stumping on cream paper with a watermark of a bunch of grapes; incised for transfer
271 x 193 (10 11/16 x 7 5/8)
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Watteau made only two etchings other than the *Figures de modes,* both after his own paintings and both related to the Berlin sheet. The drawing on the recto is a finished modello, copied by Watteau from his painting *The Italian Troupe,* which exists in several versions (CR 204) and has been incised for transfer to the copperplate (see cat. E. 8). The image on the verso is a counterproof, made from an impression of the first state of Watteau's etching after *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment* (cat. E. 7). To help the engraver Henri-Simon Thomassin the Younger (1687-1741), who was to complete the print, Watteau himself then made additions and corrections in red chalk. He probably chose to correct a counterproof rather than the print itself because the counterproof presents the composition in the same direction as it appears on the plate. Thomassin could then easily transfer the changes to the plate (fig. 1).

The coincidence of the drawing for *The Italian Troupe* and the retouched counterproof of *Recruits* on the same page strongly indicates that Watteau was working on both prints at the same time. Logically, the drawing for *The Italian Troupe* would have been made first. After it had served its purpose

55 verso



fig. 1. Watteau and Thomassin, *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment,* etching and engraving (DV 178).



the other side of the page could then have been used for the counterproof of *Recruits*. Preparatory drawings for the original paintings (cat. D. 33; PM 241, 243, 657, 659, 777) show that both works were made no earlier than c. 1715. Presumably the prints were made soon after the paintings were completed, in 1715-1716.

Watteau's reasons for making the two prints remain unknown; possibly he had hoped to reproduce many more of his own paintings in this way. If that was the case, then that may have been at the root of Jullienne's idea to immortalize his friend's works in the volumes of prints that are now known simply as the *Recueil Jullienne*. Dacier and Vuaflart noted (II, p. 75) that in the prospectus for the second volume of plates after the paintings, published in 1734, Jullienne remarked that the process of reproducing Watteau's works had been going on for eighteen years. That would place the first examples in 1716, about the time of these prints by Watteau himself.

Partly because of the incised lines, partly because of the drawing's function as a modello, Berlin's *Italian Troupe* lacks the immediacy of Watteau's study drawings. It also differs from Watteau's etching in the expressions of some of the actors, to such an extent that its authenticity could be viewed with some suspicion. However, a second print by Boucher (fig. 2), the caption of which states explicitly that it was "engraved after Watteau's original drawing," faithfully reproduces every aspect of the Berlin sheet. The resemblance is so close, in fact, that Boucher may have transferred the design directly onto his plate by reincising the contours. That would account for the almost exact correspondence in the size of Watteau's own print and Boucher's version. Perhaps before he made his print Boucher made a few delicate retouches to details that had been damaged by the earlier incising, most notably in the eyes and lips of several of the figures. The original expressions of Watteau's figures would have been subtly altered in the process, thus explaining the slight differences in the appearance of the actors in the two prints.

55



fig. 2. Boucher after Watteau, *The Italian Troupe*, etching (DV 85).



For some reason, perhaps because the etching process was too cumbersome and slow, perhaps because it did not adequately translate his color and draftmanship, Watteau gave up printmaking after he made these two plates. Although his rare prints are interesting curiosities today, their rather mediocre technique indicates that Watteau's talents were better directed elsewhere.

PROVENANCE
Coclers (sale, Paris, 9 February 1789, no. 683); Meyer de Rothschild; Earl of Rosebery, Mentmore (sale, Sotheby's, 21 November 1974, no. 114); Artemis; purchased by the Staatliche Museen, Berlin in 1977, KdZ 26480.

EXHIBITIONS
Bordeaux 1980, no. 194.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
AH 1950, under no. 155; PM 1957, no. 870; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 105-113, figs. 90, 93.

PRINTS
See the entry, cat. D. 33, and cats. E. 7, 8. Watteau's etching of *The Italian Troupe* was reworked with the burin by Charles Simonneau the Elder (DV 130). *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment* was finished by Henri-Simon Thomassin the Younger (DV 178), the same man who had worked on Watteau's *Figures de modes* (see cats. D. 8, E. 1-6). Boucher's etching after the Berlin drawing was included in the *Oeuvre gravé* (DV 85) instead of in the *Fddc.*

## 56 Two Studies of a Bagpiper

Red and black chalks with touches of white on gray-brown paper
271 x 222 (10 11/16 x 8 3/4)
W Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

The musician seen in profile appears at right in *The Village Betrothal* (fig. D. 28-1). The one seen full-face was used with slight changes to the face in *The Shepherds* (cat. P. 53) and transformed into a self-portrait of Watteau in *Venetian Fêtes* (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; fig. D. 85-1). The model's long, straight hair and distinctive aquiline nose identify him as the same man who posed for several other Watteau drawings, including three other studies for *The Village Betrothal* (cats. D. 28, 29; PM 64) and *Two Studies of a Seated Man with a Cane* in Berlin (cat. D. 72). He may have been Pierre de La Thorillière (1659-1731), an actor with the Comédie-Française. (See cat. D. 72 for details of the identification.) All of the drawings for which he posed appear to date no earlier than 1714 (see cat. D. 28). Here, the powerful use of the *trois crayons,* the monumental presentation of the figures, and the vibrant energy that courses through every line indicate a date of at least 1715-1716 for this sheet. Such a date would correspond to the late stages of work on *The Village Betrothal.* The other two paintings to which the drawing is related were made later, c. 1717-1718.



The instrument the man is playing is a musette, a type of bagpipe popular in France from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth. It is rendered here by Watteau with great accuracy. (See Appendix C, "Watteau and Music," for a technical discussion of the instrument.) One can see from Watteau's drawing and from the related paintings that the musette had become by Watteau's time a rather elegant instrument, covered in satins and velvets, often decorated with ribbons, and fitted with ivory or ebony accessories. By no means a peasant's instrument, it was, rather, one for members of the upper class who were playing at being peasants. In Watteau's paintings, it is used almost always in a bucolic context and always as an accompaniment to a rustic dance.

PROVENANCE
Achille Devéria (1800-1857) (sale, Paris, 7-8 April 1858, no. 194; Fr 234); purchased by the Louvre, Paris (L.1886), 33,382.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1934, no. 599; Vienna 1934; Valenciennes 1937, no. 29; London 1945-1946, no. 288; USA 1952-1953, no. 61; London 1954-1955, no. 288; Germany 1958, no. 61; Rome-Milan 1959-1960, no. 61; Aarau 1963, no. 27; Paris 1980-1981, no. 171.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Both de Tauzia 1888, no. 2159; Tourneux 1908, pp. 140-141; *Burl. Mag.* (March, 1935), p. 140; Lafenestre 1907, pl. 44; Dacier 1930, no. 26; Parker 1931, pp. 20, 26, 28, no. 29; Lavallée 1939, no. 8; AH 1950, p. 22; Nordenfalk 1953, p. 83, fig. 15; PM 1957, no. 823; Brookner 1967, no. 34; Cormack 1970, no. 91; Eckhardt 1975, under no. 12.

PRINTS
Etched by Mme. J.-G. Romain (repr. Tourneux 1908).





fig. 1. Watteau, *Three Studies of a Dancer,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.

## 57 Two Studies of a Man

Red chalk heightened with white chalk on brown paper
201 x 317 (7 15/16 x 12½)
Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower right, *Roubini*
W Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille

The attribution of this sheet to Watteau did not gain favor until Parker and Mathey published it in 1957 (PM 667), but even so some reservations remain. (The drawing is still "attributed to Watteau or Lancret" in the Lille museum.) However, the costumes, the technique, and above all the execution clearly link it with the group of cavalier studies by Watteau on similar brown paper, all in the Louvre (cat. D. 59; PM 668 [fig.D. 54-1], 673, 676). Of these, the last one, *Three Studies of a Dancer* (fig. 1), is closest in every way to the Lille studies. Not only do the figures in those two drawings wear precisely the same clothing, even to the small bag containing the man's queue at the nape of the neck, but also they are posed in remarkably similar attitudes and have roughly the same physiques. More important is the identical articulation of both line and form even to the coarse abstraction of the faces and hands.

Neither of the Lille figures appears in any known Watteau painting. However, the connection with the Louvre drawings and especially with PM 676 whose figures appear in *The Enchanted Isle* (cat. P. 60) and *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51) allows us to date it to c. 1715-1716.

PROVENANCE
Oscar Dupont; given by him to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, Pl. 1709.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Pluchart 1889, no. 1709 ("as attributed to Watteau or Lancret"); PM 1957, no. 667.

## 58 Standing Cavalier Wearing a Cape

Red, black, and white chalks on beige paper
272 x 189 (10¾ x 7 7/16)
W, P Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Often called *The Indifferent* because of similarities in air and attitude with the painted figure known by that name (cat. P. 59), this proud gentleman is not otherwise connected with the painting. (The actual study is on a sheet of *Four Studies of Dancers* in the collection of H. Ménier, Paris; PM 669.) The Rotterdam cavalier is a sturdier individual while the real *Indifferent* is clearly in the process of executing a graceful dance step. In many ways the Rotterdam figure has more in



58

common with a similar though less supercilious gentleman who invites a lady to promenade in the park with him at left in *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25).

Watteau made a number of drawings of cavaliers, but few rival the grace and visual brilliance of his studies of ladies. Here, however, the man's elegant pose, recalling the third position in classical ballet, and his shimmering cape, enhanced by Watteau's lush combination of the chalks, make this one of his most captivating studies of a man.

Although the execution of this drawing differs somewhat from Watteau's other studies of gentlemen (cats. 54, 57, 59), most notably in the use of *trois crayons* and in the greater attention to detail, it probably dates from 1715-1716, the period to which those other sheets surely belong. Indeed, the pose recalls somewhat Poisson's swagger in the British Museum drawing of about the same time (cat. D. 42) and the figure has the kind of panache characteristic of Watteau's drawings of that period.

PROVENANCE
Private collection, London; M. Marignane, Paris; G. Bourgarel (sale, Paris, 15-16 June 1922, no. 239); Franz Koenigs (1881-1941) (Lugt *suppl.* 1023a); purchased by D. G. van Beuningen (1877-1955) and given by him with the Koenigs collection to the Boymans Museum Foundation in 1940, F.I. 281.

EXHIBITIONS
Amsterdam 1929, no. 318; Rotterdam 1934-1935, no. 83; Amsterdam 1935, no. 2; Paris 1937, no. 600; Cologne 1939, no. 58; Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris 1949-1950, no. 63; Paris 1952, no. 73; Rotterdam 1952, no. 129; USA 1952-1953, no. 64; Germany 1958, no. 62; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 52.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Foerster 1930, pl. 2; Ricci 1937, pl. 13; Haverkamp-Begemann 1957, no. 55; PM 1957, no. 662; Rosenberg 1959, p. 91, fig. 162b; Mongan 1962, III, no. 684; Cormack 1970, pl. 88.

COPIES
The Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, owns an anonymous copy of this drawing.

## 59 Three Studies of an Actor and Three Studies of a Hand

Red and white chalks on gray-brown paper
265 x 288 (10 7/16 x 11 3/8)
Notation by the artist in red chalk next to the leg of the central figure, *[dou]blure*
W Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

Watteau made a number of study sheets of elegantly dressed cavaliers in a variety of graceful and dancelike poses, employing the same technique, gray-brown paper, and model in each (cat. D. 57; figs D. 54-1, 57-1; PM 669, 673). These drawings were probably not made for specific paintings but were intended for Watteau's album of figure studies to which Watteau turned when he was putting together his compositions (see the Introduction to this section). This group of studies provided him with a nice variety of appropriately elegant poses for the gallants in his *fêtes champêtres*.

This drawing, one of several from this group in the Louvre, is the most animated of the cavalier series: there is less the impression of a single mannequin striking successive attitudes. Here the darting lines capture the entire movement of the body in response to a particular gesture or activity, glossing over the costume details that were given more attention in the other drawings of the series. The lack of clarity is underlined by Watteau's own reminder to himself that it is the lining (*doublure*) of the cloak that one sees below the arm of the man at left, a detail that might have been more obvious in a more careful study. Nevertheless, the hands of the figures are wrought with a minute finesse that makes them almost as complete as the separate studies of hands drawn at right.

Watteau returned to this drawing only twice: once when he used the standing figure at right in *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51) and again when he used the striding man to escort a lady in *The Village Betrothal* (fig. D. 28-1). Two of the hand studies show a gesture similar to that of the dancer's left hand in the same painting, though neither corresponds exactly.



59

The drawing's connection with both *The Village Betrothal* and *Pleasures of the Dance,* both datable to c. 1716-1717, and the fact that all the cavalier drawings mentioned above consistently relate to paintings of that period indicate that the drawings were probably available to Watteau only from about 1715-1716.

PROVENANCE
Baron de Schwiter (1805-1889) (Lugt 1768; sale, 20-21 April 1883, no. 159); Josse (Paris, May 1894, no. 48); Walter Gay; given by him to the Louvre (Lugt 1886) in 1938, RF 28, 979.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1932, no. 735 (commem. cat. no. 778); Lyons-Nantes 1938; Tokyo 1954, no. 50; Paris 1959, no. 42.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*S.R.D.M.,* III, 1911, no. 32; R 1928, p. 53, no. 31; Parker 1931, no. 66; PM 1957, no. 670.

## 60 Flora

Gray-black and white chalks with red chalk on brown paper
326 x 283 (12⅞ x 11³⁄₁₆)
P Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

*Flora* is one of Watteau's first great nude drawings, part of a series of such studies for four allegorical paintings of the seasons commissioned from Watteau by Pierre Crozat (1665-1740). (See cat. P. 35 for a discussion of the paintings and cats. D. 62-64 for other drawings related to the project.) Like the other drawings in this group, *Flora,* a study for the central figure in *Spring* (fig. 1), reflects the uncharacteristically large scale and ambitious scope of the Crozat Seasons. In many ways *Flora* recalls similarly monumental nudes by Watteau's older contemporaries, Antoine Coypel (1661-1722), Louis de Boullongne (1654-1733), and Charles de La Fosse (1636-1716). Not only did Watteau use the black and white chalks generally preferred by those artists for this kind of drawing (adding only a few accents in red to give emphasis and a tinge of color to the darkest shadows and warmth to the face, hands, and feet) but also he gave his *Flora* the heroic proportions, rotund forms, sleek surfaces, and brilliant white heightening typical of the academic nudes. Even so Watteau's figure has a dynamic movement in space and a human warmth that distinguish it from the cooler, more detached studies by the older artists.

Watteau's attempt to imitate the academic style of nude drawing was almost certainly due to the direct involvement of La Fosse in the first stages of the project. As a permanent guest in Crozat's house, an influential member of the Academy, and apparently an admirer of Watteau's art (see Gersaint in Champion 1921, pp. 60-61), he may well have been responsible for the commission going to Watteau in the first place. In fact, La Fosse appears to have been responsible for the original idea of using the figures of Zephyr and Flora to personify Spring, for two rudimentary sketches by him of the



60



fig. 1. Desplaces after Watteau, *Spring* (from the Crozat Seasons), engraving (DV 105).

same subject are in the Louvre (see figs. P. 35-1, 2). La Fosse's compositions, however, are considerably different from Watteau's final version and indicate that substantial changes were made during the evolution of the painting. That it was Watteau himself who made the most radical changes is proven by this drawing, the definitive study for the figure of Flora.

The dating of the Four Seasons has ranged consistently between 1712, immediately after Watteau's acceptance into the Academy, and 1716, after Pierre Crozat's return from Italy in October 1715. (See cat. P. 35 for a summary of opinions on the dating.) The brilliant combination of power and grace in the posing and handling of Flora and the practiced use of the *trois crayons* suggest that the later dating is correct for this drawing.

PROVENANCE

Edmond (1822-1896) and Jules (1830-1870) de Goncourt (Lugt 1089; sale, Paris, 15-17 February 1897, no. 340); Count Isaac de Camondo; bequeathed by him to the Louvre (Lugt 1886) in 1911, RF 4111.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1879, no. 470; Paris 1933, no. 184; Paris 1946, no. 286; Paris 1954, no. 52; Paris 1962, no. 89; Paris 1967, no. 16.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

G 1875, p. 51; Goncourt 1898, I, p. 172; Fourcaud 1909, pp. 52-53, n.1; Migeon 1914, pp. 7-8 (2nd ed., 1922, no. 147, pl. XXVI); Jamot 1914, pp. 391-392; Dacier 1921, p. 123; R 1928, no. 2; Dacier 1930, no. 1; Lavallée 1939, no. 3; Adhémar 1950, pp. 45, 213 (under nos. 97-100), repr. p. 132; Bouchot-Saupique 1953, no. 4; PM 1957, no. 513; Levey 1964, pp. 53-58, fig. 10; Sérullaz 1968, no. 40; Cormack 1970, no. 39; Posner 1973, pp. 24-26; P 1984, pp. 97, 206, fig. 76.

PRINTS

Etched by Jules de Goncourt.



61

## 61 Seated Young Woman

Black, red, and white chalks on cream paper
255 x 172 (10 1/16 x 6 3/4) (horizontal strips added at top and bottom edges)
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

The woman who sat for this exquisite drawing was surely the one who also posed for the Louvre study of *Flora* (cat. D. 60). Both the facial features—as far as they can be discerned in the two profile views—and the figural proportions appear to be the same. Since the two drawings demonstrate an identical handling of the three chalks and a similarly smooth and glowing treatment of the flesh, there can be no doubt that they are closely contemporary. The Morgan Library drawing would therefore date to c. 1715-1716, when we believe Watteau was working on *Spring* and *Autumn* of the Crozat Seasons (see cats. D. 60, 62-64; P. 35).

The Morgan Library woman does not appear in any known Watteau painting, but her pose recalls to some extent the figure of the bather that Watteau borrowed from Louis de Boullongne for his *Diana at Her Bath* (cat. P. 28). Both that painting and Watteau's compositional drawing for it (cat. D. 66) probably also belong to about the same period as the Seasons.

PROVENANCE
Miss James (probably her sale, London, Christie's, 20-22 June 1891); Thomas Agnew and Sons, London; J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913); The Pierpont Morgan Library, I,278a.

EXHIBITIONS
New York 1919, p. 5; Buffalo 1935, no. 58; New York 1939, no. 95; Hartford 1960, no. 80; Stockholm 1970, no. 53; Providence 1975, no. 44; New York 1977, no. 95; New York 1981, no. 99.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Shoolman and Slatkin 1942, p. 540, pl. 485; Shoolman and Slatkin 1950, p. 46, pl. 27; PM 1957, no. 531; Schneider 1967, p. 89; Cormack 1970, pl. 47; Eckhardt 1975, under no. 25; P 1984, pp. 71-72, colorpl. 13.

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 214).

## 62 Bacchus

Red, black and white chalks on brown paper
280 x 204 (11 x 8 1/16) (irreg.); paper cut at bottom edge and made up with a thin strip
B Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

This and the following two drawings are all studies for figures in *Autumn* (fig. 1) of the Crozat Seasons (see cat. P. 35). In format, subject, and scale they are clearly allied with the study of *Flora* (cat. D. 60) for *Spring* of the same series. But in contrast to the comparatively reticent handling of *Flora*, the *Autumn* figures are sketched with an exuberantly free use of the three chalks that is matched by the speed and energy of the individual lines. Here the black and red chalks are wielded with equal vigor, working both separately and together to form figures of considerable power; they are complemented by incandescently brilliant whites, which serve the same purpose as those in *Flora* but do not give the forms the same smooth surfaces and cylindrical volumes.

As was the case with *Spring*, the very first compositional idea for *Autumn* may have been provided by Charles de La Fosse (1636-1716), since a sketch similar in format to his studies for *Spring* (see figs. P. 35-1, 2) is preserved in a French private collection (fig. 2). Watteau's Bacchus and the young faun who attempts to catch drops of wine in his mouth in his composition clearly come from La Fosse's sketch, itself inspired probably by Rubens' *Bacchus Seated on a Barrel* (see Posner 1984, p. 80, fig. 73). But once again the final painting as well as the full-length figure drawings are entirely Watteau's own.

For two figures in *Autumn*, if not for the composition itself, Watteau was also inspired by Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (fig. 3). The young woman reclining at Bacchus' feet in Watteau's painting, for which the Cognacq-Jay drawing (cat. D. 63) is a study, is a conflation of two women seen in the foreground in Titian's painting; the satyr pouring wine into Bacchus' cup (studied in cat. D. 64 and again in a sheet in the Courtauld Institute, London, fig. D. 64-1) was also adapted from a figure in Titian's *Bacchanal*. Watteau's decision to turn to the Venetians for inspiration may have been encouraged by La Fosse, who was the foremost proponent of the Venetian school at the time, or it may have been suggested by Crozat himself. Returning from Italy in October 1715 after nearly a year's stay, Crozat brought back with him a vast collection of Italian drawings, including many from the Venetian school. Stimulated by this wealth of new material and especially attracted to the works of Titian (1477/1489-1576) and Domenico Campagnola (1484-1550), Watteau's art took on some strongly Venetian characteristics soon after Crozat's return. His use of Venetian sources for *Autumn* is therefore a strong indication that he completed the painting no earlier than 1716, a date that is supported by the preparatory drawings.

PROVENANCE
Edmond (1822-1896) and Jules (1830-1870) de Goncourt (Lugt 1089; sale, Paris, 15-17 February 1897, no. 341; Fr 8800); Walter Gay; given by him to the Louvre in 1938, RF 28,980.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1879, no. 469; Paris 1933, no. 285; Paris 1935, no. 8; Paris 1946, no. 287;



62



fig. 1. Fessard after Watteau, *Autumn,* (from the Crozat Seasons), engraving (DV 107).



fig. 2. de La Fosse, *Allegory of Autumn,* Private collection.



fig. 3. Titian, *Bacchanal of the Andrians,* Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Vienna 1950, no. 71; USA 1952-1953, no. 62; Germany 1958, no. 60; Rome-Milan 1959-1960, no. 58; Warsaw-Cracow 1962, no. 50; Paris 1967, no. 17.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Goncourt 1873-1874, I, p. 3; G 1875, p. 51; Goncourt 1878, p. 4; Goncourt 1881, I, p. 172 (156); Goncourt 1898, p. 172; *S.R.D.M.,* III, 1911, pl. 31; Parker 1931, no. 20; Lavallée 1939, no. 4; AH 1950, p. 56, n. 39 and under nos. 97-100; PM 1957, no. 511; Cormack 1970, no. 40; Bacou 1970, p. 81, pl. V; Bacou 1976, pl. V; P 1984, p. 283, n. 44.

## 63 Bacchante Lying on the Ground

Red, black, and white chalks on beige paper
168 x 193 (6⅝ x 7⅝)
Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower left, *Watau*
Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE

Johann Conrad Spengler (1767-1839) (Lugt 1434; sale, Copenhagen, October 1839); Jacques Doucet (sale, Paris, 5 June 1912, no. 57; Fr 31,200, to Stettiner); Ernest Cognacq; bequeathed by him to the city of Paris in 1928; Musée Cognacq-Jay, 186.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1928; Copenhagen 1935, no. 389; Paris 1935, no. 9; USA 1952-1953, no. 63; Tokyo-Kyoto 1954-1955, no. 21; Zurich 1955, no. 353; Munich 1958, no. 352; Atlanta 1968, repr. p. 21; Paris 1968, no. 44; Tokyo-Sapporo-Kyoto 1979, no. 34.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ricci 1929, no. 186; Jonas 1930, no. 186; Parker 1931, p. 42, no. 19; Boucher and Jaccottet 1952, pl. 18; PM 1957, no. 512; Schneider 1967, p. 90; Exh. cat. Paris 1967, under no. 17; Huyghe 1968, p. 82; Burollet 1968, p. 35; Cabanne 1969, p. 75; Saxl 1970, fig. 142; Cormack 1970, no. 41; Bacou 1970, p. 82, in the note for pl. V; Burollet 1973, p. 10; Burollet 1980, no. 181; P 1984, p. 97, fig. 74.



63



fig. 1. Watteau, *Nude Man Holding Two Bottles,* Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

## 64 Nude Man Holding a Bottle

Red, black, and white chalks
277 x 226 ($10^{15}/_{16}$ x $8^{15}/_{16}$)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
W Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971

See the entry for cat. D. 62.

PROVENANCE
Felix Harbord, London; Mme. H. D. Gronau, London; Walter C. Baker, New York; bequeathed by him to the Metropolitan Museum, 1971, 1972.118.238.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1950, no. 106; London 1953, no. 394; Rotterdam-Paris-Brussels 1958-1959, no. 85; New York 1960; Poughkeepsie-New York 1961, no. 51.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 518; Virch 1962, p. 43, no. 73; Cormack 1970, no. 42; P 1984, p. 283, n. 44.

RELATED WORKS
Another study for the same figure is in the Courtauld Institute, London (fig. 1).

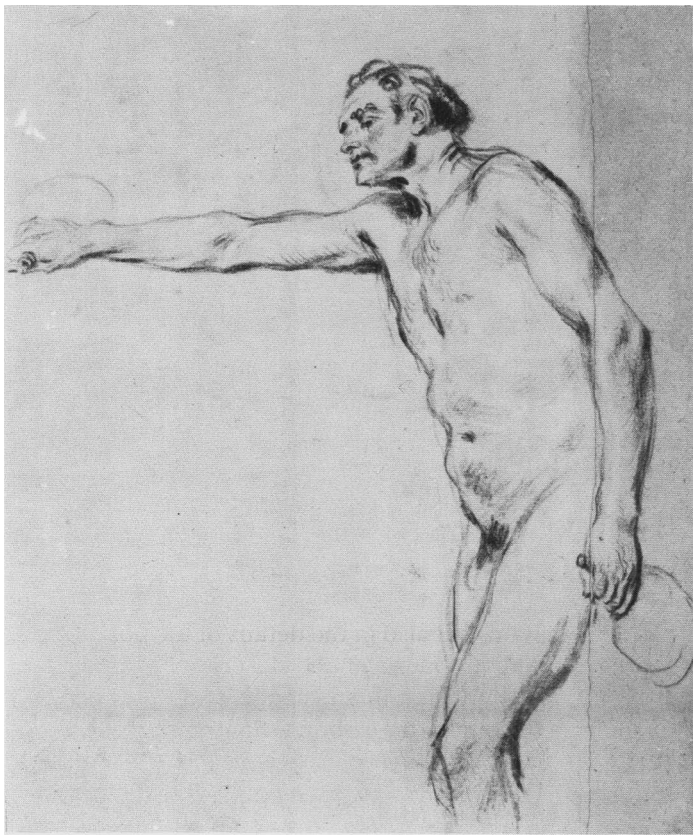






fig. 1. Watteau, *Crouching Nude Man,* Institut Néerlandais, Paris.

## 65 Nude Man Kneeling and Pulling a Drapery

Black and red chalks with white chalk (possibly strengthened by another hand) on buff paper, laid down
244 x 298 (9⅝ x 11¾)
W Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

A study for the satyr in Watteau's *Nymph and Satyr* (cat. P. 36), this drawing is stylistically very close to the studies of *Bacchus* and the *Nude Man Holding a Bottle* (cats. D. 62, 64) for *Autumn* of the Crozat Seasons. In fact, the model who posed for this study was probably the same man who posed for the satyr. All of these figures were drawn with an intense, brilliant mix of the *trois crayons* to achieve peculiarly impassioned studies that are unprecedented in Watteau's oeuvre. They are all datable to the same period, toward the end of 1715 and into 1716, when Watteau seems to have achieved total mastery in both his paintings and his drawings.

A second study for the same satyr (fig. 1) differs markedly from the Louvre *Nude Man Kneeling* not only in its more cursory execution, but also in the details of the pose. In that drawing the figure crouches much closer to the ground and reaches further to his left in an exaggeration of the simple movement of the Louvre figure. In the final painting, Watteau used the more dramatic movement of the Lugt figure though the details of expression and musculature seem to have been taken from the Louvre study.

It is generally believed that Watteau's *Nymph and Satyr* was inspired by Van Dyck's painting of *Jupiter and Antiope* in Ghent (see cat. P. 36 for a discussion of the painting's sources). Watteau's two drawings working out the pose of the satyr make it clear, however, that he depended on Van Dyck's painting only for the subject and for the general disposition of the two figures. The Louvre figure is relatively close in pose to Van Dyck's Jupiter, though without the Baroque twists and bulging muscles. With the second study, Watteau moved further away from Van Dyck's original figure, adding a pronounced tension between the thrust of the figure to the right and his gesture to the left. That kind of antipodal movement is found often in the poses that Watteau gave his figures in the last few years of his career, though usually in a more graceful and restrained mode.

PROVENANCE
Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772) (Lugt 1285; sale, Paris, 9 November 1772, no. 441); seized during the French Revolution; Louvre (L.2207), 33,360.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1935, no. 301; Copenhagen 1935, no. 534; Paris 1967, no. 15; Paris 1977, p. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Morel d'Arleux, VIII, no. 11,128; Reiset 1869, no. 1338; Lafenestre 1907, pl. 23; Dacier 1930, no. 3; Parker 1931, no. 21; PM 1957, no. 515; M 1959, p. 36, pl. 74; P 1984, pp. 72, 80, 208, 283, n. 41, colorpl. 14.



## 66 Diana Bathing

Red chalk on cream paper
172 x 163 (6¾ x 6⁷⁄₁₆)
P Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

It has long been recognized that the figure in *Diana at Her Bath* (cat. P. 28), and therefore the figure in this drawing, copies almost stroke for stroke a figure from the 1707 painting by Louis de Boullongne the Younger (1654-1733), *Diana and Her Companions Resting after the Hunt* (Musée de Tours; fig. P. 28-2). However, Watteau did not borrow the central figure of Diana for his own painting of the goddess, but instead used the figure of one of her attendants. In the Vienna compositional drawing the figure remains an anonymous bather, isolated against an open landscape at left and silhouetted against a tangle of branches and tree trunks at right. The figure's pose is identical to the one painted by Boullongne except for a slight change in the tilt of the head and the direction of her gaze. The important changes made by Watteau include the less monumental proportions, the thinner, more tapered arms and legs, and the prettier face, typical of Watteau's female figures. The figure of Diana in Watteau's drawing, presented without the classical context, has a special intimacy lacking in the painting, where Watteau restored the mythological subject by adding Diana's bow and quiver of arrows to the scene. In the painting, he also widened the composition slightly at right to make it less square, thus moving the figure out of its strong, central position and setting it more realistically into the landscape.

Watteau's interest here in the female nude and his decision to turn to Boullongne's example for inspiration suggest temporal relationships with his work on the Crozat Seasons, in which the nude is also preeminent and for which

designs were originally supplied by Boullongne's contemporary, Charles de La Fosse (1636-1716) (see cats. D. 60, 62), and the Louvre *Nymph and Satyr* (cats. P. 36, D. 65). Those works all belong to the period around 1716, and indeed the rich variety of chalk strokes and the fullness of form that one finds in *Diana Bathing* suggest a level of mastery that would appear to match the dates of those other works.

PROVENANCE
Albert von Sachsen-Teschen (1738-1822) (Lugt 174); Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 12,008.

EXHIBITIONS
Amsterdam 1935, no. 31.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Schönbrunner and Meder 1895-1908, III, no. 298; Lafenestre 1907, pl. 20; Meder 1922, no. 3; R 1928, p. 52, no. 13; DV, I, pp. 29-30; AH 1950, under no. 137; PM 1957, no. 854; Eckhardt 1975, p. 7; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 20-22, fig. 6.

## 67 Nude Man Seated on the Ground

Red, black, and white chalks
130 x 170 (5⅛ x 6¾)
W, P Private Collection, Switzerland

Other than the drawings related to *Autumn* of the Crozat Seasons and *Nymph and Satyr* (cats. D. 62, 64, 65), Watteau's studies of the male nude are few and far between. Possibly the male body did not have as much appeal for him as the female; possibly he actually did make many more than his present oeuvre would indicate. In any case, because of the nature of his subject matter, Watteau certainly had less need for studies of nude men in the course of his work. The sparkling vitality and vivid execution of this surprising sheet make one wish that this were not the case.

Of all Watteau's nude studies, including his studies of women, this drawing is by far the most vigorously spontaneous, with an eye-catching immediacy that his other more deliberate nude studies do not have. The contours are hastily sketched; the shadows rapidly scrubbed in; the details of anatomy and pose indicated in only the most general way; but Watteau's hand and his way of combining the chalks is unmistakable. Though the drawing was certainly not made for any specific painting, its vibrant power and some similarities with the studies of the *Nude Man Kneeling* (cat. D. 65) for *Nymph and Satyr* (cat. P. 36) in the handling of the chalks and the nude form suggest that it was probably made at about the same time, c. 1716.

PROVENANCE
François Flameng (1856-1923) (Lugt 991; sale, Paris, 26-27 May 1919, no. 164); L. Guiraud, Paris (sale, Paris, 14-15 June 1956, no. 76); J. Ortiz-Linares; Private collection, Switzerland.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1951, no. 169.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 514.





## 68 Seated Young Woman Wearing a Chemise

Black, red, and white chalks with stumping on oatmeal paper
174 x 206 (6⅞ x 8⅛)
Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Victor Thaw, New York

The smudged shadows on the flesh and the atmospheric shading behind this figure give a markedly different effect from the smoother, cleaner execution of *Flora* for the Crozat Seasons (cat. D. 60), but the delineation and figural proportions are nearly identical. Most striking is the similar use of red in the hands and feet and the gleaming white highlight on the shin, with the rest of the figure drawn largely in black. But whereas *Flora,* in keeping with her divine status, is a heroic figure, this young woman is presented in a much more private, intimate way. Casually posed, with her chemise slipping seductively off one shoulder, the model is drawn with the same kind of psychological involvement and warm realism found in Watteau's drawings of Savoyards.

Watteau's studies of nude and seminude women have in the past been considered as a coherent series that must have been made within a short span of time. However, distinct differences in execution and conception suggest that they could well have been made over a period of years. The study of *Flora* and the Morgan Library *Seated Woman* (cats. D. 60, 61) can be dated securely to 1715-1716, with the Thaw *Woman* dating just after, c. 1716. The more finely wrought *Half-length Nude with Her Arm Raised* (cat. D. 115) is drawn with a completely different combination of the chalks, most notably in the more general use of the sanguine and the absence of white highlights. The sooty blacks and thick orange-reds that Watteau used for such studies as the British Museum's study for *The Toilette* (fig. D. 114-1) and the Lille *Crouching Woman* (cat. D. 116) are characteristic of another period in Watteau's career, dating from perhaps as late as 1719. However, even though the nude studies were probably not conceived as a series, they do form an impressive group of studies that belies Caylus' criticism that Watteau, "having no knowledge of anatomy and having almost never drawn the nude, . . . did not know how to read it or to express it. . ." (Champion 1921, p. 94).

PROVENANCE
J. P. Heseltine (1843-1929) (Lugt 1507); Adrien Fauchier-Magnan (sale, London, Sotheby's, 1935, no. 88); Mr. and Mrs. Siegfried Kramarsky, New York; Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York; Norton Simon Foundation, Los Angeles; Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Victor Thaw.

EXHIBITIONS
New York 1942, no. 119; Cambridge 1948, no. 43; Montreal 1950, no. 95; Rotterdam-Paris-New York 1958-1959, no. 93; New York 1975, no. 35.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Heseltine 1900, no. 13; Guiraud 1913, no. 88; Engwall 1933, p. 7; Mongan 1949, pp. 98-99; PM 1957, no. 527; Posner 1973, pp. 61, 64, 108.

## 69 Street Scene

Red chalk
157 x 217 (6 3/16 x 8 9/16)
B Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon

Like the Ashmolean *Mountebank* (cat. D. 2), this sheet represents an outdoor performance or medicine show that Watteau would have sketched from life. But while *The Mountebank* is obviously a work of Watteau's youth, the Besançon drawing, with its remarkably rich delineation, its great variety of animated figures, and its sense of shifting movement and noisy chatter, certainly belongs to Watteau's maturity. In fact, the sheet has the same fluid, rapid contours, the same types of facial and figural abstraction, the same massing of figures, and the same rich manipulation of the red chalk as Watteau's most complete and enterprising compositional drawings, *The Finding of Moses* in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (fig. 1) and *The Bower* (cat. D. 70). If those drawings date from c. 1716 as we believe, then the Besançon sheet would also belong to about that same time.

PROVENANCE
Jean Gigoux (1806-1894) (Lugt 1164); bequeathed by him to the city of Besançon in 1894; Musée des Beaux-Arts (L.238c), D 2605.

EXHIBITIONS
Besançon 1947, no. 13; Hamburg 1969, no. 60.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 145; P 1984, p. 291, n. 72.

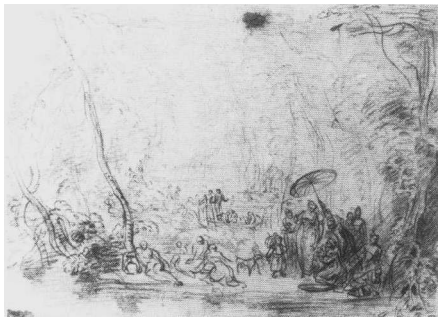
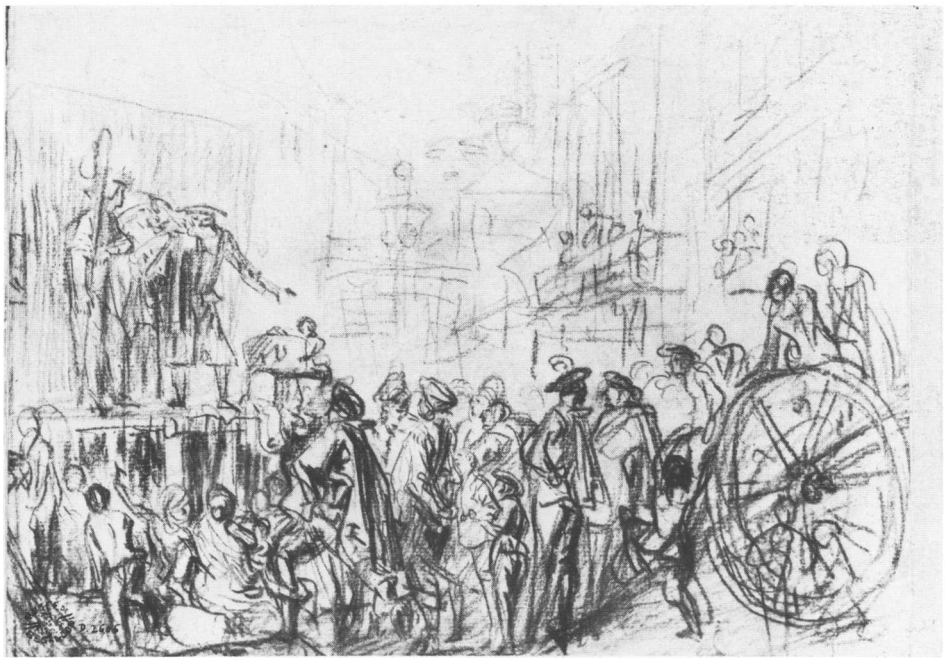


fig. 1. Watteau, *The Finding of Moses*, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.



69

## 70 The Bower

Red chalk on beige paper
402 x 268 (15 7/8 x 10 9/16)
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund

One of the largest surviving drawings by Watteau, this compositional study is also one of the most complete. In addition, it is one of relatively few ornamental designs that can be attributed with absolute confidence to him (see also cats. D. 39, 40, 71). Although Parker and Mathey include twenty-seven drawings in their section on Watteau's decorative works, most of them are almost certainly not by him.

Every element of this drawing indicates that it dates from the height of his maturity: the rich variety of the chalk strokes, the wealth of decorative invention, the confident description of every detail, the full realization of form and volume with the most cursory strokes, the pulsating sense of energy running through the whole. The figures are comparable to those in Watteau's impressive compositional drawing, *The Finding of Moses* (fig. D. 69-1), and are similar in both



70

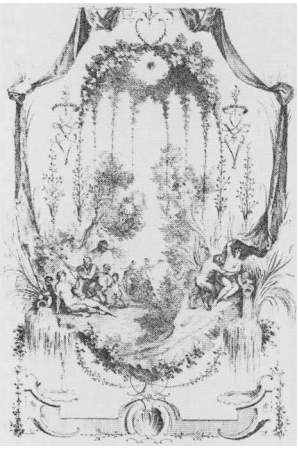


fig. 1. Huquier after Watteau, *The Bower,* engraving (DV 25).

execution and subject to figures on the verso of Watteau's *March of Silenus* (cat. no. 131). Both of those sheets can be dated c. 1716.

Because this drawing is so complete, it shows in an unusually clear manner exactly how Watteau developed his ornamental designs. First he drew in the fanciful scrolls, Greek keys, draped materials, and trellises on the left half of the sheet only, leaving the right side entirely blank and omitting the figure groups at either side as well as the central landscape with its barely discernible dancers. He then counterproofed the drawing by folding the sheet in half lengthwise and rubbing the verso to create a pale mirror image of his drawing on the right side of the sheet. (The fold line is still visible, especially just below the central figures where the lightly sketched chalk lines skipped over the depression in the paper caused by the fold.) Watteau then strengthened the counterproofed lines on the right side of the page and touched up parts of the left side, at the same time introducing the figures and landscape that make up the central motif of the arabesque. Each of the four corner pieces may have been drawn in at this point also, for they constitute the only parts of the ornamental framework that are not exactly repeated in the left and right halves.

The drawing was engraved by Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772), the highly skilled and inventive printmaker who engraved most of Watteau's decorative designs (see also cats. 39, 40, 71). Typically, he used his own considerable imagination to complete some of the sketchier parts of this drawing in his print after it (fig. 1). Although his engraving, which gave the drawing its present title, remained generally faithful to Watteau's conception, it does have some important differences from the original. Huquier eliminated some of the elements from the ornamental framework, making the design clearer but less richly inventive. In so doing he switched the visual emphasis from the decoration as a whole to the central motif alone, bringing the two side groups into greater prominence. Not surprisingly, because of the very nature of engraving, the print lacks the sense of spontaneity that permeates Watteau's original.

Since Huquier's print was made from the drawing, as the notation *Watteau inv.* at lower left indicates, and since we have no records of a painting on that subject, we can assume that Watteau never carried the project any further.

PROVENANCE

Edmond (1822-1896) and Jules (1830-1870) de Goncourt (Lugt 1089; sale, Paris, 15-17 February 1897, no. 349); purchased by Camille Groult; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; purchased by the National Gallery in September 1982, B-33,702.

EXHIBITIONS

Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

G 1875, p. 210; Fourcaud 1908-1909, p. 131, n. 2; Deshairs 1913, p. 292; DV, III, no. 25, p. 16; Parker 1930, p. 8 and pl. 7; Parker 1931, p. 19; AH 1950, under no. 25; PM 1957, no. 192; Cormack 1970, under no. 7.

PRINTS

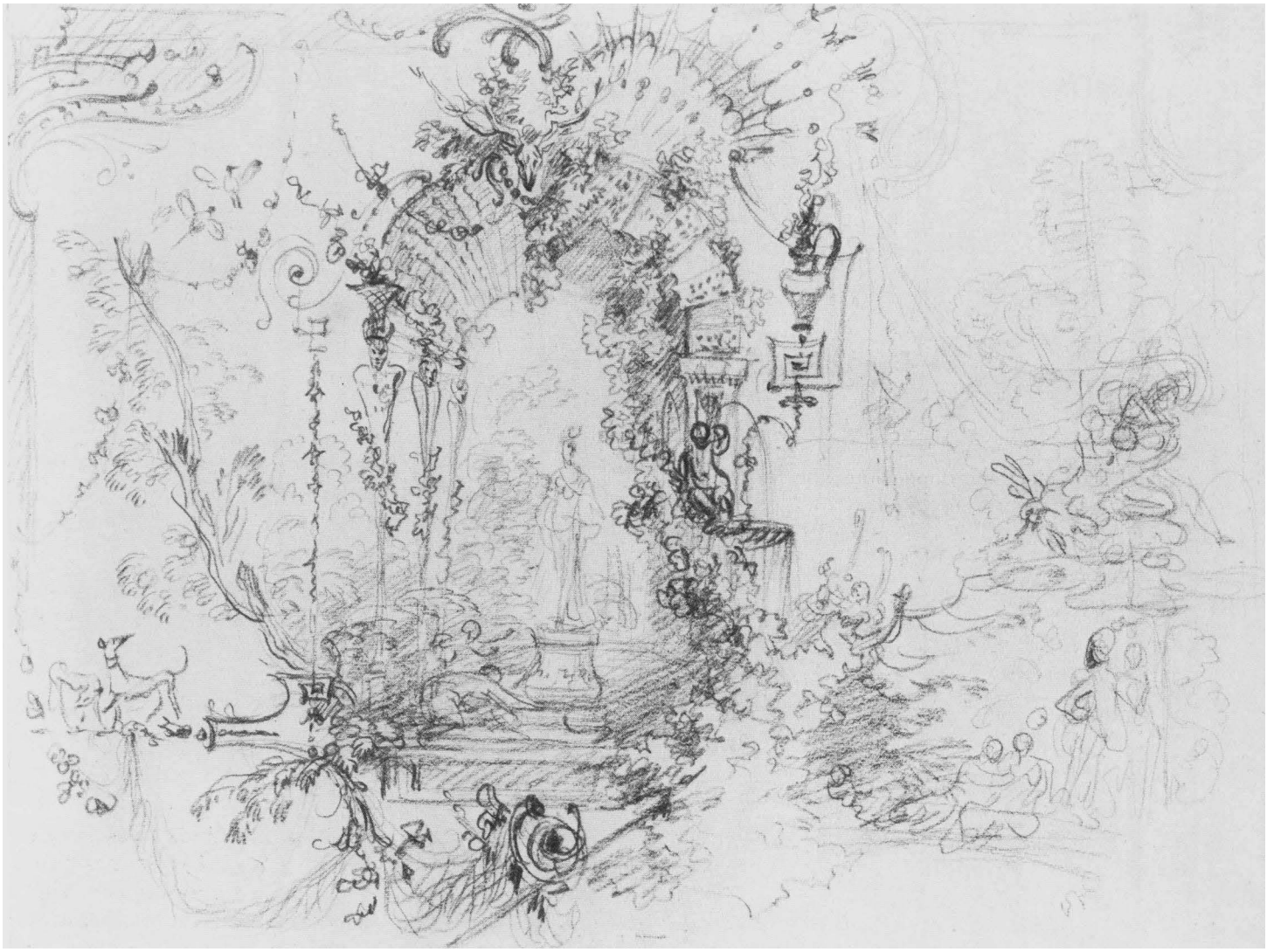
Engraved by Gabriel Huquier (DV 25). See the entry.

## 71 The Temple of Diana

Red chalk on cream paper with a fragmentary watermark of a chaplet, close to Heawood 222
267 x 362 (10½ x 14¼)
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Unlike *The Bower* (cat. D. 70), which presents a single, unified decoration, *The Temple of Diana* offers two completely separate arabesque designs cleverly integrated into one composition. The bipartite nature of the design is evident in the central "temple," which is divided into two distinct halves. On the left, an airy, trellislike canopy is supported by attenuated herms, with correspondingly light tendrils, scrolls, and garlands added for embellishment. On the right, a heavier arch is formed of rusticated masonry terminating in a fountain, with angular brackets and a classical urn augmenting the design at right and a bat's-wing aureole above. Further to the right, the design strays into what appears to be a *fête galante.* Though nominally connected to the central ornament by lightly sketched swags and foliage, these figures appear to be entirely unrelated to the hunting theme that is clearly set out in the left half of the design. However, it was not unusual for an artist to present disparate ideas in the process of developing a decorative design.

Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772), who engraved the other three arabesque designs exhibited here (cats. D. 39, 40, 70), was inspired by the dichotomous nature of the Morgan Library drawing to make two complete prints out of the one design: *The Temple of Diana* (fig. 1) and its pendant, *The Tem-*



71

*ple of Neptune* (fig. 2). In *The Temple of Diana,* he reproduced the entire left half of Watteau's drawing almost line for line, altering only the statue of Diana herself. To complete the right half of the arabesque, he simply duplicated in reverse (with a few changes in detail) the herm-supported canopy and the various decorative motifs. To balance the hunting dogs in Watteau's design he added a running stag of his own invention.

Even though the right half of Watteau's drawing did not offer the same kind of coherent composition as the left, Huquier took advantage of Watteau's alternate solution for the central "temple" by creating a second ornament based on it. His choice of Neptune as the subject may have been inspired by the grottolike space created by the stone arch and by the fountain at the base of the arch; otherwise there is nothing in Watteau's original drawing to suggest Neptune, not normally a pendant subject for Diana. In any case, only the rusticated arch, the urn, and the bracket design were taken intact from Watteau's drawing. The radiating aureole above the stone arch is considerably modified and the fountain at the base is almost completely altered. The figure group at right in Huquier's print is similar in spirit to the roughly sketched embracing pair at right in Watteau's drawing, but it is not the same. All the rest of the design appears to have been made up by Huquier.

Because so few of Watteau's arabesque designs have survived to this day, it is difficult to know how many of Huquier's ornamental prints after Watteau's drawings are the result of this kind of situation, where Watteau's alternate designs within a single sketch were used as the rather slender basis for prints that were in fact invented almost entirely by the printmaker. Since Huquier was a designer of ornaments himself, it was a relatively simple matter for him to create a complete design from even the briefest sketch, and his intimate acquaintance with Watteau's work enabled him to incorporate his ideas into Watteau's compositions in a most convincing manner.

Until 1980, the drawing for *The Temple of Diana* had always been paired with *The Bower,* now in Washington (cat. D. 70). Given the similarities in the handling of the red chalk

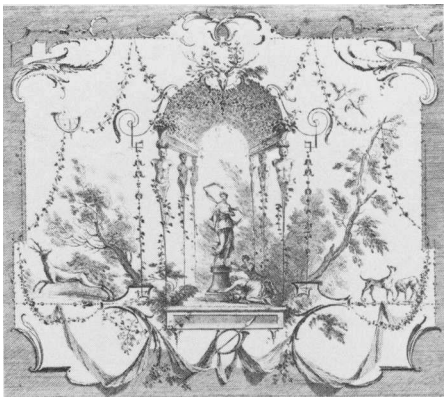


fig. 1. Huquier after Watteau,
*The Temple of Diana,* engraving (DV 225).

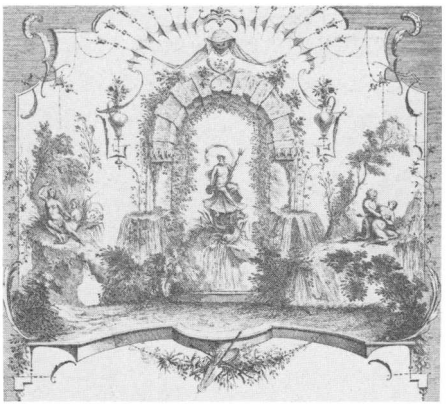


fig. 2. Huquier after Watteau,
*The Temple of Neptune,* engraving (DV 224).

in the two drawings, the comparable treatment of the decorative elements, the matching dimensions, the corresponding subjects, and the shared provenance, it is clear that *The Temple of Diana* and *The Bower* were made at roughly the same time, c. 1716.

PROVENANCE
Edmond (1822-1896) and Jules (1830-1870) de Goncourt (Lugt 1089; sale, Paris, 15-17 February 1897, no. 350; Fr 250); purchased by Camille Groult; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; purchased by the Morgan Library as the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bulow, 1980.9.

EXHIBITIONS
New York 1981, no. 98.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 216, no. 279; Fourcaud 1908-1909, p. 131, n. 2; Deshairs 1913, p. 292; DV, III, p. 103, under no. 225; R 1928, p. 55, nos. 58, 59; PM 1957, no. 191; P 1984, p. 61, colorpl. 11.

## 72 Two Studies of an Actor

Red, black, and white chalks on brownish paper, laid down
258 x 370 (10 3/16 x 14 7/16)
Inscribed in graphite at lower right, *Wateau*
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

The long-haired man who sat for these studies was first identified as the Abbé Pierre-Maurice Haranger (Schéfer 1896, p. 185), canon of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and one of the friends to whom Watteau bequeathed some of his drawings (see The Friends of Watteau). That identification was provided by a proof of Boucher's etching of the figure on the



right (*Fddc* 198; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal), inscribed in an eighteenth-century hand, *Portrait de l'abbé Larancher* [last word scratched out]. Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, p. 117) noted, however, that other impressions bear an etched caption that identifies the model as "La Tourilière," presumably Pierre de La Thorillière (1659-1731), an actor with the Comédie-Française. Given the informality of the man's pose, his rather large hat, and his long, straight hair, it is more reasonable to think that the model was an actor rather than a cleric. But since portraits of neither La Thorillière nor Haranger are known, the identification of the model as La Thorillière must remain tentative.

The same man, identifiable by his long hair and the cane, posed for four other drawings by Watteau (cats. D. 28, 29, 56; PM 64), but the character of this sheet is very different from those others. Probably it was the last of the group to be executed, possibly as late as 1716. The frontal pose and the man's direct gaze in the study at left suggest that the drawing may have started out as a portrait, which would account for the considerable care that Watteau lavished on both the face and the clothing in that first study and would explain the unusually forthright presentation. Through the addition of the second study the drawing became less formal.

PROVENANCE
Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) (sale, Paris, 30 March-22 May 1767, no. 737: "Deux hommes en habit de paysan; ils sont assis, la main gauche de chacun est posée sur une canne en béquille"); Vos; Blockhuisen (both according to Goncourt); B. Suermondt (1818-1887) (Lugt 415); acquired by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, in 1874, KdZ 2319.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1950, no. 60.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 253, no. 424; Schéfer 1896, p. 185; DV, I, p. 117; Parker 1931, no. 76; PM 1957, no. 914.

PRINTS
Both figures were etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 69, 198), though in his print of the figure at right he replaced the hat with a skullcap.

## 73 Standing Pilgrim

Red and black chalks with white heightening on dark beige paper
372 x 251 (14⅝ x 9⅞)
Inscribed in pen and gray ink at lower left, *Watteau*
Musée du Petit Palais, Paris



Pilgrims were, of course, a favorite subject in Watteau's oeuvre, but his elegantly dressed cavaliers and ladies who dallied on Venus' sacred island were very different from the ragged pilgrims who made the arduous journey to Christian shrines in Europe and the Middle East. Only in this study, imbued with the same directness and realism that one finds in the drawings of Savoyards (cats. D. 50-53), did Watteau depict a true pilgrim. Like the Savoyards, the pilgrim wears the symbols of his state as badges of honor: the cockleshells ("coquilles Saint-Jacques") that suggest he is returning from the pilgrimage city of Santiago de Compostela in Spain; the staff; the sack for his food; his tattered clothing. And like the Savoyards, Watteau's pilgrim is drawn with a warm humanity rare in French art of the time.

The *Standing Pilgrim* is particularly close to the Chicago *Bearded Savoyard* (cat. D. 52) in both its forthright presentation and its striking use of color. But here Watteau added white highlights, which never appear in any of the Savoyard drawings, and combined the chalks in a completely different way. Instead of using the blacks to emphasize shadows, accents, and details of expression and costume that were first picked out in red as he did in his studies of Savoyards, Watteau here separated the two colors entirely. He used the blacks to delineate the shells and the long jerkin, while the reds were reserved for the sleeves, the legs, and the lower edge of the tunic. Only in the drawing of the head and

hands did he choose to combine the two with considerable skill.

This drawing, close to those of the Savoyards in its subject and presentation, leads us to wonder whether it was originally intended to be engraved either as part of the *Figures françoises et comiques* or perhaps in another series of that type that was never completed. The vigorous execution and effective use of color suggest that the drawing could not have been made before 1716.

PROVENANCE
Earl of Warwick (1818-1893) (Lugt 2600; sale, London 20-21 May 1896); Jacques Doucet (sale, Paris, 5 June 1912, no. 61); purchased with money from the Dutuit bequest for the Dutuit collection, Musée du Petit Palais, Dut. 1040.

EXHIBITIONS
Zurich 1947, no. 81; Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris 1947, no. 54; Paris 1950, no. 54; Vienna 1950, no. 57; USA 1952-1953, no. 59; London 1954-1955, no. 267; Warsaw 1962, no. 49.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Cat. Dutuit coll. 1925, no. 1025; Parker 1931, no. 14; AH 1950, p. 126; PM 1957, no. 502; Brookner 1967, pl. 5.

## 74 Three Studies of a Man with His Arms Extended in Front of Him

Red chalk on brown paper
201 x 335 ($7^{15}/_{16}$ x $13^{3}/_{16}$)
W,P Private Collection, Switzerland

One of Watteau's most cursory study sheets, this drawing conveys with great economy of detail the movements, gestures, and expressions of one man in three different poses. Though Watteau concentrated almost exclusively on the arms and head in each sketch, barely describing the clothing or the form, the studies seem to be as complete as any of his more finished figures.

Each figure is connected with a different painting. The study at right was used for a figure in *Country Amusements* (cat. P. 52); the middle study was used for a figure in *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 66); and the one at left may be related to a figure in *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56). The rapid execution and the asymmetrical spacing of the studies on the page suggest that Watteau made the drawing on impulse, not specifically for one of these paintings. However, in the central study the faint indication of the head of another figure—the woman in *Peaceful Love*—suggests that Watteau may already have had the composition of that painting in mind when he made the study. The drawing could therefore date from c. 1716, when Watteau was probably working on the Berlin painting. *Country Amusements,* to which the figure at right is related, can be dated to 1717-1718. The man in that painting was undoubtedly inspired by the study from this drawing.

PROVENANCE
Sir J. C. Robinson (1824-1913) (Lugt 1433); Mme. E. Allez; purchased by the present owner in 1983.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 675.





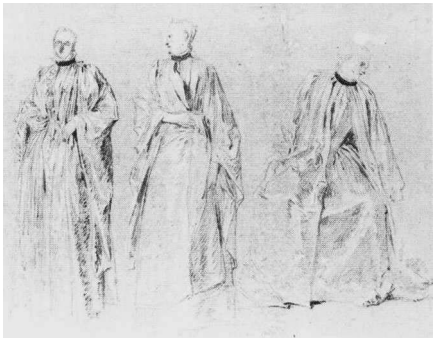


fig. 1. Watteau, *Three Studies of a Woman,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.

fig. 2. Watteau, *A Standing Man and a Detail of His Head,* Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge.



## 75 Standing Woman Seen from Behind and a Study of Her Head

Red and white chalks with touches of black on gray-brown paper, laid down
300 x 202 (11 13/16 x 8), a horizontal strip 30 mm wide was added at top and a vertical strip was added at right to make the sheet rectangular
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

The pose of this woman, seen from behind but looking down and back at something on the ground, was a favorite with Watteau and he used variations of it in a number of paintings (see, for example, *Gallant Recreation,* cat. P. 63; *Gersaint's Shopsign,* cat. P. 73; *Pleasures of the Dance,* cat. P. 51). This particular lady was used in only one painting, *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 66), where she was combined with a gentleman taken from a study sheet in the Louvre (fig. D. 54-1). Although Watteau probably did not make the study of the cavalier specifically for that painting, he may have drawn the woman with that composition in mind: her raised left arm certainly indicates that she was intended to have an escort, and the strongly directed light from the left that leaves her face almost entirely in shadow matches precisely the same effect in the painting.

Even though this drawing and the study of the cavalier were not necessarily made as a pair, the long, broad strokes with which they are both drawn suggest that they may have been made at approximately the same time. A number of other sheets were executed in much the same style. Among the studies of women are a sheet in Stockholm (PM 559) with a woman in almost precisely the same pose as the Berlin woman, but wearing a simple dress rather than a voluminous cloak; a drawing of two women in the Albertina, Vienna (PM 560); a study of three women in the Louvre (fig. 1); and another in the collection of Lord Wharton (PM 606). All of these are close in every respect to the Berlin sheet and may even have been drawn from the same model. The studies of

male figures include a drawing of a standing man in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (fig. 2); a study sheet formerly in a French private collection (PM 657); and three drawings in the Louvre belonging to the same set as the Berlin lady's companion (PM 670, 673, 676 [fig. D. 57-1]). Watteau seems to have used this broad manner of draftsmanship only within a fairly restricted period of time, for all of the paintings to which the aforementioned drawings are related can be dated between 1716 and 1718. The drawings themselves were probably all executed toward the beginning of that period, c. 1716.

PROVENANCE
A. N. Alferoff, Bonn (1811-1872) (Lugt 1727); bequeathed by him to the University of Kharkov, 1873; transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts, Kharkov; sale, Leipzig, Boerner, 29 April 1931, no. 260 (DM 11,000); Nebehay, Vienna; Siegfried Kramarsky, New York; New York art market, 1972; purchased by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, in 1972, KdZ 26365.

EXHIBITIONS
Amsterdam 1935, no. 24; Newark 1960, no. 43; Paris 1963, no. 37; Berlin 1973, no. 165; Frankfurt 1982, p. 48, no. Cb 13.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Dobroklonsky 1931, no. 51; PM 1957, no. 629.

## 75a Compositional Study for "The Romancer"

Red chalk with touches of black in the head at upper left
350 x 272 (13¾ x 10¾)
W The Cleveland Museum of Art, Dudley P. Allen Fund

Parker (1931, p. 11) suggested this group of three figures was probably developed from other single figure drawings that Watteau had made earlier, and was not, therefore, a spontaneous compositional sketch. Though that may be partly true, it appears that the drawing might have begun as a simple figure study that Watteau then expanded into a *fête galante* group. The fact that the central kneeling cavalier is drawn with considerable detail while the others are rapidly sketched offers some support for that theory. More important, however, is the fact that the other two figures were clearly added *around* him: the hand of the lady guitarist, resting on his right sleeve, is the only instance of an overlapping form, and in this case it is obvious that the hand was drawn after the sleeve. The reprise of Pantaloon's head, working out in detail the face, ruff, and set of the hat, points up the lack of



fig. 1. Watteau, *Study Sheet with a Guitar,* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

fig. 2. Watteau, *The Romancer,* Private coll. Switzerland (CR 132).





detail in the figures of both Pantaloon and the guitarist as compared to the kneeling man. It is not surprising, therefore, that Watteau also made further studies of the woman with the guitar: a detail of her hand and arm holding the instrument (fig. 1) and a sheet with two studies of her pose with special emphasis on the fall of the draperies.

The drawing served as a model for the three principal figures of *The Romancer* (fig. 2), but in the painting Pantaloon's hat is eliminated completely and the fall of the woman's skirt is altered. The painting has been dated as early as c. 1713-1715 by Mathey but the execution of the drawing and the animated grouping of the figures appear to support the date of 1716 proposed by Adhémar.

PROVENANCE
Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 334); Thomas Agnew and Sons, London; Richard Owen, London; purchased by the Cleveland Museum in 1928, 28.661.

EXHIBITIONS
Richmond 1956; Minneapolis 1961, no. 95.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 364; Dargenty 1891, p. 133, no. 334; H.S.F. 1929, pp. 179-181; Parker 1930, p. 4, fig. 3; Parker 1931, pp. 11, 44, no. 40; Parker 1935, pp. 8-9; Tietze 1947, no. 85; AH 1950, p. 223, under no. 168; PM 1957, no. 860; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 36-37, fig. 24.

## 76 An Alley of Trees

Red chalk
210 x 170 (8¼ x 6¹¹⁄₁₆)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

It has long been thought that Watteau drew this inviting *allée* during a visit to Montmorency, the country house of his patron Pierre Crozat (1665-1740) (see Parker 1931). That he was familiar with that place is proven by his painting *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25), which was said to include "a view of the garden of M. Crozat at Montmorency" (Mariette, *Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 193 [58]). But there is no proof that the Leningrad *Alley of Trees* does indeed represent part of the park at Montmorency, and Watteau could have found and sketched such tree-lined walks in any number of places in and around Paris.



As we know from an anecdote recounted by Hécart (1826, pp. 7-8; see entry on Dubois in The Friends of Watteau) and another told by Ballot de Savot about Lancret (Wildenstein 1929, p. 11), Watteau was a strong advocate of studying landscape directly from nature. Unfortunately, though, few of Watteau's own such drawings have survived. That they were admired in his own time is proven by the fact that twelve were included by Jullienne in the *Figures de différents caractères*. Until the discovery of the fragmentary landscape on the verso of the Washington drawing of *Three Studies of a Woman's Head* (cat. D. 36), the Leningrad *Alley of Trees* was the only one of the original drawings for those etched landscapes that had come down to us. All the others have disappeared, though it is quite possible that, as was the case with the Washington *View*, some are hidden on the versos of drawings that were long ago pasted down on their mounts.

fig. 1. Pater, *Spring*, Cleveland Art Museum.



Watteau's treatment of the foliage in the Leningrad drawing is particularly haunting. Though the texture and shape of the foremost leaves are indicated by rapid accents, he concentrated mainly on the general massing of light and shade, emphasizing the canopy effect made by the overlapping leaves and branches of the individual trees. The tree trunks lining the walk are indistinct, almost as if the drifting light and air and the spring breezes had formed a softening screen between the artist and his subject. Surprisingly, this pure landscape has the same qualities of dreamy tranquility often evident in Watteau's populated *fêtes galantes*.

With few other such drawings to compare to this sheet, the question of its date remains somewhat problematic. However, it is evidently a mature work and corresponds best to such paintings as *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25) (whether or not they both represent Montmorency) and *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56), both datable to c. 1716.

PROVENANCE
L. Grassi, Leipzig; entered the Hermitage in 1862, 11855.

EXHIBITIONS
Leningrad 1926, no. 243; Moscow 1955, p. 72; Leningrad 1956, p. 84; Leningrad 1959, p. 24; Leningrad 1972, no. 59; Manchester 1974, no. 55; Leningrad 1983, no. 17.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Cat. Hermitage 1867, no. 482; G 1875, nos. 391-400; Mantz 1892, no. 18; Dobroklonsky 1927, no. 243, pl. XII; Dacier 1926-1927, no. 48; Parker 1931, p. 18, no. 25; Lavallée 1948, p. 67; PM 1957, no. 457; Nemilova 1964, pp. 69, 191; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 150-151, no. 19, colorpl. (dated c. 1713-1715).

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 40).

RELATED PAINTINGS
A painting attributed to Pater in the Cleveland Museum of Art, one of a series of the Four Seasons, has an identical view of an alley of trees (fig. 1).

## 77 Study Sheet with Nine Studies of Heads

Red, black, and white chalks on gray-brown paper
270 x 420 (10⅝ x 16⅝)
Musée du Petit Palais, Paris

Watteau used studies from this sheet in several of his paintings. The man in profile at lower left appears in both versions of *The Enchanter* (cats. P. 17, 19) and in *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55) as the standing guitarist. The man at lower right is found in both versions of *The Adventuress* (cats. P. 18, 20). The woman seen from behind in half-length at bottom figures in *The Expected Declaration* (cat. P. 45), while the two women's heads at upper right may have been used in *Country Concert*, now known only through the print by B. Audran (fig. D. 81-2). The pose and expression of the woman at upper left is very close to that of the promenading woman in *The Pastime* (lost; DV 185, CR 190), while the second study from the right in the lower row is very similar to the woman looking down in the same work. The woman looking back over her shoulder, second from upper right, is similar to the central woman in *The Party of Four* (cat. P. 14), while the woman in the center of the upper row may have been used for *Badinage* (lost; DV 95, CR 91).

Of the paintings to which the Petit Palais studies are related, *The Enchanter* has been dated as early as 1712 (Camesasca), while *The Pastime* has been placed as late as 1718 (also Camesasca), with little agreement among scholars on the dating of individual works. The style of the drawing, however, contradicts the earlier date, for Watteau simply did not do such complex sheets at that time. In fact, the lively poses and expressions, the virtuoso manipulation of the chalks, the masterful articulation of facial structure, and the harmonious arrangement of the studies on the page all point to a date around 1716 at the very earliest. That means that a painting such as *The Adventuress* at Troyes (cat. P. 18), which has some awkward passages that could be attributed either to inexperience or condition (the painting has suffered through the years), must date from a more mature period in Watteau's career than it appears. Adhémar was therefore probably correct when she proposed a date of 1716 for it. Indeed, the advanced style of the Petit Palais drawing indicates that all of the paintings to which it is firmly related could have been made no earlier than 1716.

Both the man and the woman who posed for these studies can be recognized in several other works by Watteau. The man, especially, with his strongly aquiline nose and curly hair, can be seen in *Prelude to a Concert* (cat. P. 48), *The Ogler* (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts; DV 14, CR 115), and *The Family* (cat. P. 54), as well as in drawings in the Louvre (PM 741) and Rouen (cat. D. 80), among others. The lady, with a charming face but less distinctive features, may have been the same model who posed for a number of Watteau's drawings, including sheets in Boston (fig. 1), New York (cat. D. 85; fig. D. 85-2), and Williamstown (PM 780). It was undoubtedly she also who modeled for two particularly superb drawings, one in the British Museum (fig. D. 83-1) and one in a Parisian private collection (cat. D. 83), in which the four studies on each page are arranged in a particularly graceful and rhythmic pattern on the page.

It should be noted that the very bright whites in the Petit Palais drawing may have been retouched during the nineteenth century, either before the sheet was acquired by Dutuit, or possibly afterward since he was an artist himself and since other drawings from the same collection have similarly heightened whites (for example, PM 666).



77

fig. 1. Watteau, *Three Studies of a Woman's Head and a Hand Holding a Fan,*
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



PROVENANCE

Jean de Jullienne? (1686-1766) (sale, Paris, 30 March-22 May 1767, possibly no. 770); Guichardot (sale, Paris, 1875, no. 404); M. Rutter (sale, December 1879); Auguste Dutuit, December 1895 (Lugt 709); bequeathed by him to the city of Paris, 1902; Petit Palais, Dut. 1023.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1879, no. 473; Paris 1935, no. 282; Zurich 1947, no. 79; Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris 1949-1950, no. 56; Vienna 1950, no. 73; London 1952, no. 166; USA 1955-1956, no. 56; Paris 1968, no. 48; Paris-Seoul 1977, no. 40; Tokyo-Sapporo-Kyoto 1979, no. 32.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

G 1875, p. 328; Chennevières 1879, p. 191; Alexandre 1902, p. 20; Michel 1903, I, p. 242; Robiquet 1905, I, pl. 5; Lafenestre 1907, pl. 47; Lapauze 1909, pp. 254-255; Cat. Dutuit coll. 1925, no. 1023; R 1928, p. 52, no. 11; Parker 1931, no. 45; PM 1957, no. 731; Rat 1961, pp. 164-165; Exh. cat. London 1968, under no. 771; Cormack 1970, pp. 2-3, no. 60; Bacou 1976, p. 82, pl. VI.

# 78 Seated Woman and a Detail of Her Head and Shoulders

Red and white chalks with touches of black chalk on brown paper
231 x 263 (9⅛ x 10⅜)
Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Perhaps because he often made figure studies with no particular goal in mind, Watteau rarely corrected or altered drawings by making separate detail studies on the same page. Instead, he apparently preferred to make changes only when he had decided to use a particular figure in a painting, adapting it to fit the composition by borrowing details from other study sheets, by making new detail studies as needed, or by making the necessary changes in the painting itself without the aid of drawings. In the Amsterdam sheet (which represents a departure from this method), having first drawn the seated woman with considerable care, Watteau then immediately altered and perfected the pose and expression of the head with a large, elaborately detailed study of her bust. Two other examples that show Watteau working in this same way are the Berlin drawing of a *Standing Woman Seen from Behind* (cat. D. 75), and the *Standing Man Wearing a Tall Hat* in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (fig. D. 75-2).

The change in working method and the special care with which both the figure and the separate head study were drawn suggest that Watteau may have made these studies with one of the two paintings in which the lady appears, *Gallant Assembly* (fig. 1) and *The Family* (cat. P. 54), in mind. The problem of deciding which painting was conceived first is complicated by the fact that in both pictures the lady is accompanied, in almost exactly the same grouping, by the same man reclining on the ground. (That man is studied separately on a sheet in the Armand Hammer Collection, cat. D. 79.) *The Family,* which is generally believed to portray the Le Bouc-Santussan family (see cat. P. 54), focuses entirely on the couple and a child; in *Gallant Assembly* the man and woman appear without the child, as part of a much larger group of people. Knowing the way that Watteau often composed paintings from drawings of individuals and figure groups, one would logically assume that in this case he first composed the small portrait group and then adapted it to fit into the larger composition. In accordance with that assumption, *The Family* has been dated by Mathey to 1713-1715 and by Adhémar to the end of 1716, while Mathey dated *Gallant Assembly* to c. 1716 and Adhémar placed it in 1717-1718. However, the evidence provided by the Amsterdam drawing points to the *Gallant Assembly* as the primary work. In that painting, the lady is taken almost line for line from the drawing, even to the delicate striping of one sleeve and the hem of the gown and the precise arrangement of the folds in the sleeves and skirt. For the pose of her head, Watteau relied on



fig. 1. Le Bas after Watteau, *Gallant Assembly,* engraving (DV 139).



the detail study, which indicates that he must have had the drawing in front of him when he made the painted figure. In *The Family,* Watteau made a number of changes in the seated woman. Though that figure could have been based on either the Amsterdam drawing or the *Gallant Assembly* figure, it in turn could not have served as the model for the latter. Watteau must therefore have composed the *Gallant Assembly* group first, using the drawings; he then made *The Family,* lifting the group out of the painting, adding the child, and making some changes of pose in the process. *Gallant Assembly* must therefore have been in Watteau's studio when he began *The Family;* possibly Watteau was working on them both at the same time. (See also Posner 1984 who reached the same conclusion about the order in which the two pictures were made.)

Because of the generally accepted identification of *The Family* as a portrait of the Le Bouc-Santussan family (the son Jean later married Gersaint's daughter; see The Friends of Watteau), it has been assumed that the Amsterdam drawing is a portrait of Mme. Le Bouc-Santussan. This assumption may not necessarily be correct, though, since Watteau is known to have transformed drawings made from his usual models into painted portraits of his friends and patrons. (For example, he transformed the bagpiper from cat. D. 56 into a self-portrait in *Venetian Fêtes* [fig. D. 85-1]). Indeed, the head of the lady in *The Family* may have been studied on a different study sheet altogether, the *Three Studies of a Woman's Head* in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (cat. D. 99), in which case *that* drawing would represent Mme. Le Bouc-Santussan. The identification of the family as the Le Bouc-Santussans should not be viewed as definitive, for by 1729, when Aveline's engraving of *The Family* was published, the painting was already in the possession of Captain Evrard Titon du Tillet (see cat. P. 54).

The assured mixing of the *trois crayons* and the expert use of the brown paper as a fourth color indicate that this drawing was made no earlier than 1716. Both paintings can therefore be dated c. 1716-1717.

PROVENANCE
Jacques Doucet (sale, Paris, 6-8 June 1912, no. 56); Pardinel; François Coty (sale, Paris, 30 November 1936, no. 17); Stiebel; Dr. F. Mannheimer, Amsterdam (1890-1939); ceded to the Dutch government in lieu of death duties, 1940; entered the Rijksmuseum in 1953, 53:186.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1946a, no. 107; Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris 1949-1950, no. 59; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 46; Amsterdam 1974, no. 123.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Dayot 1899, p. 201; Tourneux 1904, p. 3; PM 1957, no. 557; Frerichs 1965, no. 75; Cormack 1970, no. 68; Roland-Michel 1983, pp. 471-473, pl. V; P 1984, pp. 237, 288, n.19, 289, n.20, fig. 168.

PRINTS
The figure was etched by Boucher (*Fddc* 51); the bust was etched by L. Cars (*Fddc* 231).

## 79 A Man Reclining and a Woman Seated on the Ground

Red, black, and white chalks on buff paper
241 x 349 (9½ x 13¾)
Inscribed in graphite at lower left, *Watteau,* and in ink at lower right, *Vataux fec.* (crossed out)
Armand Hammer Collection

The harmoniously arranged couple presented here would appear to have been conceived with a particular *fête galante* in mind, but the two figures do not appear together in any of Watteau's paintings. The lady, in fact, was never used in any of Watteau's known works while the gentleman appears in two paintings, in both cases paired with the seated lady from the preceding drawing (see cat. D. 78). As we showed, the two figures were first used together in *Gallant Assembly* (fig. D. 78-1); then they were both borrowed, in the same grouping but with a few changes and the addition of a child, for *The Family* (cat. P. 54). According to tradition, that painting represents members of the Le Bouc-Santussan family, though we believe that identification should be regarded with some skepticism. (See preceding entry; see also cat. P. 54 for a discussion of the painting.) It is hard, in any case, to think of either the drawing or the painting of the man reclining on the ground as a portrait since his features are hardly visible. Further, the model appears to be the same one who posed for a number of other Watteau drawings, including the sheet of *Nine Studies of Heads* in the Petit Palais (cat. D. 77) and the *Six Studies of Heads* in Rouen (cat. D. 80). The connection with this last drawing makes it even more difficult to uphold the Le Bouc-Santussan identification since one of the studies on that sheet was used in *In the Guise of Mezzetin* (Wallace Collection; fig. D. 109-1), which has been identified by P.-J. Mariette as a portrait of Pierre Sirois and his family (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 191 [7]).

The figures on the Armand Hammer sheet are drawn with the same glowing *trois-crayons* effect as the Amsterdam *Seated Lady* and must surely date from about the same time. Both studies can be placed c. 1716, when Watteau made some of his most spectacular studies in that technique.

PROVENANCE
Anonymous sale, 1892, no. 72; Lallemand (sale, Paris, 2 May 1894); Léon Michel-Lévy (sale, Paris, 17-18 June 1925, no. 106); George Blumenthal, New York (sale, Paris, 1-2 December 1932, no. 48); Mrs. Jesse I. Straus (sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 21 October 1970, no. 20); purchased at that sale by Armand Hammer.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1932, no. 738 (commem. cat. no. 780); Buffalo 1935, no. 60; exhibited with the Armand Hammer Collection since 1970, excluding Los Angeles in 1974 and 1975; Washington 1974, no. 71; Los Angeles 1976, no. 149; Washington 1978, p. 79.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*S.R.M.D,* 1911, III, pl. 136; Parker 1931, no. 92; AH 1950, under no. 170; PM 1957 no. 665; Mongan 1962, no. 686; P 1984, pp. 208, 288, nn. 18, 19, fig. 166.


Watteau.
Vataux fec.

# 80 Six Studies of Heads and Hands Holding a Flute

Red, black, and white chalks, with touches of graphite in the head at upper right, on brownish paper
205 x 264 (8⅛ x 10⅜)
P,B Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen

Watteau used the head of the man at upper right in both *In the Guise of Mezzetin* (Wallace Collection; fig. D. 109-1) and the same head with the hands and the flute in *Indiscreet* (cat. P. 31). The head of the man looking downward in the center of the page and the man seen in profile at the right of the sheet can both be found in *Do You Wish to Conquer Beauties?* (fig. 1). The head of Pierrot at upper left bears some resemblance to the peasant observing the music party in *Country Concert* (lost; fig. D. 81-2), while the man looking downward at the center of the sheet may have been used for the head of the pilgrim assisting a lady to her feet in the *Pilgrimage* (cat. P. 61). That connection, though, is uncertain.

Though *In the Guise of Mezzetin* was reported by Mariette to be a portrait of Pierre Sirois surrounded by his family (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [7]), the model for the young man on this sheet appears too mature to have been even Sirois' eldest son, Pierre-Henri, who was born in 1702. He would have been only in his teens when this drawing was made, c. 1716, which casts some doubt on the credibility of Mariette's statement. Nevertheless, the identification of three of the people in the painting as Sirois and two of his daughters still seems secure (see cat. D. 109).

The man with the curly hair and the hooked nose who posed for the heads at center, upper center, and upper right of the sheet was drawn several times by Watteau, for his features can be found in a number of drawings and paintings. He appears on four other similar sheets of head studies, including one in the Petit Palais (cat. D. 77), two in the Louvre (fig. 2 and PM 741), and one formerly in the Bordeaux-Groult collection, Paris (PM 746). He may also have posed for several drawings of guitarists (fig. 3; PM 815, 817, 830). All of these drawings and the paintings to which they are related (including *The Love Lesson,* cat. P. 55; *Gallant Recreation,* cat. P. 63, and *The Scale of Love,* London [fig. D. 103-1]) fall into the period immediately before and contemporary with the Louvre *Pilgrimage* (cat. P. 61), 1716-1717. Watteau was then at his peak, creating tour-de-force drawings of immense power and visual excitement. The vivid combination of the *trois crayons,* highly charged line, and dynamic organization of the studies on the Rouen drawing make it a particularly impressive example of this kind of study sheet.

PROVENANCE
Anicet-Charles-Gabriel Lemonnier (1743-1824); acquired from him by the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, in 1822, 822-1-76.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1931, no. 117; London 1932, no. 726 (commem. cat. no. 772); Paris 1937, no. 596; San Francisco 1949, no. 55; Vienna 1950, no. 75; London 1952, no. 167; USA 1952-1953, no. 67; Germany 1958, no. 68; Rome-Milan 1959-1960, no. 60; Warsaw 1962, no. 48; Paris 1968, no. 48; Rouen 1978, no. 36; USA 1981-1982, no. 123.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Mus. cat. Rouen 1837, no. 254; G 1875, p. 344; Lebel 1890, no. 903; Gonse 1900, II, p. 317, pl. p. 327; Minet 1911, no. 1187; Nicolle 1920, p. 12; Nicolle 1921, pp. 132-133, pl. p. 138; Nicolle 1924, p. 301, repr. p. 296; Nicolle 1931, p. 118; Parker 1931, p. 22, no. 49; Michel, Aulanier, and de Vallée 1939, p. 13, pl. VII, fig. 18; AH 1950, p. 222, no. 165; PM 1957, no. 775; Mirimonde 1961, p. 286, n. 9; CR 1970, under nos. 152, 153, 168; F 1972, I, p. 39 (detail in color), III, p. 810, fig. 595 (detail); P 1984, p. 290, n. 51.

fig. 1. Thomassin after Watteau, *Do You Wish to Conquer Beauties?*, engraving (DV 84).



fig. 2. Watteau, *Six Head Studies*, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 3. Watteau, *Seated Guitarist*, Musée du Louvre, Paris.





# 81 Three Studies of the Head of a Young Black Boy

Black chalk and two shades of red chalk, with gray wash on chamois paper
244 x 271 (9⅝ x 10¹¹⁄₁₆)
Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

Within an oeuvre that boasts a large number of extraordinary drawings, this one stands out as one of the most magnificent. Like so many of Watteau's greatest drawings of heads, these are skillfully rendered, but the Louvre sheet has the added distinction of Watteau's virtuoso draftsmanship in the depiction of the boy's mahogany flesh. Through the most subtle manipulation of his chalks, using only black and two shades of sanguine, Watteau created a whole range of brown flesh tones that describe at once the surface, the structure, the texture, and above all the color of the boy's face and head.

Watteau's decision to make drawings of a black boy may have been inspired by his study of Veronese (1528-1588) and Rubens (1577-1640), both of whom used blacks in their paintings. Rubens' oil sketch of four studies of a black man's head (fig. 1), which has many of the same rhythmic qualities as Watteau's drawing, may have been known to Watteau, and one of his copies after Veronese includes a head of a black boy (fig. D. 132-1). His mentor Charles de La Fosse (1636-1716) also drew and painted blacks (see Cuzin 1981, pp. 19-21, in which two such studies, formerly thought to be by Watteau, are convincingly attributed to La Fosse). Three other studies of a black boy by Watteau, possibly drawn from the same young model, appear on a sheet of *Eight Studies of Heads* in the Louvre (cat. D. 27), but there the color of the flesh is rendered mainly in a brown pastel that yields a very different effect from the *Three Studies*.

The exceptionally eloquent rendering of these studies indicates a date of at least 1716 for both the sheet and the related paintings. The study at upper right was used in two paintings, the *Country Concert* (fig. 2), dated as early as 1714 by Mathey (1959) but placed at 1716 by Adhémar (1950), and in *The Charms of Life* (fig. D. 105-1), dated by Adhémar to 1716 and to c. 1718 by Camesasca (1970). On the basis of the related drawings, we suggest 1716-1717 and c. 1717-1718, respectively. The handling of the boy's coat and hat in the Louvre study recalls Watteau's drawings of Persians of 1715, especially the one in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (cat. D. 46), but the rhythmically curving placement of the studies on the page suggests a time no earlier than 1716.

PROVENANCE

Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) (Lugt 2097; sale, Paris, 15 November 1775, no. 1387); purchased by Servat (sale, Paris, 3 February 1778); Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 77); Sir Max J. Bonn (sale, London, 15 February 1922, no. 65); purchased by D. David-Weill; given by him to the Louvre in 1937, RF 28,721.

EXHIBITIONS

Bethnal Green 1875; London 1913, no. 9; London 1932, no. 739 (commem. cat. no. 781); Paris 1937, no. 594; Paris 1946, no. 289; Berne 1948, no. 40; Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris 1949-1950, no. 58; USA 1952-1953, no. 68; Paris 1953, no. 43; London 1954-1955, no. 268; Paris 1962, no. 92; Paris 1967, no. 276.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anon. 1878, pl. 6; *Vasari*, VIII, 1912-1913, pl. 32; Dacier 1922, pp. 327-328; Henriot 1925, pl. 19; Henriot 1929, III, pp. 521-523; Parker 1931, p. 13, no. 51; Rouchès 1937, pp. 37-38; Lavallée 1939, no. 10; Bouchot-Saupique 1953, pl. 19; PM 1957, no. 730; Sachs 1961, pp. 85-87; Eckhardt 1975, no. 15; P 1984, p. 157, colorpl. 26.

fig. 1. Rubens, *Four Studies of a Black Man's Head*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels.



fig. 2. Audran after Watteau, *Country Concert*, engraving (DV 72).





# 82 Two Studies of a Flutist and One of the Head of a Boy

Red, black, and white chalks on light brown paper
212 x 332 (8⅜ x 13⅛)
Private Collection, Paris

Almost all of Watteau's studies of musicians rank among his most dynamic drawings, inspired by both his own powerful response to the music and to the musicians' intense involvement in their playing (see also cats. D. 31, 104, 105). In this drawing, executed with even more than the usual brio, the open contours, the hastily suggested forms, and free-flowing lines capture the flutist's spontaneous movements as he leans back during a serene moment then sways forward for a more difficult passage. The face and hands are drawn with more detail, showing the man's frown of concentration, the tight pursing of his lips, and the sensitive movement of his fingers along the instrument. Though no documents or biographies mention that Watteau himself was an amateur musician, the accuracy of his observation and the care with which he depicts the position of the musicians' fingers as they play suggest a firsthand knowledge of music. (See Appendix C, "Watteau and Music.")

The curiously static study of the boy's head at upper left, which appears to have no connection with the studies of the flutist, strikes an oddly discordant note on this sheet. The fact that he probably modeled for three other drawings (PM 714, 715, 743, all in private collections, all showing a similarly impassive expression) suggests that Watteau knew him well, but he has never been identified. Nor does he appear in any of the paintings. The flutist, who does not appear in any other drawings by Watteau, also remains unidentified, but the study on the right was used in *Perfect Accord* (fig. 1). That painting has been dated as late as 1718-1719 by Mathey (1959) and c. 1719 by Camesasca (1970), but to 1716 by Adhémar (1950). In support of the later date one can point to the obvious compositional similarities with the *Peaceful Love* (fig. D. 90-1) that was owned by Dr. Richard Mead, Watteau's doctor in England, and was probably made during Watteau's trip to London, 1719-1720. But the drawing of the flutist, executed with the exuberance characteristic of Watteau's work from around 1716-1717, must have been made earlier.

PROVENANCE
Brisart; Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 18-20 June 1891, no. 335); Camille Groult; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; Private collection, Paris.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1954-1955, no. 282.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Mantz 1892, no. 37; G 1875, pp. 258-259, no. 448, p. 288, no. 609; Mathey 1938, p. 375; PM 1957, no. 837.

PRINTS
The flutist in profile was etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 88) and the young boy was etched by Laurent Cars (*Fddc* 232).

fig. 1. Baron after Watteau, *Perfect Accord,* engraving (DV 23).





# 83 Four Studies of a Woman's Head

Red, black, and white chalks on dark beige paper
258 x 235 (10³⁄₁₆ x 9¼)
Inscribed in graphite at lower right, *Watteau*
Private Collection, Paris

The curving placement of the four head studies on the page and the full-blown use of the *trois crayons* make this a particularly arresting study sheet. It is closely related in every respect to one in the British Museum (fig. 1), which represents four similar studies of the same model wearing the same scoop-necked dress and beribboned coiffure. Given the homogeneity of the two sheets, it is almost certain that they were made in a single session in Watteau's studio. The British Museum drawing, with no changes in the model's hairstyle or headwear, would have been made first, followed immediately by the two top studies on the exhibited sheet. The other two studies, which show the model wearing two different hats, were made last. When the model paused to change her headgear, the flow of the drawing was obviously interrupted, for the transitions between the two studies at the top and the two at the bottom are not quite as smooth as those on the British Museum sheet. The two lower studies are also drawn with greater speed and slightly less detail, as if Watteau were suddenly in a hurry to finish.

Goncourt linked the study at upper left (through Audran's etching for the *Figures de différents caractères* [*Fddc* 191], for apparently he did not know the original drawing) to the central figure in *Country Amusements* (cat. P. 52). Though the correspondence is close, there can be no question that the study for that head was actually taken from another sheet, the *Two Studies of a Woman's Head and One of a Hand* (PM 778; location unknown, though Parker and Mathey mistakenly placed it in Providence, Rhode Island). None of the other studies from the British Museum sheet has been connected to any known compositions by Watteau. But even without any paintings to assist in dating the drawings, the brilliant execution and flowing arrangement of the studies show clearly that they were made when Watteau's powers were at their height, 1716-1717.

PROVENANCE
Camille Groult; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; Private collection, Paris.

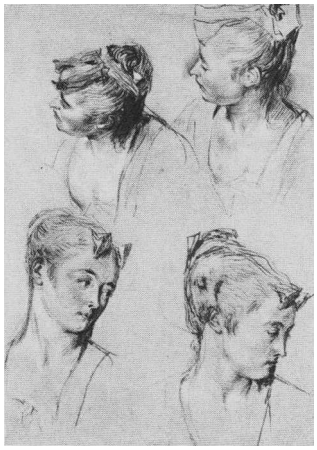
EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 282, no. 568; PM 1957, no. 783.

PRINTS
Each head was etched separately by J. Audran (*Fddc* 191, 217, 244, 98). Demarteau made crayon-manner engravings of the two lower heads (Leymarie 1896, nos. 419, 420).

COPIES
A copy of the drawing, attributed by Parker and Mathey to Demarteau, is in the British Museum (inv. P. 16).

fig. 1. Watteau,
*Four Studies of a Woman's Head,*
British Museum, London.





# 84 Seated Man Leaning to the Right and Holding a Staff

Red chalk with graphite on beige paper
220 x 220 (8⅝ x 8⅝)
Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris

Watteau used the pose of the man in this drawing for the man who forcibly embraces a girl at left in both *Pastoral Pleasures* (fig. 1) and in his own variation on the same subject, *The Shepherds* (cat. P. 53). However, were it not for the fact that the *Seated Man* holds a staff in his right hand, the resemblance between that figure and the men in those two paintings might never have been noticed: in both those paintings, the gentlemanly demeanor and elegant posture of the drawn figure are considerably coarsened and the man is transformed from a cavalier to a boor.

*Pastoral Pleasures* has usually been dated to Watteau's early maturity (Mathey suggested 1714, while Adhémar proposed 1712-1715). The present poor condition may prevent an accurate evaluation, however, for the preparatory drawings indicate that it must belong to a somewhat more advanced stage of his career. Both the Cognacq-Jay *Seated Man* and a study for the seated woman whom he attacks (Private coll., Paris; PM 573) surely date from at least 1716. The dynamic poses, the spirited combining of the chalks, and the quick, skillful delineation of both form and pose are key elements of that time. Indeed, in air and execution the drawn figures have considerable affinities with the picnickers in such mature *fêtes galantes* as the Louvre *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56). Watteau may even have used the legs and right arm of the figure in the Cognacq-Jay drawing for the pose of the reclining man in *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 66). In any case, it seems clear that *Pastoral Pleasures* must be later than it appears. (For a discussion of the Berlin *Shepherds,* see cat. P. 53.)

The first recorded owner of this sheet was the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827-1875), a native of Valenciennes and an admirer of his compatriot's art. He is known to have copied at least one Watteau drawing (his copy of the man standing at right in fig. D. 57-1 is in the Louvre, inv. R.F. 1342), and he designed a memorial fountain (1860-1869) in Watteau's honor that was unveiled in Valenciennes on Watteau's 200th birthday, 12 October 1884. It is not known whether Carpeaux owned any other drawings by Watteau.

PROVENANCE
Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827-1875); Henri Michel-Lévy (sale, Paris, 12 May 1919, no. 118); Ernest Cognacq; bequeathed by him to the city of Paris, 1928; Musée Cognacq-Jay, 188.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1928; Valenciennes 1962, no. 14; Paris 1968, no. 52; Tokyo 1969, no. 78.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Ricci 1929, no. 193; Jonas 1930, no. 193; Parker 1931, p. 11; PM 1957, no. 653; Exh. cat. Paris 1963, under no. 34; Burollet 1968, p. 35; Huyghe 1968, p. 43; Burollet 1980, no. 180.





fig. 1. Tardieu after Watteau, *Pastoral Pleasures,* engraving (DV 209).



85

# 85 Seated Woman Looking and Gesturing to the Left

Red, black, and white chalks on gray-brown paper
235 x 142 (9¼ x 5⅝)
Private Collection, New York

This exquisitely conceived and executed study has all of the qualities that are particularly admired in Watteau's drawings: a charming model, spirited but elegant gestures, gleaming draperies, brilliant *trois crayons,* and fluent, vigorous delineation. Watteau's satisfaction with this figure is suggested by the fact that he used her in three of his most seductive *fête galante* paintings. He appears to have used her first in *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56); he may even have made the study specifically for that painting, for the figure is repeated exactly in every detail of pose and costume. There are only very minor changes in the position of the right hand and in the size of the toque she wears on her head. Even the drawing's vibrant white highlights are transferred to the painting without change. In *Venetian Fêtes* (fig. 1), the position of the lady's right arm and both hands were altered somewhat, but otherwise the striped dress and the expression and twist of the head remain faithful to the study. The figure was changed even more radically in *The Enchanted Isle* (cat. P. 60), so much so that the relationship with the drawing is not immediately obvious. Possibly Watteau scarcely referred to the drawing at all when he placed the figure in the painting, for in addition to the extensive changes in the arrangement of the skirt Watteau made several alterations in the costume and completely changed the placement of the toque. All of those paintings are dated consistently to the period between 1716 and 1718 by Adhémar (1950), Mathey (1959), Camesasca (1970), and Roland-Michel (1982) (except for Adhémar's dating of the Edinburgh picture to 1719), so that a date for the drawing of 1716-1717 is almost certain.

The same model wearing the same dress, shoulder cape, and toque and described with similarly rich *trois crayons* appears in a drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 2). That figure, posed and drawn with less animation than the exhibited sheet, was used in *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25). The same dress and possibly the same model can also be found in such drawings as the *Lady Seated on the Ground* in the British Museum (PM 550); the *Lady Dancing Seen from Behind* in the Teylers Museum (fig. 3) that was used in *Pleasures of the Dance* (Dulwich; cat. P. 51); and the *Dancing Woman* in the Goethe Museum, Weimar (PM 545), who appears in *Venetian Fêtes.* All of those drawings and the paintings to which they are related further support the 1716-1717 dating of the exhibited drawing.

PROVENANCE
Camille Groult; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; Artemis, 1977; Private collection, New York.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 547; Artemis 1978, no. 11.

RELATED PRINTS
Etched by B. Audran (*Fddc* 201).



fig. 1. Carr after Watteau, *Venetian Fêtes,* engraving (DV 6), National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.



fig. 2. Watteau, *Seated Woman,* Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



fig. 3. Watteau, *Lady Dancing Seen from Behind,* Teylers Museum, Haarlem.

# 86 Seated Lady Looking and Gesturing to the Right

Red, black, and white chalks on light brown paper
217 x 128 (8⁹⁄₁₆ x 5¹⁄₁₆)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection

The drawing is sometimes referred to as a *Seated Girl with Butterfly* (exh. cat. New York 1980), but since such anecdotal studies are rare in Watteau's oeuvre, it is more likely that the "butterfly" resting at her left elbow is actually a bow. (The one on her right sleeve is not visible.) In fact, similar bows, intended to hold up the long, loose sleeves of a chemise, are found in some of Watteau's drawings of seminude women (for example, cat. D. 68).

This lady was not used in any of Watteau's paintings, but her pose is similar to ones found most often in Watteau's works from between 1716 and 1718 (see also cat. D. 85). In addition, the model is surely the same one whom Watteau used in *Two Studies of a Woman* in the Louvre (fig. 1; related to *The Country Ball,* DV 311); she may also have posed for two other drawings of a *Seated Woman,* one in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. D. 85-2; used in *The Perspective,* cat. P. 25) and one in a private collection (cat. D. 85, for *Assembly in a Park,* cat. P. 56). All of those drawings and the paintings to which they are connected can be dated to 1716-1717.

The quality of the lady's movement, displaying a fully developed contrapuntal motion to both the left and right, places this sheet in that same period. The execution is hasty, heightening the swiftness of the lady's movement, but the rapid chalk strokes fully describe the form — even the knees beneath the skirt are indicated — and capture the most important details of expression and pose.

PROVENANCE
Schwab, Manchester; Robert Lehman, New York; bequeathed by him with the rest of his collection to the Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1975.1.763.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1950, no. 98; London 1953, no. 98; New York 1980, no. 37 (repr. on cover).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 556.



fig. 1. Watteau, *Two Studies of a Woman,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.



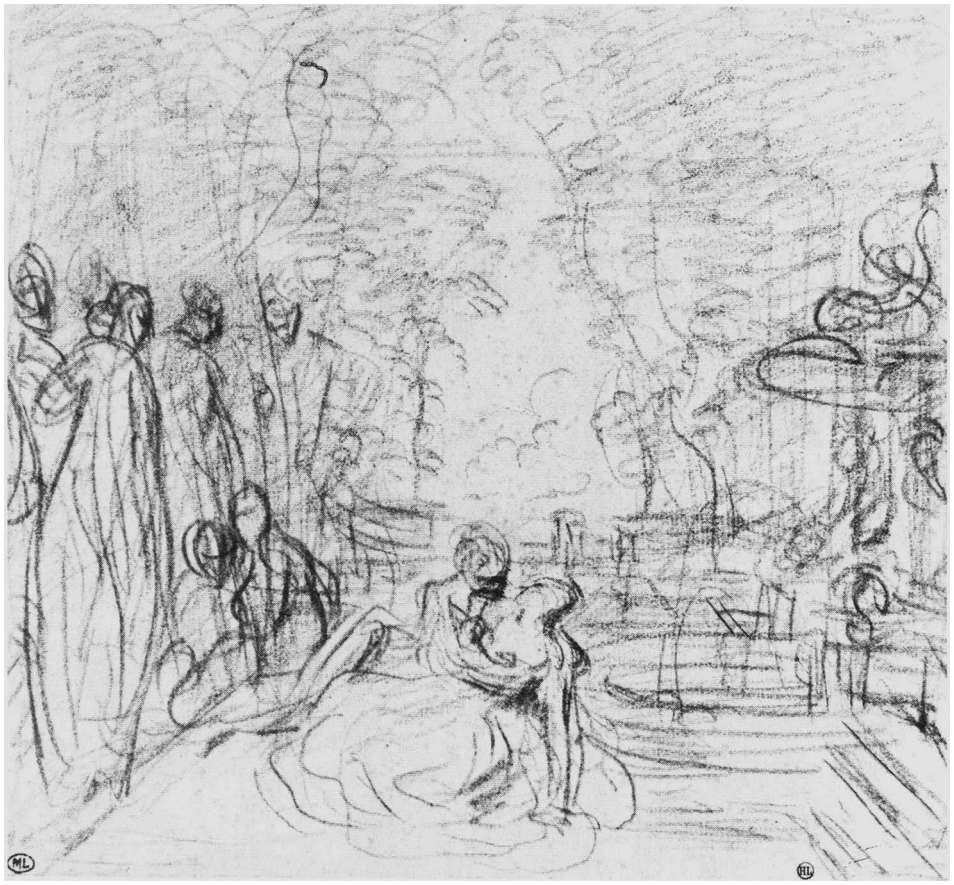




fig. 1. Scotin after Watteau, *The Cascade*, engraving (DV 28).

# 87 Couples Near a Fountain

Red chalk on cream paper
178 x 200 (7 x 7⅜)
B Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

Although this loosely sketched compositional drawing is not preparatory for any specific painting by Watteau, certain details link it to several pictures in his oeuvre. For example, the park setting with the central vista through the trees and the figures distributed across the foreground are reminiscent of *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25); one of the shadowy figures at left in the drawing is almost identical to the man who leans on the parapet at left in that painting. The man and woman promenading at far left in the drawing, repeated twice as Watteau experimented with the placement, recall similar couples in both *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51) and *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56). The embracing pair in the central foreground is very like one, in reverse, that Watteau placed in the center of a drawing for *Pleasures of Love* (cat. D. 98), expressing the same kind of enthusiastic lovemaking, which is generally (but not always) absent in Watteau's final paintings. The steps and fountain at right in the drawing, seen in diagonal perspective, correspond roughly to the placement of fountains in *The Cascade* (fig. 1) and *The Grove of Bacchus* (lost; DV 265, CR 141), but ultimately they are more closely related to the architecture that creates and defines space in *Pleasures of the Dance*. In that painting, the central wall with the niche, caryatids, and banquet still life serves the same function as the fountain in the drawing, establishing the foreground and creating a sense of depth. The fountain itself seems to have no counterpart in any of Watteau's paintings or drawings.

The drawing is only a rough sketch, bringing together disparate ideas into a final, nearly unified whole. The large scale of the figures in relation to their setting and the fact that some of those figures appear to be superimposed on the landscape drawing, especially at the left, suggest that Watteau did not plan the composition as an integral unit. Traces of a horizontal line through the trees, leading to a series of verticals under the sketch of the fountain at right, indicate that Watteau might originally have planned an architectural space, perhaps similar to the one in the Chanler version of the *Italian Comedians* (cat. D. 101). An often-quoted passage from Caylus' biography of Watteau describes how Watteau composed his paintings by placing figures selected from his sketchbooks within a landscape setting that he had already "conceived or prepared" (Champion 1921, pp. 100-101); evidently he was using that same working method when he made this drawing.

The connections with other works by Watteau, dating consistently from 1716-1718, allow us to place this sheet also in that period. The fluid lines describing the figures and the shorthand detailing of the background are quite close to Watteau's handling of the Chicago drawing for *The Pleasures of Love* (cat. D. 98), dated here to 1717-1718, but the more symmetrical composition of *Couples Near a Fountain* suggests a slightly earlier date for that sheet, 1716-1717.

PROVENANCE
A.C.H. His de la Salle (1795-1878) (Lugt 1332); given by him to the Louvre in 1877, RF 773.

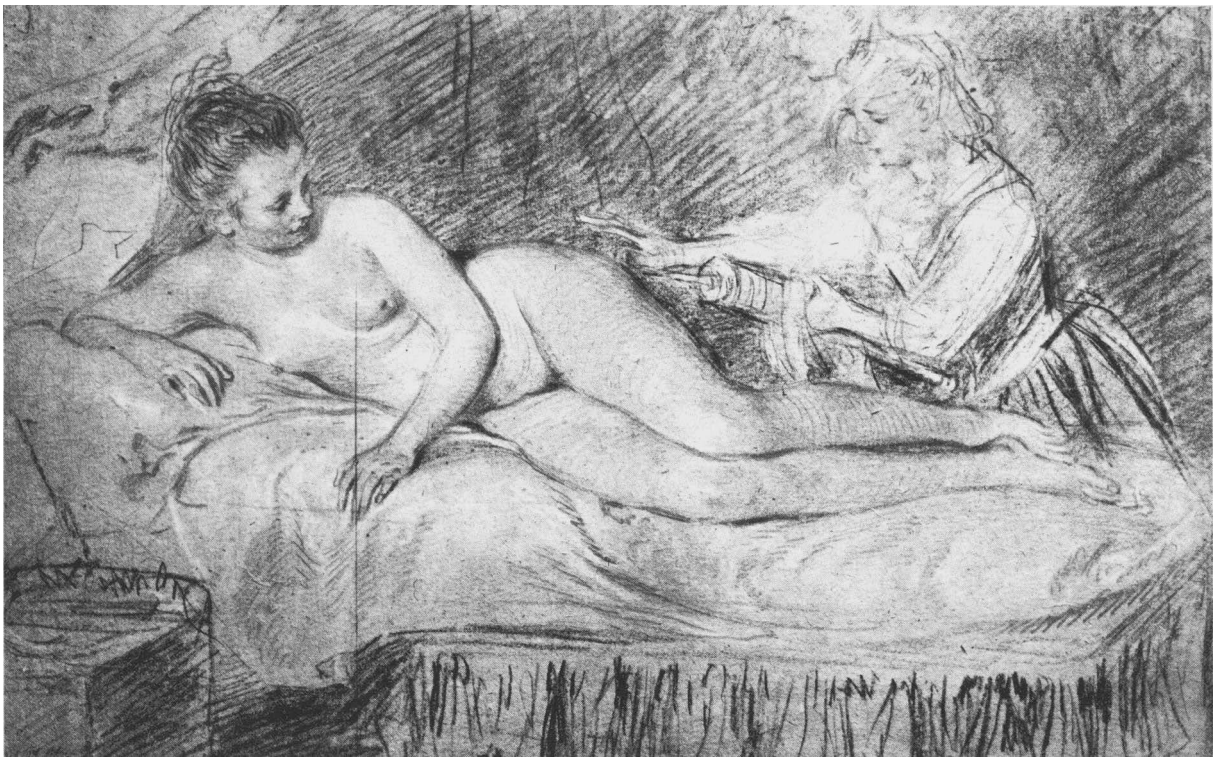
EXHIBITIONS
Valenciennes 1937, no. 33; USA 1952-1953, no. 69; Germany 1958, no. 59.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Dacier 1930, no. 34; Parker 1931, under no. 68; Lavallée 1939, no. 7; PM 1957, no. 874; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 53-54, n. 54; Sérullaz 1968, no. 39; Cormack 1970, no. 110; P 1984, p. 286, n. 89.

## 88 The Remedy

Red, black, and white chalks on tan paper
234 x 370 (9¼ x 14⁹⁄₁₆)
Inscribed on the mount in pen and brown ink, *a l'ami Vollon—un matin qu'il neigeait/A Dumas fils 9 feb 1876*
Private Collection, Paris

That Watteau may have had an interest in erotic subjects is suggested by Caylus' statement that before he died, Watteau insisted that all of his works that were even remotely lewd in nature must be destroyed (Champion 1921, p. 110), but there is no way of knowing how many such paintings and drawings he might have made. However, enough works survive to make one wonder if his depictions of salacious subjects might have been more numerous than one would at first suspect. Toilette scenes, which must have been recognized as disguised erotica by Watteau's contemporaries, survive in both painted and drawn forms (cat. P. 37 and *The Toilette* in the Wallace Collection, London, [CR 175] as well as the related drawing in the British Museum [see fig. D. 114-1]). Watteau's drawings of women in varying stages of undress, casually reclining on a chaise longue, also have a risqué flavor (see cats. D. 68, 114, 116), and even his paintings *Savoyard with a Marmot* and *The Spinner* (see cats. P. 32; D. 30, 50) have been shown by Posner (1975) to have had erotic overtones. Of these, *The Remedy,* with the servant holding a clyster that



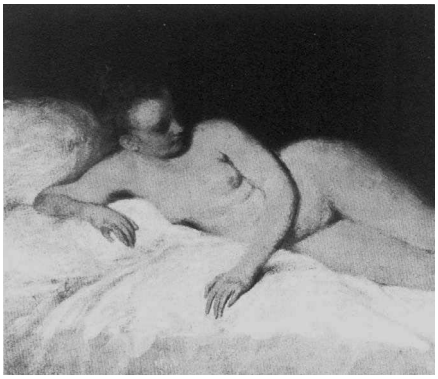


fig. 1. Watteau, *Reclining Nude,*
Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena (CR 135).

she is about to use on her mistress, is the most overtly lascivious work in Watteau's surviving oeuvre. (A small painting [142 x 173 mm] of the same reclining woman, cropped below the knees, is in the Norton Simon Museum [fig. 1]. There is no way of knowing whether that painting originally depicted the same theme, for the panel has been cut just where the servant would have been. No prints or documents record the original appearance of the picture. See Posner 1972, p. 386.)

Both the drawing and the painting have been studied at length by Posner (1972, 1973) who placed them within the context of a long tradition of nudes and erotic subjects. The specific remedy theme must have sprung from seventeenth-century Netherlandish painting, in which it is often found. But as Posner pointed out, those pictures generally only allude to the erotic nature of the cure, while Watteau shows it about to be administered. It should be noted, however, that Watteau might have begun the drawing without the remedy subject in mind; he could have added the servant with the enema almost as an afterthought. That would explain the curious pentimento of the model's head, in a different pose, that lies under the servant; it would also account for the difficulties that Watteau appears to have had in placing the maid (see cat. D. 97 for another study of her) and the difference in execution between that figure and the nude. Without the servant the subject would have been considerably more chaste, even though the woman is stretched out in a way that is calculated to display all her charms.

The figure's long, smooth contours and the firm roundness of the volumes recall to some extent the great study of *Flora* for the Crozat Seasons (cat. D. 60), but the proportions are less monumental and the influence of Charles de La Fosse (1636-1716) and his contemporaries is not as strongly felt. The forceful strokes, the practiced use of the three chalks, Watteau's obvious delight in the rosy skin tones, and the softer, more sensual treatment of the flesh mark this as having been made later than the Crozat Seasons. But the drawing is certainly not as late as the Louvre *Nude Woman with Her Right Arm Raised* (cat. D. 115) or the Lille *Crouching Nude Woman* (cat. D. 116), here dated to c. 1719, for the technique, the use of light, and the description of surfaces and forms are quite different. *The Remedy* was probably made c. 1716-1717.

In an attempt to perfect the servant's pose, Watteau made a separate study of her on a sheet in the Louvre (cat. D. 97). That drawing, bearing also two head studies for the Berlin version of the *Embarkation* (cat. P. 62), appears to have been made specifically for the latter painting. Thus it can be dated no earlier than 1717. (See cat. D. 97 for a discussion of the dating of that drawing.)

PROVENANCE
Frédéric Villot (1809-1875) (Lugt 996; sale, 1875, no. 46); Alexandre Dumas the Younger (1824-1895); A. Vollon (1833-1900), 1876; Camille Groult; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; Private collection, Paris.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Mathey 1938, pp. 371-376; AH 1950, p. 54, n. 20; PM 1957, no. 865; M 1959, pp. 49, 79, pl. 126; Cormack 1970, no. 114; Posner 1972, pp. 385-388 (dated 1714-1715); Posner 1973, pp. 35-36, 40 (same date); P 1984, pp. 105-106, fig. 80.

## 89 Two Studies of the Head and Shoulders of a Little Girl

Red, black, and white chalks with some stumping, drawn over a black chalk sketch of legs, on buff paper
187 x 245 (7⅜ x 9⅝) (irregular vertical strip added to left side)
New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library

This and the following sheet, together bearing three studies of the same little girl wearing the same cap, necklace, and dress, were surely made within a single drawing session. Possibly they originally formed a single page, though only close examination of the two together can confirm this theory.

Both sheets are related to paintings that are loosely connected with the year 1719: *The Music Lesson* (fig. 1) was engraved in that year by L. Surugue; *Peaceful Love* (fig. 2) belonged to Dr. Richard Mead whom Watteau knew during his stay in England in 1719-1720. The drawings, however, may well have been made somewhat earlier. Some aspects of the handling of the *trois crayons* recall the great nude drawings that Watteau made for the Crozat Seasons around 1715-1716 (cats. D. 60, 62-64), but the sensitive modeling of the faces, the translucent quality of the shadows, and the natural simplicity of the poses point to a slightly later date, c. 1716-1717.

Lying under the two studies on the Morgan Library sheet and totally unrelated to them are the smudged black chalk outlines of a woman's legs, the left one dangling, the





fig. 1. Surugue after Watteau,
*The Music Lesson,* engraving (DV 96).



fig. 2. Baron after Watteau,
*Peaceful Love,* engraving (DV 268).

right one bent almost ninety degrees at the knee and pulled up under the other. Since Watteau almost never made drawings on top of others (another example is PM 520 in the Louvre), it is difficult to discern his reason for doing so here, but it is clear that he considered the leg studies expendable. He does not appear to have abandoned the pose altogether, however, for the legs of the nymph who appears as a sculpture in three of Watteau's paintings (*The Love Lesson,* cat. P. 55; *The Grove of Bacchus,* DV 265, CR 141; *Country Entertainments,* Wallace Collection, CR 183) are placed in a closely analogous but more graceful pose. The nymph in the Louvre *Nymph and Satyr* (cat. P. 36), too, has one leg drawn up in a similar fashion. These tangential relationships suggest that the legs might have been drawn at about the same time as the Crozat Seasons since Watteau's nude studies for that series are similar in handling and proportion.

PROVENANCE

Miss James (her sale?, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891); Anonymous sale, London, Christie's, 16 June 1911, no. 76; Thomas Agnew and Sons, London; J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913); Pierpont Morgan Library, I,278b.

EXHIBITIONS

Buffalo 1935, no. 59; New London 1936, no. 92; New York 1939, no. 96; New York 1957, no. 99; New York 1981, no. 100.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Parker 1931, p. 31, no. 41; Shoolman and Slatkin 1942, p. 540, pl. 491; AH 1950, pp. 216, 222, under nos. 126, 162; PM 1957, no. 709; Watrous 1957, pp. 96, 153; Rosenberg 1959, p. 96, fig. 179; Schneider 1967, p. 93; Cormack 1970, p. 35, pl. 82; Eckhardt 1975, under no. 21.

## 90 Bust-length Portrait of a Young Girl

Red, black, and white chalks
177 x 123 (7 x 4⅞)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans



90

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE
Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) (Lugt 1852; not included in his sale of 1775, unless under no. 1389); Auguste Lazare Belot; bequeathed by him to the city of Orléans in 1872; Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1145.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1931, no. 116; Copenhagen 1935, no. 539; Bordeaux 1958, no. 44; Paris 1967, no. 277; Münster 1973, no. 116; Orléans 1975-1976, no. 121.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
AH 1950, under no. 126; PM 1957, no. 711.

RELATED PAINTINGS
Study for the little girl in *Peaceful Love* (fig. D. 89-2) of 1719-1720, now lost but known through the engraving by Baron (DV 268).

## 91 Standing Woman Lifting Her Skirt

Red, black, and white chalks on pinkish-beige paper, stamped with the mark of the unidentified mountmaker FR (Lugt 1042)
261 x 140 (10¼ x 5½)
Inscribed in pen and brown ink on the mount at lower right, *Watteau,* and in the same ink and hand, an illegible paraph
Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt-am-Main

This charming young woman does not appear in any of Watteau's paintings, but her pose and the gesture with which she lifts her skirt recall *The Village Girl* (fig. 1), a decorative panel in which the central figure is wading in a pool. Possibly the Frankfurt study represents a first idea for the painted figure, whose costume is quite different and whose skirt is lifted higher to reveal more leg. In any case, the drawing's broad, open execution and the skilled combining of the three chalks point to a date around 1716-1717, though the painting has been dated as early as 1708 (Adhémar, Mathey, Camesasca, Roland-Michel) because of its connections with the Château de La Muette: it once belonged to the Comte de Morville, son of the owner of that chateau, for which Watteau made a set of thirty decorations of *Chinese and Tartar Figures* (DV 232-261, CR 26; *The Village Girl* is not part of that series). While no records state specifically when Watteau was employed there, the paintings are generally placed during the period that he spent with Audran (c. 1708), though they could have been made and installed considerably later, perhaps even after 1716 when the Regent purchased La Muette for the Duchesse de Berry. Whether or not *The Village Girl* is based on the Frankfurt drawing, the elegantly twisting pose and the graceful gesture of the painted figure indicate a date no earlier than c. 1715.

Bathing subjects are uncommon in Watteau's oeuvre, encompassing only the Louvre's *Diana Bathing* (cat. P. 28), the preparatory drawing for that painting in the Albertina (cat. D. 66), and possibly the Morgan Library *Seated Young Woman* (cat. D. 61) in addition to *The Village Girl* and, by analogy, the Frankfurt drawing. But, as Posner has observed (1973, p. 36), Watteau's followers Pater and Lancret made several paintings of women bathing, and it is logical to assume that those works were inspired by paintings, now lost, by Watteau himself. Given Caylus' testimony that Watteau insisted on destroying all of his works that were the least bit risqué (Champion 1921, p. 110), it does seem possible that Watteau had a greater interest in the genre than his present oeuvre would indicate.



fig. 1. Aveline after Watteau,
*The Village Girl,* engraving (DV 157).

PROVENANCE
Since the first half of the nineteenth century in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt 1338.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 548.



91

## 92 Bust of a Woman and a Study of Her Hands

Red and black chalks with touches of graphite
182 x 117 (7 3/16 x 4 5/8)
Private Collection, New York

The care and attention lavished on the head and hands, positioned as though they were connected but treated as if they were separate, suggest that Watteau may have had a specific composition in mind when he made this drawing. However, neither the head nor the hands can be found in any of Watteau's known paintings, though one of the actresses in *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65) makes a gesture that matches exactly, but in reverse, the position of the left hand here.

Once again, the model appears to be the one that Watteau used for such studies as the two versions of the *Four Studies of a Woman's Head* in a French private collection (cat. D. 83) and in the British Museum (fig. D. 83-1) and the two versions of the *Seated Woman* in an American private collection (cat. D. 85) and the Metropolitan Museum (fig. D. 85-2), to mention only four. All of these appear to date from c. 1716-1717, a time that is corroborated by the natural pose of



92

the woman in the exhibited drawing. The same air of tranquility is found in such paintings as *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25) or *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56), of about the same time.

PROVENANCE
Julien Léopold Boilly (1796-1874); according to a label on the back of the drawing ("donné a mon ami Bouchardy/le mercredi des cendres 1816/Bhy[?] Julien Leopold Boilly"), given by him to Etienne Bouchardy (1797-1849) (did not appear in his sale, Paris, 14-15 May 1850); Georges Deligand; Jacques Mathey, by 1954; acquired by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, New York, 1958; Private collection, New York.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1951, no. 156; London 1954-1955, no. 291; London 1958, no. 3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Boucher and Jaccottet 1952, no. 20; PM 1957, no. 578; Fahy 1973, no. 41.

PRINTS
The head was etched by J. Audran (*Fddc* 182).

## 93 Head of a Boy in Profile to the Right

Orange-red chalk with black chalk and stumping on cream paper
149 x 133 (5⅞ x 5³⁄₁₆)
The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Parker and Mathey suggested that this drawing might have served as the model for the young fiancé (in reverse) in *The Marriage Contract* (cat. P. 21), but the style of the drawing is certainly more advanced than that of the painting. The modeling of the young man's face is highly refined, with the contours of the brow, cheek, and chin shaped and shaded with strokes that seem barely to caress the surfaces. The cascading hair softens the stiffness of the full profile view, as do the light-filled shadows that suggest atmosphere circulating around the figure. Despite Watteau's rather heavy orange-red touches that coarsen and thicken what must once have been a delicate profile, the fine stumping and modeling indicate that this drawing can be dated no earlier than 1717.

It is unlikely, as Parker and Mathey proposed, that the same young man who posed for the Ashmolean study also sat for three other drawings of young boys: a study of a violinist (fig. 1), a sheet of head studies in a French private collection (PM 743), and a head study in cat. P. 82. Of these, the first resembles the boy in the Ashmolean drawing most closely,

but that is probably due entirely to the similar pose and long, flowing locks. The profiles are quite different, especially in such key details as the height of the forehead, the shape of the nose, and the set of the jaw.

PROVENANCE
Purchased by the Ashmolean Museum in 1937, P.I. 558.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1950, no. 100; USA 1979-1980, no. 88.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Parker 1938, I, p. 269, no. 558; PM 1957, no. 693.



fig. 1. Watteau, *Boy Tuning a Violin,* National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.



93

## 94 Two Studies of a Woman's Head and Two of a Kitten

Red chalk only in the head studies, red and black chalks for the kittens, on cream paper
196 x 123 (7¾ x 4⅞)
By sanction of Mr. G. M. L. Springell, receiver of Court of Protection; the property of Mrs. F. Springell

This is one of Watteau's simplest and most delightful study sheets, whose tender head studies and bright, perky kittens could only be the product of a mature hand. Such simplicity and restraint of execution, such delicate modulation of line and easy description of form are combined in Watteau's oeuvre only from c. 1717. Indeed, the study of the young woman's head was used for the woman at right in *Gallant Recreation* (cat. P. 63), a painting that has been dated consistently to 1717 or later. The kitten at lower center appears in the arms of a little girl in *Occupation According to Age* (fig. 1), which has been placed as early as 1710-1712 (Adhémar) and as late as c. 1718 (Camesasca). The relationship with the Springell drawing suggests that it could not have been made before 1717.

PROVENANCE
Marquis de Lagoy (1764-1829) (Lugt 1710; not in his 1834 sale); Mme. Wateau; J. Mathey; Dr. and Mrs. F. Springell.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1959, 59; Edinburgh 1965, no. 70; London 1968, no. 775.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 890.

fig. 1. Dupuis after Watteau, *Occupation According to Age,* engraving (DV 208).





94

## 95 Seated Man Seen from Behind and a Study of an Arm

Black and white chalks with red chalk (in the hand, knee breeches, and cloak on the ground) on gray-brown paper
203 x 225 (8 x 8⅞)
Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Victor Thaw, New York

The figure studied here was first used in *The Scale of Love* (fig. D. 103-1), where the position of the upper body repeats exactly the pose of the man in this study. On the basis of other drawings (cat. D. 103; PM 830), that painting can be placed no earlier than 1717, a date that is supported by this man's asymmetrical pose and the vigorous execution of the study as a whole. The young man and his companion in *The Scale of Love* were then used, almost unchanged, in the compositional drawing for the Dresden *Pleasures of Love* (see cat. D. 98), here dated to 1717-1718. In the final painting (see fig. D. 98-1), however, Watteau altered the position of the man's legs and his right arm.

The particular figure for which the separate study of an arm was made has not yet been discovered. Evidently it is a study for the right arm of a figure who faces the spectator and thus has no relation to the study of the man on the same page. Although a number of Watteau's figures make similar gestures in his paintings, the one that comes closest is a seated gentleman who is wooing a lady at right in *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51). His right arm is seen in almost precisely the same position and perspective as the detail study, and the sleeve even seems to have the same fullness at the top that is found in this drawing.

PROVENANCE
Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830) (Lugt 2445); Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 300); Camille Groult, Paris; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; sale, Paris, Galliéra, 30 March 1963, no. 17; purchased by Henri Farman (sale, Paris, 15 March 1973, lot G); purchased by Otto Wertheimer, Paris and Zurich; purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Thaw in 1982.

EXHIBITION
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 641.







fig. 1. Surugue after Watteau,
*Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin,* engraving (DV 97).

## 96 Study Sheet with a Head of a Man and an Arm and Hand Holding a Sword

Red and black chalks heightened with touches of white on cream paper, laid down
179 x 256 (7 1/16 x 10 1/8)
Stamped on the mount, *Bernard,* and inscribed in pen on verso, *B 120*

W Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The arm and hand with a sword hilt were used for the figure of Crispin in *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* (fig. 1), one of only two compositions that were engraved by artists other than Watteau himself during Watteau's lifetime. (The other painting was *The Music Lesson,* Wallace Collection; fig. D. 89-1.) Since the prints were published in 1719, we have a definite *terminus ante quem* for both the paintings and the related drawings, including the Amsterdam sheet. Adhémar proposed to date *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* as early as 1716, though Mathey suggested that it was made only in 1717-1718. The dating has been complicated by the doubtful authenticity of the Althorp version (which Adhémar and preceding scholars believed authentic; repr. Adhémar 1950, pl. 94), whose many weaknesses would point to an earlier period. Surugue's print (fig. 1), however, gives the impression of a far richer, more mature work, closer in many ways to the *Italian Comedians* of 1719-1720 (cat. P. 71). The diagonal thrust and vigorous execution of the Amsterdam drawing appear to accord best with Mathey's date of 1717-1718. As it happens, the head of the man from this drawing, but without the beret, is very close to the head of the man embracing a woman in the center of *Pleasures of Love* (fig. D. 98-1), datable to that same time.

The hand resting on a sword hilt is the stock gesture of the French Comedy character Crispin and signals his presence in a number of paintings and drawings by Watteau (see Appendix B, "Theater Costumes in the Work of Watteau"). He is included in both *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38) and *The French Comedians* (cat. P. 70), portrayed by the actual comedian who was most famous for the role, Paul Poisson (1658-1735) (DV, III, p. 24, no. 55). He is also found in a compositional drawing in the Musée Jacquemart-André (cat. D. 102) and sprawled in a chair on a sheet from the Pushkin Museum, Moscow (PM 952). He is represented also in a drawing in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (fig. D. 15-2) and perhaps also in PM 647, formerly in the Tony Mayer collection (sold, Paris, Charpentier, 3 December 1957, no. 19).

PROVENANCE
"Bernard" according to the stamp on the mount (not in Lugt); Jacques Doucet (sale, Paris, Petit, 5-8 June 1912, no. 67); D. David-Weill; Dr. F. Mannheimer (ceded to the Dutch government in lieu of death duties, 1940); deposited in the Rijksmuseum in 1953; transferred to the Rijksmuseum from the Dienst voor's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen in 1960, 53:188.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 54; Amsterdam 1974, no. 126.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
*S.R.D.M.,* 1911, III; Henriot 1928, III, pp. 509-510; Dacier 1930, no. 50; PM 1957, no. 684; Frerichs 1963, no. 74, pp. 8, 10 (also 1965 ed.); Cormack 1970, no. 57; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, under no. 20; Roland-Michel 1983, p. 483.

## 97 Two Studies of a Man's Head and One of a Kneeling Woman

Red and black chalks heightened with faint traces of white chalk on buff paper
261 x 332 (10 5/16 x 13 1/16)
B Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

Watteau made substantial changes between the first and second versions of his *Embarkation for Cythera* (cats. P. 61, 62), mainly additions and minor alterations for which five drawings are known today (PM 551, 729, 744, 767, 772). Of these, only the present sheet (PM 772) can be dated securely to the time between the two versions, 1717-1718, because of the kind of change it reflects. It bears two head studies that Watteau used in the Berlin painting, which he substituted for the heads of two pilgrims who were otherwise repeated without change from the Louvre version. Since the poses and expressions (but not the features) of the heads in the drawing are precisely the same as those of the original figures in the Paris version of the pictures, one can assume that the two head studies were made specifically for the second version after the first one was completed.

Parker and Mathey have suggested that the man who posed for this and at least two other Watteau drawings (fig. 1); PM 753, Private coll., New York) was Watteau's friend Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) (see Friends of Watteau). Comparison with Jean-François de Troy's portrait of Jullienne in Valenciennes (fig. 2), executed in 1722, shows that the shape



fig. 1. Watteau, *Portrait of Jullienne* (?), Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris.



fig. 2. De Troy, *Portrait of Jullienne,* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes.



fig. 3. Tardieu after Watteau (?), *Seated Beside Thee,* engraving (DV 3).



of the nose, the curve of the cheek, and the set of the eyes of the man in the drawing resemble closely those in de Troy's painting. The only real difference lies in the shape of the man's upper lip. Nevertheless, Watteau's rendering of Jullienne in the problematic engraving *Seated Beside Thee* (fig. 3) supports the identification. Indeed, the fact that the Louvre sheet with the two head studies was connected with a painting destined for Jullienne's collection further supports the hypothesis and suggests that Watteau could have included his friend's likeness either as a dedication or perhaps as a joke.

The kneeling woman on the same sheet, totally unconnected with the *Embarkation,* is a reworking of a figure who appears in the compositional drawing known as *The Remedy* (see cat. D. 88). Her pose in *The Remedy* had clearly caused Watteau some difficulties, as numerous pentimenti show, and he evidently used this sheet to work out the problem. Although Watteau could have begun work on the composition as early as 1716 (see cat. D. 88 for the dating of that sheet), this drawing suggests that he continued work on the project into 1717 and perhaps even into 1718.

PROVENANCE

Chevalier de Damery (d. 1803) (Lugt 2862; anonymous sale, Paris, 18-19 November 1803); M. G. T. de Villenave (1762-1846)(Lugt 2598; sale, Paris, 1-7 December 1842, organized by the Alliance des Arts [Lugt 61]); according to Goncourt, purchased by the Louvre in December 1852, 33,381.

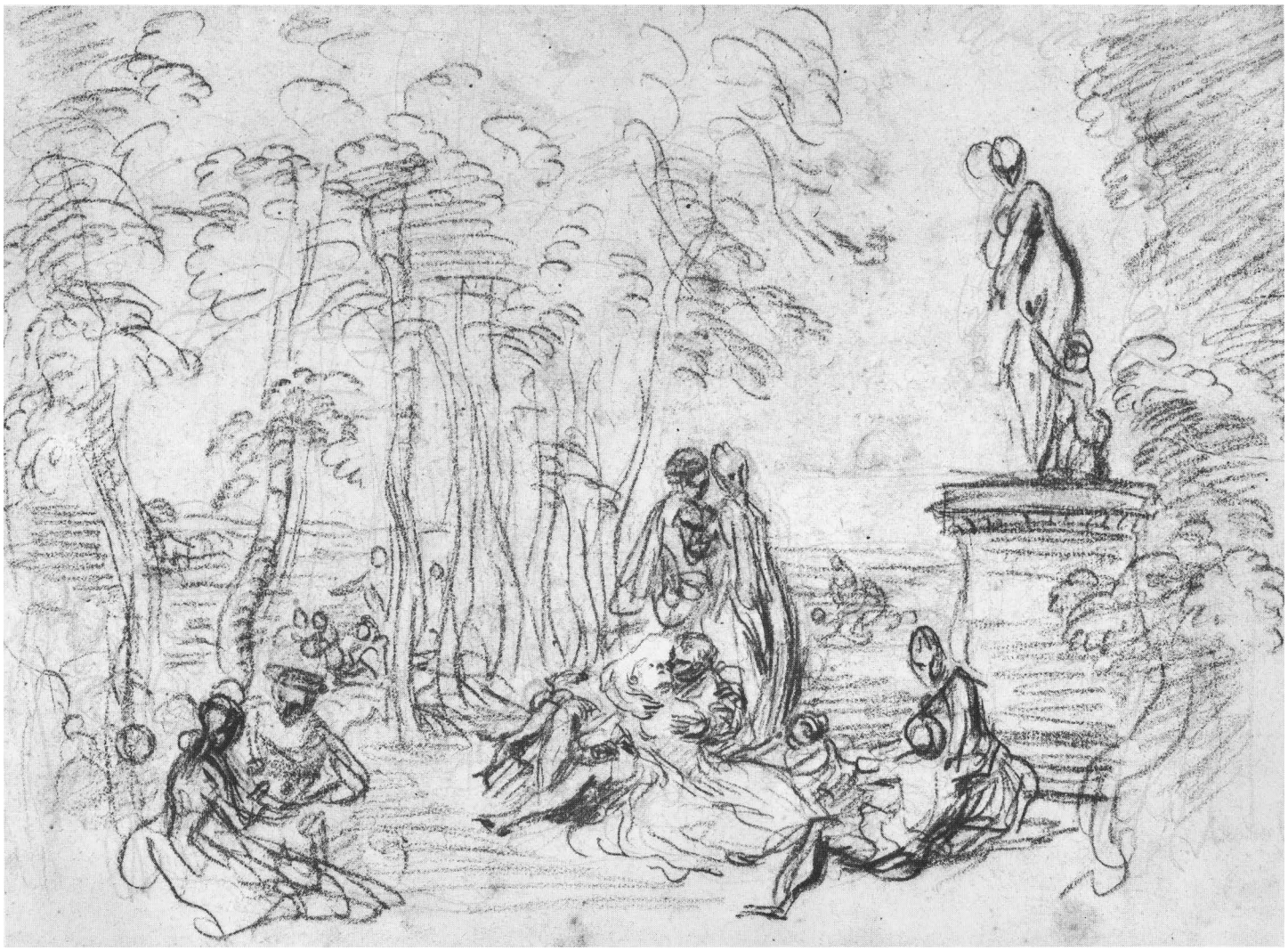
EXHIBITIONS

Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

G 1875, p. 343; Lafenestre 1907, pl. 38; Dacier 1930, no. 30; PM 1957, no. 772; Posner 1972, p. 386, fig. 3.

98



## 98 Sketch for *The Pleasures of Love*

Red chalk and graphite on cream paper
195 x 264 (7 11/16 x 10 3/8)
The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of the Helen Regenstein Collection, Mrs. Henry C. Woods, and Wirt D. Walker Fund Income

Very few of Watteau's compositional drawings are as closely related to any of his paintings as the Chicago drawing is to *Pleasures of Love* (fig. 1). The settings of the two works, with the row of trees at left and the statue of Venus disarming Cupid at right, are almost identical, while the distribution of the four principal couples is quite similar. The promenaders in the center are repeated almost exactly in the painting, though the pair embracing at their feet is turned around so that the man's amorous overtures are discreetly hidden from view. (In the painting the pose of that couple is the same as the one that Watteau used in *The Faux-pas,* cat. P. 57.) The couple seated at the foot of the statue is changed only slightly in the painting, but the couple next to the trees at left is altered completely.

The statue of Venus and Cupid found in both the Chicago drawing and the Dresden painting links them both to the Berlin version of the *Embarkation* (cat. P. 62), datable to c. 1718. For reasons of style, the Dresden canvas can be dated to about the same time. The sculpture as it appears in the drawing is quite different from the one in the paintings, most notably in the position of Venus' back and of both her legs. The presence of multiple outlines suggests that the pose had not yet been fully worked out when Watteau made the drawing and that the compositional sketch might therefore have been made before both paintings. It is also possible, however, that Watteau had already perfected the sculpture in the Berlin painting and that the rough sketch of it in the Chicago drawing was meant to be only a reminder, not an accurate transcription. If that were so, however, then one must wonder why Watteau had such difficulties correcting the pose when the couple at the foot of the statue in the same drawing faithfully reproduces a grouping that Watteau had used in *The Scale of Love* (fig. D. 103-1). In any event, the drawing can be dated to c. 1717-1718 on the grounds of its relationship with both paintings.

The composition was first sketched very broadly in graphite as Watteau jotted down only the most general disposition of the landscape and the figures. He then corrected and enhanced it with red chalk as he worked out the details of the scene. In contrast to the Louvre drawing of *Couples Near a Fountain* (cat. D. 87) and other very loosely drawn compositional studies (cats. D. 101, 102), the Chicago sketch is amazingly explicit in details of both pose and costume, with even the tiny figures in the distance given identifiable poses. However, despite the sense of minute detail, Watteau's fluid strokes only suggest rather than define the scene.

fig. 1. Watteau, *Pleasures of Love,* Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (CR 178).



PROVENANCE
M. Pelletier; Marquis de Chennevières (1820-1899)(Lugt 2072; sale, Paris, May 1898, no. 193); Jacques Doucet (sale, Paris, 5 June 1912, no. 69); Marius Paulme (1863-1928); Maurice Fenaille; R. de Billy; Robert Light & Co., Boston, by 1974; acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago, 1975.343.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1974-1975, no. 5; Chicago 1976, no. 31; Paris 1976-1977, no. 3; Frankfurt 1977, no. 3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 344 (in the Chennevières coll.); Parker 1931, pp. 11, 37, no. 68; Parker 1935, pp. 8-9; AH 1950, p. 55, n. 29, and under no. 194; Boucher and Jaccottet 1952, no. 25; PM 1957, no. 858; Huyghe 1970, p. 50; McCullagh 1976, pp. 14-16; Sérullaz 1976, pp. 302-303; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 29-30, fig. 15; P 1984, p. 173, fig. 135.

## 99 Three Studies of a Woman's Head and a Study of a Hand

Black and red chalks with pale brown, gray, and sanguine washes, heightened with touches of white on oatmeal paper
263 x 345 (10 3/8 x 13 5/8)
Inscribed at lower left, *Wataut*
W Teylers Museum, Haarlem

Watteau is not known for his proficiency with brush and wash, though he used that technique in a surprising number of drawings. Although his washes are not always entirely effective and might occasionally detract from the appearance of some drawings (for example, cat. D. 36), the Haarlem head studies demonstrate how brilliantly Watteau could combine wash with *trois crayons* to achieve glistening surface effects and the most delicate nuances of tone. The washes were certainly planned from the beginning as an integral part of the drawing, for they work with the chalks to enhance and amplify each study. A drawing such as this can



99



fig. 1. Watteau, *Gathering in the Open Air,* Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (CR 182).

only make one wish that Watteau had experimented more with this particular medium.

The study at upper left was used for one of the women in the Dresden *Gathering in the Open Air* (fig. 1); the same head and the arm study were also used in *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55). The head at lower left is very close to the woman's head at lower right in *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*) (cat. P. 69); the similarity was kindly called to our attention by H. Borssum-Buisman) and to others in *Venetian Fêtes* (fig. D. 85-1), *The Family* (cat. P. 54), and *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 66). The same model was used for a drawing in a similar technique in the Rijksmuseum (cat. D. 100). The relationship between this drawing and *The Love Lesson, Gathering in the Open Air,* and *Pierrot,* all of which date from c. 1717-1719, helps to situate this drawing in that period. Even without the paintings, however, the drawing itself proclaims a late date. The smooth roundness of the forms, the translucent shadows, the firm characterization of the heads, the proud pose of the figure at upper left, and the rhythmic placement of the studies on the page all belong to a date around 1717-1718.

PROVENANCE
Teylers Museum, Haarlem (Lugt 2392), M. 14.

EXHIBITIONS
Amsterdam 1926, no. 200; Amsterdam 1935, no. 36; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 60; Amsterdam 1974, no. 120.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Scholten 1904, p. 22, M. 14; Parker 1935, p. 5; PM 1957, no. 779; Cormack 1970, no. 59.

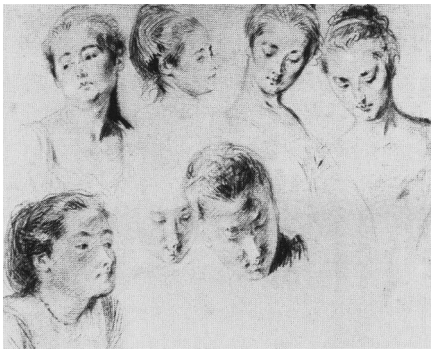
## 100 Four Studies of a Woman's Head and Two of a Seated Lady

The heads drawn in red chalk, black chalk, graphite, and light brown wash with some white heightening; the seated figure at right drawn in red chalk and graphite; the seated figure in the center drawn in black chalk; all on cream paper
228 x 353 (9 x 13⅞) (made up along left edge and right half of top edge)
B Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The combination of chalks and washes in this arresting study sheet immediately recalls the Haarlem *Three Studies of a Woman's Head* (cat. D. 99), though the more crowded page, the extensive use of graphite, and the more limited use of wash contribute to a very different visual effect. The Haarlem studies, enhanced by the spaciousness of the page and the vaporous washes, have a soft, spiritual quality, while those on the more densely organized Amsterdam sheet appear to be more solidly plastic. Despite the differences, however, both sheets clearly belong to about the same time; it is even possible, as Roland-Michel (1983) has suggested, that the same model posed for the two study sheets.

When Watteau made the Amsterdam sheet, he appears to have drawn the head studies first, setting them out in the kind of rhythmic design that he used only for other

fig. 1. Watteau, *Seven Studies of Heads,* Institut Néerlandais, Paris.



sheets of head studies (cats. D. 81, 83, 99). He then added the figure studies, but how much time may have elapsed in the interim is a matter for conjecture. Roland-Michel believed that the style of the head studies points to a date of c. 1716, but that the figures belong to 1718-1719. We think, on the other hand, that both the head studies and the figure at right belong to approximately the same time, c. 1717-1718 (the same date as the Haarlem studies, cat. D. 99), for the red chalk and graphite with which one figure is drawn appear to match those media in the head studies. The black chalk figure could conceivably have been made at another time, but the way in which its pose reflects the other figure study and the

similar abstraction of form and generalization of detail suggest that it was actually drawn at about the same time.

The head at upper left was used in *Gathering in the Open Air* (fig. D. 99-1), while the head at lower left is close to one in *The Shepherds* (cat. P. 53). The dating proposed here for the drawing corresponds exactly to the generally accepted date of 1717-1718 for the former (Adhémar, Camesasca, Mathey). *The Shepherds,* on the other hand, though commonly dated to 1716 (Adhémar, Mathey), certainly belongs also to 1717-1718 (but see cat. P. 53). Both its style and the evidence of this and other related drawings, most notably the sheet of head studies in the Fondation Custodia Lugt (fig. 1), support that date. That drawing bears a study for the head of the man in the couple added at lower right in the second version of the *Embarkation* (cat. P. 62), and though it is drawn only in black and red chalks, its execution and the posing of its figures are comparable to the exhibited sheet; it may even represent the same model.

PROVENANCE
Marquise de Ganay, née Ridgway (sale, Paris, 8-10 May 1922, no. 27); Mme. Meyer; A. Fauchier-Magnan (not included in his sale, 1935); Dr. F. Mannheimer, Amsterdam; ceded to the Dutch government in lieu of death duties, 1940; placed on deposit in the Rijksmuseum in 1953, 53:183.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1946b, no. 106; Amsterdam 1974, no. 121.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Dreyfus 1909, pp. 8, 10; Catroux and Dacier 1922, pp. 285-286; Parker 1931, p. 37; Parker 1935, p. 5; PM 1957, no. 745; Roland-Michel 1983, pp. 471, 473, pl. VI.

## 101 Italian Comedians Taking Their Bows

Red chalk and graphite on cream paper
178 x 185 (7 x 7¼)
Mrs. Gertrude Laughlin Chanler, New York

This and the following drawing belong to a group of four compositional studies of a company of actors taking a curtain call. A sheet in the British Museum (fig. 1), quite close to cat. D. 101 in spirit and organization, and a faint sketch of five actors on the verso of a drawing of soldiers in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (fig. 2) complete the group. Despite the identical subject matter, however, it is not clear whether the drawings should be regarded as a series in which Watteau systematically worked out a compositional idea, or simply as isolated studies that sprang from a recurring idea. Differences in execution and technique suggest that the drawings spanned a period of time; but similarities in spirit, in many of the poses, and in the overall presentation of the figures make it more logical to consider them a group.

The order of preparation of three of the drawings was first established by Eidelberg (1977, pp. 30-34; the study on the verso of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts sheet was unknown to him), who based his conclusions on the relative similarity of each drawing to the compositions of the two paintings that share the same theme, *Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71) and *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* (fig. D. 96-1). The British Museum sheet is least closely related to both paintings, with which it has only the curtain and the general subject in common; it must have come first. It is the most abstract and Gillotesque in presentation, but the animation of the figures and the complexity of both the poses and the grouping indicate that the drawing was certainly not a juvenile work. The Chanler drawing (cat. D. 101), which appears to be a variation on the British Museum composition, comes slightly closer to the Washington painting in the central placement of Pierrot, the choice of an architectural setting, and the quality of the poses given to the main figures. It is the only study in this group that was not executed solely in red chalk; the three figures at right were drawn also in graphite. Apparently Watteau began his drawing with the graphite, then made corrections in red chalk before completing the rest of the composition in the same medium. The technique recalls strongly Watteau's compositional study for *Pleasures of Love* of 1717-1718, which has an even more extensive graphite underdrawing (cat. D. 98). The supple, well rounded forms, the firm spatial structure, the well-balanced arrangement of the figures, and the masterful ease of execution of the Chanler study suggest that this drawing also could have been made at about that time. The Jacquemart-André page (cat. D. 102), showing only a detail of the larger group, has points in common with both *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* and the *Italian Comedians:* both Pierrot and Crispin are very close to the figures in the former, while the two long steps and Pierrot appear in the latter. The figure of Crispin is also similar to the one in the *French Comedians* (cat P. 70), traditionally thought to be the pendant of the Washington picture.

Through the nude sculpture, the pool, and the steps, the Jacquemart-André drawing is even more closely related to the Dresden *Gathering in the Open Air* (fig. D. 99-1), a painting that probably dates from c. 1718-1719. The soft chalk, the diffuse light, and the figural proportions point to about the same date for the drawing.

Finally, the slight sketch in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (fig. 2), which establishes the pose of Crispin as it is found in both the Jacquemart-André drawing and *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* and the pose of the guitarist in *Italian Comedians,* could fall anywhere in the sequence. Though it need not have been made at the same time as the soldier studies on its recto, it was probably made before the Chanler and Jacquemart-André sheets. The spirited posing of the figures, however, suggest that it might belong to 1715-1716.



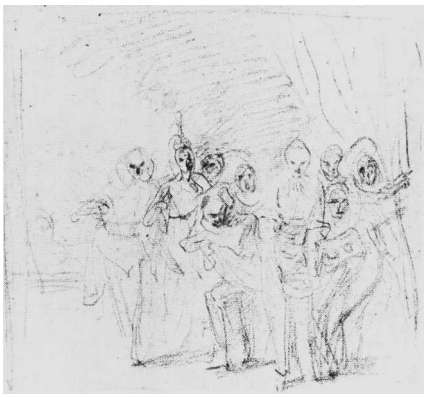


fig. 1. Watteau, *Italian Comedians Taking a Curtain Call,* British Museum, London.

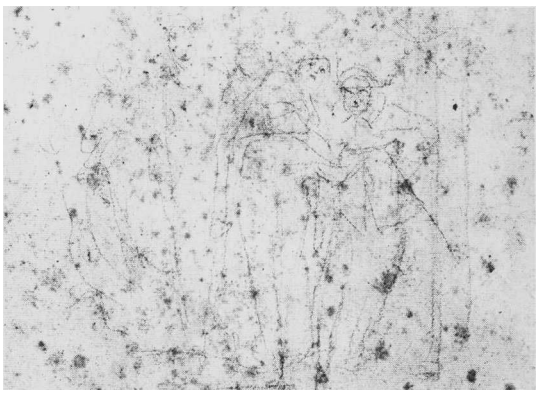


fig. 2. Watteau, *Five Actors,* École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

PROVENANCE

Marquis de Chennevières (1820-1899)(Lugt 2072; sale, Paris, 5-6 May 1898, no. 205); Marius Paulme (1863-1928)(Lugt 1910; sale, Paris, Gal. Petit, 13-14 May 1929, no. 260); Thomas Agnew and Sons, London; Irwin Laughlin, Washington (d. 1941); to his widow (d. 1958); to their daughter, Mrs. Gertrude Laughlin Chanler.

EXHIBITIONS

Washington 1982, no. 24.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PM 1957, no. 875; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 160-161; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 18-20; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 31-32, fig. 18; Exh. cat. London 1980-1981, under no. 42; P 1984, pp. 265, 291, n. 64.

## 102 Group of Comedians next to a Fountain

Red chalk
140 x 183 (5½ x 7³⁄₁₆)
Numbered in pen and brown ink in Crozat's hand at lower right, *3287c*
Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE
Pierre Crozat (1665-1740)(Lugt 2952; not in his sale, Paris 10 April -13 May 1741, unless under no. 1063); Roqueplan; Marquis de Chennevières (1820-1899)(Lugt 2072; sale, Paris, 5-6 May 1898, no. 197; Fr 1700); Mme. Edouard André, née Jacquemart (1841-1912); bequeathed by her with her entire collection to the Institut de France in 1912; Musée Jacquemart-André, 331.

EXHIBITIONS
Alençon 1862, no. 42.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 344; *L'Artiste* (1894), pp. 188-189; Mus. cat. Jacquemart-André [n.d.], no. 327 (1st, 2nd eds.), no. 331 (3rd-8th eds.); Delacre and Lavallée 1927, pl. 36b; Parker 1931, no. 59; AH 1950, p. 55, n. 29 and p. 57, n. 49; PM 1957, no. 873; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 160-161; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 31-33, fig. 19; Exh. cat. London 1980-1981, under no. 42; Exh. cat. Washington 1982, under no. 24; P 1984, pp. 265, 291, n. 64.



## 103 Two Studies of a Lady Seated on the Ground

Red chalk on beige paper, laid down
202 x 341 (8 x 13⁷⁄₁₆)
W Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

This sheet is one of the most vivid of Watteau's red chalk drawings, with the figures bathed in an unusually bright and sparkling light. The complex play of light and shade in the intricate drapery folds contrasts with the tender handling of the woman's face and the lifelike drawing of her hands, resulting in an unexpectedly broad range of color that rivals the rich visual effects of Watteau's two and three-chalk drawings.

The woman at left appears in the middleground of *The Scale of Love* (fig. 1); the woman at right resembles, in reverse, a figure in *The Embarrassing Proposal* (cat. P. 39). Both figures, with slight differences, are found in the background of *Pleasures of the Ball* (cat. P. 51). The dating of *The Scale of Love,* in which the left figure appears, has ranged between 1716 and 1719, while the dramatic lighting effects and vigorous chalk strokes are found in many of Watteau's works from between 1716 and 1718. Because the guitarist is repeated in *Gallant Recreation* (cat. P. 63) and the couple at right appears again in the foreground of the Chicago study for *The Pleasures of Love* (cat. D. 98), *The Scale of Love* must have been completed no earlier than 1717. However, none of the preparatory drawings for those two paintings quite



rivals the sheer elegance and virtuosity of the Amsterdam drawing, leading us to date the sheet c. 1717-1718.

PROVENANCE

William Mayor (d. 1874)(Lugt 2799; inscribed on the verso, *W.M. 1851*); Sir Francis Seymour Haden (1818-1910)(Lugt 1227; sale, London, 15-19 June 1891, no. 602); J. P. Heseltine (1843-1929)(Lugt 1507); P. D. Colnaghi, London, 1912; D. David-Weill; Dr. F. Mannheimer; ceded to the Dutch government in lieu of death duties, 1940; deposited in the Rijksmuseum by the Dienst voor's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen in 1953, 53:181.

EXHIBITIONS

Manchester 1857; London 1909-1910, no. 51; Rome-Milan 1959-1960, no. 62; Paris 1964, no. 48; Amsterdam 1974, no. 124.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mayor 1871, no. 317; Mayor 1875, no. 551; Heseltine 1900, no. 4; Guiraud 1913, no. 97; Henriot 1925, p. 10; Henriot 1928, pp. 505-506; R 1928, p. 52, no. 18; Dacier 1930, no. 49; PM 1957, no. 636; Brookner 1967, no. 18; Cormack 1970, no. 76; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, under no. 9; Roland-Michel 1983, p. 472.

fig. 1. Watteau, *The Scale of Love*, National Gallery, London.



PRINTS

Both figures were engraved by Dupuis (*Fddc* 120, 206). A counterproof of the figure at right is in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

## 104 The Violinist

Black and red chalks on beige paper
300 x 213 (11 13/16 x 8 3/8)
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Howard Sturgess

In such drawings as *The Violinist* one can almost see the model move and adjust his pose in response to the artist's demands. The small but important changes involve a shift in the position of the violin and the bow and an alteration in the tilt of the shoulders and head, but the change in effect is quite dramatic. The elegantly slender form of the upper figure, shown leaning slightly forward toward the viewer, was drawn first. He was then transformed into a proud, commanding figure by a change in the curve of the back and the



104

set of the chin, by a refinement of facial expression, and by the squaring of the shoulders. The sweep of the left arm across the body gives the form a breadth and fullness that seem to fill the page.

The lower figure was used, with a slight change in the tilt of the beret in *Prelude to a Concert* (cat. P. 48). Possibly the drawing was made specifically for that painting, for it represents a clear attempt to capture the nuances of a particular pose and shows the figure only half-length (as it will appear in the final painting). Moreover, the movement chosen for this figure complements the movement in the opposite direction of another violinist in the same painting. Since the Berlin painting, on the basis of its relationship to *The Charms of Life* (fig. D. 105-2; see also cat. P. 48), is generally dated to c. 1717-1718, a date with which we concur, the drawing would also date from that time. The practiced abstraction of the forms, the almost exaggerated twist to the poses, the rough yet expressive indications of the folds on the sleeves, the evocative combination of the finely detailed hands, and the rapidly worked form are all consistent with that date.

PROVENANCE

Jacques Doucet (sale, Paris, 5 June 1912, no. 64); purchased by Sir George Donaldson; Howard Sturgess, New York; given by him to the National Gallery in 1955, 1956.9.27.

EXHIBITIONS

Toronto 1972, no. 154; Washington 1974, p. 2; Washington 1978, pp. 78-79.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tourneux 1904, pp. 4, 20, 22; *S.R.D.M.*, II, 1910; Parker 1931, no. 38; Shoolman and Slatkin 1950, p. 52, pl. 30; PM 1957, no. 850 (pl. erroneously numbered 849); Exh. cat. Paris 1963, under no. 33.

## 105 Three Studies of a Seated Woman

Black chalk with touches of red chalk, graphite, and white chalk on beige paper
226 x 293 (8 15/16 x 11 9/16)
P Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

Watteau made relatively few drawings in which black chalk predominates, but as this sheet shows, it was not because he was any less skilled in its use than he was with sanguine. The effects of light are as bright, the forms as full-bodied, the tones as subtly manipulated, the draperies as rich, and the surfaces as sumptuous as those found in comparable red chalk drawings. Even if these studies may lack some of the warm vibrance that sanguine would naturally have given them, the sense of continuous movement running through the figures makes this one of Watteau's most appealing sheets of figure studies.

Graphite, which plays an important role in this and other Watteau drawings, appears relatively rarely in French drawings of Watteau's time. When it was used, more often than not it served as a light underdrawing that was later obscured by the finished drawing in other media. Watteau himself used it in that way in the compositional sketch for *Pleasures of Love* (cat. D. 98), though the graphite there remains a prominent part of the design. When Watteau chose to use it in his figure studies, however, he treated graphite as an integral part of his work, another means of adding color, tone, and texture. In a drawing such as this, in which the graphite provides a fourth color to the normal *trois crayons,* it is clear that Watteau never meant his pencil to act simply as a substitute for black chalk, but rather as a complement to it and to the other media. For the viewer accustomed to Watteau's strong blacks, the delicate gray tones of the graphite may seem comparatively dull. However, graphite does have the virtue of being more subtle in relation to reds and a lighter tone within the blacks; at the same time, its characteristic silvery sheen adds luster to drapery surfaces.

It is not clear what prompted Watteau to experiment with graphite in his drawings. His use of it does not seem to have been confined to one particular period or one clearly defined stage in his career, though it does occur in his work only from c. 1714 (*Eight Studies of Heads,* cat. D. 27). Here, the





fig. 1. Watteau, *Two Studies of a Woman,* British Museum, London.

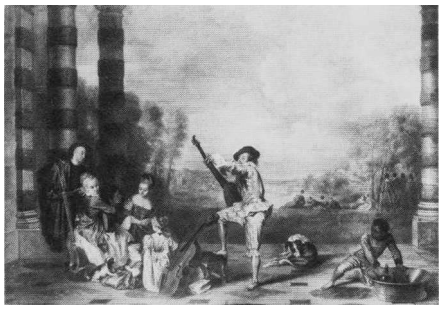


fig. 2. Watteau, *The Charms of Life,* Wallace Collection, London (CR 184).

model's striking resemblance to the one who posed for a study related to the Berlin *Embarkation* (fig. 1) and the similar technique used in drawing her, especially her face, point to a date of c. 1717-1718. In addition, the pose of the seated woman holding the music book, with the sharp movement backward and the lifted chin, recalls the attitudes of women in such paintings as *Country Amusements* (cat. P. 52) and *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55), both of which date from about that time. As a result, the three paintings to which this drawing is related—*The Charms of Life* (fig. 2) and *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* (fig. D. 96-1), through the figure at left, and *The Embarrassing Proposal* (cat. P. 39), through the figure in the middle—can all be dated after 1717. (For drawings relating to an earlier phase of *The Embarrassing Proposal,* see cats. D. 38, 54).

PROVENANCE

A.C.H. His de la Salle (1795-1878)(Lugt 1333); given by him to the Louvre (Lugt 1886) in 1877, RF 774.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1881, no. 295; Paris 1933, no. 600; Valenciennes 1934, no. 34; Paris 1935b, no. 177; Brussels 1936-1937, no. 47; Paris 1946, no. 292; USA 1955-1956, no. 57; Munich 1958, no. 353; Paris 1962, no. 93; Lausanne 1963, no. 110; Aarau 1963, no. 28; Paris 1964, no. 81; Paris 1967, no. 19; Paris 1977, no. 52.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

G 1875, nos. 488, 663; Both de Tauzia 1881, no. 295; Ephrussi 1882, pp. 488-489; Uzanne 1908, pl. xxxv; R 1928, p. 54, no. 43; Dacier 1930, no. 16; Parker 1931, no. 35; Lavallée 1939, no. 9; Bouchot-Saupique 1953, no. 10; PM 1957, no. 825; Brookner 1967, no. 30; Cormack, no. 77; Eckhardt 1975, under no. 14; P 1984, pp. 157, 285, n. 74, colorpl. 27.

PRINTS

The left figure was etched by B. Audran (*Fddc* 117); the other two were etched together by J. Audran (*Fddc* 284). The left figure was also engraved in the crayon manner by Demarteau (Leymarie 1896, no. 184).

## 106 A Kneeling Woman Holding Out Her Apron

Graphite with black chalk (in the lower right portion of the dress and apron) and touches of red chalk (in the face and arms) on beige paper
170 x 125 ($6^{11}/_{16}$ x $4^{15}/_{16}$)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes



A study for a figure in *Gathering in the Open Air* (fig. D. 99-1), this drawing matches the preceding sheet (cat. D. 105) in almost every respect. Drawn in the same combination of graphite and black and red chalks, this woman is sketched with a similar abbreviated quickness and her dress is drawn in an equally broad manner with the same abruptly angular folds. Even the model appears to be the same. Undoubtedly, the *Kneeling Woman* was made at about the same time as the Louvre sheet, dated here to 1717-1718. That would accord with the generally accepted dating of *Gathering in the Open Air.*

PROVENANCE
Auguste Meurice; given by him to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes, at an unknown date, 46.2.6.

EXHIBITIONS
Copenhagen 1935, no. 186; San Francisco 1949, no. 53; Valenciennes 1962, no. 9; Valenciennes 1972, no. 50.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Gonse 1904, p. 178; Parker 1931, no. 57; Lefrancq 1931, no. 587; PM 1957, no. 608.

## 107 Four Studies of Comedians

Red, black, and white chalks on brown paper
260 x 402 ($10^{1}/_{4}$ x $15^{13}/_{16}$)
The Art Institute of Chicago, Margaret Day Blake Collection

Through the kneeling Mezzetin, this study sheet is related to two paintings that have both been doubted by various scholars: *The Italian Troupe on Vacation* (fig. 1), in which the head and left hand were replaced by those studied at lower right on the same sheet; and *The Artist's Dream* (cat. P. 12), without changes.

*The Italian Troupe on Vacation* is a curious painting, known now only through the print by Philippe Mercier. Adhémar (1950, no. 225) rejected the attribution to Watteau altogether, giving it instead to Mercier, though there is no apparent reason to doubt the work. Camesasca (1970) and Roland-Michel (1982) accepted it as by Watteau and assigned a date of 1719-1720: since the painting was in London by 1723 when Mercier engraved it, Watteau could have made it during his visit there. The subject certainly relates it to the National Gallery's *Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71), which was made at that time. In fact, the standing Mezzetin in the Chicago drawing recalls the one in the Washington painting, while the study of the man wearing a mask has the same directness as Pierrot in that picture. Although the standing figure on the Chicago sheet was not used in any of Watteau's paintings, his pose, with arms akimbo and head slightly thrown back, is featured in a number of Watteau's paintings. All of those date from the last three or four years of his life, including *Gallant Recreation* (cat. P. 63), *The Champs-Elysées* (Wallace Collection; DV 133, CR 156), and *Gathering in the Open Air* (fig. D. 99-1).

*The Artist's Dream* is an even more curious work, incorporating almost the entire composition of *The Italian Troupe on Vacation*. The style of the painting corresponds to that of Watteau's early years, and yet the related drawings almost invariably date from his maturity, an important discrepancy that casts doubt on the authenticity of the painting.



fig. 1. Mercier after Watteau,
*The Italian Troupe on Vacation,* engraving (DV 309).



107

(See cat. P. 12 for a discussion of the problem.) If that painting is indeed a work of Watteau's youth, then he would have to have made new drawings for the later painting, *The Italian Troupe on Vacation.*

The Chicago drawing itself shows Watteau at the height of his powers. His well-honed skills are fully revealed in the studies of the satin-clad Mezzetin and in his use of *trois crayons* (with considerably more white than usual) and brown paper to create the actor's vivid costume. The dazzling surfaces and the figures' theatrical poses give the sheet an arresting panache that is rarely found even in Watteau's own oeuvre.

PROVENANCE
Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 341); Camille Groult; Margaret Day Blake; given by her to the Art Institute of Chicago, 1954.1.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris-Rotterdam-New York 1958-1959, no. 87; New York 1963, no. 2; Chicago 1976, no. 29; Paris 1976-1977, no. 2; Frankfurt 1977, no. 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 298, no. 659, p. 308, no. 715; Schniewind 1954, pp. 42-44; PM 1957, no. 674; Mathey 1960, p. 358; Mongan 1962, no. 692; *Apollo* (September 1970), p. 233, pl. 3.

PRINTS
The kneeling Mezzetin was etched anonymously (*Fddc* 333); Caylus etched the masked head (*Fddc* 280); J. Audran made a print of the standing Mezzetin, which was not included in the *Fddc,* but an impression of it was inserted into the copy in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris (bet. nos. 99-100).

## 108 Head of a Boy Wearing a Hat

Red chalk with black chalk on cream paper
188 x 137 (7 7/16 x 5 3/8)
Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris

Once he learned how to animate his figures, Watteau rarely posed his models in full profile since that presentation tended to be too rigid and static. In this case, however, as Burollet (1980) astutely pointed out, Watteau based his drawing on a closely similar sketch by Abraham Bloemaert that is now known, in reverse, through an etching by François Boucher (fig. 1; from his *Livre d'études d'après les desseins originaux de Blomart,* published in 1735). The similarity between Bloemaert's and Watteau's sketches might have been considered purely coincidental were it not for Burollet's discovery that the Watteau drawing originally included part of the boy's flute, just as it appears in the Bloemaert study. Not only does the illustration in Guiraud (1913) (fig. 2) show how the drawing looked before the flute was deliberately scratched out, but also the surface of the paper where the flute used to be is considerably rougher than the rest of the sheet.

Although the location of the Bloemaert drawing during Watteau's lifetime is unknown, Boucher probably owned it from the late 1720s or early 1730s, along with the rest of the group from which he made the *Livre d'études* (Slatkin 1976). Even though there is no evidence one way or the other, it is tempting to think that the Bloemaert drawings might have belonged to Watteau's friend Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766), who could then have given them to Boucher in gratitude and partial payment for his role in reproducing Watteau's drawings for the *Figures de différents caractères.*



108



fig. 2. Watteau, *Head of a Boy Wearing a Hat,* before the flute was scratched out (from Guiraud 1913, no. 79).



fig. 3. Rubens, *Nicholas Wearing a Hat,* Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.



fig. 1. Boucher after A. Bloemaert, plate 9 from the *Livre d'études d'après les dessins originaux de Blomart,* etching.

Although Watteau's study was evidently inspired by the Bloemaert sketch, it is also marked by the influence of Rubens whose drawings of his own children are similarly tender. The dreamy expression, the smoothly rounded cheeks, the simple charm of the childish features, and the air of innocence recall especially Rubens' exquisite drawing of his son, *Nicolas Wearing a Hat* (fig. 3; Staatliche Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna).

Although this boy was used in *The Dance* (cat. P. 72), datable to c. 1719-1720, the drawing's relationship with the Bloemaert sheet suggests that it was not made specifically for the painting. The handling, however, is almost identical to that of Watteau's study for the head of the little girl at left in the same painting (Private coll., Switzerland; PM 705). Presented in a similar profile view and drawn with a comparable technique, that study was surely made at about the same time as the Cognacq-Jay *Head of a Boy.* The quality of the light in the childrens' faces, the canny use of the stump, and the introverted mood suggest a date no earlier than 1717, and perhaps even as late as 1719 for both drawings.

PROVENANCE

Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830) (Lugt 2445); Samuel Woodburn (sale, London, Christie's, 16 June 1854 and 12 June 1860); S. Addington; J. P. Heseltine (1843-1929) (Lugt 1507); P. D. Colnaghi, London, 1912; Ernest Cognacq; bequeathed by him to the city of Paris in 1928; Musée Cognacq-Jay, 187.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1928; Vienna 1950, no. 58.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Heseltine 1900, no. 30; Guiraud 1913, no. 79; R 1928, no. 33, p. 53; Ricci 1929, no. 187; Jonas 1930, no. 187; Parker 1931, no. 85; AH 1950, under no. 208; PM 1957, no. 710; Exh. cat. Paris 1963, under no. 38; Burollet 1968, p. 38; Exh. cat. London 1968, under no. 725; Cormack 1970, no. 831; Burollet 1980, no. 182; P 1984, p. 289, n. 37.

# 109 Portraits of the Two Daughters of Pierre Sirois

Red and black chalks with stumping on white paper
188 x 123 (7⅜ x 4⅞)
The Trustees of the British Museum, London

According to Pierre-Jean Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [7]), Watteau's *In the Guise of Mezzetin* (fig. 1), in which both these women appear, is a portrait of Pierre Sirois (1665-1726) and his family disguised as Italian comedians. Since a study for the head of the Mezzetin at center (fig. 2; location unknown) is inscribed in Watteau's hand, *Syroie*, Mariette's notation appears to be trustworthy (but see cat. D. 80 concerning the identification of one of the young men). The two young women portrayed on the British Museum drawing would therefore be two of Sirois' four daughters. However, since three of them were born between 1692 and 1697, there is some question as to which two these are. Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, pp. 38-39), who attempted to assign names to each of the children in the painting, identified the woman at upper left (at top in the British Museum drawing) as Marie-Anne-Elisabeth, Sirois' third daughter, born in 1697. (She might have posed also for cat. D. 25, also in the British Museum.) The woman at lower right, according to them, was Anne-Elisabeth, born in 1692, the eldest and the only child of Sirois' first marriage. However, she could just as easily have been the second daughter, Marie-Louise, born in 1695, who married Edme-François Gersaint in 1718. It was she who may have posed for the shop attendant at right in *Gersaint's Shopsign* and for a sheet of four head studies in Stockholm (cat. D. 125).

This sheet belongs to a group of drawings, some of which are quite securely datable to the last two years of Watteau's life (see cats. 122, 129), that all share the same delicately stumped, translucent shadows and the same combination of opaque brick reds and sooty blacks. All of these studies show a shift to tonal modeling and a quieter, more personal presentation that is very different from the exuberant drawings of 1716-1717, especially the sheets of head studies (cats. D. 77, 80, 83). Although *In the Guise of Mezzetin* has been dated as early as 1712-1715 by Adhémar, it was probably made, as Hérold and Vuaflart suggested (DV, I, p. 39) c. 1718-1719, the approximate time of Watteau's last stay with Sirois and his family.

PROVENANCE
E. V. Utterson (1775/1776-1856) (sale, London, Christie's, 24-27 February 1857); Sir J. C. Robinson (1824-1913); sold with a large part of Robinson's collection in c. 1860 to John Malcolm (1805-1893); bequeathed to his son, J. W. Malcolm; purchased from him by the British Museum in 1895 (Lugt 1780), 1895-9-15-942.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1980-1981, no. 24.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Robinson 1876, no. 490; Lafenestre 1907, pl. 21; Uzanne 1908, pl. vii; Parker 1930, no. 22; Parker 1931, p. 22; Mathey 1939, p. 57 (dated to 1718); AH 1950, under no. 92; PM 1957, no. 925; Cormack 1970, no. 102.



fig. 1. Watteau, *In the Guise of Mezzetin*, Wallace Collection, London (CR 181).



fig. 2. Watteau, *Portrait of Sirois*, location unknown (PM 931).



## 110 Head of a Man

Red and black chalks with stumping on cream paper with a watermark of a lion rampant
149 x 130 (5⅞ x 5⅛)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1937

The unusual position of the man's head, twisted to one side, tilted back and seen from below in a curiously unbalanced, diagonal composition, makes this study one of Watteau's most disturbing yet memorable images. That is due partly to the uplifted gaze, recalling the expression commonly given to adoring saints by religious painters. The spiritual aura is muted in *Mezzetin,* the painting for which it was made (also in the Metropolitan Museum; cat. P. 49), yet even there the guitar-playing actor whose serenade falls on deaf ears may well be considered a worshiper of sorts.



It is clear in the drawing, from the slight indications of the large beret sketched around the head, that Watteau had Mezzetin already in mind when he made this drawing. Probably he had worked out the main theme and general outline of the painted composition earlier, and made this drawing only when he found that he needed to perfect the pose of the head before he could proceed. Though unfinished, the Metropolitan Museum drawing seems less a casual sketch than a true preparatory study made for a specific purpose.

Wehle (1935) proposed that the figure of Mezzetin in the New York painting was actually a portrait of the actor Luigi Riccoboni, who was famous for playing the Mezzetin role in the Italian Comedy. That identification is no longer accepted, however (see cat. P. 49). Parker and Mathey suggested instead that the model for the Metropolitan Museum head study might have posed also for some of the nude studies for the Crozat Seasons (especially cat. D. 64) and for the *Head of a Satyr* (PM 510; Private coll., Paris). Although the features—especially the aquiline nose, high cheekbones, and curling lips—of those figures are similar, the identification is not convincing.

The painting has been dated almost unanimously to 1718-1720 (but see cat. P. 49, and Mathey [1959], who placed it too early, in 1715), which is consistent with the superb rendering of both surface and form in the drawing and to the unerring description of the features in sharp perspective. The same combination of sooty black chalk, smudged here and there to create light-filled shadows, and opaque orange-red accents is found in other late drawings by Watteau, particularly in his portrait of Sirois' daughters (cat. D. 109) and in several of his studies of nudes (for example, cat. D. 116).

PROVENANCE
Jules Niel (d. 1873) (Lugt 1944); his daughter, Miss Niel; Marquis de Biron (sale, 19 June 1914, no. 63); purchased by Wildenstein for the Marquis; purchased from the Marquis with 108 other drawings by the Metropolitan Museum in 1937, 37.165.107.

EXHIBITIONS
New York 1952-1953, no. 62; New York 1970, no. 310; New York 1972, no. 46.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Wehle 1935, pp. 12-18; Allen 1938, pp. 77-78; Williams 1939, pp. 48, 51, 55, pl. p. 50; Tietze 1947, no. 64; Huyghe 1951, p. 141, no. 3; PM 1957, no. 726; M 1959, p. 36, pl. 77; Reff 1977, fig. 32; P 1984, pp. 208, 288, n. 16.

## 111 A Lute Player

Red and white chalks on beige paper
242 x 165 (9⁹⁄₁₆ x 6½)
Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Sterling Morton

The model's hawk nose, double chin, and heavy oval face, familiar to us from a number of Watteau's drawings and paintings, identify him as Watteau's friend Nicolas Vleughels (1668-1734). (See The Friends of Watteau and cat. D. 112.) Here he is shown in exactly the same pose as the woman in *Finette* (cat. P. 58), which was based on a study on a sheet in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris (fig. D. 36-1). The turn of

Vleughels' head, the angle of the archlute, and the position of his hand on the instrument correspond exactly, raising the question of which came first. *Finette* and its pendant, *The Indifferent* (cat. P. 59), both appear to date from 1716-1717, but the lightly massed, translucent shadows in the Santa Barbara drawing, combined with the restrained use of accents and the generalized handling of both form and line, indicate a later date. In fact, the loose contours and incomplete forms correspond only to drawings from the very end of Watteau's career, most notably *Two Men Packing a Case* in the Musée Cognacq-Jay (cat. D. 126). Though the drawing cannot be dated with great precision, it appears that it must come from the last three or four years of Watteau's life.

PROVENANCE
Richard Owen, London (sale, Paris, Drouot, 23 April 1937, no. 101); Charles Slatkin, New York, by 1959; Mrs. Sterling Morton; given by her to the Santa Barbara Museum, 1964.9.

EXHIBITIONS
New York 1959, no. 26.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 844; Leavitt 1964, p. 28; Kuchta 1970, no. 54; Moir [1976], p. 88; P 1984, p. 289, n. 25.



111

## 112 Portrait of Nicolas Vleughels Standing

verso: Landscape with a Church Tower
Red chalk and graphite on white paper, with a watermark, FONTAINE, preceded by a heart, enclosed by a line; verso, red chalk
291 x 180 (11½ x 7⅛)
Graphische Sammlung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt-am-Main
W, P

The model for this portrait has traditionally been identified as Watteau's friend and fellow artist Nicolas Vleughels (1668-1737). In fact, according to Parker and Mathey the sheet bears a faint inscription (no longer visible) naming Vleughels as the model. The identification of the Frankfurt man seems to be borne out by another of Watteau's portrait studies (fig. 1), etched by L. Cars (*Fddc* 128) and identified as Vleughels by an inscription on the impression in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, "Portrait of Nicolas Vleughels, painter of the Academy," and by a comparison with a portrait of Vleughels by Antoine Pesne (see Vleughels in The Friends of Watteau), both of which show the same long, bony nose, fleshy jawline, and deeply cleft chin.

If this is indeed Vleughels, then there is some question whether he also posed for the cellist in *Country Concert* (fig. D. 81-2), as Parker and Mathey have suggested. Although the resemblance of that man to Vleughels is very strong, Mariette identified him as the painting's first owner, M. Bougi (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 192 [33]). The resemblance may simply be coincidental.

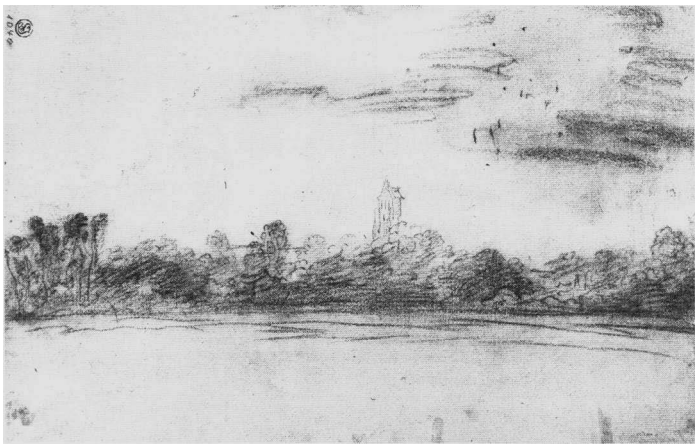
Details of Watteau's friendship with Vleughels are very scanty. They may have met soon after Watteau first arrived in Paris, c. 1702, but Vleughels was already in Italy in 1703 and did not return to Paris until about 1715 (see Hercenberg 1975, pp. 35-36). It is known that Vleughels, who was received as a member of the Academy in 1716, attended Watteau's reception on 28 August 1717. Then, in 1719, they were both recorded in the *Almanach Royal* as living at the same address, "on the Fossez S. Victor, at M le Brun's." On 20 September of that same year, Vleughels wrote to Rosalba Carriera in Venice on Watteau's behalf, explaining, "he is my friend; we live together."

Although this documentary evidence offers no substantive help in dating Watteau's portraits of Vleughels, it is



112

112 verso



generally assumed that they were made c. 1718-1719, when the two artists definitely were living together. That is the date generally assigned to *The Charms of Life* (fig. D. 105-2), for which this drawing served as a study. The style of the Frankfurt sheet appears to support that assumption. It is a gentle portrait with a particularly delicate combination of sanguine and graphite. Contours and modeling are set with softened strokes, soaked with atmosphere; subdued light seems to dissolve hard edges; few sharp accents jar the quietness of the image. Vleughels' large form, so evident in *Venetian Fêtes* (fig. D. 85-1), is here less massive, its apparent lack of substance matching somewhat the withdrawn pensiveness of his expression. The introspective mood and muted presentation place this drawing after the *Pilgrimage* of 1717 (cat. P. 61), to the period before Watteau's departure for England in the early fall of 1719.

The landscape on the verso is equally evocative and certainly belongs to about the same time as the portrait. Presenting one of Watteau's simplest, most magical views, it is drawn with a few deft strokes that are imbued with the same qualities of light and atmosphere as the portrait study on the



fig. 1. Watteau, *Face of Vleughels,* detail, Musée Condé, Chantilly.

recto. Almost the entire landscape is confined to a small band stretching across the middle of an otherwise empty page, yet it is more suggestive than any of Watteau's more complete landscapes. Like the plant studies of a few years earlier (cats. D. 16, 22), this view was obviously drawn from nature, but whereas in his younger efforts Watteau maintained a certain distance and detachment from nature, here he has imprinted it with a very personal feeding. There is as great a sense of emotion and psychological involvement in the landscape as there is in the portrait of Vleughels on the recto.

PROVENANCE

Since the first half of the nineteenth century in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, 1040.

EXHIBITIONS

Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Handzeichnungen alter Meister im Städelschen Kunstinstitut,* 1908-1916, II, no. 4; DV, I, p. 81; Parker 1931, no. 33; PM 1957, nos. 917 (recto), 470 (verso); Cormack 1970, no. 100; Eckhardt 1975, under no. 14; Posner 1977, p. 84; P 1984, pp. 206, 239, 289, n. 42, fig. 165.

# 113 Portrait of Antoine de La Roque

Red chalk on beige paper
224 x 165 (8⅞ x 6½)
The Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

The crutches allow this man to be identified as Antoine de La Roque (1672-1744), one of Watteau's friends and patrons and a leading *amateur,* who lost a leg at the battle of Malplaquet in 1709 (see The Friends of Watteau). Watteau made another portrait of La Roque, known through the engraving by Lépicié (fig. 1), in which the sitter is identified in the caption. (In both the print and the photograph published by Mathey, the allegorical figures in the background of the painting seem to be the work of Nicholas Lancret (1690-1743), who is known to have copied and imitated Watteau. No evidence of any actual collaboration between them has yet been found.) Although Watteau could have met La Roque as early as 1709 when they were both in Valenciennes—La Roque was recuperating from his wound and Watteau was visiting his family—the severity of La Roque's injury makes an encounter at that time highly unlikely. It is far more plausible to think that they met through their mutual friend Pierre Crozat (1665-1740), perhaps around 1714. In any case, the Fitzwilliam Museum drawing dates from well after that time, belonging to a period toward the end of Watteau's career.

The main details of La Roque's life are known through the biography written by Edme-François Gersaint (1694-1750) as an introduction to the sale of La Roque's collection in 1745 (Gersaint 1745, pp. i-xx). In the sale there were three paintings (including cats. P. 15, 16), a total of forty-two drawings sold in five separate lots, and three volumes of the *Recueil Jullienne* containing etchings and engravings after Watteau's paintings and drawings. In his biography, Gersaint included a brief description of La Roque's character: "The probity, the gentle manners, the candor, the sincerity that formed his character and which were so naturally painted on his countenance attracted to him the esteem and veneration of all those who came into contact with him" (p. vi). Further on he stated that La Roque had "an open and agreeable physiognomy, gentle and charming manners, amusing and witty conservation. . . ." His expression in Watteau's portrait is somewhat more serious than one would expect from Gersaint's description, but the eyes are kind and seem to convey the sympathy of one chronic invalid for a fellow sufferer.

The restrained execution, the subdued mood, the gentle modeling and shading, and the deep sense of empathy mark this as a work from Watteau's last two or three years.



fig. 1. Lépicié after Watteau,
*Portrait of La Roque,* engraving (DV 269).



PROVENANCE
C. Ricketts (1866-1931) and C. Shannon (1863-1937); bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Shannon in 1937, 2266.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1953, no. 409; London 1959, no. 69; London 1968, no. 778; Paris-Lille-Strasbourg 1976, no. 98; New York, et al., 1976-1977, no. 122; Cambridge 1979, no. 205.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
DV, III, no. 269; Parker 1930, p. 11, pl. 8; Parker 1931, p. 47, no. 74; AH 1950, under no. 148; PM 1957, no. 912; Winter 1958, p. 304, no. 74; M 1959, p. 48; Cormack 1970, no. 98; Eckhardt 1975, no. 6.

## 114 Lady Reclining on a Chaise Longue

Red and black chalks with stumping on cream paper with a watermark of an escutcheon with letters A and D on either side, enclosed within an oval and surmounted by a fleur-de-lis
214 x 311 (8⅞ x 12¼)
Inscribed in graphite at lower left, *Watteau*
W Fondation Custodia Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris

Although the model is fully clothed, this drawing belongs to a series of studies of the same woman in various stages of undress, sitting or reclining on a chaise longue. Another drawing in the British Museum (fig. D. 115-1) belongs to the group, as does one in a private collection in Paris (fig. 1), and one formerly in the Norton Simon collection (PM 528); a fifth study (PM 525) was in the collection of Florence Gould. Also loosely connected are the Lille *Nude Woman Crouching* (cat. D. 116), the Louvre *Nude Woman with Her Right Arm Raised* (cat. D. 115), and the *Seated Young Woman Wearing a Chemise* (cat. D. 68), a drawing that we have dated to about the same time as the studies of nudes for the Crozat Seasons (cats. D. 60, 62-64). The series culminated in a study of a nude woman taking off (or putting on) her chemise (fig. 2), which in turn inspired the painting of the same subject, *Lady at Her Toilette* (Wallace Collection, London; CR 175).

Although it has been suggested that these drawings could have been made during a single modeling session, recording the model's progression from the clothed to the nude state (Posner 1973, p. 54, repeated in 1984, p. 99), the complexity of each sheet, the differences in the style and mood of some of the drawings, and some slight changes in the media (such as the use of graphite in fig. 1) indicate that they were actually made over a period of time. The series would have started c. 1716 with the Thaw drawing (see cat. D. 68) and would have ended in about 1719 with the *Lady at Her Toilette*. The drawings can in fact be divided in groups: the Thaw drawing, with the chemise slipping off the model's shoulder and a comparable handling of the chalks, is quite similar to PM 525 and fig. 1. In the *Nude Woman with Her Right Arm Raised* (cat. D. 115), on the other hand, the woman's drapery is tucked under her breasts and arms with the shoulders left uncovered, just as it is in PM 528 and 526 (fig. D. 115-1); these three studies were drawn with a softer, more





fig. 1. Watteau, *Woman Reclining on a Chaise Longue,* Private collection (PM 524).



fig. 2. Watteau, *Nude Woman Seated on a Chaise Longue,* British Museum.

polished handling than the first trio. Even if Watteau made these rather titillating studies at the instigation of the Comte de Caylus (Posner 1984, p. 102) and in the rooms belonging to Caylus in various parts of Paris where he and Watteau and their friend Nicolas Hénin "posed the model" (Champion 1921, p. 94), the drawings could have been made over a considerable period. In any case, no matter when or where the rest of the studies were made, the Lugt *Lady Reclining,* with its delicate use of the stump, vaporous atmosphere, gently glowing light, and informal intimacy would be one of the later drawings, c. 1718-1719 (compare cats. D. 122, 129).

PROVENANCE

Richard Bull (Lugt 314; part of an album formed by him to illustrate Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes on Painting*); sale, London, Sotheby's, 1 May 1880 (the entire album); Donaldson (sale, 23 May 1881, no. 14, the album divided); A. W. Thibaudeau (sale, London, Sotheby's, 9-13 December 1889); J. P. Heseltine (1843-1929); J. Klener; Frits Lugt (1884-1970) (Lugt 1028); Fondation Custodia Lugt, Paris, I 2311.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1909-1910, no. 44; Amsterdam 1926, no. 201; Amsterdam 1935, no. 29; London 1952, no. 172; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 47; Paris 1968, no. 42; Amsterdam 1974, no. 129.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Heseltine 1900, no. 27; Guiraud 1913, no. 82; R 1928, no. 20; Parker 1931, no. 80; Hennus 1950, p. 34; Bouchot-Saupique 1953, no. 7; PM 1957, no. 607; Posner 1973, pp. 54-55; Eckhardt 1975, under no. 18; P 1984, p. 283, n. 50.

## 115 Nude Woman with Her Arm Raised

Red and black chalks on buff paper
282 x 233 (11⅛ x 9³⁄₁₆)
P Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

One of Watteau's most exquisite images, this nude study has an eloquence of pose and sensitivity of execution that are rarely equaled elsewhere in his oeuvre. It is also Watteau's most moving rendering of the female nude, more restrained than the exuberant studies connected with the Crozat Seasons (cats. D. 60, 63) and more mysterious than many of the studies of a nude woman on a chaise longue (fig. 1; see cat. D. 114). That the drawing should be considered part of the latter group, however, is proved by a counterproof in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum (fig. 2), which shows that the Louvre figure was originally accompanied by another sketch: a half-length study of a seated woman wearing a chemise slipping off one shoulder, comparable to such studies as PM 525 and 524 (fig. D. 114-1). Indeed, the smooth, tonal modeling that gives the flesh of the Louvre figure its supple freshness and the subdued light that seems to emanate from the figure are characteristic of some of the drawings from that series (see fig. 1; PM 528). The fringed drapery around the woman's waist could even be the same as the one worn by the lady in the Institut Néerlandais drawing (cat. D. 114).

The Louvre figure differs from the studies in the chaise group in two important ways: first, it is only a partial figure study; second, it focuses entirely on the nude, clearly silhouetting the graceful, arabesque-like curves and contours of her form against the blank page. Nothing detracts from the poignant gesture of the right arm and hand. An even more important difference is found in the psychological presentation of the figure. The chaise nudes are shown in casual, inviting attitudes. The most extreme example of this is embodied in the British Museum nude who looks straight out at the spectator with a welcoming expression (fig. D. 114-2). By contrast, the upraised arm of the Louvre figure acts as a barrier that hides her face and sets her at a distance, both physically and mentally, from her audience. Ironically, though, the

fig. 1. Watteau, *Nude Woman Seated on a Chaise Longue,* British Museum.

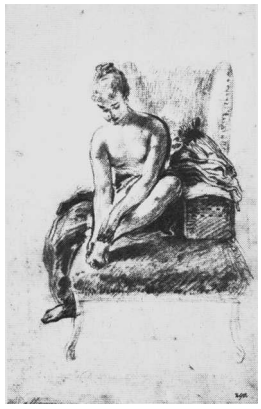


fig. 2. Counterproof of *Nude Woman* Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.





115

movement that conceals the woman's face also leaves her body completely exposed, resulting in an image that is both chaste and erotic. The calm realism of the Louvre drawing, combined with the delicacy of execution, places it in the same period as most of the studies of the nude on a chaise longue, c. 1718-1719.

Close examination of the Louvre sheet reveals that, as the Cologne counterproof indicates, there were originally two studies on the page. The second study was obliterated at some unknown date. Since the second sketch in no way measured up to the magical brilliance of the nude study, it is not surprising that some previous owner decided to eliminate it. Instead of trimming or dividing the sheet, however, which other owners did to a large number of Watteau's drawings (see cat. D. 36, for example), that person chose to erase the offending study altogether, thereby preserving and improving the graceful *mise-en-page* of the nude study.

PROVENANCE
Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772) (Lugt 1285; sale, Amsterdam, 14 September 1761?); seized during the French Revolution; Louvre (Lugt 1886), 33,361.

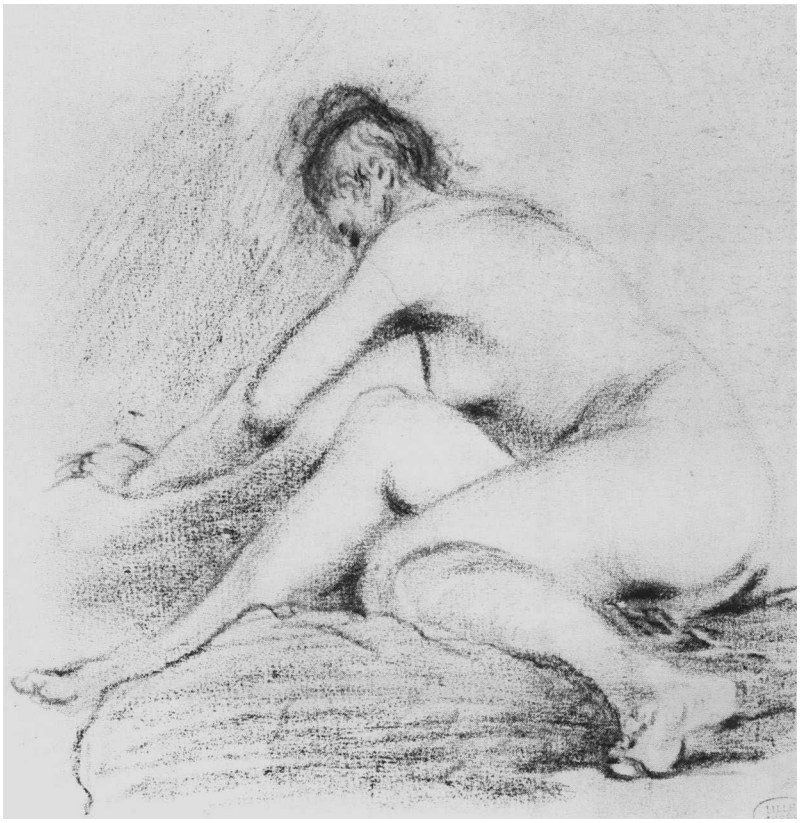
EXHIBITIONS
London 1932, no. 737 (commem. cat. no. 779, pl. CLXVI); Copenhagen 1935, no. 533; Paris 1935, no. 302; Brussels 1936-1937, no. 45; Paris 1937, no. 593; Paris 1946, no. 290; Berne 1948, no. 39; Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris 1949-1950, no. 64; Paris 1954, no. 44.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Morel d'Arleux, VIII, no. 11,128; Reiset 1869, no. 1339; G 1875, p. 342; Chennevières 1882-1883, no. 21; Rosenberg 1896, p. 100, fig. 86; Lafenestre 1907, no. 29; Uzanne 1908, pl. xxxiii; R 1928, no. 16; Dacier 1930, no. 2; Parker 1931, no. 84; Lavallée 1939, no. 13; Bouchot-Saupique 1950, pl. 15; Boucher and Jaccottet 1952, no. 12; Bouchot-Saupique 1953, cover; PM 1957, no. 522; Sachs 1961, pp. 86-88; Bacou 1970, p. 81, pl. IV; Posner 1973, p. 25.

## 116 Crouching Nude Woman

Red and black chalks heightened with white chalk, with some stumping on beige paper (the blacks have been partially retouched by another hand)
232 x 230 (9⅛ x 9⅛)
B Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille

The Goncourts (1875, p. 365) commented about the Lille sheet that "this clumsy drawing would seem to be doubtful were it not for the existence of similar ones bearing the marks of the purest eighteenth-century collections." Indeed, both the thick orange accents and the smudged blacks are found in several Watteau drawings, including some of the studies of a nude woman reclining or sitting on a chaise longue (figs. D. 114-2, 115-1); the Armand Hammer *Seated Woman Looking Down* (cat. D. 129); and the Rotterdam *Two Studies of a Little Boy's Head* (cat. D. 122). Though by no means as pristine or controlled in execution as those others, the Lille figure has the same airy translucency in the shadows, the same soft-



ened contours, and the same sense of light emanating from the figure. Apart from the somewhat withered left arm (which might have suffered from later retouching), the woman's anatomy is accurately observed and the complicated pose easily expressed.

The Lille figure does not appear in any known Watteau painting, but its execution and casual presentation indicate that it must have been made at least a couple of years after the great *trois crayons* nude studies of 1715-1716 for the Crozat Seasons (see cats. D. 60, 62-64). Through its relationship with the series of studies of a nude on a chaise longue (see cat. D. 114), it can be dated to the last two or three years of Watteau's life. That date is supported by the similarity of pose between the Lille *Crouching Nude* and the fountain nymph in the study for *The Italian Comedians* in the Musée Jacquemart-André (cat. D. 102). Another generously proportioned nude is found on a drawing in the British Museum dating from c. 1720-1721 (fig. D. 128-1).

PROVENANCE
Baron de Schwiter (1805-1889) (Lugt 1768; sale, Paris, 20-21 April 1883, no. 166); purchased by the Musée Wicar (now the Musée des Beaux-Arts) in 1883, Pl. 1707.

EXHIBITIONS
Valenciennes 1962, no. 7; Berlin 1964, no. 79; Paris 1968, no. 46; Great Britain 1974, no. 94.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 365; Pluchart 1887, no. 1972; Pluchart 1889, no. 1707; Nicolle 1921, p. 132; PM 1957, no. 519; Brookner 1967, no. 36.

## 117 Woman Wearing a Black Mantle

Black and red chalks with some stumping
197 x 179 (7¾ x 7 1/16)
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute,
W Williamstown, Massachusetts

Watteau made at least four other drawings of women wearing similar black mantles (figs. 1, 2; PM 616, Fodor Museum, Amsterdam; PM 617, Rijksmuseum), but none of those are as elaborate or as moving as the Clark Art Institute drawing. Dwarfed and partially obscured by the oversized drapery, the woman looks out at the spectator with calm reserve. The contemplative mood, typical of many of Watteau's later drawings, indicates that this study was probably made during the last two or three years of his life; several aspects of the execution also link it to that period. The patch of light falling across the woman's face, for example, recalls a similar feature in the Armand Hammer *Woman Reading* (cat. D. 129) and the Rotterdam *Two Studies of the Head of a Boy* (cat. D. 122), both of which also have the same kind of translucent treatment of the shadows that cover the rest of the face. In addition, the lady's hands are close to those in the *Three Studies of Hands* in the British Museum (cat. D. 120), espe-



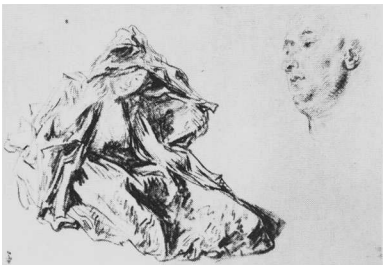


fig. 1. Watteau, *Woman Wearing a Black Mantle,* Musée Condé, Chantilly.

fig. 2. Watteau, *Three Studies of a Woman,* Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.



fig. 3. Boucher after Watteau, *Woman Wearing a Black Mantle,* etching



cially in the wide spacing of the curved modeling lines; and the abstraction of the drapery has some analogies with the handling of the cape in the *Standing Actor Spreading His Cape* in Minneapolis (cat. D. 121). Both of those drawings and the Rotterdam sheet are related to *The Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71) of 1719-1720. On that basis, we would date the Clark Art Institute *Woman Wearing a Black Mantle* to c. 1719. The Chantilly drawing (fig. 1), which bears another study of a similarly cloaked woman (possibly even the same model) who appears in *Gathering in the Open Air* (fig. D. 99-1), has a portrait sketch of Watteau's friend Vleughels that would also belong to about that same time, 1718-1719 (see cat. D. 112).

Goncourt's comment (1875) that this drawing has been "freshened and touched up like most of the Watteaus that belonged to the English dealer Mayor and like many of the sheets that passed through the hands of Baroilhet" does not appear to be entirely accurate. As Haverkamp-Begemann has pointed out (1964, no. 52), although the eyes may have been strengthened slightly, the etching by Boucher of about 1728 (fig. 3) shows that the appearance of the drawing has not been substantially changed.

PROVENANCE
William Mayor (d. 1874); Baroilhet (both according to G 1875); J. P. Heseltine (1843-1929); P.&D. Colnaghi, London; purchased by R. S. Clark, 1919; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1931.

EXHIBITIONS
Williamstown 1965, no. 52; New York 1967, no. 78.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 292, no. 630; Mantz 1892, no. 76 (repeats G 1875); Heseltine 1917, no. 38; PM 1957, no. 618; Haverkamp-Begemann, Lawder, and Talbot 1964, no. 52.

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 252).

## 118 Child Seated in a Chair

Two kinds of black chalk, with red and white chalks on cream paper
177 x 122 (7 x 4 13/16)
P Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



The great majority of Watteau's drawings of children are light, casual studies of the offspring of his friends. The Amsterdam *Child Seated in a Chair,* however, is a much more formal and complete drawing that has all the earmarks of a portrait. Few of Watteau's studies of children are as piercing as this one, nor do his young sitters usually seem quite so adult.

While Watteau occasionally used two different colors of red chalk in his drawings, particularly when he added a study to a partially filled study sheet (for example, cats. D. 25, 30) or when he wanted to achieve more varied color effects (cat. D. 81), in this drawing one finds two distinctly different blacks. One has a soft, sooty quality that allows the white of the paper to show through each stroke; the other is a slightly greasier one that gives more opaque accents and shadings. Either Watteau returned to the drawing to strengthen some of the blacks after a period of time had elapsed, or he deliberately chose to unite the two chalks because they offered a wider range of textural and surface effects. The coherence of the image and the complete integration of the greasier chalk into the drawing suggest that the latter case was true.

Watteau's sympathetic but realistic representation of his subject places this sheet squarely in the last part of his career. Though dated most recently to 1715-1716 (Roland-Michel 1983), it seems to have more in common with the quiet intensity of the *Portrait of Antoine de La Roque* (cat. D. 113) and the accurate observation of such studies as the *Portraits of the Two Daughters of Sirois* (cat. D. 109) and the *Three Portraits of Musicians* (cat. D. 127). In addition, the spare modeling of the child's dress has equivalents not only in the last

sheet, but also in the portrait of *Rosalba Carriera at Her Toilette* of 1720-1721 (cat. D. 128).

Although this figure was not used by Watteau in any of his paintings, children with similar features can be found in *Happy Age, Golden Age* (cat. P. 50; dated by Rosenberg to c. 1716, but more likely a late work from c. 1719-1720). In fact, the Amsterdam figure, which has always been identified as a little girl, bears a striking resemblance to the little boy dressed as Pierrot at center. That is not to say that the Amsterdam *Child* must certainly also be a boy, but in Watteau's time most European boys under the age of five wore dresses, and in portraits it was therefore often difficult to distinguish a child's sex unless toys were included that identified the child as a boy or a girl. If that is the case, then another child wearing a dress in the Fort Worth painting, the one standing at right in an entirely unfeminine pose and holding Harlequin's bat or "slap-stick," may also be a boy.

PROVENANCE
Miss James (sale, London, Christie's, 22-23 June 1891, no. 288); J. P. Heseltine (1843-1929) (Lugt 1507); P.&D. Colnaghi, London, 1912; D. David-Weill; Dr. F. Mannheimer; ceded to the Dutch government in lieu of death duties, 1940; placed on deposit in the Rijksmuseum, 1953, 53:185.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1909-1910, no. 57; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 55; London 1968, no. 763; Amsterdam 1974, no. 128.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 352, no. 19; Heseltine 1900, no. 15; Guiraud 1913, no. 75; Henriot 1928, III, no. 513; Dacier 1930, no. 46; Parker 1931, no. 94; *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* (1953), p. 63; PM 1957, no. 698; Cormack 1970, no. 79; Roland-Michel 1983, p. 471 (dated 1715-1716).

## 119 Bearded Persian, Standing

Red and black chalks with touches of white on gray-brown paper
321 x 180 (12⅝ x 7⅛)
Inscribed in pen and black ink at lower left, *A. Watteaux*
Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin



Although this man is often called a Persian, in both dress and presentation he is quite different from the group of Persians discussed earlier (cats. D. 45-49). Moreover, in contrast to Watteau's boldly powerful strokes in those portraits of 1715, the lines here are softer and more delicate, giving different surface effects and a more drifting sense of atmosphere. The subdued light, the harmonious combining of the chalks, the man's expression of pensive withdrawal, and the restrained mood indicate that this drawing was made toward the end of Watteau's career.

The man who posed for this drawing might have been an actor or a friend dressed up in an exotic costume, but the sober expression and respectful presentation suggest instead that he may actually have been a foreign visitor to Paris, though probably not a member of the Turkish embassy that arrived in Paris in March, 1721 (see Chronology). At about that time Watteau moved to Nogent-sur-Marne; thus he may never have met any of the Turkish visitors, let alone made portraits of them.

PROVENANCE
J. P. Tassaert (1729-1788)(Lugt 2388); L. Knaus (1829-1910)(Lugt 1576; sale, Berlin, Lepke, 30 October 1917, no. 47); Anonymous Dutch collector (sale, Paris, 23 May 1930, no. 87); De Vries, Amsterdam, 1930; Dr. Hans Wendland (sale, Geneva, 1934, no. 67); L. Burchard, London; purchased from a London dealer by the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, 1969, KdZ 26262.

EXHIBITIONS
Amsterdam 1935, no. 18; Berlin 1973, no. 164.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Mellaart 1931, pp. 24, 84, fig. p. 23; PM 1957, no. 792.

PRINTS
Etched by François Boucher (*Fddc* 73).

# 120 Three Studies of Hands

Verso: Man Lifting a Curtain
Red and black chalks with graphite on white paper; verso, red chalk
152 x 230 (6 x 9 1/16)
Inscribed on the recto in gray ink at lower right, *Wattau;* inscribed on the verso in black chalk along the right margin, *Watteau,* and numbered in graphite at upper right, *No. 14* (no longer visible)
W The Trustees of the British Museum, London

It is rare in Watteau's oeuvre of drawings to find a single sheet that bears studies for the same painting on both recto and verso, but that is the case here: two of the hand studies (the ones at left and center) and the study of the man holding 71). It is logical to assume, therefore, that Watteau made the drawings on both sides of the sheet not only within a very short time of each other, but also specifically for that painting, presumably when it was already in progress c. 1719-1720. Because the hand studies on the recto and the pose study on the verso are two fundamentally different types, the styles of the sketches are not identical in detail. Nevertheless, both are drawn in a similarly abstract manner consistent with Watteau's late work and with the date of the painting.

The hands are modeled with the light but persistent parallels that are found also in the study of Flaminia's head for the same painting (fig. 1). The palms and fingers are fully formed and complete, but the knuckles and nails upon which Watteau would have lavished considerable attention in earlier days (see cat. D. 16) are now treated more broadly, with details subordinated to the expressive effect of the whole. The sketch of the man raising the curtain shows the same tendency toward generalization. Drawn only in rough outline, with very little shading and modeling, it conveys in the simplest terms a complete gesture, expression, and pose. It is closest in many ways to the Minneapolis study of a *Standing Actor Spreading His Cape* (cat. D. 121) for the same painting, but two other late drawings, *Two Men Packing a Crate* (cat. D. 126) and *Rosalba Carriera at Her Toilette* (cat. D. 128), have similarly spare treatments, suggesting that Watteau was moving toward a more economical technique for this kind of study.

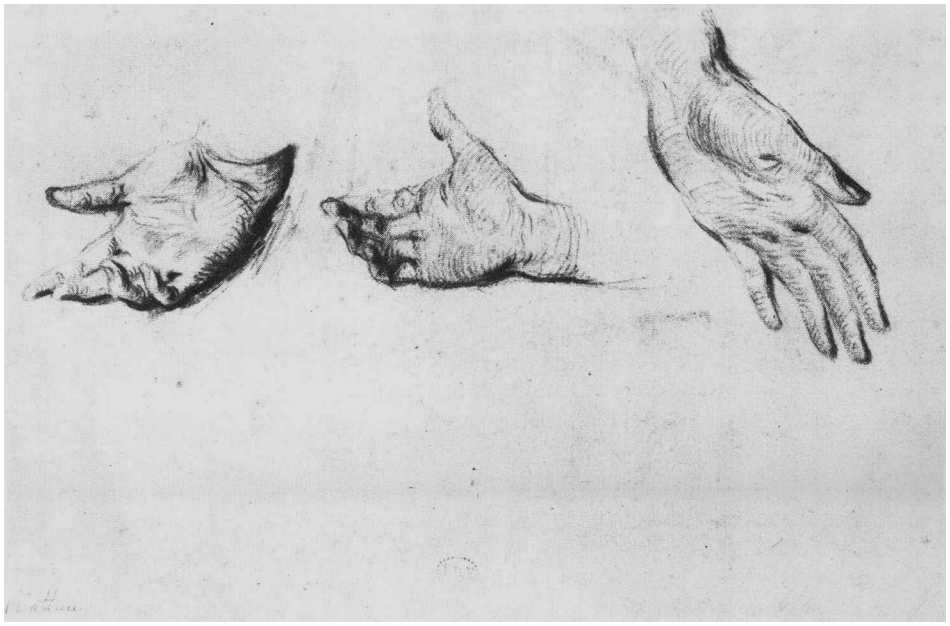
Watteau had used the device of a man partially hidden by a curtain and holding it out of his way in both *The Italian Troupe* of c. 1716 (cats. D. 55; E. 8) and *Harlequin, Pierrot, and*



120 verso

fig. 1. Watteau, *Head of a Woman,* British Museum, London.





*Scapin* (fig. D. 96-1), engraved in 1719. The latter work preceded *The Italian Comedians* slightly and grew out of the same series of compositional drawings (see cats. D. 101, 102). The British Museum drawing, however, even with some slight differences in the tilt of the head and the fall of the curtain folds, is related only to *The Italian Comedians* and can therefore be dated to c. 1719-1720.

PROVENANCE
J. Deffett Francis (1815-1901)(Lugt 1447); given by him to the British Museum (Lugt 945) in 1875, 1875-6-12-558.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1968, no. 761; London 1980-1981, no. 46.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Lafenestre 1907, pl. 42; Parker 1930, no. 43; Parker 1931, no. 60; PM 1957, nos. 827 (recto), 682 (verso); Cormack 1970, no. 55; Eidelberg 1977, p. 34.

## 121 Standing Actor Spreading His Cape

Two shades of red chalk on cream paper
170 x 132 (6⅝ x 5⅛)
Inscribed at lower right, *Watteau*
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis,
The John R. Van Derlip Fund

Like the preceding *Three Studies of Hands* (cat. D. 120), this drawing is related to *The Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71), having been used for the lover standing at far left. Drawn with forceful chalk strokes that emphasize the grand sweep of the pose but gloss over most details, this figure is highly simplified. The dramatic lighting with abrupt shifts from bright light to deep shadow emphasizes the drawing's formal abstraction, with details either dissolved in light or obliterated by heavy shadow.

Both the lighting and the pose give the figure a heightened theatricality implying that the study was intended from the start for *The Italian Comedians,* made for Dr. Richard Mead during Watteau's year in England (see cat. P. 71). Probably Watteau made it only after he had already begun work on the painting, whose unusually tight compositional construction could not have resulted from the kind of piecemeal method described by Caylus (in Champion 1921, pp. 100-101). That would allow us to date the Minneapolis drawing to about the same time as the painting, 1719-1720. Indeed, the kind of abstraction of both form and line that is found in this sheet is entirely consistent with similar features in other drawings by Watteau from the end of his career (cats. D. 126, 128). Appropriately, the same kind of broad handling of forms can be found in a red chalk figure study (fig. 1) for another Watteau painting that belonged to Dr. Mead, *Peaceful Love* (fig. D. 89-2). The similarity of the treatment of light, line, and form suggests that this drawing was made at about the same time as the Minneapolis sheet, presumably again when Watteau was in England.

PROVENANCE
Walter Schatzki, New York; Mrs. O'Donnell Hoover, New York; back to Schatzki; purchased by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in 1969, 69.88.

EXHIBITIONS
Toronto 1972-1973, no. 155.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 681; *Minneapolis Inst. of Arts Bull.* (1969), p. 101, pl. p. 110; *Art Q.* (Autumn 1970), p. 324, pl. p. 330.

fig. 1. Watteau, *Man with a Cape,* location unknown (PM 661).





# 122 Two Studies of the Head of a Boy; Hands Tying a Knot

Red chalk, sooty black chalk, and stumping on cream paper
175 x 171 (6⅞ x 6¾)
Inscribed in pen and black ink at lower left, *Watteaux*
W, P Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Both the head at left and the hands were used for one of the boys at far left in *The Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71). The other head does not appear in any known Watteau painting but his pose and expression are remarkably close to those of Pierrot in that same picture. The technique of this drawing, for which Watteau used a grainy, sooty, black chalk and a stump to create translucent shadows and a sense of circulating light and air, can be found in a number of other drawings. These include the *Woman Reading* in the Armand Hammer collection (cat. D. 129); the *Bust of a Woman* in the Pierpont Morgan Library (PM 598); several of Watteau's studies of nudes (for example, cat. D. 116, fig. D. 114-2); the *Woman Wearing a Black Mantle* (cat. D. 117); the *Head of a Boy Wearing a Hat* (cat. D. 108); and the British Museum drawing of Sirois' daughters (cat. D. 109). The Rotterdam sheet is, however, the most tender example of this style and the most brilliantly restrained. Here, the shadows are entirely evanescent, filled with circulating light and air. They barely touch the child's face and hair, yet smoothly shape the surfaces. Whereas in earlier drawings sharply directed light molded the figures and created solid volumes and firm surfaces, here air surrounds the figures in a softly palpable atmosphere, and light seems to emanate as much from the figures themselves as from some external source. As a result, the flesh has a softer touch, a malleable, living quality that is very different from Watteau's earlier head studies. The calm delineation is accompanied by a new sense of quiet emotion. But the figures' thoughtful, enigmatic expressions are always impossible to interpret and leave us wondering what was in the mind of both the artist and his model.

Since *The Italian Comedians* was almost certainly executed during Watteau's visit to England (see cats. P. 71; D. 120, 121), this drawing can be dated with confidence to c. 1719-1720.

PROVENANCE
J. P. Tassaert (1729-1788)(Lugt 2388); Ludwig Knaus (1829-1910)(Lugt 1576; sale, Berlin, Lepke, 30 October 1917, no. 49); Franz Koenigs (1881-1941)(Lugt *suppl.* 1023a); purchased by D. G. van Beuningen (1877-1955) and given by him with the Koenigs collection to the Boymans Museum Foundation in 1940, FI 49.

EXHIBITIONS
Haarlem 1931, no. 197; Rotterdam 1934-1935, no. 95; Amsterdam 1935, no. 39; Cologne 1939, no. 56; Paris 1952, no. 68; Paris 1964, no. 53.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 702.





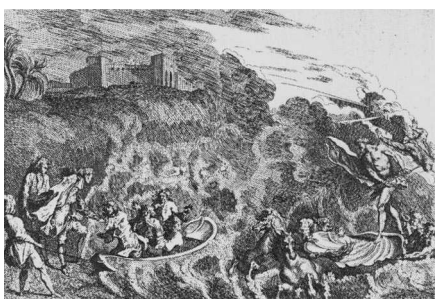
## 123 The Shipwreck

Red chalk
222 x 339 (8¾ x 13⅜)
The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

This drawing, which takes its name from the print by Caylus (fig. 1), was traditionally thought to be an allegory, but it was not until 1922 (DV, III, p. 89) that the "shipwreck" was identified as the catastrophic collapse of the Law Bank and the Compagnie des Indes in May 1720 (see Chronology). Watteau, like so many of his contemporaries, had invested most of his life savings in the Law System. At the time of the crash, however, he was in England and according to Gersaint, Watteau would have lost everything had not his friend Jean de Jullienne intervened to save 6000 livres of the artist's money. Curiously, in Gersaint's reference to the incident he actually used the word "shipwreck" (Champion 1921, p. 63), suggesting that Dacier and Vuaflart's interpretation of the allegory is correct. The scene would therefore represent Jullienne at right, standing solidly on the shore, reaching out his hand to Watteau in his storm-tossed boat. Consequently the drawing can be dated quite specifically to the second half of 1720, probably to the time shortly after Watteau's return from England when Jullienne would have restored his money to him.

Were it not for the connection between the Ashmolean drawing and the fall of the Law Bank, the dating of the drawing on stylistic grounds might have posed some problems. At first glance, the *Shipwreck* figures appear to be drawn in the meticulous style that belongs to the first part of Watteau's career. (In fact, Roland-Michel [1984] argued for a date of c. 1710 for the drawing.) Indeed, the long and slender figural proportions, the shorthand abbreviation of facial features, and the use of small, sharp accents to pick out folds and details bring to mind such early drawings as *The Barbershop* (cat. D. 7) and some of the *Figures de modes* (cats. D. 8, 9). But in fact, both the structure and posing of the figures and the handling of the chalk in the *Shipwreck* are far more advanced than they might at first appear. Not only are the contours of the *Shipwreck* figures drawn with a clean precision and absolute security that the *Barbershop* figures lack, but also their forms are fully rounded and defined by an obviously well practiced combination of shrewd accenting, accurate

fig. 1. Caylus after Watteau,
*The Shipwreck,* etching (DV 182).



shading, and well-manipulated light. Most important, the poses and gestures of the *Shipwreck* figures are spontaneous, natural, and full of life, both more complex and more convincing than the simple attitudes given to the ones in the *Barbershop*. The strained tautness shown by the boy holding the boat's rope, for example, and the windblown, fearful figures in the boat have no equivalent in Watteau's early drawings. Even the faces, which are quite abstract in both drawings, are more individualized and express greater emotion in the Ashmolean allegory.

PROVENANCE
Francis Douce (1757-1834) (Lugt 987); bequeathed by him to the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, in 1834; transferred to the University Galleries (Lugt 2003), now the Ashmolean Museum, in 1863-1865, P.I. 559.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1968, no. 772; USA 1979-1980, no. 87; London 1980-1981, no. 56.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 34, no. 24; Colvin 1907, III, pl. 39; DV, I, p. 105, III, p. 89 (under no. 182); Dacier 1930, no. 56; Parker 1938, I, pp. 269-270, no. 559; PM 1957, no. 853; Cormack 1970, no. 113; RM 1984 (in press) (dated 1710).

PRINTS
Etched by Caylus, included in the *Oeuvre gravé* (DV 182) and not in the *Fddc*.

## 124 Three Studies of a Hunting Dog

Red chalk
135 x 152 (5 5/16 x 6)
Mounted together with cat. D. 137; bears the blind stamp of the mountmaker FR (Lugt 1042)
Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris

Very few animal studies by Watteau are known today, but the ones that remain suggest that he could have been a premier *animalier* in the tradition of François Desportes (1661-1743) and Jan Fyt (1609-1661). His keen observation of nature and sure hand allowed him to make animal studies of extraordinary truth, but with a very human charm and sense of personality that betray an obvious sympathy for his animal models.

Through the study of the hound at the top of the sheet, the Cognacq-Jay drawing is related to Watteau's large *Hunt Meeting* (Wallace Collection, London; fig. D. 24-1). Since Alfassa first proposed the idea in 1910, that painting has gen-



erally been considered to have been Watteau's wedding gift to Jean de Jullienne, who married Marie-Louise de Brecey on 22 July 1720. It has also been identified with a painting mentioned in a letter dating from 3 September [1720] that purports to be from Watteau to Jullienne:

> I cannot hide the fact that that large painting pleases me and I expect some corresponding satisfaction from you and Madame de Jullienne who loves this hunt subject as infinitely as I do. Gersaint had to bring me the good La Serre to enlarge the canvas at right where I have added horses under the trees, since I felt uncomfortable after I had added everything that was so decided. I am thinking of taking up that side beginning Monday afternoon, since in the morning I am occupied with thoughts in red chalk. (see Chronology)

The large size and the hunt subject of the Wallace painting correspond to the letter's tantalizingly brief description of Watteau's painting-in-progress. However, the Wallace canvas was *not* enlarged at right, "where I have added horses under the trees," suggesting either that the letter is patently false, or that Watteau was referring to a different painting altogether. (The letter, which has been much doubted, was submitted with three other letters purported to be by Watteau to the editors of the *Archives de l'Art français* by Charles de Vèze. He had transcribed them from the originals, which were then in the collection of the Marquise de Grollier along with several artists' letters that had come to her from the Abbé Tersan de Campion. The letters have never been reproduced and their present whereabouts are unknown. It is therefore impossible to say whether they were indeed written by Watteau.) Setting aside the doubts surrounding the letter, it is tempting to identify the Cognacq-Jay red chalk drawing of hounds as one of the "thoughts in red chalk" that are referred to in it. The sheet could therefore date from around September of 1720, an unusually specific date for a Watteau drawing. Certainly the style of the drawing warrants such a late date, for it is drawn with the exquisite sensitivity and brilliant richness of color that characterize a number of Watteau's sanguine drawings from the end of his career (for example, *An Engraver at Work,* British Museum, see the Introduction to this section, fig. 8). In any case, the perfection of each study indicates that the drawing could have been made no earlier than 1717.

It is intriguing to note that the other four hunting dogs used in the same painting were not drawn from life, as the Cognacq-Jay hounds were, but were copied and rearranged from a print by Pietro Testa (1611-1650) (Parker 1933, pp. 37-40). The young boy standing at left, pointing his shotgun awkwardly to the ground, was adapted from a figure in the same print, while the group that includes the woman seated on the horse at right and the man helping her to dismount was borrowed from Jacques Callot's print, *The Fair at Impruneta.* It is not known why Watteau chose to borrow these motifs from other artists instead of inventing his own. Possibly his copies were intermingled with his own study sheets in his album of drawings so that when he leafed through to find figures for his compositions, the copies also came to hand. Perhaps more plausibly, Watteau may have been trying to please or amuse the intended recipients with particular quotations from favorite works.

PROVENANCE

Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) (sale, Paris, 30 March 1767, no. 826); Miss James (sale, London, 22 June 1891, no. 314); Henri Michel-Lévy (sale, Paris, 12 May 1919, no. 121); Ernest Cognacq; bequeathed by him to the city of Paris in 1928; Musée Cognacq-Jay, 191.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1935a, no. 281; Rouen 1936, no. 104; Vienna 1950, no. 82; USA 1952-1953, no. 70a.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

G 1875, p. 352, no. 27; Feuillet 1926, p. 308; Ricci 1929, no. 196; Jonas 1930, no. 196; Parker 1931, pp. 23, 48, no. 89; AH 1950, under no. 198; Bouchot-Saupique 1953, no. 20; Parker 1933, p. 39; PM 1957, no. 898; Burollet 1980, no. 183.

## 125 Four Studies of a Young Woman's Head

Black, white, and red chalks on brownish-gray paper
340 x 245 (13⅜ x 9⅝)
Inscribed at lower right on the mount in Tessin's hand, *2722*

P Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

The identity of the model who posed for this drawing is not absolutely certain, but she was probably Marie-Louise Sirois (1696/1697-1725), daughter of the picture dealer Pierre Sirois (1665-1726) and the wife of Edme-François Gersaint (1694-1750) both close friends of Watteau's. In 1931, K. T. Parker was the first to point out the resemblance between the Stockholm lady, especially as she is seen in the full-face view at upper right, and the woman seen at upper right in Watteau's small painting, *In the Guise of Mezzetin* (Wallace Collection, London; fig. D. 109-1). Indeed, both women have the same oval face, long nose, small mouth, double chin, and heavy eyelids. Because, as Mariette once noted (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 191 [7]), *In the Guise of Mezzetin* is a family portrait showing "Sirois, friend of Wateau, represented amidst his family disguised as Mezzetin . . . ," that woman must be one of Sirois' daughters (see cat. D. 109). Accordingly, Dacier and Vuaflart identified her as the eldest, Anne-Elisabeth, born in 1692 or 1693, the only child of his first marriage. We prefer to see her as Marie-Louise, his second daughter.

That the woman represented in the Stockholm drawing is more likely to be Marie-Louise is indicated by the sheet's relationship with *Gersaint's Shopsign* (cat. P. 73). Although none of the four head studies correspond exactly to any heads in the *Shopsign,* they do share some particular features with the shop assistant at right in the painting, most notably "the long nose, the fichu knotted around the slender neck, [and] the cap" pointed out by Parker and Mathey (PM 787). And what could be more appropriate than for Ger-

saint's own wife (whom he married in 1718, about two years before the *Shopsign* was painted) to be included in a depiction, however fictional, of the interior of her husband's shop?

The relationship with *Gersaint's Shopsign* immediately suggests that the Stockholm head studies were made toward the end of 1720, a date that is supported by comparisons with other late drawings. The handling of the chalks is most closely related to a drawing of a cleric in the British Museum (fig. 1), especially in the delineation and shading of the cheeks and facial features. That sheet can be dated to the end of 1720 or beginning of 1721, for the same cleric appears in the Amsterdam drawing showing *Rosalba Carriera at Her Toilette,* datable to Rosalba's stay in Paris in 1720-1721 (see cat. D. 128). In addition, the style is comparable to the Louvre drawing, once in the Mariette collection, which bears portraits of the violinist Antonio Guido and the singers Paccini and Mlle. d'Argenon (cat. D. 127). (Parker and Mathey suggested that the study of Guido resembles the man leaning on the counter at right in the *Shopsign,* but the resemblance is not convincing.) This, too, is a late drawing, although it was not necessarily made at the concert given at Crozat's house and attended by Rosalba Carriera, as A. Sensier once proposed (1921).

PROVENANCE

Pierre Crozat (1665-1740)(Lugt 2951; sale, Paris, 10 April-13 May 1741, no. 1063); Carl Gustav Tessin (1695-1770)(Lugt 2985); sold to King Adolph Frederick of Sweden, 1750 (sale, 1777); repurchased by King Gustav III; given to the Kongliga Biblioteket; transferred to the Kongliga Museum at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Lugt 1638); incorporated into the Nationalmuseum in 1866, 2836/1863.

EXHIBITIONS

Stockholm 1922, no. 17; Stockholm 1933, no. 66; Paris 1935a, no. 82; Copenhagen 1935, no. 543; Paris 1947, no. 380; London 1952, no. 173; Stockholm 1958, no. 227; New York-Boston-Chicago 1969, no. 98.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Tessin 1739-1742, p. 38v; Tessin 1749, *livré* 17, no. 264; Sparre 1790, no. 2722; Schönbrunner and Meder 1896-1908, no. 1110 (as Lancret); DV, I, p. 9; Parker 1931, p. 22; Engwall 1935, pp. 344, 346, no. 29, fig. 3; Nordenfalk 1951, p. 147, n. 19, fig. p. 67; PM 1957, no. 787; Bjurström 1982, no. 1308.



fig. 1. Watteau, *A Young Abbé,* British Museum, London.



# 126 Two Men Packing a Crate

Red, black, and white chalks on gray paper
168 x 227 (6⅝ x 9)
Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris

As a study for the two men packing a crate at left in *Gersaint's Shopsign* (cat. P. 73), this drawing can be placed quite precisely in the fall or winter of 1720-1721. Even though, as he often did, Watteau changed the placement of the figures in the final painting, there can be no doubt that the drawing was made specifically for that picture.

Like the drawing of *Rosalba Carriera at Her Toilette* (cat. D. 128) of about the same time, this study is reduced almost to the bare outlines, with little shading and large areas of the paper left blank. Even so, the figures are nonetheless fully formed and their lively attitudes are convincingly expressed.

Only three drawings related to *Gersaint's Shopsign* are now known, each one showing a different facet of Watteau's drawing style at the end of his life. The Cognacq-Jay drawing is one of the most broadly handled examples in Watteau's art; the *Standing Woman Seen from Behind* (fig. 1), a study for the woman examining the painting through her lorgnette, is more carefully finished, with a vestige of the delicate nuances and atmospheric shading that appear in so many of Watteau's late drawings; then the *Four Studies of a Woman's Head* (cat. D. 125), as detail studies, are the most completely worked. Since it is likely that Watteau made all of those drawings specifically for the painting and therefore within a short period, it is obvious that he was working in a number of different styles that changed according to the type of drawing that he was making. Compositional sketches, figure studies, and detail studies each were executed in their particular modes.

PROVENANCE
A. Saint (sale, Paris, 4 May 1846, no. 298); Clément de Ris; Henri Michel-Lévy (sale, Paris, 12 May 1919, no. 19); Ernest Cognacq; bequeathed to the city of Paris in 1928; Musée Cognacq-Jay, 195.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1928, no. 231; Paris 1946, no. 300; Vienna 1950, no. 61; Paris 1968, no. 63.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 90, no. 95; Alfassa 1910, p. 14; Dirion 1926, p. 291, repr. p. 290; Feuillet 1926, p. 308; R 1928, p. 47, no. 182; *Pantheon* (September 1929), p. 440; Ricci 1929, no. 195; Jonas 1930, no. 195; Exh. cat. Paris 1951, under no. 59; PM 1957, no. 688; Exh. cat. Paris 1963, under no. 39; Burollet 1968, fig. p. 35; Landis 1969, repr. p. 93; Cormack 1970, no. 22; Burollet 1973, p. 10; Eckhardt 1975, under no. 28; Burollet 1979, p. 1377; Burollet 1980, no. 185.

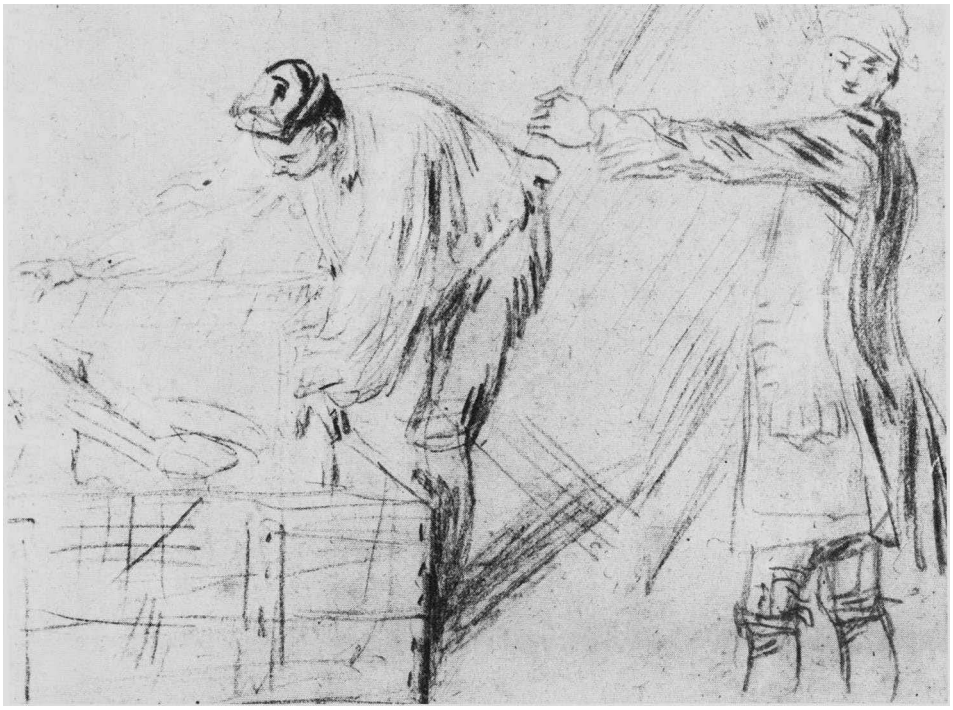




fig. 1. Watteau, *Standing Woman* location unknown (PM 180).

## 127 Three Portraits of Musicians

Black and red chalks with white chalk on buff paper, laid down
240 x 274 (9½ x 10¾)
Inscribed on the mount (designed by Mariette) in pen and black ink, *Praeclarorum Musicorum coetus, scilicet Antonius Fidicen eximius, Paccini Italus Cantor Mus. Reg. & D.ª Dargenon Car. delaFosse.Pict. Acad. sororis filia cui suaves accentus Musa invideret,* and in a cartouche below, *Antoine WATTEAU*

P Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris

The Latin inscription on the mount, attributable to Pierre-Jean Mariette who once owned the sheet and probably knew the models, identifies the three people depicted here as "An assemblage of distinguished musicians: namely, Antonio, the exceptional lyre-player [that is, violinist, since there is no latin word for violin], the Italian Singer Paccini, musician to the king, and Mlle. d'Argenon, the niece of the painter and Academician, Charles de La Fosse, whose pleasing accents the Muse would envy." Dacier (1924) further identified them: Mlle. d'Argenon, like her uncle before her, had apartments in Pierre Crozat's *hôtel* and was a well-known singer in Paris during the Regency; Antonio Paccini, also a singer, was a member of the King's Music starting in 1707, and at the time of his death at Versailles in 1745, he was receiving a royal pension of 2000 livres; "Antonius," incorrectly called a flute-player by Dumesnil (1856), was actually the composer and violinist Giovanni-Antonio Guido, a Genoese who was a favorite of the Regent.

For a long time after Sensier (1865) wrongly identified the two slight head studies at lower right as Rosalba Carriera, it was thought that this drawing was made at a concert mentioned in Rosalba's diary, which took place at Crozat's *hôtel* on 30 September 1720: "Li. 30. Veduto, per causa del concerto dato da Mr. Crozat, il Regente, Law e altri." ("The 30th. Because of the concert given by Mr. Crozat, saw the Regent, Law and others.") Dacier (1924), however, pointed out that the two supposed sketches of Rosalba were actually additional studies of Mlle. d'Argenon. He also reasoned that Rosalba's slight reference to the concert in no way indicated that Watteau was also present or that the particular musicians portrayed in his drawing were the ones who gave the concert. Moreover, neither Watteau's drawing nor Mariette's inscription makes any reference to when or where the drawing was made or who attended the event. Even so, the



September 30th concert is still mentioned in connection with the drawing (for example, Cormack 1970, pl. 104).

Although the drawing cannot be dated as precisely as Sensier would have it, the sheet can still be placed in the very last years of Watteau's career, after his return from England. The description of the musicians' faces has an intense veracity, a natural spontaneity of action, and a solidity of form that one finds only in a few late drawings. Particularly close to the representation of Mlle. d'Argenon is the sheet of *Four Studies of a Young Woman's Head* in Stockholm (cat. D. 125), also a late drawing. That has the same fine differentiation of the planes of the faces, precise detailing of each feature, sensitive delineation, and powerful presentation that are characteristic of Watteau's late studies of this kind. The abundant use of white in the faces of Mlle. d'Argenon and M. Antonio is quite unlike the white highlighting that he used to imitate the shimmer and sheen of light falling over his figures in earlier drawings. Instead it gives the faces a theatrical quality, suggesting the bright lights that would have illuminated a society concert.

PROVENANCE
Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774)(Lugt 1852); French royal collections; Louvre, 33,355.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1935, no. 176; Bucharest 1938, no. 102; Paris 1954, no. 42; Paris 1958, no. 8; Paris 1959, no. 44; Rome-Milan 1959-1960, no. 63; Paris 1967a, no. 275.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Morel d'Arleux, VIII, no. 11123; Dumesnil 1856, p. 28, n. 1; Mariette (1862 ed.), III, p. 41, n. 1; Sensier 1865, pp. 35, 194-195; Reiset 1869, no. 1334; Dacier 1924, pp. 292-298; R 1928, no. 43; Parker 1931, p. 21; PM 1957, no. 933; Mirimonde 1961, p. 257; Cormack 1970, pl. 104; Scott 1973, p. 16, fig. 7; P 1984, pp. 118, 284, nn. 13, 15, fig. 95.

## 128 Rosalba Carriera at Her Toilette

Black and orange-red chalk on cream paper
231 x 302 (9⅛ x 11⅞)
P, B Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The identification of this lady at her toilette as the pastellist Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757) was made in 1931 by Parker (p. 21), who called it an "unflattering impression of the celebrated Venetian." She is recognizable from the self-portrait engraved by Bernard Lépicié (fig. 1), which shows the long nose, slightly rounded and turned down at the tip; the large, wide-set eyes with thick, dark eyebrows; the thin but well-defined lips; and the strong, determined chin. Her hair, too, is dressed in the same fashion, drawn back into a knot at the back of her head with two curls framing her forehead. She is older in Watteau's drawing (she would have been about forty-five at the time) and perhaps slightly heavier, but the identification seems convincing.



fig. 1. Lépicié, *Rosalba Carriera,* engraving.




fig. 2. Watteau, *A Young Abbé,* British Museum, London.



Watteau met Rosalba during her stay in Paris from mid-April 1720 to 15 March 1721. (Watteau did not return from England until the end of July, so he could not have met her until midsummer.) Her diary, written in a brief, telegraphic manner, refers to meetings with Watteau on three occasions: 21 August 1720, "Saw M. Vateau and an Englishman" (indicating that Watteau was back in Paris from London by that date); 9 February 1721, "In the morning I visited M. Watteau and M. Enen [Hénin] . . ."; and 21 February 1721, "I began to make the portrait of Watteau for M. Crozat . . ." (possibly the pastel in Treviso?). Undoubtedly they met on several other occasions since they shared a number of friends (most notably Vleughels and Crozat) and moved in the same social circles. Indeed, while Rosalba made at least one portrait of Watteau, it is sure that Watteau must have made drawings of her as well, including two mentioned in Parker and Mathey (this one and PM 927; see fig. D. 129-1) and possibly the *Woman Reading* in the Armand Hammer collection (cat. D. 129).

While the figure of Rosalba is drawn with considerable attention to her face and hands, the dressing table, curtain, and mirror as well as the cleric are sketched very roughly and even carelessly. The clumsiness in some of these sketchy areas, especially the weak drawing of the mirror and the corner of the table, could lead to doubts about the authenticity of this sheet. But if one considers that the setting might have been added rapidly to the figure study almost as an afterthought or even as a personal joke, its weaknesses take on less significance. It is almost as if Watteau made the figure drawing from life and then added the rest from memory or imagination, making of a simple figure study a complete allegory on the evils of vanity. Even the clergyman, who seems to be cautioning Rosalba on the subject, might have been added from memory, though he appears in two other drawings by Watteau (fig. 2 and fig. D. 125-1). It is by no means certain that Watteau witnessed such a scene, though his intimacy with Rosalba, not hinted at in her diary, is clearly expressed.

PROVENANCE
Eugène (1807-1886) and Auguste (1812-1902) Dutuit, by 1879; H. M. Calmann, 1954; purchased by the Rijksmuseum in 1954, 54:52.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1879; Paris 1967a, no. 319.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 294, no. 641; Parker 1931, p. 21; *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 3 (1954), p. 71; PM 1957, no. 928; Cormack 1970, no. 106; Scott 1973, p. 16, fig. 6; Roland-Michel 1983, p. 472.

PRINTS
Etched anonymously (*Fddc* 263).

## 129 A Woman Reading

Red and black chalks with stumping
216 x 146 (8½ x 5¾)
Armand Hammer Collection

The woman depicted in this drawing has not previously been identified, but she may have been Rosalba Carriera (1675-1757). She resembles closely the woman in the preceding drawing, said to represent Rosalba at her toilette (cat. D. 128), and her features and the structure of her face are virtually identical to those of a woman on another Watteau drawing that is also thought to represent the Venetian artist (fig. 1). If indeed the Hammer drawing does depict Rosalba, then it

fig. 1. Watteau, *Rosalba Carriera Reading*, location unknown (PM 927).





can be dated with certainty to the end of 1720 or the beginning of 1721, during her stay in Paris.

Even if the figure is not Rosalba and even though she does not appear in any of Watteau's paintings, the drawing can still be dated toward the end of Watteau's career on the basis of its style. The same extensive stumping, atmospheric light, and soft skin are found in the *Two Studies of the Head of a Boy* for *The Italian Comedians* of 1719-1720 (cats. D. 122; P. 71). Those features, as well as the thick, greasy quality of some of the red accents and the grainy translucency of the blacks, are characteristic also of some of Watteau's drawings of nude women (see, for example, cat. D. 116). All of those drawings belong to the last two or three years of Watteau's career and help to place the *Woman Reading* in that same period.

PROVENANCE
Philip Wiener; Albert Meyer (sale, Paris, 24 May-8 June 1935, no. 100); Mrs. Jesse I. Straus, New York (sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 21 October 1970, no. 21); purchased at that sale by Armand Hammer.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1932, no. 713 (commem. cat. no. 765); exhibited with the Armand Hammer Collection since 1970, excluding Los Angeles 1974 and 1975; Washington 1978, p. 80.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 577.

PRINTS
Etched by Caylus (*Fddc* 273).

## 130 Ariadne, Bacchus, and Venus (after Rubens)

Red chalk on beige paper
163 x 184 (6 7/16 x 7 1/4)
Inscribed in brown ink at lower left, *Watteau;* blind stamp of the unidentified mountmaker FRO on the mount at lower right (Lugt 1045)
The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Watteau may have been acquainted with the works of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) even before he first arrived in Paris, but he was not exposed to the full glory of Rubens' color and composition until he saw the cycle of the Life of Marie de' Medici in the gallery of the Luxembourg palace. He might have visited that gallery at any time after his arrival in Paris (c. 1702), but he certainly knew it once he began to work for Claude Audran III (1658-1734), c. 1707. Because of Audran's position as *concierge* of the king's collection and because he and his assistants lived and worked in the palace, Watteau gained easy access to the vast collection of works by the old masters, including above all Rubens' Medici cycle. Both Jullienne and Caylus attested to Watteau's assiduous study of it (Champion 1921, pp. 48, 83-84).

The three figures on the British Museum sheet reproduce closely but not precisely the group of Ariadne, Bacchus, and Venus that appears in the *Government of the Queen,* the twelfth painting of the cycle (fig. 1). Not only are the forms and features of Watteau's figures less Rubensian but also the



fig. 1. Rubens, Detail, *The Government of the Queen,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.



grouping is altered so that in the drawing Bacchus and Ariadne are slightly separated from Venus. Since the figures overlap in Rubens' painting, Watteau had to invent some of the contours in his drawing, including Bacchus' elbow and Ariadne's lower back. He also drew in Ariadne's left knee, which in the painting is hidden by Apollo's head, and expanded the drapery covering Venus' leg and midriff. All of these additions in the drawing have a dryness quite different from the more flowing lines that copy Rubens' actual figures, indicating that Watteau had not himself reached full maturity when he made these studies.

Copying the painterly verve and opulent flesh of the Rubens original encouraged Watteau to work with a larger sweep and gesture that was entirely opposite to the more mincing manner that he learned from Gillot. But while he easily copied the spreading shadows and mobile light flickering across the surface, his translation of the Rubensian form and the supple undulation of the rolls of flesh is less successful. The figure of Venus, especially, lacking the soft, pulpy fleshiness of Rubens' painted figure, attests to Watteau's inexperience.

PROVENANCE
In the British Museum since 1846, 1846-11-14-24.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1980-1981, no. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, pp. 348-349, no. 9; Staley 1907-1908, p. 164, and response by Phillips, p. 250; Binyon 1921, p. 140; Parker 1930, no. 4; PM 1957, no. 263; Cormack 1970, no. 24.

## 131 The March of Silenus

verso: Copy of a sculptured portrait head and three rapid compositional sketches
Red, black, and white chalks on buff paper; verso, red chalk
154 x 210 (6 1/16 x 8 1/4)
Private Collection, Massachusetts

Parker and Mathey (1957, PM 259) suggested convincingly that this wild scene was inspired by Rubens' *Triumph of Silenus* in the National Gallery, London (fig. 1), but that otherwise the composition was entirely Watteau's own. It is, in fact, one of his most robust sheets, drawn with a complete lack of constraint that captures perfectly the loud coarseness of the drunken progress. Except for the central figure of Silenus, which is comparatively detailed (the modeling of his vast belly is especially fine), the figures are sketched with brutal speed and force, so much so that some of the facial expressions are quite vicious. Only the woman at lower right has some of Watteau's accustomed charm, but even she is occupied in the unpleasant task of supporting the head of a child who is being violently ill.

The verso is a curious document, obviously a utilitarian study sheet that shows the artist's mind and hand moving at random from thought to thought. The most prominent

fig. 1. Rubens, *The Triumph of Silenus*, National Gallery, London.









fig. 2. Rubens,
*Copy after an Antique Sculpture,*
Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge.

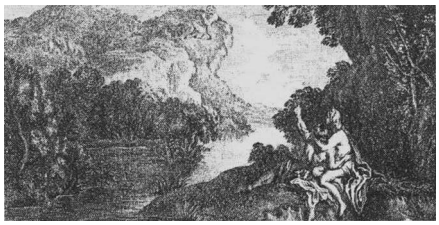


fig. 3. Caylus after Watteau, *Acis and Galatea,*
etching and engraving (DV 61).



fig. 4. Surugue after Watteau,
*Amusements of Cythera,*
engraving (DV 181).

study and probably the first to be made is the copy of a sculptured head, unique in Watteau's oeuvre. Perhaps it was made in imitation of Rubens' own copies of classical portrait sculptures (such as fig. 2), but its total lack of spirit indicates that Watteau was not in the least inspired by his model. Of more interest, though, are the three brief sketches, all of male and female nudes, which were drawn with considerably more enthusiasm. One was almost obliterated when the drawing was lifted from its old mount, but the other two are quite legible. The one that overlaps the copy of the sculpture appears to represent an idea for a *Mars and Venus Embracing* or even for an *Acis and Galatea* along the same lines as Watteau's own painting of the same subject (fig. 3). The other, at the top of the page, seems to represent a reclining nude woman in a pose that has some analogies with the nudes in *The Amusements of Cythera* (fig. 4) and *The Dangerous Slumber* (DV 38).

The uniquely wild, even savage execution of the recto makes it difficult to place this drawing in Watteau's oeuvre, but a couple of the faces are drawn with the same squared jawline and the pronounced rosy cheeks that Watteau gave to the standing cavalier in Rotterdam (cat. D. 58), datable to about 1715-1716. Moreover, nymphs and satyrs analogous to the nude figures on the verso and drawn with similar formal abstraction appear in Watteau's arabesque design, *The Bower* (cat. D. 70), of c. 1716. The *March of Silenus* can therefore be dated to about the same time, 1715-1716.

PROVENANCE
Baron de Schwiter (1805-1889) (Lugt 1768; sale, 1883, no. 174); Henri Michel-Lévy (sale, Paris, 12 May 1919, no. 135); P.&D. Colnaghi, London, 1959; Mme. Piez, Paris (sale, Monte Carlo, Sotheby's, 12 February 1979, no. 51); purchased by the present owner in 1979.

EXHIBITIONS
London 1959, no. 41.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 259.

## 132 Six Studies of Men's Heads and One of a Donkey (after Veronese)

Red chalk on cream paper with a CUSSON watermark
242 x 314 (9½ x 12⅜)
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Parker and Mathey recorded seven drawings by Watteau (PM 345-347, 350, 352, 366, 943) after paintings by Paolo Caliari, called Veronese (1528-1588). (Watteau appears to have been less interested in Veronese's drawings than in his paintings, which offered an impressive richness of invention and pageantry.) A number of Veronese's paintings were available to him in Paris, including the *Marriage at Cana* that Watteau would have known through a copy owned by Crozat, *The Finding of Moses* that was once in the French royal collections (now in the National Gallery, Washington), and the *Christ and the Centurion* that is now in Kansas City (fig. 1). The four heads across the top of the Morgan Library page were copied from the latter painting; the three studies at left were taken from the figures standing at the far right in the painting, while the fourth reproduces the head of the kneeling centurion. Three more studies made from the same painting are found on a similar sheet in the Louvre (fig. 2).

fig. 1. Veronese, *Christ and the Centurion,*
Nelson-Atkins Gallery, Kansas City.



All of Watteau's drawings after Veronese are made in a distinctive style that Watteau appears to have used only for those and a few other copies (for example, one after Parmigianino, PM 357). The division between areas of light and shade is cleanly marked with a tonal shading that is quite different from Watteau's more usual linear manner. The Morgan Library sheet has more nuances in the shading and the contours than the other sheets of this group, and more evidence of Watteau's touch, especially in the study of the man wearing the plumed cap at bottom. Remarkably, even though the figures are copied from a two-dimensional source, they are expressed in thoroughly plastic terms that pay tribute both to the strength of the original painting and to Watteau's skill as a copyist. The masterly delineation of these heads makes it perfectly clear that these are not youthful works, but rather copies that Watteau made after he had fully matured as an artist.

fig. 2. Watteau, *Copies after Veronese,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Watteau's study of Veronese was probably confined mainly to the period immediately after Crozat's return from Italy (October 1715), but it seems to have had a powerful effect on his art. From Veronese's crowded compositions Watteau learned not only how to pose his figures with more

lifelike animation but also how to link them together into harmoniously orchestrated groupings. The static, almost rigid poses that proliferate in Watteau's work up to c. 1715 suddenly blossom into more naturally graceful attitudes. This can be seen most clearly in Watteau's *Venus Disarming Cupid* at the Musée Condé, Chantilly (CR 124), which was actually based on a Veronese school drawing now in the Louvre (once thought to be by Veronese himself; repr. Posner 1984, fig. 67). The spiraling motion of the two figures is unprecedented in Watteau's art and, significantly, in his subsequent work one rarely finds a figure, even in repose, that does not appear to be in motion. Though it is unlikely that Watteau's study of Veronese was entirely responsible for this change (his knowledge of Rubens would also have contributed to it), it certainly must have acted as a catalyst. The kind of movement in space that is so characteristic of Watteau's later works can already be sensed in the Morgan Library sheet.

PROVENANCE
Nicolas Haym (1679-1729) (Lugt 1970); Lord Spencer (Lugt 1530; sale, London, 1811, no. 828); C. Fairfax Murray; purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan with Murray's entire collection in 1910; Pierpont Morgan Library, I,276.

EXHIBITIONS
New York 1919, p. 5; Worcester 1951-1952, no. 78; Providence 1975, no. 40.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Murray 1905, I, no. 276; Parker 1931, p. 25; PM 1957, no. 347.

## 133 Standing Child (after Van Dyck)

Red chalk on cream paper
215 x 152 (8½ x 6)
Private Collection, Switzerland

Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) was another Flemish master whom Watteau studied and copied, perhaps because he was attracted by Van Dyck's relationship with Rubens and by his elegant poses, sweet expressions, and sumptuous draperies. The painting from which this child was copied, *Portrait of an Unknown Man and His Child* (fig. 1), was already in the French royal collections in the seventeenth century, so that Watteau could have had access to it any time after c. 1707, when he was working with Claude Audran III. Probably, though, the copy was not made until some time later since Van Dyck's child is remarkably similar to the kind of children that begin to appear in Watteau's own paintings and drawings from about 1715 (see PM 691). The proportions, pose, and expression in the copy come surprisingly close to Watteau's own studies; even the execution is comparable, with the same strongly accented strokes for the dress and softer modeling for the face, hair, and hands.

That Watteau was already well experienced as a copyist when he made this one is demonstrated by the fact that this drawing after the Van Dyck child gives no hint at all that the left arm and skirt of the child are covered in the painting by part of the father's elaborate costume. Watteau completed the hidden area without the slightest hesitation or



fig. 1. Van Dyck, *Portrait of an Unknown Man and His Child*, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



break in style. (Compare Watteau's earlier study after *Ariadne, Bacchus, and Venus* in the British Museum, cat. D. 130, in which Watteau's additions are not quite so fluid.) All of these factors suggest that the drawing was made no earlier than 1715-1716.

This figure has always been identified as a little girl, and indeed there is a certain femininity in the hairstyle. But the child in the Van Dyck portrait is assuredly a little boy, still wearing the dresses that all children wore until about the age of four or five years. (See also the discussion of the *Child Seated in the Chair* from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, cat. D. 118.)

PROVENANCE
Moritz von Schwind (1804-1871) (according to an almost illegible inscription on the verso); Count Festetits, Vienna (1806-1862) (Lugt 926), by 1847; F. J. Gsell, Vienna (1812-1871)(Lugt 1108), in 1859; Paul Davidsohn (1839-?) (Lugt 654); A. Strölin, Senior; to his son, A. Strölin; Private collection, Switzerland.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1968, no. 20 (dated c. 1715).

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Parker 1935, p. 8; PM 1957, no. 303.

## 134 Six Heads (after Le Nain)

verso: Studies of an Actor
Red chalk heightened with white on gray-brown paper; verso, red chalk
220 x 252 ($8^{11}/_{16}$ x $9^{15}/_{16}$)
Private Collection, New York

These five heads of children and one of an old woman were copied from a painting by Le Nain, *Preparations for the Dance* (fig. 1), bearing witness to Watteau's firsthand knowledge of at least one work by that seventeenth-century family of genre painters. His acquaintance with their work is otherwise only hinted at in such works as *Savoyard with a Marmot* (cat. P. 32) and the series of drawings of Savoyards (cats. D. 50-53). As was his custom (see cats. D. 130, 132, 138), Watteau chose not to copy the whole painting, nor to study the figures in a systematic manner as they appeared in the painting. Instead he preferred to study selected details, arranging them on the page with some of the same rhythmic interplay that one finds in his own original study sheets. Confined as he was to the slightly stiff expressions and poses that the Le Nain painting offered him, Watteau still managed to create a page of studies that has much of the spontaneity and vigor offered by his own study sheets. In the process he refined some of the faces (most notably that of the child at upper left), cleaned up the hairstyles, and added a touch of eighteenth-century charm to Le Nain's stolid peasants.

verso



fig. 1. Le Nain, *Preparations for the Dance*, location unknown.







fig. 2. Watteau, *Head of a Smiling Man and Study of a Hand,* Staatsgraphische Sammlung, Munich.



fig. 3. Watteau, *Study Sheet,* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

The bull's head at lower right, which was probably copied from another work, is entirely unrelated to the head studies, but it provides a possible date for the whole sheet. Even though only half of the bull's head remains, the curl of the horn, the left contour of the face, and the shape of the muzzle and mouth are almost identical to those of the bull symbolizing Taurus at lower right in *Spring* of the Crozat Seasons (fig. D. 60-1); only the expression of the eye is different. Since *Spring* was probably one of the last of the Crozat Seasons to be completed (see cats. D. 60; P. 35 for a discussion of the dating of the series), the connection with that painting would place this drawing in c. 1715-1716. That would agree with the bold combination of strong lines, full forms, and smoothly modeled surfaces. In many ways this sheet recalls the vigorous head studies in Rouen of 1716 (cat. D. 80), even to the head of Pierrot at upper left on that sheet, which has the same calm immobility as the head of the girl at upper right on this copy.

The studies of an actor on the verso are entirely unrelated to the Le Nain copies, but appear also to belong to the same time. The breadth of stroke and the grinning face link this sheet with two other drawings: a study in the Kupferstichkabinett, Munich (fig. 2) for the figure of Scapin at left in *Pierrot (Gilles)* (cat. P. 69) and a study sheet with a more complete rendering of the same grinning actor in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (fig. 3). Although the figure on the exhibited sheet does not appear in any of Watteau's paintings, one can imagine that he was created with a comic scene in mind, perhaps one in the same vein as the *Pierrot.* All three of these studies of actors would appear to date from about 1716, in keeping with the dating of the copies on the recto.

PROVENANCE

C. Desperet (1804-1865) (Lugt 721; sale, 7 June 1865, no. 522); Camille Groult, Paris; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; Anonymous sale, 4 December 1956, no. 4; Cecil D. Kaufmann, Washington; Cailleux, Paris; purchased by the present owner in 1979.

EXHIBITIONS

Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mathey 1938, p. 372; PM 1957 nos. 343 (recto), 656 (verso); M 1959, pp. 28, 74, no. 38 (recto).

## 135 Head of a Woman (after Rubens)

Red and black chalks with stumping on cream paper
310 x 228 (12¼ x 9)
Inscribed on the mount by Pierre-Jean Mariette, *E. RUBENIO/desumptum/OPUS/ANT. WATEAU*

W, P Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Mariette's inscription on the mount of this drawing tells us that Watteau made this drawing after a work by Rubens, but until Frits Lugt discovered Rubens' original drawing in the Péreire collection, Paris (exh. cat. Paris 1964, no. 36), it was suggested (Parker and Mathey 1957) that Watteau had actually copied Van Dyck's portrait of Geronima Spinola Doria now in Berlin (repr. Schaeffer 1909, pl. 189). Unfortunately, we have not been able to find even a photograph of the Péreire drawing, and can neither confirm Lugt's identification nor compare the copy to the original to discover how faithful Watteau had been.

Watteau's copies after Rubens' paintings, from which he learned concepts of composition, posing, expression, and color, are relatively common, but his copies after Rubens' drawings are quite rare. But even if no examples of the latter existed, we would still know of Watteau's considerable debt to Rubens' draftsmanship through his own drawings, which is most obvious in his choice of *trois crayons,* but also in his occasional use of stumping and in the way he describes surfaces. The confident freedom with which Watteau here drew the lady's ruff and hair, together with the smooth modeling of the face and the convincingly sculptured features, suggest that Watteau had already made extensive studies of Rubens' drawing techniques. The exquisite sensitivity with which he drew the eyebrows, eyes, nose, and mouth indicate that he was already accustomed to making studies of the human face, and the effective use of the stump and the easy combining of the chalks show that he had had considerable practice



in both techniques. Though it is impossible to date this sheet with any precision, it appears that it must belong to Watteau's maturity, perhaps from c. 1716-1717.

PROVENANCE
Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774) (Lugt 2097; sale, 15 November 1775, no. 1393); bought by Lempereur (1701-1779); E. Czeczowiczka; Franz Koenigs (1881-1941); bought by D. G. van Beuningen (1877-1955) and given by him with the Koenigs collection to the Boymans Museum Foundation in 1940, F.I. 294.

EXHIBITIONS
Rotterdam 1934-1935, no. 93; Amsterdam 1935, no. 43; Paris 1935a, no. 175; Rotterdam 1938, no. 381; Cologne 1939, no. 53; Paris 1952, no. 71; Rotterdam 1952, no. 127; Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 36; Paris 1967a, no. 278.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Parker 1931, no. 18; Gradmann 1949, pl. 7; Boucher and Jaccottet 1952, no. 17; PM 1957, no. 290; Haverkamp-Begemann 1957, no. 56.

## 136 Half-length Study of a Young Man

Red chalk
200 x 137 (7⅞ x 5⅜)
P Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

Discovered among some uncatalogued drawings in the Nationalmuseum by Per Bjurström in 1978, this study is identical to a drawing catalogued by Parker and Mathey as in an American private collection (fig. 1). The two drawings are so similar that one must be a copy of the other. The sensitive accenting, the fine modeling of the face and hands, and the lively, flexible line of the Stockholm sheet suggest that it was the original.

In his discussion of the Stockholm drawing, Bjurström (1979) suggested that it could be a youthful self-portrait of Watteau, though the pose and downward glance would not be suited to that subject. The slight similarity of the young man's features to Watteau's own appears to us to be coincidental. More likely, as Parker and Mathey proposed (PM 34), the drawing was a copy after a work by another master. That would account for the man's seventeenth-century garb, the unusually pronounced slant of the figure on the page, and the lack of definition in the surface on which the man rests his hand.

The fine delineation of the face, with the softest of shadows caressing the man's brow, cheeks, and eyes, together with the strongly lifelike study of the hand, mark this as a drawing of Watteau's full maturity, c. 1716-1718 (not of his youth as Bjurström proposed). At that time Watteau made most of the drawings that feature similarly long-lashed figures (most notably, the study of two women that was recently purchased by the Nationalmuseum, PM 632, and the *Standing Woman* from Frankfurt, cat. D. 91).

PROVENANCE
Possibly King Oskar I of Sweden (1799-1859); discovered in the Nationalmuseum in 1978 by Per Bjurström in a group of unidentified drawings, NM A3/1979.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bjurström 1979, pp. 144-147; Bjurström 1982, no. 1267.

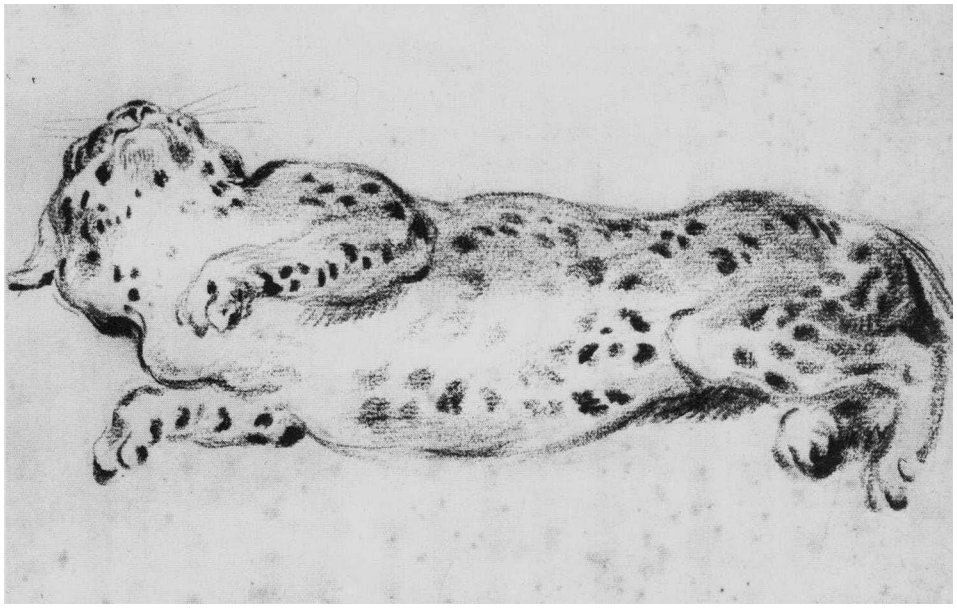


fig. 1. Anonymous Copyist, *Half-Length Study of a Young Man,* location unknown (PM 34).



fig. 1. Brueghel The Elder, *Earthly Paradise,* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon.





## 137 A Leopard Stretching

Red and black chalks with stumping
135 x 215 (5 5/16 x 8 1/2)
Mounted with cat. D. 124; bears the mark of the mountmaker FR (Lugt 1042)
Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris

Watteau could have drawn this deceptively tame leopard from life at the King's Menagerie at Versailles, as Burollet pointed out (1980), but it seems more likely to us that it was copied from a painting or drawing by another artist: even though the beast is drawn with Watteau's accustomed charm and skill, it lacks that extra spark of vitality that distinguishes the animal studies he made from life (for example, the *Three Studies of a Dog,* cat. D. 124). Though we have not been able to discover a specific model, the sinuous contours and twisting pose suggest a Flemish source. Similar leopards can be found, for example, in the numerous versions of Jan Brueghel the Elder's *Earthly Paradise* (fig. 1), as well as in bacchanales and hunt scenes by Rubens and his followers. Watteau himself included a delightfully human leopard, probably also derived from a Flemish original, in his allegorical depiction of *Autumn* in the Crozat Seasons (fig. D. 62-1).

Although the leopard drawing has been paired with the *Three Studies of a Dog* since the eighteenth century, as the mounter's mark indicates, the drawings do not necessarily date from the same time. Like the dog studies, the *Leopard* is hard to place in Watteau's oeuvre, but the skill with which Watteau suggested the texture and patterning of the animal's fur and his practiced use of the stump indicate that the study must at least have been made in the last five years of Watteau's life, 1716-1721.

PROVENANCE
Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) (sale, Paris, 30 March 1767, no. 826); Miss James (sale, London, 22 June 1891, no. 314); Henri Michel-Lévy (sale, Paris, 12 May 1919, no. 121); Ernest Cognacq; bequeathed by him to the city of Paris in 1928; Musée Cognacq-Jay, 192.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1935a, no. 281; Rouen 1936, no. 104; Vienna 1950.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
G 1875, p. 352, no. 27; Feuillet 1926, p. 308; Ricci 1929, no. 196; Jonas 1930, no. 196; Parker 1931, p. 24; PM 1957, no. 899; Burollet 1980, no. 184.

## 138 Figure Reclining on a Mound (after Feti)

Black and red chalks on cream paper
149 x 210 (5 7/8 x 8 1/4)
Inscribed in graphite on the mount at lower left, *A.W.*
Private Collection, Switzerland

Formerly identified as a woman (PM 285), this figure has since been recognized (by its previous owner, A. Strölin) as a copy after the central figure of Jacob from *Jacob's Dream* (Vienna; fig. 1) by Domenico Feti (c. 1589-1623). Although Feti's painting follows closely the story of Jacob's ladder as it is told in Genesis (28: 11-22), Watteau was not interested in the biblical narrative or Feti's composition as a whole, but only in the pose and difficult perspective of the figure of Jacob himself. The drawing reproduces exactly every detail of the figure, including the ragged edges and folds of his



138



fig. 1. Feti, *Jacob's Dream,* Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

clothes, the jar of oil by his hand, and the rocky mound on which he reclines, but gives no indication of the figure's context.

A number of Watteau's copies exhibit the same regularly spaced lines. The undulations of the parallel lines define the surfaces, while shadow and light are indicated by variations in the weight and proximity of the strokes. The technique requires a particularly fine control of the chalk and a special precision of touch, and the drawing shows that Watteau was particularly skilled in its use. The ordered lines give a pleasing neatness to the image and add a decorative quality that is not found in Feti's painted figure. Surprisingly, Watteau chose to make the drawing mainly in black chalk, reserving the sanguine for the face, hands, and legs only. The slightly grainy quality of the black chalk combined with the delicacy with which Watteau wielded it contributes to a special translucency in the shadows that one finds normally in Watteau's late drawings (compare *Two Studies of the Head of a Boy* in Rotterdam, cat. D. 122). It is most likely that this copy was made in the last three or four years of Watteau's life.

PROVENANCE
A. Strölin, Sr.; to his son, A. Strölin, Private collection, Switzerland.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 285.

## 139 Musicians Seated under Trees (after Campagnola)

Red chalk
192 x 258 (7 9/16 x 10 3/16)
B Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon

This and the following three sheets bear witness to Watteau's assiduous study of Venetian landscape drawings, especially those by Domenico Campagnola (1500-1564) and Titian (c. 1488-1576). They are part of a large group of such copies, for Watteau is said to have copied all of Campagnola's landscape drawings in the Crozat collection (Mariette, *Abecedario,* I, p. 294 [1851-1853 ed.]). Because Watteau was certainly not the only artist copying Venetian landscapes (see Schreiber 1979, pp. 261-272 and Caylus in Champion 1921, pp. 97-98), attribution problems abound, but proof of the authenticity of this sheet and the one in Chicago (cat. D. 141) is found in their relationship to two of Watteau's paintings, *Country Amusements* (cat. P. 52) and *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55). The accenting and the supple, rounded lines of the other two examples exhibited here (cats. D. 140, 142) are so close to the Chicago and Besançon drawings that they, too, must be by Watteau.

Precisely what in the Venetian landscapes appealed to Watteau is a matter for conjecture, though Caylus (in Champion 1921, p. 97) mentioned the "beautiful buildings, handsome situations, and tasteful, spirited foliage. . . ." In addition, Watteau's frustrated desire to go to Italy might have made him especially susceptible to those landscapes, which allowed him indirectly to study Venetian light, or he may

have been attracted by the decorative treatment of the undulating terrain. Perhaps the mixture of fantasy and reality struck a responsive chord. In any case, the Italian originals served as a starting point for Watteau's creation of a dream world that found its most perfect expression in his *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 61).

In all of his copies of Italianate landscapes, Watteau transposed the drawings into red chalk, resulting in a more silvery light, a softer atmosphere, and a considerably more flexible line; but he also made other important changes as a comparison of an original Campagnola and a Watteau copy shows (cat. D. 140, fig. D. 140-1, both in the Metropolitan Museum, New York). In this case, Watteau made his copy five centimeters smaller in both height and width and at the same time reduced the prominence of the foreground figures. He also eliminated such details as the boat at center and the two figures passing through the gate in the middle distance, reduced the size of the mound at right, and added extra grace to the trees and foliage at left. In addition, Watteau's rich, swirling treatment of the terrain and his inimitable accenting in the distant buildings, trees, figures, and the various landscape elements strengthened the more subdued ornamental aspects of the original drawing.

When Watteau first began copying Italian landscape drawings is not known. He could have been introduced to them at any time, but no evidence of his study of them appears in his paintings until about 1716. That was shortly after Crozat's return from a year-long trip to Italy, during which he acquired a vast collection of Italian, and especially Venetian, drawings. It is presumed, then, that Watteau did not study them in earnest until that time. Thereafter, until about 1718, the majority of Watteau's paintings have unmistakably Venetian landscapes, with the same hills, valleys, lakes, and buildings as those found in the drawn copies.

As is the case with all of Watteau's copies, the dating of these four sheets is uncertain. However, because of its relationship with *Country Amusements,* the Besançon drawing may have been made as late as 1717-1718: the painting has marked similarities with both Embarkations (cats. P. 61, 62) and shares a preparatory drawing (British Museum; fig. D. 105-1) with the Berlin version. The Chicago drawing belongs to the same period because of its link with *The Love Lesson* (see cat. P. 55). Presumably the other two drawings date from that same 1716-1718 period, also.

PROVENANCE
Jean Gigoux (1806-1894) (Lugt 1164); bequeathed by him to the city of Besançon in 1894; Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, D 815.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 435; M 1959, p. 29, pl. 44.

RELATED WORKS
The original drawing by Campagnola is now in the Louvre (inv. no. 27136).



# 140 Italian Landscape with an Old Woman Spinning in the Foreground (after Campagnola)

Red chalk on cream paper
205 x 318 (8⅛ x 12 15/16)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
P, B Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE
André de Hevesy (anonymous sale, London, 25 April 1951, no. 70; unsold); Mathias Komon, New York; Walter C. Baker, New York; bequeathed by him to the Metropolitan Museum in 1971, 1972.118.237.

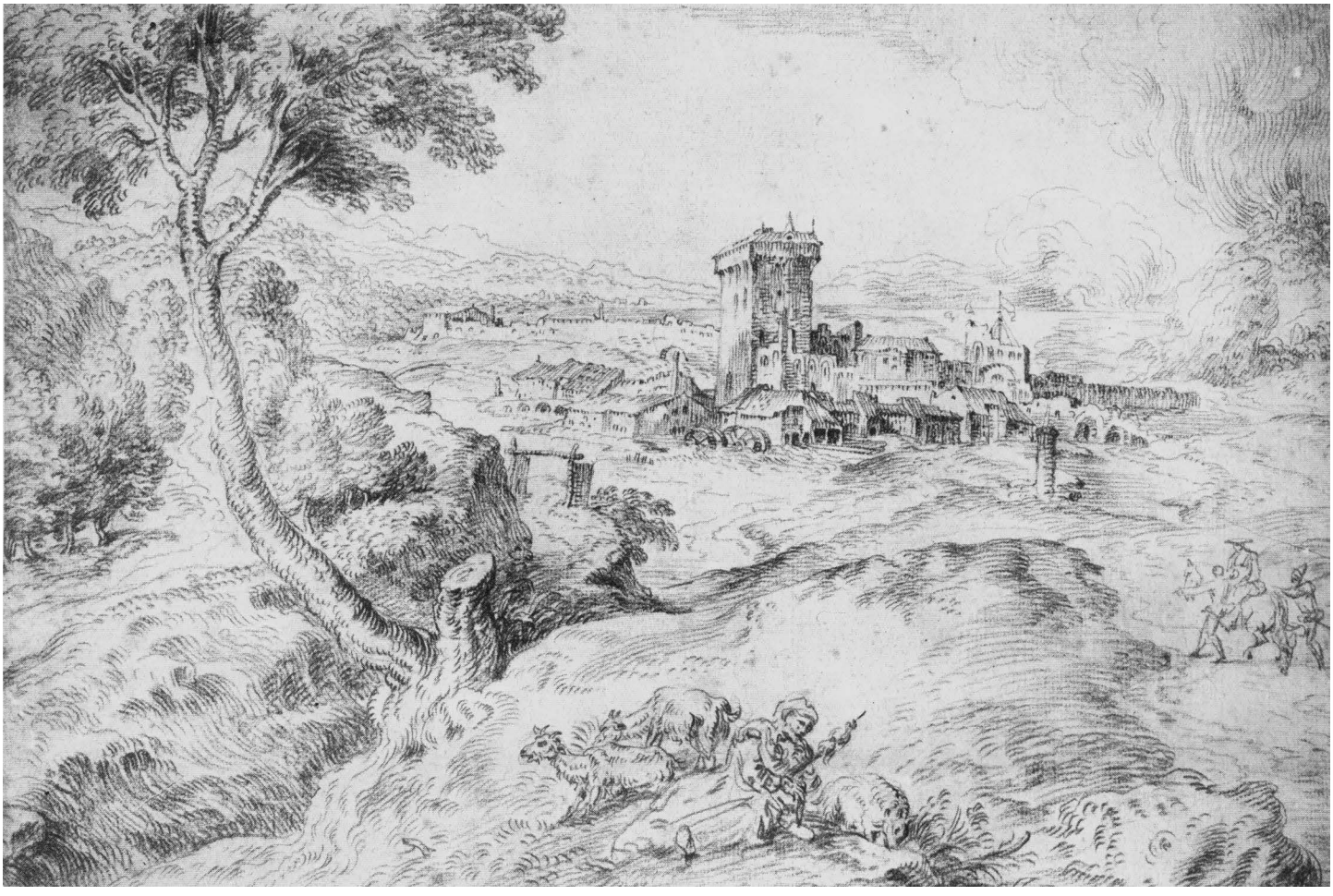
EXHIBITIONS
New York 1960.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Parker 1935, p. 8; PM 1957, no. 439; Virch 1960, p. 315; Virch 1962, p. 43, no. 72.

RELATED WORKS
The original drawing by Campagnola was also in Walter Baker's collection and is now in the Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 1972.118.243 (fig. 1).



fig. 1. Campagnola, *Landscape with a Woman Spinning,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



# 141 Landscape with a Castle

Red chalk on beige paper
224 x 339 (8 13/16 x 13 3/8)
Inscribed in pen and brown ink at lower center, *Vataux*
The Art Institute of Chicago, The Helen Regenstein Collection

See cat. D. 139.

PROVENANCE
Charles Rogers, London (1711-1784) (Lugt 624); William Cotton (d. 1791); William Cotton II (sale, London, 15 April 1799); Fauchier-Magnan (sale, London, Sotheby's, 4 December 1935, no. 72); Charles Slatkin, New York; acquired by the Regenstein collection for the Art Institute of Chicago, in 1964, 1964.194.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1925, no. 712, Chicago 1974, no. 28.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 427; *Art Q.* 27 (1964), p. 499; Edwards 1966, pp. 8-14; Eidelberg 1967, pp. 173-182; Cormack 1970, pl. 32; P 1984, pp. 107, 283, n. 59, fig. 86.

RELATED WORKS
The castle, river, and mill appear in the background of *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55).





## 142 Venetian Landscape)

Red chalk on cream paper
295 x 395 (11⅝ x 15⁹⁄₁₆)
Private Collection, Paris

See cat. D. 139.

PROVENANCE
Marquis de Chennevières (1820-1899) (Lugt 2072; sale, 1898, no. 194); Camille Groult; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult; Private collection, Paris.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
PM 1957, no. 434.

## 143 Two Heads Turned to the Right (after Rubens)

Black and red chalks on cream paper
155 x 200 (6⅛ x 7⅞)
W Private Collection, Baltimore

As Parker and Mathey observed, the head of the woman on the left is that of the queen in the *Interview between Marie de' Medici and Her Son* (fig. 1), the twentieth painting in Rubens' cycle now in the Musée du Louvre (see cat. D. 130 for a copy after another painting from the same series). The head of the man is a copy of a figure at left in *Atalanta and Meleager Killing the Calydonian Boar* (fig. 2) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, but that painting was already in Austrian hands in Watteau's time. Watteau must therefore have known the work either through a copy or in another version. Since the chalks, the execution, and the arrangement of the two heads on the page are entirely coherent, showing that they must have been drawn in a single session, it can logically be assumed that a version of *Atalanta and Meleager* was in the Luxembourg Palace so that Watteau could have studied it in close proximity to the paintings of the Medici cycle. Given



fig. 1. Rubens, *Marie de' Medici and Her Son,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 2. Rubens, *Atalanta and Meleager,* Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



the polish of the drawing, however, it is just as possible that Watteau actually made it in the studio, basing it on copies that he had made previously in different places.

The two heads, taken from their separate sources, were joined together by Watteau into a remarkably harmonious and vigorous sheet that gives no hint that these studies are copies. They are drawn with the same combination of sensitivity, fluidity, and assurance found in Watteau's original sketches. The red and black chalks, especially, are combined with the same skillful touch and keen regard for nuances of color and light. The sheer brilliance with which Watteau transformed Rubens' heads into a study sheet that is patently his own marks this work as one that could only have been made toward the end of his career. Indeed, the translucent shadows on the neck and face of the queen at left are closely similar to Watteau's *Two Studies of the Head of a Boy* of c. 1719-1720 (cat. D. 122). The present drawing bears proud witness to Watteau's constant desire to learn from the old masters, even to the very end of his life.

PROVENANCE

Cunard; Henry Oppenheimer (1859-1932); Mrs. Henry Oppenheimer (sale, London, Christies,' 10-14 July 1936, no. 447); purchased at that sale by the present owner.

EXHIBITIONS

Providence 1975, no. 38.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Parker 1930, fig. 4; PM 1957, no. 258.

# The Etchings

Nicole Parmantier

Watteau, unlike his masters Claude Gillot (1673-1722) and Claude Audran III (1657-1734), rarely tried his hand at printmaking. He never touched a burin. The few prints he made were all pure etchings that were almost immediately retouched with a burin by expert engravers such as Thomassin or Simonneau.

Although original prints by Watteau are rare, those that reproduce his drawings and paintings are numerous. In fact, Watteau's oeuvre was reproduced in its entirety shortly after his death, through the efforts of his friend and patron, Jean de Jullienne. This was an almost unique occurrence in the history of painting. Jullienne at first devoted his attention to the painter's drawings, which he gave to a team of printmakers that included Simonneau the Elder (165?-1728) and Jean Audran (1667-1756), brother of Claude III, as well as young novices, among them Trémolières (1703-1739) and the still unknown François Boucher (1703-1770). Jullienne published them in two volumes, the first in 1726 and the second in 1728, under the title *Figures de différents caractères, de Paysages et d'Etudes dessinées d'après Nature.* Jullienne then turned his attention to the paintings, buying all that he could find except those belonging to friends and relatives, and had them engraved. The prints were individually announced in the *Mercure de France* and sold as separate sheets; they were then collected in two volumes that also included prints after Watteau's arabesque drawings. These volumes, known as the *Recueil Jullienne,* were delivered to subscribers in 1735.

Was Jullienne trying, with his *Recueil,* to compete with the *Recueil Crozat,* on which Watteau was to have worked? Begun in 1721, the *Recueil Crozat* was entirely devoted to old masters. The prints reproduced paintings from the greatest Paris collections, including those of the King, the Regent, and Crozat himself.

We shall discuss here only etchings made by Watteau's hand, before any other printmaker retouched them. These few prints fall into two categories: the *Figures de modes* (Figures of Fashion), a suite of vignettes, each showing a figure against a landscape background and based on his early drawings; and two large prints after compositions of a different kind, one a military scene, *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment,* and the other a group portrait of actors or Watteau's friends disguised as actors known as *The Clothes are Italian.*

Watteau's prints are extremely rare, as the light biting of the copperplates made it impossible to print large editions without retouching. We know of fewer than twenty unretouched etchings by Watteau, with a maximum of three known impressions for some of them.

## Figures de Modes

Watteau's *Figures de modes* (Figures of Fashion) originally formed a suite of seven small works drawn and etched by Watteau. Later, the series, discreetly reworked with a burin by Simon Thomassin the younger (1688-1741), was published as a small book, with an engraved frontispiece showing a cartouche surmounted by the head of a satyr and inscribed, "Figures de modes Dessinées et gravées à l'eau-forte par Watteau et terminées au burin par Thomassin le fils" (fig. 1). Dacier and Vuaflart ascribed the frontispiece also to Watteau's hand. Finally, in 1735, Jullienne incorporated these eight vignettes, retouched by Thomassin and supplemented by four others from another series, *Les figures françoises et comiques* (French and Comic Figures), in the second volume

fig. 1

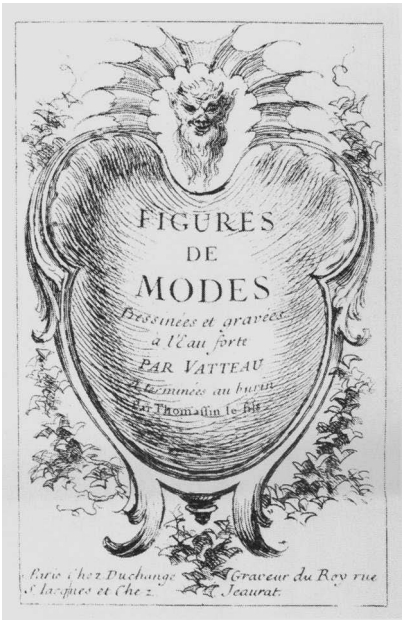




fig. 2

of the *Recueil Jullienne*. The twelve prints were arranged in groups of four on three separate sheets. It seems that each of the pure etchings of the *Figures de mode* existed in two states: the first before the framing line of the plate, the second with it. Only one of the seven etchings survives in the first state (cat. E. 3) at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which also has the series of all but one of the prints in the second state, complete except for *Promenader Facing Forward* (RD 2; G 4; DV 44); these were purchased 21 June 1950 at the Henri-Jean Thomas sale (21 June 1950, no. 77). Vignettes from the *Figures de modes* were offered also at the Bihn sale (23 May 1914): "very beautiful and very rare proofs, before all letters, in the pure etching state." Could they be the same as those now at the Bibliothèque Nationale? We know no impression of either the first or second state for DV 44, cited above; the third state (fig. 2), also rare, but already retouched by Thomassin, is not included in this exhibition because it is not by Watteau alone.

For some of the *Figures de modes* (cats. E. 2, 4), slight modifications of the landscape were made between the execution of the drawing and that of the print; the foliage in the background was replaced by architecture. In each case, the drawing and print are in the same direction. An intermediate stage, perhaps the counterproof of the drawing, may have existed. The same figures, etched again by Jean Audran without backgrounds, at the request of Jullienne, are dispersed throughout the *Figures de différents caractères*.

More than one illustrator in France tried his hand at *Figures de modes*. A popular subject since the seventeenth century with artists such as Jacques Callot (1592-1635), Abraham Bosse (1602-1676), and then Sébastian Leclerc (1637-1714), it enjoyed great success during the reign of Louis XIV, owing to the famous family of Bonnarts (Nicolas, c. 1637-1718; Henri, 1642-1711; Robert, 1652-after 1729; and Jean-Batiste, 1654-1727) and also to Jean de Saint-Jean, Claude Simpol (1666-1716), Bernard Picart (1673-1733), and Nicolas Arnoult (active 1680-1700).

The compositions used by Watteau in the *Figures des modes* are not his original inventions. Rather, he drew upon the conventional arrangement of his predecessors. However, while conserving their classic poses, he added more imagination and flexibility to his figures.

Watteau's originality manifests itself in the soothing landscape backdrops before which the models are placed; these are not found in any of the etchings by Audran after the same drawings. The landscapes in Watteau's *Figures de modes* depict very few distinctive features. These simple city gentlemen and gracious ladies, proud to pose in their fine clothes, are not, as in Bonnart and Arnoult, court nobles or members of the royal family decked out in the latest fashion. Nor do these etchings seek to glorify the notable personage by surrounding him with the symbols of his profession and his prestige, as in the image of the navigator Jean Bart (see cat. E. 2). Watteau's figures present themselves unpretentiously; perhaps they serve as pretexts for showing off beautiful costumes.

In fact, Watteau rarely lingered over such details as a button, a shoe buckle, or a sword hilt; nor did he render the pattern or texture of a fabric. Only the silhouette of a body in harmony with the landscape captured the painter's attention.

The nervous red chalk lines of his drawings are recognizable in the prints. Very freely drawn parallel lines define imprecise forms but their spontaneity gives the models a lively appeal.

Only a mediocre fashion illustrator in the strict sense of the profession, Watteau nevertheless remains an interesting maker of fashion prints because of his dynamic line and the intentional lack of finish, enhanced by the small format. Thomassin understood this and, in order to preserve the prints' freshness, hardly retouched the plates.

These static figures with their elongated bodies are a product of Watteau's youth; Dacier and Vuaflart brilliantly demonstrated that they could not be later than 1710, when Henri Thomassin, who retouched the plates, left to spend three years in Holland. They are usually dated c. 1709-1710, at a time when the artist was seeking to strike out on his own. Watteau had just left his master Audran and was finding his direction as an independent painter. This experiment was probably prompted by professional curiosity and a desire to explore another technique, but surely also, as Eidelberg has suggested, for financial profit. The immediate success of such figures, which were widely sold at a time when prints were the only means of reproduction was assured.

Watteau never forgot these small single figures, rigid yet delicate cousins to his *Polish Ladies, Finette, The Indifferent, The Anxious Lover* (CR 166, 167; cats. P. 58, 59; CR 211), and other single figure paintings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mariette, *Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 195 [15]; Goncourt 1881, p. 81; Huber and Rost VIII, 1804, p. 43; Robert-Dumesnil, II, 1836, p. 181, XI, 1871, p. 16; G 1875, pp. 14-18; Béraldi and Portalis III, 1882, p. 652; Delteil 1910, pp. 12-13; DV, II, pp. 70-75, III, pp. 25-28; Dacier 1929, pp. 53-58; Adhémar 1963, pp. 13-14; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 84-102; P 1984, pp. 43-47, 256, fig. 44; RM 1984 (in press).

# 1 Standing Man, Leaning on a Parapet (*Homme debout accoudé*)

Etching, second state (proofs on both recto and verso, only known impressions)
110 x 70 (4 5/16 x 2 3/4)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

The preliminary drawing is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PM 165; fig. 1). No impression of the first state of this print is known. The etching by Watteau, retouched by Thomassin, was included in the *Recueil Jullienne* (DV 49; fig. 2). The same figure, larger, reversed, and without the background was engraved by Jean Audran (1667-1756) (*Fddc* 320; fig. 3).

The man's smiling expression suggests that he is amused by some sight invisible to us. The frontal pose is reminiscent of certain works by Sébastien Leclerc, especially no. 984 of his engraved works (Préaud, I, 1980, p. 275) and the *Man of Quality* at the opera by Jean de Saint-Jean (fig. 4).

Watteau used a similar pose, in reverse, for the man at the right in *Italian Recreation* (cat. P. 40).

PROVENANCE
Henri-Jean Thomas (sale, 21 June 1950, no. 77); purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Db 15 g rés.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
RD, II, 1936, no. 1; G 1875, no. 3; DV, II, ill. p. 73; III, no. 49; Adhémar 1963, ill. p. 14; Eidelberg 1977, p. 90.

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4






# 2 Man Standing Next to a Basin (*Homme debout près d'une vasque*)

Etching, second state (unique impression)
110 x 69 (4 5/16 x 2 3/4)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

The preliminary drawing was one of those acquired cheaply by the young Tessin from Watteau himself during Tessin's first visit to Paris in 1715. Of the drawings he acquired, it is one of the few originals; most are counterproofs (National-museum, Stockholm; cat. D. 8). Eidelberg noted that the same figure, with some minor changes, is found at the bottom right of a sheet of drawings of six figures in an arrangement of two rows of three (PM 175; Ashmolean Museum; fig. 1), used by Watteau early in his career. No impression of the first state of this print is known. The etching by Watteau, retouched by Thomassin, was included in the *Recueil Julienne* (fig. 2). Two of the four men in the *Figures de modes,* the one in cat. E. 1 and the one that no longer exists in the pure etching state (DV 44), are shown bareheaded; the other two, the one depicted here and in the following entry wear hats. This one can be compared to *Jean Bart,* engraved by an unknown artist (fig. 3).

The landscape in the background of the drawing was simplified in the print and the sketchy rim of the drawing was changed into the round basin in the print.

PROVENANCE
Henri-Jean Thomas (sale, 21 June 1950, no. 7); purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, DV 15 g rés.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
RD II, 1836, no. 3, XI, 1871, no. 3; G 1875, no. 5; DV, III, no. 46; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 89-90.



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



## 3 Man Walking, Seen in Profile (*Promeneur de profil*)

Etching, first state (unique impression)
121 x 78 (4¾ x 3$\frac{1}{16}$)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

## 3a Man Walking, Seen in Profile

Etching, second state (unique impression)
113 x 70 (4$\frac{7}{16}$ x 2¾)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

In 1957 the preparatory drawing was in a Parisian private collection (PM 173; fig. 1). Watteau's etching, retouched by Thomassin, was included in the *Recueil Jullienne* (fig. 2). Jean Audran engraved the same figure, in reverse and without a background, for the *Fddc* (no. 274) (fig. 3).

This is the only etching in the *Figures de modes* for which we have an example of the first state.

The pose is more original, but was nonetheless directly inspired by the conventional models by Callot (fig. 4) that Watteau must have known. For example, he adopted for

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3





his own use the royal image engraved by Arnoult (fig. 5), the great illustrator of court fashion who followed the Bonnarts The body is still seen in profile, but the head is shown in three-quarter profile so that the face is hidden behind the wig. The pose is more supple and more spontaneous, so that the figure seems to "move" in space, foreshadowing the pilgrims of future works.

PROVENANCE
Henri-Jean Thomas (sale, 21 June 1950, no. 77); purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Db 15 g rés.

EXHIBITIONS
(cat. E. 3) Paris 1927, no. 1213, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
RD, II, 1836, no. 4; G 1875, no. 6; DV, II, ill. p. 73 and III, no. 52; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 90-91.



fig. 4



fig. 5



# 4 Woman Walking (*Femme marchant*)

Etching, second state
115 x 73 (4½ x 2⅞)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

The preparatory drawing is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PM 169; fig. 1). No example of the first state is known. There is another impression of the second state in the Dutuit collection at the Petit Palais, Paris. The etching by Watteau, retouched by Thomassin, was included in the *Recueil Jullienne* (fig. 2).

fig. 1



The same figure, in reverse and without the landscape background, was etched by Jean Audran for the *Fddc* (no. 307; fig. 3).

More changes were made between Watteau's drawing and the Watteau-Thomassin print for this figure than for any of the others of the series. In engraving the drawing, Watteau changed the background, which Thomassin would then modify further.

The pose in three-quarter view with the head turned to the spectator was often used by artists from Callot to Leclerc to Arnoult. Henri Bonnart copied it for his picture of the Princess of Savoy. This classical presentation can be compared to a sixteenth-century engraving (fig. 4) that reproduces an anonymous watercolor (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Oa fol. rés. P. 20). In 1687, Arnoult used the pose twice in the same set of prints, for the *Lady of Quality in Winter Dress* (fig. 5) and the *Lady of Quality in Summer Dress*. Watteau's lady is infinitely more graceful than Arnoult's rigid mannequin.

PROVENANCE
Henri-Jean Thomas (sale, 21 June 1950, no. 77); purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Db 15 g rés.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
RD, II, 1836, no. 5; G 1875, no. 7; DV, III, no. 51; Eidelberg 1977, p. 92.

fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5






# 5 Standing Woman Seen from Behind (*Femme de dos*)

Etching, second state
109 x 69 (4¼ x 2¾)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

The preparatory drawing, like the one for cat. E. 1, belonged to Count Tessin as early as 1715 and is now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (cat. D. 9). No example of the first state of this print is known. There is another impression of the second state in the Dutuit Collection at the Petit Palais, Paris. The etching by Watteau, retouched by Thomassin, was included in the *Recueil Julienne* (fig. 1). The figure, reversed and without a background, was etched by Jean Audran, for the *Fddc* (275; fig. 2).

In his paintings, Watteau often depicted women seen from behind. Other examples are *The Polish Woman* (CR 166, DV 334), *The Two Cousins* (cat. P. 47), and the woman studying the painting at the center of the *Gersaint's Shopsign* (cat. P. 73). The print and its preparatory drawing are somewhat analogous to the latter, though with all the differences of an early work and a late masterpiece. In this engraving, the woman's bearing is still rather stiff. Once again, Watteau was inspired by earlier works by Jacques Callot or Abraham Bosse (fig. 3).

PROVENANCE
Henri-Jean Thomas (sale, 21 June 1950, no. 77); purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Db 15 g rés.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
RD, II, 1836, no. 6; G 1875, no. 8; DV, II, ill. p. 73 and III, no. 47; Eidelberg 1977, p. 90.



fig. 1

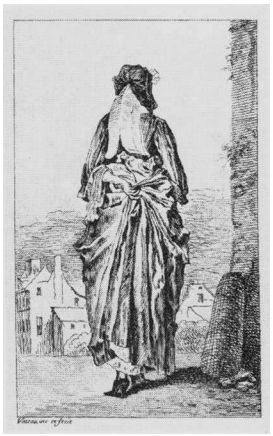


fig. 2



fig. 3



# 6 Seated Woman, Leaning on a Pedestal (*Femme assise, accoudée*)

Etching, second state
111 x 71 (4 5/16 x 2 13/16)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

The preparatory drawing (PM 170; fig. 1) was in a private collection in Paris in 1957 along with the one for cat. E. 3. The same woman, with a few changes, appears in the center of a sheet with three studies of women (PM 158, British Museum; Hulton 1980-1981, no. 1; fig. 2). The women's hairstyles "à la fontange" indicate that the drawing must have been made before the print. No example of the first state of this print is known. The Bibliothèque Nationale has a second impression of the second state, which shares with cat. E. 3 the distinction of being the only *Figure de mode* in pure etching in their collection prior to the Thomas sale (1950). A third example is in the Edmond de Rothschild Collection in the Louvre (21791). The etching by Watteau, retouched by Thomassin, was included in the *Recueil Jullienne* (fig. 3).

The woman's pose had earlier been used by Sébastian Leclerc (fig. 4). The bas-relief decorating the pedestal in the drawing was omitted from the print. The vase and the trees suggest a park. Of the seven images in the *Figures de modes,* this is the only one that may have served as Watteau's inspiration for a painting, *The Anxious Lover* (Chantilly; CR 211, DV 165) (fig. 5).

PROVENANCE
Henri-Jean Thomas (sale, 21 June 1950, no. 77); purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Db 15 g rés.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Rd, II, 1836, no. 7; G 1875, no. 9; DV, II, ill. p. 73 and III, no. 50; Adhémar 1963, ill. p. 15; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 88-89.

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5





# 7 Recruits Going to Join the Regiment (*Recrue allant joindre le régiment*)

Etching, first state
Inscribed in ink at lower right, *Watteau sculp.*
248 x 348 (9¾ x 13¾)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Through Mariette, we know that the first state of *The Recruits* was etched by Watteau and later retouched by Thomassin. Thus, the man who reworked the *Figures de modes* was called upon a second time. With the exception of Robert-Dumesnil who refused to accept the attribution to Watteau, his authorship of this plate has been judged indisputable by the experts.

Since Parker (1933), scholars have agreed that a drawing, rather than the painting, served as the model for this print. Moreover, when Parker examined the description of the drawing in the catalogue of the Jullienne sale, he noted the word *du* (*étude finie du tableau*) (finished study of the painting) and had concluded that the more developed drawing had been based on the painting.

The company of recruits pass through a wasted countryside. (Furetière's *Dictionnaire* [III, 1690], defined *Recrue* as a levy of men of war to augment a Company, or to replace soldiers who have deserted or who have died.) A somber mood, unusual in Watteau's military scenes, dominates the scene. One has only to compare it to *The Halt* (cat. P. 5), *Bivouac* (cat. P. 6), or the two Hermitage pendants (cats. P. 15, 16) to see the difference.

Watteau used timid, horizontal, parallel lines in the sky and more supple and vertical strokes in the figures to show the undulating movement of the file of soldiers. The very even, shallow-bitten lines required a thin inking of the entire plate, thus giving a uniform silver-gray tone to all impressions of this print. As gray forms against a gray sky, the soldiers are swallowed up in an enveloping mist. Only the foreground, with the pond at the right, is somewhat darker, giving a slight illusion of depth. The flatness and monotony of the print reflect Watteau's lack of experience with engraving. Goncourt, who owned an impression of it (Goncourt sale, 1897, no. 58), valued it only for its rarity and compared it to the *griffonage* of Italian painters. "It is a free, flowing improvisation from a botched, scratched, crossed plate with foul biting, something that hardly has the master's stamp,



except in the spirit of the extremities and the hands" (Goncourt 1881, p. 70). Goncourt's judgment notwithstanding, the print possesses because of its awkwardness a very personal charm; its silvery light perfectly captures a gray, day in autumn, and its nervous, albeit faint lines render the movement of the bodies in space very well.

A counterproof of Watteau's etching *The Recruits* retouched in red chalk exists on the verso of a drawing in Berlin for Watteau's last print, *The Italian Troupe* (cat. D. 55). Since we know that Watteau's plate was skillfully reworked by Thomassin, we can conclude that Watteau himself made these indications on the counterproof in order to guide the engraver's work.

Watteau and Thomassin must have met no later than 1709-1710, when the latter was at work on the *Figures de modes,* which gave evidence of his skill as an engraver. Undoubtedly, this was the reason he was called upon a second time. Thomassin's engraved additions increased the contrasts in Watteau's etching. By selectively cutting supplementary lines in the plate, Thomassin gave more strength to the print. A dense network of straight and slanted lines has darkened the foreground against which the lighter soldiers' uniforms and black hats are clearly set off. The ground, now better defined, has become more solid and firm under the soldiers' feet. Through Thomassin's use of outlined volumes, the troop has receded into the background.

One could cite many other changes that transformed Watteau's flat impression into a more convincing, three-dimensional image. (An exception is the rainbow on the right, which floats awkwardly in space like a wisp of smoke.) Thomasin raised Watteau's unskilled etching to a level worthy of inclusion in the *Recueil Jullienne,* while respecting Watteau's delicate work.

The painting of the same title and composition, sometimes identified as the first easel painting that Watteau sold to Sirois, is generally dated to c. 1709-1710. But the style of the print, more graphic than pictorial, seems later than 1710. The original drawing (see Related Works), which according to both Parker (1933) and Eidelberg (1977) served as the model for the etching, has been lost, and therefore offers no help in dating the print. However, based on a drawing in Berlin that bears a study for one of the soldiers (cat. D. 33), Grasselli has here suggested a date as late as 1716. Since a second Berlin sheet (cat. D. 55) bears on one side the drawing for *The Italian Troupe* and the retouched counterproof of *Recruits Going to Join the Regiment* on the verso, this seems to indicate that Thomassin's reworking of the engraving, shortly after Watteau first made the etching, and Watteau's drawing for *The Italian Troupe* were contemporaneous. This obliges us to redate the etching of *The Recruits* to the period of the drawing of *The Italian Troupe,* 1716 according to Grasselli.

PROVENANCE

Unknown; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Db 15 g rés.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mariette, *Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 192 [23]; Huber and Rost 1804, p. 43; RD, II, 1836, pp. 182-183; G 1875, no. 2; Goncourt 1881, P. 81; Goncourt, 1881, II, P. 118; Portalis and Béraldi, 1882, III, p. 652; Josz 1903, p. 128; Mantz 1892, p. 57; Delteil 1910, pp. 12-13; DV, II, p. 75 and III, no. 178; Dacier 1923, p. 53; Dacier 1926, pp. 112-114; Monod 1928, p. 213; Parker 1933, pp. 3-5; Adhémar 1963, pp. 11-14, ill. p. 17; F 1972, III, B. 1; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 102-103; P. 1984, pp. 34, 38, fig. 27; RM, 1984 (in press).

RELATED WORKS

A sheet in the Rothschild Collection (Louvre, 21, 790 LR) has proofs on both recto and verso of this first state. Dacier and Vuaflart saw another impression in the Fenaille collection (now lost) that had belonged to the Goncourts (their sale, 1897, no. 58) (DV, II, repr. bet. pp. 74-75).

fig. 1

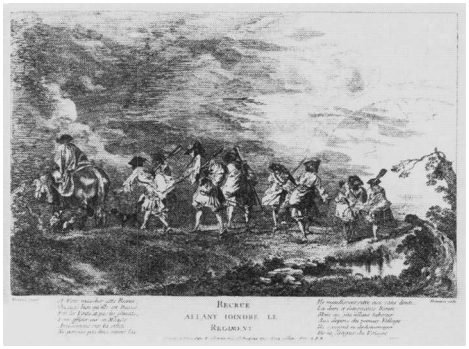


fig. 2



The same print, skillfully retouched with a burin by Henri-Simon Thomassin (1688-1741), was included in the second volume of the *Recueil Jullienne* (DV 178; fig. 1). Two other states with both etching and engraving are known: one bears the address of Sirois, the other that of Chereau.

Several painted versions of this same composition are known, all in the same direction. The original is probably in the collection of Edouard de Rothschild, but it has not been possible for us to examine it. There is a copy at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers (fig. 2), another very mediocre one in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, and a third at the Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow.

A drawing of the same subject (now lost) belonged to Jullienne and was described in the catalogue of his 1767 estate sale under no. 812: "Un Dessein à la sanguine retouché à la plume, c'est l'Etude finie du tableau qui a eté gravé par Thomassin, sous le titre de *Recrue allant joindre le Régiment.*" Parker (1933) recognized a drawing in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon, as a copy in reverse of the original.

Parker and Mathey (1957) list four preliminary drawings for this composition: PM 241 (location unknown); PM 243 (Baron Elie de Rothschild); PM 251 (counterproof; Lepeltier, Paris); PM 253 (Berlin; cat. D. 33). Other studies of soldiers have reappeared since the publication of Parker and Mathey's catalogue (see Cailleux 1959).

# 8 The Clothes Are Italian ("*Les Habits sont Italiens. . .*")

Etching, first state
275 x 190 (10 13/16 x 7½)
Inscribed by Mariette in ink at lower left, *peint par wateaux et gravé à leau forte par luy mesme*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Mariette's attribution of the etching to Watteau is confirmed by the caption on the print retouched by Simonneau: "Painted and Etched by Wattaux and retouched with the burin by Simonneau the elder." (fig. 1).

The Goncourt brothers, who owned this print, took pride in possessing what they believed was the only surviving impression of this extremely rare state. It was made even more valuable because it had belonged previously to Pierre-Jean Mariette, who had added the inscription along the lower margin. Edmond de Goncourt was particularly fond of this print, "the most precious piece of [his] collection" (1881, II, p. 118). At the same time, he was well aware of its awkwardness. His friend Braquemond, in his preface to the catalogue of the Goncourt sale (1897, pp. iii-iv), recalled that the print was a frequent topic of discussions between them: "The piece by Watteau returned like a bad penny" to their conversation. Goncourt was right to believe in the rarity of his impression, but it was not unique; Defer-Dumesnil owned a second impression, now at the British Museum (see Related Works).

Watteau's etching seems not to have been executed after the painting of the same subject (see Related Works), but rather after a drawing now in Berlin (cat. D. 55; fig. 2). We know that Boucher's print of the composition was based on the drawing (as the caption states), and is in reverse to it (fig. 3). Whereas this print is in every way similar to Watteau's etching, there are several variations from the lost Rosenheim painting (fig. 4). Eidelberg's theory that the drawing had been copied from the painting so that the print could be made seems plausible, particularly when one considers the rarity of compositional drawings by Watteau.

The costumes worn by the five figures are all taken from the theater. But while Colombine was part of the Italian comedy, Pierrot was the epitome of the Fair theaters, which were French; the guitarist could be either French or Italian. As always, French and Italian, comedy and fantasy are mixed together in Watteau's work. Would it not be better to see here the painter's friends, in disguise?

The plate was more deeply bitten than the one for the preceding print and there are more nuances in the lines. The density of the ink yielded less uniform impressions than *The Recruits*. *The Italian Troupe* gives evidence of a richer technique than *The Recruits* and should therefore be dated later. However, Watteau again experienced difficulties in transposing the subtleties of his drawing to the plate. The faces, especially, suffered from his inexperience. An excessive tangle of lines marks the shadows while the light areas seem pale and empty. Pierrot's cheeks, for example, are ringed in black and seem hollow. The women's hands, so graceful in the drawing, have become almost masculine in the print. The etching, in spite of its faults, nevertheless has the vigor and grace of Watteau's hand. The rapidity of his draftmanship is evident, and he has expressed himself in this print with more facility than in *The Recruits*. It is unfortunate that he did not experiment with printmaking any further.

Dacier rightly pointed out the surprising choice of Simonneau, an older artist steeped in the classical tradition, to rework the plate. His job was not to transfer an image to the copperplate, but rather to perform the much more delicate task of retouching, making only the most necessary modifications. Watteau's plate, awkward but so personal in its clumsiness, probably dismayed him as much as the subject, which was different from what he was accustomed to. Smothering the spontaneous lines of the amateur under workmanship that was too perfect and cold, he reworked the entire plate. The result was a print that in no way resembled the original.

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4





PROVENANCE

Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1774); Edmond and Jules de Goncourt (sale, Paris, 26-27 April 1897, no. 57); purchased for Fr 760, 29 May 1897 by the younger Danlos, who resold it for Fr 836 to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris Db 15, g rés.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mariette, *Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 195 [17]; RD, II, 1836, pp. 86-87 and XI, 1871, p. 323; Duplessis 1861, p. 287; G 1875, no. 1; Goncourt 1881, pp. 70-81; Goncourt, *L'Art*, 1881, II, p. 118; Portalis and Béraldi, 1882, III, p. 652; Josz 1903, p. 328; Delteil 1910, pp. 12-13; DV, II, p. 75, ill. bet. pp. 74-75 and III, no. 130; Dacier 1926, pp. 112-116, ill.; Parker 1933, pp. 1-2; Monod 1928, pp. 212-213; Levey 1959, pp. 57-58; Adhémar 1963, pp. 11-14, ill. p. 12; F 1972, III, B. 17; *L'Oeil*, May 1975, no. 261, pp. 42-47, ill. p. 44; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 106-113; P 1984, pp. 255-257, 290 n. 47, 291 n. 61, fig. 185; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED WORKS

Another impression of the first state is in the British Museum, London (see Parker 1933). A third impression appeared in the David-Weill sale, 3 June 1950 (no. 120); purchased by Calabi (Milan); present location unknown.

The etching, retouched with engraving by Charles Simonneau, called Simonneau the Elder (1656-1728), is included in the second volume of the *Recueil Jullienne* (DV 130). Five other states with both etching and engraving are known. It was sold in separate sheets by Sirois (fig. 1), and later by Chereau.

Parker and Mathey (1957) mention three preparatory drawings for this composition: PM 657 (Private collection, Paris); PM 659 (Teylers Museum, Haarlem); PM 777 (Museu Gulbenkian, Lisbon).

François Boucher etched the Berlin drawing for the *Recueil Jullienne* with the title *The Italian Troupe* (DV 85; figs. 2, 3).

Numerous painted versions of this composition exist. The two that are most likely by Watteau are one in Waddesdon Manor (identical to the print) and one that was loaned in 1929 to the Musée Carnavalet, Paris, by Mme. Rosenheim (fig. 4; present location unknown). The second painting differs noticeably from the print but seems on the basis of a photograph to be of better quality.

# The Paintings

Pierre Rosenberg

## I The Exhibition

In 1895 Gustave Larroumet, a member of the Institut, hoped for an early presentation of a Watteau exhibition: "In the center of the first row would appear the *Embarkation,* wonder of wonders, apotheosis of enchantment, radiant joy to the eye, unique charm for the spirit. And then would come the paintings from the La Caze collection: the *Gille (sic),* the most spiritual, the most expressive, and the best gathering of individuals painted by Watteau, *The Indifferent* and *Finette,* two pure jewels of grace, the *Assembly in a Park,* excellent example of a subject he often handled; then *The Pickpocket, Judgment of Paris, The Faux-pas, Autumn,* and that curious mythology *Jupiter and Antiope.* From M. Groult would be requested the portrait of Watteau by himself, the *Italian Comedians,* one of the four great paintings dedicated by Watteau to his favorite models, the superb *Portrait of M. de Julienne (sic)* and the *Flutist.* Nothing leaves Chantilly anymore since its proprietor made a gift of it to the Institut de France; but no doubt the Duc d'Aumale would consent to send *Pastoral Pleasure,* considering that to go for a time from Chantilly to the Louvre is merely to go from one royal residence to another. Since 1890, when he brought it back from England, M. Stéphane Bourgeois has had a *Diana at Her Bath,* which is, at any rate, an extraordinary Watteau, to use M. Paul Mantz' expression, by reason of its subject, beauty of execution, and state of conservation. M. S. Bourgeois ought to remember that even though the State did not buy that painting, it was not because of any lack of good will on the part of the directors of Fine Arts." *The Pickpocket* is by Mercier; the *Italian Comedians* from the Groult collection has turned out to be a copy, the original of which, now in the National Gallery of Washington (cat. P. 71), is shown here instead. Chantilly still does not make loans. As for the *Portrait of M. de Julienne* and the *Diana at Her Bath,* which have since entered the Louvre (cats. P. 67, 28), they occupy prominent positions in the exhibition.

Larroumet's list did not include paintings by Watteau outside France's borders that he would have hoped to have exhibited. Most of them, excluding those conserved in collections that cannot lend or have refused to lend, are in our exhibition. Noteworthy among the paintings in this category are eight works in the Wallace Collection, which cannot make loans. Those paintings, some of which have just been restored (needfully?) for the museum's reopening, are sorely missed here. Also absent are the *Pleasures of Love* and the *Gathering in the Open Air* of Dresden (CR 178, 182), two paintings in a perfect state of conservation, but the political situation makes it impossible today to borrow from both West Berlin and the German Democratic Republic for the same exhibition. A few paintings that we requested were refused: *The Remedy* from the Norton Simon Collection in Pasadena (CR 125), the *Scale of Love* from the National Gallery, London (CR 161), and above all the Edinburgh masterpiece, *Venetian Fêtes* (CR 180). We have tried to locate the greatest possible number of Watteau's works. Some are now on the art market, but we did not wish to borrow them. Still others, lost since World War II, have remained untraceable despite our efforts; and finally, others whose existence is proved by the engravings in the *Recueil Jullienne* or mentions in old sales catalogues have been lost since the eighteenth century.

We admit (and we knew that this would be the case when we decided to organize a Watteau exhibition) that among the paintings in the show a few are ruined and have been restored in the recent or distant past, with varying degrees of success. Later we shall have a word to say about Watteau's technique, explaining in good part the mediocre condition of so many works by the artist. In certain cases, as for example, the *Nymph and Satyr (Jupiter and Antiope)* of the Louvre (cat. P. 36), it was decided that the old restorations should be left untouched, but in other cases, such as the *Italian Comedians* of Washington (cat. P. 71), it was necessary to restore the work before an informed judgment could be made. The exemplary restoration of the *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* in the Louvre (cat. P. 61) is the subject of a study by Bergeon and Faillant, appended to cat. P 61. It nevertheless remains that the painter's oeuvre has suffered and except for the great masterpieces such as the *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*) of the Louvre, the *Pilgrimage* of the Louvre and the

Berlin *Embarkation,* the *Shopsign* of Berlin (cats. P. 69, 61, 62, 73), and some small jewels such as *The Intimate Toilette* (cat. P. 37), rare are the paintings that have come down to us in perfect condition.

We did not choose to borrow the works by Watteau's imitators, Lancret or Pater, Bonaventure de Bar or Quillard. The paintings by these artists are rather mediocre compared to those by their master, and do not in any way contribute to an understanding of Watteau's genius. We have also set aside the rare works that are certainly by Gillot, while regretting that the monographs of Populus (1930) and de Poley (1938) have not been pursued. No doubt we shall be reproached for not having exhibited a certain number of problem paintings that have often been accepted by the majority of the experts—for example, the two paintings in Valenciennes, *True Gaiety* (CR 3) and *Portrait of the Sculptor Antoine Pater* (CR 148). We omitted them because we believe that they were not by Watteau: we did not want to add a problem to an exhibition that already has enough. The Watteau colloquium, which will be held in Paris in October 1984, will no doubt help to resolve some of these questions. During the writing of the catalogue we have seen again all the exhibited paintings. We regret, however, not having had the time to return to Lisbon, Rotterdam, Moscow, and Leningrad. No photograph can replace direct examination of a work, especially in the case of Watteau.

One last word: Watteau is a "difficult" painter, in ways that we shall discuss below. Let us say here simply that paintings accepted as the work of Watteau by everyone are the exception. Even works as famous as the *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*) (cat. P. 69), and the *Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71) have been placed in doubt recently. It will not be forgotten that until a new version surfaced at a public sale in London, *The Island of Cythera* formerly in the Heugel collection was thought by everyone to be the original painting. The new version, which has since been acquired by the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (cat. P. 9), is no less unanimously accepted today. This example, which we have tried to keep fresh in our mind, ensures modesty. There can be no doubt that among the paintings exhibited, some will be challenged. Bringing them together, in any case, should make it possible to "see more clearly." That was our foremost objective.

## II The Catalogue

We had hoped and desired to write a short catalogue with concise notes. But that has proved to be impossible, and we must offer some justification. One might think that, because so much has been written about Watteau—more, indeed, than on any other French painter—everything about his painted oeuvre is known. Further, the writing of the catalogue would seem to be simplified by the existence of the *Recueil Jullienne.* From Hédouin (1845) and the Goncourt brothers (1875), to Roland-Michel (1984) and Posner (1984), passing by way of Réau (1928) and Adhémar (1950), catalogues raisonné that seem to have resolved the main points of the problems concerning Watteau's painted oeuvre have regularly followed one another. But regardless of the angle from which one approaches Watteau, the shadowy areas outnumber the certainties. Debates over the attribution of the paintings, their date, and especially their meaning have continued at a lively pace for more than a century.

We know that after Watteau's death Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) decided to engrave the drawings (*Figures de différents caractères*) and then the paintings (*Recueil Jullienne*) of Watteau. In passing let us pay our respects to Emile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart (as well as to Jacques Hérold, coauthor of the first volume, published last in 1929) whose admirable work (four volumes published between 1922 and 1929) on the *Recueil Jullienne* remains indispensable. It is regrettable that no one has attempted to do the same for the *Figures de différents caractères.* One might believe that every painting included in the *Recueil Jullienne* is by Watteau and that every work excluded is not by him. However, of the twelve works by Watteau in the Louvre (in fact thirteen, for we now believe that *The Children of Bacchus* is by him), only *Diana At Her Bath, The Indifferent,* and *Finette* (cats. P. 28, 59, 58) were engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne. Assembly in a Park* and *The Faux-pas* (cats. P. 56, 57) are absent from it, as is the Louvre *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 61), Watteau's reception piece to the Academy in 1717, and the *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*) (cat. P. 69) whose authenticity is difficult to doubt. Though the *Diana* was engraved, its dimensions are appreciably different from those indicated in the caption of the print. The examples provided by the Louvre's paintings could be repeated for the most illustrious paintings. Even shortly before 1914, for example, there was still doubt that the Berlin version of *Gersaint's Shopsign* (cat. P. 73) was the original and even today there are detractors of *The Dance* in Berlin (cat. P. 72) or the *Italian Comedians* in Washington (cat. P. 71). Certainly, the deplorable state of so many of Watteau's paintings explains, in part, these hesitations. It should be added that the artist, who never signed his works, was very soon and often very cleverly copied. He quickly attained fame in France and abroad and was also adroitly imitated and pastiched in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact, only a side-by-side comparison of the paintings can allow a calm and considered judgment.

Let us turn to the chronology of Watteau's painted oeuvre. It is well known that the artist died at thirty-seven years of age; that he did not date his paintings; and that the securely datable paintings can be counted on the fingers of one hand. If one also considers the fact that the artist's early biographers contradict each other and that their statements are at best ambiguous, then the historian's difficulty can be understood. In any event it is around the few rare points of anchorage that successive biographers have clashed, and without very persuasive results. In our entries we have of course mentioned the principal opinions about the date of each painting exhibited. But the reader will note, no doubt with amusement, that even within our catalogue we have suggested dates that conflict with those advanced by Margaret Morgan Grasselli in her entries on Watteau's drawings.

Do not misunderstand our intention, though: we believe the chronology of a painter's work is of great importance. Poussin or Chardin, to take as examples two of our favorite artists, constructed their oeuvres in the same way an architect designs a house. Through their brushes, rather than words, they confided to us their personal conception of what, in their eyes, painting is; their thoughts on life, death, love, and man. Their vision naturally evolves, changes, and grows deeper. We are convinced that the same is true for Watteau and that the brevity of his life (like that of Mozart) did not affect the course of his development. But we believe that with Watteau, the process of maturation was not at all linear. True, there is an evolution in his style as a draftsman, but there, too, it does not have that seductive logic found in Poussin or Cézanne. Besides, everything indicates that Watteau used drawings from his youth in his final paintings. Even though we have agreed to play the chronology game and have suggested a date for each exhibited painting, even though we know that some of these dates will be debated and that we will probably change our mind when the exhibition is hung, we also believe that in Watteau's oeuvre chronology does not have the same importance it has for other great creators. We believe above all that, because of the very nature of Watteau's character, problems of chronology are insoluble, because of his desire (perhaps subconscious), to create an oeuvre that escapes the rational.

We now come to an essential point, which explains the length of some of our notes: to write about Watteau requires wide-ranging knowledge. Of course, for the few rare portraits, landscapes, military paintings, and even for the mythological, allegorical, or even religious paintings (in any event these paintings do illustrate that "variety" in Watteau's oeuvre to which La Roque, as early as 1721, alluded), the problems are the same as those encountered when any seventeenth- or eighteenth-century painter is studied—identification of the model, origins of the theme, and iconographic sources—but the *fêtes galantes,* his specialty, of which Watteau was the "inventor" (Jullienne 1726), require a much wider scholarship.

According to the dictionary of Furetière (1690), a *fête galante* is a "merry-making of well-bred people." True, the word *galant* soon acquired the negative connotation that it still has today, but the *fête galante* was not just a type, like landscape, portraiture, genre, or conversation pieces, from which Watteau borrowed some qualities. It was also the means that he used to describe the difficulties of human relations: with the *fête galante* Watteau made himself the painter of the different stages of love, tenderness, desire, passion, and jealousy; happy love as well as unhappy love. He would depict these same feelings when he placed his figures on the stage instead of in the countryside.

"He very much liked reading" (Gersaint in Champion 1921, p. 64), and "reading was his greatest relaxation" (Caylus in the same vol., pp. 90-91), but above all he went to the theater. He attended all the theaters, as François Moureau has shown (Appendix A), the operas and concerts, and as Caylus wrote, "He had the sensitivity and even the refinement for judging music." To study Watteau requires a knowledge of the Parisian theatrical and musical world of the first twenty years of the eighteenth century (see Appendix C, "Watteau and Music"). Further, it is advisable to know the history of costume. Through an important passage by Caylus (Champion 1921, pp. 100-101) we know how Watteau worked: "his practice was to draw his studies in a book bound so that he always had a great number ready at hand. He had elegant clothes, some of them theatrical, with which he dressed persons of either sex depending on whom he found willing to sit and whom he took in a quite natural position, preferring the most simple ones. When he felt he wanted to make a picture, he had recourse to his notebook. He selected the figures from it that best suited him for the moment. He formed groups with them, most often to fit into a landscape background, that he had conceived or prepared. Rarely did he do otherwise." Yvonne Deslandres has pointed out to us that Watteau's costumes are always real, never invented, and illustrate the style of the period. But the artist mixed street clothes and stage costumes with the distinctive marks of the actor—hats, feathers, ruffs, long sleeves, and berets.

The reading of Watteau's paintings also requires other kinds of specialized knowledge, of sculpture (we thank our colleague J. R. Gaborit for his assistance), dance (the Watteau colloquium will clarify Watteau's knowledge in this area), and Watteau's circle (see The Friends of Watteau by Nicole Parmantier). It is therefore understandable that coming to grips with Watteau requires an unusual erudition that we do not at all pretend to have, but of which we had to acquire the rudiments.

And to what purpose, one wonders?

Watteau's paintings do not leave their viewers indifferent. They intrigue; they fascinate. Attempts have always been made to decipher the subjects, to find their meaning, to pierce their mystery, as it has been said. True, Caylus (Champion 1921, p. 102) pointed out that "his compositions had no object." But rare are those who have been satisfied with that explanation, the more so since that same Caylus (Champion 1921, p. 92) put us on our guard when he wrote that Watteau "thought deeply." How can one be satisfied with Caylus' first explanation when the titles given to the engravings after the paintings, probably by Jullienne, make one stop and think: *The Adventuress, The Party of Four, The Enchanted Isle,* while the *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera,* whether it represents a departure for the isle of love, from the isle of love, or even an allegorical place outside of time, has caused a great amount of ink to be spilled.

Of course, if in general Watteau, like Jean Renoir in the *Carrosse d'or,* chose his characters from the world of the theater, it was only to make us understand better that actors, when not on the stage, experience emotions with the same intensity as common mortals. In any case, finding the key or keys to each painting is left up to the individual viewer. Efforts to interpret the works have increased. Watteau's oeuvre has been approached from various perspectives, sometimes reducing the paintings to illustrations of scenes from the theater or to simple pastoral amusements; some-

times, by contrast, overinterpreting and seeking too far afield ("danse macabre"; the different ages of life; musical or erotic allusions that presuppose an erudition that Watteau certainly did not possess). We have included all that in our entries, so that each reader can develop an informed opinion.

## III The Painter

Even though Watteau's features still elude us (see the Chronology, illustrated with portraits that probably represent the artist); even though the information that we have been able to gather on his private life is sparse, we know the artist's character thanks to his early biographers. He was "mild and affable," according to La Roque; "speaking little but very well" (Leclerc); "cold and indifferent," according to Jullienne; "fickle," according to Gersaint; "caustic . . . shy . . . witty" (Caylus); and possessed of "a lively and penetrating mind" (Dezallier d'Argenville). Watteau was of "sad character" (Gersaint); "somber" and "almost always meditative" (Leclerc); ". . . older than others because of the turn of his mind . . . the disgust Watteau had for himself and for all men" (Caylus) became more marked with illness, probably tuberculosis. "He did not like money" (Caylus). "Love of freedom and independence . . . led him to live according to his whims and even in obscurity" (Gersaint). "Of simple . . . habits" (Leclerc), "innocent," "he was more libertine in mind than in reality." Yet according to Caylus, he never drank too much, though "perhaps he liked women a little more." This allusion, which was removed from the final version of his speech of 1748, assumes its full importance when we recall that the austere Caylus was also the author of spicy novels, and makes it possible to reject suspicions of pederasty or of "indifference" toward women that come to mind when reading the old biographies written by his best friends. Everyone alludes to his "shattered health" and "the horrible spectacle of his coming death" mentioned by Mariette. All still stress the love of "change" that made him regularly change his address.

Through those same biographers we know how he painted. "Great facility" and "gift" are words that flowed repeatedly from their pens. Jullienne called him "hard-working"; but he also painted quickly and experienced the "need to toss some effect on the canvas quickly." While the role of the preparatory drawings is of capital importance (see Caylus' text above), he made "neither rough drafts nor sketches." He "flew from subject to subject. . . . To rid himself more quickly of a work that he had begun and was obliged to finish, he put a lot of rich oil on his brush in order to spread the color more easily. It must be admitted that several of his paintings are being ruined daily because of that practice" (Gersaint). "That *huile grasse* has considerably damaged his paintings" (Mariette). It "afterward did considerable harm to his paintings" (Caylus). Watin (1776, p. 90) described its composition to us. It made it possible to superimpose very quickly layers of paints that dried rapidly—but with the final result that the pictorial material became deeply cracked. That is the reason why so many of Watteau's paintings are so gravely damaged today.

A virtuoso but impatient painter and a mediocre craftsman, Watteau "thought deeply about painting." "Dissatisfied with what he did," he had a high idea of what his art should be and suffered from the fact that, according to him, "his execution was inferior to his ideas." "He saw art as much above what he was doing" (Caylus).

We shall not retrace Watteau's career, his early training at Valenciennes with Gérin, his modest social origins, his passage through the studios of Gillot and Audran, which have been reviewed in the Chronology and The Friends of Watteau in this volume. Instead we would like to mention the old masters who influenced his work. As early as August 1721 La Roque had already noted that his "coloring is much like that of Rubens" whose "finest works he avidly copied and studied." "Rubens and Van Dyck whose style of color had charmed him were his true models" (Dezallier d'Argenville). "He was responsive [to the drawings in the Grozat collection] by Giacomo Bassano, but even more so to the studies of Rubens and of Van Dyck. The beautiful buildings, fine sites, and foliage filled with taste and spirit of the trees of Titian and of Campagnola . . . captivated him" (Caylus). This admiration for the art of Flanders and of Venice (and of La Fosse) should not make us forget the radically new elements in Watteau's art.

Watteau was quickly recognized as a great "inventor" (Leclerc). His reputation in France (in 1721, La Roque mentioned the "excessive price" of his paintings), England (where he went in 1720), and Germany (where he would be collected with fervor; see Helmut Börsch-Supan, Appendix D), the dissemination of his oeuvre through prints, his numerous imitators, and his influence on the decorative art of his century, prove that he was considered an authentic innovator. But when it comes to defining what is so new about his paintings, his contemporaries are silent. True, one can admire what is "graceful and elegant" in them, the "variety of draperies, head ornaments and clothing," "the beautiful folds," "the beautiful manner that he invented," that *"vaguezza"* mentioned by Voltaire, his "pleasing and comic subjects," and "the taste that he cultivated . . . [which] is not at all appropriate to serious matters."

But the commentaries stop after the "rediscovery" of Watteau, though he had never really sunk into oblivion (as indicated in the fine lines by Vivant Denon, quoted in our entry on *Pierrot* [cat. P. 69] that had belonged to him, and in our discussion of *The Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* [cat. P. 61]). After he was taken in hand by the nineteenth-century poets Gautier, Banville, Nerval, Baudelaire, Verlaine, and many others, a romantic and melancholic Watteau was invented, out of whole cloth according to Posner. While it is true that his contemporaries experienced rather more joy and merriment than sadness or nostalgia before the painter's oeuvre, it is no less certain that they sensed what was new in his psychological analysis of human feelings. Attempts have been made to replace the nineteenth-century Watteau by another Watteau. A greater place has been

accorded to music and the meaning that should be given to sculptures and musical instruments (Mirimonde), to the theater (Macchia), and to eroticism (Posner). Other readings have come to replace or have been superimposed on the one we inherited from the nineteenth century. None of them explains everything.

In this volume we seek to take stock of the current state of our knowledge of Watteau. We hope it will make it possible to build on more solid bases, but we fear, indeed we know, that Watteau will escape us once again. Each century, each generation, each expert, each one of us has his own image of Watteau. In fact, the artist's greatness may well reside in that multiplicity of interpretations of an oeuvre that does not wish to reveal its intentionally ambiguous secret. As we know, *Gersaint's Shopsign* (cat. P. 73), his testament and his finest painting, is not just a simple and masterful description of a dealer's shop on the Pont-Notre Dame. Watteau's ambition is obvious, but we do not know what he meant. Will we ever know?

# 1 Harlequin Emperor in the Moon (*"Arlequin empereur dans la lune"*)

Oil on canvas
65 x 82 (25⅝ x 32¼)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes

The painting, and particularly its background, is in a mediocre state of conservation: the sky is a rather unpleasant green and the trees on the right have been extensively repainted. We can understand why specialists have hesitated to take a position between Gillot and Watteau. Although the bibliography cites authors who have leaned toward Gillot, today the great majority assign the work to Watteau.

There is reason to attribute the work to Claude Gillot (1673-1722), Watteau's master: an engraving of the same title by Gabriel Huquier after Gillot (fig. 1) exhibits a composition very close to the one of the Musée de Nantes. But although this engraving unequivocally points to Gillot's authorship, it is unclear whether a painting or a drawing (as everything would lead one to believe) is reproduced. Moreover, it presents a number of differences from the painting. The background is completely changed; a Pierrot is perched behind Harlequin's cart. But above all the figure at the far right of the engraving (found at left in the painting) has been completely changed: the Mezzetin who is seen in the Nantes painting so clearly foreshadows the figure in the famous New York composition (cat. P. 49) that it constitutes a weighty argument for those who support the attribution to Watteau. In the same way Watteau's preparatory drawings (see, for example, cat. D. 3) can be compared with similar studies by Gillot (Eidelberg 1974) and serve to confirm that Watteau, though directly inspired by Gillot's composition—a drawing that is most likely lost—was responsible for executing the Nantes canvas.

The subject of the painting is clear: it was taken from a comedy in three acts by Nolant de Fatouville, *Arlequin empereur dans la lune*. The play is a long practical joke at the expense of Doctor Baloardo: in order to marry Colombine, Harlequin misleads him and disguises himself successively as a farmer, an apothecary, an ambassador of the emperor in the moon, and finally as the emperor himself. The scene shows us Harlequin in a cart passing himself off as the son of the farmer Donfront whom Colombine is supposed to marry. Doctor Baloardo is ready to conclude the marriage when this first trick is discovered.

The play, created in 1684, was revised in 1712 by Rémy and Chaillot for the Foire Saint-Germain and repeated on 5 March 1719. But it was most likely the production of September 1707 at the Foire Saint-Laurent that was the source of the engraving by Huquier after Gillot and of the Watteau painting.

Thus not only the subject of the Nantes painting but also its date can be fixed with an exactitude that is rare in Watteau's oeuvre. It should also be pointed out that *Harlequin Emperor in the Moon* is the only Watteau painting exhibited here that faithfully reproduces a scene from a play. But its principal interest is to show us Watteau's considerable debt to Gillot, his master, and the pupil's personal part as well. The composition does not have the stiffness of the two famous Gillot paintings of the Louvre, *The Two Coaches* (fig. 2) or *The Tomb of Maître André,* and certain areas, especially the ones not depicted in the engraving, already have the delicacy and natural elegance of execution that are Watteau's hallmarks.

PROVENANCE
François Cacault (1743-1805); donated to the city of Nantes in 1810 through the efforts of his brother Pierre and Mayor Bertrand-Geslin.

EXHIBITIONS
Geneva 1949, no. 83 (as Gillot); Paris 1968, no. 29; Bordeaux 1980, no. 66, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Lejeune 1864, I, p. 213; Clément de Ris 1872, p. 327; G 1875, p. 166; Merson 1887 (mus. cat.), p. 66; Mantz 1892, p. 180 ("doubtful"); Gonse 1900, p. 244; Fourcaud 1901, p. 254 and 1904, p. 136 and n. 2; Staley 1902, p. 131; Josz [1902], p. 221; Z 1912, p. 190, pl. 117 (as "doubtful"); Nicolle and Dacier 1913 (mus. cat.), pp. 276-277, 636, no. 737; Nicolle 1921, pp. 133-134, ill. p. 137 (pp. 61-62 and ill. p. 65 in the offprint); Boucher 1923, pp. 305-307 (as Gillot); Boucher 1923, pp. 171-176, ill. p. 175 (as Gillot); Jamot 1923, pp. 135-136, pl. A; Dacier 1924, p. 57; Réau 1925, p. 10 (as Gillot); Nicolle 1926 (mus. cat.), p. 12 and ill. p. 42; R 1928, p. 16 (as Gillot); DV, I, p. 15 (as Gillot); Populus 1930, pp. 27-28, 31, no. 345 and fig. 10, p. 32 (attr. to Gillot); Poley 1938, pp. 30-31 and n. 8; Mus. cat. Nantes 1953, p. 113, no. 737 (suppl., p. 16) (as Gillot); Mathey 1955, p. 178; PM 1957, under nos. 8, 45; M 1959, pp. 26, 66, 74, pl. 25; CR 1970, no. 35, ill.; F 1972, B.7 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, p. 272 n. 150 (as Gillot ?); Eidelberg 1974, p. 538 n. 5 (as Gillot ?); RM 1982, no. 22, ill.; P 1984, pp. 53, 280 nn. 22, 23, fig. 43; RM 1984 (in press).

fig. 1

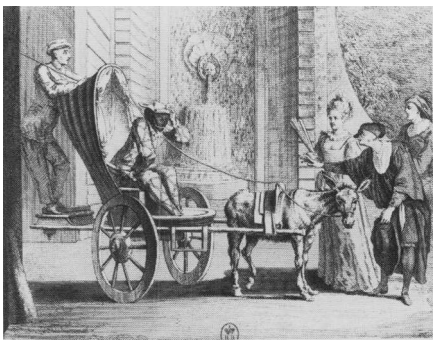


fig. 2



fig. 3



Before Restoration

fig. 4



fig. 5



RELATED DRAWINGS

Two drawings have been related to the painting—PM 8 (Louvre; fig. 3), a sketch for Doctor Baloardo and Colombine, on the far left of the composition (counterproof in Stockholm, Bjurström 1982, no. 1271, ill.); and PM 45 (Valenciennes; cat. D.3; fig. 4) a more developed study for the doctor. Eidelberg (1974, figs. 40, 38) related this figure to a Gillot drawing that was recently offered for sale (London, Christie's, 9 December 1982, no. 221; fig. 5).

RELATED PRINTS

Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772) engraved a Gillot drawing, now lost, very similar in composition to the Nantes painting (Valabrègue 1883, p. 33; Populus 1930, p. 33, fig. 11; Bruand and Hébert 1970, XI, p. 477, no. 758; fig.1). The engraving is accompanied by the following verses:

> Contemplez d'Arlequin la fameuse ambassade,
> De son maître lunaire expliquant le dessein
> C'est, dit-il, pour guérir le beau sexe malade,
> Qu'il daigne s'allier avec un médecin.

It is part of "a suite of 12 comic scenes of the Italian Theater." Another engraving by Huquier also shows another scene from *Harlequin Emperor in the Moon.*

# 2 The Cajoler (*"L'enjoleur"*)

Oil on panel
79.5 x 39 (31⅜ x 15⅜)
Private Collection

The attribution of this and the following panel to Watteau is certain, because Aveline, who engraved one in 1731 and the other in 1738, stated explicitly that he reproduced the artist's paintings. They were part of a series of eight "arabesques" that decorated a room of the Hôtel Nointel, now a house for students at the Ecole Polytechnique in the seventh arrondissement, Paris. A small ceiling painting executed on wood (sold 30 November 1971, no. 29; fig. 1) seems to have come from the same house, which still has a charming *singerie* ceiling painted in fresco, correctly attributed to Watteau and still in place (Saint Girons 1963, p. 29; fig. 2). According to Saint Girons, it is possible that the eight panels decorated the room that contains this ceiling, identified as the dining room by Mathey (1959).

Cailleux (1961) attempted to reconstitute the arrangement of these eight panels. According to him they were arranged on two levels. *The Faun* (cat. P. 3; actually a Bacchus, the god of wine) was placed on the upper register. *The Cajoler,* a young male traveler with a staff, lures an elegant young woman (perhaps an allegory of Spring, judging by the three other arabesques in the series) in the lower register. We do not find this reconstruction wholly convincing.

These two paintings are among the oldest works by Watteau that have been found up to now. All authors agree in placing them around 1707-1708, as the Pierpont Morgan Library drawing shown here (cat. D. 15) confirms. This was undoubtedly the time when Watteau left Gillot to work with Claude Audran III.

They are also among the artist's rare surviving decorative works, the importance and considerable influence of which are well known not only in France and not only in the realm of painting.

The two panels included here have been rendered even more precious by the destruction of the decorations of the Château de La Muette and the Hôtel Chauvelin. The young Watteau dedicated much of his time to this kind of work and through it he acquired "that lightness of brush required by white backgrounds," mentioned by Caylus. The decorative inventiveness, supple brushwork, and refined color prove that at that date Watteau had acquired a professional mastery in his paintings that was sometimes absent in his drawings. With greater delicacy than his master Audran, he mixed decorative subjects and figures and played the virtuoso with the platforms, seen in sharp perspective or from below, on which he placed his figurines. Arabesques accompany the plants and flowers, the birds, the nanny goat, and the billy goat, and set off Bacchus, half god, half man, presented as a statue, and the couple of lovers, giving Watteau's compositions a dynamism lacking in comparable works by his contemporaries.

PROVENANCE

Painted for Louis de Béchameil, Marquis de Nointel (?). He acquired in 1705 the *hôtel* that bore his name and was subsequently known as the Hôtel de Poulpry, 12 rue de Poitiers, near the Musée d'Orsay. The house was acquired c. 1845 by Madame de la Béraudière, mother of the great collector, Comte Jacques-Victor de la Béraudière (1819-1885). According to Eudel (1886), the two paintings "formerly decorated one of the doors of the grand salon, front and back. M. de la Béraudière discovered them under a thick layer of glue-based paint, had them removed and placed in an oak frame carved with foliage and ribbons." The Goncourts (1875) described "a complete room decoration which the former owner sold for twelve to fifteen hundred francs." La Béraudière sale, Paris, rue de Poitiers, 18-30 May 1885, no. 86, ill. (Fr 4300). Mme. de Courval (?); sale, London, Sotheby's, 10 June 1959, no. 66, ill.; Cailleux; Private collection, Paris.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1883-1884, no. 146; Canada 1961-1962, no. 83, ill.; Paris 1965 (Bernheim), no cat.; Paris 1968, no. 26, ill.; London 1977; Frankfurt 1982, p. 51 and no. Cc 1, colorpl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

G 1875, no. 240; Eudel 1886, p. 406; Champeaux 1890, pp. 238-239; Champeaux 1891, p. 150; Mantz 1892, p. 26 and n. 1; Champeaux 1898, p. 99; Josz 1903, p. 82; Fourcaud 1909, p. 133; Pilon 1912, p. 118; DV, III, under no. 78; R 1928, no. 244; AH 1950, p. 93 and no. 20a, engraving ill. p. 95; M 1959, pp. 43, 66, 77, pl. 102;

fig. 1

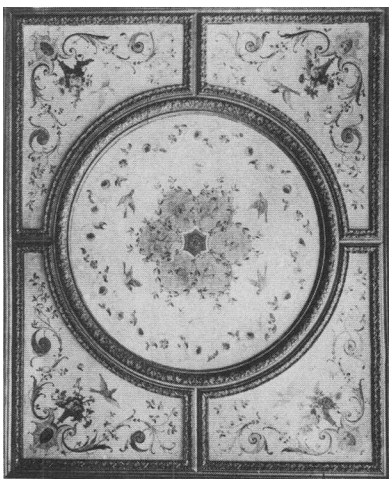
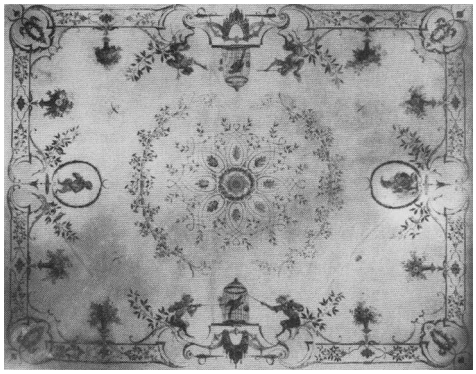


fig. 2





2



3



fig. 3



fig. 4a



fig. 4b



fig. 5

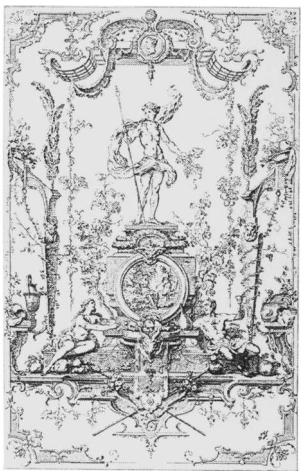


fig. 6

Cailleux 1961, pp. i-v, ill.; Saint Girons 1963, pp. 15, 30-33, colorpl.; Thuillier and Châtelet 1964, p. 158; *L'Oeil* (May 1967), p. 25, colorpl. 3; CR 1970, no. 30F, ill.; Gallet 1972, p. 122, fig. 10; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, p. 20, ill. p. 22; McCorquodale 1978, p. 32, ill.; Roland-Michel 1979, p. 20, fig. 13; RM 1982, no. 25, ill.; P 1984, pp. 59-62 and pl. 10; RM 1984 (in press); Rahir [n.d], p. 11, fig. 6 (the print).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A copy in the same direction as the engraving, belonging to M. L. Lévy (160 x 60 cm), was reproduced in *Documents de décoration du XVIII^e siècle*, pl. 28.

RELATED PRINTS

*The Cajoler* was part of a suite of four arabesques announced by Gersaint in the *Mercure de France*, June 1731 (II, p. 1564) and destined for the *Recueil Jullienne*. The series is mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 198 [47]). The copperplates appeared in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. *The Cajoler* was engraved by Pierre Aveline (1702?-1760?; Roux 1930, I, p. 313, no. 11). For a print by Adolfe Riffaut after that of Aveline, see exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 431, fig. 3.

## 3 The Faun (*"Le Faune"*)

Oil on panel
87 x 39 (34¼ x 15⅜)
Private Collection

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE

See preceding entry; La Béraudière sale, no. 87 (Fr 2500).

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1883-1884, no. 146; Canada 1961-1962, no. 84, ill.; Paris 1965 (Bernheim), (no cat.); Paris 1968, no. 25; London 1977.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

G 1875, no. 241; Eudel 1886, p. 406; Champeaux 1890, pp. 238-239; Champeaux 1891, p. 150; Mantz 1892, p. 26 and n. 1; Champeaux 1898, p. 99; Josz 1903, p. 82; Fourcaud 1909, p. 133; Pilon 1912, p. 118; DV, III, under no. 280 and p. 39; R 1928, no. 245; AH 1950, p. 93 and no. 20h; M 1959, pp. 43, 66, 77 and pl. 103; Cailleux 1961, pp. i-v, ill.; Saint Girons 1963, pp. 15, 30-33, colorpl.; Thuillier and Châtelet 1964, p. 158; *L'Oeil* (May 1967), p. 25, colorpl. 3; CR 1970, no. 30D, ill.; Gallet 1972, p. 122, fig. 10; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, p. 20, ill. p. 22; Roland-Michel 1979, p. 20, fig. 12; RM 1982, no. 24, ill.; RM 1984 (in press); Rahir [n.d.], p. 11, fig. 8 (print).

RELATED DRAWINGS

PM 25 (cat. D.15; fig. 4); two figures from this sheet have been linked to *The Faun* by Cailleux (1961).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving of *The Faun*, in reverse, was part of a new series of arabesques, also published by Gersaint but not included in Jullienne's *Oeuvre gravé* (Dacier and Vuaflart catalogued it in their *Complément*, III, no. 280). The series was announced in the *Mercure*, June 1738 (p. 1165). *The Faun*, like *The Cajoler*, was engraved by Pierre Aveline (1702?-1760?; Roux 1930, I, p. 322, no. 60; fig. 5).

*The Faun* by Watteau can be compared with the *Baccus* (*sic*) by Gillot (Populus 1930, pl. 14; for the preparatory drawing, see Ehrmann 1983, p. 32; fig. 6).

## 4 The Line of March (*"Défillé"*)

Oil on canvas
32.3 x 40.6 (12¾ x 16)
York City Art Gallery

Between 1729 and 1785, *The Line of March* was definitely paired with *The Halt* (cat. P. 5; see Provenance). But are the two works truly pendants (as Mariette claimed early on) or were they artificially put together because they were engraved thus by the printer (and possibly also for commercial reasons, since it is a known fact that pairs sell better than individual pieces)? We opt for the second hypothesis. First, while *The Halt* was engraved in reverse, *The Line of March* was engraved in the same direction as the painting—an exceptional though not unique circumstance in the *Recueil Jullienne*. (Mathey justified the printmaker's practice "by the position of the sword, which should rest on the left side of the figures.") Second, after the purchase of *The Halt* by Baron Thyssen in 1975, restoration showed that in the past the cor-



ners of the work had been painted in to transform the painting's original oval shape into a rectangle. However, scientific examination of *The Line of March* at York seems to indicate that this was not the case for that work. More important, the subjects of the two paintings do not appear to correspond. One could admit that *The Line of March* shows horsemen and footsoldiers off to storm a town while *The Halt* depicts them after the battle. But the scale of the figures is not the same, and further, the spirit of the two works—one a battle scene and the other a military camp—is quite different.

One might even wonder whether the two works are contemporary. Since it is generally agreed that *The Halt* should be dated to 1709 or sometimes 1710 (Cailleux 1959), specialists have suggested an identical date for *The Line of March,* whether they accept the attribution of the York painting to Watteau (Mathey, Ingamells, Brookner, Raines, Posner) or whether they reject it (Ferré, Banks, Roland-Michel). In our view this work should to be dated c. 1706-1707. To be sure, the soldiers marching toward the burning town are characteristic of Watteau's soldiers and of his predilection for showing persons seen from behind, but the two horsemen and especially the sharp perspective of the painting directly refer, as Banks (1974) demonstrated, to the battle paintings of A. F. Van der Meulen (1632-1690) and his successor Jean-Baptiste Martin (1659-1735), "painter of the king's conquests."

fig. 1



The work, moreover, has all the characteristics of an experiment. Watteau dedicated a considerable part of his activity in the first part of his career to military painting (see cats. P. 5, 6, 15, 16), but he always depicted camps of soldiers at rest, marches, or the most humble scenes of troop life, and never the battle itself (see Marcel 1909). The York painting is an exception. The scene takes place in the autumn at the end of the day under a beautiful blue sky, which caps the composition. But the colors in the foreground have darkened, thus emphasizing the contrasts and rendering certain parts of the painting almost illegible, particularly the group of the female canteen-keeper, the child, and the soldier with his gun and his dog at his feet, on the left.

Watteau proceeded here in the style of the Flemish battle painters, elevating the soldiers and their officers and



fig. 2



fig. 3

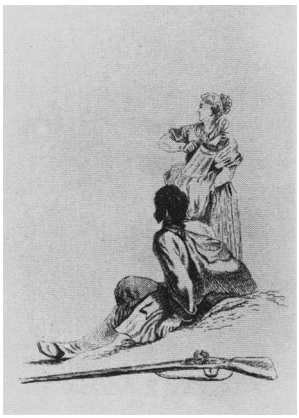


fig. 4

thus permitting the beseiged town to be painted in the middleground. But this rather banal convention hardly suited him. Soon he would successfully breathe new life into the genre and would be quickly recognized.

PROVENANCE

Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766), 1730, date of the engraving by Moyreau for the *Recueil Jullienne*. Was no longer in his collection c. 1756, date of the illustrated manuscript catalogue (formerly Fenaille coll.; now Pierpont Morgan Library, New York). Prince de Conti (sale, Paris, 8 April 1777, no. 665: "Une alte d'infanterie: on y voit trois femmes, dont une Vivandière. Une marche de cavalerie et d'Infanterie. Ces deux tableaux qui sont d'un *faire* savant sont peint sur toile et portent chacun 13 pouces de haut sur 16 pouces de large" (that is, about 35.1 x 43.2 cm). Acquired by "Ménageau" (*sic*) for 665 livres (for a painting, *Soldiers on the March*, sold by Ménageot, London, 1755, see Raines 1977, p. 58, nos. 56 and 62); sale, "Menageau et autres," Paris, 17 March 1778, no. 107: "Des Marches de Soldats et Vivandières, deux sujets faisant pendans, d'une très bonne couleur et touchés avec beaucoup d'esprit. Larg. 16 pouces. Haut. 13. T." (920 livres); Dubois, "dealer, silversmith, jeweler," sale, Paris, 31 March 1784, no. 78: "Deux Tableaux faisant pendans; l'un orné de vingt figures, représente une halte de soldats; l'autre est un défilé d'armée, composition de vingt-trois figures. Ces deux Tableaux viennent de la collection de M. le Prince de Conti. Haut. 12 pouces, largeur 15 pouces; ils sont gravés par Moyreau." A second Dubois sale on 20 December 1785, no. 79 (same text). Acquired from Spiller in June 1927 by F. D. Licett Green (had come relatively recently from France as a customs stamp on the stretcher shows); offered through the National Art Collections Fund to the York Museum by F. D. Licett Green in 1955.

EXHIBITIONS

York 1955, no. 37; Canada 1961-1962, no. 82, ill. p. 152; London 1968, no. 13.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): H 1845, no. 79; H 1856, no. 80; G 1875, no. 58; Mantz 1892, pp. 63-64; Josz 1903, p. 129 and n. 1; Marcel 1909, p. 219, n. 2; DV, III, under no. 223; R 1928, no. 44; Parker 1931, p. 17; AH 1950, no. 38, pl. 19 (print); Cailleux 1959, pp. iv, vi; F. 1972, B.5 (as "lost"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, p. 227, n. 187; RM 1982, no. 80, ill. (print); RM 1984 (in press) ("lost"); (on the painting): M 1959, pp. 47, 67, 78, fig. 117; J.A.S.I. [Ingamells] 1960, pp. 480-486, ill., p. 481; Mus. cat. York 1961, pp. 106-107, pl. 90; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 7; CR 1970, no. 41, ill. (print and a copy); Mus. cat. York 1975, suppl., pp. 14-15; Raines 1977, p. 62; Banks 1977, pp. 146-148, pl. 66 (copy); P 1984, p. 34, fig. 26.

RELATED PAINTINGS

Mantz (1892) owned a "small copy of the time," which he bought at the Saint-Rémy sale (18-20 March 1878, no. 48, "Le Siège d'une forteresse," canvas, 20 x 26 cm) under the name of Casanova. The Witt Library has a photograph of a copy that was on the Hamburg art market in 1928.

Ingamells (1960) notes a version by J. B. Verdussen dated 1726. In a V[allet] sale, 7 April 1774, no. 39, appeared "Une Halte et une Marche de Soldats . . . dans le stile de Watteau: hauteur 11 pouces 6 lignes, largeur 14 pouces 6 lignes." As for the painting from the collection of Miss James that is often mentioned, it should not be linked to the York canvas. In the catalogue of the Royal Academy exhibition in 1891 under no. 47, it was described as "Soldiers and Women merry-making outside some tents; among them a woman and a child on a donkey, a castle in the middle distance and hilly landscape beyond. Panel 6½ x 8½ in."

RELATED DRAWINGS

Three preparatory drawings (now lost) are known through etchings by Boucher: one for the soldier at the right, seen from behind, holding his rifle under his arm and his fist on his hip; one for the horseman galloping toward the left; and the last one for the seated soldier and the canteen-keeper at the extreme left (Cailleux 1959, p. vi; Jean-Richard 1978, nos. 74, 81, 134; figs. 2, 3, 4). According to the York museum catalogue of 1961, this last drawing was engraved by Fragonard.

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Jean Moyreau (1690-1762) (fig. 1), in the same direction as the painting, was announced in the *Mercure de France*, April 1730 (p. 768). It names the owner of the painting as Jullienne and notes that the canvas is "the same size as the print." The latter measures 31.2 x 40 cm, which corresponds very closely to the dimensions of the York painting, especially since the canvas has been enlarged by about one centimeter on the sides. The print is mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 194 [75]). The copperplate appeared in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.

## 5 The Halt (*"Alte"*)

Oil on canvas
32 x 42.5 (12⅝ x 16¾) (the four corners of the composition were not painted originally)
Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza, Lugano

Purchased by Baron Thyssen in 1975 (and very well studied by Rosenbaum in exh. cat. USA 1979-1981), *The Halt* is today accepted by the great majority of Watteau scholars. In the preceding entry we stated the reasons why we hesitate to accept the York *Line of March* (cat. P. 4) as a pendant to the Thyssen painting, despite the fact that the two works had been paired together for a good part of the eighteenth century. The date 1709-1710, which is generally proposed for the work, seems confirmed by the *fontange* of the seated woman facing us and of course by the minute technique, the porcelain quality of the colors, and the proportions of the figures with their too-small heads.

One might wonder about the reason for the presence



Unframed

of the two elegant women in the rather miserable military camp (the one wearing a fine yellow dress prefigures a lady in *The Fortuneteller,* cat. P. 8). They seem to be companions of the booted horseman who is giving an order to his servant at the far left of the painting. The tent behind him is decorated with a wreath of leaves, perhaps alluding to some victory. The left part of the painting shows war under an acceptable aspect, "war dressed in lace," while the right part depicts a much less glorious, more realistic, world. A soldier with a head wound rests his arm in a sling; others, weary, dozing, smoking, chatting, are resting under some large trees. In the background there is a bivouac with two canteens, in the center is a seated woman with a child strapped to her back.

For a long time it has been noted that Watteau's military paintings were contemporary with the great disasters that marked the end of the reign of Louis XIV, the battles of Oudenarde on 11 July 1708 and Malplaquet on 11 September 1709, where La Roque was wounded. Valenciennes, where Watteau returned in 1709, was a border town and the artist may very well have seen such camps and may have drawn the most ordinary scenes from them in order to use them later on in his works.

What is striking in a painting like *The Halt,* with its friezelike composition, is the banality of the scene. Above all Watteau wished to depict the soldiers' daily life. While he is not indifferent to the world he describes, neither does he take any position concerning it nor make any judgment. If one recalls typical military painting of the time, in the tradition of the imitators of Van der Meulen, one recognizes the novelty of Watteau's approach. His contemporaries were aware of this since his military scenes brought the young Watteau his first successes (cat. P. 6) among collectors. The pastoral

fig. 1



fig. 2

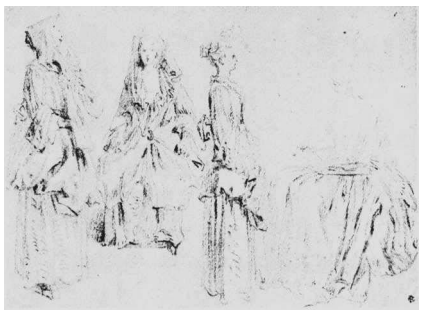


fig. 3





fig. 4



fig. 5

scenes and *fêtes galantes* that Watteau was soon to paint show that the artist was not to be satisfied with the military subjects and that soon he would even more radically revive certain favorite subjects for paintings.

PROVENANCE

Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766), 1729, date of the engraving by Moyreau for the *Recueil Jullienne*; no longer in his collection in 1756, probable date of the illustrated manuscript catalogue, formerly in the Fenaille coll. and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Then, with cat. P. 4, passed through the sales of the Prince de Conti, 8 April 1777, no. 665; "Ménageau et autres," 17 March 1779, no. 107; Dubois, 31 March 1784, no. 78 and 20 December 1785, no. 79. Sale of M. le chevalier Lambert and M. Du [Porail], Paris, 27 March 1787, no. 185, "Un beau Tableau riche de composition représentant un repos et halte de soldats avec d'autres figures sur le devant d'un paysage. Ce morceau piquant, et du plus fin de ce [maître], est connu par l'estampe qu'en a gravé Moyreau. Hauteur 12 pouces, largeur 15 pouces," canvas (unsold). Reappeared in 1834 in an exhibition in London. With the third Lord Egremont (1751-1837) at Petworth; in 1920, it was still at Petworth with his descendant Lord Leconfield. In 1929 (DV, I, p. 265) at Agnew's, London (in 1932, the painting was sent by Agnew's to the Louvre for examination, but Guiffrey judged it too expensive to purchase; Archives du Louvre, P. 5 1932); with Duveen, New York, in 1945; Charles E. Dunlap collection from 1946 (see Ingamells); Dunlap sale, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, 4 December 1975, no. 380 (colorpl., $75,000), to Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, Lugano.

EXHIBITIONS

London, Suffolk Street 1834, no. 102; New Orleans 1953-1954, no. 26, ill. p. 67; USA 1979-1981, no. 50, colorpl.; Paris 1982, no. 51, colorpl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): H 1845, no. 5; H 1856, no. 6; G 1875, no. 57; Josz 1903, p. 127 and n. 1, p. 129 and n. 1; R 1928, no. 45 (mentions the Seillière copy); R 1928, pl. 26; Cailleux 1959, pp. iv, vi; F 1972, B.2 (as "lost"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, p. 204; (on the painting): Baker 1920, p. 132, no. 632, ill.; DV, I, pp. 54, 265, and III, under no. 222; Scharf in Valentiner 1930, ch. I, pp. 76-77, ill.; AH 1950, no. 35, pl. 16 (and not 26); PM 1957, under nos. 5, 159, 247, 950; M 1959, p. 67; J.A.S.I. [Ingamells] 1960, p. 485 and n. 13; Mus. cat. York 1961, pp. 106-107 and suppl. 1975, pp. 14-15; CR 1970, no. 40, ill. (print); RM 1982, no. 79, ill. (print); P 1984, pp. 34, 40, 279, n. 39; fig. 25, colorpl. 4; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Several copies of the painting are known—one belonging to Baron Seillière (repr. R 1928) (31 x 40 cm); another, on panel, in a Swiss private collection, appeared in the exhibition, Paris 1977, no. 174 (39 x 47 cm); a third (?), Newson-Smith sale (Christie's, 26 January 1951, no. 135; panel, 12 x 16 in; purchased by Thornburn; photograph in the Witt Library).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey link four drawings with the Thyssen painting (see also Cailleux 1959, p. vi and exh. cat. Paris-Amsterdam 1964, no. 38 concerning PM 11 and 249)—PM 5 (Musée Carnavalet; fig. 1), the central figure from this drawing was used by Watteau for the woman dressed in yellow at left in the composition; PM 159 (counterproof, Stockholm; the original drawing with one more figure, unknown to Parker and Mathey, is in the Clowes coll., Indianapolis [Fraser 1973, pp. 158-159; fig. 2] study for the seated woman facing us; PM 247 (Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris; exh. cat. Brugerolles 1981; fig. 3), all four studies were used in this painting for the three soldiers on the right and the man kneeling on the ground, seen from behind on the left of the composition; PM 950 (Private coll., Paris; fig. 4), two studies, one for the soldier at right of the seated woman and the other for the man with his arm in a sling. Delacroix (according to DV, I, p. 183) made a copy of *The Halt* from a print (André Joubin coll.).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Jean Moyreau (1690-1762) (fig. 5) for the *Recueil Jullienne* was announced in the *Mercure de France*, July 1729 (p. 1604). It notes that the painting, of the "same size" as the print (31.6 x 40.2 cm, while the Thyssen canvas is 32 x 42.5 cm), belonged to Jullienne. Mariette mentions it (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 194 [74]). The copperplate appeared in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.

## 6 Bivouac (*"Camp Volant"*)

Oil on canvas
32.8 x 44.9 (12⅞ x 17¾)
At lower right, an old inventory number *2907* in red
P Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

The painting's whereabouts between 1727 and the end of the nineteenth century are unknown, but *Bivouac* is one of the best documented works of Watteau's youth. In the text devoted to Watteau in the catalogue for the sale of the "late M. Quentin de Lorangère" (1744), the celebrated Gersaint of *Gersaint's Shopsign* (cat. P. 73) dwelt on the circumstances of the commissioning of the painting by his father-in-law, Pierre Sirois, who was a "master-glazier" and print dealer, but above all a keen "amateur":

> Watteau... risked an inspired painting which represents a Departure of Troops and which he did during his spare time. He showed it to Sieur Audran to ask his opinion of it; this painting is one of the two that M. Cochin the elder engraved. Sieur Audran, a clever man and able to recognize a thing of beauty, was astounded at the merit he discerned in this painting.

At the suggestion of Jean-Jacques Spoede (c. 1680-1757), Watteau then showed the painting to Sirois who bought it from him for sixty livres, thus permitting Watteau to return to his native Valenciennes.



This sale was the origin of the relationship that my late father-in-law enjoyed with him until his death, and he was so pleased with this painting that he immediately pressed him to paint the pendant to it for him, which in fact he sent him from Valenciennes; it is the second piece that Sieur Cochin engraved; it represents a *Halt of the Army;* everything was taken from nature; he asked 200 livres for it, which were given to him. These two paintings have always passed as two of the most beautiful things that came from his hand.

The exact date of Watteau's stay at Valenciennes is not known, but Jullienne (in Champion 1921, p. 49) and also, less clearly, Dezallier d'Argenville (*idem.*, pp. 70-71), make it clear that it took place after Watteau won the second prize in the competition for the Prix de Rome on 31 August 1709: "He was disgusted with Paris and resolved to return to his birthplace." It is thus likely that Watteau painted his picture during the terrible famine of the winter of 1709. Mariette's manuscript notes (partially published in the Archives de l'Art Français in 1862, VI) confirm that *Return from the Campaign* (DV 147, CR 43) "was painted first" and *Bivouac* was executed "soon after his second return from Flanders."

The original *Return from the Campaign* has been lost, but a number of versions are known (sale, London, Sotheby's, 24 June 1964, no. 93, ill.; Versailles, 20 May 1965, no. 22, ill.; and New York, Sotheby's, 19 January 1984, no. 38, ill.; see *Connaissance des Arts* 161 [1965, p. 23]), or even the fine copy in the Musée Jeanne d'Aboville, La Fère. But in fact, as the scale of the figures and their arrangement demonstrate, the two paintings are not true pendants. That is not surprising if one recalls that *Bivouac* was painted at Valenciennes while *Return from the Campaign* remained in Paris.

Soldiers are grouped around the cook and a kettle attached to a tree trunk. Some are playing cards, one is smoking, others are moving toward the canteen in the background at left. Four soldiers are sleeping or resting. For these last figures, Watteau used studies sketched from life that he had, in a way, appliquéd to his canvas. Two women, one of whom nurses a child (a motif that Opperman [1977] sees as an allegorical figure of charity), children of all ages, and a dog are also included in the center. The still life in the foreground balances the cannon on the far left, unusual in Watteau's work (but see cat. P. 7).

Although Watteau's military paintings have long been viewed as "picturesque scenes of camp life," images of the "comedy of war" (Séailles 1906), "war which passes by in its Sunday-best," "heroes lying flat on their stomachs around a boiling kettle" (Goncourt 1860, pp. 4-5), today's interpretation is quite different. True, Watteau did not paint battles and their horrors, cadavers, and blood—but he described, in dull beiges and creams, a monotonous and joyless daily routine. His war is one of long marches, hasty meals, fatigue, and a life lived from day to day.

There is nothing noble or heroic in his vision. It is not historic; it wishes to be faithful to "nature," realistic without excess. Watteau lends to war and soldiers a sober and disheartening image, and therein lies the originality and timelessness of his description.



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4

PROVENANCE

Undoubtedly painted at Valenciennes during the winter of 1709-1710 for the picture dealer Pierre Sirois (1665-1726) who paid 200 livres. When engraved in 1727 by Cochin for the *Recueil Jullienne,* it belonged to Sirois' son-in-law Edme-François Gersaint (1694-1750). How or when the painting entered the Russian collections is unknown, but it seems to have been purchased well before the accession (1894) of Nicolas II, 1868-1919 (communication of I. Kuznetsova 1983). It is mentioned for the first time in Somov 1895 (cat. Hermitage). Transferred from the Hermitage to the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 1928.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1937, no. 227 (pl. 44 of the album); Moscow 1955, p. 24; Leningrad 1956, p. 12; Bordeaux 1965, no. 42; Paris 1965-1966, no. 40, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gersaint 1744, pp. 177-181 (Champion 1921, pp. 58-59); H 1845, no. 81; H 1856, no. 82; Mariette 1862 ed., VI, p. 109; [Cousin] 1865, p. 25; G 1875, no. 52; Mollett 1883, p. 62; Hannover 1888, p. 27 (print); Staley 1902, p. 143; Somov 1903, no. 1874; Josz 1903, pp. 102, 147-148; Séailles 1906, pp. 237, 238, ill.; Marcel 1909, p. 219 and fig. 47, p. 160 (print); Pilon 1912, pp. 21, 32, 43, 120; Réau 1912, p. 395; Z 1912, p. 185 and pl. 4 (detail, pl. 5); DV, I, p. 263 and III, under no. 148; Hildebrandt 1922, p. 90, pl. 38; Réau 1929, no. 693; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 9; AH 1950, no. 37, pl. 18; PM 1957, under nos. 255, 256, 257; Sterling 1957, p. 37, pl. 28; Cailleux 1959, pp. iii, vii; Gauthier 1959, pl. VI; M 1959, p. 67; Nemilova 1964, pp. 44, 170, fig. 13, p. 43; Nemilova 1964 *T.G.E.,* p. 88; CR 1970, no. 44, ill.; F 1972, A.1 ("authentic"); Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 131-132, pl. 1 (colorpl. with color details); Banks 1977, pp. 149-150, pl. 70; Opperman 1977, p. 4; Kuznetsova and Georgievskaya 1979 no. 28, colorpl. (with detailed bibl.); Guerman 1980, colorpl.; Mus. cat. Pushkin 1982, pp. 91-92, no. 1226 (with detailed bibl.); RM 1982, no. 84, ill.; P 1984, pp. 18, 33–38, 40, 53, 65, fig. 21, pl. 3; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

The painting was often copied. A version in a Swiss private collection was exhibited in Paris 1977 (no. 175, ill.; panel, 39 x 47 cm). A version belonged to Mme. de B. (sale, Paris, Drouot, 17 May 1971, no. 15, ill.; canvas, 37 x 46 cm). Another was made after Cochin's engraving (sale, Rouen, 28 November 1982, no. 45, ill.; oil on canvas, 49.5 x 62.5 cm). The motif of the mother and child with the soldier placing wood under the kettle was copied by (?) Watteau de Lille (Sterling photo archives, Service d'Etudes et de Documentation, Louvre). Dacier and Vuaflart, III, under no. 148, list works mentioned in sales that could be copies of the composition; the most noteworthy is the one sold by the auction house on the rue des Juneurs, Paris, 27 February 1847, no. 56: "Cet ouvrage décrit dans Gault de Saint-Germain, est accompagné d'une gravure indiquant sa grandeur." (Is this the Moscow painting?)

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey include three drawings related to this painting, (see also Cailleux 1959, p. vii) PM 255 (cat. D. 5; fig. 1) for the standing soldier with his hand in his shirt; PM 256 (Bordeaux-Groult coll.; fig. 2), Paris) comprising two studies for the soldier at left putting wood on the fire and for the one stretched out on his stomach with his head on his hands, and PM 257 (Gal. Cailleux, Paris, 1968; fig. 3), for the cook. For the counterproof at Stockholm that combines PM 255 and PM 257, see Bjurström 1982, no. 1299, ill.)

RELATED PRINTS

The print, in reverse, by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1686-1754; Roux 1940, IV, no. 45, fig. 4) for the *Recueil Jullienne* was announced in the *Mercure de France,* December 1727 (p. 2677).

The print is said to be "de mesme grandeur" as "le Tableau original peint par Watteau." It measures 31.9 x 43.6 cm, which corresponds to the dimensions of the painting. It is cited by Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 194 [71]). The copperplate appeared in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.

# 7 The Woman Cleaning Copper (*L'écureuse de cuivre*)

Oil on canvas
53 x 44 (20⅞ x 17⅜)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg

We know the origin of the painting thanks to Eidelberg (1975). It passed through a sale in London in 1769, was acquired by Horace Walpole, and passed through the Walpole sale of 1842 before entering the Museé de Strasbourg in 1890, thanks to Wilhelm Bode.

In 1769 it was described as by Watteau, "in the style of Rembrandt" (see Cooke sale cat. 1769). The attribution to Watteau would not be challenged before 1929. At that time Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I p. 174) proposed the name of Chantereau, which was accepted by some of the critics, including Rey and Florisoone. However, the majority of the specialists remained faithful to the attribution to Watteau, with the exception of Faré (exh. cat. Paris 1977) and Posner (1984) who did not propose any other name.

Before giving our arguments in favor of the traditional attribution, let us make it clear that the painting has been in such extreme need of cleaning as to render any judgment rash. It will be restored for the exhibition and this should make it possible, finally, with full knowledge of the facts, to decide.



First, the name of Jérôme-François Chantereau (1710-1757) should be ruled out. Today not only his drawings (Bjurström 1982) but also his paintings are better known. We reproduce here the *Fountain of the Market* (Musée de Rheims; fig. 1), which is characteristic of Chantereau's style and completely unlike Watteau's.

The figures in the Strasbourg painting—the woman cleaning the copper pots and the man leaning on a long stick who raises his head toward a small boy leaning out of a window and holding a cage—are painted with vigor and a nervous touch, characteristic signs of Watteau. Even the servant's hand with the too short fingers seems to us, even in its very clumsiness, to mark the painter's manner.

Could one, as Eidelberg (1975) believed, only accept the figures and propose that Watteau had introduced them into an older composition attributable to some other artist? Laboratory tests have not confirmed that theory. Besides, it seems to us that the kettle, the plates, and the beer mug are painted with a softness and suppleness that are completely in the spirit of the eighteenth century. Comparison with the still life in the foreground of the Moscow *Bivouac* (cat. P. 6) shows striking similarities in execution, leading us to date the two works to the same point in Watteau's career, toward 1709-1710.

When eighteenth-century authors deemed *The Woman Cleaning Copper* "in the style of Rembrandt," they had understood Watteau's intentions well. The artist had wanted to imitate the northern masters, specifically Willem Kalf (1619-1693), as Banks has proved. That Dutch master, during his stay in Paris between 1642 and 1646, painted quite a number of kitchen interiors very close in composition and spirit to the Strasbourg painting. (See fig. 2, from the Aix-la-



fig. 1

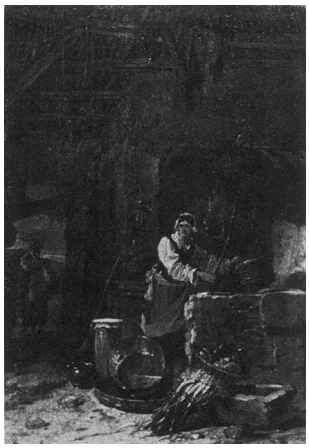


fig. 2

Chapelle museum.) These had a lasting influence on French painting and it is not surprising that Watteau, himself a native of the North, to which he turned for inspiration, should be inspired by an artist who was fashionable throughout the whole of the eighteenth century.

A clever pastiche, the Strasbourg painting describes, without excessive care for realism, an ordinary scene from daily life. Watteau would not often repeat such an experiment, which hardly corresponded to his artistic ambition.

PROVENANCE

Ferré (1972) mentions "une *Ecureuse*. . . . en 1724, chez Mme le Boultz." George Cooke, Member of Parliament (sale, London, Langford, 3 March 1769, no. 40: "A Girl sewing [*sic*, for scouring: see Eidelberg 1975, p. 580, n. 32], by Watteau, in the stile of Rembrandt"); Horace Walpole, 1717-1797, at Strawberry Hill in 1774 (sale, 18 May, 25 April–24 May 1842, no. 82: "The Exterior of a Kitchen, with Girl Scouring pots, a Boy hanging up a Bird Cage, and Man in the Doorway . . . originally in the collection of Mr. Cook . . . "); sold for £35–14 to John P. Beavan; acquired in 1890 from E. Warneck, Paris, by Wilhelm Bode, for the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1933, no. 115, ill.; San Francisco 1949, no. 50, ill.; Vienna 1966, no. 74; Brussels 1975, no. 96, ill. p. 143.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Walpole 1774, p. 49 (various eds.); Terey 1893, p. 177; Dehio 1899 (mus. cat.), pp. 77-78, no. 368; Girodie 1907, p. 184, ill. p. 185; Mus. cat. Strasbourg 1912, pp. 82-83, no. 369; Z 1912, p. 185, pl. 2; Pilon 1912, p. 50; Gillet 1918, p. 36; Gillet 1921, p. 25; Nicolle 1921, p. 136 (p. 64 of the offprint); Magnin [1922], II, p. 95; Mus. cat. Strasbourg 1926, pp. 12-13, pl. p. 54; R 1928, no. 166; DV, I, p. 174; Rey 1931, p. 178; Fierens 1933, p. 60; Mus. cat. Strasbourg 1938, p. 180, no. 333, ill.; Van Puyvelde-Lassalle 1943, p. 13; Florisoone 1948, p. 39, pl. 19; AH 1950, p. 124, no. 3, pl. 2; Mus. cat. Strasbourg 1955, no. 333, ill. on cover; M 1959, pp. 24, 66, 73 and pls. 7, 3 (detail); Gauthier 1959, pl. II; Vergnet-Ruiz and Laclotte 1962, pp. 70, 256; Thuillier and Châtelet 1964, p. 162; CR 1970, no. 4, ill.; F 1972, B.95 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Cailleux 1975, p. 88 (Eng. ed. p. 249); Eidelberg 1975, pp. 580–581, fig. 11; Banks 1977, pp. 118-127, fig. 3; Exh. cat. Paris 1977, p. 147; RM 1982, no. 3, ill.; P 1984, p. 18, fig. 8; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

J. Magnin (1922) considered, groundlessly, the *Bohemians* in Dijon's Musée Magnin (mus. cat. 1922, fig. 302) the "pendant" to the Strasbourg painting. The Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon, has a kitchen interior that is another French pastiche of Kalf's kitchen interiors.

## 8 The Fortuneteller (*"La Diseuse Daventure"*)

Oil on walnut panel
37 x 28 (14⅝ x 11)
At lower left, inscribed *Wateau;* verso, on the frame, *Wattot* and *Mde de Tricaud* (?)
The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection

P

By exhibiting *The Fortuneteller,* as it was called in the *Recueil Jullienne,* we are aware that we are taking a risk—the work is to all intents and purposes unpublished. Those who have seen it since its entry into the museum in 1968 have generally doubted its authenticity (with the exception of Sir Francis Watson and Claus Virch, letters of 10 January 1968 and 18 June 1972; see also Fried 1968). Moreover, a document published by Mireille Rambaud in 1971 causes some concern. The 1729 print by Laurent Cars gives us the name of the painting's owner at that time, "Oppenort," as well as its dimensions, approximately those of the San Francisco panel. It is not at all surprising that Gilles-Marie Oppenordt (1672–1742) should have owned some of Watteau's works (he also owned *Jealous Harlequin* [DV 77; CR 83; see cat. P 13]). As an architect and decorator he moved in Crozat's circle as did Watteau—who also was inspired by Oppenordt's ornamental drawings (see Eidelberg 1968). But we are bothered by a reference in the inventory of Oppenordt's estate after his death, dated 9 May 1742, conserved in the Archives Nationales (*MC,* IV, 517; Rambaud 1971, p. 907). This inventory, drawn up at "his house located at rue de Richelieu, belonging to M. Crozat, Marquis du Châtel," mentions "a fortuneteller" (fol. 13, XIX). The painting is described as "panel, copy of Vateau, partly damaged" and valued at twenty-four livres. There are several possible interpretations of this document. Either Oppenordt had sold the original and kept a copy, or by 1742 it was already difficult to distinguish between Watteau's originals and copies after them. (The inventory was not drawn up by an expert.) What concerns us is not so much the very low





fig. 1

fig. 2



fig. 3



appraisal price, twenty-four livres (the other Watteau, "a history subject," which may or may not be *Jealous Harlequin,* was valued at sixty livres), as the phrase "partly damaged." Actually, the San Francisco painting, whose varnish was undoubtedly removed rather roughly, seems to be in relatively good condition.

Despite the scant enthusiasm of those who have seen it, and despite the reference in the Oppenordt inventory, the San Francisco painting seems to us to be from the hand of Watteau. (In any event, we believe that of all the known versions, this is the only one that could be the original.) The trees and the vine in the middleground and the cross-bred spaniel are done with a sure touch. But above all the little dark lines marking the face and the hands of the gypsy woman as well as the child who holds a tambourine, setting off the eyes and the mouth, seem to be characteristic of the artist. Also typical are the way of marking folds and bows and the play of light in the silks and changing colors of the satins.

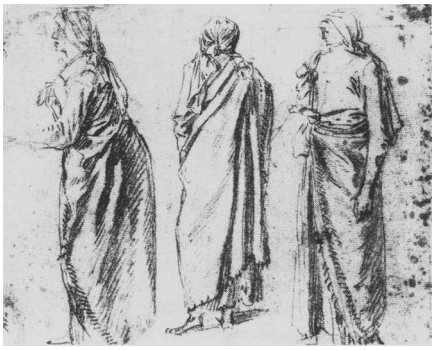


fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6

Such surprising details as the tiny heads and hands, the clashing colors, and the slightly stiff composition can be attributed to Watteau's inexperience or at least to the date of the work. It is generally agreed that the composition is from the beginning of the artist's career: the *fontange* of the woman dressed in yellow with her back to us (who is found again in *The Halt,* cat. P. 5) confirms it. As for the still somewhat clumsy and confused "very Gillotesque" preparatory studies that Parker and Mathey and Eidelberg have studied, they are, in our opinion, from slightly before 1710, as is the painting.

The subject was studied by Jean-Pierre Cuzin on the occasion of the 1977 exhibition organized by the Louvre around Caravaggio's painting of the same subject. Still in vogue in the eighteenth century, fortunetellers were no longer depicted in half-length compositions or murky and depressing atmospheres. More than a genre scene for Watteau, this presented the occasion to play on the contrast between the coppery color of the gypsy woman who is raising her finger to her mouth and the light flesh tones of the young woman and of her companions. The composition is new enough to have influenced, more than a century later, Courbet's *Demoiselles du Village* (1851; Metropolitan Museum, New York, fig. 1).

The strength of the painting lies in the contrast between the realism of the right half of the composition and the "idealism" of the left part, between country and town. The contrast between the untamed world, summed up by the bare feet of the little gypsy, and civilized life, symbolized by the pattens of the elegant woman at the far left of the painting. Some originality of color such as the silver and cherry pink dress, certain humorous notes such as the four hair styles in white, purplish, pink, and ochre, the small faces and dreamy airs of the two young women, and their attitudes and gestures already suggest the great Watteau. But above all, in this painting with its unpretentious subject the artist already knows how to create that special and fascinating atmosphere that was to become his hallmark.

PROVENANCE

"Mr. Oppenort," 1727, date of the print for the *Recueil Jullienne.* Still in his possession at his death in 1742 (?, see Rambaud 1971, and this entry). Under Related Paintings we give a list of the Fortunetellers attributed to Watteau known to us, but it is impossible to trace the history of the San Francisco painting between 1742 (?) and 1954 (the date of its restoration in New York). Private collection, France, according to Heinemann and Walter Heil, former director of the San Francisco Museums (letter of 9 June 1961, in the archives of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco); collection of "Mr. R. E. Hornsby, of Pulford Publicity, Ltd.," 1957, according to Sir Francis Watson (letter of 10 January 1968, in the museum's archives); Rudolf J. Heinemann before 1959; on loan for some time between 1959 and 1968 to the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (Agnew 1967). Acquired in 1968 by the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, through the Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection.

EXHIBITIONS

Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on this composition or a version of it): H 1845, no. 64; H 1856, no. 65; Mariette 1862 ed., VI, p. 107; Lejeune 1864, 1, p. 216; [Cousin] 1865, pp. 25-26; G 1875, no. 127; Mollett 1883, p. 68; Rosenberg 1896, p. 105, fig. 90 (print); Josz 1903, p. 395; Monod and Einstein 1906, pp. 250-251 (the version of the New York Historical Society); Z 1912, pl. 181 (the version of L. Michel-Lévy in the suppl.; Fr. ed. pl. 92); Dacier 1921, p. 121 (Michel-Lévy version); DV, I, p. 259 and III, under no. 30 (Michel-Lévy version); R 1928, no. 172; AH 1950, no. 48; Mathey and Nordenfalk 1955, p. 139; Wildenstein 1956, p. 130 and n. 25, p. 123, fig. 8 (print); PM 1957, I, p. 66 and under nos. 33, 142; M. 1959, p. 67; Vaux de Foletier 1966, p. 171; CR 1970, no. 37, ill. (print); F 1972, B.25; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 226-232, 258-259, and fig. 187 (print); Lesko 1979, p. 176 and fig. 11, p. 175 (print); RM 1982, no. 105, ill. (print); RM 1984 (in press); (on the San Francisco painting): A. Fried, *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle,* 21 April 1968, with colorpls. pp. 22-23; Exh. cat. Paris 1977a, pp. 43-44, no. 110, ill.

RELATED PAINTINGS

The most famous version of this painting is the one formerly in the Léon Michel-Lévy collection, now lost (sale, Paris, Georges-Petit, 17-18 June 1925, no. 161, ill.; canvas, 75 x 58 cm, fig. 2), undoubtedly a copy (DV, I, p. 259). A version from "a follower of Lancret" was sold at Versailles, 26 February 1978, no. 57, ill. (canvas, 64 x 65 cm). Another version ascribed to "Antoine Watteau and his studio" was sold at Köller Gal., Zurich, 16-17 May 1980, no. 5183, pl. 46. One signed *Anne Bricoller 1798* was given to the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco in 1968.

These versions (and we have also a photograph of a fifth) are, like the San Francisco painting, in the opposite direction from the engraving. Two versions in the same direction are the one formerly in the New York Historical Society (see Monod and Einstein 1906; sale, New York, Parke-Bernet, 2 December 1971, no. 153, 23½ x 21 in), which in 1972 was in the collection of Jules Szawas, New York; and a horizontal version, sold at Versailles, 14 March 1976, no. 22, ill.

See for works by Lancret and Pater inspired by Watteau's painting or the print after it, Wildenstein 1924, no. 524, fig. 200 (fig. 3); Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, nos. 505-518, figs. 7, 147, 150, 152; Exh. cat. Paris 1977a; and Eidelberg 1977. See also a painting attributed to Pater at the Reading Museum, England.

Mentions of Fortunetellers, some of which may pertain to the San Francisco painting, are listed here: M. Barbier coll., "ancien capitain au Régiment d'Orléans . . . vendue rue des Ursulines à Saint-Germain-en-Laye le lundi 31 juillet 1752 . . .": "La Diseuse de Bonne Aventure, de Wateau" (*Annonces, affiches et avis divers,* p. 467). Dr. Bragge sale, London, 24-25 January 1754, no. 36: "A young Fortune teller telling a young Lady her Fortune" (see Raines 1977, pp. 57, 62, no. 51). Cardinal Mazarin and Prince de Carignan sale, London, 28 February 1765: "Gypsie telling fortunes" (79 x 61 cm; *idem.*). Merval sale, Paris, 9 May 1768, no. 130: "La Bohemienne de Watteau, sujet composée de 4 figures,

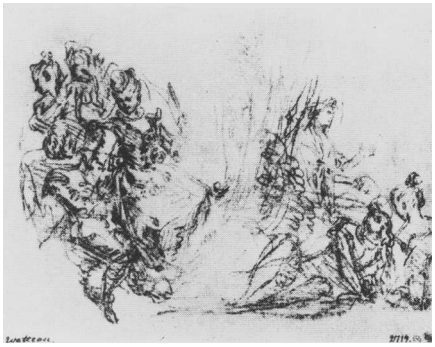


fig. 7



fig. 8

peint sur toile de 2 pieds 4 pouces de haut sur 22 pouces de large." Le Brun sale, London, 18 March 1785, no. 75: "A Landscape with the fortune teller." Foxall sale, London, 10 February 1786, no. 37: "Fortune Teller." Desenfans sale, London, 8 April 1786, no. 298 ("2 ft. 9 by 2 ft. 5; on canvas"). Fossard sale, Paris, 24 April 1838, no. 73: "Ce tableau a été gravé" (no dimensions). Hédouin 1845 and [Cousin] 1865: "The painting of very small dimensions was lately bought in the country near Paris for 25 francs by M. Malinet who then sold it for 1500 francs." Stevens sale, 1-4 March 1846, no. 319 [no dimensions]. Dr. Gaston Gaudinot sale, 15-16 February 1869, no. 119: "gravé"; on canvas, 60 x 50 cm. Anonymous sale, 26 February 1880, no. 12: on canvas, 75 x 58 cm. G. Bohn sale, London, 19 March 1885, no. 63: "The fortune Teller, 10 in. by 7 in." E. May sale, Paris, 4 June 1890, no. 131, 32 x 25 cm. Kraemer sale, Paris, 2-5 June 1913, no. 81, 71 x 91 cm. See also Wildenstein 1956, and a Gevigny sale cited by Mme. Adhémar (1950, but the painting is attributed to Manfredi, however).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey mention a double-sided drawing bearing studies for the painting (Paris, private coll.): recto (PM 33; fig. 4), a study for the gypsy; verso (PM 142; fig. 5), a study of the whole composition. Eidelberg made a close study of this sheet, which appeared to him characteristic of Watteau's working method. He rightly related two drawings in Stockholm to the San Francisco composition (PM 130, 131; Bjurström 1982, nos. 1285, 1286; figs. 6, 7), but his conclusion that a second horizontal composition by Watteau exists appears to us to be unsupported.

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Laurent Cars (1699-1771) (fig. 8) was announced in the *Mercure de France,* December 1727, p. 2677 (Roux 1934, III, p. 462, no. 11). It identifies the owner of the painting as Gilles-Marie Oppenordt and adds that the original painting was "of the same size" as the print. The engraving measures 339 x 274 mm, which corresponds very nearly to the dimensions of the painting (37.0 x 28.0 cm).

Mariette mentions the print (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 192 [34]) and identifies Oppenordt as "architect of M. le Duc d'Orléans." The copperplate appeared in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.

The engraving was often copied in both France and abroad (see DV, I, under no. 30). (For a reproduction of a German copy, see DV, II, p. 150, fig. 30.)

## 9 The Island of Cythera (*"L'isle de Cithère"*)

Oil on canvas
43.1 x 53.3 (17 x 21)
Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut,
P, B Frankfurt-am-Main

All Watteau specialists, with the single exception of Eidelberg (1977), considered the Heugel painting as the original of the engraved composition until 1981, when a new version appeared in London at auction. Its subsequent direct confrontation with the Heugel painting entirely reversed opinion in favor of the second painting, which in the meantime had been acquired by the Frankfurt museum.

Thus summed up it would appear that the historical record of *The Island of Cythera* would present no problems. Nothing could be further from the truth (see Related Works). There are actually two engravings of the work, *L'Isle de Cithère,* by Mercier from c. 1725; and *Lille de Cithère,* very close to it, by Larmessin, 1730. The latter informs us that the "original" then belonged to Jullienne. Beyond these facts one can indulge in various conjectural interpretations. The one that is generally accepted is that the original, in England before 1725, was copied before that date. Jullienne, who owned it and probably believed it to be the "original," probably had that copy engraved and resold it before 1756.

That the Frankfurt painting is indeed the original by Watteau seems to be confirmed by a few pentimenti, but above all by three particular characteristics of the artist's technique. For example, the surprising brushstrokes that sweep the milky blue sky are similar to the ones in the sky of the Louvre *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 61). Likewise, the lines etched into the paint itself to emphasize the steps leading to the island are found again in the architecture of *Pleasures of the Dance* and the *French Comedians* (cats. P. 51, 70). Finally, Watteau described the heads and bodies of the putti with small dark lines of the brush. He would only rarely abandon this practice throughout his career.

All the Watteau experts have always thought, and rightly so, that *The Island of Cythera* was a work of the artist's youth. We are among those who, with Stuffmann and Posner (to limit ourselves to recent authors), are convinced that the painting was painted c. 1709-1710 and not (the opinion of Roland-Michel and Grasselli, see cat. D. 22) in 1712-1713, the date of the artist's acceptance to the Academy (cats. P. 13, 14). The tiny heads of the men and women pil-



9

grims, the lively, sometimes raw, colors, the costumes, and the stiffness of the figures and the composition seem to us to confirm our dating.

But the real argument concerns the interpretation of the subject and its iconographic sources. Everyone agrees in considering the work as an initial step, a first idea for the two celebrated Cythera paintings of the Louvre and Berlin (cats. P. 61, 62). The captions of the two engravings and the verses which accompany Mercier's print, prove that we are indeed in the presence of a pilgrimage to the island of love. This was a parodic pilgrimage and quite prosaic if the marble balustrade, which suggests the Borromean Islands, was inspired by the one next to the cascade at Saint-Cloud and alludes to the expression "to leave for Saint-Cloud" (see exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982). For almost a century, efforts have been made to identify the theatrical, literary, or graphic sources that could have inspired Watteau and to discover to what extent he had adapted and interpreted them. If the Frankfurt painting is so intriguing, it is because it is the indispensable step for those who seek to analyze and better understand the two Embarkations. It was Louis de Fourcaud (1904) who provided the theatrical source that is still the most generally

fig. 1

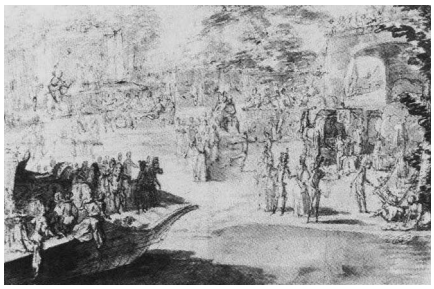


fig. 2



fig. 3



accepted today: *Les Trois Cousines* (1700), a comedy in three acts by Dancourt (1661-1725). This "peasantry enlivened by interludes" was revived at the Comédie-Française in 1709. A miller from Créteil, a widower, was burning to remarry but had neglected to provide husbands for his daughters. A complicated intrigue turns out to the satisfaction of all.

> Come to the Isle of Cythera
> In pilgrimage with us . . .
> Hardly a girl returns from there
> Without a lover or a spouse.

The final entertainment opens with the lines "Village boys and girls, dressed as pilgrims, prepare to make a pilgrimage to the temple of Love."

But other plays of a similar genre could have influenced Watteau: certain authors (Dohme 1885, *Les Amours déguisés,* words by Fuzelier, music by Bourgeois; Macchia 1971, *La Vénitienne,* words by La Motte, music by de la Barre; see Tomlinson 1981 and Roland-Michel [exh. cat. Paris-Geneva 1980-1981], *Les Amours déguisés* and other examples) have suggested identifications that are all the more enticing since pilgrims of all kinds were in style at the beginning of the eighteenth century. (Watteau himself drew several pilgrims that were engraved in the *Figures françoises et comiques.*)

In the literary area, Jean Locquin (1947-1948), in an admirably clear article, drew attention to the *Voyage de L'Isle d'Amour* by the Abbé Paul Tallemant, which was in its seventh edition in 1713. It will be recalled that Watteau "liked reading very much" (Gersaint in Champion 1921, p. 64) and that he must have appreciated this kind of sentimental literature.

The visual sources for the work are less obvious: Gillot (Mosby 1974 [fig.1]; see also sale, Paris, Drouot, 27 May 1983, no. 7, ill.) had drawn an episode — or more accurately, several episodes joined together on the same page — from the Dancourt play, but nothing proves that Watteau had knowledge of his study. Dacier (1937) published two engravings, one by B. Picart of 1708, *Dans l'Isle de Cithère* . . . (fig. 2), and the *Pélerins de Cythère* (fig. 3), an anonymous print that Watteau could have seen, but which in our view serve above all to confirm the popularity of the subject.



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6

One detail, however, has an exact (and illustrious) origin: the woman pilgrim who is delicately pushed toward a boat by a cupid was borrowed from the *The Garden of Love* by Rubens (fig. 4; version in the Prado).

If the Watteau painting did faithfully reproduce an episode from *Les Trois Cousines,* then theoretically it ought to be possible to identify the actors. Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, pp. 70-73) devoted themselves with great care to this exercise, with results that have not always been approved. Not only is there no agreement on the identification of the figures—how can the miller's daughters Louison and Marotte and their

fig. 7



fig. 8

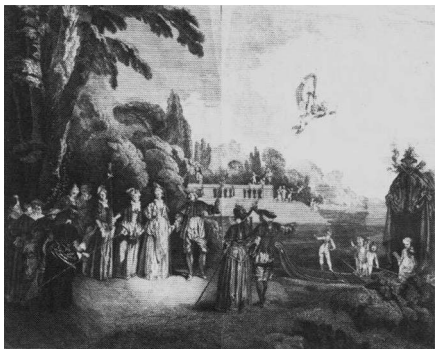


fig. 9



cousin Colette be distinguished, and where is Colette's suitor, Blaise?—but also it is not known who played what role in 1709, for the contemporary texts contradict each other.

Behind these arguments, which may seem of little importance, there lies an essential question: as early as 1709 did Watteau invent compositions or did he stick to illustrating a play that he had in front of him? At first sight, everything—the way the actors are placed, as if posed on the stage, their attitudes and gestures, their costumes with actresses' ruffs and small hats, the kind of painted backdrop with its snowy mountains, parasol pines, and marble balustrade in front of which they are standing, the gondola with its tent—seem to indicate a slavish imitation of the reality of the theater. But the confirmation should be found in the hesitations of Fourcaud and Hérold and Vuaflart who sought a precise identification of the scene. It would appear certain that Watteau devoted himself to an imaginary reconstitution, based, of course, on his numerous theater experiences, but also on his literary or visual recollections.

PROVENANCE

The painting was probably in England as early as 1725, the presumed date of Mercier's engraving (Mariette, *Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 193 [60], specifically stated that Mercier engraved the painting "à Londres"). In the collection of Thomas Walker, Wimbledon Heath, before 1748, the year Walker died(?); then, by descent to Stephen Skynner (?); his eldest daughter Emma, wife of William Harvey, Rolls Park, Essex (?); their son Sir Eliab Harvey (?); his daughter Maria, who married the Reverend W. Tower in 1829 (?).

The collection of Mrs. William Tower, Upp Hall, Broughing-Ware, in 1858; her daughter, Mrs. Edward Goulburn; Major General E. H. Goulburn (died in 1928); the trustees of Major General Goulburn's estate from 1928 to 1981. Sale, Christie's, London, 18 December 1980, no. 97 (as "J. A. Watteau"), withdrawn from the sale; offered again at Christie's, London, 11 December 1981, no. 6 (as "attributed to Jean-Antoine Watteau"); acquired by Maurice Segoura Gallery, New York; sold in 1982 to the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1858, no. 86 (as "A Bridal Procession"); New York 1982, no. 1, colorpl.; Frankfurt 1982, no. 1 A, numerous ills. with details; Berlin 1983, pp. 36-39, fig. 23, colorpl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the painting in Frankfurt): Exh. cat. York 1969, p. 19, under no. 6; Ingamells and Raines 1976-1978, p. 67, under no. 292; Eidelberg 1977, p. iii; Exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982; Börsch-Supan 1983, pp. 16-21, fig. 9, p. 16; Rosenberg 1983, pp. 5-10, fig. 4; Stuffmann 1983, pp. 37-39 (colorpl. p. 36); P 1984, pp. 53-54, 187-188, colorpl. 6, fig. 149; RM 1984 (in press); (on the composition or the Heugel copy, essential works): H 1845, no. 93; H 1856, no. 94; G 1875, no. 140; Staley 1902, pp. 26, 33, 150, ill. bet. pp. 34-35; Dacier 1904, p. 277; Fourcaud 1904, pp. 205-213 (ill. p. 211, the print by Larmessin); Z 1912, pp. 186-187, pl. 29; Pilon 1921, pp. 86-94 (ill. p. 85, the print by Larmessin; or pp. 14-22, ill. p. 13, separate ed.); Hildebrandt 1922, p. 104, fig. 54, p. 105 (print by Larmessin); DV, I, pp. 70-73 and III, under no. 155; R 1928, no. 153; Gillet 1929, p. 38; Parker 1931, pp. 32, 41; Dacier 1937, pp. 247-250; Mathey 1939, p. 153; Michel, Aulanier, de Vallée (Adhémar) [1939], p. 13, fig. 52; Adhémar 1947, n.p., fig. 14; Locquin 1947-1948, pp. 49-52; AH 1950, no. 33, pl. 13; Tolnay 1955, pp. 92-94 and fig. 2; PM 1957, under nos. 22, 23, 168, 171, 910; M 1959, pp. 38-39, 59, 67, 77, figs. 90, 91 (detail); Levey 1961, p. 182 and fig. 25 (print); Nemilova 1964, p. 75, fig. 27; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 87; Levey 1966, p. 63, fig. 35 (print); Brookner 1969, pl. 9; Mirimonde 1969, p. 241; CR 1970, no. 14, ill.; Macchia 1971, pp. 23-25 (in fact pp. 3-36); F 1972, A.3 (as "authentic"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 91, 123, 138-141, 151, 180-181, 185-186, 188-189, 192, 206, 220, 304, 340; Mosby 1974, pp. 49-50, fig. 1; Ferraton 1975, p. 84, ill.; Banks 1977, p. 227, fig. 180; Ostrowski 1977, p. 12, pl. 40 (print by Larmessin); Eidelberg 1977, p. 96, fig. 79 (detail); Mirimonde 1977, pp. 109-110; Exh. cat. Paris-Geneva 1980-1981, no. 44 (colorpl.) (for provenance and exhibitions of the Heugel canvas); Tomlinson 1981, pp. 113-114, fig. 25 (print); RM 1982, no. 124, ill.; numerous articles in the German press at the time of the Frankfurt purchase and the exhibition, notably Börsch-Supan, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11 September 1982, p. 21.

RELATED PAINTINGS

Until 1981 when this painting appeared at public sale critics had unanimously considered the Heugel version (46.5 x 56 cm; fig. 5) the original by Watteau (see Bibliography), which itself surfaced at a public sale in 1858; was exhibited in 1899, 1902, 1948, 1956, and 1981; and was reproduced and discussed on numerous occasions. Today the work is unanimously considered an old copy. There is every indication that it had belonged to Jullienne (see Related Prints). Another copy (45 x 54 cm) belongs to the Bilbao Museum (see exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 172, ill.).

For the many copies, pastiches, variations, and interpretations of the Louvre and the Berlin Pilgrimages see Related Works, cats. P. 61 and 62.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Two drawings are directly related to the painting—PM 23 (Frankfurt, cat. D. 22; fig. 6), a study for the male pilgrim with his arm extended in the center of the painting; and PM 22 (Dresden; fig. 7), for the male pilgrim seen frontally. PM 168, PM 171, PM 910, PM 93, and PM 164 (the last two mentioned by Boerlin-Brodbeck) bear a strong resemblance to some of the figures in *The Island of Cythera* but are more closely related to the *Fddc* (DV 53-60).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving *L'isle de Cithère* by Philippe Mercier (1689-1760) (fig. 8) has been dated by Ingamells and Raines (1976-1978) to c. 1725. Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 193 [60]) specified that it was "gravée à l'eau forte à Londres."

The following verses are inscribed on the print:

Pelerins allant à Cithere
Sont escortez par mille Amours.
Ont-ils goûtez de l'Amoureux mistere
Ils marchent seuls à leur retours.

The engraving by Nicolas de Larmessin (1684-1755) (Hébert and Sjöberg 1973, XII, p. 402, no. 41; fig. 9), *"Lille de Cithere,"* was announced in the August 1730 *Mercure de France*, p. 1831. The caption on that print indicates that the painting was in the "Cabinet de Mr de Jullienne" and was "de la même grandeur de lestempe (*sic*)." The print measures 33.2 x 44.1 cm, the Frankfurt painting 43.1 x 53.3 cm, and the Heugel copy 46.5 x 56 cm. It is possible that the dimensions given on the print included the painting's frame.

## 10 Actors at a Fair (*Les comédiens sur le champ de foire*)

Oil on canvas
64.7 x 91.3 (25½ x 36) (with additions, apparently from the nineteenth century, of 3 cm at bottom and 10 cm at left, to make it a pendant to cat. P. 11; the additions have been covered for this exhibition)
Staatliche Schlösser und Garten, Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin

This little-known painting was published by Foerster in 1924 (before that date it was attributed, without conviction, to Pater). It was restored for its presentation at the 1962 exhibition in Berlin in honor of Frederick the Great, where it was a revelation to visitors (see Junecke 1962 for reproductions of details of the painting during its restoration). The following year, Börsch-Supan included the painting in the Paris exhibition where it was well-received. Since then Ferré and Roland-Michel have accepted it as a work of Watteau's youth, but Eidelberg (1973) and Posner (1984) have considered it an imitation. The latter view is surprising, for several preparatory sketches are known, and the parts in good condition seem to us to be unquestionably from the hand of Watteau. Moreover, it was under Watteau's name that Oesterreich



mentioned it in his 1773 guide to the castles of Potsdam, "a village wedding with a fair and a Masquerade."

The work was enlarged, no doubt at the beginning of the nineteenth century, so that it could be hung as a pendant to *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11). The few centimeters added below and the wide band at the left make the painting unpleasantly unbalanced (but these will be covered for the exhibition).

Börsch-Supan dates the painting to 1704-1708 while Roland-Michel leans toward 1710 (1982) or 1708-1710 (1984). In any event, it is agreed that it is earlier than *The Village Bride* (and of course prior to *The Village Betrothal* of the Soane Museum, London [CR 127]; see cat. P. 21).

The painting was not engraved, which has raised doubts about its authenticity. One could try to relate it to a letter formerly in the Benjamin Fillon collection (sale, Paris, 15-17 July 1879, no. 1701), now lost, written by the dealer Sirois to Madame Josset, a bookseller, on 23 November 1711:

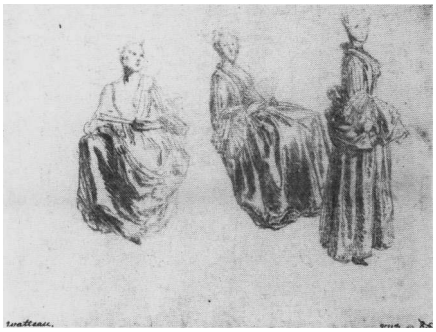
fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



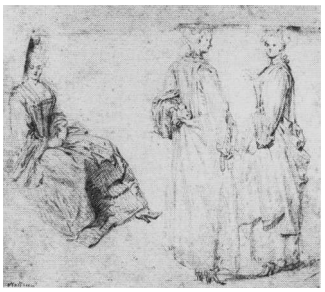


fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6

. . . He [Watteau] promised to paint me a *Feste de la Foire de Lendit* [Festival of the Lenten Fair], for which I have advanced one hundred livres of the agreed three hundred. It will be his masterpiece, provided he puts the final touches on it; but if he falls into his black humor and his mind is possessed, then away he'll go and goodbye masterpiece (DV, I, p. 38).

But aside from the fact that the date of 1711 seems to us to be rather late for the Berlin painting, one must agree with Noël Charavay, the handwriting expert, and Goncourt, as early as 1889, who were convinced that the letter is a forgery.

What does the painting portray? Two couples are dancing to the tune of two violins, a hurdy-gurdy, and a flageolet. Other couples, shaded by large trees that have been climbed by some spectators, are watching them or are gazing affectionately at each other. Behind them, to the right, a fortuneteller with a child on her back reads the palm of an actor seated at a long table. To the left, other actors are passing the hat while their comrades—a Pierrot, a masked Oriental, and a Turk—turn toward three elegant spectators seated on an embankment. In the background, tents shelter numerous on-lookers.

Watteau added elements of fantasy from his first paintings, to the description of a fair, with popular spectacles and troupes of actors, and mixed inventions of his imagination with the picturesque quality of certain scenes. If he overloaded his composition according to a Flemish tradition that he imperfectly assimilated, he nevertheless sought to direct our attention to the major episodes of the scene. But despite the bits executed with great delicacy, the condition of the work itself, as though it had been baked, makes it difficult to read.

Watteau nevertheless succeeds in this youthful effort in evoking that make-believe world of the theater to which he would devote such a considerable part of his work.

PROVENANCE

Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712-1786) probably by 1763 (see Appendix D, by H. Börsch-Supan); in 1773, in the grand concert hall of the New Palace, Potsdam. In the nineteenth century and until 1941, in the small gallery of Sans Souci Palace, Potsdam. Restored in 1765 ("noce de paysans de Watteau qui est très crevassée, pour boucher des crevasses . . . 60 thalers") by the painter F. Schultz (mentioned by Börsch-Supan, exh. cat. Paris 1963) and in 1961 by W. Paul; Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1962, no 90; Paris 1963, no. 31, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Oesterreich 1773, no. 549; Nicolaï 1786, III, p. 1146; Rumpf 1794, p. 159; Rumpf 1803, II, p. 65; Foerster 1924, pp. 27-29, ill.; Hübner 1926, p. 57; Junecke 1962, p. 68, pls. 2, 3 (details); Eidelberg 1970, pp. 60, 70, n. 52, fig. 27 (detail); F 1972, A.2 (as "authentically by Watteau"); Eidelberg 1977, pp. 220-221, 257-258, nn. 42-43, fig. 183; RM 1982, no. 95; P 1984, p. 278 n. 23; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Through photographs we know two copies of the painting (figs. 1, 2). Eidelberg (1970) noted a third on the Paris art market. One of them may be the *Lenten Fair* (canvas, 65 x 82 cm) in the Alvin–Beaumont collection, mentioned by Adhémar (1950, no. 51).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Börsch-Supan (exh. cat. Paris 1963) mentioned two drawings related to this painting—PM 77 (Stockholm; fig. 3), a counterproof with a study for the woman in the right foreground (see also PM 5 and Bjurström 1982, no. 1275; fig. 4) and PM 121 (location unknown; fig. 5), showing a group at left that is very close to Pierrot and his companion who are passing the hat. Roland-Michel (1984) links a drawing of *Comic Figures* in Darmstadt (PM 117; fig. 6) to the painting, though there is no obvious connection between the two. Eidelberg (1970, fig. 24) published a study sheet by Pierre-Antoine Quillard (1701 or 1704-1733) (formerly London art market), in which there is a woman identical to the dancing woman seen from the front at the center of the composition. Quillard probably copied a lost drawing by Watteau.

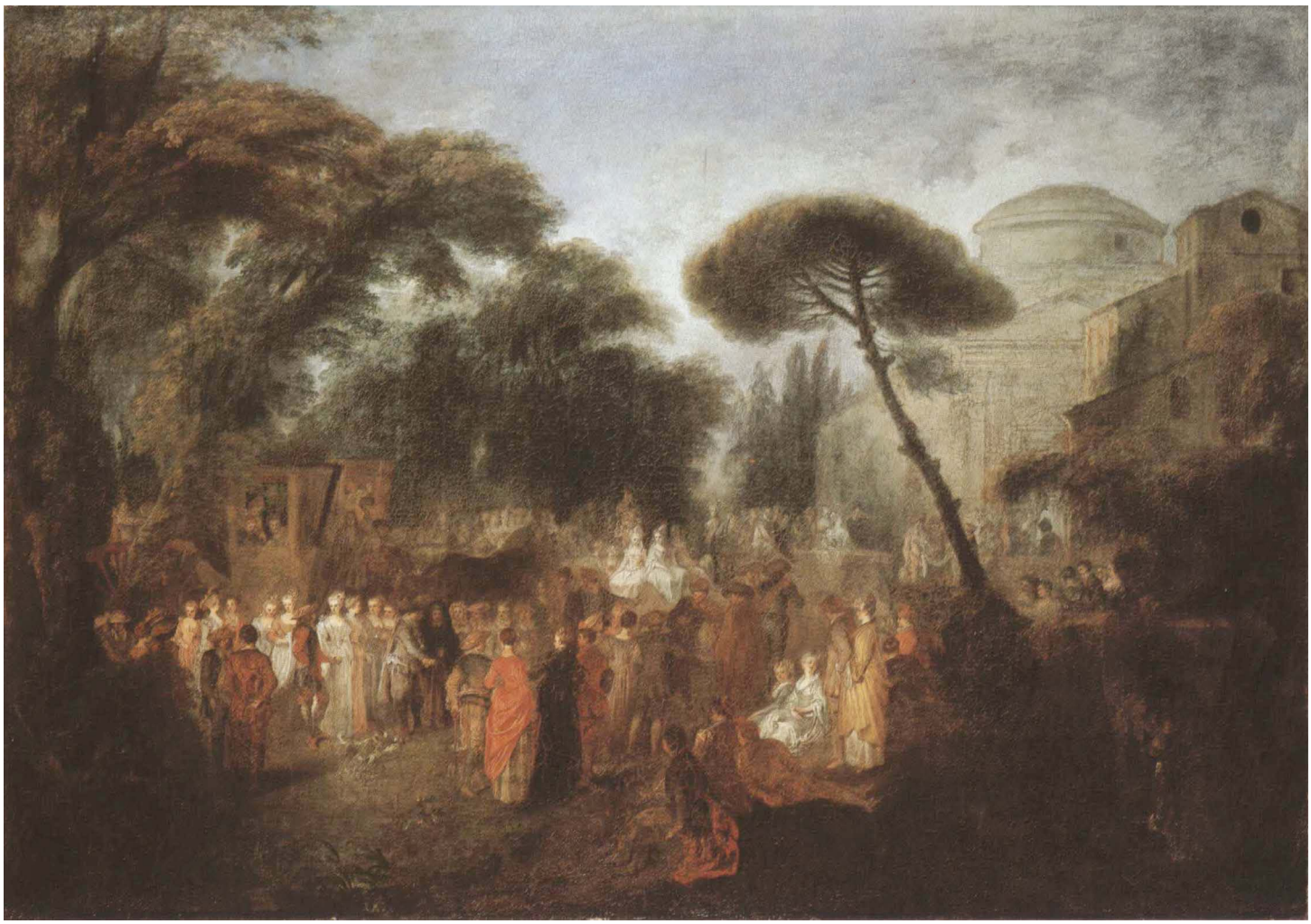
RELATED PRINTS

Eidelberg (1970) has pointed out that the group of dancing men and women facing us are found in the center of an arabesque in the style of Watteau (*The American Architect*, XXVII, 1925, p. 328, repr.).

## 11 The Village Bride (*"La mariée de village"*)

Oil on canvas
65 x 92 (25⅝ x 36¼)
Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Berlin,
Schloss Charlottenburg

The painting, although "a sad ruin" (Goncourt 1875), is of primary importance. It was restored in Berlin as early as 1750 and several times thereafter, and the composition has lost its unity. The Cochin print, one of the rare double-page engravings of the *Recueil Jullienne* (which we here reproduce in reverse to permit a better understanding of the painting) allows us to appreciate Watteau's original composition. Everyone agrees that the Berlin painting is the original (except Alvin-Beaumont who believed he owned it; in fact, his version was probably by Bonaventure de Bar), yet the



controversy over its date is far from over. Stuffmann (exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982) believed that it was painted in 1708-1709, while Posner (1984) considered it as having been begun no earlier than 1712. The majority of authors subscribe to the simple idea that the size of the figures in Watteau's paintings grows with the years, and place it toward 1710. Mathey, taking the preparatory studies as a basis, suggested a date close to Posner's hypothesis (1710-1712), with which we agree.

fig. 1



Did the painting have a pendant? And if so, can it be identified? It is clear that the *Actors at a Fair* (cat. P. 10) was artificially paired with the *Village Bride* (cat. P. 11). Alvin-Beaumont believed the pendant to the Berlin painting to be the *Signing of the Marriage Contract* (DV 292, CR 62), a painting engraved by Antoine Cardon at the end of the eighteenth century and which still belonged in 1910 to the Duc d'Arenberg in Brussels. If the specialists have always had reservations about the attribution of this painting to Watteau (it is true that no one has ever seen it) they do not exclude the possibility that the painting might be his. But that is just what Posner (1984) has done. For him the pendant of the Berlin painting is *The Village Betrothal* (DV 116, CR 127) of the Soane Museum in London, which is also quite damaged. The text of the *Mercure de France* of October 1735, which we cited in connection with the provenance of the Berlin painting, confirms Posner's view.

The restorer of the painting, in 1750, counted 108 participants in the wedding. It is difficult to discern the bride and groom, who are seen from behind in the center of the painting, preceded by a violinist and a flageolet player who open the way for them. Behind them two couples draw apart to let relatives and their friends pass. Two carriages stop to watch



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4

the procession toward the church at the right of the painting. There the witnesses await them and hold the bride's veil. In the foreground are two groups of spectators repeated by Watteau a few years later in *The Musette* (DV 262, CR 93) and *The Country Ball* (cat. P. 24).

The Italianate architecture and the pines have often caused surprise since they introduce an exotic note to a scene that should have been taken from life, according to the long-established Flemish tradition of genre painting. Many other details in this picture are also surprising. Among the most striking elements are the carriages and the sculptured lion's head that serves as a fountain to the right of the composition, as well as the attire of the spectators and guests. The luxury of their clothing gives the painting its atmosphere of fantasy but it above all evokes the theater and the opera—even if the painting does not, as some occasionally suggest, illustrate a play by Dancourt. Thus in his earliest efforts Watteau began with everyday life, containing only a hint of rusticity, and idealized this by drawing from the world of the theater. He wished to paint marriage as the bride might have dreamed it.

It will be noted furthermore that added to the borrowings from both the Netherlands and Italy is a third, which is French. The composition has some connection with the large fairs engraved by Callot (1592-1635). Like that Lorraine artist, Watteau increased the groups and picturesque details and varied the gestures, attitudes, and expressions. By clever lighting effects and also by using lighter colors for some women's clothes, he also tried, perhaps with less felicity, to direct attention to this or that episode or to this or that group in the procession. But his mastery in this domain does not yet permit him to make clear the true subject and the heroes of his painting.

PROVENANCE

Caylus (in Champion 1921, p. 102), in the draft of his *Life of Watteau,* read before the Academy 3 February 1748, referred to "Une Accordée ou Noce de village faite pour M. de Valjoin." As Champion notes, this description could as easily refer to the Berlin painting as to the celebrated *Village Betrothal* (Soane Museum, London; fig. 1).

According to the caption on the engraving by Cochin published in 1729 in the *Recueil,* the painting at that time was in the "Cabinet de M. de La Faye." Jean-François Leriget de La Faye (1674-1731) was a soldier and diplomat, poet, and lover of music and painting who was admitted to the Academy in 1730. We know from his will of 1724 that he left his fortune to his nephew, after allowing the Comtesse de Verrue (see cat. P. 50), because of her many kindnesses to him, to choose twelve paintings from his collection (see the *Mercure de France,* October 1735 [pp. 2251-2252] on the appearance of the Larmessin print after *The Village Betrothal* then in the Jullienne collection: ". . . a pendant to the one by the same author which is in the cabinet of the Comtesse de Verrue representing a *Village Bride,* engraved some years ago by M. Nicolas Cochin"). Indeed, two paintings by Watteau do appear in the Comtesse de Verrue's sale in 1737, but the *Village Bride* does not seem to have been one of them (see cat. P. 50). Might the countess have disposed of it before her death, or had she instead chosen a copy of the Watteau painting by Bonaventure de Bar? The first theory is supported by Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I) and the second by Alvin-Beaumont (1925-1932) who points out that Bonaventure de Bar (1700-1729) was living at the home of Leriget de La Faye in 1728 and that several of his works were among those offered at the Comtesse de Verrue's sale; thus we see under no. 39 (see also nos. 55 and 57), "Des barres. Un tableau de moyenne grandeur peint dans la manière de Pater ou Lancret." By 1750 the painting was in the collection of Frederick the Great (1712-1786), hanging in the small gallery at Sans Souci palace in Potsdam. (According to Rey 1931, p. 153, the painting may have been acquired by Rothenburg for the Prussian king as

fig. 5



fig. 6

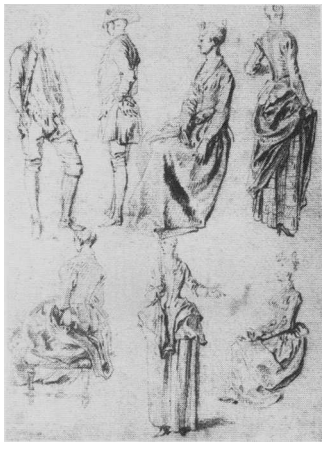


fig. 7

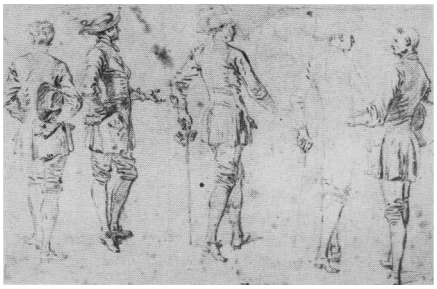


fig. 8





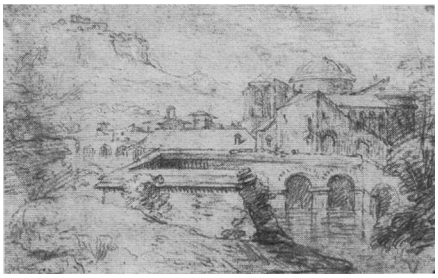


fig. 9

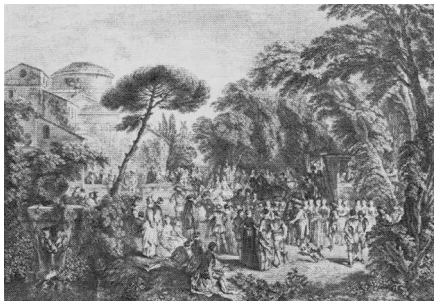


fig. 10

early as 1744.) It was restored while in the Sans Souci collection by P. F. Gerhardt: "has tears in the faces, hands, and clothing; for having cut out of paper and reglued and having restored it to good condition with great care and effort," again in 1765 by F. Schultz (Seidel 1900) and again prior to 1900 by F. Hauser. (For Voltaire's letter which has sometimes been linked to this painting see cat. P. 53.); Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1962, no. 89; Paris 1963, no. 32, ill.; Frankfurt 1982, no. Cd 1, pl., p. 57.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): H 1845, no. 126; H 1856, no. 128; [Cousin] 1865, p. 26; Champion 1921, p. 102, n. 3; Nordenfalk 1953, p. 134, fig. 49 (detail of the print); (on the painting): Oesterreich 1773, no. 549; Nicolaï 1786, III, p. 1217; Rumpf 1794, p. 186; Rumpf 1803, II, p. 99; G 1875, no. 148; Dohme 1876, p. 86, no. 4; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1880, pp. 10, 12, 19; Dohme 1883, pp. 101-102; Mollett 1883, p. 69; Mantz 1892, p. 186; Phillips 1895, pp. 53, 56; Seidel 1900, no. 149; Staley 1902, p. 138; Josz 1903, pp. 378-379; Pilon 1912, pp. 75-76, 152; Z 1912, p. 185, pl. 12; Maurel 1919, p. 23; DV, I, pp. 205, 262, III, under no. 111; Foerster 1924, pp. 27-29; Alvin-Beaumont 1925, pp. 5-16, ill.; Höbner 1926, p. 57; R 1928, no. 89; Rey 1931, pp. 153-156; Alvin-Beaumont 1932, pp. 39-50, ill.; AH 1950, no. 53, pl. 23; PM 1957, under nos. 5, 40, 42, 51, 373; M 1959, pp. 41, 67; Junecke 1962, p. 68; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 88; CR 1970, no. 63, ill.; F 1972, A.4 (as "authentically by Watteau"); Levey 1972, pp. 18-19, pl. 11; Banks 1977, pp. 135-136, fig. 53; RM 1982, no. 96, ill.; P 1984, pp. 21-22, 34, 123, fig. 11 (print); RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Many copies exist of this famous painting (see AH 1950 and CR 1970). The Alvin-Beaumont painting (see 1925 and 1932) was reattributed to Bonaventure de Bar (1700-1729) by Rey in 1931 and the copy (according to Guiffrey, Louvre archives, P 7, 1923), which entered the Musée d'Orléans with the Paul Fourché bequest in 1922 (panel, 61 x 82 cm); was destroyed during World War II; in addition, the version in the Cleveland Museum (Mrs. Prentiss collection, but this may be confused with the copy of *The Village Betrothal*) seems to have been sold. One version attributed to Bonaventure de Bar is on the Paris market (canvas, 72.5 x 91 cm, color repr.; fig. 2), *L'Oeil* (December 1969 and July-August 1975). Another was sold in Vienna, Dorotheum (21-24 September 1971, no. 131, pl. 35); a fragmentary version is in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian in Lisbon (no. 5015; fig. 3); and one in reverse, therefore after the engraving, was sold at Versailles on 25 October 1970, no. 58 (panel, 60 x 82 cm) (see also exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 187).

*The Signing of the Village Marriage Contract* (DV 292, CR 62; fig. 4), engraved by A. Cardon well after the completion of the *Recueil Jullienne*, is sometimes wrongly called the pendant of *The Village Bride*. Judging by the photograph (see for example Alvin-Beaumont 1932), the painting from the d'Arenberg collection (engraved; lost since 1910) does not seem to be the work of Watteau. Posner (1984) considered the composition to be the work of an imitator.

For *The Village Betrothal*, Soane Museum, London, considered by Posner (1984) to be the pendant of the Berlin painting, see above.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey link five drawings by Watteau with the painting—PM 5 (Musée Carnavalet, Paris; fig. 5); PM 40 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon; cat. D. 18; fig. 6); PM 42 (Louvre; fig. 7); and PM 51 (National Gallery, Dublin, cat. D. 23; fig. 8). All are studies, sometimes with changes, for the figures in the painting. PM 373 (fig. 9) sold at Versailles in 1960 (repr. *Conn. des Arts* [October 1960]), is a study with changes for the buildings on the right of the composition.

RELATED PRINTS

"*La mariée de vilage* (*sic*) Gravé d'Après le Tableau original Peint par Watteau, haut de 2 pieds, large de 3" (65 x 97.4 cm) was mentioned in the *Mercure de France*, March 1729, p. 542. The engraving in reverse by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1686-1754) (Roux 1940, IV, no. 47; fig 10) for the *Recueil Jullienne* is cited by Mariette prior to 1731 (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [84]). The corresponding copperplate is listed in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the 1770 and 1778 Chereau catalogues. Some authors (Alvin-Beaumont; Rey 1931) believe that the engraving may have been done after a copy of Bonaventure de Bar belonging to his patron Leriget de La Faye.

## 12 The Artist's Dream (*Le rêve de l'artiste*)

Oil on canvas
63.8 x 80.6 (25⅛ x 31¾)
Private Collection, Great Britain

The painting only appeared in the Watteau literature in 1921, soon after it was acquired by David David-Weill. Since that date there has been disagreement on its attribution, for it has been rejected by Adhémar (who attributes it to Schall) and by Camesasca and Posner who consider it a pastiche. However, its well-documented provenance shows that Watteau's authorship should not be placed in doubt. Cited as early as 1722, immediately after the death of the painter (it belonged at that time to a painter-dealer on the Pont Notre-Dame, Jacques Langlois), it very soon went, after a brief stay in France, to England, into the hands of Sir Robert Walpole, where it remained for nearly two centuries before it was returned to France. Presented here for the first time to the public, it should be one of the revelations of the exhibition, despite its precarious state of conservation, worn spots, repaint, and perhaps even a few additions.

Here, Watteau, like many others before him, treats the theme of the artist's inspiration, which must have been close to his heart. He does it in his own way, with a large number of small-scale figures in a composition that could be considered disorderly. But the way he has of directing the eye from one group to another, the emotion and the tension that emerge from his painting, and the originality of the invention place the work among the artist's most ambitious, if not the most successful, creations.

The title, *The Artist's Dream*, was bestowed by Louis



Gillet (1922) and sums up well the author's intentions. A painter—is it Watteau himself, as Gillet supposes?—turns away from his easel, placed before a natural setting with some ruins, in order to contemplate a theatrical spectacle. Four dancers sketch a farandole, and in the sky appear the theatrical and *fête galante* figures so often depicted by Watteau: Harlequin, Colombine, Finette, Scaramouche, Mezzetin, and Pierrot. In the upper part of the composition, seated on "stage clouds;" the painter's muse, surrounded by putti, holds a palm frond in her hand—perhaps the golden palm of Virgil that was so dear to Poussin—that she is about, or is hesitating to hand, to the painter. Before this vision that dazzles and frightens him, the artist, like one who is hallucinating, clenches his fist with rage and then collapses.

The date of the work has been the subject of some conjecture. According to Borenius, it could have been painted in London in 1719. Mathey, on the basis of the preparatory drawings, wavered between 1707 and 1709 and the artist's "full maturity," and does not rule out the possibility that Watteau might have later on "finished a youthful painting." Without giving a precise date, Eidelberg placed it relatively early.

We understand and share in the critics' difficulty. The figures of the upper right part of the painting, with their minuscule heads, are reminiscent of the early works, such as *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11). The other figures, in particular the one of the artist on the left, seem to belong to a more advanced style. However, the numerous preparatory drawings for the first group seem to date from Watteau's mature period, while the double study for the artist still evokes the youthful drawings. Mercier's engraving, which only picks





fig. 1

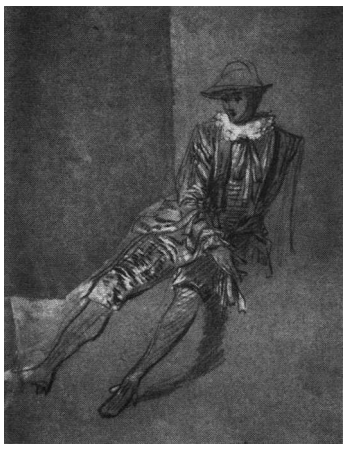


fig. 2



fig. 3

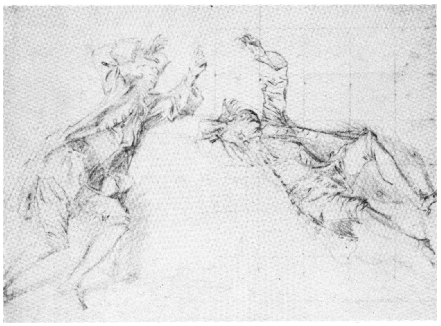


fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6

up one group in the painting while changing it somewhat, further complicates the question of dating the work. The painting seems to us to occupy a pivotal position in the evolution of Watteau's art, recalling *Harlequin Emperor in the Moon* (cat. P. 1) and prefiguring *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38).

PROVENANCE

Probably "*Le Rêve,* du sieur Watteau b.d. [*bordure dorée,* or gold frame]" valued at 120 livres (*The Miracle of the Blind Man* by Bourdon was valued at 200), which figures in the inventory of the estate of Jacques Langlois, painter and picture dealer on the Pont Notre-Dame, made after his death on 16 December 1722 (Rambaud 1964, p. 556; see Weigert 1973, VI, pp. 302-305 on the engraver Jacques Langlois). According to Robert Raines (letter), it could be confused with no. 37, "The Italian Comedians by Watteau," sale, Solomon Gautier (London, c. 1726). It appears in the manuscript inventory drawn up by Horace Walpole in 1736 of the collection of Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745): in the dressing room of Lady Walpole at 10 Downing Street (!) is mentioned "77, Watteau, A Dream of Watteau's Himself asleep by a Rock; Several Dancers and Grotesque figures in the Clouds" (2' x 2'7¼"). Walpole sale, 1748, second day, no. 62, "Watteau's dream Watteau," £6–10 to Lord Moreton, probably Matthew Ducie, Baron of Moreton (1700-1770). For more details on the painting's stay in England in the eighteenth century, see Eidelberg 1975 and Raines 1977; Duke of Cambridge in the nineteenth century, according to Henriot; Colnaghi, 1889, according to the *Journal* of René Gimpel, 17 February 1918: "Then, knowing the English, he [the father of René Gimpel] took Wildenstein to England where it was then possible to buy splendid French paintings at ridiculous prices. The former shop of old Martin Colnaghi, in Pall-Mall, was an inexhaustible mine. They found there, for 10,000 francs, the *Dream of the Poet* by Watteau which they tried in vain to sell for 20,000. They forgot it for ten years in the reserves and when they brought it out they asked 500,000 francs and David-Weill, who had seen it when it was in England, acquired it; but the price was too low." Sold by David David-Weill in 1937; Wildenstein; sale, London, Sotheby's, 10 June 1959, no. 41 ill.; British private collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gillet 1921, pp. 212-213; DV, II, no. 309 and p. 138; Henriot 1926, I, pp. 385-386, ill.; R 1928, no. 73; Borenius 1937, pp. 61-62, ill.; Barker 1939, p. 105; AH 1950, no. 270 (see also no. 225); PM 1957, under nos. 58, 62, 72, 663, 674; M 1959, pp. 37, 67, 77, pl. 86; Gimpel 1963, p. 19; CR 1970, no. 202, ill.; Eidelberg 1975, pp. 578-580 and fig. 9; Ingamells and Raines 1976-1978, no. 297; Raines 1977, pp. 60-61, no. 36, figs. 5, 6 (details); P 1984, p. 291, n. 62; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey link five drawings to the painting. Two (PM 58 and 72) are not directly related to the work; two others, to which a third can be added, are studies for certain figures of the group at upper right. This group is closely related to Mercier's print, *The Italian Troupe on Vacation* (see Related Prints). See PM 561 (Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris; Brugerolles 1981, no. 169; fig. 1) for the Harlequin who is used several times by Watteau; PM 663 (Stockholm; Bjurström 1982, no. 1305; fig. 2) for the seated man; and PM 674 (Chicago; cat. D.107; fig. 3) for the kneeling Mezzetin. A last drawing (PM 62, like the painting formerly in the collection of David-Weill; sale, London, Sotheby's, 10 June 1959, no. 140; fig. 4) can be related to the artist at lower left in the painting who is half-reclining with his arms raised to the sky. In fact, the two studies on this sheet, one of which is squared, were used for that figure. Another drawing, now lost, for the seated woman who points her finger at the artist, was etched by Boucher (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 111; fig. 6).

RELATED PRINTS

An engraving by Philippe Mercier (1689-1760), *The Italian Troupe on Vacation* (DV 309; fig. 5) was directly inspired by this painting. In fact, it only shows the main figures from the upper right. Mariette (*Notes mss.* IX, fol. 194 [81]) said that it was engraved "in London by Pierre *(sic)* Mercier." Ingamells and Raines (1976-1978) date it from about 1725. But is this engraving a free interpretation by Mercier of a part of the work that we catalogue here or is it a copy of a lost painting by Watteau? The first hypothesis appears the more likely although it is not entirely satisfactory.

# 13 Pierrot Content ("*Pierrot content*")

Oil on canvas
35 x 31 (13¾ x 12³⁄₁₆)
Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, Lugano

Because this painting was conserved in a relatively inaccessible American collection, until ten years ago it was known only through mediocre photographic reproductions. That explains why the Watteau specialists (Adhémar 1950, Camesasca 1970, Ferré 1972) hesitated to accept it as an original. Since its purchase by Baron Thyssen in 1977, its attribution has been generally accepted except by Ferré (see two articles in *Le Figaro* of 12 and 13 February 1982, when the work was exhibited in Paris).

There are two reasons to support the attribution to Watteau: we have been able to prove that (1) the painting came from the Heinecken collection, which was sold in 1758; and (2) its sides had been considerably cut down between 1758 and 1832 (Lapeyrière sale). The reasons for this alteration, which transformed the painting from a horizontal to a vertical format, are unknown, but perhaps the edges had been irreparably damaged.

When the painting is studied closely with the naked eye (of course these changes are much more legible in x-rays), one can clearly see two major pentimenti: the woman who is bringing a fan to her chin was originally much closer to Pierrot; and a drapery is visible at the woman's foot. Not only do they conclusively show that the Thyssen painting is an original, worn but incontestable, but above all they show that the original composition was different. The alterations indicate clearly that Watteau had first copied another of his paintings and had then changed it. In the work that was copied, *Jealousy* (lost; DV 127, CR 80; fig. 1), the heroine sits quite close to Pierrot and places her right hand on his left shoulder; at her feet, instead of an admirer, is a tambourine with its bunting and a folly stick.

If Mariette was correct, *Jealousy* (a good copy of which is in the National Gallery, Melbourne; fig. 2) was exhibited with other paintings (unfortunately, we do not know which ones) at the Academy on 30 July 1712. (See the discussion of *The Party of Four*, cat. P. 14.) Watteau was *agréé* (provisionally accepted) on the strength of this painting, and was thus brought to the attention of collectors. To quote Mariette, "Everyone hastened to acquire his works." It is also understandable, to go back to the terms of the excellent notice by Rosenbaum (in exh. cat. USA 1979-1981, p. 146), that "the degree to which [*Pierrot Content*] so closely replicates [*Jealousy*] might have been considered a want of imagination." Watteau first painted *Pierrot Content* (on canvas while *Jealousy* was very probably painted on panel), then *Jealous Harlequin* (lost; DV 77, CR 83; panel; fig. 3), and finally *The Party of Four*, today in San Francisco (cat. P. 14). All were painted in a period of approximately two years.

Seated on a bench or on the ground, five figures are set off against a background of greenery: Pierrot, facing us, his legs spread apart, his hands placed symmetrically on his thighs, is the central attraction for all the others. He is "content" because the lady on his right sings a song for him while the lady on his left draws away and appears jealous of the guitarist. The two other men attract scarcely any attention. His attitude is embarrassed, his expression foolish, as if he does not know what to do. The statue of the faun in profile (it will be seen again in the *Pierrot* [*Gilles*], cat. P. 69), seen in the shrubbery at center, is much more clear now in the print by Edme Jeaurat than in the painting; two figures, Scaramouche and Harlequin (?) seem surprised by the spectacle they discover.

One might wonder about the meaning of this painting and about its connection with the three other works with which it is grouped. It would be nice to see in it the simple illustration of a theater piece, but aside from the fact that it has not been possible to identify the play, one could ask why Watteau placed his figures in the open air. True, the figures clearly belong to the world of the Italian comedy, but are they still acting for us or have they already left the stage and

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3





regrouped outside the theater? In any event *Pierrot Content, Jealousy,* and *Jealous Harlequin,* whose titles are clear, constitute three variations, handled with a touch of irony, on the subject of jealousy and the psychology of love.

*Pierrot Content* is one of the artist's first paintings of an open-air love scene. Later Watteau would perfect this genre, which he would introduce to the Academy in 1717. The painting nevertheless retains the mark of his youthful works. The rigidity of the figures, their artificial placement facing the spectator, as well as their elongated proportions—a mark of his apprenticeship to Gillot—all accord with his style of the years around 1712. But *Pierrot Content,* with its strange mixture of naiveté, mystery, humor, and dreaminess, presages the originality that Watteau will exhibit in the future.

PROVENANCE

On the verso is a handwritten label, in English, from after 1875 (it mentions Goncourt), stating the painting was purchased at the Duc de Choiseul sale, Paris, 1786 and belonged to Henry Cary, New York.

In 1786, the only sale of paintings belonging to the Duc de Choiseul took place Monday, 18 December, and included by Watteau no. 3: "Deux Tableaux de forme ovale en hauteur, figures de proportion naturelle, l'un représente une Cérès environnée des attributs de la moisson; l'autre offre un vieillard assis devant un feu, ayant autour de lui les vents et les frimats qui caractérisent l'Hiver." These paintings are two of the Seasons painted by Watteau as part of the decoration of the Hôtel Crozat (cat. P. 35). Another Choiseul sale took place on Monday, 10 December 1787, and included by Watteau, no. 131: "Deux Tableaux, Paysages et Figures, représentant des amusemens champêtres; l'un composé de six figures et l'autre de quatre. Ces deux morceaux sont gravés et font partie de l'oeuvre de ce Maitre. Il (*sic*) vient de la vente du prince de Conti" (on 8 April 1777). Neither of these paintings, in view of their size (16 x 13 pouces, or 43.2 x 35.1 cm), or their number of characters, corresponds to *Pierrot Content.*

Several works that could be identified as *Pierrot Content* have been mentioned in the catalogues for various sales: Baron de Heinecken sale, 13 February 1758, Paris, no. 144: "Un Jardin, dans lequel on voit cinq Figures de caractère comique, dont une femme jouant de la guitare; Tableau peint sur toile de treize pouces de haut sur seize de large" (35.1 x 43.2 cm); and sale, Paris, 3 April 1832, following the death of Lapeyrière, no. 51: "Société galante dans un parc. Assise sur un banc de gazon, une jeune dame joue de la guitare. A ses côtés son placés deux hommes, l'un aussi épris de ses charmes que de son talent, l'autre tout rayonnant de plaisir; celui-ci est vêtu en pierrot. Le succès de la jolie musicienne inspire de la jalousie à un autre femme, sur les genoux de laquelle s'appuye familièrement celui dont elle a gagné le coeur. . . . , [Toile], H. 13 p., L. 11 p." (35.1 x 29.7 cm), sold for Fr 229. Described more vaguely in the cat., La Présidente de Bandeville sale, 3 December 1787, no. 47: "Cinq Figures de caractère, assises dans un jardin et formant un grouppe (*sic*). Ce Tableau peint sur toile, porte 13 p. de haut sur 16 pouces de large" (35 x 43.2 cm), sold for £313. In the Aubert de Trucy sale , 13 March 1846 (without dim.), no. 59: "Conversation dans un parc. Un Pierrot, un Arlequin et une espèce de Crispin s'entretiennent avec leurs belles dans un parc, près d'une statue," sold for Fr 88 (often incorrectly identified as *The Party of Four,* cat. P. 14).

The painting described in the Montullé sale, 22 December 1783 (no. 56), sometimes said to be related to the *Pierrot Content,* but with only four characters, is closer to another painting by Watteau, *Jealousy*: "L'interieur



fig. 4

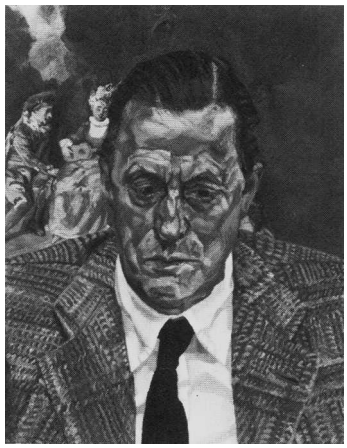


fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7

d'un Jardin, sur le devant duquel on voit un Pierrot et un Mezzetin assis entre deux femmes, dont l'une pince une guitare (*sic*); dans le fond et derrière un buisson on distingue un Arlequin et un Scaramouche qui les regardent attentivement. Hauteur 12 pouces; largeur 13 pouces; B[ois] (32.4 x 35.1 cm)." The Montullé painting was on panel; the old label on the Thyssen painting incorrectly claims the painting was transferred to canvas, in order to validate the Goncourt brothers' erroneous claim of a Montullé provenance for the painting.

Cat. P. 13 belonged to Mrs. Robert S. Russell in 1917, then to Henry Cary, New York; then to Thomas G. Cary, New York, and to Mrs. Charles Pelham Curtis (née Caroline Cary). In 1939, in the Charles P. Curtis collection. The Russells, Carys, and Curtises were three old Boston families related by marriage. In the early 1950s, sold to the Newhouse Gallery, New York. Purchased in 1952 by an art collector, Houston, who sold it back to the Newhouse Gallery, New York, c. 1972. Stolen in an airport during shipment to New York, recovered in 1976 (information provided by Marco Grassi). After restoration, purchased by Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, Lugano, 1977.

EXHIBITIONS

On loan almost every summer from 1917 to 1946 to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no cat.); Boston 1939, no. 138, pl. LXVII; Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, 1941 (no cat.); USA 1979-1981, no. 51, ill.; Paris 1982, no. 52, colorpl.; Moscow-Leningrad 1983-1984, no. 37, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition or print): G 1875, no. 153; Phillips 1895, pp. 46, 52; Fourcaud 1904, p.194 (print); R 1928, no. 68; DV, I, pp. 45, 79, III, under no. 180; PM 1957, under nos. 41, 52, 61, 81; Cailleux 1962, p. ii; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, p. 143; Ettesvold 1980, p. 62; (on the Thyssen painting): AH 1950, pp. 37, 208, no. 62; CR 1970, no. 81, ill.; F 1972, B. 16 ("attributed to Watteau"); Clark 1980, no. 2, p. 42; Eidelberg 1981, pp. 31-32; p. 38 n. 23, ill., fig. 4; RM 1982, no. 116, ill.; Ferré, *Le Figaro* (12 February 1982), p. 20, ill., and (13 February 1982) p. 23; P 1984, pp. 56-57, fig. 50; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Through a photograph, we know of only one copy of *Pierrot Content,* with added figures (in Italy in 1963; fig. 4). In contrast, Adhémar and Camesasca have catalogued numerous copies of *Jealousy,* but the location of only one, that in the National Gallery, Melbourne (mus. cat., 1973, p. 164; fig. 2) is known.

A painting similar to *Pierrot Content,* although it is more closely related to *Jealous Harlequin* (Pierrot is seated on the ground at the feet of a man and two women, playing the guitar), attributed to Philippe Mercier (1689-1760), was sold in Paris, 15 February 1934, no. 20, ill. and was twice sold at Versailles, under the name of Quillard, on 18 June 1958, no. 4, ill., and on 12 March 1961, no. 57, ill. A similar painting, reduced to the central subject but of poorer quality (judging by the reproduction), also attributed to Philippe Mercier and entitled *Les indiscrets,* was sold at Versailles, 26 February 1967, (no. 28, color repr).

fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10





fig. 11

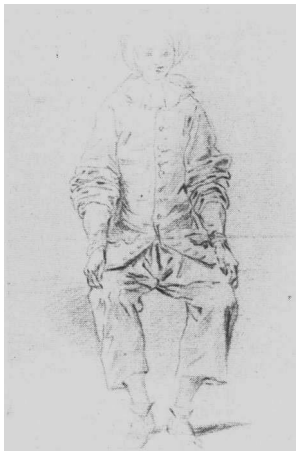


fig. 12



fig. 13

The portrait of Baron Thyssen by Lucian Freud can also be mentioned (Thyssen-Bornemisza collection Lugano; see Gowing 1982, pl. 172 and New York 1983, uncatalogued; fig. 5). In the background is a detail from *Pierrot Content* that testifies not only to the baron's but also to the English painter's fondness for this work. In 1983, Freud made a pastel copy of the central part of Watteau's painting. He was inspired by the latter for a large canvas called *Large Interior W. II.* (Both works were exhibited at Agnew's, London, in 1983; figs. 6, 7.)

RELATED DRAWINGS:

Watteau made several preparatory drawings for this painting. Parker and Mathey (1957) noted four, all in red chalk.—PM 41 (Shickman, New York; fig. 8), two of the three men represented were used (the one on the left corresponds to the standing mezzetin seated on the left; the one in the center to the standing mezzetin, hidden in the bushes on the right, difficult to distinguish in the painting because of its poor condition but quite distinct in the print PM 52 (lost, disappeared from the Bremen Museum during World War II) for the man sitting on the ground, on the right side of the drawing as in the painting, with his companion barely sketched; PM 61 (Private coll.; cat. D. 6; fig. 10) for the lady with a fan, who sits at Pierrot's left in the painting. These three drawings are correctly dated fairly early in Watteau's career. As for PM 81 (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; fig. 11), the head of the mezzetin on the right corresponds faithfully to the head in the painting, but the drawing is probably not by Watteau. In Berlin, the sheet is now attributed to Lancret (1690-1743). Paul Ettesvold published and reproduced (1980;, fig. 12) another drawing related to both *Jealousy* and *Pierrot Content.* This drawing, which was given together with the H. and S. Baderou collection to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, is a red chalk study, without any changes, for Pierrot. Ettesvold correctly dated the Rouen drawing to before 1710.

Eidelberg (1981) draws a connection between several of Quillard's drawings (1701 or 1704-1733) and figures in *Pierrot Content.* He notes a detail from a Quillard drawing (Gal. Cailleux, Paris) of the woman with the fan from Watteau's painting; Quillard, of course, copied Watteau. Let us remember that Quillard, a precocious artist, probably served an apprenticeship with Watteau around 1712-1714, copying works of his master's youth (see Eidelberg 1970, pp. 39-70).

RELATED PRINTS

The print by Edme Jeaurat (1688?-1738) (Hébert and Sjöberg 1973, XII, p. 134, no. 94; fig. 13), dated 1728 (rather unusual), was commissioned by Jullienne for his *Recueil,* but was not announced in the *Mercure de France.* It is in the same direction as the painting and does not give the name of the work's owner. Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 193 [52]) mentioned it. The copperplate was offered at the Joullain sale on 25 October 1779, no. 66. According to the caption, the painting and the print had the same dimensions, that is, 34.8 x 42.8 cm. However, the painting is vertical rather than horizontal, does not have these dimensions, and depicts only the central theme of the print. By not including in our measurements two bands on the sides of the print, one on the left of about 4 cm, and another twice that size on the right, we come up with the size of the Thyssen painting. It therefore must have been cut. X-rays show that the painting has retained its original border on top, but not on the other three sides. If the paintings from the Heinecken sale in 1758 and the Lapeyrière sale in 1832 whose descriptions correspond so closely to *Pierrot Content* can be identified with the work now in the Thyssen collection, the changes would have to have been made between the two sales. In 1758, the Heinecken painting had approximately the same dimensions as the print; the Lapeyrière painting in 1832 had the dimensions of the Thyssen painting. Finally, if the Bandeville painting in 1787, described less carefully, but which is the same size as the Heinecken painting, is the same painting, the transformation would have to have taken place between 1787 and 1832.

Another almost identical composition, copied from another painting belonging to Jullienne, *Jealousy,* was engraved by Gérard Scotin (1671-1711) (DV 127; for a painted copy see above).

Two other prints, close in conception, show greater variations. These are *The Party of Four,* engraved by Moyreau (1690-1738) after the painting now in San Francisco (cat. P. 14), and *Jealous Harlequin* (DV 773), engraved by Pierre Chedel (1705-1763) after a painting from *The Cabinet de M. Oppenor* (*sic*), the famous architect of the Duc d'Orléans. (On another painting belonging to Oppenordt, see cat. P. 8.)

## 14 Party of Four (*"La partie quarrée"*)

Oil on canvas
49.5 x 63 (19½ x 24¾)
The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mildred Anna Williams Fund

Through Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 193 [51]) we know that "Watteau was accepted into the Academy of Painting upon presentation of *Les Jaloux* [Jealousy]" (lost; DV 127, CR 80). That event took place on 30 July 1712, according to the Academy records: "Antoine Watteau . . . showed some of his works" (*Procès verbaux,* IV, 1881, p. 150). Three very close paintings, all engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne,* have always been compared with this one: *Jealous Harlequin* (lost; DV 77, CR 83), *Pierrot Content* (cat. P. 13), and finally the *Party of Four,* the largest of the four works and very likely the last in date since it is the most finished. The style of the drawings indicate that it was executed in 1713 at the earliest. X-rays (fig. 1) have shown that Watteau hesitated before deciding on the position of the head of his elegant heroine, which he selected from among the numerous drawings (fig. 3) that he had combined on several sheets (three are now in the Louvre).

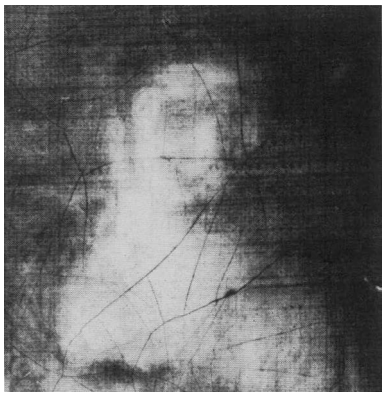


fig. 1

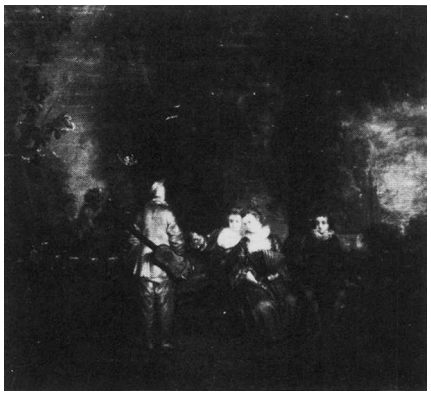


fig. 2



fig. 3

The painting is very precise and has an apparent simplicity. Its audacity derives from the Pierrot, slightly off center to the right, who turns his back to us, facing Mezzetin and the two elegant ladies. The scene takes place at the end of the day: the last rays of light make the silks and satins sparkle.

Perhaps the meaning of the work, and especially the exact meaning of its title, should be given further consideration. The title, *La Partie Quarrée,* if it was not bestowed by Watteau himself, must have been devised ten years after the artist's death at most. The licentious meaning of the expression has changed little since the eighteenth century even though Furetière, in the 1690 edition of his dictionary, defined the *partie quarrée* as two couples sharing walks or meals together. The Watteau painting would therefore represent a pleasure party with two couples. The amor straddling a dolphin (Mirimonde 1962, p. 14), which is found again in another Watteau composition, *The Delights of Summer* (DV 102, CR 110), suggesting love's impatience, would support such an interpretation, as would the mask as a symbol of dealings in love. But nothing in the conduct of the two couples seems to justify such a reading. The heroine, whom Watteau would again paint in a very similar attitude in *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51), and her two companions seem simply to hope that Pierrot will begin to play. Although they have retained their stage costumes, all four have left the theater for the country and are no longer actors in a play, but human beings with moods, passions, and insecurities. But Watteau leaves us free to interpret the scene as we wish: he even goes so far as to obscure the face of the principal protagonist, this *Pierrot* who presages the *Pierrot* of the Louvre (cat. P. 69). He has stopped; someone asks a question. But the tenor of the dialogue will never be known.

fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8

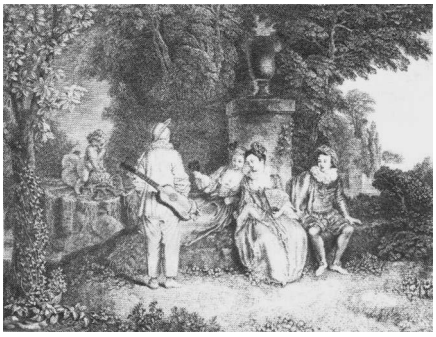


fig. 9





14

In conclusion it will be recalled that one of the most celebrated works of French painting, whose interpretation has given rise to many exegeses, had for a while the title *La Partie Carrée*. Manet gave that title to *Déjeuner sur L'Herbe* in his handwritten inventory of 1872 (exh. cat. Paris-New York 1983, p. 172).

PROVENANCE

The engraving by Moyreau for the *Recueil Jullienne*, made prior to 1731, does not name the first owner of the work. It could have passed very early on to England and might be *"A Partie Quaré"* in the sale of Dr. Bragge (who several times sold Watteaus in 1748-1749 and 1754, and who owned a version of the *Fortuneteller* by Watteau in San Francisco, cat. P. 8), London, 17 May 1758, no. 77, acquired for £9 by Roger Harenc (or Harene). The name of this collector or dealer is often found in English sales of the eighteenth century (the *Young Draftsman* by Chardin, now in the Louvre, appeared in the sale of his estate, London, Langford, 1-3 March 1764; see exh. cat. Paris 1979, p. 241).

Generally associated with a painting that appeared in the sale of an "amateur from the South of France" (Bondon), Paris, 30 May-1 June 1839, no. 114 (no dim.): "Dans un charmant bosquet embelli de fontaines jaillissantes, Pierrot, sa guitare sur le dos, et une espèce de Crispin s'entretiennent avec leurs belles." Has also been associated, wrongly as proven in the text of the sale catalogue, with a painting in the Aubert de Trucy sale, Paris, 12 May or March (?) 1846, no. 59 (without dim.): "Conversation dans un parc. Un Pierrot, un Arlequin et une espèce de Crispin s'entretiennent avec leurs belles dans un parc, près d'une statue" (see cat. P. 13 for this painting). "Provient d'une importante collection anglaise constituée vers le milieu du XVIIIe siècle" (exh. cat. Paris 1968, no. 35). Llangattock collection 1907(?) (see Willoughby 1907, p. 155); second sale of Baron Llangattock, London, Christie's, 18 November 1958, no. 79. Acquired by Cailleux, Paris; sold by Cailleux to the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco in 1977.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1962, no. 41, pl. 31; Paris 1968, no. 35, ill.; (several newspaper articles mention the painting); Aix-en-Provence 1970, no. 24.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): H 1845, no. 84; H 1856, no. 85; [Cousin] 1865, p. 28; G 1875, no. 150; Mollett 1883, pp. 69, 35 (print); Josz 1903, pp. 320-321; Pilon 1912, p. XIII; Girodie 1934, pp. 15-16; M 1959, p. 67; (on the San Francisco painting): DV, III, under no. 169 (mentions the two Paris sales in the nineteenth century); R 1928, no. 133 (*idem*); AH 1950, no. 66, pl. 32 (print; "lost since 1846"); Cailleux 1962, pp. i-v (ill.); Thuillier and Châtelet 1964, p. 262; CR 1970, no. 82, ill.; F 1972, A.11 (as "authentic painting by Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 136, 194, 370; Raines 1977, pp. 58, 63, no. 77 and n. 44; Morse 1979, p. 297 and pl. p. 299; Lee 1980, p. 218, fig. 8; RM 1982, no. 114, ill.; P 1984, pp. 9-10, 20, 57, 69, 243, fig. 1, colorpl. 6; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A copy is mentioned in the Musée de Nîmes (mus. cat. 1940, p. 12, no. 223; canvas, 65 x 70 cm, fig. 2); another, in the direction of the print, went through a sale at Angers, Comte de R. . . coll. (23-24 June 1976, no. 404, "école de Nicolas Lancret," repr. p. 80; canvas, 65 x 82 cm); one other, also in the direction of the print, was in a sale at Brussels in November 1900, no. 33; fig. 4 (photograph in the Witt Library, London); and still another was sold in Paris, Drouot, 3 February

1984, no. 19 (in the direction of the print with a copy of *Jealousy*). A "partie carrée" was sold [Dubois sale] in Paris, 7-11 December 1840, no. 131: "La partie carrée ou Pierrot et Colombine quatre sujets très divertissants et qui paraissent avoir été commandés pour l'ornement d'un salon. Apportés d'Espagne par le comte de S. . . ." (canvas, 88 x 104 cm).

For a painting attributed to Lancret on the same subject, see Wildenstein 1924, no. 183.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Several drawings by Watteau can be linked with the San Francisco painting (see Cailleux 1962). Three sheets (PM 720, 729, 741, all in the Louvre; figs. 3, 4, 5) bear studies that could have been used by Watteau for the head of the heroine in his composition. A fourth drawing (location unknown, PM 802; fig. 6) has studies for the hand holding a fan and for the head and hand holding a mask (of the second woman).

Boucher etched for the *Fddc* the guitarist after a lost drawing by Watteau (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 148; fig. 9). A print after this etching, in the opposite direction, was made by Dubosc with the addition of a landscape.

A copy by Ingres, drawn from the engraving (Musée Ingres, Montauban; MI 867.4075; fig. 7), allows us to recall Ingres' words on Watteau as reported by Amaury-Duval (1878, pp. 179-180): "Comment! Savez-vous, Monsieur, que Watteau est un très grand peintre! Connaissez-vous ses oeuvres? C'est immense . . . J'ai tout Watteau chez moi, moi, et je le consulte . . . Watteau! Watteau. . . ."

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Jean Moyreau (1690-1738) (fig. 8) was announced by Gersaint in the *Mercure de France*, June 1731 (II, p. 5564). It is mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 193, [53]). The copperplate appeared in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. According to the caption on the print, the painting measured 51 x 64.8 cm, and has therefore been slightly cut down, which the print indeed proves.

Also of note is an Aubusson tapestry (sold, Paris, Galliéra, 17 June 1970, no. 69 [295 x 253 cm]); a second(?) (repr. *Art et Curiosité* [September 1971], p. 18); and a third, a fragment (sold, Italy, Casa d'Arte Michelangelo, Villa Rivara, 16-28 September 1980, no. 1146, colorpl. [270 x 192 cm]).

## 15 The Burdens of War (*"Les fatigues de guerre"*)

Oil on copper
21.5 x 33.3 (8½ x 13⅛)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

*The Burdens of War* and *A Break in the Action* (cat. P. 16) are little masterpieces, and are Watteau's most beautiful military paintings—although perhaps disappointing on first examination. The artist rarely painted on copper, a support favored by the seventeenth-century Flemish masters and one that requires a very careful execution and finish lacking in the two Hermitage works. Watteau, on the contrary, painted with great speed, quickly sketching the background of the landscape and summarizing the faces with a few strokes of the brush. The silhouettes are set down with the brush, the tumbledown houses and the tree trunks are executed with little brown strokes, as though drawn with a pen.

If the authorship of the painting has never been questioned (only the Hermitage catalogue of 1863 and Waagen attribute them to Pater who, it will be recalled, copied them), their very uncertain date has been the subject of many discussions. True, there is agreement in viewing them as the most finished expression of the artist's ambitions in the field of military painting. Mantz, who saw them in 1883, thought that they were executed c. 1710; Staley dated them 1719. Nemilova (1964) and Zolotov and Nemilova (1973) opted for 1715; Adhémar (1950), Roland-Michel (1982), and Posner (1984) inclined toward 1714-1715. But 1712 (Mathey) or 1712-1713 (Roland-Michel 1984) seem more accurate, because of the drawing style of the two works (for which only a few preparatory drawings are known; cats. D. 26, 34), the hasty execution of some of the heads, and the small scale of the figures that suggest the first creations by Watteau. Moreover,



the gloomy, almost monochromatic colors, reduced to a somber and dirty autumnal brown and enlivened by a few spots of blood red, have nothing of the harmonious fullness that we expect of Watteau.

The disorder of the two compositions is clearly apparent. Watteau constructed his scene with more assurance than in his earlier military paintings (cats. P. 4-6).

*The Burdens of War* depicts a convoy of soldiers blocked on the road; on the right, a donkey refuses to ford a stream. He is heavily loaded with victuals and the two birds on top of his load were certainly the product of plundering. Behind this group, soldiers on horseback shelter themselves from the storm in their overcoats. One of them has his dog in the saddle. Then comes a woman who seems to be holding a child, a modest Flight into Egypt (Opperman 1977). Footsoldiers with their long rifles, another dog, and harnessed horses that are being covered with sheets follow. The wind is rising, and the rain is coming, while in the background a ray of sun lights up a ruin.

Contrasted with the open air of the *Burdens of War* is the "double ceiling" (Sterling) of *A Break in the Action*. Under a vast tent sheltered by the foliage of great reddish trees, soldiers rest, smoke, drink, and sit down at table with the female canteen attendants. Large barrels and big baskets, one of which is hung high on a tree trunk, and the drum suggest the soldiers' distractions. Watteau wanted to play on the contrasts between the winding line, which runs to the right in the *Burdens of War* and gives the composition its movement, and the motionlessness of the tent canvases spread out in the frontally-composed *Break in the Action*. The calm contrasts with the storm and the march under the biting wind with a rest under the protective tent.

But did Watteau also wish to contrast trials and distractions? The atmosphere of both works is sad. True, the anonymous war depicted here has nothing heroic, spectacular, or atrocious about it. While his approach is original, it is not "joyful," and it is surprising to read descriptions from the pens of so many authors at the beginning of our century that stress their pleasant or frivolous aspects. It seems to us that without taking the part of the humble soldiers, Watteau is sympathetic toward them, showing them engaged in what must be their most humdrum tasks. Driven from one place to the other without knowing why, the experience of the soldiers is second-rate and their days monotonous. Watteau describes them to us as he has seen them, simply, without pomp or embellishment. Soon the *fêtes galantes* and country scenes will show us that Watteau is also the painter of quite another world.

PROVENANCE

The engravings in 1731 by Scotin and Crépy for the *Recueil Jullienne* do not give the name of their owner. The two paintings belonged to the Chevalier Antoine de La Roque (1672-1744), but there is no evidence that they had been painted for Sirois, or that they had belonged to Gersaint; though the success of the *Return from the Campaign* (CR 43, DV 147) and the *Bivouac* (cat. P. 6) may have prompted Sirois to commission additional military paintings from Watteau, while Gersaint's allusion to the engravings in the catalogue of the La Roque sale (see Bibliography) could indicate that Gersaint had owned the paintings. La Roque sale, May 1745, no. 44: "Deux des plus piquans Tableaux que Watteau ait peint; ils sont sur cuivre, ils portent douze pouces et demi de large sur douze pouces de haut; ils représentent des Sujets de Guere. Je les ai fait gravés sous les inscriptions des *fatigues* et des *Délassements de la Guerre* par Mr. Crépi. Ils sont très purs, extrêmement finis, et en même temps touchées avec tout l'esprit et toute la finesse dont Watteau était capable." Sold for 680 livres (to Gersaint, it is said, though there is no proof). By 1755, in the collection of Louis-Antoine Crozat, Baron de Thiers (1699-1770) (see cat. P. 37). Acquired in 1772 by Catherine the Great of Russia (Tronchin inventory of 1771; see Stuffmann 1968). The Hermitage, Leningrad.

EXHIBITIONS

Leningrad 1956, p. 12; Dresden 1972, no. 49, pl. 25; Leningrad 1972, no. 7.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(*Note to the reader: in the following list of books, the first numbers refer to* The Burdens of War *and the second ones to* A Break in the Action.)

La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (cat. Crozat coll.) 1755, pp. 57-58; Dezallier d'Argenville 1757, p. 137; Hébert 1766, I, p. 101; Cat. Hermitage 1774 (?), nos. 976, 979 (see Lacroix 1861-1862); Cat. Hermitage 1838, nos. 32, 34; Viardot 1844, p. 457; H 1845, nos. 55, 56; H 1856, nos. 56, 57; Goncourt 1860, p. 3; Lacroix 1861-1862, p. 214, nos. 976, 979; Cat. Hermitage 1863, nos. 1504, 1505 (as "Pater"); Lejeune 1864, pp. 213, 215; Waagen 1864, p. 305; Blanc 1865, p. 8; [Cousin] 1865, p. 25; Cat. Hermitage 1871, nos. 1504, 1505; G 1875, nos. 54, 55; Dussieux 1876, p. 580; Clément de Ris 1880, p. 51; Goncourt 1881, p. 80; Dohme 1883, p. 93, n. 1; Mollett 1883, p. 62; Foucart 1884, p. 16; Mantz 1892, pp. 59-60, 63; Phillips 1895, p. 27; Tourneux 1898, p. 340; Dilke 1899, pp. 78-79; Fourcaud 1901, p. 254; Staley 1902, p. 143; (and p. 105, print of *A Break in the Action*); Josz 1903, p. 130; Séailles 1906, pp. 238-239; Pilon 1912, pp. 22, 77, 78; Z 1912, p. 187, pls. 31, 30; DV, III, under nos. 138, 216; (see also I, pp. 263-264); R 1928, nos. 42, 43; Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, p. 13; Réau 1929, pls. 412, 413; Parker 1931, p. 17; Brinckmann 1943, pls. 10, 11; AH 1950, no. 96, pl. 45 no. 95, pl. 44; PM 1957, under no. 248 (*A Break in the Action*); Sterling 1957, pp. 39, 213, n. 10, pls. 26, 27; Cat. Hermitage 1958, I, p. 270, nos. 1159, 1162; Cailleux 1959, pp. v, vii; M 1959, p. 67; Boudaille 1964, p. 4; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 85; Nemilova 1964, pp. 42-54, 157, 183-185, nos. 3, 4, colorpl. 14 (details, pls. 15, 15a), pl. 16 (details, pls. 18, 18a); Stuffmann 1968, p. 135, nos. 185-186, ill.; Hilles 1969, p. 209, no. 359; CR 1970, nos. 97, 96 ill.; Cailleux 1972, p. 734; F 1972, A.6, A.5 (as "authentic"); Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, no. 2, pp. 132-133 (pl. 2 and four color details), no. 3, pp. 133-134 (pl. 3 and three color details); Nemilova 1975, p. 436; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 13-16 and pl. 1 (*A Break in the Action*); Mirimonde 1977, p. 122; Opperman 1977, p. 5; Guerman 1980, pp. 4, 7 and colorpls.; Nemilova 1982, nos. 48, 47, ill. (with complete Russian bibl.); RM 1982, nos. 137, 138, ill.; P 1984, pp. 38, 40, figs. 30, 31; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Baudouin (Boucher's son-in-law) sale, Paris, 15 February 1770, no. 43: "Deux Tableaux très bien peints, dans le goût de Watteau. On en connaît les Estampes . . . Ils sont sur bois et chacun porte huit pouces de haut sur onze pouces neuf

fig. 1



fig. 2



lignes de large" (acquired by Ménageot for 240 livres). The belief that the paintings were by Fragonard, as has been repeated since Goncourt, resulted from an error in reading the catalogue (see Sterling 1957); Abbé de Gevigney sale, Paris, 1 December 1779, no. 528: "Deux Tableaux richement composés et enrichis d'un grand nombre de figures," panel, 7½ x 12½ pouces; Anonymous sale, Paris, 1 March 1906, no. 68: "Les Fatigues de la guerre. Composition à sujet militaire connue à la gravure de Scotin," panel, 26 x 31 cm. The two copies of the New York Historical Society, often mentioned (Réau 1926, p. 141), were sold in New York, Sotheby's, 9 October 1980, nos. 90, 89, ill. (panel; 24 x 33 cm). We reproduce here (fig. 1) a copy by Pater (22 x 34 cm.) whose present location is unknown.

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving in reverse (fig. 2) by Gérard Scotin (1698-?) for the *Recueil Jullienne* was announced by the *Mercure de France,* June 1731 (II, p. 1565). The caption of the print notes that it was "de la même grandeur" as the original by Watteau. It measures 215 x 325 mm, about the size of the Hermitage painting (the catalogue of the La Roque sale of 1745—see Provenance above—erroneously gives the height as 12 pouces [324 mm]). The engraving was mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 192 [24]).

## 16 A Break in the Action (*"Les délassements de la guerre"*)

Oil on copper
21.5 x 33.5 (8½ x 13³⁄₁₆)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE

See preceding entry.

EXHIBITIONS

Moscow 1955, p. 24; Leningrad 1956, p. 12; Bordeaux 1965, no. 45 pl. 10; Paris 1965-1966, no. 43, ill.; Leningrad 1972, no. 6, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See preceding entry.

RELATED PAINTINGS

For the paintings in the Baudouin (1770), Gevigney (1779) and New York His-



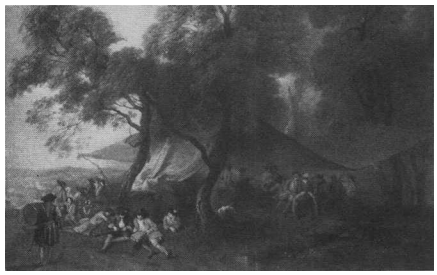


fig. 3

fig. 4



fig. 5





fig. 6

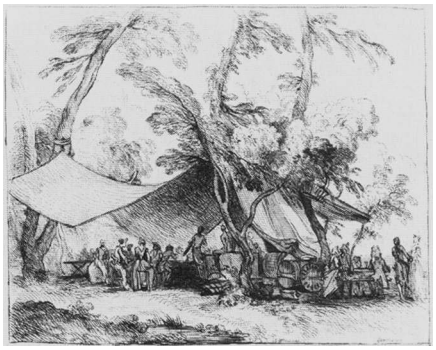


fig. 7

torical Society sales, see the preceding entry; Dr. Benoist sale, Paris, 8-9 February 1856, no. 76: "Charmante composition connue sous le titre *Les Délassements de la guerre;*" Farjas sale, Paris, 13-14 May 1878, no. 35: "*Les Délassements de la guerre.* La gravure annexée." A copy by Pater (location unknown; fig. 3) is reproduced here.

RELATED DRAWINGS

PM 259 (Rotterdam, cat. D.34, fig. 4), the four male figures were used for the group of soldiers in the lower left section of the painting; Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge (cat. D.26; fig. 5; not in PM), a preliminary study for the drummer at the far left of the composition; Boucher made an etching of the whole composition after a lost drawing (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 128; fig. 7; see also Mariette, *Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 136 [62]).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Louis Crépy (1680?-?; Roux 1946, V, pp. 394-395, no. 33; fig. 6) for the *Recueil Jullienne,* along with its pendant, was announced in the June 1731 *Mercure de France* (II, p. 1565) in highly flattering terms ("estampes très piquantes et d'un goût exquis"). It has almost the exact dimensions of the painting (see preceding entry). Mariette mentions it (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 192 [24]).

# 17 The Enchanter ("*L'Enchanteur*")

Oil on copper
18.9 x 25.6 (7 7/16 x 10 1/16)
P Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes

This and the following (cat. P. 18) small painting on copper from Troyes pose some of the problems frequently encountered by Watteau scholars. Their condition is poor—no doubt they were neglected at the beginning of the nineteenth century, between the time they were seized at La Chapelle Godefroy during the Revolution and their transfer to the museum at Troyes in 1835. But despite the unsatisfactory state of conservation, no serious author since the Goncourt brothers has doubted their attribution to Watteau. Their probable provenance—Jullienne, Orry, Boullongne—happily confirms Watteau's authorship, also established by the prints of Benoit Audran the Younger and by several fine preparatory sketches.

There seems to be general agreement about the date of these two works. Zimmermann placed them between 1710 and 1716; Mathey, in 1713; Adhémar, c. 1716; Nordenfalk and recently Posner, c. 1712-1713. In fact, 1712-1714 seems appropriate even if the style of certain preparatory studies (PM 804; fig. 3, as compared to PM 731, cat. D. 77; fig. 2) seems to suggest a long period of reflection and maturation. The fine titles of these works go back to the prints of the *Recueil Jullienne* of 1727, at least in the case of *The Adventuress* (cat. P. 18).

How can we clarify the subjects and give the paintings a meaning? Dressed as a theatrical equestrienne leaning gracefully on a long cane, right hand on her hip, the "adventuress" is looking at a seated guitarist who turns toward us. Her feathered hat and coat, bordered with fur and with a pink bow at the waist, are striking. A Pierrot and a second woman are listening to the musician. A tambourine with its knot of ribbons in the right foreground is seen in front of a pool and some strollers. The "enchanter," less theatrical than his adventurous partner—is tuning his guitar. A woman whom the musician seems to be addressing turns toward us; another listens in front of a standing Mezzetin who leans on a tree trunk. Some Italian pines are seen to the left.

Music, theater, and *fête galante* are combined in these two serenades. The figures are silhouetted before park foliage that is illuminated by the evening light. In each painting the principal protagonist is set off against a blue sky, as if isolated, and addresses a group of three companions sheltered under trees.

The two works were clearly conceived as pendants, responding to each other. The hero of each painting wishes to impose himself on a partner who seems neither to see nor hear him. May it be that *The Adventuress* and *The Enchanter* wish to seduce in order to better deceive?

PROVENANCE

According to the engraving of c. 1727, the painting belonged to Jullienne but was no longer in his possession in 1756, the date of the illustrated manuscript catalogue of his collection (formerly Fenaille coll., now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York). A 1792 inventory sent to the Conseil Général de l'Aube on 17 January 1793 (now Archives de l'Aube) places the work, since the first half of the eighteenth century, at La Chapelle Godefroy, traditional residence of the lords of Nogent-sur-Seine, in "une grande armoire placée dans la salle ovale au premier étage . . . 11°: deux tableaux, sujets espagnols de Watteau" (*Procès verbal*, Troyes, 1793, p. 83). Now, Philibert Orry (1689-1747), former controller general of finances and superintendent of buildings, died on 9 November 1747 at his estate, La Chapelle Godefroy, suggesting that he owned the painting. Seized during the Revolution at La Chapelle Godefroy, whose last owner was



17

Paul-Esprit-Charles de Boullongne (born 1758), Comte de Nogent, governor of Troyes, and a descendant of the painter, the painting remained until 1835 "dans les bâtiments de la préfecture" (Mus. cat. 1897, p. 6) before entering the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes.

EXHIBITIONS

Geneva 1949, no. 128; London 1949-1950, no. 83 (fig. 25 of the *Illustrated Souvenir*); Paris 1951, no. 194, ill.; Hamburg-Munich 1952-1953, no. 71; Brussels 1953, no. 133; Bordeaux 1958, no. 39; Canada 1961-1962, no. 85, ill.; Bordeaux 1969, no. 105; Tokyo 1969, no. 41, colorpl.; Melun 1974, no. 22; Brussels 1975, no. 1, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

*Procès verbal*, Troyes, 1793, p. 83, no. 11; Mus. cat. Troyes 1835, p. 102; Gozlan 1839, p. 161; H 1845, no. 20; H 1856, no. 20; Mus. cat. Troyes 1850, p. 30, no. 129 (and all nineteenth-century cats.); Julien Gréau 1864 (mus. cat.), pp. XVIII-XIX, XXI, and 53, no. 110; G 1875, no. 130; Guédy 1889, p. 545; Staley 1902, p. 133 (?); Josz [n.d.], p. 221; Z 1912, p. 186, pl. 26; DV, III, under no. 11 and p. 136; Nicolle 1921, p. 136; R 1928, no. 102; Mus. cat. (*Mémoranda*) 1929, p. 34, ill.; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 19; AH 1950, pp. 28-29, 36, 47, 145, and no. 123, pl. 61; Dubuisson 1951 [n.p.], ill. and color detail; PM 1957, under nos. 731, 804; M 1959, p. 68; Gauthier 1959, pls. XXVI and XXVII, two color details; Mirimonde 1961, pp. 252, 268, 270; Vergnet-Ruiz-Laclotte 1962, pp. 70, 256; Nemilova 1964, p. 90; Lossky 1966, pl. VIII; CR 1970, no. 88, pl. VIB; F 1972, A.12 (as "authentic"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 168, 206, 330-332; Rheims 1973, p. 121, colorpl.; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 217, 222-223 and fig. 182; Nordenfalk 1979, pp. 110, 137, n. 23; RM 1982, no. 127, ill. and color detail; P 1984, pp. 153-154, figs. pp. 134, 152; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

See P. 19. Hédouin (1856, nos. 20, 21) mentions the prints after *The Enchanter* and *The Adventuress* and adds, doubtless confusing them with *Finette* and the *Indifferent* (cats. P 58 and 59): "These two paintings belong now to M. Lacazes (*sic*), rue de la Ferme, in Paris, whose gallery is rich in excellent works of all schools, and principally of the French school." A *Concert* by Mercier, inspired by the engraving, is noted by Ingamells and Raines (1976-1978, no. 241; fig. 1) and an *Homage to Pierrot* by the same painter, inspired by the same painting, is cited by Eidelberg (1977, fig. 180). Three other works, reproductions of which can be found in the Witt Library, London, were included in the Battistelli sale, Florence, February 1912, no. 108; the Michaelson sale, Lubeck, 6-7 May 1913, no. 236; and the Burton sale, Antwerp, 14 March 1927, no. 5.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey (1957) mention two preparatory drawings for the Troyes painting—PM 731 (Petit Palais; cat. D. 77; fig. 2), a study for the musician's head, and PM 804 (J. R. Lyon, fig. 3), a study for the standing guitarist. Several studies of heads in the Louvre (PM 741; fig. 4) can be related to figures in the Troyes painting.

RELATED PRINTS

Engraved in reverse by Benoit Audran, called the Younger (1698-1772; Roux 1930, I, p. 231, no. 3; fig. 5), for the *Recueil Jullienne*. The caption of the print states that it is the same size (18.5 x 25.5 cm.) as the painting, which belonged to Jullienne. The print is mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 192 [19]). Dacier and Vuaflart indicate that the copperplate appeared in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. For the date of the engraving see the following entry.

fig. 1

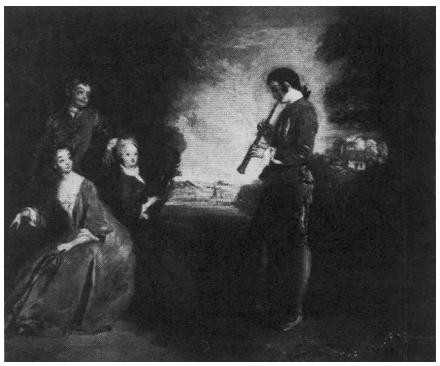


fig. 2



fig. 3



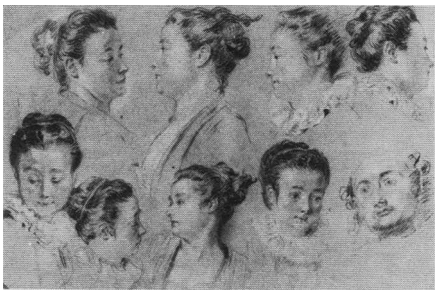


fig. 4



fig. 5

# 18 The Adventuress (*"L'Avanturière"*)

Oil on copper
18.8 x 25.5 (7 7/16 x 10 1/16)
P Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE
Identical to that of the preceding entry except that the caption of the print does not say that the painting belonged to Jullienne.

EXHIBITIONS
Geneva 1949, no. 129; London 1949-1950, no. 89; Paris 1951, no. 195, ill.; Hamburg-Munich 1952-1953, no. 72; Brussels 1953, no. 134; Bordeaux 1958, no. 40; Canada 1961-1962, no. 86, ill.; Tokyo 1969, no. 42, colorpl.; Brussels 1975, no. 2, ill.; Moscow 1978, no. 19, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
See the preceding entry for the catalogues of the Musée de Troyes; Gozlan 1839, p. 161; H 1845, no. 21; H 1856, no. 21; Guédy 1889, p. 545; G 1875, no. 109; Josz [n.d.], p. 221; Josz 1903, p. 395; Z 1912, p. 186, pl. 25; Nicolle 1921, p. 136; Mus. cat. (*Mémoranda*) 1929, p. 35, ill.; DV, III, under no. 12; R 1928, no. 103; AH 1950, p. 36 and no. 124, pl. 62; PM 1957, under nos. 731, 856; Gauthier 1959, colorpl. XVI; M 1959, p. 68; Mirimonde 1961, p. 270; Schefer 1962, pp. 43, 48; Vergnet-Ruiz-Laclotte 1962, pp. 70, 256; Lossky 1966, pl. VI; Mirimonde 1966, p. 145; CR 1970, no. 89, pl. VIA; F 1972, A.13; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 159, 168, 194, 197, 206, 283, 331; Smith 1973, p. 403; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 178-181 and fig. 119; Mirimonde 1977, pp. 108-109; RM 1982, no. 128, ill.; P 1984, pp. 153, 243, fig. 109; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS
See cat. P. 20. A copy in the same direction as the print is in the Musée de Chartres (no. 245 of the 1931 catalogue; fig. 6); another, but in reverse (45 x 50 cm.) was sold with the Henri Michel-Lévy coll. in Paris, gal. Georges Petit, 12-13 May 1919, no. 31; fig. 7. Two others appeared in sales on 31 January 1851, no. 51 (with the notation "composition gravée") and 14 April 1851, no. 103 (with the notation, "le tableau est gravé"). Still another once belonged to the Musée Benoit-de Puydt, Bailleul (Nord). Smith (1973) reproduced a copy in blue and white *azulejos* mosaic in the Calcada do Combro, Lisbon. The Witt Library has a reproduction of a tapestry that repeats the composition in vertical format.





fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey (1957) mention two drawings related to the Troyes painting—PM 731 (Petit Palais, also related to the preceding painting; cat. D. 77), a study for the head of the musician, and PM 856 (Louvre; fig. 2), "A counterproof of a brush sketch, ochre in color" (see Eidelberg 1977; fig. 8) from the left part of the Troyes painting. See also PM 808 (fig. 9) for the left hand of the adventuress.

RELATED PRINTS

Engraved by Benoit Audran (as was cat. P. 17; Roux 1930, I, p. 231, no. 4; fig. 10). The print was announced in the *Mercure de France*, December 1727, p. 2676: "On vent chez François Chereau . . . L'Aventurier." The list given by Chereau does not mention *The Enchanter* but that print could hardly be much removed in date from that of *The Adventuress*. The print is cited by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 192 [18]) who also mentions the copy by Louis Crépy (not in Roux). Dacier and Vuaflart point out three other engraved copies. For mentions of the eighteenth-century copperplates, see the preceding notice. Eidelberg (1977, pl. 121 and 122) reproduced two prints after the guitarist and the woman who gave the painting its title (nos. 46 and 47 of the *Fddc*). Eidelberg believes these prints by Laurent Cars (1699-1771; Roux 1934, III, p. 483, nos. 78, 79) were made after the oil counterproof in the Louvre (see Related Drawings).

## 19 The Enchanter (*L'Enchanteur*)

Oil on copper
19 x 26 (7½ x 10¼)
Brodick Castle, Isle of Arran (National Trust of Scotland)
P

This and the following painting on copper, little known and rarely studied, should be shown alongside the two works in the museum at Troyes of the same subject and format (cats. P. 17 and 18). They were exhibited together once before in the *Landscape in French Art* exhibition (London 1949-1950) when they were discovered. According to some, that confrontation worked to their advantage, for it brought out "the high quality of the pictures" and suggested "that they, also [were] from Watteau's own hand" [exh. cat. Manchester 1957]. However, Watson (1962) considered the Arran paintings only "contemporary copies."

The provenance of the Scottish paintings tends to confirm their authenticity. It is known that they belonged to Vivant Denon (1747-1825) and were sold after his death in 1826. In an interesting note on Watteau published by Amaury-Duval in his *Monuments des Arts du Dessin* (1829), Denon wrote: "I have a painting by him [Watteau] whose figures were drawn from his friends the Italian actors. The color of this painting is admirable; it was done as a token of friendship, for his friend, Sylvestre, engraver and drawing master of the Royal children: I bought it at the sale of the grandson, with its pendant, which is equally precious." The two works appeared in the posthumous sale of Jacques-Augustin de



Sylvestre (1719-1809) and were described by Regnault-Delalande, the author of the catalogue and sale expert: "A fine and correct design, a vigorous and transparent color, and a spiritual touch are the qualities admired in these two works by Watteau."

But to return to Denon. According to him, the two paintings had belonged to Charles-François Sylvestre (1667-1738), who was drawing master to the royal children from 1694. He may very well have known Watteau personally. The name of his younger brother Louis (1675-1760) in any event figures among those academicians who in 1709 awarded Watteau a second prize in painting. His son, Nicolas-Charles (1699-1767), executed some red chalk landscape sketches very close to those of Watteau (see the Louvre album, exh. cat. Paris 1978, no. 14).

When compared to the Troyes paintings, these present some important variations. The solid mass of trees found at the left of the Troyes *Enchanter* has been removed, and the hands of the young woman who wears the long white dress and looks at us are differently placed; the second woman, seated behind her, is holding a mask (for which there is a preparatory sketch). The hairstyle and dress of *The Adventuress* are completely changed. Moreover, water plays a greater role in the two English paintings and the range of colors is lighter, more pastel.

One might conclude that the English paintings were the first versions, but close examination forces us to reconsider this theory. In fact everything seems to indicate that the two English paintings were at first identical to or very close to those at Troyes—as can be verified with the naked eye—and that they were changed later. This practice is not surprising in Watteau's oeuvre: it will be recalled that the artist, before painting *Pierrot Content* (cat. P. 13), first merely repeated *Jealousy* (CR 80). Certain parts—notably the two protagonists of the scene—have a more down-to-earth spirit and lack the magic or mystery (that word has become hackneyed in connection with Watteau) of the Troyes paintings. But Watteau's aim in the English paintings, where he was moving away from the theater, is different. He wished to be more of a portraitist, painting a genre scene more than a love scene.

Comparison of the four works will in any event con-

fig. 1



fig. 2

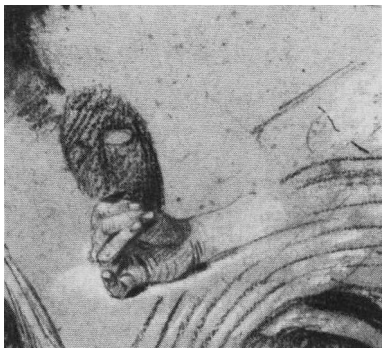


fig. 3



firm the wisdom and judgment of Denon who owned the *Pierrot* (*Gilles*) (Louvre; cat. P. 69). At his estate sale the *Pierrot* brought only 650 francs while *The Adventuress* and *The Enchanter* were sold for 3015 francs.

PROVENANCE
Silvestre sale, Paris, 28 February (25 March) 1811, no. 79; "feu M. Le baron de V. Denon" sale Paris, 1-19 May 1826, no. 188; purchased "avec son pendant l'Avanturière 3015 francs par M. Franchi" (G 1875, p. 122). Collection of the writer William Beckford (1760-1844) (according to an inventory drawn up shortly after his death; letter from Dr. R. Marshall); to Beckford's daughter who married the tenth Duke of Hamilton; the Hamilton collection was divided between Hamilton Palace, London, and Brodick Castle (Isle of Arran, Scotland, since 1958, part of the National Trust of Scotland) where the painting now hangs.

EXHIBITION
London 1949-1950, no. 84 (as "attributed to Jean-Antoine Watteau"); Manchester 1957, no. 171.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Amaury-Duval 1829, IV, note on Watteau [unpaginated]; Blanc 1865, p. 8; G 1875, p. 122; DV 1922, III, pp. 11, 136 (see also I, p. 199); R 1928, p. 39; AH 1950, p. 146, n. 8, p. 216; Watson 1962, p. 126; CR 1970, p. 101; F 1972, p. 817.

RELATED PAINTINGS
See cat. P. 17.

RELATED DRAWINGS
The hand holding a mask appears in PM 746 (Henry Farman coll.; fig. 1). For a similar hand in a slightly different position see cat. D. 27; fig. 2.

RELATED PRINTS
The painting was lithographed by Alexandre Moitte, IV (1750-1828), pl. 300 of the *Monuments des Arts du Dessin . . . recueillis par le B.on Vivant Denon* (1829; fig. 3). It has sometimes been confused (by Goncourt and initially by Dacier and Vuaflart) with the print by Audran. For the latter, see cat. P. 17.

## 20 The Adventuress (*"L'Aventurière"*)

Oil on copper
19 x 26 (7½ x 10¼)
Brodick Castle, Isle of Arran (National Trust of
P Scotland)

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE
See the preceding entry; now Brodick Castle, Isle of Arran (National Trust of Scotland).

EXHIBITIONS
London 1949-1950, no. 88 (as "attributed to Jean-Antoine Watteau"); Manchester 1957, no. 172.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Amaury-Duval 1829, IV, n. on Watteau [unpaginated]; Blanc 1865, p. 8; G 1875, p. 104; DV, III, p. 12 (see also I, p. 199); R 1928, p. 39; AH 1950, p. 146, n. 8 and p. 216; Watson 1962, p. 126; CR 1970, p. 101; F 1972, p. 818.

RELATED PAINTINGS
See cat. P. 18. Adhémar (1950, p. 216) notes that c. 1830 the "miniaturiste Rochard" had a "*Pastorale* venant de la Vente Denon: c'était *L'Enchanteur* ou *L'Aventurière*." If this mention is accurate, it provides the name of an intermediate owner between Franchi who according to Goncourt purchased the Denon paintings in 1826 and Beckford who owned them at his death in 1844.





## 21 The Marriage Contract (*Le contrat de mariage*)

Oil on canvas
47 x 55 (18½ x 21⅝)
P Museo del Prado, Madrid

*The Marriage Contract* and *Gathering Near the Fountain of Neptune* (cat. P. 22) are among the most disputed works by Watteau. Questions have been raised about their authorship, their precise relationship to one another (are they pendants?) and their dates.

The two works have borne the name of Watteau since 1746, when the La Granja inventory mentions them for the first time in the possession of Elisabeth Farnese, wife of Philip V, King of Spain. In 1927, the Louvre acquired two "Watteaus," *The Planting of the May* and *The Village Dance*. Very soon doubts arose and in 1929 Jean Guiffrey, who was mainly responsible for the purchase, published their proper attribution to Pierre-Antoine Quillard (c. 1704-1733; Louvre 1974, nos. 698 and 699, ills.). In that article he mentioned other paintings that he was annexing to Quillard's oeuvre, including the two Prado paintings. At the time, there were many who accepted his opinion, from Hévésy to Dacier and Vuaflart. However, Valentine Miller (1930), curator of French painting at the Hermitage, separated the Louvre paintings, which were indeed by Quillard in his view, from those in the Prado, which he considered authentic Watteaus. The great majority of critics have since accepted Miller's opinion, with the exception of Eidelberg (1970) who saw the two paintings as the fruit of a collaboration between Watteau and Quillard; of Ferré (1972) who accepts the *Gathering Near the Fountain* but rejects *The Marriage Contract;* and Posner (1984) who considers the two works "imitations."

The majority of those who accept them as the work of Watteau consider that the *Assembly* preceded the *Contract* (Zimmermann 1912; Mathey 1938 and 1959; Roland-Michel 1984). They generally place the two works c. 1712 (but 1710-1712, Roland-Michel; 1710-1711 for *The Assembly* and



fig. 1



fig. 2

1712-1713 for the *Contract*, Mathey 1938; 1714, Staley 1902; 1716, Adhémar 1950).

This rapid review does not take into account two additional complications. The two compositions were not engraved but are close to two celebrated works, *The Village Betrothal* (Soane Museum, London; engraved by Larmessin while it belonged to Jullienne; DV 116) and *The Grove of Bacchus* (lost; engraved by Cochin while also in the possession of Jullienne, DV 265). Further, the majority of the preparatory drawings for the *Contract* were also used for *The Village Betrothal*, but those that seem to have been used only for the *Contract* (see Related Drawings) are of the so-called mature style of the artist (to the extent that one can speak of maturity for an artist who died at the age of thirty-seven).

Several points can clarify the debate. When we last saw the paintings in the spring of 1983, they had not yet been fully restored. A restorer had previously cleaned only the light parts, which had emphasized the contrast between the dark areas and the brighter parts. Further, the wide cracks that resulted from Watteau's use of *l'huile grasse* had been summarily filled. (The *Contract* has been more damaged than the *Assembly*.)

Also, a band several centimeters wide was added to the lower part of the *Assembly;* perhaps another was added on the left of the *Contract*. The purpose of this addition is obvious: to make pendants of two works whose only point in common was that both were representations of open-air scenes. Everything—the scale of the figures, their number, their arrangement, the range of colors, much more like Watteau in the *Assembly* than in the *Contract*, with its blues, "colors of the wingsheaths of an exotic butterfly"—separates the two paintings. And in what way does the signature of a marriage contract complement an elegant gathering?

Once separated, the paintings are easier to study. *The Marriage Contract* seems to be the earlier one (but perhaps its restoration will compel us to agree with the contrary and generally accepted view, but see Nicolle 1921). Moreover, the *Contract* does not seem to precede the Soane's *Village Betrothal*, but to follow it: the stiff little figures with tiny heads suggest that the latter is a work slightly later than 1710; while the Prado painting, despite the occasional lack of harmony in the colors (following the decomposition of the paint) shows a much greater mastery in the execution of each figure and in the arrangement of the different groups.

*The Assembly* seems to be even later, after the *Conversation* (Toledo; cat. P. 23) to which it is often compared. The work does not have any particular subject (the former name *The Gardens of Saint Cloud* is unjustified). Several couples promenade or converse in a park decorated with sculpture. A man who turns toward us and his companion dressed in a flowing yellow gown, stands in front of a magnificent fountain showing Neptune and his sea horses. This group, according to Mathey and Nordenfalk (1955, fig. 17; but see Eidelberg 1968) was inspired by a drawing by Oppenordt

fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7







fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10

(1672-1742), conserved in Stockholm. Oppenordt was himself a great admirer of Watteau's paintings (cats. P. 8 and 13).

Although no musician appears among the participants in the *Assembly*, the *Contract* includes a hurdy-gurdy player and a violinist. The crown of white flowers above the head of the fiancée, as Mantz (1892) first pointed out, was of Flemish origin, and is a motif frequently seen in the paintings of the same subject by Teniers.

To conclude, we shall cite the page of Eugenio d'Ors, so typical of its time (1928), dedicated to the "two delicious, the two perfidious Watteaus" of the Prado:

What I am going to suggest will perhaps seem heretical; but in the deepest sense I do not believe that Watteau was a Frenchman, if only to the extent that one may say that a Frenchman is Germanic. The *Gilles* of the Louvre could permit such a doubt: but the *Marriage Contract* and *View of Saint Cloud* of the Prado remove all hesitation. Here it is not a matter of sadness or joy (or what one calls sadness or joy) but of duality between spirit and nature. In that connection, the artist who comes closest to this painter of the subconscious and the "thrilling," this destroyer of lines and contours to the advantage of air and light, is certainly Rembrandt. There is also play of chiaroscuro, but it sings victory, dance and plays among human shadows. Rembrandt triumphs over the darkness of an anatomy hall, where human beings dissect the cold corpse of their dead brother. Trees, which were columns for Poussin, in Watteau become phantoms.

PROVENANCE

Mentioned in 1746 in a manuscript inventory of La Granja "Dos paises originales en lienzo de mano de Batò: el uno, las Capitulaciones de una boda con su baile, y el oltro una Fuente con la figura de Neptuno y sus cavallos." They belonged at that time to Queen Elisabeth Farnese (1692-1766), since 1714, wife of Philip V, King of Spain. In the bottom right of the painting the characteristic fleur-de-lis of the princess' collection could still be seen recently. Still at La Granja in 1774. According to Ponz (1781), "dos cuadritas," in the king's apartments. Mentioned in a 1789 handwritten manuscript inventory of Aranjuez, countersigned by Goya, Bayeu, and Gomez, where it was valued at 4000 reals, compared to only 2000 reals for *Gathering Near the Fountain of Neptune* (cat. P. 22). Still at Aranjuez in 1794; by 1814 it was at the Palacio Real in Madrid. (For the old provenance of the painting, see F 1972, A.8); entered the Museo del Prado, Madrid, between 1819-1828.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1925, no. 350, ill. (pl. XXIV in large format ed., 1926); Bordeaux-Paris-Madrid 1979-1980, no. 94, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ponz 1781 (1947 ed.), p. 893; Mus. cat. Prado 1828, pp. 143-144; Dinaux 1834, p. 10, no. 20; Clément de Ris 1859, p. 147; Lejeune 1864, p. 213; Blanc 1865, p. 8; G 1875, pp. 97, 181-182; Dussieux 1876, p. 382; Dohme 1880, p. 19; Mantz 1892, pp. 187-188; Mabilleau 1895, pp. 418-419; Phillips 1895, p. 52; Staley 1902, p. 144; Josz 1903, p. 119, n. 1 (p. 222 in undated ed.); Calvert 1907, pl. 220; Pilon 1912, p. 77; Z 1912, pl. 33; Mus. cat. Prado 1920, p. 404; Nicolle 1921, pp. 147-150, pl. p. 149 (pp. 75-78, ill., of offprint); DV, I, p. 172 and III under no. 116; Nicolle 1925, p. 44; Dacier 1926, p. 42; Réau 1927, p. 197 and pl. p. 195; d'Ors 1928, p. 40, pl. p. 37; R 1928, no. 87; Hévésy 1929, p. 542; Guiffrey 1929, pp. 70-72; Miller 1930, pp. 134-152, pl. p. 139; Alvin-Beaumont 1932, pp. 60-63, see also pp. 70-95, ill. p. 95; Mathey 1936, p. 8; Mathey 1938, pp. 162-165; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 17; AH 1950, no. 134; Buendia 1955, p. 248; PM 1957, under nos. 64, 66, 79, 83, 84, 693, 816; M 1959, pp. 13, 18, 38-42, 67, 77, pls. 95 (detail), 96; Sanchez-Canton 1959, p. 29; Bottineau 1962, p. 461 n. 387, pl. CXXa; Mus. cat. Prado 1963, pp. 775-776; CR 1970, no. 94, ill.; Eidelberg 1970, pp. 49-53 and figs. 1, 3 (detail); Buendia 1971, pp. 242-243 (two details); F 1972, B.28 (as "attributed to Watteau"), p. 802; Rosenberg 1977, p. 186; RM 1982, no. 103, ill.; P 1984, p. 278 n. 23 and p. 284 n. 8; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

We know of only one exact copy of the Madrid painting, in the Young collection, New York, in 1928 (20 x 25½ in., photograph in the Witt Library, London). The Madrid painting should not be confused with the famous but ruined painting in the Soane Museum, London, of *The Village Betrothal* (CR 127; fig. 1). Engraved by Larmessin for the *Recueil Jullienne* before October 1735 (DV 116; fig. 2), it belonged to Jullienne and was often copied (see DV; AH 130; CR 127); the version belonging to Alfred Rothschild was reproduced in *Les Arts* (1902), no. 2; the one exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1892, no. 43, at Brussels in 1904, no. 77, and at Bagatelle in 1911, no. 168 was sold in New York, Sotheby's, 20 January 1983, no. 2, ill. (as Bonaventure de Bar) and is now on the London art market. The Sedelmeyer paintings (1895, no. 75) were sold with the Lehmann collection (8 June 1925, no. 233, ill.) and in Paris, Palais Galliera, 27 November 1975 (no. 22, ill.; as "Follower of Quillard," panel, 55 x 75 cm., copied from the Larmessin engraving).

fig. 11



fig. 12



fig. 13



RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey list seven preparatory drawings for the painting. Two are exhibited here (cats. D. 28 and 93; fig. 8). Five were also used by Watteau for *The Village Betrothal*—PM 64 (location unknown, fig. 4) for the old man standing with hat in hand; PM 66 (Louvre, fig. 5) for the notary; PM 79 (location unknown, fig. 6) for the woman dancing at the far left; PM 83 (location unknown, fig. 7) for the man standing to the right of the groom; PM 84 (cat. D. 28, British Museum, fig. 8), three studies for the two principal male dancers and for the man leaning on a cane to the left of the notary. In addition, a drawing for the hurdy-gurdy player standing at the far right is known through the etching by Jullienne (G 1875, no. 357; Hébert and Sjöberg 1973, XII, p. 237, no. 6). The other two drawings—PM 693 (Oxford; cat. D. 93), for the head of the groom in reverse and PM 816 (British Museum; Hulton, 1980, no. 25; fig. 9), for the violinist, with changes, seem to be of a later style than the other five sheets and have given rise to several interpretations: 1) the Madrid painting is not by Watteau, but rather by an imitator using the Soane painting and Watteau drawings from different periods in his career; 2) it is by Watteau, but done at a much later date than the Soane version; 3) "There is a tendency to place too late" certain drawings by Watteau "made from life" (Roland-Michel 1984); 4) Watteau "drew many times . . . certain types of positions" (Roland-Michel 1984), which seems the best explanation to us in the case of the Madrid painting.

RELATED PRINTS

The painting was not engraved (although Soane's *The Village Betrothal* was, of course, engraved by Larmessin about 1735). The first four drawings cited above were etched by J. Audran (Roux 1931, I, pp. 265-266, under no. 73) for the *Fddc.* The hurdy-gurdy player at the extreme left was etched for the same work by Jullienne himself (G 1875, no. 357; Hébert and Sjöberg 1973, XII, p. 237, no. 6) (fig. 10).

## 22 Gathering Near the Fountain of Neptune (*Assemblée près de la fontaine de Neptune*)

Oil on canvas
48 x 56 (18 15/16 x 22 1/16) (enlarged on the sides by 10 to 12 mm)
P Museo del Prado, Madrid

See preceding entry.





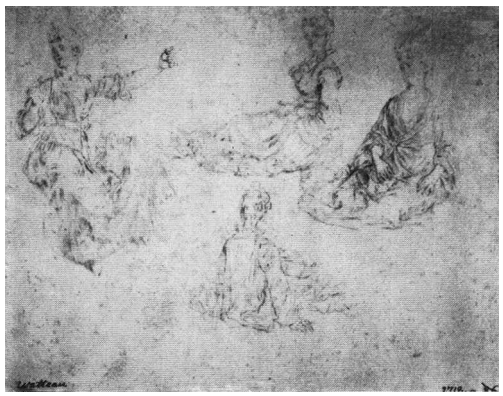


fig. 14

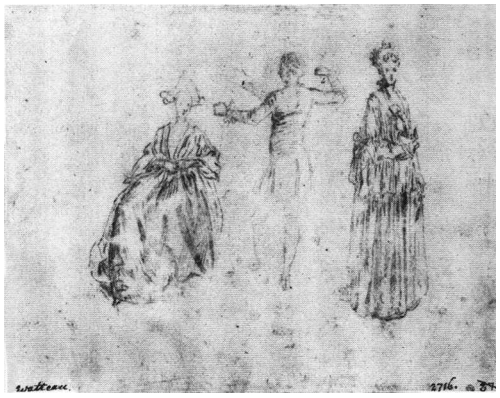


fig. 15

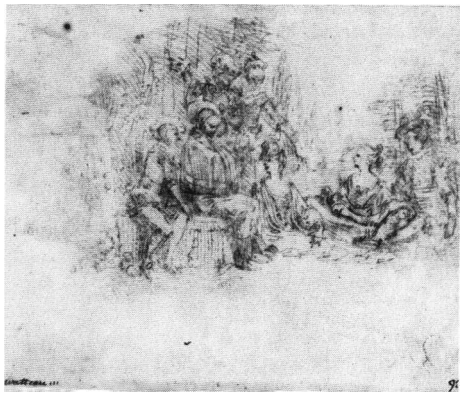


fig. 16



fig. 17

PROVENANCE
See cat. P. 21 (see also F 1972, p. 138); Madrid, Museo del Prado.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1925, no. 349 (pl. XXV of large-format ed., 1926); Bordeaux-Paris-Madrid 1979-1980, no. 95, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Ponz 1781, X, p. 140; Mus. cat. Prado 1828, pp. 143-144; Dinaux 1834, p. 10, n.; Clément de Ris 1859, p. 147; Lejeune 1864, p. 213; Blanc 1865, p. 8; G 1875, p. 182; Dussieux 1876, p. 382; Mantz 1892, p. 188; Mabilleau 1895, pp. 418-419; Phillips 1895, p. 52; Staley 1902, p. 144; Josz [n.d.], p. 222; Calvert 1907, pl. 221; Pilon 1912, pp. 77, 80, pl. bet. pp. 82–83; Z 1912, p. 185, figs. 9, 10, 11 (details); Mus. cat. Prado 1920, p. 404; Nicolle 1921, pp. 147-150, pl. p. 148 (pp. 75-78, ill. offprint ed.); Nicolle 1925, p. 44; Dacier 1926, p. 42; d'Ors 1928, p. 40; R 1928, no. 121; DV, I, pp. 171-172; Guiffrey 1929, pp. 70-72; Hévésy 1929, p. 542; Miller 1930, pp. 134-152, pl. p. 141; Parker 1931, p. 41; Alvin-Beaumont 1932, pp. 60-63, 70-95, and ill. p. 95; Mathey 1938, pp. 162-165; AH 1950, no. 135; Buendia 1955, p. 248; Mathey and Nordenfalk 1955, p. 139; PM 1957 under nos. 25, 49, 74, 135, 193; M 1959, pp. 13, 38-40, 67, 77, pl. 93; Sanchez-Canton 1959, p. 29 and colorpl. pp. 248-249; Bottineau 1962, p. 461 n. 387; Eidelberg 1968, p. 455; Mus. cat. Prado 1963, p. 776; CR 1970, no. 95, ill.; Eidelberg 1970, pp. 49-53 and figs. 2, 5 (detail); F 1972, A.8 (as "authentic"); Banks 1977, p. 177 and fig. 107 (detail); Rosenberg 1977, p. 186; RM 1982, no. 104, ill.; P 1984, p. 278, n. 23, p. 284, n. 8; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS
It resembles somewhat in overall composition the lost canvas of the Jullienne collection engraved by Cochin for the *Recueil Jullienne*, "Le Bosquet de Bacchus" (DV 265; CR 141; fig. 11). *A Conversation in a Park* (Musée de Valenciennes, fig. 12), an old Watteau pastiche, also uses groups from the Madrid painting.

RELATED DRAWINGS
Parker and Mathey list five drawings related to this painting—PM 25 (Pierpont Morgan Library; cat. D. 15; fig. 13), with two studies for the two men reclining at the center of the composition; PM 49, 74, 135 (all in Stockholm; Bjurström 1982, nos. 1274, 1276, 1289; figs. 14, 15, 16), counterproofs of studies for some of the female figures in the painting; and PM 193 (also in Stockholm, fig. 17), related to the fountain of Neptune.

RELATED PRINTS
Never engraved.

## 23 The Conversation (*"La Conversation"*)

Oil on panel
50.2 x 61 (19¾ x 24)
Toledo Museum of Art

Despite the painting's condition, it has retained its evocative power and its attribution has never been questioned. However, certain parts of the work have been lost: the clearing of the sky; certain heads, worn or entirely repainted; the large trees. Fortunately, some figures such as the woman dressed in black and yellow seen from behind on the left of the work, close to a figure in the San Francisco *Fortuneteller* (cat. P. 8), are almost intact. The dating of the work has caused some problems. Adhémar placed it c. 1716 and Roland-Michel (1982) c. 1715. The latter more recently (1984) proposed



23

1712-1714 and Posner (1984) placed it at 1713, joining those who, as we believe, had suggested the much earlier dating that we prefer (Gillet 1921: 1712; Huyghe 1950: 1712-1713). The relation of the painting with *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25); the connection of certain preparatory studies with the *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11); and even the style of the work with its elongated figures, still a little stiff, arranged in a freize, and the still somewhat conventional composition confirm such a dating.

Watteau scholars have outdone one another in their ingenious attempts to identify the men in the painting. In turn, Jullienne (to whom the painting belonged in 1733; see Goncourt and Mathey) or Pierre Crozat (see Gillet and Adhémar) have been recognized in the seated man who leans toward his companion near the center of the composition; Watteau himself (Mathey, as late as 1959) has been identified as the person standing in the center of the work; and finally the chevalier Antoine de La Roque, who was crippled in the

fig. 1

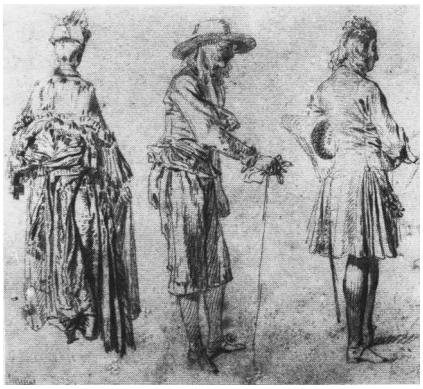


fig. 2



fig. 3



battle of Malplaquet, has been named as the seated man leaning on a cane, the third figure from the left. But today efforts to find portraits of Jullienne's friends or of Crozat's circle in the painting have been abandoned: the state of the work and the mediocrity of the Liotard print make it impossible to identify the faces. Moreover, Watteau made two studies of the same model on the same sheet, conserved today at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In his painting he used one of the studies for the so-called Jullienne-Crozat and the other for his "self-portrait." This conclusively shows that Watteau did not intend to paint a collective portrait.

What, then, could the painting mean? Three couples "chat quietly . . . The pleasures of conversation are enough for these protagonists, without attempting even a hint of a gesture . . . these women in taffeta, these be-wigged men, do nothing but speak to each other, to whisper in each other's ear, their longing and their tenderness" (Roland-Michel 1984). Is this analysis so reliable or should we concur with Adhémar that "we have lost the key to the painting" (1950, p. 85)? In an autumnal forest, before a lake, servants are bringing refreshments. Two seated couples welcome a third but openly turn away from the one in the center of the composition who is trying to join them. But what is the explanation for the great mantle in the foreground, for the man's gesture, and for the woman in the cherry-red dress who absentmindedly listens to her companion and looks at us as if asking for the reply she should give to his invitation? Watteau succeeds in intriguing us, in keeping our attention: a "conversation piece," the Toledo painting also evokes country pleasures and an invitation to travel.

PROVENANCE

The painting belonged to Pierre Crozat, according to Adhémar (1950, p. 140). Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766), 1733, date of the engraving by J. M. Liotard for the *Recueil Jullienne*, but no longer part of that collection in 1756, date of the illustrated manuscript catalogue of the Jullienne collection (formerly Fenaille collection, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library). It is not to be confused with the painting offered for sale by the painter J. E. Liotard (1702-1789), brother of the engraver, in 1771, no. 34: "Une conversation dans un paysage par Watteau Haut 22, Larg. 19" (Lauts 1977, p. 63). Not only are the dimensions inverted, but most important, in the catalogue of the Liotard collection, London, 1773, no. 19, the painting is described as: "a conversation of six figures in a landscape." Nor should it be confused, according to Whittingham, 1984 (in press), with the *Conversation* loaned by Sir Thomas Baring (1772-1848) to the British Institution, London, in 1837 (no. 160) and again in 1844 (no. 121). By 1857 (Waagen), belonged to Sir Francis Baring (1799-1873)(?); Edouard Kann, Paris (sale, Paris, Drouot, 8 June 1895, no. 10); acquired by Sedelmeyer, Paris, for 10,000 Frs.; Henri Heugel prior to 1921; Jacques Heugel until 1970; Heim, Paris; Toledo Museum of Art, Edward Drummond Libbey Gift, 1971.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1896, no. 83, ill.; Paris 1925, no. 352; Amsterdam 1926, no. 116, ill.; London 1954-1955, no. 244; Paris 1956, no. 92, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

On the composition: G 1875, no. 123; Mollett 1883, p. 68; Schefer 1896, pp. 181-182; Josz 1903, p. 316; Fourcaud 1904, p. 351 (print); Pilon 1912, pp. 36-37; Z 1912, p. XXV, ill. p. XXIII (print); (on the painting): Waagen 1857, IV, suppl., pp. 96-97 (?) (no. 3 or 4; for another painting in the same collection at the same time, see cat. P. 71); Gillet 1921, pp. 79-80; DV, III, under no. 151; Dacier 1926, p. 40 (and p. 144 of retrospective cat.); R 1928, no. 192; Parker 1931, p. 28; Wildenstein 1932, ill. betw. pp. 74–75; AH 1950, no.110, pl. 55, see also pp. 39-40, 85, 119, 140; PM 1957, under nos. 51, 58, 533, 729, 915; M 1959, pp. 40-41, 67, 77, pls. 94 (detail), 97; Cailleux 1964, p. iii; CR 1970, no. 105, ill.; F 1972, B.53 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 204, 208-209, 220, 233, 274, 330, 332; *GBA* (*Chronique*) (April 1973), p. 129, no. 454, ill.; Mus. cat. Toledo 1976, pp. 166-167, pl. 194; RM 1982, no. 148, ill.; P 1984, pp. 111, 145-148, 150, 239 and fig. 102; RM 1984 (in press); Whittingham 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A copy after the engraving appeared in a Helbing sale, Munich, 25 April 1904, no. 116, ill. (canvas, 36 x 34 cm.).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey cite four drawings related to the painting—PM 51 (Dublin;



fig. 4



fig. 5

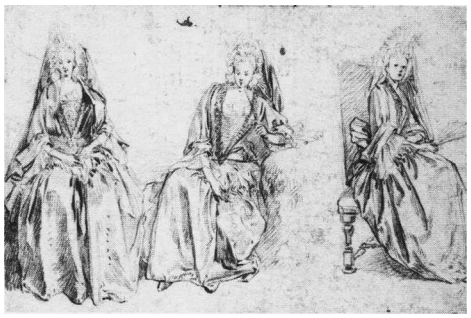


fig. 6

fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9



cat. D. 23; fig. 1), two separate studies for the couple at the far left of the composition (the central study was used for *The Village Bride*, cat. P. 11); PM 58 (Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts: Brugerolles 1981, no. 165; fig. 2), two studies, one for the man standing in the center and the other for the man on his right; PM 533 (British Museum; cat. D. 25, fig. 3), first sketch for the Negro servant (verso, PM 456, a tree study which can be related to the Toledo painting), and PM 729 (Louvre; cat. D. 27; fig. 4), for the black servant's head.

Two etchings by Boucher record lost Watteau drawings (Jean-Richard 1978, nos. 85, 137, figs. 8, 9), one of the young woman seated holding a fan in her hand and another of the servant taking bottles from a basket together with the black servant bearing a platter. Mathey (1959) also mentions the Stockholm counterproof (PM 76; Bjurström 1982, no. 1278, fig. 5) and a British Museum drawing (PM 158; Hulton 1980, no. 1, fig. 6). Last, we quote this passage from Edmond de Goncourt's Journal dated 16 May 1886 (1894, VII, p. 131): "The great *desiderata* of my life were . . . a drawing by Watteau, a first idea for *The Conversation*, representing M. de Jullienne, sold for 60 francs at a Vignères sale."

RELATED PRINTS

The print in reverse by Jean-Michel Liotard (1702-1796) (fig. 7), for the *Recueil Jullienne*, was mentioned in the *Mercure de France*, October 1733, pp. 2229-2230. The copperplate was listed in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. The size of the "Tableau original" is given as "un pied 7. pouces sur 2. pieds de large" (or about 51.8 x 65.0 cm.), which corresponds very closely to the dimensions of the Toledo painting.

## 24 The Country Ball ("*Le bal champêtre*")

Oil on canvas
96 x 128 (37⅞ x 50⅜)
P Private Collection

This surprisingly large painting ranks among Watteau's most ambitious works dating from the time between his *agrément* (provisional acceptance) at the Academy (1712, cat. P. 13) and his reception (1717, cat. P. 61). The date proposed by Roland-Michel for the work, 1713-1714, seems more appropriate than 1712 (Mathey 1959) or 1716 (Adhémar 1950).

The painting first appeared in the collections of the Duc d'Orléans, son of the Regent, in 1749, when it was mentioned by Dezallier d'Argenville. It was engraved at the end of the eighteenth century before it left France with the Orléans collections in 1792. A century later it entered a famous French collection where it has remained ever since. The fact that the painting had been in the Orléans collection led a number of art historians to relate it to a minuscule painting on copper *The Monkey Painters* (7.65 x 8.8 cm.), which belonged to Duc Louis as early as 1727 (Dubois de Saint-Gelais 1727, p. 15) and was a pendant to a Bruegel. It has also been connected with a receipt dated 14 August 1719 by which Watteau acknowledged the receipt of 200 livres from the Regent. The painting on copper has unfortunately disappeared. The receipt has been proved to be a fake (Mirimonde 1968, pp. 97-98).

On several occasions Watteau painted couples dancing in the open air to the music of a small orchestra made up of a musette, an oboe, and a violin (see Related Paintings). It is impossible to determine their order of execution since many



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

fig. 4



fig. 5a



fig. 5b



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8

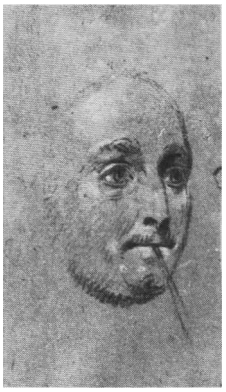


fig. 9



fig. 10



of the originals are lost. But the fact that Watteau used the same drawings for a number of them leads one to wonder about the way the artist composed his works. In this case it is clear that he first "conceived or prepared a landscape background." Then, selecting from his "collection" of drawings "the figures that suited him best," he "composed the groups" (Caylus in Champion 1921, p. 101). In *The Country Ball* this practice is evident; the figures are not yet perfectly integrated into the landscape and sometimes seem disconnected.

The scene takes place in an imaginary forest with its tall Italian pines and poplars. Some musicians are accompa-



fig. 11

nying the dancing woman and the man who plays the castanets; his silvery-blue blue costume stands out against a milky sky. Only four of the nine spectators grouped on the right are looking at the scene, which two couples are preparing to leave.

Watteau loved to unite dance and music, young and handsome people and luxurious, sometimes fantastic, costumes (such as the red hat with the feather worn by the young woman dressed in yellow and standing in profile). *The Country Ball* has been reduced to two dancers and takes place in a slightly foggy light. Here Watteau creates an atmosphere of simple country happiness, characteristic of the *fêtes galantes* that would assure his fame.

PROVENANCE

First mentioned among the paintings of the Palais Royal by Dezallier d'Argenville in 1749 (as "une dance de village"); in 1752, the year of the death of Louis, Duc d'Orléans (b. 1703), son of the Regent (1674-1723). Valued at 1000 livres in the inventory of the duke's estate in 1752 (Stryienski 1913). His son, Louis-Philippe, Duc d'Orléans (1725-1785), transferred it to the château du Raincy (Champier 1900), which explains why it is not mentioned in later editions of Dezallier d'Argenville. Valued at 600 livres in an inventory drawn up in 1785 at the death of Duc Louis-Philippe. Went to England in 1792 along with the entire Orléans collection. Valued at 11 guineas in 1798; Humphrey St. John-Mildmay, 46 Berkeley Square, London by 1857 (Waagen; not to be confused with the *Fête champêtre* exhibited in 1857 in Manchester, no. 984, then belonging to F. Perkins); Bingham-Mildmay (same address); sale, London, Christie's, 24 June 1893, no. 84 (3517 pounds); acquired by Wertheimer and exhibited the following year (no. 82, ill.) at Sedelmeyer, Paris; purchased by Ferdinand Bischoffsheim for Fr 200,000; Mme. Francis de Croisset in 1922, according to DV; Vicomtesse de Noailles, 1929; Private collection, France.

EXHIBITIONS

London, Lyceum, 1798-1799, no. 290; Paris 1894, no. 82, ill.; Amsterdam 1951, no. 139.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dezallier d'Argenville 1749, p. 57; Dezallier d'Argenville 1752, p. 66; Fontenay 1808, III [unpaginated], ill. of Couché's print; Waagen 1837, I, p. 514; Waagen 1838, I, p. 336; Waagen 1857, IV, p. 158; G 1875, no. 112; Champier 1900, I, pp. 390, 521; Stryienski 1913, pp. 102, 147, 180; DV, I, pp. 265, 361, II, pp. 143-144, and III, under no. 293; Dacier 1923, pp. 92-93; R 1928, no. 84; AH 1950, no. 132, pl. 64; PM 1957, under nos. 5, 40, 41; Moussalli 1958, p. 648, ill. p. 649; Gauthier 1959, pl. XVIII; M 1959, pp. 42, 67, 77, figs. 100, 101 (detail); Mirimonde 1963, pp. 49, 51; *Conn. des Arts* (October 1964), pp. 68, 76, 77 (ill.); CR 1970, no. 92, ill. (print); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 192-193, 209, 312, 330, 332, 342; Mirimonde 1977, p. 118; RM 1982, no. 129, ill. (print); P 1984, p. 279, n. 24 and p. 286, n. 81; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

An undistinguished copy was at one time in the collection of Baroness Edouard de Rothschild. A copy of the woman dancing in the center of the composition was in the Victoria Gallery in Bath (photograph in the Witt Library, London).

Goncourt (1875) related this painting to another in the Saint sale, 4 May 1846, no. 70: "Le menuet. Un Giles danse en s'accompagnant de castagnettes et d'un orchestre formé de trois musiciens assis à gauche. Du côté opposé, six personnages debout et assis dans diverses attitudes. Tableau en forme de frise qui parait être l'esquisse de celui qui était dans la galerie du duc d'Orléans." *The Country Ball* should not be confused with several similar compositions, whose attributions are uncertain—*The Musette* (DV 262, CR 93; fig. 1), the original of which cannot be traced after the Kramer sale of 28-29 April 1913, is the only composition to appear in the *Recueil Jullienne; The Dancer with Castanets* (DV 307, CR 120; fig. 2), the original of which is in very poor condition according to those who have seen it in a New York collection (repr. Mathey 1959, pl. 99); and *The Country Ball* (DV 311, CR 112; fig. 3) of which a copy, formerly in the Jules Strauss collection, was sold on 11 February 1972, no. 119. *The Country Ball* also has similarities to *Pleasures of the Dance* in Dulwich (cat. P. 51).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey list three preparatory studies for this painting: PM 41 (formerly Shickman, New York), for the violinist on the left (fig. 4); PM 40 (Dijon; cat. D. 18; fig. 5), of which two figures were used with changes in *The Country Ball;* PM 5 (Musée Carnavalet, Paris, fig. 6), a study with variants for the woman in profile, third figure from the right. In the exhibition are three other drawings that Watteau may have used for his painting (cats. D. 19, 25, 27; figs. 7, 8, 9). PM 554 (Teylers Museum, Haarlem, fig. 10) may have been used for both *The Country Ball* and *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51).

RELATED PRINTS

The painting was not included in the *Recueil Jullienne,* but was engraved, in the same direction, by Jacques Couché (b. 1750/1759?, Roux 1946, V, p. 282, no. 82; fig. 11) in about 1795 for the third volume of the celebrated work by the Abbé de Fontenay, *La Galerie du Palais-Royal.* The engraving gives the dimensions of the painting as "2 pieds sur 2 pieds 11 pouces" (about 68 x 95 cm.), considerably less than the size of our canvas. A modified version of this engraving illustrates page 19 of Blanc's *Les Peintres des fêtes galantes,* 1854, and Mollett's monograph on Watteau (1883) on the end papers and on p. 56. Goncourt (no. 574) refers to an engraving by Louis Desplaces (1682-1739) after one of the studies on the Dijon sheet (cat. D. 18; Roux 1951, VII, p. 106, no. 128), the woman seated on a stool in the drawing and on the ground in the painting. See also Related Paintings.

## 25 The Perspective (*"La perspective"*)

Oil on canvas
46.7 x 55.3 (18⅜ x 21¾)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Maria Antoinette Evans Fund

Despite the darkening of its colors, lessened by its recent restoration, the Boston *Perspective* is among Watteau's most attractive works. The painting presents notable differences with Louis Crépy's engraving, the most obvious example being that of the man leaning on the large stone pedestal topped by a vase. He wears a large beret in the painting while the print shows him bare-headed, leaning toward his companion and not pointing a finger at her. It is perplexing that a Watteau drawing (PM 671, Private collection; fig. 8) is a preparatory study not for the figure in the painting but for the one seen in the print, leading Eidelberg (oral communication) to conclude that the print does not reproduce the Boston painting, but rather a second version of the work. A recent examination of the painting makes us think that the discrepancies between the print and the painting should be

attributed to an old, poorly understood restoration. The dimensions of the painting ("un pied 9. pouce [*sic*] sur un pied 5 pouce de large," or 56.7 by 45.5 cm) are mentioned on the print. If, as it appears, the height and width of the work have been reversed, then the sides must have been slightly trimmed. An examination of the print confirms this.

The Crépy print states the name of the owner of the work at the date of its publication as "Mr Guenon"—but we do not yet know to which member of that illustrious family of cabinetmakers to the king this referred. Perhaps the owner was Jean Guénon who worked for Robert de Cotte (probable owner of the *Assembly in a Park,* cat. P. 56) or Jean-Antoine Guénon who worked at Chantilly in c. 1721 (on the road to Pierre Crozat's chateau at Montmorency, which Watteau frequented). But there is no evidence that *The Perspective* was painted for a Guénon; in fact Adhémar (1950, p. 140) conjectured that it was created for Crozat. We know nothing about it between 1729 and 1845, when it was mentioned by Hédouin, the first author of a catalogue raisonné of the works of Watteau.

The identification of the site is now unanimously accepted (see Junecke 1960). It is the Château de Montmorency, property of Pierre Crozat (1665-1740) since 1709. This chateau had belonged to the First Painter of Louis XIV, Charles LeBrun (1619-1690), before it was transformed by the architect Jean-Sylvain Cartaud (another admirer of Watteau; he owned *The Enchanted Isle,* cat. P. 60). Cartaud was the architect of Crozat's house on the rue de Richelieu, which housed the Seasons by Watteau (for *Summer* see cat. P. 35).

That Watteau liked to sketch in the Montmorency park is proved by two drawings, one in the Hermitage (cat. D. 76; fig.1) and another known through an etching by Boucher





fig. 1

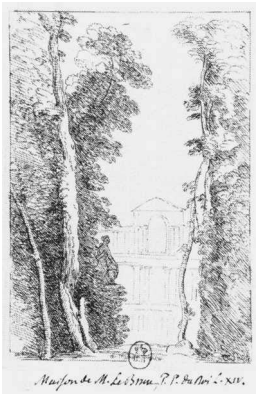


fig. 2



fig. 3

(Jean-Richard 1978, no. 122). A third one (fig. 2), now lost but etched by Caylus (1692-1765; Roux 1940, IV, p. 140, no. 486; Eidelberg 1977, fig. 30) also confirms this. In a handwritten note on one copy of the print (Bibliothèque Nationale), Caylus identified it as "House of M. Le Brun, P.P. of King. L. XIV" and entitled it "at Montmorency." Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 193 [58]) removes our last doubts: "the background of this painting represents a view of M. Crozat's garden at Montmorency." For a long time there was hesitation over the precise identification of the construction that closes the composition. Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I) and Junecke have established that it is the central body of the chateau, which Cartaud gutted and remodeled (but see Roland-Michel 1984).

The point that the Boston *Perspective* is one of Watteau's rare paintings whose site can be identified with complete certainty is worth emphasizing (even if the artist, thanks to the double row of trees, did place the architecture on the scene as if it were a theater decoration).

Watteau scholars date the work variously to 1712 (Scott 1973), 1714 (Mathey), 1714-1715 (Posner), 1715 (Camesasca, Roland-Michel), and 1716 (Wilenski). It should be placed at the time when Watteau began his contact with Crozat, seeking to gain his favor by painting his newly remodeled chateau. That would place the painting relatively early, before Crozat's departure for Italy in November 1714.

Goncourt (1881, pp. 62-63) already noticed that "Watteau created a nature more beautiful than nature itself . . . the mixture of a real nature with an *operatic* arrangement . . . allows him . . . to *supernaturalize* . . . the corner of the earth that his brush paints." Both close to and opposed to Rubens' ideal, *The Perspective* occupies a choice place between Claude and Fragonard in the history of French landscape painting. Watteau seeks at the very same time to lose us in the undergrowth—the immense autumnal foliage of the park—and to direct our eye toward the central plane of water and the "empty space" (Macchia 1971) of the open-work architectural construction. The protagonists of the scene—but what, if anything, is the subject?—converse among themselves, listen to a guitar player, contemplate the chateau; the youngest ones play. Posner (1984) has noted recently that the women and a child are dressed in modern clothing while the men wear seventeenth-century costumes. Watteau thus wishes to disturb and, as was his habit, to mix the real with the imaginary. If the influence of Rubens' *Garden of Love* is foremost, we must note, as did Wilenski (1949), that the guitarist is directly inspired by the musician of *The Country Concert* by Titian (formerly Giorgione, Louvre).

Once again the north and Venice, the present and the past, the real and the unreal, furnish the artist with the ingredients for his painting. Many would vainly attempt to imitate him.

PROVENANCE

In the "Cabinet de Mr. Guenon à Paris" in 1729, according to the inscription on the print by Crépy. Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 193 [58]) identified him as "menuisier du Roy," but failed to give his first name. Dacier and Vuaflart (III, no. 172) hesitated between Jean-Antoine, attaché to the Royal household and Jean-François, cabinetmaker to the king, although Dacier (1921, p. 121), had

fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8





fig. 9



fig. 10

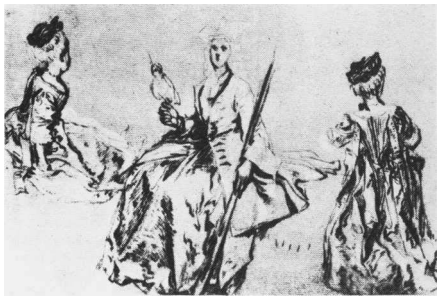


fig. 11

leaned toward Jean who was mentioned in the *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi* in 1706 and 1715. Next recorded in the collection of the miniaturist Daniel Saint, 1778-1847 (sale, Paris, 4 May 1846, no. 56; Fr 3805); Richard, Fourth Marquis of Hertford (1800-1870) probably acquired it at that sale; to his illegitimate son Sir Richard Wallace (1818-1890); to Lady Wallace (d. 1897); bequeathed by her to Sir John Murray Scott (1847-1912), secretary to Sir Richard Wallace (sale, Christie's, London, 27 June 1913, no. 138); acquired by Agnew for £6510; sold in 1919 to Walker Burns; Durlacher Brothers, New York and London; acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1923, Maria Antoinette Evans Fund.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1872, no. 440 (see Cecil 1950); New York 1934, no. 32 (and p. 9); on loan to Lawrence Museum, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., in 1941-1944; Houston 1958, pl. 44; New York 1970, no. 39, ill.; Providence 1975, no. 45, ill.; Toledo-Chicago-Ottawa 1975-1976, no. 119, pl. 13; Bordeaux-Paris-Madrid, 1979-1980, no. 93, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

H 1845, no. 100 and p. 80; H 1856, no. 101 and n. 1 and p. 113; Mariette 1862 ed., VI, p. 110; [Cousin] 1865, p. 31; G 1875, no. 152; Dohme 1883, p. 99; Mollett 1883, p. 69; Mantz 1892, p. 88; Dilke 1899, p. 88; Josz 1903, pp. 315-316 and n. 1, p. 315; Pilon 1912, p. 82; DV, I, pp. 48-49, 264, III, under no. 172; Dacier 1923, p. 88; J[oubin] 1925, p. 336; Hawes 1926, pp. 1-2; Dacier 1926, p. 49; Réau 1926, p. 151; A. R. 1928, no. 196; Parker 1931, p. 49; Wilenski 1949, p. 104, pl. 45a; AH 1950, no. 111, pl. 56; Cecil 1950, p. 171 and n. 11; Mus. cat. Boston 1952, p. 66, ill.; PM 1957, under nos. 86, 538, 546, 627, 713, 830; Gauthier 1959, colorpl. XIII; M 1959, p. 68; Junecke 1960, pp. 66-73; Seilern 1961, p. 74; Schefer 1962, pp. 44-45, 48, 53-54, 58; Thuillier and Châtelet 1964, p. 159; Cat. Wallace Coll. 1968, p. 368; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 10; Mus. cat. 1969, p. 124, colorpl. and 125, color detail; CR 1970, no. 117, pls. IV-V; Macchia 1971, p. 14; F 1972, B.52 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Souffrin-Le Breton 1972, p. 71; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 211-214; Scott 1973, p. 14 and fig. 5, p. 13; Mus. cat. 1976, p. 278, ill. p. 279; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 63-65, fig. 29; Mallett 1979, pp. 188, 198-199; Clay 1980, p. 28, ill.; RM 1982, no. 149, ill. and colorpl. p. 20; P 1984, pp. 40, 111, 121, 148, 150, 173, 176, 283 n. 73, 285 n. 56, fig. 105, pl. 21; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

E. Barre sale, Paris, 30-31 January 1894, no. 43 (31 x 38 cm): "semble être une reproduction peinte par Pater de la composition de Watteau . . . *La perspective*" (Ingersoll-Smouse 1921, no. 599). Another old copy, "exécutée d'après l'estampe" (Adhémar 1950) was in the J. Strauss Collection (DV) and another was sold in Munich, 10 November 1904, no. 81 (canvas, 85 x 109 cm). Yet

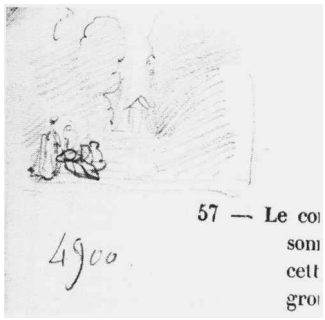



fig. 12



fig. 13

fig. 14



fig. 15



another, but in the same direction as the painting, belonged to the Schaeffer Gallery in 1969 (fig. 3). For a fan inspired by the painting, see exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 564, colorpl.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey catalogued many Watteau studies for this composition —PM 538 (Private coll. France; fig. 4), a full-length study for the woman on the left of the composition; PM 830 (British Museum, London; fig. 5), a study for the guitarist; and PM 546 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; fig. 6), a study for his companion. Two other sheets are also related to the Crépy print—PM 86 (Seilern Collection, Courtauld Institute, London; fig. 7), a study for the seated man and the man leaning on the balustrade in the background at the center of the painting; and PM 671 (Private coll. France; fig. 8), a study for the man leaning on the plinth supporting a vase.

Parker and Mathey also see a relationship between the Boston painting and PM 627 (Private coll. Paris; fig. 9) and PM 713 (Bayonne; fig. 10), to which group it would be appropriate to add PM 961 (location unknown; fig. 11). A drawing, now lost, for the woman sitting in the center, seen from behind, is known through an etching by Boucher (*Fddc* 96; Jean-Richard 1978, no. 75; fig. 14); another, for the standing woman seen from behind at center, was etched by Tremolières (1703-1739; exh. cat. Cholet 1973, no. 5, pl. IX; fig. 15). The standing woman at the left may have been copied by Ingres (Musée Ingres, Montauban, MI 867.4081). The painting was copied by Jules Boilly (1796-1874) at the time of the Saint sale, 1846 (drawing at the Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie, Paris, cf. A. J[oubin] 1925, fig. 12).

RELATED PRINTS

Engraved by Louis Crépy (1660-1730; Roux 1946, V, p. 394, no. 29; fig. 13). The engraving, cited by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, X, fol. 193 [58]), was announced in the December 1729 *Mercure de France* (p. 2913). The copperplate was mentioned in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. For differences between the engraving and the painting, see the entry.

## 26 The Dreamer (*"La rêveuse"*)

Oil on panel
23.2 x 17 (9⅛ x 6¹¹⁄₁₆)
The Art Institute of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis
P Larned Coburn Memorial Collection

The painting has not always been accepted as a Watteau: at the Burat sale, in 1885, Féral classified it as a Lancret (1690-1743). However, he described it as "a delightful little painting, worthy by its technical delicacy and firmness of execution of the most inspired productions of Watteau." Féral was to be followed by Eudel and by Burty (in the Laurent-Richard sale cat. preface, 1886) (sale cat. by Féral). In his monograph on Lancret, Wildenstein (1924) did not take a stand on the attribution, never having seen the painting but remarked, "it is, however, probable that Jullienne had his reasons for believing it to be by Watteau." The attribution of the painting to Watteau is now accepted by all but Ferré. As early as 1885, in his preface to the catalogue for the Burat sale, Mantz contested the attribution to Lancret: "Moreover, does it not seem that if *The Dreamer* were by Lancret, the latter would not have let pass without protest the announcement of the print by Aveline which attributed the painting to his former master. Since the work was appealing, why did he not claim authorship?"

For whom the work was painted is not known, but perhaps insufficient attention has been paid to an observation made by Dacier and Vuaflart, who have pointed out that the Aveline print after *The Dreamer* appeared in 1729 at the same time and on the same sheet as the one of *The Anxious Lover* (DV 165, CR 211). At that time the latter painting (artificially paired since 1788 with *The Serenader* (both now at Chantilly; CR 130; see cat. P. 49; fig. 1) belonged to the Abbé Pierre-Maurice Haranger (Mariette, *Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [9]), canon of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, who had inherited at Watteau's death a number of drawings. Although the inventory taken after his death (10 May 1735) has not been found, it would not surprise us if the Abbé Haranger had owned *The Dreamer* as well as *The Anxious Lover*. Without going so far as to agree with Dacier and Vuaflart that the two works were conceived as pendants, we believe that they could very easily have been brought together in the collection of Watteau's friend.

The date of the Chicago painting is perhaps not as easy to establish as it may seem. Is the painting from 1716 (Adhémar) or even 1717 (Camesasca and Rosenberg), or must the date be brought forward to 1712-1714, as Roland-Michel suggests? A somewhat forced meticulousness in the execution and the crude colors (aggravated by the insensitive restora-

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3





tion) would lead us today to agree with Roland-Michel. Can one, along with Nemilova (1964) recognize Charlotte Desmares (1682-1753) as the model? No eighteenth-century author or catalogue refers to this celebrated actress, Champmeslé's niece, in connection with *The Dreamer.* Her portrait, by Charles-Antoine Coypel, dated just before her early retirement in 1721, is known to us through Bernard Lépicié's print (see Lefrançois 1983, no. 37, in press). But there is little resemblance between Coypel's subject and the model of the Chicago painting. We must also consider the fact that by 1712-1714 Watteau was not yet an experienced portrait painter. In any event, we agree with Nemilova and Roland-Michel who recognized the model for *The Dreamer* in *Coquettes* (Hermitage; cat. P. 29); in *The Polish Woman* (lost since the end of the eighteenth century; DV 145, CR 167; fig. 2), and another *Polish Woman* (CR 166, copy in the Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw; fig. 3). A drawing related to that painting was in a sale, Paris, 3 April 1962, no. 21 (ill.).

But why this fine title, *The Dreamer?* Of what does the young woman, fan in hand and seated upright on her mound, dream? She gives us an inquiring look without revealing her feelings. Did Watteau disguise her or did he in fact portray an actress dressed as a Polish woman rather than as a "Turk," as she was described in the eighteenth-century sales catalogues?

Once again, by the unanswerable questions that his work forces us to ask, Watteau disturbs, intrigues, and rivets our eye and attention.

PROVENANCE

The name of the owner is not given on Pierre Aveline's engraving for the *Recueil Jullienne,* announced in the *Mercure de France,* April 1729. However, Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, p. 117) believed the owner to have been the Abbé Haranger, for he owned *The Anxious Lover* (now in Chantilly; fig. 1), a picture of similar size also engraved by Aveline on the same date. (?) Sale, "Cabinet de M.L.C. de D. [du Barry]" (1723-1794), 21 November 1774, no. 132, "Une jeune femme Turque assise dans un jardin, sur bois, hauteur 9 pouces, largeur 7 pouces" [190 livres]. Listed among the works "of different schools," but Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, in the margin of his copy of the catalogue, drew a general outline of the composition and notes the author as "Watteau." Marquis de Montesquiou sale, 9 December 1788, no. 214. "Une dame adjustée dans le costume Turc: elle est coëffée d'un bonnet ou turban, la tête tournée de trois quarts sur l'épaule droite, assise sur un tertre dans un fond de paysage. Hauteur 8 pouces 4 lig. largeur 6 pouces," panel; Jules Burat, 1807-1885, purchased in 1866 for Fr 950 (see Eudel 1886) (sale, 28-29 April 1885, no. 109, accompanied by an engraving by Léon Gaucherel, Fr 7000); acquired by Vincent-Claude Laurent-Richard (1811-1886) sale, 28-29 May 1886, no. 29, with the Gaucherel print; bought for Fr 6200 by Willy Blumenthal and still owned by him in 1929 (DV, I, p.



fig. 4



fig. 5

178); Wildenstein since 1943; The Art Institute of Chicago, 1960, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Larned Coburn Fund.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1883-1884, no. 145; New York 1943, no. 36, ill.; Paris 1956, no. 95, ill. (and p. 22) (as "on canvas"); Baltimore 1959, no. 35, pl. p. 42 (as "on canvas"); Toledo-Chicago-Ottawa 1975-1976, no. 120, p. 17; Chicago 1976, no. 2, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

On the composition: H 1845, no. 45; H 1856, no. 45; Fourcaud 1904, p. 350 (print); Dacier 1910, II, p. 29 (and p. 47 of the sale); Ananoff 1963, II, under no. 1123; (on the painting): G 1875, no. 88; Mollett 1883, p. 66; Lerol 1885, p. 169 (ill. bet. pp. 171–172 with the print by Léon Gaucherel, repr. Burat sale cat.); Eudel 1886, pp. 335, 367; Eudel 1887, p. 436; DV, I, pp. 117, 178, 264 and III, under no. 166; Wildenstein 1924, no. 704, fig. 202; R 1928, no. 100; AH 1950, no. 145, pl. 77; *Arts*, 9-15 May 1956, ill.; Nemilova 1964, p. 90, pl. 40 (and p. 158); Maxon 1966, p. 221 and fig. 5, p. 219; CR 1970, no. 165, ill.; Maxon 1970, pp. 261 (ill.), 288; F 1972, pp. 206-207, 1885; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 171, 176, 318; Nemilova 1973, p. 147, fig. 38; Farmer 1974, pl. p. 18; Mus. cat. Chicago 1978, p. 67 and colorpl. p. 66; RM 1982, no. 120, ill. (canvas); P 1984, p. 47, fig. 39; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Sometimes said to have belonged to the Duc de Morny in 1874, but at that time, it was actually owned by Jules Burat who had bought it in 1866 (Eudel). A "Dame à l'Eventail" by Watteau was included in the Duc de Morny's sale, 31 May-12 June 1865 (no. 115), but the description, support, and size (40 x 31 cm) of the picture correspond to *The Family* (cat. P. 54). It has been linked to a picture in the collection of Mrs. Lyne Stephens (sale, London, Christie's, 9-13 May 1895, no. 367), but there also the size (21½ x 17¼ in) and description preclude this identification. Last, it has been suggested that the Chicago picture came from the Francis Wellesley collection (sale, London, 27 June–2 July 1920, no. 830): "Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu. She is represented full-length, viewed to the left, eyes looking to the right and seated beneath a tree in a wood. She wears a bodice and skirt edged with fur. A turban is on her head, one fold of which falls to her left shoulder; her hands are lying in her lap and hold some twigs. Rectangular; 6½ by 8½ in. On Velum." The picture was exhibited at the Bath Gallery in 1918-1919. The catalogue also mentioned that the model was famous for her *Letters* and for her friendship with Pope. The description is accurate but to identify it with the Chicago picture one would have to accept that the cataloguer had reversed the height and width and confused wood with vellum. Moreover, according to Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, p. 178), the work was still the property of W. Blumenthal in 1928.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Although there are no extant studies by Watteau, Goncourt mentions two etchings (1875, nos. 417, 656) in the *Fddc* (after lost drawings by Watteau) that are studies for it. Two copies of the picture are known, one by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780), very sketchily drawn in the margin of his copy of the du Barry sale catalogue (formerly Jacques Doucet collection, now Petit Palais, Paris; facsimile in Dacier 1910, p. 47); and the other after the engraving by Fragonard, or at least attributed to Fragonard (1732-1806, see DV, I, p. 178 and Ananoff 1963, II, no. 1123, fig. 325) (fig. 4).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving, in reverse, by Pierre Aveline (1702-1760; Roux 1930, I, p. 311, no. 6) (fig. 5) for the *Recueil Jullienne*, paired with that of *The Anxious Lover*, was announced in the *Mercure de France*, April 1729 (p. 752). The caption states that it was "Gravée d'après le Tableau original Peint par Watteau de la même grandeur." The print measures 24.5 x 18.9 cm; the painting is slightly smaller and may have been slightly trimmed at the bottom and on the left side. The engraving is mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [9]); the copperplate appeared in the Chereau catalogue of 1770. Léon Gaucherel (1816-1886) engraved the picture for the Burat and Laurent-Richard sale catalogues (see also Lerol 1885).

## 27 Gracious Repose (*Le repos gracieux*)

Oil on panel
19.5 x 11.3 (7¾ x 4½)
P The Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

This painting, often doubted, has not even been considered by Eidelberg, Posner, Camesasca, or Roland-Michel. Mathey (on several occasions), Parker (1961), and recently Nordenfalk (1979), however, have not hesitated to see it as an original Watteau. They join J. Folliot (Thélusson sale cat., 1777) and Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, who sketched the painting in the margin of his copy of the catalogue (fig. 1), who believed the attribution correct.

The work does not appear in the *Recueil Jullienne*. But Gabriel Huquier engraved the composition in the center of an arabesque (fig. 2) replacing the King Charles spaniel by a less pedigreed dog, making the mask on the ground more legible, and eliminating the background of the work with its fountain, pine trees, and poplars. He faithfully copied the two figures: Crispin, who places his index finger and thumb on the hilt of his sword, and Colombine with her cape (although he removed her fan). Did Huquier engrave a lost drawing by Watteau or was he inspired directly by the painting and did he adapt it to an arabesque that he had invented? Was it Huquier or Jullienne who originated the idea? These are among the many questions we cannot answer.

It is relatively easy to suggest a date for this panel

painting. The heads of the figures are still small as in Watteau's youthful works, but the artist gives the bodies a suppleness and an elegance still absent in the 1712 paintings, *Pierrot Content* and *The Party of Four* (cats. P. 13, 14). In our opinion the Oxford painting must have been painted shortly after this date.

The subject is clear: an actor, seated on a mound, seeks to seduce a young, elegant actress who remains reserved. Watteau describes, as much by the glances they exchange as by their postures, the dialogue. A simple love scene, the Oxford painting is surprising in its harmony. Only the lively tone of a rust-colored ribbon breaks the subdued range of the blacks, grays, whites, mustards, and olives. At first glance it could appear to be quite a modest effort. But why are these





fig. 1



fig. 2

actors outdoors and not on the stage? Are they still acting or have they left the theater? The very singular repertory of the painter and his world are already in place.

PROVENANCE

For a long time and even at present, it has been alleged to have come from the collection of Sir Robert Walpole. Described in 1794 at Strawberry Hill, it was offered at the Walpole sale, 25 April 1842, no. 36 (the sale actually was held 9 May 1842), purchased for 39 guineas by Emery, 5 Bury Street, St. James's Square, London. Eidelberg (1969) proved that this actually relates to *The Sulking Woman* (cat. P. 46) now at the Hermitage. The true history of the painting is as follows: Thélusson sale, Paris, 1 December 1777, no. 38: "Conversation dans un Jardin. Tableau fin de Dessin, de touche et de coloris" "haut 7 pouces 2 lignes; large 4 pouces 9 lig" (about 194 x 128 mm). On the basis of the unpublished drawing by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780) in the margin of his copy of the sale catalogue, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Johnson Collection; fig. 1), we can confirm that the Thélusson painting is indeed the Oxford painting. Saint-Aubin noted that the painting sold for 300 livres. Solirène sale, Paris, 11 March 1812: "Point de vue d'un Lieu solitaire ou l'on distingue dans l'éloignement et au milieu de plusieurs Arbres, le jeu d'une Cascade. Sur le devant se voit une jeune femme qui regarde avec complaisance un Cavalier qui lui fait la cour. Petit morceau plein de goût et d'une grande légèreté de pinceau" (on panel, height 7 pouces, width 5 pouces). In 1854, it was in the Henry Labouchère collection (Lord Taunton, 1798-1869) (Waagen, however, does not describe the painting, remarking only "some very pretty pictures . . ."). To the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1927, gift of Mrs. W. F. R. Weldon.

EXHIBITIONS

Norwich 1925, no. 7; London 1954-1955, no. 242, pl. 60 of the ill. album; London 1968, no. 731.

fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Waagen 1854, II, p. 422; Bell 1927, pp. 25-26; Blunt and Whinney 1950, p. 235, pl. 556; AH 1950, no. 305 (as "around Watteau"); Mathey 1955, p. 31 and fig. 4, p. 32; PM 1957, under no. 897; M 1959, pp. 27, 67, 74, fig. 26; Parker 1961, p. 169, no. 467; Sitwell 1968, p. 13 and fig. 5, p. 130; Eidelberg 1969, p. 278; Nemilova 1970, p. 154, ill.; CR 1970, 2° P (as "attributed to Watteau"), ill.; F 1972, B.71 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Nordenfalk 1979, pp. 121, 138, n. 33, fig. 14; *Apollo* 1980, p. 343, fig. 3.

RELATED PAINTINGS

Roland-Michel (1984) mentioned a copy of either the painting or the engraving that appeared in a recent sale as the work of Mercier.

RELATED DRAWINGS

PM 897 (Private coll. Fontainebleau; fig. 3), one of the four studies of a King Charles spaniel may have been used for this painting; and PM 952 (Pushkin Museum, Moscow; fig. 4), a seated figure very close to the Crispin of the composition. A copy of the etching (see Related Prints) was offered at a sale, Paris, Drouot, 11 May 1965, no. 17, ill., attributed to Claude Audran III.

RELATED PRINTS

The painting was not engraved. An arabesque called *Le repos gracieux,* however, was engraved by Gabriel Huquier (1695-1772; Bruand-Hébert 1970, XI, p. 523, no. 1710; fig. 2) for the *Recueil* (DV 22). This arabesque, pendant to the arabesque *The Contented Hunter* (DV 21; fig. 5), depicts the group in the Oxford painting at its center, in reverse, but otherwise little changed. It may have been engraved after a Watteau drawing, since the caption reads "A. Watteau in." (A. Watteau invented it), but it could also be Huquier's adaptation of Watteau's painting.

## 28 Diana at Her Bath (*"Diane au bain"*)

Oil on canvas
80 x 101 (31½ x 39¾)
Musée du Louvre, Paris

Today, thanks to the late David Carritt, the provenance of the painting is comparatively well-established. Like so many of Watteau's paintings, it was in England by 1737 and perhaps even as early as 1729, the date of the engraving by Aveline. It "returned to the fold" in 1890, a "victory for France" (Mantz). After a first attempt in 1893, the painting was acquired by the Louvre in 1977.

Although the attribution of the work meets with little opposition (except from Ferré 1972 and Zimmermann 1912, but see the *errata* in the French edition of his work), there is very little agreement about its date—early for Eidelberg; 1713 for Mathey; 1715 for Camesasca; 1717-1718 for Roland-Michel; late for Séailles. The style of the Albertina drawing, also exhibited here (cat. D. 66; fig. 5), would lead one to date the work rather early, if one did not know Watteau's practice of using for his paintings drawings that were made several years earlier.

Another reason suggests a relatively early date for the Louvre painting: since Guiffrey and Marcel (1908), it has been recognized that Watteau was directly inspired by a drawing by Louis de Boullongne the Younger (1654-1733) for his painting as well as for the preparatory drawing of Vienna. Boullongne's drawing (Louvre, inv. 24933; fig. 1) is a study for one of Diana's attendants who is seen in the middle distance in his painting of *Diana and Her Companions,* painted in 1707 for the Grand Cabinet du Roi at Rambouillet and now in the museum at Tours (fig. 2). Did Watteau know this drawing, the compositional study also in the Louvre (inv. 24930; fig. 3), or the painting? It is difficult to say. In any event Boullongne collaborated with Claude Audran for two tapestries of the gods; he was a member of the Academy since 1681; his name was among the signatories of the approval of Watteau's admission to the Academy in 1712 and in 1717; and he was, with his contemporaries La Fosse, Antoine Coypel, and Jouvenet, among the most admired artists of his time. Watteau certainly knew Boullongne and it is not surprising that he should have been inspired by his illustrious elder. But it would appear more logical to think that Watteau had wished to imitate Boullongne early on, at a time when he was not yet in full possession of his powers and it still took some effort to create a subject. However, the landscape with its neo-Venetian constructions presages the works of the years 1715-1716.

Watteau faithfully copied the position Boullongne had used for his nymph. He maintained the same full body, a little thickset, with a broad pelvis but the head—that "sweet little

fig. 1

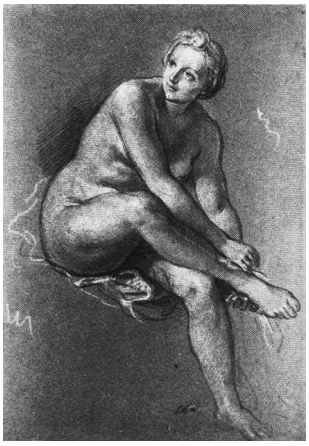


fig. 2



fig. 3





Parisian face" (Mirimonde)—with its hair in disorder is noticeably thinner. Even if Watteau were inspired by Boullongne, the two artists also have a common source in numerous bathers painted and sculpted since antiquity (such as the celebrated *Nymph* of the Uffizi). Without forgetting Giovanni da Bologna, Titian, Veronese, Domenichino, and above all Rubens, we would like to mention especially the Rottenhamer painting *Diana and Actaeon* (sale, New York, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 9 January 1980, no. 11; fig. 4), which shows a woman bather in a very similar position.

If there is a more or less illustrious precedent for the Watteau composition the personal intervention of the painter is important. Attention has already been drawn to the elegant blond head of the model, with her hair undone and with the dreamy, absent expression. But note also her pearly flesh and the pink note of the drapery on which she is seated. Above all we can admire the bright, "beautiful light" (Gersaint, *Mercure de France,* April 1729, p. 751) that bathes and glorifies her body. We shall pass over the pasteboard landscape, which should be blamed on an old, rather crude cleaning, and the goddess' bosom, whose anatomy lacks conviction, and especially her leg. (This leg is too long—at the beginning of the century it so irritated an unnamed official painter who was an habitué of the salon of the Swedish singer Nilsson to the point that Nilsson decided to get rid of her painting.)

By adding a quiver and arrows to his painting, did Watteau wish to transform his quite profane composition

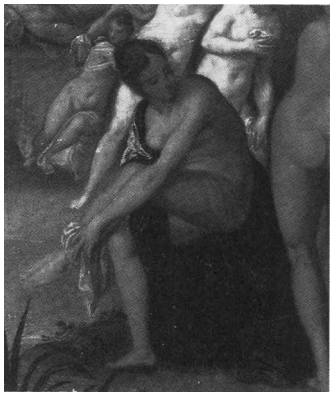


fig. 4



fig. 5

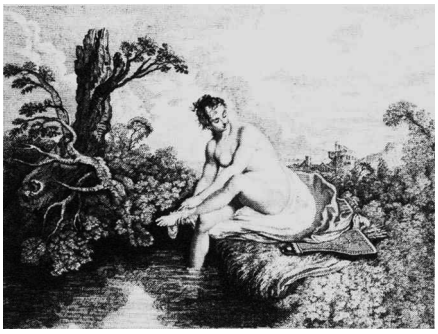


fig. 6

into a mythological work or a history painting? Or did he simply attempt to camouflage an "erotic" work? The first case is hardly convincing. And in response to the second hypothesis suffice it to observe that Watteau's nude was not painted after a living model, but copied from the work of a colleague.

A mythological painting, no doubt, but also an intimate work, a tribute to the masters, but also a personal creation, the Louvre *Diana* has nothing in common with any contemporary painting. Even while he copied, Watteau was an innovator. In his *Diana* there is a sense of femininity that he alone, before Renoir, captured in paint.

PROVENANCE

Engraved by Pierre Aveline before 1729 (the caption on the print does not give the name of the work's owner as of that year). Probably in England by 1737; Sir Thomas Seabnight and Thomas Sclater Bacon (sale, London, 17-19 May 1737, twelfth day of the sale, no. 74: "A Woman bathing" (Raines 1977, p. 56, no. 11); E. Thanet (sale, London, 30 May 1797, no. 47: "A Nymph bathing. Property of E. Thanet" [withdrawn]); Philipp sale, London, 13 June 1806; Collection of "Willmot, Esq. and a person of Rank," no. 16: "Venus Bathing" £2-6-0). Possibly offered at the Thomas Green sale, London, Christie's, 20 March 1874, no. 96: "A Nymph Bathing at a Fountain, in elaborately carved Venetian frame" (no dim.). "In the London area" before 1890 (Mantz 1890); returned to France in 1890 (Mantz) by the dealer Stéphane Bourgeois. The Louvre tried to purchase it in 1893, but was unsuccessful due to a lack of funds (Archives du Louvre, 13 April 1893, and Larroumet 1895); sale, Paris, Drouot, 11 May 1896, no nos., ill.; purchased for Fr 107,000 by the Swedish singer Christina Nilsson, Comtesse de Miranda, 1843-1921; resold by her (for the reasons behind this sale, see Gauffin 1953) to Camille Groult, 1832-1908 (Guiffrey and Marcel); J. Groult. Purchased from Pierre Bordeaux-Groult by the Louvre in 1977 (committee of 15 December; council of 21 December; decision of 27 December).

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1956, no. 97, ill.; Paris 1980-1981, no. 39, ill. (ill. also in the *Petit Journal* accompanying that show).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): H 1845, no. 129; H 1856, no. 131; G 1875, no. 36; Mollett 1883, p. 61; Dargenty 1891, p. 67 (print); (on the painting): Mantz 1890, pp. 226-227; Mantz 1892, pp. 178-179, 184; Larroumet 1895, pp. 72-73; Phillips 1895, p. 62 and n. 2; Dilke 1899, p. 86 and n. 4; Fourcaud 1901, p. 256; Staley 1902, pp. 29, 65; Josz 1903, p. 399; Guiffrey and Marcel 1908, II, under no. 1451; Z 1912, p. 191, pl. 134 ("copy"; Fr. ed. p. 181 pl. 134 and *errata* p. 185, as "original work by Watteau"); DV, I, pp. 28-30, II, pp. 29, 61, 93, 133, 161, and III, under no. 149; Séailles 1927, pp. 70-71; R 1928, no. 8; Eisenstadt 1930, p. 69 and n. 145, pp. 183-184; AH 1950, no. 137 pl. 69; Gauffin 1953, pp. 10-11 and fig. 1; *Arts* (16-22 May 1956), repr.; PM 1957, under no. 854; M 1959, p. 68; Lossky 1962, under no. 17; Mirimonde 1962, p. 16 and n. 17; Nemilova 1964 *T.G.E.*, p. 90; Cailleux 1967, p. 59; CR 1970, no. 113, ill. (print); F 1972, I, p. 214, III, pp. 785, 1040, 1107 (among "paintings of uncertain attribution"); Nemilova 1973, p. 57, fig. 14; Posner 1973, pp. 31, 33; Exh. cat. Toledo-Chicago-Ottawa 1975-1976, under no. 11; Mirimonde 1977, p. 84, n. 16; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 20-22, 51, 66, fig. 5; *Conn. des Arts* (April 1978), pp. 35-36, ill.; *Revue du Louvre* (1978), no. 2, p. 135, fig. 2; *GBA (Chronique)* (April 1979), p. 6, no. 29, ill.; Hagstrum 1980, p. 288, n. 18 and ill.; Nordenfalk 1980, pp. 136-137; RM 1982, no. 207, ill.; P 1984, p. 107; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

The painting in the Louvre can be linked to two works mentioned in Parisian sale catalogues of the eighteenth century: "Une femme assise et sortant du bain; du paysage, des fabriques et un jet d'eau servent de fond à ce tableau . . . toile . . . 20 pouces de haut sur 16 de large" (Prince de Conti sale, 8 April-6 June 1777, no. 667); Abbé Renouard sale, 10 February 1780, no. 141: "Une Femme assise et sortant du bain. Le fond est un paysage orné de fabriques et un jet d'eau" (20 x 16 pouces). M$^{xxxx}$ sale, 15 January 1782, no. 34: "Une Femme sortant du bain occupée à s'essuyer les pieds; elle est vue par le dos, près d'elle sont ses vêtements et autres accessoires" (canvas, 18 x 24 pouces).

For the painting by Louis de Boullongne the Younger (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours; fig. 2), which inspired Watteau's canvas, see the entry. In the right foreground of a painting by E. F. Duval, signed and dated 1819 (sale, Paris, Drouot, 15 December 1922, no. 86, ill.), is a female bather in a position similar to that of Watteau's *Diana*.

RELATED DRAWINGS

PM 854 (Vienna, cat. D.66; fig. 5), is a very detailed preliminary study in red chalk for the painting. It was directly inspired by two drawings and one painting by Louis Boullongne the Younger (see the entry).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving, in reverse, by Pierre Aveline (1702-1760; Roux 1931, I, p. 310, no. 4) for the *Recueil Jullienne* was announced in the *Mercure de France*, April 1729 (p. 751; fig. 6). It is mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 194 [77]). The inscription on the engraving gives the dimensions of the painting as "1 pied 9 pouces sur 2 pieds 3 pouces," or 56.7 x 72.9 cm (while the canvas in the Louvre measures 80 x 101 cm). Does this mean that the *Diana* in the Louvre is not the painting that was engraved, or rather is it not possible that by 1729, the year the engraving was made, the painting was already in England and the engraver who added the caption (or perhaps Gersaint and Surugue who sold the print) could no longer remember its exact dimensions?



## 29 Coquettes (*"Coquettes qui pour voir..."*)

Oil on panel
20.2 x 25 (7 15/16 x 9 7/8)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

According to Ernst (1928) the painting had a label on the verso stating that it had belonged to Nicolas Bailly (1659-1736 and not 1731), a painter better known as a curator of the royal collections and author in 1709-1710 of a famous inventory of the paintings of Louis XIV. There is nothing surprising about this provenance when it is recalled that a sister of Nicolas Bailly had married Simon Thomassin II, the brother of the Henri-Simon Thomassin who engraved the work for the *Recueil Jullienne* a little before 1731. Another sister of Bailly had married the architect Jean-Sylvain Cartaud, owner of *The Enchanted Isle*, cat. P. 60 (on the connections among these families, see DV, I, p. 47 and Wildenstein 1966, especially p. 10, and Rambaud 1964 and 1971). The painting was owned by Louis-Antoine Crozat, called Crozat de Thiers, by 1755, before it was acquired, with the main part of the collection of Pierre Crozat's nephew, by Catherine the Great of Russia in 1772.

The attribution of this small panel painting to Watteau has never been seriously questioned. Only Nicolas Wrangel, curator at the Hermitage before the Russian Revolution, in a 1912 letter to Zimmermann (Nemilova 1982), considered it the work of Philippe Mercier, and Ferré classified it among

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

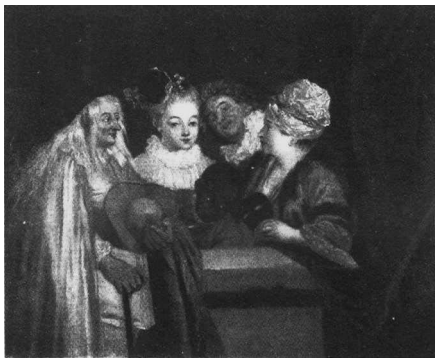




fig. 4

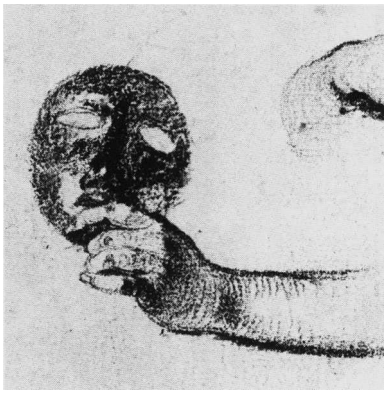


fig. 5



fig. 6a



fig. 6b

the works "attributed to Watteau." The Thomassin engraving, the preparatory drawings, and the quality of the work rule out any doubt. Moreover, laboratory analyses published by Zolotov and Nemilova in 1973 uncovered changes in the composition showing that in the early stages the woman at the left was bareheaded (as in the famous Louvre drawing, PM 741), wore a different costume, and had placed her mask on the balustrade. The several differences between the painting and the engraving, notably in the coiffure of the central female figure, are in our opinion due to the state of the painting, which has been somewhat damaged and restored in the past.

Scholars are divided over the date of this picture. Parker and Mathey, the Russian authors, and Roland-Michel favor a relatively early date (1711-1713) while Adhémar (1716), Sterling (1716-1717), and Camesasca and Posner (1717) incline toward the artist's maturity. It is difficult to decide, but we lean more to the earlier dating, and would propose 1714-1715, with the conviction that the exhibition of the Russian painting with securely dated Watteaus will settle the issue.

Some persons have wanted to see the lost painting known now through the first line of the verse that accompanies the print, *Du bel Age où les Jeux remplissent vos Désirs (Of the fine age where games replenish your desires)* (DV 94, CR 58; fig. 1) as the pendant of the Hermitage painting, but neither that work, which seems to us to be earlier in date, nor *Badinage* (lost; DV 95, CR 91; fig. 2) seem to us to have been conceived to complement the Russian composition, which is sufficient in itself.

Eighteenth-century authors differed in their interpretations of the subject. According to the anonymous author of the verse that accompanies the engraving by Thomassin (see Related Prints), which begins with the word "coquettes" and gave the painting its title, the scene should show two masked young women going to a ball to meet their swains. The husband is advised to close his eyes. Mariette saw in it "people in disguise for a ball, among whom is one dressed as an old man." In his obituary for Thomassin (*Mercure de France*, March 1741, p. 569), Lépicié spoke of a "Return from the Ball." La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, author of the Crozat catalogue (1755), and Dezallier d'Argenville (1757), described it as "Figures with masks preparing for the Ball."

Modern critics are equally divided. Josz (1903) constructed a whole novel: "Pantaloon in a coat, and with stick in hand, is preparing to take his two daughters out . . . Isabelle and Rosaure (*sic*) . . . ." Fourcaud, no doubt closer to the truth (1904), saw in it "a family group dressed for an elegant masquerade: all the figures represented obviously come from sketchbooks." But this did not deter many others, particularly Nemilova, from trying more recently to identify the scene and the characters brought together by the artist (from right to left, Dr. Baloardo, Colombine, Mezzetin . . .) and the names of the models. Nemilova ignored the reference to the ball noted by all the eighteenth-century authors and instead saw actors from the Comédie-Française, the ones from *Les Trois Cousines* by Dancourt, rather than the Italian comedians (the traditional hypothesis). Nemilova also recognized on the left Mlle. Desmares (see cat. P. 26) and on the right Paul Poisson rather than La Thorillière.

We prefer to hold to the reasonable analysis by Fourcaud and see in the painting a group of Watteau's friends dressed up according to the artist's whim and without any particular theme. Seen in half-length, each of the models is a portrait. The little black boy leans forward as if he wants to slip a message secretly to someone (perhaps Watteau borrowed him from a Veronese painting). Behind him are a young bareheaded woman (though did she not originally wear the little toque seen in the print?) and a man who is looking at us. On the left a young woman in profile wears a

fig. 7



fig. 8



Turkish (or rather Polish) style headdress and holds a mask. She looks across at the old man with long straw-colored hair, who wears a skullcap. (Watteau was to paint him again, full-face, in *The Shepherds,* cat. P. 53.) He holds a mushroom hat in his hand but despite his cane we are not convinced of his great age.

Through the strange hairstyles, ruffs, and costumes, painted with little touches in the style of Le Nain, Watteau holds our attention. The heads, treated in miniaturist style, amount to portraits. The expression of each face—from the smiling and disillusioned dignity of the make-believe old man to the astonished tenderness of his neighbor, from the questioning look of the masked woman to the grimace of Mezzetin—gives the work its warmth and personality.

PROVENANCE

According to Ernst (1928), former curator of the Hermitage, "sur l'envers de la toile (*sic*), on lit une inscription collée d'après laquelle on voit qu'elle a jadis appartenu à Nicolas Bailly (1659-1731) artiste et conservateur des collections royales" (perhaps the "N. Bolz." cited in Zolotov and Nemilova 1973 but our research at the *MC,* National Archives (LIII, 281, 284) could not confirm this provenance). By 1746, in the collection of Louis-Antoine Crozat, Baron de Thiers (1699-1770), which was inventoried in 1771 by François Tronchin (Stuffmann 1968) and acquired almost in its entirety the following year by Catherine the Great of Russia. At the Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg in 1875 (Goncourt) and 1892 (Mantz); in 1909 (Weiner) at Gatchina; in the Hermitage, Leningrad, after the Russian Revolution.

EXHIBITIONS

Saint Petersburg 1908, no. 286; Petrograd 1922-1925, no cat.; Moscow 1955, p. 24; Leningrad 1956, p. 12; Bordeaux 1965, no. 43, ill.; Paris 1965-1966, no. 41, pl. 11; Leningrad 1972, no. 5, ill.; Bordeaux 1980, no. 67, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hébert 1746, p. 103; La Curne de Sainte-Palaye 1755 (cat. Crozat coll.), p. 65; Dezallier d'Argenville 1757, p. 140; Cat. Hermitage 177(4?), no. 873 (see Lacroix 1861); H 1845, no. 30; H 1856, no. 30; Lacroix 1861, p. 257, no. 867; G 1875, no. 78; Millett 1883, p. 63; Dargenty 1891, p. 89 (print); Phillips 1895, pp. 70, 72; Schéfer 1896, pp. 185-186; Mantz 1892, pp. 182 and 181, ill. (print); Fourcaud 1904, pp. 137, 143-144, ill. (print); Josz 1903, pp. 328-329; Weiner 1909, p. 250; Z 1912, pp. 190-191, pl. 122; DV, III, under no. 36 (see also II, pp. 68-69); Ernst 1928, pp. 172-173, n. 3; R 1928, no. 107; Réau 1929, no. 417; Parker 1931, p. 48; AH 1950, no. 154, pl. 84; PM 1957, under nos. 64, 541, 729, 828; Sterling 1957, pp. 41-42, colorpl. 29; Cat. Hermitage 1958, I, p. 270, no. 1131, fig. 18; Gauthier 1959, pl. XXIX; M 1959, p. 68; Descargues 1961, pp. 166-167, ill.; Boudaille 1964, p. 14, fiche 28; Nemilova 1964, pp. 81-100, colorpl. 30 and detail, pp. 181-182, no. 1; Stuffmann 1968, p. 135 no. 184, ill.; CR 1970, no. 162, colorpl. XXIV; Nemilova 1970, pp. 145-158, ill.; F 1972, B.30 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 138-140, no. 6, colorpl. and three details; Nemilova 1973, p. 135, colorpl. 30 and details; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 155-156; Nemilova 1975, p. 436, fig. 14; Guerman 1980, pp. 7-8, colorpl.; Nemilova 1982, pp. 130-134, no. 45, ill. (with complete Russian bibl.); RM 1982, no. 118, ill.; P 1984, p. 290 nn. 49, 53; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Several copies of the painting are known. One in the direction of the print was offered for sale in Paris, Drouot, 10 April 1922, no. 116 (canvas, 27 x 33 cm; ill.); another was exhibited in Paris 1977, no. 180, colorpl. (canvas, 23.5 x 27.5 cm); a third (?), still in the direction of the engraving, was in a private collection in the Champagne region (photograph in the Service d'Etudes et de Documentation du département des Peintures, Louvre). There is also a copy on panel of the female figure on the left of the composition, copied from the print, owned in 1933 by L. Morant, London (photograph in the Witt Library, London). There is also the painting in the Brunet-Denon(?) sale, 2 February 1846, no. 233: "Mascarade: Cinq figures á mi-corps, un Sganarelle, un Cassandre, un nègre et deux femmes. Tableau sur bois" and the copy, also on panel and in the direction of the engraving (20 x 23 cm), exhibited with the John W. Wilson collection at the Galerie du Cercle Artistique et Littéraire Brussels in 1873 and attributed to Leclerc des Gobelins (Wilson sale, Paris, 14-16 March 1881, no. 18). Another copy on wood was just sold in Paris (7 December 1983, no. 100). For the snuff box in the Louvre attributed to Klingstedt (1657-1734), see Grandjean 1981, no. 405, ill.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Several preliminary drawings for the painting are known—PM 541 (location unknown; fig. 4), for the woman and Negro boy on the far left of the composition (but in reverse); PM 828 (Berlin; fig. 5), a study (reversed) for the hand holding the mask; PM 729 (Louvre, cat. D.27; fig. 6), for the black boy and probably for the young woman, facing us (see also cat. P. 8); PM 64 (location unknown; fig. 7), a drawing for the character at the far right of the composition (see also cat. P. 21 and PM 741 [Nemilova 1982]). Zolotov and Nemilova (1973) somewhat hastily related PM 914 (Berlin, cat. D. 72) to the Hermitage painting. A Boucher etching records a drawing, now lost,of the woman dressed "en sultane" at left, wearing the same costume but showing her full-length and in a different pose (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 37).

RELATED PRINTS

Engraved by Henri-Simon Thomassin the Younger (1687-1741) for the *Recueil Jullienne,* before 1731 (DV, II, p. 116) (fig. 8). The engraving is accompanied by the following verses:

Coquettes qui pour voir galans au rendez-vous,
Voulez courir le bal, en dépit d'un Epoux,
Si mienne êtiez, Dieu sçait si troublerois la danse.
Tout bien pesé pourtant, crois malgré mon courroux,
Qu'en tel cas, ne ferois que ce qu'on fait en France.
D'abord, crierois un peu; puis prendrois patience.
Enfin, clorrois les yeux, et les clorrois si bien,
Que cornes me viendroient, sans que j'en visse rien.

The engraving was mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 192 [7]) and has often been a source for pastiches (see DV).

## 30 The Holy Family or Rest on the Flight into Egypt (*"La S^te Famille"* or *Repos pendant la Fuite en Egypte*)

Oil on canvas
129 x 97.2 (50 13/16 x 38 1/4)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

The presence of a religious painting in Watteau's oeuvre cannot fail to cause some surprise. It was engraved as early as 1732, and Watteau's authorship has never been seriously doubted.

Eighteenth-century sales catalogues confirm the fact that paintings with religious subjects were not as rare in the artist's oeuvre as they have become today. Before his death Watteau "undertook to paint a Christ on the cross for the curate of Nogent" (Caylus in Champion 1921, p. 109). "He even left a few historiated pieces whose excellent taste makes it clear enough that he would have been equally successful in this area, had he made it his principal objective . . ." (Jullienne in Champion 1921, p. 52). "A Virgin that he painted and a few history subjects make one presume that he would have been able to succeed in this genre" (Dezallier d'Argenville in Champion 1921, p. 73).

The Hermitage painting is exceptional because of its size and beauty, but also because it was owned by Nicolas Hénin (see Provenance). At his death in 1721, Watteau's drawings were divided equally among "his best friends," the Abbé Haranger, Jullienne, Gersaint, and Nicolas Hénin. Hénin, with his close friend Caylus (they were together in



fig. 1



fig. 2

Rome in 1715) and Watteau, drew and painted after the model "in a few rooms . . . in different quarters of Paris." At Crozat's, "M. Hénin . . . and I [Caylus] . . . prepared for him [Watteau] an infinite number of drawings after the studies of the best Flemish masters and of those great Italian landscapists . . ." (Caylus in Champion 1921, pp. 94, 97). Nicolas Hénin, steward of the king's gardens and buildings since 1720, died three years after Watteau, at the age of thirty-three. His early death prevented him from leaving an account of the painter that would have supplemented the ones from Gersaint and Jullienne.

Two questions arise in connection with the Hermitage painting: to what extent was Watteau inspired by masters from the past and by which ones; and when did he execute it?

The Hermitage painting has often been connected with a letter from Watteau to Jullienne first published in 1852, but which no one has seen since that date. In the letter Watteau referred to a Rubens painting "where there are two heads of angels, and below on the cloud, this figure of a woman plunged in contemplation" which a certain "Abbé de Noirterre" had just brought him: "Since the moment I received it I cannot rest quietly and my eyes never tire of turning back to the desk where I have placed it, as if above a tabernacle." Watteau promised to send the abbé a "repose of the Holy Family which I intend for him to have, in gratitude." Whether true or false, this undated letter could very well be related to a *Holy Family* that may not be the one in the Hermitage. Hébert (1746, p. 61) saw one at Blondel de Gagny's which "imitates Wan dyck [*sic*] well enough to deceive." Vivant-Denon, owner of the *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*, cat. P. 69) among others, had one of them, a "pastiche . . . of Van Dick [*sic*] and made to deceive" and it is known that Watteau copied a drawing by Schedone showing a *Virgin and Child* (see Related Paintings).

Too little attention has been directed to a drawing attributed to Van Dyck, depicting the *Virgin and Child* (repr. Nordenfalk 1953, p. 65, fig. 2 [fig. 1]). This drawing bears a most interesting inscription from the hand of Tessin on its mount: "I bought this drawing . . . in Paris in 1715 . . . Watteau would never see these four strokes of the pen without falling into ecstasy." The head and the expression of the Christ and the hand of the Virgin who embraces him are the direct source of Watteau's composition.

But Watteau's painting is not a copy of the Van Dyck drawing. While he drew inspiration from the masters of the past, he was able to create a composition of great originality on a subject treated by just about everyone—the *Holy Family* during the Flight into Egypt.

The viewer's eye is attracted by the white spot of the dove that Joseph holds in the palm of his hand as it bites the child's thumb. The latter expresses surprise rather than pain. The composition is wholly made up of curves, of rhythms, intentionally unstable and mobile. Watteau's painting, in contrast to scenes of the Holy Family by Poussin, Bourdon, or

fig. 3

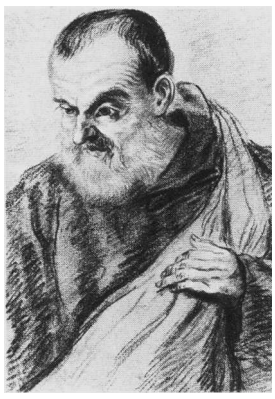


fig. 4

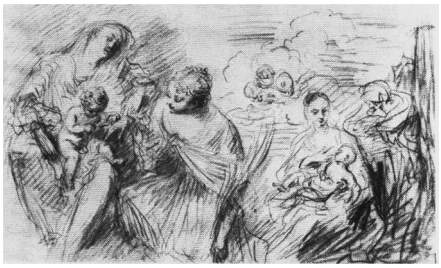
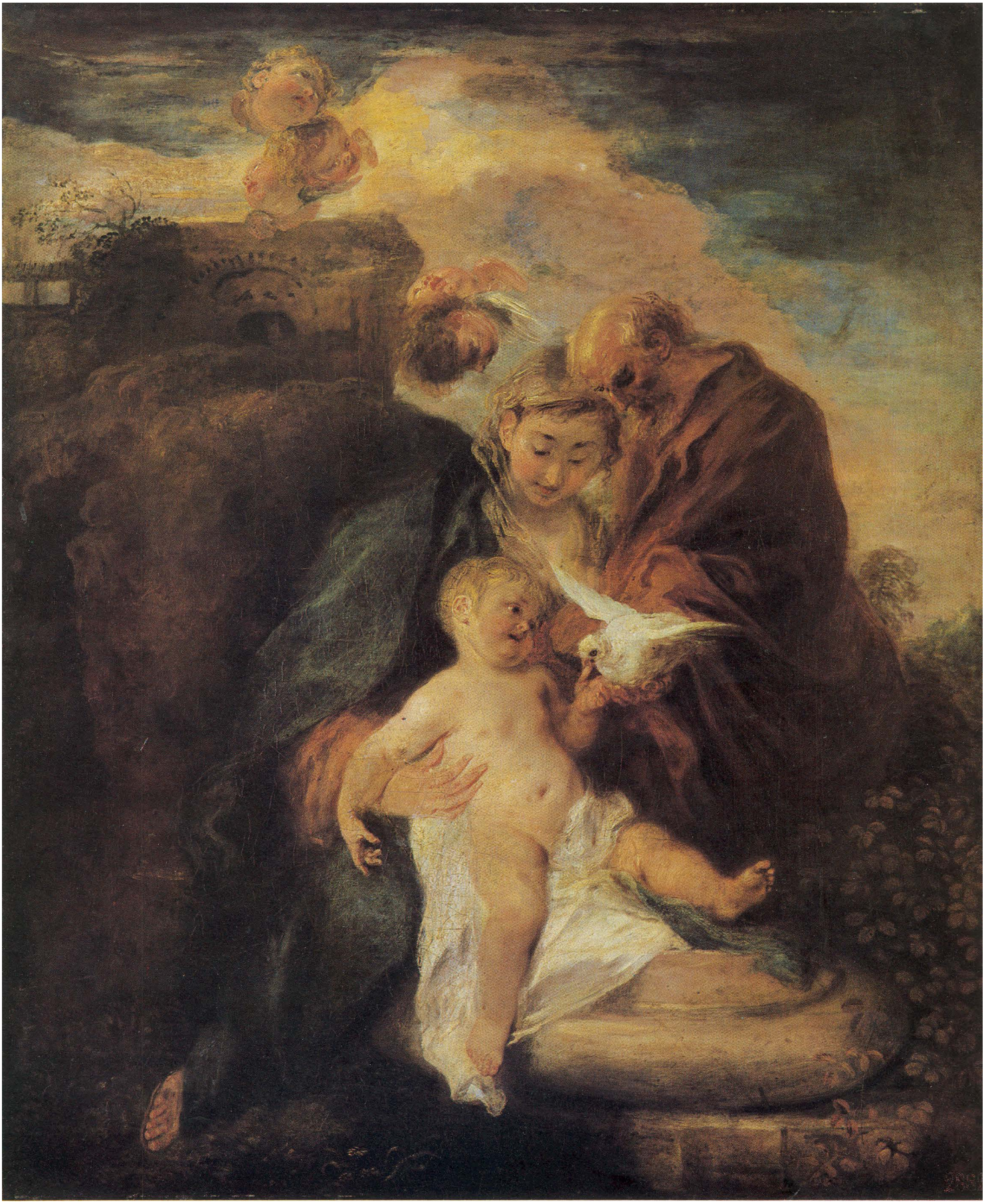


fig. 5





30



fig. 6



fig. 7

Loir (of which it is reminiscent, retaining the magnificent coloring), seeks above all to be dynamic, lyric, and shimmering. The execution is very free, so much so that one might think the painting was left unfinished. The coppery spots on Joseph's mantle, the blue ones of the Virgin's coat, and her red dress emphasize the pink body of Christ set off against a white cloth.

The dating of the work has caused difficulty for all the experts. Though some have declined to take a position, Adhémar (1950) leaned toward 1716, Sterling (1957) to 1717, and Nemilova and Roland-Michel to 1719. We wonder (along with Zolotov, in a letter) if the painting was not contemporary with the purchase of the Van Dyck drawing and Tessin's first stay in Paris, in 1715, before Watteau discovered Venice through the drawings and paintings in the Crozat collection. But we propose this theory with the greatest caution, hoping that it will be confirmed when the paintings are brought together for the exhibition.

The round face of the blond child is admirable, as is the absent, inwardly smiling expression of his mother. A religious work, the *Holy Family* shows that Watteau's talent was not limited, as it has been said, to only the theater and *fêtes galantes*.

PROVENANCE

It has been linked to the "repos de la Ste. famille" Watteau intended to give to "Mon Sieur l'Abbé de Noirterre." However, not only is the undated letter referring to this painting addressed by the artist to Jullienne now often considered a forgery (first published in the *Archives de l'Art Français* [1852], III, p. 213), but it could refer to another *Holy Family* (see Related Paintings).

In any event, the painting belonged in 1724 to Nicolas Hénin, one of Watteau's four "heirs," along with Jullienne, Gersaint, and the Abbé Haranger (see Gersaint 1744). The estate inventory of Hénin's wife, née Angélique Boucot, published by Dacier and Vuaflart (III, p. 16), mentions "Une Ste. Vierge tenant le petit Jésus, une colombe et St. Joseph, prisé vingt livres." The same painting is listed again, in 1724, in the inventory of the estate of Nicolas Hénin (1691-1724) who died a few months after his wife: "original de Vatto . . . prisé quinze livres." Hénin (see Bruand-Hébert 1970, XI, pp. 312-313), Conseiller du Roi at the Châtelet of Paris in 1713, administrator and director of the Royal Buildings and Gardens in 1720, draftsman and engraver, collector and patron, was in Rome in 1715, at the same time as Caylus (*Correspondance,* 1893, IV, p. 408). He owned two other paintings by Watteau, *Perfect Accord* and *The Surprise* (CR 196 and 144). The *Holy Family* belonged to Jullienne in 1732. By 1746 at the latest, it was in the collection of the Comte de Brühl, Dresden (1700-1763; for another painting in this collection, see cat. P. 39); the entire collection was acquired by Catherine the Great of Russia in 1769, and during the nineteenth century the painting was at the Hermitage. Nicholas the First wanted to sell the painting in 1854 (no. 302 on a list of paintings to be sold); it was at the Tavricheski Palace, Saint Petersburg, then in the Gatchina Palace ("découvert dans une chambre de bonne," Julien 1921). At the Hermitage, Leningrad, since 1920.

EXHIBITIONS

Saint Petersburg 1909, no. 296; Petrograd 1922-1925 (no cat.); Leningrad 1956, p. 12; Bordeaux 1965, no. 46; Paris 1965-1966, no. 44, ill.; Leningrad 1972, no. 9.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cat. Hermitage 177(4?), no. 27 (see Lacroix 1861); Cat. Hermitage 1838, pp. 489-490; Viardot 1844, p. 457; H 1845, no. 6; H 1856, no. 6; Lacroix 1861, p. 165, no. 27; Blanc 1865, p. 8; G 1875, no. 31; Dussieux 1876, p. 235; Mollett 1883, p. 61; Phillips 1895, p. 66; Mantz 1892, pp. 153-154, 183, ill. p. 157 (print); Fourcaud 1901, p. 172, ill. (print); Staley 1902, p. 143 (as "Lancret"); Josz 1903, p. 413; Weiner 1909, p. 244, ill.; Pilon 1912, pp. 167-168; Z 1912, p. 188, pl. 64; Julien 1921, p. 186; DV, I, pp. 230, 259 and III, under no. 26; Dacier 1923, pp. 90-91; Ernst 1928, pp. 169-170 and n. 1, ill.; R 1928, no. 1; Réau 1929, no. 416; Parker 1931, p. 45; AH 1950, no. 181, pl. 107; PM 1957 under nos. 351, 366, 692; Sterling 1957, p. 42 and colorpl. 30; Cat. Hermitage 1958, I, p. 270, no. 1288, fig. 190; M 1959, pp. 16, 30-32, 75, pl. 51; Descargues 1961, p. 293, ill.; Seilern 1961, p. 83; Boudaille 1964, Dossier 28; Nemilova 1964, pp. 71-73, 188-189, no. 8, fig. 26; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 85; CR 1970, no. 194, ill.; Cailleux 1972, p. 734; F 1972, B.89 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, p. 142, no. 8, colorpl. and detail; Cailleux 1975, p. 88 (Eng. ed. p. 249); Nemilova 1975, pp. 434, 436, fig. 13; Mirimonde 1977, p. 81; Guerman 1980, p. 12, colorpl.; Nemilova 1982, no. 52, pp. 142-143; RM 1982, no. 236, ill.; P 1984, pp. 201, 288, n. 7; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Only one faithful copy of the Hermitage painting is known (repr. *Der Cicerone* 1909, p. 253, fig. 12 (see also p. 249), "ein reizvolles, offenbar von Tiepolo beeinflusstes Werk!": "Zek [*sic* for Zik] 9 x 11½ inches. The French Gallery [Messrs. Wallis and Son], Pall Mall").

Paintings of this subject wrongly attributed to Watteau are found in Quimper (repr. most recently F 1972, p. 1050), Stockholm (Dussieux 1876, p. 605), and a private collection in Paris (Mathey 1959, fig. 47, surely by La Fosse). Only the *Rest of the Holy Family* (oval, 21 x 30 cm; CR 145; see last Pérez, 1980, p. 49, fig. 11 [fig. 2]), is probably by Watteau.

We do not know anything about the copy at the "château de Roland près de Bonn" or the "exemplaire" in Angers mentioned by Goncourt (1875, p. 40), nor do we know anything about the painting "du palais de Bonn, dans le château de Fahne" noted by Adhémar (1950, p. 225).

There are three other possible references to compositions with similar subjects by Watteau: sale, 9 December 1773, no. 16: "La Vierge tenant l'Enfant Jésus sur ses genoux . . . ("canvas, 15 pouces high by 12 wide"); the painting in the collection of the Chanoine le Juste, destroyed in 1793 during the attack on Valenciennes, mentioned by Hécart in 1826 (pp. 10-11): "Un sommeil de l'Enfant-Jésus . . . Impatiens de ne pouvoir jouer avec l'Enfant Jésus, il [Saint John] tenait une petite trompette. . . dans la main gauche . . . il la portait à sa bouche, et à l'enflure de ses joues on voyait qu' il ferait sonner cette trompette pour le réveiller"; and Denon sale, Paris, 1 May 1826, no. 190 (the same painting as in the 1773 sale?): "La Vierge assise et tenant l'Enfant Jésus sur se genoux . . . pastiche . . . à l'imitation de Van Dick et faite [*sic*] à tromper" (canvas, 16 x 12 pouces).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey link three drawings to the Leningrad *Holy Family*—PM 351 (Rouen, fig. 3), a copy of the drawing *Saint Felix of Cantalice* by Claude Mellan, now in the Albertina, Vienna, that may have inspired the figure of Saint Joseph in the Hermitage painting; PM 366 (Courtauld Institute, London, fig. 4), the right side of which has been considered a first sketch for the Russian painting but in fact this study is much closer to the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, a "painting within a painting" visible in the background at the right of the *Shop-sign* (cat. P. 73); PM 692 (Louvre; fig. 5), in which the woman's head at the top center of this famous sheet has often been related, perhaps more closely than is justified, to the head of the Virgin in the Hermitage painting.

RELATED PRINTS

The *Holy Family* was engraved in reverse by "M. Jeanne Renard du Bos" for the *Recueil Jullienne* (fig. 6). (Jeanne-Marie Renard du Bos was the only woman who worked on the *Recueil;* see also cat. P. 35). The print was announced in the *Mercure de France,* March 1732, pp. 549-550. The original painting measured "4. pieds sur 3. pieds de large," or 130 x 97.5 cm, almost the exact dimensions of the Leningrad canvas (the engraver slightly enlarged the print at the bottom by adding a body of water; which we believe was originally in the painting). In 1732, the painting was in the "Cabinet de Mr de Jullienne." The copperplate was listed in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.

The painting was also engraved by C. L. Wüst for the *Recueil d'Estampes gravées d'après les Tableaux de la Galerie et du Cabinet de S.E.M. le comte de Bruhl* . . . (Dresden 1754). Finally, the *Virgin and Child;* etched by Jullienne after a lost Watteau drawing that copied a drawing by Schedone from the Mariette Collection, is reproduced by Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, p. 230, fig. 98 [fig. 7]).



## 31 Indiscreet (*"L'indiscret"*)

Oil on canvas
55 x 66 (21 11/16 x 26)
Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

The painting is in poor condition. It has lost its glazes, and the landscape, particularly, has become opaque. It is unquestionably from Watteau's hand, though, which the print from the *Recueil Jullienne* confirms.

There has been some hesitation over its dating. Most experts incline toward 1716, but Mathey (1959) decided in favor of 1713. Posner, who has studied the painting carefully (1975), has suggested the date of 1715, which appears convincing. It seems quite obvious that one of the preparatory studies (PM 501) should be dated prior to 1715, while the second, the magnificent Rouen page (cat. D. 80) (fig. 5), seems more advanced in style. Moreover, Watteau used the head of the flageolet player from the same study sheet a second time, in his famous *In the Guise of Mezzetin* (Wallace Collection, London; DV 131, CR 181) (fig. 1), which must have followed the Rotterdam painting by approximately two years.

The composition is quite awkward. Why is the spinner seated so clumsily on a hillock? What explains the low vantage point of the musician, with his large straw hat decorated with a bow? Why the title *Indiscreet* in the *Recueil Jullienne*? We are indebted to Mathey (see also Posner 1975 and Chambers, cited in Posner 1984, p. 279, n. 28) for the answers to



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

these questions. Mathey as early as 1959 reproduced a Rembrandt print, *Vilenspiegel, The Imp* (Hind, no. 200) (fig. 2), which directly inspired Watteau. It shows a shepherd shamelessly ogling the legs of a shepherdess crouching down and hiding nothing from him. Watteau has certainly suppressed some of the erotic symbols such as the herd of goats—notoriously lascivious animals—slaking their thirst (alluding of course to that of the shepherd) and the garland of flowers, but he kept some of them and introduced new ones. Like Rembrandt, Watteau points the flageolet towards the spinner's skirt. The latter is holding a spindle and a distaff that by their form and use recall the male genitals. Posner even recalls the slang expression "filer un cable" (to spin a cable). The expressions and the glances of the two protagonists fully confirm an erotic interpretation. The spinner allows herself to be seen but wishes to be considered unaware of the attention of the flageolet player who forgets his music and is lost in contemplation of the spinner.

There is no doubt that the Rotterdam painting deals with masculine desire and feminine complaisance. Although he maintained Rembrandt's general composition, Watteau nevertheless changed certain points. While Rembrandt shows us a herdsman, Watteau paints a man playing at being a shepherd. The same is true for the spinner (whom Watteau will again represent, but standing and alone; see cat. P. 32) who, despite her bare feet, has nothing much of the country girl about her. In any case, she is much more chastely seated than in the Rembrandt print. Watteau in fact borrowed this figure from a painting in the Louvre by Domenico Feti, (1589-1623), an artist he copied several times, *The First Age: Eve Spinning and Adam Plowing* (fig. 3). At that time Feti's painting was in the royal collections (Roland-Michel 1984). That Watteau should have been directly inspired by a Feti painting and a Rembrandt print shows the artist's evident curiosity about the old masters. In any event, this knowledge of northern or Venetian predecessors, this clear desire to make a painting with erotic undertones, considerably changes the image of Watteau that we inherited from the nineteenth century and which was already commonly accepted by Caylus' time. Contrary to what the latter wrote, the works of Watteau, or at least the majority of them, do "have an object." "Passion" is not absent from them, even if it does not have the "heroic" aspect praised by Caylus.

PROVENANCE

Engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne*, but its provenance in the eighteenth century is unknown. Not the painting that appeared in sales on 27 April 1778 (no. 32) and 10 December 1778 (no. 110). Recent attempts have been made (cat. Wallace Coll. 1968) to identify it as a work bearing the same title in 1860 belonging to the collection of Sir Richard Wallace (exh. cat. Paris 1860, no. 272 of the first ed.), but the description of the painting by Burger (Thoré) (1860, pp. 273-274) forces us to reject this theory. It may have been discovered before World War II

fig. 4



fig. 5

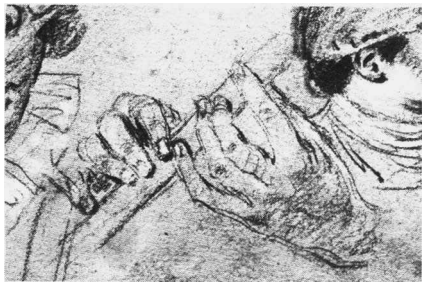


fig. 6





fig. 7

(about 1930?) by the expert Féral or offered at a sale organized by him ("il reparaît à une Vente Féral après la guerre," [Adhémar 1950]). Daniel Georg van Beuningen, 1877-1955, Vierhouten, by 1938. Entered the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, with the Van Beuningen collection in 1958.

EXHIBITIONS

Rotterdam 1938, no. 199, fig. 196; The Hague 1946-1947, no. 256; Paris 1952, no. 163, pl. 47; Rotterdam 1955, no. 173, fig. 168; London 1968, no. 723, fig. 56.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): H 1845, no. 102; H 1856, no. 103; G 1875, no. 189; Mollett 1883, p. 73; Josz 1903, pp. 320, 322; DV, III, under no. 121 and I, p. 262; R 1928, no. 171; Parker 1931, p. 45; (on the painting): AH 1950, no. 165; PM 1957, under nos. 501, 775; M 1959, pp. 50, 68, 79; Mus. cat. Rotterdam 1962, p. 152, ill.; Nemilova 1964, p. 109, ill. (print); Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 92 and fig. 11, p. 93; Cailleux 1966, p. ii; Hoetink 1967, p. 50, fig. 2; Cat. Wallace Coll. 1968, p. 369; CR 1970, no. 140, ill.; F 1972, B. 23 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Posner 1975, pp. 279-285, fig. 183; Saint-Paulien 1976, p. 54; Banks 1977, pp. 189-190, fig. 133; Kettering 1977, p. 42, fig. 26 p. 43; Mirimonde 1977, pp. 125-126; RM 1982, no. 181, ill.; P 1984, pp. 26-27, 279, n. 28, p. 290, n. 25, fig. 15; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey catalogue two drawings related to this painting—PM 501 (location unknown; fig. 4), a study for the spinner; PM 775 (Rouen; cat. D. 80; fig. 5), preliminary studies for the head and hands of the man playing the flageolet grouped with a number of other head studies used in several other paintings (a copy of the man's head was offered for sale in Paris, Drouot, 17 June 1966, no. 73; fig. 6).

RELATED PRINTS

Michel Aubert (c. 1700-1757; Roux 1931, I, p. 204, no. 140 [fig. 7]), engraved the painting in reverse for the *Recueil Jullienne*. The caption states "le tableau original peint par Watteau haut de 1. pied 8 pouces sur 2. pieds de large" (54.0 x 64.8 cm.), which match almost exactly the dimensions of the Rotterdam painting. The copperplate appeared in the 1755 Chereau inventory and the 1770 and 1778 Chereau catalogues.

## 32 Savoyard with a Marmot (*"La marmote"*)

Oil on canvas
40.5 x 32.5 (15 15/16 x 12 13/16)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

The painting, which is very famous and has often been discussed, has not left Russia since the great 1937 exhibition of French art in Paris. We shall explain how it could be misleading at first, and in what way it is unique.

*The Marmot*, to use the title in the *Recueil Jullienne*, is printed in that volume on the same sheet as *The Spinner* (DV 123, CR 143) (fig. 1). These two works belonged (in 1732 and in 1734 in any event) to Claude Audran III; then probably to his brother Jean; and finally to the latter's son, Benoit II, who had engraved them in 1732. They appeared (in our opinion) c. 1772 in a list of paintings then on the art market (Fréville 1888). *The Marmot* entered the collection of Catherine the Great of Russia c. 1774; *The Spinner*, now lost, went through the Verrier sale on 14 (actually 18) November 1776 (no. 88; 13 pouces x 11 pouces, or 35.1 x 29.7 cm). Saint-Aubin sketched it in the margin of his copy of the catalogue (Dacier 1953, pp. 307, 329, n. 25). Perhaps it appeared in the Burat sale of 28-29 April 1885, no. 208, which measured 30 x 22 cm. The differences in dimensions between the Verrier, and Burat painting, and the one in the Hermitage (40.5 x 32.5 cm) paintings account for the hesitations of Roland-Michel who does not believe that the two works were pendants, although the interpretation of their subjects obliges them to be considered as such.

The date of the Hermitage painting seems accepted today. Critics had unanimously considered the *Savoyard with a Marmot* as a work of Watteau's youth and thus many books on the painter begin with a reproduction of the painting. Without going so far as to date it to 1702 (Staley 1902), specialists thought that the painting and its pendant had been made by Watteau while he worked for (and lived with) Claude Audran III, c. 1707-1709. It is true that Watteau was his collaborator for arabesque work and decorations, probably c. 1708, but there is no evidence that *The Marmot* had been painted for him. Mathey (1959) was the first to move that date to c. 1713 on the basis of the preparatory drawings for the two works (cats. D. 30, 50) and also on the figure studies on the recto of the Haarlem sheet (cat. D. 29) (fig. 4) that is related to *The Marmot* through the church in the landscape on the verso. Then Nemilova suggested a date of c. 1716 in



32



fig. 1



fig. 2

several articles (see especially those of 1964 which analyzed Watteau's stylistic evolution). The freedom of the brushwork and the arrangement of the composition compel us to accept this dating (but see Banks 1977).

No agreement has been reached on the whereabouts of the church in the background of the work, despite the handsome preparatory drawing in Haarlem (cat. D. 29). Is it a Valenciennes church, or the one in Gentilly in the Bièvre valley (near the Gobelins where Jullienne lived), or did Watteau give free rein to his imagination? The ordinariness of its construction, in our view, prevents a convincing identification. However, it should be noted that the same church appears in the background of *The Dance* (cat. P. 72) (Zolotov and Nemilova 1973).

The interpretation of the painting is open to discussion. A marmot is lying on its box, held by a young boy. There were many marmot exhibitors in eighteenth-century Paris (Munhall 1968), called "Savoyards" as they were often from Savoy, then a part of Piedmont, one of the poorest regions of Europe. Artists often portrayed them; Watteau made several Savoyard drawings, mostly of the old men, which are among his finest studies (cats. D. 50-53). Adhémar (1950) attempted to trace the source of Watteau's composition to the popular prints of Sébastian Leclerc (1637-1714), but Leclerc's *Savoyard* (Préaud 1980, no. 977, ill.), which dates from 1678–1679, is seen from the back and presents no similarity whatsoever with the Hermitage painting. Scholars have also looked to paintings by Teniers (Banks 1977; DV I, p. 129; Mirimonde 1963; Levey 1972), which were at that time much esteemed in France. We believe it is easier to think that Watteau used a drawing taken from life. However, this does not explain Watteau's fondness for Savoyards, both young and old.

For a long time the Hermitage painting was perceived as a realist representation of a popular type—a genre scene. Soon, however, this analysis no longer sufficed: the "sympathy" that Watteau showed "for this oafish and naive young peasant" and also for his marmot was noted (Sterling). Attempts were made to identify the model and to see the work as a portrait or even as a self-portrait (Adhémar 1950, *M. de F.*). Only in 1975 was a convincing interpretation of the

painting offered by Posner. For him, the work cannot be understood without its pendant, *The Spinner*, itself related to *Indiscreet* (Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, cat. P. 31), the preceding plate of the *Recueil Jullienne*. Both paintings had been commissioned and bore licentious innuendoes; both were illustrations of a popular proverb. The word *marmotte*, a common eighteenth-century term for the feminine sex, was used with such a meaning in *Anti-Justine* by Restif de la Bretonne. The marmot is easily tamed and the popular oboe, raised upright, is there to make it dance. The spindle and the distaff of *The Spinner* (see entry on *Indiscreet*) may easily be interpreted as corresponding to the marmot and the flageolet. Each of the young persons holds the complementary sexual symbol. But as Posner observed, Watteau was not inspired by this commission and was hardly at ease with it.

*Savoyard with a Marmot* is surprising in its simplicity and boldness. Is the young boy who looks at us questioning us with curiosity; is he smiling at us naively? We do not know.



fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5

Alone on this deserted village square, he is posing as if for a theater scene. He gently caresses his marmot and holds his oboe upright, set off against a blue winter sky that lights up the bright pink roofs of the cottages. In front of them, a row of bare trees rises, painted with a single stroke of the brush. It is curious that such a commonplace subject can hold and intrigue the spectator. A study of the still somewhat clumsy composition, a social interpretation of the subject, a psychological analysis of the model, and the erotic undertones are not enough to explain the presence of this work, an image of solitude and warmth.

PROVENANCE

Belonged to the painter and decorator Claude Audran III (1658-1734) in 1732, the date of the engraving for the *Recueil Jullienne*. Listed in his estate inventory, 1 June 1734, and published by DV (1922 and 1929): "Un tableau de Vateau," but with no precise description. After Gabriel Audran waived his rights to the estate, Claude's other brother Jean Audran (1667-1756) became his sole heir (see Rambaud 1964, I, p. 118). Benoit Audran II (1698-1772), who engraved the painting, was Jean's son. He may have inherited the painting, which he had engraved while still in his uncle's possession. Included ("Montreur de marmottes par Watteau . . . 300 livres") in a list of works intended for the Comtesse de Redern, wife of the Grand Marshal at the Russian Court (Fréville 1888). Although the list is undated, Fréville believed it was drawn up after 1768. The painting appeared in a rare catalogue of the Hermitage dated c. 1774 (see Lacroix 1862) and therefore belonged by that time to Catherine the Great of Russia; The Hermitage, Leningrad.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1937, no. 226; Moscow 1955, p. 24, ill.; Leningrad 1956, p. 12; Leningrad 1972, pl. 3, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cat. Hermitage 177(4?), no. 2046 (see Lacroix 1862); Cat. Hermitage 1838, p. 454, no. 6; H 1845, no. 40; H 1856, no. 40 (composition); Lacroix 1862, p. 118; Cat. Hermitage 1863, no. 1502; Waagen 1864, p. 304; G 1875, no. 85; Dussieux 1876, p. 580; Clément de Ris 1880, p. 51; Dohme 1883, p. 92; Mollett 1883, p. 66; Fréville 1888, p. 64; Mantz 1892, pp. 144-145, 182; Rosenberg 1896, p. 23, fig. 27; Staley 1902, p. 143; Josz 1903, p. 98; Fourcaud 1904, p. 353 (print, 1901, bet. pp. 320-321); Pilon 1912, pp. 67, 77-78; Z 1912, p. 185, pl. 1; Dacier 1921, p. 121 (p. 49 in the volumed ed.); DV, I, pp. 26-27 and III, under no. 122; Hildebrandt 1922, p. 82, fig. 34; R 1928, no. 164;Réau 1929, no. 411; Parker 1931, p. 42; Wescher 1937, p. 281; Mathey 1939, pp. 154-155; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 1; AH 1950, no. 13, pl. 6; Adhémar 1950, p. 29, ill. p. 32; Dacier 1953, p. 307; PM 1957 under nos. 472, 490, 503 (see also I, p. xii); Sterling 1957, p. 40, colorpl. 24; Cat. Hermitage 1958, I, p. 185 no. 1148, ill.; M 1959, pp. 24, 68, 74, pl. 22; Descargues 1961, pp. 164, colorpl.; Seilern 1961, p. 76, under no. 220; Lewinson-Lessing 1963, colorpl. 66; Mirimonde 1963, p. 51; Nemilova 1964, pp. 100-124, 157, 286-287, no. 6, colorpl. 51, ills. 59, 59a, 61, detail; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.* pp. 84-98; Thuillier and Châtelet 1964, p. 162; Munhall 1968, p. 90; Rosenberg 1968, p. 62; CR 1970, no. 142, colorpl. 1; Nemilova 1971, pp. 181-195, fig. 86; Cailleux 1972, p. 734; F 1972, B.87 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Levey 1972, p. 16; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, p. 168; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 134-136, no. 4, colorpl. and three color details; Cailleux 1975, p. 68 (p. 249 of English ed.); Nemilova 1975, pp. 437, 438, fig. 17; Posner 1975, pp. 279-286, fig. 186; Banks 1977, pp. 132-135, fig. 50; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 62-63, 65-66, fig. 27; Mirimonde 1977, p. 64; Guerman 1980, p. 11 and colorpl.; Cat. Hermitage 1982, no. 49, ill. (with complete Russian bibl.); RM 1982, no. 182, colorpl. (detail) p. 35; P 1984, pp. 27-31, 111, fig. 1, pl. 19; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

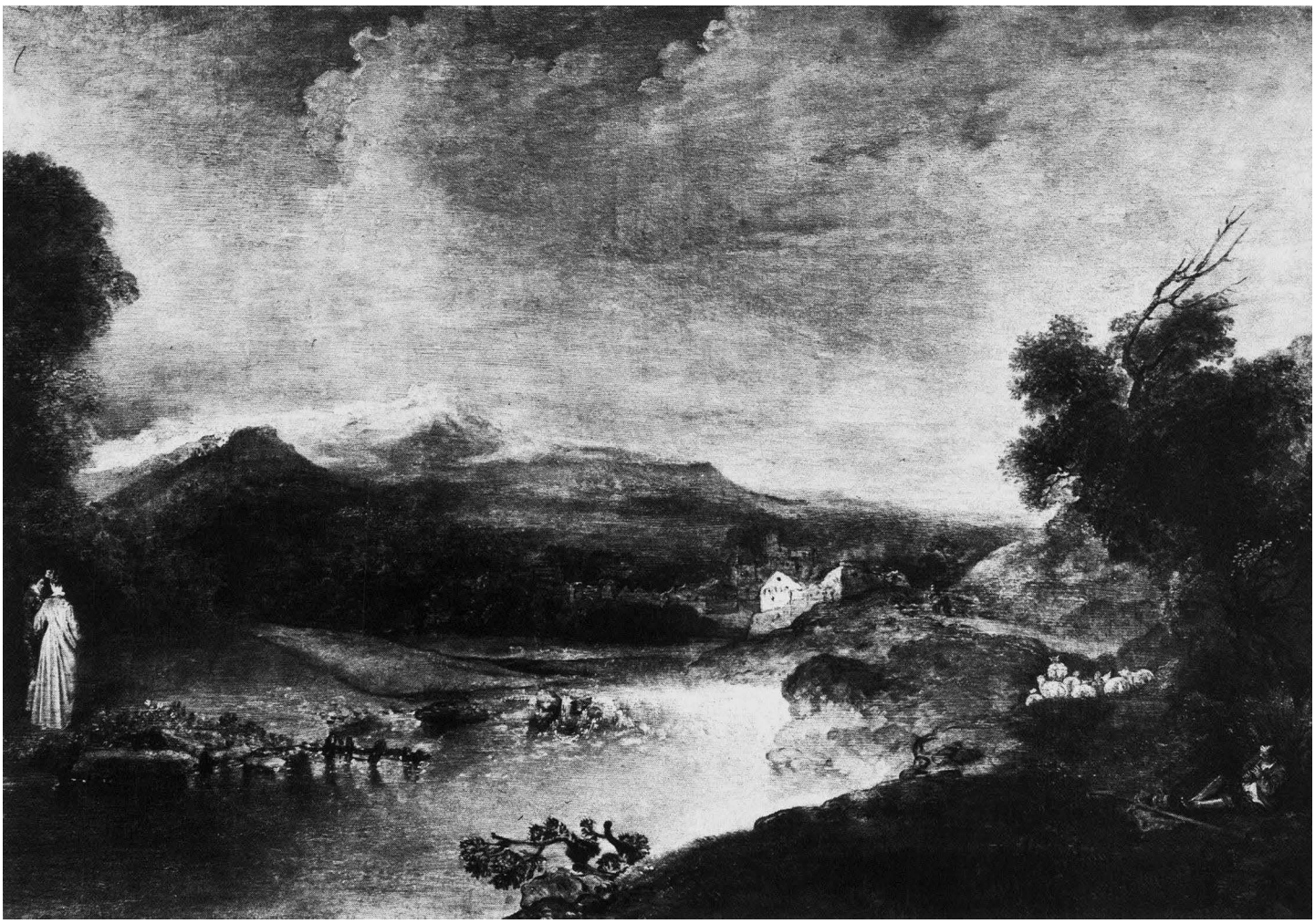
Goncourt (1875) identified the engraved painting with a work in the de Troy sale (actually a composite sale) on 9 April 1764, no. 111: "Un petit Savoyard ayant une selle sur son dos: peint sur bois de 8 pouces de haut, sur 6 de large." Roland-Michel saw a connection between that work and a drawing in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam (PM 499; cat. D. 53; fig. 2) showing two Savoyards carrying three-legged stools on their backs.

RELATED DRAWINGS

For the magnificent drawing in the Petit Palais (PM 490) see cat. D. 50 (fig 3). Rather surprisingly, the figure is reversed. The church in the background of the painting appears in a famous watercolor on the verso of a drawing in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (PM 472; cat. D. 29; fig. 4). The same church can be made out, with some difficulty, in the middleground of a drawing formerly in the Seilern Collection, now at the Courtauld Institute, London (PM 503).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Benoit Audran II (1698-1772; Roux 1931, I, p. 239, no. 24 [fig. 5]) was announced in the *Mercure de France*, December 1732, II, p. 2866. It specifies that the Watteau painting was in the "Cabinet de Mr. Audran du Palais au Luxembour [*sic*]." The copperplate was listed in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.



## 33 Landscape with a River (*Paysage à la rivière*)

Oil on canvas
70 x 106 (27 9/16 x 41 11/16) (transferred from panel to canvas in 1883 by N. Sidorov)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

The late Ina Nemilova (1922-1982) carefully studied this painting in 1964 and again in 1982, within a more general study on the place of landscape in Watteau's oeuvre. The work was harshly received by the critics and the press when it was presented in Bordeaux and then in Paris in 1965 at the exhibition of French paintings in the Moscow and Leningrad museums. Wildenstein (*Le Figaro*, 13 October 1965; see also *France Soir*, 14 October 1965), André Chastel (*Le Monde*, 15 October) and André Parinaud (*Arts*, 20-26 October; but see also Georges Charensol, *Revue des deux mondes*, as early as 15 June 1965, p. 611) considered the painting nineteenth-century or "in the style of the nineteenth century." Even today Ferré shares this point of view ("brazen fake").

These reactions could be explained by the condition of the painting. Originally painted on wood, the work was transferred to canvas in 1883 by an inexpert restorer who moreover repainted (some say added but we are unfamiliar with the results of the laboratory examinations that would clarify the problem) the ten or twelve centimeters on the left of the composition. The couple who look at each other as they move away from us was inspired by the two principal figures in the *Assembly in a Park* (Louvre; cat. P. 56). Further, the painting was carelessly cleaned, and not only were the glazes removed but doubtless also Watteau's final brushstrokes have been lost.

Watteau's "pure" landscapes are rare. Here we have been able to exhibit only the little painting on panel in the Louvre (cat. P. 41), comparable to the Hermitage painting; regretfully we have not been able to locate the owner of *The Waterfall* (DV 164; CR 86 see Desparmet [n.d.]) (fig. 1), engraved by Moyreau, still known after the last war. Others disappeared much earlier: two paintings once in the collection of Charles-Antoine Coypel, *Acis and Galatea* and *Hunt for Birds* engraved by Caylus (DV 61, 62; CR 17, 18) (figs. 2, 3); *The Marsh* and of *The Watering Place* engraved by Jacob (DV



fig. 1

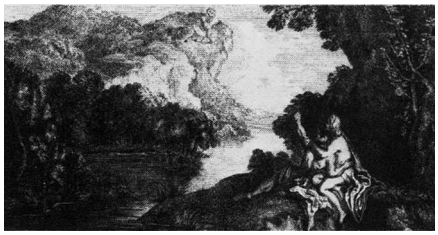


fig. 2

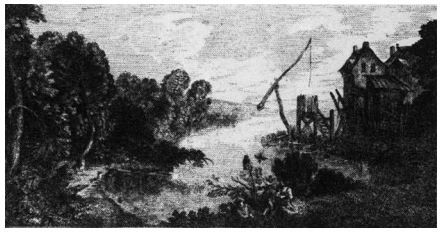


fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5

137, 136; CR 85, 84) (figs. 4, 5); as well as the large vertical landscape from the Jullienne collection (CR 78; see also CR 214, 139 but is this painting really by Watteau? [Mathey 1947, pp. 273-274, ill.]). These works show the considerable influence of the sixteenth-century Venetian drawings and prints known to Watteau through the Crozat collection; the influence of Charles de La Fosse (1636-1716), which is obvious in the paintings from the Coypel collection; and of Forest (1636?-1712), attested to by old texts and sales.

Parker and Mathey (1957) divided their "landscape" chapter (too generous and a little out-of-date today) into two sections: "landscapes after the masters" and "landscapes from nature." We do not believe that such a separation has any meaning in connection with the rare landscapes painted by Watteau. True, nature plays an essential role in Watteau's oeuvre. But this nature is most directly observed rather than derived from examples from the past. Does this mean that Watteau had an artificial concept of landscape? On the contrary, the artist had a wholly new approach to nature, although he enlivened his paintings with Italian "fabriques" rather than thatched cottages of the Ile de France. He seems to compose rather than to let himself be guided by the subject. The Hermitage painting, with its shepherd playing the reed-pipe while his herd of sheep moves away, does not have the Leonardesque character of *The Enchanted Isle* (cat. P. 60) or *The Pilgrimage* (cat. P. 61), but the way the artist set out his planes in tiers to emphasize the immensity of the site and the importance he accorded the river that is spread out in the center of the painting have no equal in French painting.

The Russian Watteau scholars (Nemilova, Zolotov, Guerman) have dated the Hermitage *Landscape with a River* to 1714-1715. Despite its northern conception, we find it difficult to accept that it could have been painted before Watteau had seen the Venetian works that Crozat had brought back from Italy in 1715.

PROVENANCE

Count A. P. Shuvalov, Saint Petersburg; N. Bulychev, Kaluga; Regional Museum, Kaluga; the Hermitage, Leningrad, since 1931.

EXHIBITIONS

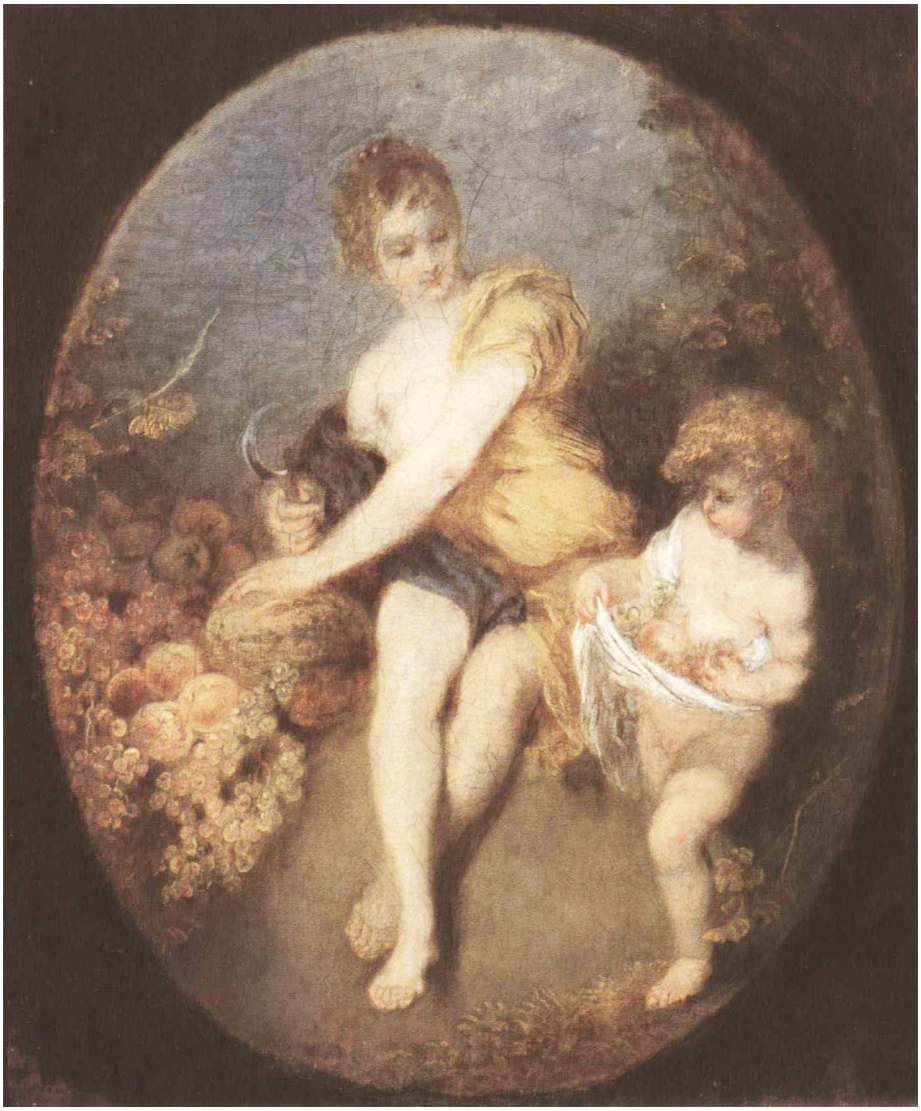
Bordeaux 1965, no. 44; Paris 1965-1966, no. 42, ill.; Leningrad 1972, no. 10.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mus. cat. Kaluga 1929, p. 34; Cat. Hermitage 1958, I, p. 270, no. 7766; Nemilova 1964, pp. 60-68, 158, 182-183, no. 2, figs. 20, 23-24, details; Cailleux 1967, p. 59; Mathey 1967, p. 10; CR 1970, no. 98, ill.; Nemilova 1971, pp. 181-195, fig. 88; Cailleux 1972, p. 734; F 1972, pp. 94, 138, 214; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 140-141, colorpl. 7 and color detail; Nemilova 1973, p. 49, colorpl. 8 and details; Guerman 1980, colorpl.; Nemilova 1982, no. 46 (with complete Russian bibl.); RM 1982, no. 126; P 1984, p. 283, n. 65; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Nemilova (1964) saw a relationship between the painting at the Hermitage and a drawing at Oxford (PM 441), though we have some reservations. Cailleux (1967; fig. 5) thought that a counterproof on the verso of a drawing in the Louvre could be related to the buildings in the background of the painting.



## 34 Autumn (*L'automne*)

Oil on canvas
48 x 40.5 ($18^{15}/_{16}$ x $15^{15}/_{16}$) (oval)
Musée du Louvre, Paris

This painting does not seem to have been mentioned before 1869 and since that date has attracted little attention. It was not engraved in the eighteenth century and no preparatory drawings are known. Nevertheless, it has been accepted by all except Ferré (1972) and Bazin (1974), who "still maintains a wait-and-see attitude."

Mathey dated it to 1713, Camesasca and Roland-Michel to c. 1715, Adhémar to 1716, and Zimmermann to 1716-1718. It is generally linked to the Crozat Seasons (cat. P. 35), and Roland-Michel has suggested that it was a "model" for one of the paintings of the series, as we believe. It could be a kind of first thought for either *Autumn* or *Summer*: the sickle is common to both works.

The vertical oval form of the work and the identical proportions of the figures have led most specialists to relate *Autumn* to *Love Disarmed* (Musée Condé, Chantilly; DV 87, CR 124) (fig. 1). That painting comes from the Jullienne collection, and is of comparable size, though of course they cannot be called pendants.

Goncourt considered the painting a "sketch" and admired its "fluid and crystallized" impasto and the "golden and crimson flesh tones similar to the pomegranates that Cupid is holding in the corner of his upraised shift." Pilon (1912) was entranced by the still life of the melon, grapes, apples, and peaches on the left of the composition, indeed rather exceptional in Watteau's oeuvre.

Unquestionably, the work is worn and has suffered: a network of crackling makes it difficult to read. Furthermore, in some places the colors appear to have run as if they had "melted" into one other. It is the result of Watteau's careless



fig. 1

preparation and execution of his paintings, for which his contemporaries reproached him, and of his impatience and his haste when he "resumed work" on a painting (see Caylus, in Champion 1921, p. 98). As in the *Judgment of Paris* (cat. P. 64), the artist used the handle of his brush to mark the folds in the yellow robe of the allegorical figure and in the cupid's shift. But the bright and luminous range of the tones, the completely classical elegance of the composition, and the rapid and bold execution to which the recent restoration has returned a part of its brilliance, explain the charm of the painting. True, it is an allegory; but it also shows a scarcely veiled feminine nude. *Autumn* can no doubt be counted among Watteau's first efforts in a genre that unites history with decoration, a more "noble" genre than those that he had previously attempted.

PROVENANCE
Dr. Louis La Caze, 1798-1869; La Caze bequest, 1869; Musée du Louvre, M.I. 1128.

EXHIBITIONS
Montreal 1967.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Cat. La Caze 1870, no. 267; G 1875, p. 52; Goncourt 1881, p. 77; Mollett 1883, p. 62; Rosenberg 1896, p. 52, fig. 49; Staley 1902, p. 128; Z 1912, p. 188, pl. 65; Pilon 1912, pp. 83-84, 111; *L'Illustration* (5 December 1925), colorpl.; R 1928, no. 36*bis*; AH 1950, no. 179, pl. 105; M 1959, p. 68; Béguin and Constans 1969, p. 7; CR 1970, no. 125, ill.; F 1972, B. 63 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Posner 1973, p. 23; Bazin 1974, p. 61; Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 918, ill.; Cailleux 1975, p. 87 (English ed. p. 248); Eisler 1977, pp. 299-300; RM 1982, no. 155, ill.; P 1984, p. 79; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS
For *Autumn* of the Crozat Seasons, see cat. P. 35.

## 35 Summer or Allegory of Summer (*"L'Esté"* or *Allégorie de l'Eté*)

Oil on canvas
142 x 115.7 (55⅞ x 45⅝) (oval)
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1956

"This inadequacy in the practice of drawing placed him outside the range of painting or composing anything heroic or allegorical, even less of creating figures of a certain size. The *Four Seasons* that he painted in M. Crozat's dining room prove it. They are almost half life-size; and although he executed them from sketches by M. de la Fosse, there is so much mannerism and dryness in the paintings that one can find nothing good to say about them." This celebrated and quite scornful page by Caylus relates directly to the Washington *Summer*, the only surviving painting from the Crozat Seasons.

Although the Comte de Caylus read a *Life of Watteau* before his Academy colleagues on 3 February 1748 that is mistakenly taken for a systematic defamation of the artist, actually it remains the most lucid, comprehensive, and sometimes most admiring of all the eighteenth-century analyses. From it come two points of great interest. Watteau supposedly painted this series of four works from sketches by La Fosse (1636-1716). Although this assertion was vigorously contested by the Goncourts (1881, p. 66), there is every reason to believe that it is correct. Not only did La Fosse live at Crozat's and frequently work for him, but he supported Watteau in the early stages of his painting career, particularly in his acceptance by the Academy in 1712 (Jullienne in Champion 1921, p. 60). Watteau and he shared the same veneration for Rubens and the Venetians, and he also executed two drawings (Levey 1964, figs. 8, 9), now in the Louvre, representing *Zephyr and Flora* (figs. 1, 2) that could very well have served as a model for Watteau (in any event for *Spring*). Moreover, Watteau copied the lion of his *Summer* from the one that accompanies a *God the Father* by La Fosse, also oval, recently acquired by the Dunkirk museum (Rosenberg 1983, pp. 352-353, fig. 9) (fig. 3). Furthermore, La Fosse's style of both painting and drawing was not very different from Watteau's, as is proved by *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* by him. Considered by Mathey (1959) as a Watteau (pls. 47, 48), it is undoubtedly by La Fosse. Further, two of the most celebrated Watteau sketches, the two studies of a black man in the British Museum (PM 727, 728) have just recently been unequivocally restored to La Fosse (Cuzin 1981, pp. 19-21). Watteau's painting did not leave Pellegrini (1675-1747) indifferent; that he made a canvas of the same subject (fig. 4) during his stay in Paris of 1720 is proof of this admiration.

The ties between the Crozat Seasons and La Fosse raise questions about the date of this commission. Dacier and Vuaflart thought that the paintings dated from 1711 while others leaned toward 1712 (Mantz, Séailles, Seymour, Einstein), 1713 (Parker-Mathey, Mathey, Cooke) or 1712-1715 (Brookner). A second group tended rather toward 1715 (Adhémar, Camesasca), 1715-1716 (Seilern, Levey, Roland-Michel) or 1716 (Conisbee). We agree with the second dating



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

for two reasons. First, it would appear logical that only on the eve of his death, in 1716, would the old La Fosse give Watteau his "sketches" and turn over to the younger artist a commission from which he probably had also benefited. Second, the style of *Summer* seems later. Rubens' influence, though considerable, is mixed with Veronese's, particularly in the clear, fresh range of colors. Crozat was in Italy in 1715. He brought back many Venetian drawings. Could he have commissioned the Seasons before his departure and could Watteau have finished the series after Crozat's return to Paris in October 1715? Although it is possible now to compare only the remaining painting with the three engravings after *Spring, Autumn,* and *Winter,* it does seem likely that *Spring* and *Summer* were painted last and surely were painted after *Autumn* and *Winter.*

A second critical point in Caylus' unfavorable statement merits note: Watteau was unsuccessful at heroic (history) painting and allegory, and had even less success with large-scale figures. His "delicate and light touch that is so successful on a small scale, loses all its merit and becomes unbearable when used in that wider expanse. . . ." In Caylus' estimation, Watteau could only paint on a small scale and would thus be prevented from painting history subjects and the "grand genre."

First, note that the Seasons are very likely overdoors intended to decorate a dining room. More than anything else Watteau sought to make his composition legible, and he succeeded perfectly. As for the "dryness" for which Caylus criticized him, and which the condition of the painting and its successive restorations have helped accentuate (see Eisler 1977), it seems unjustified as Watteau intentionally wished to avoid brush effects in order to accentuate the beautiful light harmony of pink, blue, and gold in his work. Particularly admirable are the colors of the cornflowers, poppies, and ears of wheat that decorate Ceres' hair, and her mischievous yet serious expression.

PROVENANCE

This is one of the Four Seasons commissioned by Pierre Crozat (1665-1740) for his *hôtel* on the rue de Richelieu, which was inherited by his nephew Louis-François Crozat, Marquis du Châtel (?-1750), and then passed to the nephew's oldest daughter, the Duchesse de Gontaut-Biron. The Duchesse bequeathed it to her younger sister, Louise-Honorine Crozat, the future Duchesse de Choiseul. The house was sold in 1772 and the painting was removed before the house was razed shortly thereafter. Estate sale, Duc de Choiseul (1719-1785), 18 December 1786, no. 3, with *Winter;* sale of the expert "peintre et garde des tableaux du comte d'Artois et d'Orléans" (and the husband of Mlle. Vigée), Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun (1748-1813), 11 April 1791, no. 204, with the *Winter.* [Artaud] sale, 15 November 1791, no. 95 (with *Winter*). "Vendu plusieurs fois à la salle des commissaires-priseurs 10 à 12 francs . . . acheté 200 francs par M. Roehn" (Hédouin 1845; probably Adolphe Eugène Gabriel Roehn [1780-1867], and not his son); "revendu 2,000 francs pour une collection de

fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6





35


fig. 7

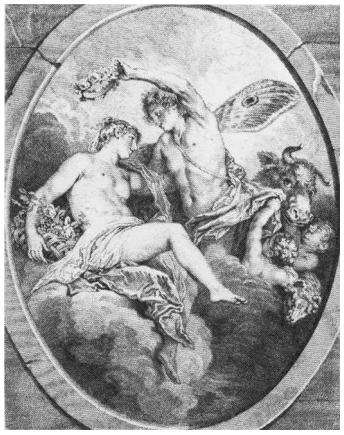


fig. 8


fig. 9


fig. 10

Londres" before 1845 (Hédouin 1845). It is incorrectly said to have been part of the Munro de Noval collection (in 1878, according to exh. cat. Copenhagen 1935; but *The Triumph of Ceres* was offered at a Geddes sale on 8 April 1845 at Christie's, no. 655). Charles Wertheimer, London; acquired by Sedelmeyer, Paris, in 1895 for £295; sold for £1,000, 1898, to Lionel Phillips, Tylney Hall, Winchfield (sale, Christie's, London, 25 April 1913, no. 72, ill.; purchased by "Nicholson"); Henri Michel-Lévy, Paris (sale, Paris, Gal. Petit, 12-13 May 1919, no. 28, ill.; Fr 75,000); Léon Michel-Lévy (1846-1925), Paris (sale, Paris, 17-18 May 1925, no. 160, ill., Fr 60,000; Charles-Louis Dreyfus in 1928 (Wildenstein). Acquired by Samuel H. Kress in 1954. National Gallery of Art, Washington, since 1956.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1895, no. 71, ill.; London 1909-1910, no. 95; Copenhagen 1935, no. 262; London, Wildenstein, 1936, no. 27; New York 1948, no. 45; New York 1951, no. 20, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on *Summer*, not the Seasons): Caylus 1748 (see Champion 1921); H 1845, no. 17; H 1856, no. 17; G 1875, no. 47; Mollett 1883, p. 60; Dargenty 1891, p. 37 (print); Mantz 1892, pp. 65, 66 and n. 1; Phillips 1895, pp. 30-31; Josz 1903, pp. 167-168 and n. 1; Marcel 1906, pp. 133, 189, 285; *Arundel Club Portfolio* 1906, no. 13; Monod 1910, pp. 256-257 and n. 2, 3; Pilon 1912, pp. 118-120; Champion 1921, p. 95; Dacier 1921, p. 49 (p. 115 in normal ed.); Gillet 1921, p. 65; DV, I, p. 262 and III, under no. 106; *Ren. de l'Art Fr.* (1925), p. 232, ill.; Séailles 1927, p. 56; R 1928, no. 26; *L'Amour de l'Art* (July 1935), p. 234, ill.; S. B[lunt] 1936, p. 230, pl. B; AH 1950, nos. 97-100; Einstein 1956, pp. 217-218, fig. 4; Suida-Shapley 1956 (mus. cat.), p. 204, no. 81; PM 1957, under no. 720; Cooke 1959, p. 24; M 1959, pp. 46, 68, 178, pl. 115; Seilern 1961, p. 79; Seymour 1961, p. 176, pl. 166; Levey 1964, pp. 53-58 and fig. 3; Stuffmann 1964, pp. 35-36; Levey 1966, p. 52; Exh. cat. Paris 1967, pp. 17-18, 31-32; Stuffmann 1968, pp. 22, 53 n. 45; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 11; CR 1970, no. 107, ill.; Posner 1973, pp. 20-21, 23, 28, 97 and fig. 4; Scott 1973, p. 14 and colorpl. I; Posner 1975, p. 293; Conisbee 1974, p. 546; Eisler 1977, pp. 297-300, fig. 266 (very detailed and very complete entry on the Washington painting); RM 1982, no. 152, ill.; P 1984, p. 26, fig. 13 (print), pl. 16; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

*Spring*, discovered and published in 1964 by Levey, was destroyed in a fire two years later (see *GBA Chronique*, October 1966, p. 23) (fig. 5). *Winter* "a été retrouvé, il y a quelques années . . . singulièrement détérioré, au fond d'un corridor obscur du château de Chenonceaux, où elle était venue par le financier Dupin la Tige, Dupin de Villeneuve, et l'arrière-grand-oncle de madame George Sand" (Clément de Ris 1877, p. 190, n. 1, in the chapter of his book *Amateurs d'autrefois* devoted to Crozat and written in December 1858). Nothing is known of *Autumn*. A "Saisons de Vato" was offered at the sale following the death of the Prince de Carignan, 18 June 1743, no. 63, measuring "deux pieds deux pouces de haut sur un pied huit pouces de large." Copies in miniature of *Summer* and *Winter* (oval, 13 x 9 cm) were executed after the engravings and offered for sale in Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 12-13 December 1957, no. 468, pl. X, as the work of Louis Watteau. For the other series of Seasons executed by Watteau see Levey 1964, p. 56, n. 4; Eidelberg 1966, pp. 269-271; and Raines 1977, pp. 61-62.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey (1957) list only one drawing for this composition, PM 720 (Louvre) (fig. 6). The study at lower center of this sheet was used by Watteau, in reverse, for the female figure on the right of the composition. See also PM 513 (cat. D. 60) for *Spring*; PM 511, 512 (cats. D. 62, 63) and 521 for *Autumn*. (See also PM 518, cat. D. 64.)

RELATED PRINTS

The four compositions appear in the *Recueil Jullienne*. *Summer* was engraved by Marie-Jeanne Renard du Bos (c. 1700-?) (fig. 7) (the only woman artist to work on the *Recueil*); *Spring* was engraved by Desplaces (fig. 8), *Autumn* by "Faissar" (Fessard) (fig. 9), and *Winter* by Audran (fig.10). The edges of *Summer* may have been trimmed; the print listed the dimensions as "3 pieds 9 pouces de large" (121.5 cm) by "4 pieds 5 pouces" while sale catalogues cited the height as "4 pieds 6 pouces" or between 143 and 146 cm high.

The captions indicate that the paintings belonged to Crozat. The prints were engraved between April 1729 and December 1731 (DV, II, p. 66). The copperplates were listed in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.

## 36 Nymph and Satyr or Jupiter and Antiope (*Nymphe et satyre* or *Jupiter et Antiope*)

Oil on canvas
73.5 x 107.5 (28 15/16 x 41 5/16)
Musée du Louvre, Paris

In reference to the condition of this painting, Amédée Besnus wrote, as early as 1898: "M. Lacaze [*sic*] had quite another mania, always dangerous, which was that of retouching the works in his gallery, filling in a detail here and adding a bit of tree or terrain there, as in Watteau's *Sleeping Venus*, where he painted a black tree as heavy and bituminous as possible, as one can verify in the Salle Lacaze." More recently, Adhémar (1950, p. 189) argued that the satyr was "doubtful" and had been "painted later . . . perhaps by Vleughels," and she "hesitated" to assert that it had even been sketched by Watteau. It is true that the painting has suffered, but the satyr can only be by Watteau. Not only is it in Caylus' engraving after



the composition, but further, Watteau made two splendid preparatory drawings of it (see cat. D. 65). Infrared (fig. 1) and ultraviolet (fig. 2) examinations reveal deep damage in the composition, particularly in two places in the sky, and some tears on the periphery of the painting. If La Caze did repaint it (but remember that he bought the painting in March 1868 and died in 1869, which scarcely left him any time) he concentrated on the vegetation above the head of the satyr and the landscape on the left of the work. We do not know when or by whom the veil of modesty, which can still be distinguished, was removed.

For what reason were these alterations made? One explanation seems likely: the Louvre painting was originally conceived as an overdoor intended to be inserted into the woodwork. Typically, the edges suffered the most damage.

And that brings one to wonder about the provenance of the work, well known since 1857 but never mentioned in the eighteenth century. Although there is nothing to corrob-

fig. 1



fig. 2





fig. 3

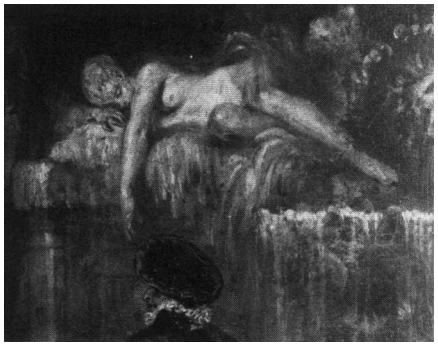


fig. 4

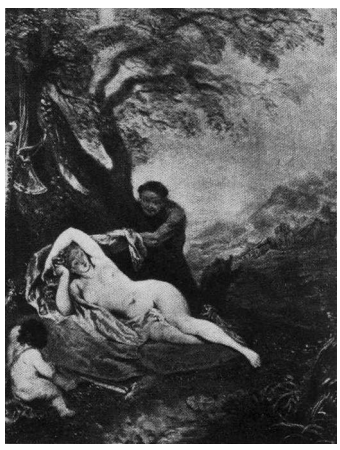
orate the 1966 Vienna exhibition catalogue's assertion that the painting had been made a little after 1712 "for the dining room of the mansion of the financier Pierre Crozat," this statement merits further attention. The 1857 sale catalogue in which the painting appeared for the first time stated that it was from the collection "of Prince Paul d'Arenberg." Indeed, in the eighteenth century, connections between Arenberg and Watteau did exist: the admittedly late engraving by A. Cardon of the *Signing of the Marriage Contract* was dedicated to the Duc d'Arenberg (DV 292, CR 62; see cat. P. 11), but even more important is a receipt found by Edouard Laloire in 1941 in the d'Arenberg archives (repr. DV, I, p. 77). This document, which was signed by Watteau and dated 4 May 1717, declared he had "received . . . the sum of two hundred livres for two paintings which I made for his highness Monseigneur LeDuc Darenberg [*sic*]." Hérold and Vuaflart have proposed that the Louvre painting was one of these two d'Arenberg paintings; that it was ordered in 1714, the date when Léopold-Philippe de Ligne, Duc d'Arenberg, stayed in Paris and was paid for only three years later when the duke was on active duty in Hungary. This theory would provide us with an approximate date for the painting. Most specialists agree in dating the painting during the time of Watteau's stay at Crozat's: Brookner proposed 1712-1714; Mathey suggested 1713; Posner, c. 1714; Camesasca, 1715 (the most likely date); Levey, c. 1715-1716; Adhémar and Roland-Michel, 1716; and Zimmermann, between 1716 and 1718.

The subject of the work has given rise to various interpretations. In the sales of 1857 and 1868 it bore the title *Sleeping Nymph.* It was entitled *Jupiter and Antiope* by La Caze, but Dacier (1923), Hourticq (1924), and more recently Mirimonde (1980) restored it to the former—rightly so, if one abides by a literal reading, as Watteau omitted the traditional eagle that would identify the satyr as Jupiter. But if the iconographic sources and references to the celebrated paintings of *Jupiter and Antiope* by Correggio and Titian in the Louvre—both in the king's collections in Watteau's time—are considered, the latter title must be the correct one. Let us point out to modern scholars that neither painting represents this subject. If the names of Correggio, Titian, and Rubens have been mentioned (the Goncourts went so far as to use the term pastiche) there is another artist whom Watteau to all intents and purposes copied: Van Dyck. As early as 1931, Karl Parker noted that the right arm of the satyr was directly inspired by that of one of the executioners in Van Dyck's *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Church of Saint Paul at Antwerp, and more particularly by a drawing for that figure (fig. 3; formerly collection Sir Robert Witt, now in the Courtauld Institute). Mathey (1959, pl. 73) reproduced the Ghent version of *Jupiter and Antiope* by Van Dyck, which shows that Watteau did take the Flemish master's composition into consideration. The sleeping nymph, as Posner has just shown (1984), was inspired by classical sculpture, in particular by a *Sleeping Cupid* of which a great many versions

fig. 5



fig. 6



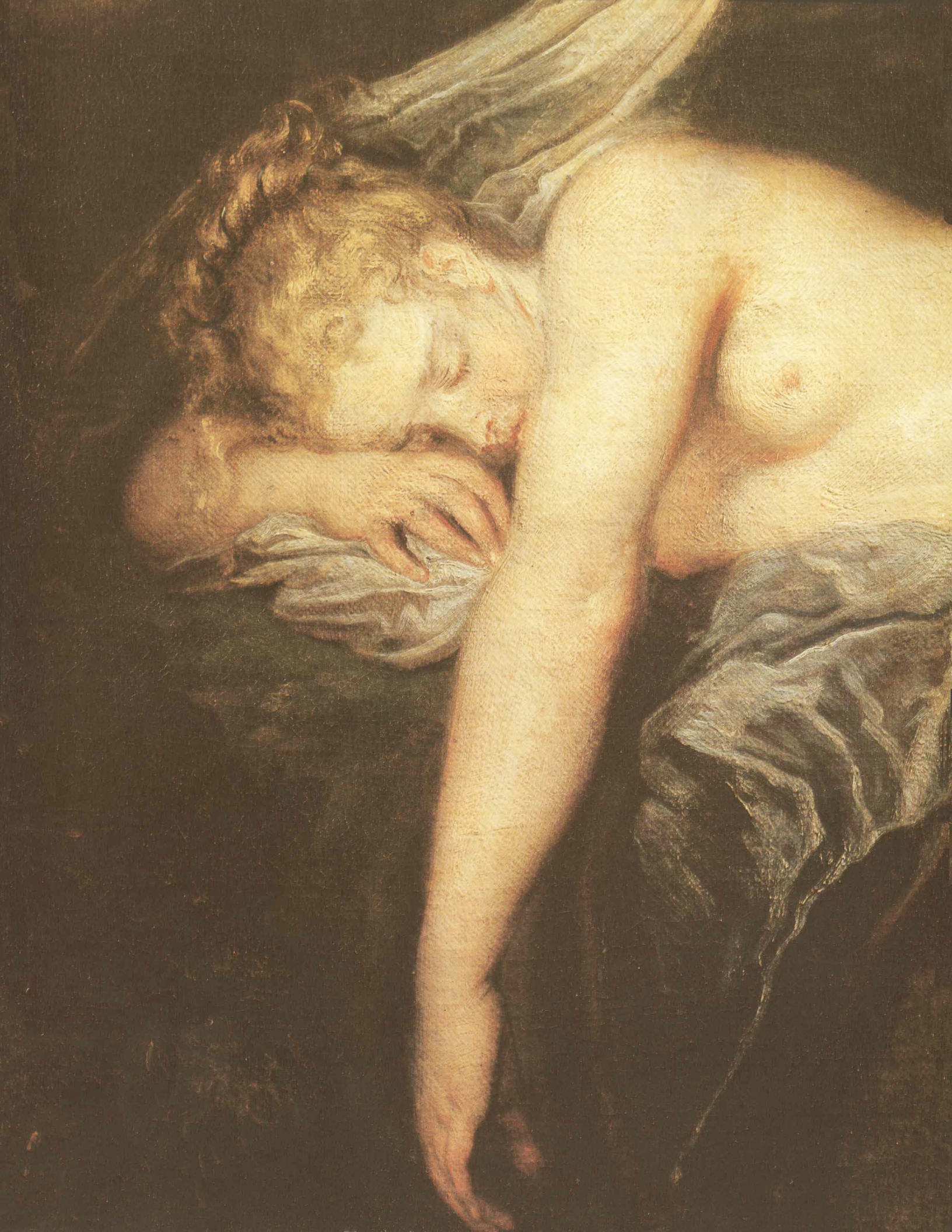




fig. 7



fig. 8

are known. (One may also mention in this context Giovanni da Bologna and Albani.)

This sleeping nymph is one of Watteau's most beautiful creations, and the artist must have been satisfied with her since he reused her in one of his most celebrated paintings, *The Champs Elysées* (Wallace Coll., London; DV 133, CR 156) fig. 4. There she was transformed into one of those "living statues" with which Watteau would so successfully embellish his mature compositions.

The contrast and imbalance between the milky, pearly flesh of the nymph, her "lacquerlike legs" (Goncourt 1881), and the "warm amber" (Josz 1903) of the faun's body, strongly accented by the uneven cleanings carried out by successive restorers who only cleaned the light areas, give the work its ambiguous character. The nymph, with her childlike face, offers herself to us in sleeping abandon. The shaggy-legged faun-satyr, crowned with grape leaves, licks his lips with desire and unveils the nymph as much for himself as for us, making the spectator also a voyeur. Profane or mythological or both, Watteau takes pleasure in baffling the viewer. And if "the soft fairness of these stomachs," the "lifelike tints of the flesh, the palpitation of the skin," stir us less than Goncourt (1881) and Paul Mantz (1892), yet Watteau has renewed a theme dear to artists since antiquity, that of the woman asleep and seemingly abandoned to the desires of men. His painting was to be, in its turn, a source of inspiration for those from Ingres to Renoir who preferred to study the female nude.

PROVENANCE

Possibly executed c. 1714 and paid for in 1717 by Léopold-Philippe-Charles-Joseph de Ligne, Duc d'Arenberg (1690-1754) (see the entry). Théodore Patureau, "membre honoraire de l'Académie royale d'Anvers" (sale, Paris 20-21 April 1857, no. 63: "Nymphe endormie." "Provient du Château d'Heverlé et de la collection du prince Paul d'Arenberg," Fr 2600); acquired by "le baron James de Rothschild," according to Lejeune 1864, I, p. 217. Bourlon de Sarty (sale, Paris, 9-11 March 1868, no. 44: "Nymphe endormie." Purchased by Dr. Louis La Caze, 1798-1869 (Fr 600). Louvre, La Caze Bequest, 1869, M.I. 1129.

EXHIBITIONS

Copenhagen 1935, no. 258, ill.; New York 1935, no. 4, ill.; Vienna 1966, no. 75, pl. 9; Moscow-Leningrad 1978, no. 21.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mantz 1859, p. 350; Cat. La Caze 1870, no. 268; Mantz 1870, pp. 12-13; G 1875, p. 52; Hannover 1880, p. 81, fig. 10; Goncourt 1881, p. 77; Dohme 1883, p. 100; Mollett 1883, p. 62; Mantz 1892, pp. 89, 148, 176; Phillips 1895, p. 41; Rosenberg 1896, p. 51, pl. 48; Besnus 1898, p. 74; Fourcaud 1901, p. 255; Legrand 1902, p. 13; Staley 1902, p. 129; Josz 1903, pp. 398-399; Pilon 1912, pp. 60-61, 75, 109-110, 112, ill.; Z 1912, p. 187, pl. 43; DV, I, pp. 77, 154, 286 and III, p. 24; Dacier 1923, pp. 4-6, ill.; Hourticq 1927, p. 203; R 1928, no. 6; Gillet 1929, pp. 33-34, pl. 30; Parker 1931, p. 43; Alvin-Beaumont 1932, pp. 30-34; *L'Amour de l'Art* (December 1938), color detail, cover; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 27; AH 1950, no. 180 *bis*, pls. 108 (detail), 109, colorpl. (see also pp. 189, 196, and no. 102); PM 1957, under 515, 517; Gauthier 1959, colorpl. XXXIV; M 1959, pp. 35-36, 68-69, pl. 72; Levey 1964, p. 58 n. 1; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 90; Thuillier and Châtelet 1964, p. 164; Cailleux 1967, p. 59; Brookner 1969, pl. 13; Pignatti 1969, p. 4 and fig. 5 (detail); CR 1970, no. 104, pl. XXXV: F 1972, B. 56 (as "painting attributed to Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 120, 231; Posner 1973, pp. 23, 29; Bazin 1974, p. 61 ("remains in a certain state of expectation"); Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 917, ill.; Cailleux 1975, p. 87 (Eng. ed. p. 248); Adhémar 1977, p. 171; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 35-36, fig. 21; Bauer 1980, p. 42; Loche 1980, p. 190 under no. 15; Mirimonde 1980, p. 115 and fig. 9; Tomlinson 1981, pp. 48-49; RM 1982, no. 160, ill. and colorpl.; P 1984, pp. 79-80, 97, 208, fig. 68, colorpl. 14; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

There are many late nineteenth-century copies (reproductions of two are in the Louvre's Service d'Etudes et de Documentation). The original has often been linked to a lost painting known through the engraving for the *Recueil Jullienne* (DV 38) fig. 5 and entitled *The Dangerous Slumber.* It shows a satyr gazing at a sleeping woman. The painting, which according to the print measured *2 pieds sur 1 pied 6 pouces* (65 x 48.6 cm) (*20 pouces sur 15½ pouces,* according to an inventory of J. M. Liotard), belonged to Jullienne in 1730, at the time when it was engraved by Jean-Michel Liotard. It briefly passed to Jean-Michel Liotard, and then to his twin brother, the great Jean-Etienne Liotard, who sold it in Paris in 1782 (Loche 1980, p. 190, no. 15). The work has not been

fig. 9

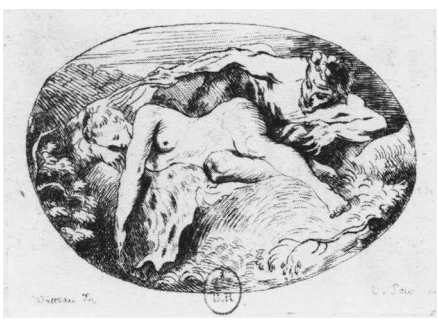
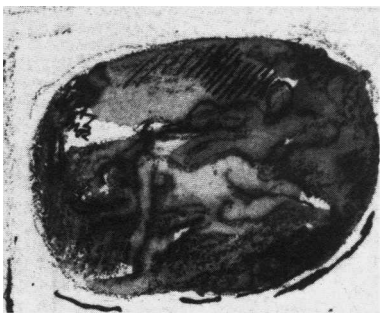


fig. 10



mentioned anywhere since then, although we know a photograph of a copy in the same direction as the print.

A "sketch" (DV, III, p. 24) of *The Dangerous Slumber* entitled *Jupiter and Antiope,* measuring *10 pouces sur 7 pouces 6 lignes,* and a companion piece, "trois femmes au bord de l'eau qui se déshabillent pour se baigner" were offered successively at: Nogaret sale, 18 March 1782, no. 93; Calonne sale, 21 April 1788, no. 142; Anonymous sale, 9 April 1793, no. 78; Solirène sale, 11 March 1812, no. 128 (without the pendant; 9½ pouces x 7½ pouces); and Didot sale, 13 March 1827, no. 79 (panel; 9 pouces 10 lignes sur 7 pouces 10 lignes). The description of the "sketch" in the Solirène sale ("Jupiter et Antiope . . . On y voit à droite une Nymphe nue et endormie sur une draperie auprès d'un gros arbre derrière lequel Jupiter, sous la forme d'un satyre, soulève la draperie qui la couvre. L'Amour vu par le dos est aussi endormi . . .") rules out the possibility that it was the painting published by Mathey (1959, pl. 71; CR 60) fig. 6, which experts have generally rejected.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey reproduced two drawings by Watteau for the satyr gazing at the nymph—PM 515 (Louvre; cat. D.65) fig. 7, a first sketch with some variations, and PM 517 fig. 8 (Institut Néerlandais, Paris), a study that although as free as the other is nonetheless closer to the painting. Caylus' engraving (see Related Prints) was executed after a drawing by Watteau, now lost, as Eidelberg has confirmed (1977, p. 55, n. 66).

RELATED PRINTS

In the Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Dacier found a rare and delicate oval etching by Caylus (1692-1765; Roux 1940, IV, p. 140, no. 488) fig. 9, which he published in 1923. The print does not reproduce the painting in the Louvre but, as is confirmed by its caption, *Watteau In,* a drawing very close to the painting (for a discussion on Caylus, author of some "oeuvres badines" [roguish works] and his relation to the *Sleeping Nymph,* see Adhémar 1977). Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 195 [10]) mentions this print.

For the engraving of *The Dangerous Slumber,* see Related Paintings.

Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780) copied the painting in a drawing in his sketchbook that is now in the Art Institute of Chicago (48.383, p. 22, recto; see also cat. P. 00 and Chardin's *Scraper* [*La Ratissèuse*], Rosenberg 1983, no. 116) fig. 10.

Watteau's painting can be distinguished on the walls of the Lévy-Dhurmer's imaginary view of *Watteau's studio* (1890; Private coll., Paris), as well as in the actual Salle La Caze depicted by Vuillard in 1921 (Private coll., Basel; exh. cat. Paris 1968, no. 156, ill.). In addition, the heirs of Ernest Laurent (1859-1929) have a *grisaille* copy by Laurent. A free interpretation of Watteau's painting by Claude Schurr (1966) was exhibited in Paris 1977 (no. 694, color repr.). Last, the Republic of Paraguay issued a stamp in 1971 showing the *Sleeping Nymph* (repr. *Vie Ouvrière,* 28 July 1971).

## 37 The Intimate Toilette (*La toilette intime*)

Oil on panel
34.6 x 26.5 (13⅝ x 10½) (a 5 mm strip has been added to each side at an early date)
W, P Private Collection, France

Mariette confirmed that the painting was engraved by Mercier in London. According to Ingamells and Raines (1976-1978) the engraving would date from 1722-1723; today we know that the work was back in Paris in 1724. It belonged at that time to Count Charles-Henry de Hoym, ambassador from Saxony-Poland to Paris, who bought it for 400 livres on 28 December at "Noêl," probably a Paris merchant. It was still in Hoym's possession in 1732 and after his death it may have entered the collection of the Baron de Thiers, nephew of Pierre Crozat, who owned it in 1755. It was inventoried by Tronchin on Crozat's death in 1770, but it was not purchased by Catherine the Great of Russia, for unknown reasons, when she bought the bulk of the Crozat collection.

Though the painting has often been cited since the beginning of our century, few have seen it and to our knowledge it has never been reproduced in color or copied. It is undeniably one of the rare works by Watteau in a perfect state of conservation. The yellow varnish that covers it and slightly modifies its original colors in no way hampers its legibility.

Questions have been raised as to why Jullienne excluded the engraving from the *Recueil.* The print does differ in one noteworthy way from the painting: Mercier placed a "veil of modesty" over the most intimate part of the model. But no doubt this did not seem sufficient to Jullienne who probably for reasons of propriety declined to include it.

There is disagreement on the dating of the work. Parker and Mathey believed that Watteau probably painted it c. 1717 on the basis of a Louvre drawing (fig. 1; cat. D. 97) that shows studies for the *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* of the Louvre, painted in 1717 (cat. P. 61), and for a kneeling servant. In fact, Watteau did not use this servant for the *Intimate Toilette* but for *The Remedy* of the Norton Simon collection (fig. 2; CR 135) (see also D. 88; fig. 3), probably also in the Crozat de Thiers collection in the eighteenth century before it was reduced to a fragmentary state. Moreover, Watteau could very well have used studies made two years earlier for a painting executed in 1717. The date of 1715 suggested by Posner for *The Intimate Toilette* seems perfectly acceptable.

fig. 1



fig. 2

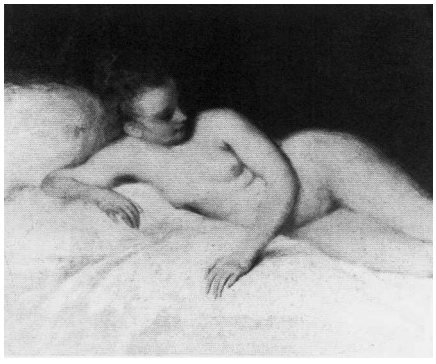
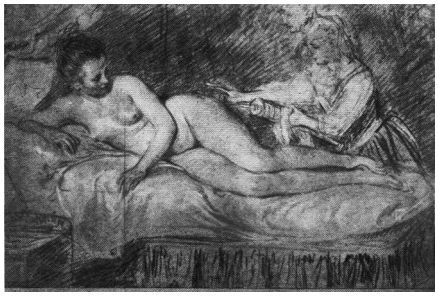


fig. 3





37



fig. 4

The painting is exceptional in Watteau's oeuvre. Even if one accepts, to use Caylus' words, that "a few days before his death . . . he wanted to recover a few pieces he thought were not far enough removed from that [obscene] genre to burn them: which he did" (Champion 1921, p. 110), one can believe that he made few such equally explicit paintings. In fact, with *The Remedy* (Norton Simon Museum; CR 135) (Posner 1972) and with the celebrated *Toilette* (fig. 4) of the Wallace Collection (often mistakenly considered the pendant to *Intimate Toilette;* CR 175) (Posner 1973), it is one of the very few extant nonallegorical female nudes by Watteau. Even so, the artist could not resist giving a mythological twist to his work by painting a quiver and arrows on her bedstead.

A very intimate subject is depicted: a servant *en chemise* presents a sponge, dish, and towel to a naked young woman who is getting out of bed. Can such a frankly painted image be called pornographic, as it has previously been characterized? It seems difficult to us to categorize Watteau's painting thus, although Mercier's engraving could have inspired some fine works of this type (repr. Ferré 1972 and Posner 1973). True, the work is no ordinary genre scene, but it is neither licentious nor suggestive; it conveys none of the innuendo so often found in Watteau's paintings.

We can only admire the refined play of light and shadow on the bed, the nape of the model's neck and her legs, the original placement of the body *en bascule* and the bed, placed at an angle, the white spots of the sheets and the lacquer red of the servant's skirt, the serene and faraway look on the beautiful face of the young woman. If the model in the very famous *Toilette* in the Wallace Collection seems unable to ignore the fact that we are looking at her, here, on the contrary, Watteau wants only to describe her. He paints the body of this young woman with a simplicity and naturalness (to borrow the favorite word of his eighteenth-century biographers) foreshadowing Renoir. Moreover, he conveys a respect for the model and a distinction that is his alone.



fig. 5



fig. 6

PROVENANCE

"Noêl" in 1724 (who apparently sold several paintings to Hoym; on the Noêls, painters and experts at the beginning of the eighteenth century, see Wildenstein 1925, p. 203 and Rambaud 1971, II, p. 1229). Comte Charles-Henry de Hoym, 1694-1736, Ambassador from Saxony-Poland to France; purchased "avec sa bordure" for £400 on 28 December 1724, "du sieur Noêl." Inventory of the Hoym collection, 1725: "Un petit tableau en hauteur du Vatot, de 2 figures, dont l'une est une femme qui se lave, haut de 1 pied ½ pouce sur 9 pouces de large, peint sur bois" (or c. 33.7 x 24.3 cm); 1732 inventory, same text ("qui se lève [*sic*] avec sa servante"). No. 98 on the 1737 (?) posthumous inventory, "Femme sur un lit avec bordure, 120 1[ivres]" (see Pichon 1880). Louis-Antoine Crozat, Baron de Thiers, 1699-1770, nephew of Pierre Crozat, in 1755: "un petit Tableau representant une Femme à sa première toilette, au sortir du lit, par Antoine Vatteau; sur bois, d'un pied de haut sur 9 pouces de large" (in the mezzanine apartment of his Place Vendôme residence) and in 1771 (same text). The 1771 inventory had been drawn up by Tronchin in preparation for the acquisition of the collection by Catherine the Great of Russia, but she did not buy this painting by Watteau (see Stuffmann 1968). Sometimes identified as a painting in the widow Benech sale, 7 March 1828, no. 22: "Intérieur; jeune femme sortant du bain" or no. 23: "La toilette. Des deux tableaux sont finement peints et



fig. 7

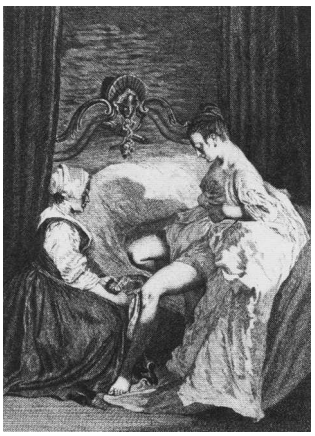


fig. 8

d'une rare conservation." The Vicomtesse de Courval, by 1899 (Lady Dilke); Princesse de Poix by 1912 (Zimmermann), Duchesse de Mouchy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): G 1875, no. 94; Pichon 1880, p. 59, no. 294 and n. 1, p. 86, no. 98; Josz 1903, p. 428; (on the painting): La Curne de Saint-Palaye 1755, p. 63; Dezallier-d'Argenville 1757, p. 139 (1768 ed., p. 131); Dilke 1899, p. 86; Staley 1902, p. 146; Z 1912, pp. 187-188 and pl. 51; Gillet 1921, pp. 5, 158-159; DV, III, under no. 306; Pilon 1924, p. 110, 116 (not in the 1912 ed.); Dacier, *Le Figaro Artistique* (8 January 1925), p. 197; R 1928, no. 174; Rey 1931, pp. 92-93, pl. XVI (print); Mathey 1948, p. 48; Adhémar 1950, p. 28, ill.; AH 1950, no. 136, pl. 68; PM 1957, under no. 609 (see also nos. 772, 865); M 1959, p. 69; Cailleux 1966, p. ii; Cat. Wallace Coll. 1968, under no. P 439; Stuffmann 1968, pp. 134-135, no. 182; Hilles 1969, p. 209, no. 357; CR 1970, no. 157, ill.; F 1972, B. 81 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Posner 1972, p. 388; Posner 1973, pp. 31, 34-36, 40-42, 45, 48, 52-53, 65-66, 72, 75, 95 and nn. 4, 33, fig. 11; Cailleux 1975, p. 86, (Eng. ed. p. 246); Roberts 1976, pp.49-50; Ingamells and Raines 1976-1978, under no. 295; RM 1982, no. 179, ill.; P 1984, pp. 105-106, fig. 84; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A late eighteenth-century copy in reverse, after the engraving but with variants (for example, the servant is black), is in the Musée de Valenciennes (canvas, 92 x 72 cm; mus. cat. 1931, no. 368) (fig. 5). Formerly attributed to Vleughels, it is now correctly judged to be anonymous (exh. cat. Valenciennes 1918, no. 384 and Hercenberg 1975, p. 186, no. 2). For painted, gouache, or engraved pastiches inspired by the painting, see AH 1950, p. 136; F 1972; and Posner 1973.

RELATED DRAWINGS

A study for the servant is in a Swiss private collection (fig. 6; cat. D. 32). Ingres copied that same servant, but as a nude, using as his model the painting rather than the engraving, which is in reverse (Musée Ingres, Montauban, MI 867-4085) (fig. 7).

RELATED PRINTS

Philippe Mercier (1689-1760) engraved the composition in reverse. The state before the letters bears the initials *P.M.* and gives the name of the artist as *Vatteau,* but does not give a title (fig. 8). Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 193 [48]) mentions the engraving: "Une servante s'approchant pour rendre ses services à sa maîtresse qui sort de son lit, gravé à Londres par P. Mercier." Ingamells and Raines (1976-1978) date the print to 1722-1723. For the differences between the engraving and the painting, see the entry.

# 38 Love in the French Theater ("*L'amour au théâtre françois*")

Oil on canvas
37 x 48 (14⅝ x 18¹⁵⁄₁₆)
Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

*Love in the French Theater* and its pseudo-pendant, *Love in the Italian Theater,* cat. P. 65, are among Watteau's most celebrated paintings, attracting the attention of art historians, iconographers, iconologists, and theater historians. Yet few conclusions have been reached, and nearly everything that is known about the two paintings is subject to question. In 1734 they belonged to Henri de Rosnel, a Parisian merchant, a colleague of Jullienne's. At that time they were engraved by Cochin the Elder for the *Recueil Jullienne* with the titles that they bear today. The six mediocre verses accompanying each of the compositions are by a second-rate theater author of doubtful reputation, Pierre-Charles Roy (1683-1764). But we do not know for whom or when these paintings were executed, or their fate between 1734 and 1769, when they reappeared in the collections of the Prussian king, Frederick the Great (see Appendix D, "Frederick the Great and Watteau"). They entered the royal museum in Berlin in 1830 and were almost seized in 1919 by France as compensation for "war damage." (See Alexandre, among others.)

fig. 1





The two paintings have been wrongly interpreted as pendants because of the titles of the prints, which contrast the Italian and French theaters, reunited by love. A quick glance makes it clear that the scale of the figures, their distribution in space, the conception (they are arranged in rows in one and frontally in the other), the organization of the compositions, not to mention their style, are quite different; the two compositions could not have been planned to correspond to each other. They may instead have been paired for commercial reasons, for it was and still is easier to sell prints (and also paintings) in pairs rather than separately. Of course, the fact that *Love in the French Theater* has been lightly cleaned, while *Love in the Italian Theater* retains its disagreeable yellow varnish, accentuates these differences.

Nevertheless, the two paintings should be studied separately, and once this is accepted it is easier to date and interpret them both. (We do not, however, aspire to answer all the questions that are raised, since we are firmly convinced that Watteau did not wish to give a single clear answer to these questions.)

Scholars have rarely dared to date the paintings separately, but even so the proposals range from 1712 (exh. cat.

fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4



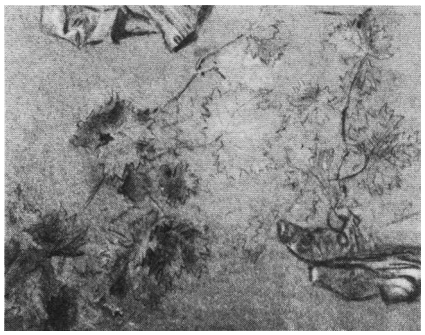


fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8

Paris 1937) to 1720 (exh. cat. Versailles 1962), covering Watteau's entire career. Mathey, in 1959, tended toward 1714, but the 1978 Berlin catalogue suggested "after" 1716; Roland-Michel and Camesasca, 1718; Adhémar, 1719, and so on. It has often been observed that certain of the drawings used for *Love in the French Theater* (see Related Works) date from the first period of Watteau's activity. Certain parts of the painting—the two women and the man on the right of the composition between the dancer who turns his back to us and the man (Crispin) who is looking at us, the three musicians (repeated in *The Country Ball,* cat. P. 24), and the onlookers with Pierrot at the left of the work—are also in a style close to that seen in the works of c. 1712, especially *Pierrot Content* (cat. P. 13) where the same stiff, spindly figures are used. The five principal figures in the center and those at the far right are, on the contrary, more advanced in style. For some of them, particularly the two men who are clinking their glasses, preparatory studies dating from Watteau's youth are known. This would lead one to think that *Love in the French Theater* was first executed c. 1712 and that Watteau took it up again perhaps four years later, repainting the three central figures, considerably changing the others, and adding new ones—the dancing couple and possibly the man on the right who seems to be speaking to us. We shall return later to this character whose importance should not be underestimated.

Our theory that *Love in the French Theater* and *Love in the Italian Theater* were not painted at the same time forces us to be circumspect about the numerous attempts to identify precisely the scene. Theater historians have always been more reserved than art historians about this, and it has been the subject of long dissertations.

According to Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, pp. 64-65), two plays could have inspired Watteau: *L'Amante romanesque* or *La Capricieuse,* a prose comedy in three acts by J. Autreau, presented for the first time at the theater of the Hôtel de Bourgogne on 27 December 1718 (which is quite late). Chevalley (1970) believed Watteau was inspired by *Les Trois Cousines* but the Dancourt expert A. Blanc (1976) disagreed. Tomlinson (1981) added the *Impromptu de Suresnes* by the same Dancourt to the list of possibilities. Dacier and Vuaflart also suggested that the Watteau painting might have had its source in the conclusion of an intermezzo of the *Festes de l'Amour and of Bacchus,* a comic opera by Lully (1672) (inspired by Molière's *George Dandin*). This theory, generally accepted today, was repeated by Mirimonde (1961) and Posner (1984) and developed by Boerlin-Brodbeck (1973). Performed twice during Watteau's lifetime, in 1706 and 1716, it shows the reconciliation between Bacchus, crowned with grapes and grape leaves, and Cupid, with his quiver filled with arrows quite visible on the side, flanked by Pierrot on the far left and by Crispin on the far right of the scene. Colom-

fig. 9

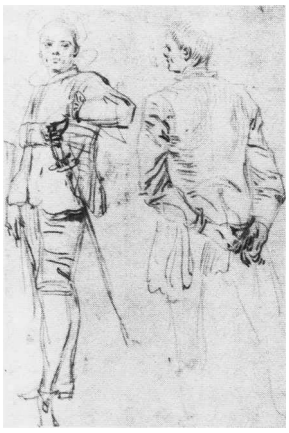


fig. 10



fig. 11



fig. 12



bine is between the gods who are clinking their glasses. Two dancers execute a step to the sound of a small orchestra (musette, oboe, and violin, and there is also a tambourine on the ground in the foreground) to the left of the composition.

Several different identifications have been suggested for the bust of the veiled woman in the center of the composition, above the dancing woman (seen in three-quarter view and not from the back, unusual in Watteau's oeuvre). For Mirimonde, this "chilly figure" would symbolize bashful love. Boerlin-Brodbeck saw in that sculpture and in the dancers a clear reference to a *divertissement* (entertainment) added to the play in 1704. But Tomlinson's explanation, which identified this bust with its knowing smile "à la chinoise" as Momus, the god of folly, seems plausible.

There has not been sufficient emphasis on Crispin, at the far right of the composition, who is the only one who looks at us. He has been identified as the celebrated actor Paul Poisson. This quite clearly is a portrait, one of a leader of the group, who is coming to greet and thank his public, hat in hand. Watteau demonstrates a most exceptional concern for capturing a likeness here, which seems to us of singular importance. Those who seek to identify not only the theatrical episode but also the actors represented (is there necessarily a link between the two?) should take note of this portrait.

Outside this portrait Watteau wished instead to evoke the theater, or at least one of the forms of the theater then in style in Paris, with its actors and its dancers, its musicians and its extras. As was his habit, the artist intermingled music and theater, dance and open air, wine and love, the real and the imaginary. He refused to allow himself to be contained within one genre or to hold to one interpretation. Watteau succeeds in that we are not left indifferent, but are obliged to become interested in his painting and to seek to decipher its secret.

PROVENANCE

According to the engraving by Cochin for the *Recueil Jullienne*, announced in the *Mercure de France*, May 1734, it belonged at that time to "Mr. [Henri] de Rosnel," a Parisian cloth merchant, in 1700, alderman in 1718, and consul in 1721, who died in 1739; his wife, Marie-Thérèse Marsollier, died in 1752.

Acquired by Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712-1786) between 1763 and 1766 when it first appeared in Oesterreich's plan for hanging paintings; mentioned in 1769 as being in the painting gallery of Sans Souci palace in Potsdam. Transferred to the Royal Prussian Museum, Berlin, 1830; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1929, no. 76, ill.; Paris 1937, no. 229; Paris 1951, no. 57, pl. 58; Wiesbaden 1951, no. 51; Munich 1958, no. 220; Berlin 1962, no. 95; Versailles 1962, no. 133; Bordeaux 1980, no. 69, ill. and colorpl., p. 19 (color detail, cover); Frankfurt 1982, no. Ce 8, pl. p. 67 (and pp. 66, 68); Brunswick and Aix-la-Chapelle 1983-1984, no. 34.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Nicolaï 1769, p. 516; Nicolaï 1786, III, p. 1212; Oesterreich 1771, no. 161 (Germ. ed. 1770, no. 159); Rumpf 1794, p. 180; Rumpf 1803, II, p. 132; 1823, p. 100; Waagen 1830, p. 120, no. 477; Viardot 1844, p. 373; H 1845, no. 77; H 1856, no. 78 (composition); Schasler 1856, p. 40; Lejeune 1864, I, p. 213; Blanc 1865, p. 8; [Cousin] 1865, p. 31; G 1875, no. 65; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1883, p. 106; Mollett 1883, p. 62; Dargenty 1891, p. 99 (print); Mantz 1892, p. 184; Phillips 1895, pp. 24, 41, 82; Rosenberg 1896, p. 74, ill.; Schéfer 1896, p. 186; Dilke 1899, p. 95 and pl. bet. pp. 92-93; Staley 1902, p. 136; Josz 1903, pp. 197, 318, 327; Fourcaud 1901 (print) ill. bet. pp. 348-349; Dacier 1905, pp. 48-49; Pilon 1912, pp. 98, 100, 102, 104 (ill. bet. pp. 100-101); Z 1912, p. 187 pl. 34; Alexandre 1919, p. 124, ill. p. 126; DV, I and III, under no. 270; R 1928, no. 54; *La Renaissance* (May 1929), p. 268, ill.; *Le Gaulois artistique* (29 March 1929), p. 208 and ill. p. 206; Mus. cat. Berlin 1931, p. 519 no. 468, ill.; Parker 1931, pp. 29-30, 46; Elling 1942, pp. 11-71; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 59; Wilenski 1949, p. 103 pl. 416; AH 1950, no. 203 pl. 138; PM 1957, under nos. 25, 29, 56, 88, 545, 615, 642, 666; Courville 1958, pp. 195-196, 199; Gauthier 1959, pl. LII; M 1959, pp. 63, 68; Mathey 1959a, p. 46, ill.; Mirimonde 1961, pp. 271-272 and fig. 26; Mirimonde 1963, pp. 49, 51-52; Lossky 1966, pl. XII; Adhémar 1968, p. 230; Brookner 1969, pl. 22; Chevalley 1970, p. 285, ill. (and detail p. 300); CR 1970, no. 187 ill. and pl. LI (color detail); F 1972, A. 29 (as "authentically by Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 143-148 and n. 357; Cailleux 1975, p. 86 (Eng. ed. p. 247); Blanc 1976, p. 155, 306, 584, 588; Mirimonde 1977, pp. 110-111; Eidelberg 1977, p. 63; Eisler 1977, p. 302; Mus. cat. 1978, p. 475 ill. (Eng. ed.); Nordenfalk 1979, p. 117; Bauer 1980, p. 38; Exh. cat. Washington 1980, pp. 20, 85, no. 2; RM 1982, no. 226 (and color detail p. 65); Tomlinson 1981, pp. 33-35, 37-38, 40, 49, 57, 75-76, 92, 96-98, 125, 163 and fig. 11; Taviani 1982, p. 311; P 1984, pp. 121, 258-263, colorpl. 54, fig. 190; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

The copy in the Musée des Beaux Arts, Nantes, was mentioned by Staley (1902, p. 132). An exact copy of the painting (panel, 47 x 65 cm) was sold in Nice, Galerie Robiony, 26-27 May 1971, no. 112, ill. An "absolute pastiche" was exhibited in Paris 1977 (no. 306, ill.). *Bacchus' Repast* (Adhémar no. 269), inspired by *Love in the French Theater*, was also reproduced in that exhibition catalogue, no. 193 (see also Tomlinson 1981, fig. 2) (fig. 1). Also reproduced in the same catalogue were several painted fans inspired by the painting (nos. 229, 441, 452) as well as a Sèvres porcelain cooler (no. 237). Adhémar (1950) noted two (?) copies (photographs in the Witt Library, London), one in the Art Collector's Association, 1920, and the other belonging to Clifford Lewis, Jr., USA.

See also Lejeune 1865, III, p. 323, for a copy by Watteau de Lille (we quote his text in cat. P. 65, *Love in the Italian Theater*) and the catalogue of the Dubois sale, 7-9 December 1843, no. 16: "*L'Amour au théâtre François*. Des seigneurs et des dames en costumes de théâtre, se livrent dans un parc aux plaisirs de la danse, de l'amour et de la collation; un orchestre placé sur la gauche, accompagne l'execution du menuet d'Escaudet dansé par deux personnages. Ce tableau est gravé par Cochin" (canvas; 51 x 62 cm) and no. 16 *bis* "Sujet analogue. D'autres personnages également en costume de théâtre dans l'ombrage d'un beau parc, semblent se disposer á jouer une scène pastorale. Pendant au précédent" (thus different from *Love in the Italian Theater*, same dimensions as no. 16).

RELATED DRAWINGS

PM 88 (Private coll.; cat. D. 19; fig. 2), a study for the bagpiper on the far left and two studies for Bacchus; PM 29 (Private coll., Paris; fig. 3), two studies, with changes, for the woman dancing in the center of the composition; PM 720 (Louvre; fig. 4), Watteau may have used for the dancer's head several of these five studies of heads; PM 666 (Petit Palais, Paris; fig. 5), study for the vine leaves; PM 545 (Goethe Museum, Weimar; fig. 6), related, we believe mistakenly (see M 1959, *C.d.A.*), to the dancing woman in the center of the composition; PM 25 (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; cat. D. 15; fig. 7), a preliminary sketch for the character bearing a quiver and holding a glass; PM 56 (Private coll., Paris; cat. D. 20; fig. 8), a more developed study for the same figure; PM 642 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; fig. 9), studies for the dancer turning his back to us and for the man leaning his hands on the pommel of his sword at the far right; PM 615 (British Museum, London; fig. 10), possible study for the head of this man (often identified as the actor Paul Poisson). Ingres made a copy, from the print, of the woman dancing in the center, but nude (Musée Ingres, Montauban, MI 867-4083; fig. 11).

Delacroix, according to Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, p. 183), made pencil copies of six prints after Watteau's paintings, including *Love in the French Theater*. These drawings belonged to André Joubin.

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving (fig. 12) by Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Elder (1688-1754) (Roux 1940, IV, pl. 619, no. 151) was announced in *Le Mercure de France*, May 1734, p. 940. The copperplate was later owned by F. Basan. The *Mercure* notice, which also included *Love in the Italian Theater*, stated: "ils sont gravez de la même grandeur des originaux et au miroir, pour que toutes les actions soient à droite, comme dans les tableaux." The following verses accompany the print:

L'amour badine en France; il se montre au grand jour;
Il ne prend point de masque, il parle sens détour;
Il vit dans les festins; aux plaisirs il s'allie,
C'est une liberté que le noeud qui nous lie,
Nous serons sans contrainte et Bacchus et l'Amour et nos tristes Voisins nous taxent de folie.

(These lines are signed by "Mr. Roy." Pierre-Charles Roy (1683-1764; see DV, II, p. 92), dramatist and opera librettist, was also a court poet. "C'est l'homme d'esprit le plus bête que j'ai connu" (Fontenelle).

# 39 The Embarrassing Proposal (*La proposition embarrassante*)

Oil on canvas
65 x 84.5 (25 11/16 x 33 1/4)
(enlarged at the bottom by 5 cm)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

The painting has never been exhibited outside the Soviet Union and unfortunately we were unable to see it again during the preparations for this exhibition; the color reproductions and the details that illustrate the book by Zolotov and Nemilova (1973) are deceptive. The execution lacks energy and seems pasty; the figures are unsteady, the faces have no character or charm. This is perhaps due to the condition of the painting, on which the two Russian scholars have elaborated. The painting has suffered, but of greater importance is the fact that it lies over another composition, noticeably earlier in date, which Watteau brutally effaced (the marks are visible to the naked eye). He reworked his first painting entirely, but without completely changing it. Thus Zolotov and Nemilova think they can identify an early drawing of a female guitar player (fig. 1; cat. D. 38) that Watteau may have used for his first youthful version, which would prove that the latter would date from c. 1712.

If one agrees with most scholars that the Hermitage painting dates from 1715 or 1716, Watteau would thus have reworked the composition three or four years later. The three known preparatory drawings for the painting (cats. D. 54, 103, 105) confirm such a dating, as does the figure of the seated youth leaning on his right hand on the left of the composition. This figure foreshadows the one in *The Shepherds* (cat. P. 53).

The title of the work, *The Embarrassing Proposal,* is enigmatic. True, it was added late, after 1746, when the painting was already owned by the Comte de Brühl, a well-informed collector and all-powerful prime minister of the Elector of Saxony. But does it help us to understand the artist's intentions? A couple is dancing a minuet—the painting has often borne this title—to the sound of a guitar. A young woman turns toward the female guitarist while a youth watches the dancers—is he too young to participate in their frolics? If indeed there is an embarrassing proposal, the woman dancer, judging from her expression, remains indifferent.

This work is most noteworthy for the quality of the landscape and particularly that of the trees on the left of the work. If the composition already has that rhythm so characteristic of Watteau's romantic scenes, it is still only a clumsy effort in a somewhat unusual format for the young Watteau.

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4

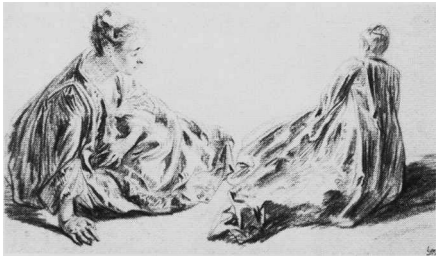


fig. 5

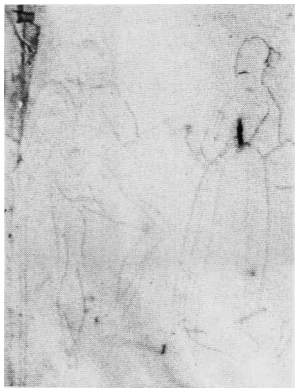


fig. 6





PROVENANCE

The identity of the person for whom the painting was made is unknown. In 1746 it belonged to the Comte de Brühl (1700-1763), the minister of the Prince of Saxony, Auguste III. It was engraved by Tardieu in that year, at the earliest. This engraving appears at the end of some copies of the *Recueil Jullienne*. The entire collection of the Comte de Brühl, then in Dresden, was bought by Catherine the Great of Russia in 1769.

EXHIBITIONS

Moscow 1955, p. 24; Leningrad 1956, p. 12, ill.; Leningrad 1972, no. 4, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cat. Hermitage 177(4?), no. 345 (see Lacroix 1861); Viardot 1844, p. 457; H 1845, no. 130; H 1856, no. 132; Lacroix 1961, p. 176, no. 345; Cat. Hermitage 1863, no. 1501; Waagen 1864, p. 304; G 1875, no. 158; Dussieux 1876, pp. 235, 580; Clément de Ris 1880, p. 51; Dohme 1883, p. 98; Staley 1902, p. 143; Josz 1903, pp. 320-321; Pilon 1912, p. 201; Z 1912, pp. 185-186, pl. 13; DV, II, p. 46 and III, under no. 274; Hildebrandt 1922, p. 99, fig. 46; R 1928, no. 129; Réau 1929, no. 415; AH 1950, no. 142, pl. 73; PM 1957, under nos. 643 and 825; Sterling 1957, pp. 40-41, pl. 25; Cat. Hermitage 1958, I, p. 266, no. 1150, fig. 187; M 1959, p. 68; Descargues 1961, p. 170, colorpl.; Mirimonde 1961, p. 250; Lewinson-Lessing 1963, no. 67, colorpl.; Boudaille 1964, dossier 38; Nemilova 1964, pp. 130-138, 185-186, no. 5, colorpl. 70 and numerous details; CR 1970, no. 146, ill.; Nemilova 1971, pp. 181-195, fig. 91; Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 143-144, no. 9, colorpl. and five details, including cover; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 209, 330, 331; Nemilova 1973, p. 21, colorpl. 1 and details; Nemilova 1974, pp. 19-44; Nemilova 1975, p. 434 and colorpl. I; Mirimonde 1977, p. 118; Guerman 1980, pp. 10-11, colorpl. and color detail; Nemilova 1982, no. 50, pp. 139-141, ill. (with complete Russian bibl.); RM 1982, no. 189, ill.; P 1984, p. 285 n. 74 and p. 286 n. 81; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey mentioned two preparatory drawings for this painting—PM 825 (fig. 2) (Louvre; cat. D. 105), for the guitar player (a recent copy, with changes, is in the Clowes Collection, Indianapolis [see Fraser 1973, pp. 155-156, colorpl.]), and PM 643 (fig. 3) (Private coll., New York; cat. D. 54), for the male dancer (the kneeling man on this sheet was probably used for the Berlin version of the *Embarkation,* cat. P. 62). Zolotov and Nemilova (1973) correctly pointed out that the counterproof in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne; fig. 4) of the figure on the right in PM 636 (Amsterdam; cat. D. 103) may have been used for the woman seen from behind seated next to the guitar player. For another drawing (PM 78; cat. D. 38) that could have been used for a first version of the painting, later effaced and repainted by Watteau, see Zolotov and Nemilova 1973 and Nemilova 1974. Ingres copied the couple from the engraving (Musée Ingres, Montauban, MI 967-4085; see cat. P. 37).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving in reverse by Nicolas-Henri Tardieu (1674-1749) did not appear in the *Recueil Jullienne* when it was first published in 1735, but was included in some later examples. The fact that the engraving's caption states that the "Tableau Original est dans la Gallerie de son Excellence Monseigneur le comte de Brühl . . . Premier Ministre de sa Majesté le Roy de Pologne Electeur de Saxe" proves that the Tardieu engraving was made after 1746, when Brühl became prime minister. The engraving specifies that the painting measured *2. Pieds et demi de large et 2. Pieds de haut,* which corresponds almost exactly to the dimensions of the Hermitage painting. The engraved copperplate appeared in the 1755 Chereau inventory. An engraving, in the same direction as the painting by Michael Keyl (1722-1795), illustrated *Recueil d'Estampes gravées d'après les Tableaux de la Galerie et du Cabinet de S.E.M. le comte de Brühl . . .*, published in Dresden in 1754.



Before Restoration

## 40 Italian Recreation (*"Récréation italienne"*)

Oil on canvas
78.5 x 96.5 (30 15/16 x 38)
Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg

As early as 1750 a Berlin restorer pronounced the painting "very cracked and very damaged." The subsequent restoration in c. 1850 probably did not improve its condition. The wear in some places is such that Börsch-Supan (exh. cat. Paris 1963) thought that the work had "remained unfinished." Junecke (1962) did not rule out the possibility that the painting may have been left in the sketch stage by Watteau and was finished by Lancret. In any case, the painting has regained its legibility. Not only has the unfolding of the canvas edges recovered 1½ centimeters of the original painting on all sides, but also the picture itself has regained some of its former brilliance. Some parts have even been discovered intact. Nevertheless, it has been cut on all sides. According to the caption (1733), the Aveline engraving was *3.pieds 2.pouces* in height by *3.pieds 6.pouces* in width, or approximately 102.9 x 113.7 centimeters. Today it measures 78.5 x 96.5 centimeters. If in fact it does seem cut on the right by approximately four centimeters and by a minimum of eight on the left (eliminating the monster's head, from which the pool's water springs), the five centimeters cut from both top and bottom do not correspond to the *3.pieds 2.pouces* mentioned in the print. Must one again believe that the person who engraved the letters made a mistake?



fig. 1

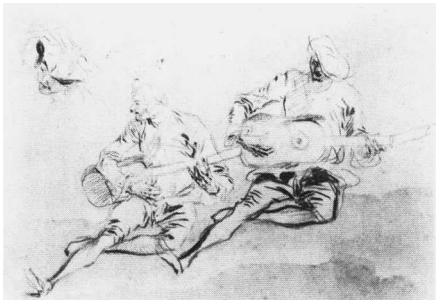


fig. 2



fig. 3

The painting belonged to Jullienne in 1733. If it is the same one (and this seems doubtful today) that Rothenburg, Frederick the Great's ambassador to Paris between 1744 and 1746, bought for 1400 livres eleven years later, this would confirm that Jullienne sold his Watteau paintings when the opportunity arose. As Gersaint wrote in 1744 (Champion 1921, p. 54) "he always took special care to remove [from his collection] the pieces of lesser merit, as he was able to acquire more commendable ones."

The work is generally dated 1715 (Camesasca, Posner) or 1716 (Adhémar, Börsch-Supan in exh. cat. Paris 1963), or 1716-1717 (Roland-Michel). But Börsch-Supan, who recently proposed a date of c. 1721, believed that Watteau died before he could finish it. We believe that the commonly accepted date of 1715-1716 is reconfirmed by the preparatory drawing for the guitarist, the similarity of certain motifs of the work with two other compositions by Watteau (*The Pastime,* lost; DV 185, CR 190, and *Venetian Fêtes,* Edinburgh; [fig. 1], DV 6, CR 180; see also, for the statue seen from behind, missing from the painting but clearly visible in the print, CR 78, 209).

A guitarist plays for his sweetheart, surrounded by two seated couples, one seen from behind and the other facing us. A man leaning on a stone balustrade turns his head away. At the other side of the painting, a "living statue" that recalls the Vatican *Ariadne* reclines on a dolphin, a common symbol of amorous desire. This provides the key to this work: while the couples amuse themselves, the solitary man is left to himself.

The painting numbers among Watteau's boldest compositions: the central groups that are set off against a curtain of trees contrast with the lively fountain and the solitary figure placed at either end of the work. The polar opposition of these two figures tears the painting in half, forcing us to look from one to the other, to connect the different motifs of his painting, and then to interpret it. The parts of the work that are in good condition are very fine. Certain faces, the costumes of the Italian comedy that inspired the title of the work and the grove of trees on the right of the composition, have retained Watteau's characteristic lightness of touch. Still, it is a shame that despite the exemplary restoration, one of Watteau's finest inventions is no longer what it should be.



fig. 4



fig. 5

PROVENANCE

According to the 1733 engraving by Aveline (1702-1768) for the *Recueil Jullienne,* the painting was in the "Cabinet de Mr. de Jullienne." The painting was no longer in Jullienne's (1686-1766) possession by 1758, date of the manuscript inventory of his collection (formerly in the Fenaille collection; now in the Pierpont Morgan Library). Börsch-Supan (exh. cat. Paris 1963) identified it with a work referred to by Frederick Rudolph, Count von Rothenburg (1710-1751) in a letter dated 7 May 1744: "J'ai aussi acheté un tableau de Watteau qui est admirable dont j'envoie ci-joint l'éstampe. Le tableau est un des plus beaux qu'il ait

faits et d'une belle grandeur. Je l'ai eu à fort bon marché. Il ne coûte à Votre Majesté que 1400 qui sont de notre monnaie 350 et quelques écus" (Seidel 1900, p. 17; original document conserved in the Zentrales Staatsarchiv, Merseburg). Börsch-Supan has recently informed us (in a letter) that he no longer subscribes to this theory. In any case, a report concerning its frame proves that the work belonged to Frederick II by 1747. An invoice from the restorer Peter-Franz Gerhardt, dated 1760, indicates that the painting is "très crevassé et très endommagé." It was restored at the request of Frederick William IV (1795-1861) in the mid-nineteenth century. Until 1941 it remained in the small gallery of the Sans Souci Palace in Potsdam; transferred to the Charlottenburg Palace.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1962, no. 100; Paris 1963, no. 35, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition and the print): H 1845, no. 99; H 1856, no. 100; (on the painting): Oesterreich 1773, no. 287 (?); Nicolaï 1779, II, p 918; Rumpf 1794, p. 186; Rumpf 1803, II, p. 99; G 1875, no. 160; Dohme 1876, p. 90, no. 5; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Mollett 1883, p. 72; Seidel 1900, no. 152 (a detail of the man leaning on the balustrade was drawn and engraved by Peter Halm, p. 44); Staley 1902, p. 138; Z 1912, p. 187, pl. 44; DV, I, pp. 164, 183, 240, 264, and III, under no. 198; Hübner 1926, p. 57, no. 16; R 1928, no. 145; Eisenstadt 1930, p. 153; AH 1950, no. 139, pl. 71; PM 1957, under no. 833; Gauthier 1959, pl. XXI; Junecke 1962, pp. 68, 73; Schéfer 1962, pp. 40, 46; CR 1970, no. 129, ill.; F 1972, B. 19 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Börsch-Supan 1977, p. 37, fig. 8 (detail); RM 1982, no. 169, ill.; P 1984, pp. 173-174, fig. 136; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED DRAWINGS

PM 833 (Private coll., New York; fig. 2) bears a study for the guitarist. A study for the man learning on the balustrade, now lost, is known through the print by Benoit Audran (Roux 1931, I, p. 241, no. 31); fig. 5. Ingres copied the engraving (exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 328, ill.; drawing at Musée Ingres, Montauban, MI 867-4071; fig. 3).

RELATED PRINTS

Engraved in reverse by Pierre Aveline (1702-1768; Roux 1931, I, p. 315, no. 16; fig. 4) for the *Recueil Jullienne,* the print was announced in the *Mercure de France,* October 1733 (pp. 2229-2230). The copperplate was listed in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. For the differences between the painting and the print, see the entry. For a reproduction of the print by N. Ransonnette, *"Les amusemens italiens,"* sometimes incorrectly related to *Italian Recreation,* see DV, III, p. 139.

## 41 Landscape with a Goat (*Paysage à la chèvre*)

Oil on resinous panel
26.5 x 18.5 (10 7/16 x 7 5/16)
P Musée du Louvre, Paris



The painting is not well known and for a long time Watteau's authorship was doubted. When it arrived in the Louvre it was called "after Watteau"; it was catalogued in 1972 and 1974 as "attributed to Watteau"; it was restored to Watteau himself by Mathey (1956, 1959), Rosenberg (1974), and Roland-Michel (1982). Several facts make this attribution certain. First, the former owner, the American painter Walter Gay, was a discriminating connoisseur of Watteau's work. He owned a distinguished set of drawings by the artist that were given to the Louvre on his death in 1937. He was proud of his painting, which came from the Natoire collection, and it should be noted that there were few errors of attribution in the catalogue of the painter's estate sale in 1778. Above all, similarities can be noted between the *Landscape with a Goat* and both the middleground of *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 66) (as Mathey has already noted) and especially with the upper left part of the *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 61), in the stacked rustic buildings and houses perched on uninhabited hillsides. The touch, with its very obvious accents and vigorous execution, may be surprising, but this is found in many of Watteau's paintings from his full maturity. Also characteristic of the artist is the drawing of architecture with the brush.

Nemilova dated the painting to 1714-1715; Mathey placed it in 1715; and Roland-Michel in 1715-1716. In fact, while Mathey pointed out that the Louvre composition had "the fine material and transparency of the seventeenth-century Dutch painter," Bazin (1938) and then Camesasca were correct in stressing its Venetian aspects and in comparing it with the drawings of Titian and Campagnola, which Watteau liked to copy at Crozat's after 1716.

Was the little Louvre painting executed directly from the subject like the *Bièvre at Gentilly* (CR 139; presuming that

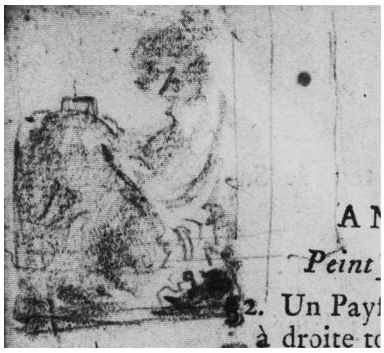


fig. 1

work really is by Watteau)? Did Watteau use drawings made in the open air? Or as we believe, did he paint, rather, a picture inspired by drawings of Italian landscapes? Only the group of the peasant girl who leans on her large copper cauldron and the goat, very Flemish in inspiration, clashes with the Venetian bent of the work.

In fact, landscapes are rare in Watteau's painted oeuvre. In this exhibition the Louvre painting can only be compared with the *Landscape with a River* from the Hermitage (cat. P. 33), which was also originally on panel and was no doubt made slightly earlier. But unlike the Russian work, the Louvre painting is in perfect condition.

If nature played an essential role for Watteau and if he preferred to situate his most ambitious compositions in pastoral settings, yet he did not wish to be a landscape artist. Watteau was a painter of man—his solitude or his loves. Nature was for him an essential, even indispensable, setting and accompaniment to the expression of emotion, but not an end in itself.

PROVENANCE

Probably offered at the Natoire (1700-1777) sale, 14 December 1778, no. 32: "Un Paysage d'un site élévé et quelques fabriques; à droite tombe une chûte d'eau, sur le devant une Femme assise, et plus loin une chèvre: ce petit Tableau, d'une touche légère, est spirituel et transparent de couleur" (panel, 10 x 7 *pouces* or 27 x 18 cm) (fig. 1). As for the quick sketch done by Saint-Aubin in the margin of the Natoire sale catalogue (Dacier 1913, VIII, p. 12 of the facsimile of the sale and p. 61), at first it appears to be quite different from the painting shown in this exhibition; however, a closer examination, especially by someone familiar with Saint-Aubin's manner, indicates that it could well be identified as the landscape in the Louvre. The painting was sold, according to the inscription in Saint-Aubin's handwriting, for 60 livres to "de la ville architecte." Said to have belonged to the Princesse de Polignac in 1898 (note in the Louvre's file). To Walter Gay (1856-1937); gift to the Louvre from Mrs. Walter Gay, 1937 (committee and council of 23 December, as "d'après Watteau"). Louvre R. F. 1938-36.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1938; Paris 1938a, no. 88; Paris 1973-1974, no. 83, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bazin 1938, p. 30 ("attribution . . . qui repose sur de très fortes probabilités"); Mathey 1956, p. 23, figs. 9, 10 (detail); M 1959, pp. 33-34, 68, 76, fig. 65; Nemilova 1964, p. 65; CR 1970, no. 128, ill.; F 1972, B. 61 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Mus. cat. Louvre 1972, p. 399 (as "attributed"); Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, p. 141; Nemilova 1973, p. 55, fig. 13 and detail; Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 928, ill. (as "attributed"); Rosenberg in Demoriane 1974, p. 98; Cailleux 1975, p. 88 (Eng. ed. p. 249); RM 1982, no. 171, ill. (wrongly located in "Musée Condé, Chantilly"); P 1984, p. 283 n. 65; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED DRAWINGS

For the drawing by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780) after the painting, see Provenance.

## 42 The Italian Serenade (*"La sérénade italienne"*)

Oil on chestnut panel
33.5 x 27 (13¼ x 10⅝)
P Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

The *Italian Serenade* seemed to be a work without a history, but the patient studies of Professor Carl Nordenfalk have proved that this is not the case. Beneath this painting there are actually two other hidden paintings. The x-rays published in 1979 (fig. 1) made it possible to see that Watteau had significantly altered his composition and that the artist's intervention had taken place well after he first executed the painting, but that in fact he had reused an older work and had considerably changed it. This has recently been confirmed by Nordenfalk's (1983) discovery of an old copy of this first version in an English private collection, which shows that the original composition comprised only three figures (fig. 2). Watteau later considerably reworked it, adding figures and changing others—especially the Pierrot. Mainly, though, he changed the general spirit of his work.

But Nordenfalk has also discovered, under this first version, some arabesques and heraldic motifs that indicate that this lacquered chestnut panel was once the left half of a carriage door. Today we know that on the other half of this door he made a second painting, *Perfect Accord* (DV 23, CR 196) formerly in the Earl of Iveagh's collection (fig. 3). A comparison of the x-rays of the two works clarifies the original design of two greyhounds reclining on either side of a cartouche bearing the letters V and C, both used twice (fig. 4). Nordenfalk advanced the theory that the carriage for which the doors had been made could have been the one ordered for the marriage of the Marquis de Vaubourg to Mlle. de Vieuville in October 1709. But Nordenfalk admits that his heraldic research was not conclusive. He believes, but without proof, that the painted decoration was commissioned from Audran and executed by Watteau. The doors, presumably, were quickly removed and returned to Watteau who then used them once again before painting the Stockholm picture.

What date can be assigned to this work? Zimmermann placed it between 1710-1716, Adhémar between 1712 and 1715, Camesasca at c. 1715, and Roland-Michel at c. 1716, while according to Mathey it could have been painted in Paris in 1714 or in London in 1719. Nordenfalk dated it, no doubt correctly, between 1715 and 1719, which is confirmed by the style of the preparatory drawings, the studies for the heads that were changed from the first version.

If Nordenfalk's theory that the carriage's ornamentation was executed in 1709, then what was the date of Watteau's first composition? To the extent that it can be judged



42

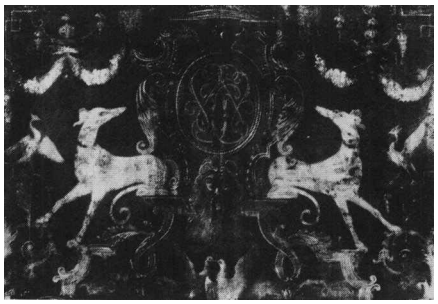


fig. 4

from the English copy, a fairly considerable number of years must separate it from the definitive version in Stockholm. We believe it was made earlier than 1712, the date of Watteau's first acceptance into the Academy.

Is *Perfect Accord* the pendant to the Stockholm painting, as the fact that it was painted on the second half of the door of the same carriage would indicate? The two works would then have been confused in the eighteenth century and probably reunited in the nineteenth century (see Provenance). However, the markedly different styles of the two works prevent our unreserved agreement with this theory. Further, Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 193 [38]), suggested

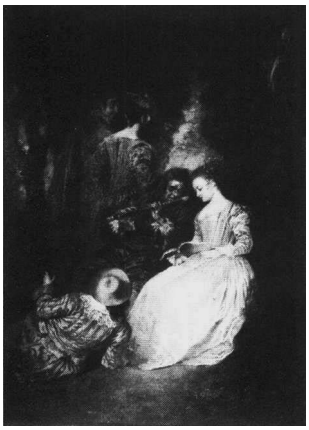
fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



that the pendant of *Perfect Accord* was *The Surprise* (DV 31, CR 144). A second theory (Roland-Michel 1982) would pair *The Ogler* (DV 14, CR 115; fig. 5) and the Stockholm painting, but this seems scarcely more persuasive since the scale of the figures is different.

The title of the work given in the caption of the engraving by Scotin is easily explained by the costumes of the Italian comedy worn by the six protagonists of the scene, five men and one woman. Colombine, seated on her bench, her hands demurely folded, with her bow fixed in her hair, seems sulky or at least dreamy and distant. Pierrot tries to divert her with the sound of his guitar, which he plays *con amore*. Behind them a fool—Momus—in particolored costume is about to strike his tambourine while Mezzetin(?) reads a musical score. Two other unidentified figures from the Italian comedy look at the heroine who, "like a flower perking up inclines her head towards the musicians" (Posner 1984, p. 57).



fig. 5

As usual, Watteau mixes humor and seriousness, nature, music and love, the real and the artificial. Are his actors, which he places outdoors, far from the city and the theater, acting in a play, or can one agree with Fourcaud (1905) who said of this very painting, "the footlights are not far away"? Or, quite to the contrary, if the guitarist wears the Pierrot costume offstage as on the stage, is he now discarding "the clown's foolish and awkward persona" (Posner 1984, p. 57)? Is he now ready for the game of love? The viewer must decide.

PROVENANCE

Evrard Titon du Tillet (1677-1762), author of the *Parnasse François* (see J. Colton 1979) before April 1729 (DV II, p. 65) when it was engraved by Gérard Scotin. It still belonged to him in 1752, date of the publication of the *Voyage Pittoresque de Paris* by Dezallier d'Argenville, in which the painting (as well as *The Family*, cat. P. 54) was mentioned (no reference is made to the painting, however, in the 1757 edition). Mentioned in the manuscript catalogue of c. 1756 of the collection of Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) (formerly in the Fenaille Collection, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), no. 358: "Concert gravé sous le nom de La Sérénade . . ."; it was no. 1272 in the Jullienne estate inventory (25 March-5 August 1766): "6 figures de caractères dans un jardin . . . prix 250 l[ivres]" (one of the eight Watteau paintings that Jullienne owned at the time of his death; see DV, III, p. 49). Jullienne sale, 30 March-22 May 1767, no. 251: "Six figures de caractère dans un jardin . . ." (1051 livres, according to Joullain 1786; to Rémy, according to F 1972); Randon de Boisset, Receiver General of Finances (sale, Paris, 27 January 1777, no. 179; acquired for 2600 livres by Feuillet); Madame [de Cossé] sale, Paris, 11 November 1778, no. 74 (incorrectly described as on canvas, but since the entry specifies that the painting had been in the Randon de Boisset coll., it must undoubtedly be identified with the Titon du Tillet painting; 2100 livres). According to Hédouin 1845, acquired at that sale by "M. Payer," then sold for "1200 l[ivres] en 1795." According to S. Whittingham (letter, 1981), possibly in the collection of Sir Thomas Baring, 1772-1848 (sale, London, Christie's, 3 June 1848, no. 85, paired with *Perfect Accord* from the coll. of Lord Iveagh). Joullain, in 1786, confused *Perfect Accord* with *The Italian Serenade*, believing the latter had passed through an anonymous sale [Le Brun], 10 December 1778, no. 109).

Alfred de Rothschild (1842-1918), London, in 1889, probably until his death; Wildenstein 1928; Almina, Countess of Carnavon, London; Duveen; in 1935 it was part of the estate of John R. Thompson, Chicago; Samuel H. Kress, from before World War II until 1956; given by Kress to a friend; belonged to the friend's daughter, Mrs. E. Kilvert, Paris, in 1958; acquired by Baron Carl de Geer, Secretary, then President, of the Friends of the Nationalmuseum, and given by him to the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1961.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1889, no. 100; London 1909-1910, no. 12; New York 1935, no. 3, ill., pp. 4-5; Stockholm 1958, no. 62; Bordeaux 1967, no. 36; Stockholm 1979-1980, no. 523.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dezallier d'Argenville 1752, p. 243; Joullain 1786, p. 188; H 1845, no. 61; H 1856, no. 62; Lejeune 1864, I, p. 215; [Cousin] 1865, p. 31; G 1875, no. 165; Davis 1884 (Cat. Alfred de Rothschild coll.), I, no. 76, ill.; Phillips 1895, p. 72; Staley 1902, p. 149; Fourcaud 1905, pp. 119-120; DV, I, p. 262, III, under no. 103; Pilon 1912, p. 149; Z 1912, p. 187, pl. 36; R 1928, no. 69; Florisoone, *Arts* (12 November 1948), ill.; AH 1950, no. 93, pl. 48; Hackenbrock 1956, p. 110, fig. 19; 1959, pp. 68-69; Mirimonde 1961, p. 252; B.W. 1962, pp. 22-26; *GBA* (*Chronique*) (February 1963), p. 59, no. 218 ill.; CR 1970, no. 136, ill.; F 1972, B.20 (as "attributed to Watteau"; see also pp. 342-343); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, p. 158; Nordenfalk 1979, pp. 105-139, colorpl. II; Tomlinson 1981, p. 33; RM 1982, no. 178, ill.; Nordenfalk 1983, pp. 36-41, ill.; P 1984, pp. 57, 258, colorpl. 8; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Nordenfalk (1983) reproduced two painted copies. The first (Private coll., Bolton, Great Britain; p. 38 fig. 2) reproduces a "first state" of the Stockholm paint-

fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9

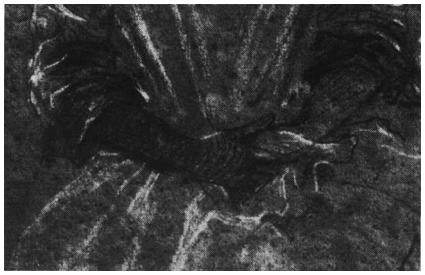




fig. 10



fig. 11a



fig. 11b

ing. The second, fig. 6 (Private coll., USA; p. 37, fig. 1) is a sort of painted counterproof of the two principal figures. For a copy in enamel decorating a jewelry box, see Hackenbrock 1956, p. 111, fig. 22. There was also a copy offered in the Woolworth sale, American Art Association, New York, 5-6 January 1927, no. 58, ill.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey (1957) did not associate any drawings with the Stockholm painting. We believe, however, that either PM 787 (fig. 7; cat. D. 125) or PM 780 (fig. 8; Clark Art Institute, Williamstown) could have inspired the head of the painting's heroine; that fig. 9, PM 742 (Louvre) is a study for her hands; and that PM 674 (Chicago; fig. 10; cat. D. 107) is a first study for the head of the man seen in profile and wearing a skullcap. We also believe that two of the studies of heads in PM 740 (fig. 11; formerly Groult coll., sale, Paris, 30 March 1963, no. 16, ill.) might have been used for the figure standing behind the guitar player. Goncourt (1875, no. 420) cited an etching by Laurent Cars (1699-1771; Roux 1934, III, p. 483, no. 80) after a lost drawing by Watteau that was a preparatory study for the heroine's head (fig. 13).

RELATED PRINTS

The painting was engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne* by Gérard Scotin before April 1729 (fig. 12; see DV, II, p. 65). The print is in the same direction as the Stockholm panel. The caption on the print gives the name of the painting's owner. The "tableau original" would have been of the "mesme grandeur" as the print. The print measures 378 mm by 282 mm; the painting, 33.5 cm by 27 cm. The engraving was mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 193 [39]). The copperplate appears in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.



fig. 12



fig. 13

## 43 The Singing Lesson (*La leçon de chant*)

Oil on canvas
40 x 32 (15¾ x 12⁹⁄₁₆)
(numbered at lower right in white, *792*)
P Palacio Real, Madrid

This painting and the following one are little known, and most of the experts who accept them as the work of Watteau were unable to see them. We were fortunate to study them closely in Madrid, and are convinced that they are both by Watteau.

The condition of *The Singing Lesson,* whose background has been repainted, is worse than that of *The Timid Lover* (cat. P. 44), one of the rare works by Watteau that remains in good condition. The hero of this last painting is found again in *The Expected Declaration* (cat. P. 45). We believe, along with Adhémar (1950), that the three works were painted c. 1716, slightly earlier than the date of 1717-1718 advanced by Mathey and Roland-Michel and that proposed by Huyghe (1950), of shortly before 1720.

Here a guitarist sits on a low wall that serves as a horizon line, tuning his instrument. His companion looks at him and leafs through her score, awaiting his signal. In *The Timid Lover,* a young woman holding a fan leans towards a seated young man who lowers his eyes and hesitates to offer her a bouquet of blue and pink flowers. The two women are elegantly dressed: one wears a wide yellow dress with a wide decolletage, the other a mauve dress shot with green and white cuffs bordered with two-colored fur. The red beret of the musician in one painting responds to the gardener's hat worn by the lover in the other. The latter is seated in front of a fountain supported by a dolphin; behind it is a birch tree.

Watteau gave particular care to the hands of the protagonists in both scenes. The hands on the guitar and the flower stems are long, nervous, and clenched, while the music book and the fan are held delicately. The figures are placed outdoors, under a setting sun. The disposition of the figures was carefully studied. The man and the woman in *The Singing Lesson* are moving apart, while the couple in *The Timid Lover* is more intimate.

The two paintings were conceived as pendants treating the theme of "the expected declaration." The language of music in one corresponds to the language of flowers in the



fig. 1



fig. 2



other. Watteau describes the dialogue through the exchange of glances and through gestures and attitudes. He may have wished to show two contrasting couples—the musicians who draw away from each other as if in discord and the harmonious couple formed by the attentive young woman and her shy suitor.

PROVENANCE

Probably in the royal Spanish collections since Charles III (1716-1788). According to Ferré (1972), "In the manuscript inventory of the royal palace, drawn up in Madrid in 1789, and signed by Goya, his brother-in-law Bayeu, and Gomez" valued with its pendant (cat. P. 44), at 720 reales. At the Escorial by 1857, then to the Palacio Real, Madrid.

EXHIBITIONS

Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cat. "del Real Monasterio di San Lorenzo," 1857, no. 792; G 1875, p. 183; Calvert 1907, pl. 174; Nicolle 1921, p. 150; DV, III, under no. 316 *bis* (see also I, p. 266); R 1928, no. 115; AH 1950, no. 175, pl. 102 and pp. 47-48; Huyghe 1951, p. 138, fig. 5; PM 1957, under no. 571; M 1959, p. 69; Junquera 1962, p. 112, ill. p. 113; CR 1970, no. 191, ill. (print); F 1972, A.20 (as "authentically by Watteau"); Mirimonde 1977, p. 87; RM 1982, no. 223a, ill.; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A fairly good copy was in the H. Michel-Lévy sale (fig. 1), 12-13 May 1919, no. 32 (canvas; 38 x 30 cm).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey wrongly credited Goncourt (1875, no. 555) with linking the woman in the painting to PM 571 (location unknown, formerly in the van Beuningen coll.). In fact, Goncourt thought that the figure could be related to *The Timid Lover* (see cat. P. 44).

RELATED PRINTS

Dacier and Vuaflart reproduced an anonymous print after the painting (fig. 2), which they knew in only one impression, then in the collection of Jules Strauss, Paris. Adhémar (1950) attributed this engraving to Cochin, perhaps wrongly (not in Roux 1940, IV).

## 44 The Timid Lover (*L'amoureux timide*)

Oil on canvas
41 x 32 (16 3/16 x 12 9/16)
(numbered at lower right in white, *794*)
P Palacio Real, Madrid

See preceding entry.





fig. 3



fig. 4

PROVENANCE
See preceding entry.

EXHIBITIONS
Never exhibited.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Cat. "del Real Monasterio di San Lorenzo," 1857, no. 794; G 1875, pp. 182-183; Calvert 1907, pl. 175; Nicolle 1921, p. 150; R 1928, no. 116; AH 1950, no. 176, pl. 103 and pp. 47-48; PM 1957, under nos. 549, 666 (see also nos. 585, 571); M 1959, p. 69; Junquera 1962, p. 112; Mirimonde 1962, pp. 19-20; CR 1970, no. 192, ill.; F 1972, B. 97 (as "attributed to Watteau"); RM 1982, no. 224, ill.; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED DRAWINGS
Drawings are known for both figures in the painting—fig. 3; PM 549 (Getty Museum, Malibu), for the woman; and fig. 4; PM 666 (Petit Palais, Paris), for the seated man. (See also two studies of women, PM 585, 571, the latter of which was linked to the painting by Goncourt [1875, no. 555]. Both are close to the seated woman in the Madrid picture.)

## 45 The Expected Declaration (*La déclaration attendue*)

Oil on canvas
63 x 49 (24 13/16 x 19 5/16)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers

Although accepted by most scholars from Lejeune (1864) to Roland-Michel (1984), because of several awkward restorations the Angers painting does not have the reputation it deserves. Through several drastic restorations, and especially the one in 1933 when it was converted to an oval format, the painting has been severely flattened and the varnish rather brutally removed. The retouched areas visible to the naked eye (for example, the overly rosy cheeks of the child who is looking at us) are also unfortunate. These tamperings, no doubt, explain the reservations of Zimmermann (1912), Réau (1925), Camesasca (1970), and Ferré (1972), which contrast with the judgments of Clément de Ris or Guédy (1889): "admirable painting having all the qualities of the master."

And yet the attribution of the painting to Watteau is certain. The numerous preparatory drawings indicate the attention with which Watteau prepared his painting as do very important pentimenti revealed by the recent x-rays taken in the Louvre laboratory (fig. 1). The head of the woman in the center of the painting originally turned to the right. She wore a hat and her arms were in an entirely different position.

The dating of the painting causes scarcely any difficulty today although Gonse (1900) thought that Watteau had painted his canvas c. 1710. The date of 1716 proposed by Adhémar and Roland-Michel seems perfectly convincing.

Another thing that has hindered the fame of the painting is its title. For a long time the painting was called *The Country Concert.* But Watteau had executed another painting, now lost, which was engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne* under that same title (DV 72, CR 160; copy in the Musée Saint-Omer; fig. 2). The Angers painting and the other *Country Concert* have sometimes been confused because the transverse flute player is common to both. For this reason we propose to henceforth refer to the Angers painting as *The Expected Declaration* and not, as Lejeune called it in 1864, *The Outdoor Concert* or *Concert in a Landscape* (Clément de Ris, 1872) or *A Country Fête* (the Goncourts and Guédy 1889).

fig. 1



fig. 2





45 (Unframed)

This title seems to us to furnish a straightforward interpretation of the scene: a timid lover (cat. P. 44), who wears a gardener's large straw hat, is making a large bouquet of flowers. He does not dare to declare his love; the young woman with the wide décolletage seems to await his announcement serenely. A mother who holds her little girl in her arms, to whom a little girl carries a basket of flowers, turns her back on the scene. The flutist who looks at us, to whom no one seems to be listening, completes the compositional pyramid.

In this work, which seems to call for a pendant, Watteau succeeds in depicting, with modesty and a dash of humor, the very special moment of tension that precedes a declaration of love. All appears calm in this sunny country scene on a beautiful autumn afternoon. Watteau knows how to contrast the feminine protagonists of the scene with the lover, paralyzed with shyness, afraid of being rejected, still unaware of what the response to his declaration will be. Time seems to stand still for him. Because of that contrast Watteau was able to avoid the merely anecdotal, picturesque, or trite.

PROVENANCE

Very probably the painting in the [Le Brun] sale, 22 September 1774, no. 107: "Un tableau sur toile de 24 pouces de haut, sur 18 de large. Il représente un groupe de six figures, dont un paysan assis qui tient un bouquet, une fille qui le regarde ayant les mains posées sur un panier, un homme joue de la flûte, plusieurs arbres ornent agréablement le fond de ce tableau." Marquis Pierre-Louis Eveillard de Livois (1736-1790); seized during the revolution and entered



fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6

the Musée d'Angers when it was founded in 1799. Livois also owned a second work, attributed to Watteau by Sentout (?) (Mus. cat. 1791, no. 187: "Le tableau offre des arbres avec un rosier, Vénus est courbée pour cueillir des roses, et à côté d'elle est un petit amour. La fraîcheur d'un coloris fin et précieux, et un dessin agréable, augmentent le mérite de ce tableau Hauteur 8 pouces, 6 lignes, largeur 10 pouces. Il est de forme ovale. T[oile]." Lost since the French Revolution.)

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1933, no. 114, ill.; Copenhagen 1935, no. 259; Paris 1937, no. 228 (pl. XLV of the album); San Francisco 1949, no. 52, ill.; London 1954-1955, no. 262; Brussels 1975, no. 3, ill. p. 44; Moscow-Leningrad 1978, no. 20.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sentout 1791 (mus. cat. Angers), no. 186; Mus. cat. Angers 1820, no. 120; Lejeune 1864, I, p. 213; Mus. cat. Angers 1870, no. 91; Clément de Ris 1872, p. 28; G 1875, p. 166; Mus. cat. Angers 1881, no. 182; Mus. cat. Angers 1885, p. 48; Guédy 1889, p. 32; Gonse 1900, p. 36, ill. p. 37; Staley 1902, p. 129; Fourcaud 1904 (print bet. pp. 348-349; Z 1912, p. 192, ill. 154 (among the "wrongly attributed paintings") (Fr. ed., "paintings with disputed attributions"); Nicolle 1921, p. 62, ill. (ed. in separate vols.), p. 134, ill.; Valotaire 1922, pp. 603-608, ill.; Mus. cat. Angers, *Mémoranda* 1928, p. 13, ill. 37; Fierens 1931, p. 12, ill. p. 5; Parker 1931, pp. 43, 45, 46; Planchenault 1933, p. 222; Lécuyer, *L'Illustration* (4 November 1933), p. 304 (colorpl. showing the painting as a rectangle); *L'Amour de l'Art* (July 1935), p. 234, fig. 8; Bouchot-Saupique 1937, p. 118, ill.; Leroy 1949, ill. bet. pp. 48-49; AH 1950, no. 172, ill. 99 (ill. pp. 48, 86, 119); Dacier 1951, fig. 97; Mus. cat. Angers 1953, pl. 22; PM 1957 under nos. 561, 605, 666, 731, 740, 834, 878 (see also no. 781); Gauthier 1959, pl. XXXVI; Mirimonde 1962, pp. 19-20 and fig. 13; Vergnet-Ruiz and Laclotte 1962, pp. 70, 256 and ill. 78; Cormack 1970, ill. 116 and detail p. 15; CR no. 119, ill.; F 1972, no. B. 45 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Mirimonde 1977, pp. 84-85; RM 1982, no. 176, ill.; Mus. cat. Angers 1982, pl. 35; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A pastiche attributed to Watteau was sold at Versailles, 28 May 1963, no. 41 (oval, 40 x 30 cm, ill.).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey (1957) catalogued seven studies for this painting—PM 605; fig. 3 (British Museum, London), for the flutist, a figure study (without head) also used for *Country Concert* (CR 160); PM 834; fig. 4 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), a study of his head without a hat; PM 878; fig. 5 (Private coll., Paris), for the entire figure, with a woman sitting at the musician's feet, looking to the left and leaning on a cage; PM 561; fig. 6 (Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris), for the same woman sitting on the ground and used in several paintings; PM 666; fig. 8 (Petit Palais, Paris), for the man sitting in the foreground wearing a straw hat, also a study for *The Enchanted Isle* (cat. P. 60) and *The Timid Lover* (cat. P. 44); PM 731; fig. 9 (Petit Palais, cat. D. 77), for the woman seen from the back, and used in several paintings; PM 740; fig. 10 (formerly Groult coll., sale, Paris, 30 March 1963, no. 16, ill.), a study with changes for the little girl who is looking at her. It should be noted also that PM 781; fig. 7 (National Gallery of Art, Washington; cat. D. 36), bears a study for her hands.

RELATED PRINTS

An oval engraving of the painting by H. Toussaint was used to illustrate Fourcaud's article (1904).

fig. 7

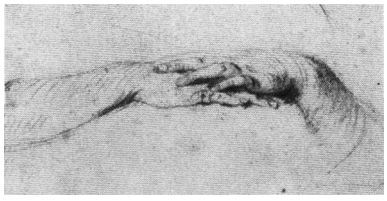


fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10





## 46 The Sulking Woman (*La boudeuse*)

Oil on canvas
42 x 34 (16 9/16 x 13 3/8)
P The Hermitage, Leningrad

Despite its great beauty, this painting is perhaps the least famous one by Watteau in the Hermitage. The fact that it was not included in the *Recueil Jullienne* and that it was engraved by Philippe Mercier encouraged some scholars (Hérold and Vuaflart [DV, I], Rey, Adhémar) who had not seen it, except in Zimmermann's mediocre reproduction (1912), to attribute it to Mercier, although the print clearly states "Watteau pinxit."

But since Eidelberg (1969) reestablished its provenance and retraced its origins to 1725, most of the experts have accepted the attribution to Watteau. Only Ferré (1972) and Posner (1984) have expressed reservations, but they have not excluded the possibility that Watteau had a collaborator for the figures, which seem wonderful to us even if the heroine has been "skinned" and has suffered noticeably from restorations. The painting was sold in London in 1726 and then belonged to Robert and later to Horace Walpole, whose Houghton Hall painting collection was acquired by Catherine the Great of Russia in 1779. *The Sulking Woman*, however, entered Russia by a different route.

Its date seems fixed today: although Mathey dated it to 1715 and Roland-Michel suggested 1715-1716, most scholars, and particularly Russian authors, put the date back to 1718,

which seems convincing. Zolotov and Nemilova, however, suggested that the painting was executed by Watteau in England. We tend toward 1717. A figure almost identical to that of the man leaning on the stone bench is found in one of Watteau's masterpieces, the *Pleasures of Love* (Dresden; CR 178), usually dated c. 1717-1718.

The title *The Sulking Woman* has been generally adopted. Even if the Mercier print already bore this name in Bénard's catalogue of the Paignon-Dijonval collection in 1810 (p. 2821, no. 8090), no doubt it was Edmond de Goncourt (1875) who popularized it. Russian authors prefer to call it *The Capricious Woman*. Neither title is perfectly accurate: the model listens to her companion but shows neither satisfaction nor fickleness. She is indifferent, unapproachable, unfeeling, seated proudly and quite erectly at the end of a stone bench. With her right hand she crumples her black satin dress. She has an absent look and turns away from her companion, clumsily leaning toward her, who tries to amuse or move her. He brings his left hand toward his chest as if he did not dare to embrace her. Was Watteau attempting a portrait in the open air, in the style of *The Family* (cat. P. 54), or did he wish to paint a young widow still unresponsive to the advances of a bashful suitor?



fig. 1



fig. 2

We know from Y. Deslandres (letter) that the gown with the long slashed sleeves is a theater costume, which will be used again in *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51), and the beret, too, is worn only on the stage.

The couple is set off against a great cloudy sky and a row of trees under which strollers are seen. On the right, two large trees planted in sparse grass stabilize the composition.

The couple, unlike the trees, which Walpole compared to some "tufts of plumes and fans," are unreal. Watteau lets us imagine what their relations might be. He does it not so much by observing their faces as their gestures and attitudes—the placement of a hand, the bearing of the head in relation to the nape of the neck or the throat. He lets us guess at each one's vulnerability and their hidden emotions.

PROVENANCE

Probably in England as early as 1725, the approximate date of Mercier's print (Ingamells and Raines 1976-1978). Most probably the painting in the Solomon Gauthier estate sale, London, 18 January 1726, no. 34: "A Man and Woman sitting" (Eidelberg 1969). Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), probably acquired after 1736 since it was not included in the catalogue of his collection of that year; Lord Orford (Sir Robert Walpole) sale, 1748, no. 52, "A small Conversation" (£3-3-0); purchased by Horace Walpole (1717-1797) and mentioned in the 1774 catalogue of his collection at Strawberry Hill (in the Tribune; the painting appears in an anonymous watercolor) (repr. Eidelberg 1969, fig. 67); sold 9 May (25 April-25 May) 1842, with the Walpole coll., no. 36 to "Emery," 5 Bury Street, London, for £40-19-0. Then to the Duc de Morny, France (sale, Paris, 24 May 1852, no. 31: "La Conversation. Composition de deux figures dans la manière vénitienne du peintre"; purchased by Didier, 1700 livres); de Férrol sale, Paris, 22 January 1856, no. 28. Purchased at that sale or shortly thereafter by Count Paul S. Stroganoff of St. Petersburg, and later entered the Stroganoff Gallery. Transferred to the Hermitage, Leningrad, 1922 (see Ernst 1928).

EXHIBITIONS

Petrograd 1922-1925, no cat.; Moscow 1955, p. 25, ill.; Leningrad 1956, p. 12; Bordeau 1964, no. 98, pl. 31; Budapest 1969, no. 25; Leningrad 1972, no. 8, ill.; Dresden 1972, no. 48, pl. 24; Melbourne 1979, no. 39.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(*on the composition*): G 1875, no. 114; Fourcaud 1904, p. 356; (*on the painting*): Walpole 1774, p. 98 (and numerous successive editions); Z 1912, p. 188, pl. 84; DV, I, pp. 102-103, 266, and III, under no. 303; Ernst 1928, p. 172 and n. 2, with pl.; R 1928, no. 101; Réau 1929, no. 418; Rey 1931, pp. 89-90, 92; AH 1950, no. 220; PM 1957, under no. 749; Cat. Hermitage 1958, I, p. 290, fig. 186; M 1959, pp. 17, 68; Descargues 1961, p. 168 with colorpl.; Lewinson-Lessing 1963, no. 69, colorpl.; Boudaille 1964, dossier 28; Nemilova 1964, pp. 149-151, 186-187, no. 7, colorpl. 82, detail pl. 85; Eidelberg 1969, pp. 275-278, ill. (with complete bibl.); CR 1970, no. 116, ill. (print); Cailleux 1972, p. 734; F 1972, B. 24 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Zolotov and Nemilova 1973, pp. 144-145, no. 10, pl. 10, and three color details; Eidelberg 1975, p. 581; Ingamells and Raines 1976-1978, p. 66 under no. 289; Raines 1977, pp. 51, 59, 63; Guerman 1980, pp. 8, 10, colorpl. and detail; RM 1982, no. 163, ill.; Nemilova 1982, pp. 141-142, ill.; P 1984, pp. 111, 283, n. 72, fig. 92, colorpl. 20; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey associated only one study with this painting, PM 749 (Louvre), for the man wearing a beret (fig. 1). However, this is not a true preparatory study in the strict sense of the term and was instead used by Watteau for a comparable male figure in *The Pleasures of Love* (CR 178, Dresden).

RELATED PRINTS

The painting was not included in the *Recueil Jullienne*, but it was engraved in reverse by Philippe Mercier (1689-1760) in London c. 1725 (Ingamells and Raines 1976-1978; fig. 2). The print is untitled. Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 192 [28]), who knew the print, described it as: "Une femme assise dans un jardin ayant derrière elle un homme qui lui parle gravé par Pierre [*sic*] Le Mercier."



## 47 The Two Cousins *("Les deux cousines")*

Oil on canvas
30.4 x 35.6 (11 15/16 x 14)
W, P Private Collection, Paris

The painting was very skillfully restored for the exhibition by Jacques Roullet, head of the restoration department of the Louvre. The spider-web crackle that had disfigured the sky has been noticeably reduced. But mainly the work has regained its legibility, particularly in the background, with its large trees and burst of light, its shrubbery-lined path, the two sculptures, and the couple accompanied by a dog seated at the edge of the pond. Moreover, the scene no longer takes place in an end-of-the-afternoon light, but rather on a cold day, which accents the silvery tints of the composition.

There is agreement in dating the painting c. 1716 (only Mathey inclines toward 1719), and it has already been observed that Watteau used drawings he had used earlier, for *The Two Cousins,* for several of his most celebrated paintings: for example, the woman who is fastening a rose to her bosom is also seen in *The Champs Elysées* and *Country Entertainments* (both Wallace Collection; DV 133, CR 156, 183). Questions have been raised more often about the reasons for the romantic title, *The Two Cousins,* which it has borne since c. 1730, the date of the engraving by Bernard Baron, to whom the painting then belonged. The play by Dancourt (1661-1725), *Les Trois Cousines,* created in 1700 and repeated in 1709 (mentioned under cat. P. 9), has been suggested as a source, but without any justification. Hardly

fig. 1



fig. 2



more convincing is the clever hypothesis of Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, p. 68) cautiously repeated by Parker and Mathey (1957, no. 768): in the young woman seen from behind they recognize Flaminia, "with her long neck," and Sylvia, "with the particular shape of her nose," two actresses of the Italian comedy troupe. They suggest that the title of the engraving refers to the "precise relationship of the two young women."

We adhere to a more direct reading of the painting. A young gallant offers some roses to a young woman; she places one between her breasts. In the language of flowers, familiar to all classes of society in the eighteenth century, a rose offered and accepted "attested to love shared." Because of this, one can better understand why her companion turns away from the scene and contemplates the stream in the distance, the park, and also the couple who are chatting by the waterside.

Surely it is this woman, viewed from behind, who gives the work all its originality and its charm. Her svelte figure, her wide yellow gown, the carriage of her head, her coiffure with its red bows and white plume, and above all her delicate neck, are the stuff of dreams. She symbolizes isolation, solitude, forlornness, even though around her the two couples have found each other. As in *The Faux-pas* (cat. P. 57), with which *The Two Cousins* presents some affinity, Watteau composed his painting with great audacity. Not only did he paint the heroine from behind, leaving it to us to imagine her feelings and letting us guess them from her pose and not by the expression of her face, but he also grouped the three figures of his composition on the right half of his painting.

A modest work, but unique in its combination of skillful arrangement and delicate analysis, *The Two Cousins* has no equal in European painting of the eighteenth century.

PROVENANCE

Belonged to the engraver Bernard Baron, who moved to England about 1717 (1696-1762), at the time when Baron himself engraved it between April 1729 and December 1731 (DV, II, p. 66). Sometimes identified as the painting at an anonymous sale, Paris, 2 May 1833, no. 119: "jolie composition d'une couleur claire et transparente, et touchée avec finesse, d'une légèreté sans égale, representant un jeune cavalier faisant la conversation avec deux jeunes personnes." Canvas, 11 ½ x 15 pouces (31 x 40.5 cm); Théodore Patureau, honorary member of the Académie royale d'Anvers (on Patureau see Blanc 1857, II, pp. 521-535; on another Watteau painting in his collection, see cat. P. 52); Patureau sale, Paris, 20-21 April 1857, no. 64; purchased for Fr 55,000 by Van der Hoven. In Belgium, in the Van der Hoven coll., according to Dohme [n.d., quoted by Adhémar 1950]. Discovered by Henri Michel-Lévy "par hasard, aux environs de Londres" (Fourcaud 1905). Henri Michel-Lévy. In September 1918, Helleu, according to Gimpel (1963) "vient de faire acheter le Watteau de Michel-Lévy *Les deux cousines*, pour deux cent vingt mille francs." Comtesse de Behague, 1850-1939, by 1922 (DV); then to Hubert de Ganay; Private collection, Paris.

EXHIBITIONS

Amsterdam 1951, no. 138; London 1954-1955, no. 245; Paris 1976-1977, no. 28, ill. in color; Paris 1977, no. 39, ill. in color.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): H 1845, no. 92; H 1856, no. 93; G 1875, no. 124; Mollett 1883, p. 68; Dargenty 1891, p. 73 (print); Josz 1903, pp. 400-401; Courville 1945, pp. 195-196 and pl. XXXIX (print); Eidelberg 1975, p. 578; (on the painting): Blanc 1857, II, p. 535; [Cousin] 1865, p. 32; Fourcaud 1905, pp. 106-107 (repr. 1904, p. 357); Pilon 1912, pp. 83, 114-115 (pl. bet. pp. 84 and 85); Bouvy 1921, p. 10; DV, III, under no. 146 (and also I, p. 68); R 1928, no. 106; AH 1950, no. 140, pl. 72; Brookner 1955, p. 40, fig. 1; PM 1957, under nos. 602, 637, 768; Gauthier 1959, pl. XV (detail); M 1959, pp. 50, 69; Mirimonde 1961, pp. 268-269; Gimpel 1963, p. 71; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 25; CR 1970, no. 151, ill.; F 1972, A.19 (as "authentic"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 116, 221, 224, 225, 247, 277, 312, 329, 330, 332; Demoriane 1974, pp. 88-89 (colorpl.); Cailleux 1975, pp. 86-87 (Eng. ed., pp. 247-248); Hagstrum 1980, p. 299; RM 1982, no. 188, ill.; P 1984, p. 176, figs. 140, 141 (print detail); RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

At one time it was believed that the painting in the Munro of Novar Collection, "Les deux petites Marquises" (exh. cat. London 1839, British Institution, no. 145) or "Les Deux Marquises" (Munro sale, London, Christie's, 1 June 1978, no. 150) could be *The Two Cousins*. However, the size of the Munro painting (30¼ x 24¼ in.) and the description by Waagen (1854, II, p. 136) make that identification impossible: "Portraits of two young children, sisters, as large as life, elegantly dressed and taken quite in front. . . ."

RELATED DRAWINGS

Three drawings have been related to this composition by Parker and Mathey —PM 637 (Stockholm) (fig. 1), for the woman seen from behind; PM 602 (British Museum) (fig. 2), for the woman at right; and PM 768 (Private coll., England) (fig. 3), for her head. These drawings were used several times by Watteau for different compositions. See also exh. cat. Paris 1978, no. 65 (PM 595) (fig. 4).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Bernard Baron (1696-1762; Roux 1933, II, pp. 58-59, no. 25) (fig. 5) for the *Recueil Jullienne* was published between April 1729 and December 1731 (however, the copperplate, executed in England, may have been made earlier). The engraving measures 29.4 x 35.6 cm. Its caption states, in addition to the name of the painting's owner, that it is "de la même grandeur" as the painting, which is very nearly correct. It is mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol 193 [55]). The copperplate appeared in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the 1770 and 1778 Chereau catalogues. Boucher etched the drawing 768 mentioned above for the *Fddc* (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 67).

fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



# 48 Prelude to a Concert (formerly The Concert) (*Le prélude au concert*)

Oil on canvas
66 x 91 (26 x 35⅞)
Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin

This painting has always been connected with *The Charms of Life* (Wallace Collection; CR 184) (fig. 1), engraved in 1730. It has always been considered earlier in date than the London painting except by Zimmerman (1912) and Adhémar (1950). Though experts agree in separating the two works by one or two years, they disagree on the date. Junecke (1962) thinks it dates from 1714; Börsch-Supan, 1715; many incline toward 1716 or 1717; and Adhémar and Nordenfalk do not rule out 1717-1718.

The differences between the two works have often been stressed. The London painting presents a closer view; a colonnade has replaced the landscape; the couples in the landscape are differently arranged; on the right a young black boy places three bottles of wine to cool (the allusion to wine—a bust of Dionysus hidden in the foliage—is much more discreet in Berlin); a marble pavement on which a greyhound scratches himself has replaced the more rustic one of the first version; finally the four figures on the left of the composition were altered and given a new order. The colors of the costumes are rarely identical in the two versions, moreover, and the monochromatic range seen here is more sustained in the London painting.

But upon closer observation, the two compositions are very similar. The admirable invention of the "theorbo" (chitarrone or arch-lute) player is identical even if in the Berlin painting the man's hand is placed higher up on the neck of the instrument. The viola da gamba and its bow are leaned against the stool in both works, and the two children have not been noticeably changed.

Two observations serve to strengthen this impression. First, the x-ray of the London painting (fig. 2) (some of the alterations are visible to the naked eye) proves that at first the work was even closer to the Berlin painting (see also the diagram reproduced by Ingamells and Lank 1983). In the Wallace Collection painting the man at the right of the composition is easy to find (he reclines on the grass and speaks to his neighbor who turns her head away), as is the couple, almost obliterated from the Berlin painting, placed in the middleground behind the viola da gamba.

Second, there is the important place that Watteau gave to his friend, the painter Nicolas Vleughels (1668-1737), in the Wallace Collection painting, which has often been noted. Leaning against the back of a chair, he watches the musician and waits for him to tune his instrument. He is also present in the Berlin picture, and can be clearly recognized in the preparatory drawing that Watteau utilized for his seated violinist (Private coll., Providence; PM 842). Thus, the two paintings were executed at a date when Watteau knew Vleughels and very probably at a time when the two men were living together.

Unfortunately, as soon as one touches on Watteau's life, contradictions, approximations, and inaccuracies abound. Vleughels was admitted into the Academy on 31 December 1716. He attended the reception of Watteau on 28 August 1717. The *Almanach Royal* of 1719 (p. 253) confirms for us that Watteau and Vleughels (and Edme Jeaurat, one of Watteau's engravers) lived "on the Fossez Saint Victor, at M. Le Brun's" (the house is still extant at 49 rue du Cardinal-Lemoine), and Jullienne (Champion 1921, p. 50) indicates that Watteau shared Vleughels' lodgings "until 1718." The two paintings of Berlin and London could therefore have been painted in 1716 (the date we suggested in 1972-1973) and 1717-1718 respectively. In any event, they seem to us to be, in accordance with Watteau's practice, two variations on the same theme (see cats. P. 17, 19 and cats. P. 61, 62).

The Berlin painting, which has been damaged and worn, is related to other works by Watteau. The theorbo player and the young woman who is studying the music book are seen again, but in half-length, in another much smaller Wallace Collection painting known by the first line of the verse that accompanies the engraving, *"Pour nous prouver*

fig. 1



fig. 2

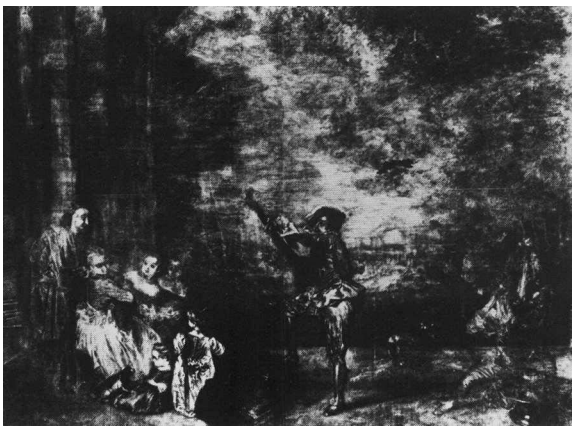


fig. 3



*que cette belle ("To Show Us That This Beauty . . ."* (DV 96, CR 154; also called *The Music Lesson*) (fig. 3); the bust of Dionysus appears in *Jocular Conversations* (lost; DV 95, CR 91); the child who is playing with a dog is also found in *The Pastime* and in *The Gallant Assembly* (both lost; DV 185, 133 and CR 190, 171). The couple in the middleground directly foreshadow *The Faux-pas* (cat. P. 57). These various repetitions once again bear witness to Watteau's working method: he sketched his friends from life, sometimes after having dressed them up. Later, when he made a painting, he would juxtapose his studies according to his fancy.

Finally, one must wonder about the meaning of the painting. Mirimonde (1961, 1963) analyzed it very well, com-





fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7

paring it to the two works of the Wallace Collection mentioned above. No one is playing: the musician is trying to tune his theorbo, a long and difficult operation according to Watteau's contemporaries. The violinist absent-mindedly gives the note while the player of the viola da gamba has placed his instrument against the stool and the bow between the strings. A young woman is reading her score, paying no attention to the three musicians. It is therefore not a *Concert* but a *Prelude to a Concert,* or to use the title given by Mirimonde, *"A Chord Sought in Vain."* "The opposition between the cello player, who has long since finished his tuning, and the player of the chitarrone who is still trying in vain, marks the opposition between the two gallants and the two generations of instruments." Can one go so far as to think that the woman singer who is leafing through her score will soon lose patience and will not wait any longer for the theorbo player to finish tuning his instrument before allowing herself to be persuaded by the two musicians who turn toward her? We believe that Watteau never intended to be so direct. If love and the impatience of the heart and flesh occupy a considerable place in his oeuvre, there also is room in a painting such as the *Prelude to a Concert,* in addition to music and wine, for nature, the countryside, and an innocent description of children's games.

PROVENANCE

Frederick the Great (1712-1786) (from the Jullienne collection according to the 1958 Stockholm catalogue, but there is no proof). From 1773 to 1941, in the Audience Room at Sans Souci palace, Potsdam; Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1883, no. 1; Wiesbaden 1947, no. 117; Wiesbaden 1951, no. 56; Stockholm 1958, no. 63; Berlin 1962, no. 93; Paris 1963, no. 33, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Oesterreich 1773, no. 266; Nicolaï 1779, II, p. 915; Nicolaï 1786, III, p. 1214; Rumpf 1794, p. 184; Rumpf 1803, II, p. 102; Dohme 1876, p. 93, no. 14; Dohme 1883, p. 103; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Ephrussi 1884, p. 99; Mantz 1892, p. 186; Phillips 1895, p. 6; Rosenberg 1896, p. 61, fig. 55; Seidel 1900, no. 151 (guitarist drawn and engraved by Peter Halm, p. 151); Staley 1902, p. 138; Josz 1903, pp. 287-288, 290, 304; Z 1912, p. 188, pl. 55; Hendy 1926, pp. 137-138 and pl. D; Séailles 1927, p. 73, ill.; Hübner 1926, p. 43, no. 32; R 1928, no. 117; Houtart 1929, pp. 6-7; Parker 1931, p. 31; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 30 (pls. 31-32, details); Sutton [1946] pp. 6-8, pl. p. 7; AH 1950, no. 191, pl. 118 (see also p. 54, n. 25); Nordenfalk 1953, pp. 98-99 and fig. 22; PM 1957, under nos. 552, 692, 842, 850 (ill. as no. 849); Gauthier 1959, pl. XLI; M 1959, pp. 50, 79; Mirimonde 1961, pp. 263-266; Junecke 1962, p. 73; Schefer 1962, pp. 40, 46-47, 50; Mirimonde 1963, pp. 48-50; Brookner 1966, colorpl. 33; Cat. Wallace Coll. 1968 under no. p. 410; CR 1970, no. 179, ill.; F 1972, A.23 (as "authentically by Watteau"); Börsch-Supan 1974, p. 20, ill.; Hercenberg 1975, p. 56; Börsch-Supan 1977, p. 34 and fig. 4, p. 35; Nordenfalk 1979, p. 116; Bryson 1981, pp. 80-81, fig. 30; RM 1982, no. 216; Ingamells and Lank 1983, pp. 733-738, fig. 12; P 1984, pp. 157, 160, 173, 285, n. 74, fig. 115; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A copy (76.5 x 63.5 cm), with considerable modification of the composition, was offered as the work of Mercier at a sale, Galerie Charpentier, 26-27 June 1951, no. 10, ill., and more recently at Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, 26 June 1983, no. 484, colorpl., bearing an attribution to Octavien (fig. 4). A "poor copy" which, however, includes the dog in the Wallace Collection version, was mentioned by

fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10



Sutton (1946, p. 8) as in an English collection in 1925. The painting, belonging to Dr. Martin Schubart of Munich, mentioned in Adhémar 1950 and exhibited by Sedelmeyer in 1898, no. 278, ill., is a horizontal arrangement of *The Ogler* (DV 14, CR 115). In 1959, Mathey (p. 79, no. 131, ill.) published a "sketch" (32 x 22 cm; Private coll., Paris; fig. 5) for the group of figures at the right in the composition. This is the only sketch of this type that has been found to date. Two other copies, with variants, should be mentioned: the one belonging to J. Church, London, and the one in the Koetser Gallery in 1958 (photographs in the Witt Library, London). The woman reading the musical score was copied by Mercier (Raines 1977, p. 53, fig. 2). Watteau's use of the composition again in the famous painting *The Charms of Life* (69 x 90 cm; Wallace Collection, London; fig. 1) is discussed in the entry. This painting was recently restored and was the object of an exhaustive study (Ingamells and Lank 1983).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey catalogued four drawings for this composition—PM 552 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; exh. cat. USA 1982-1983, no. 90; fig. 6); for the woman reading the music score (also used in *"To Show Us that This Beauty;"* Wallace Coll.); PM 850 (National Gallery, Washington) (cat. D. 104; fig. 7), for the standing man who looks at the woman (in the drawing, he tunes a violin); PM 842 (Private coll., Providence; fig. 8), for the violinist (his pose is identical, but his clothing and face are completely different); PM 692 (Louvre; fig. 9), on this famous sheet is a study for the child playing with his dog (also used for *The Charms of Life* and *The Pastime* [DV 185, CR 190]); PM 628 (British Museum; Hulton 1980, no. 38; fig. 10), this sheet was used as a study for this painting rather than for *The Charms of Life* (see also the catalogue of the exhibition of French drawings at Karlsruhe 1983, no. 12).

RELATED PRINTS

Peter Halm drew and engraved the guitarist for Seidel's book (1900). *The Charms of Life* was engraved by P. Aveline (DV, III, no. 183).

# 49 Mezzetin *("Mezetin")*

Oil on canvas
55.2 x 43.2 (21¾ x 17)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Munsey Fund, 1934

The painting is famous, and for good reason. The very simple title that the engraving in the *Recueil Jullienne* bears, *Mezetin,* alludes to a character of the Commedia dell'arte. Popularized by Angelo Costantini (1654-1729), Mezzetin was the amorous and sentimental valet. At the end of the seventeenth century, the identification of the actor Angelo Costantini with the role of Mezzetin was such that efforts have sometimes been made to recognize him in Watteau's painting. This hypothesis has now been abandoned, however, because he was in prison at the time when Watteau could have painted him. Of the other identifications that have been advanced—Luigi Riccoboni (Wehle), Paul Poisson (a member of the Sirois family), Pierre Sirois himself (Florisoone 1948), or a member of the Lebouc-Santussan family—none have been retained. Adhémar (1950, p. 100) was probably right when she wrote that the painting represents "one of his friends whose name we shall undoubtedly never know," even though we believe that her evaluation should be modified somewhat.

All the experts date the painting before Watteau's trip to London, between 1717 and 1719, generally more toward 1719 than 1717. Two experts on Watteau's drawings, whose opinions deserve attention, dissent: Mathey (1959; also in PM 726) thought, perhaps not wrongly, that the painting was executed c. 1715, while Eidelberg (1977) linked it with a drawing in Oxford and believed that the two works were not as far removed from each other as their respective styles might indicate.

The New York painting is exceptional in Watteau's oeuvre: first of all, it engages one's attention by its range of colors: the delicate striped satin costume of rose, pale blue, and white; the white *collaret* and lace cuffs; and the yellow shoes contrast with the madder-colored, lilac, or old rose spots of the beret, the short cape, the rosettes on Mezzetin's shoes, and the large bottle-green trees in the middleground. The author of the notice in the catalogue of the Jullienne sale appreciated this coloration, "which singles it out," and for which he recognized the source—"the flesh tones have the coloring of Rubens." He could also have pointed out the connection between the guitarist and the musician in Titian's *Concert champêtre* (formerly given to Giorgione) in the Louvre.

fig. 1

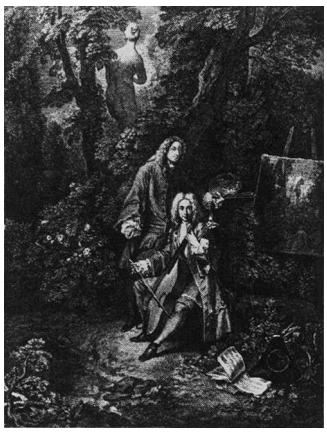


fig. 2



fig. 3





Mezzetin is playing the guitar. Mirimonde (1961, 1963, 1977) has carefully analyzed the position of the musician's hands and the fingering, which suggest the nature of the sounds. Here the somewhat twangy tone "contrasting with the obvious sentiment of the figure" would indicate a "hint of mockery," a mark of "light irony."

The model's "overly convulsive" hands have always been admired, particularly by the Goncourts ("how they live, how they speak . . . these pedigreed arched, curved, hands —angry and languid and tormented, these hands of an invalid, of an artist, of capricious elegance tortured, almost diabolic . . ." [*Journal,* 1865, 1888 edition, II, pp. 245-246]). Yet the model's face, strained, tense, "pathetic," and "poignant"—the most generous have called it inspired—has caused surprise. Watteau has not accustomed us to the strong description of such emotion and amorous suffering, and thus his explicitness here is somewhat disturbing and astonishing.

Perhaps it has not been sufficiently stressed that the painting, Jullienne's property as early as 1735, was kept by Watteau's friend until his death in 1766 (it will be recalled that throughout the years Jullienne sold most of the Watteau works that he had assembled). Moreover, there is a famous engraving, perhaps a pastiche using several of the painter's works, which brings Watteau and Jullienne together (called, after the first line of the verse accompanying the engraving,



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7

*Assis, auprès de toy, sous ces charmans ombrages* . . . [Seated beside thee, in the shade of these charming trees . . .]; DV 3, CR 209) (fig. 1). In the background of this print is a marble statue with her back to the two friends. A similar statue, but seen from a different angle and draped rather than nude, is in the background of the New York painting. She is quite obviously the one whom the guitarist seeks to charm by his music and his song, thus clarifying the subject of the painting.

But her presence in both *Mezzetin* and *Seated Beside Thee* and the fact that Jullienne was to keep the New York painting all his life lead us to wonder if Watteau had not conceived it as an allegorical painting of his friend and had given it to him as a token of friendship, perhaps at a time when Jullienne was courting Marie-Louise de Brecey, his future wife (the contract was signed 9 May 1720).

This theory should not make us forget the simple philosophy of the New York painting: when actors are no longer on the stage, they experience ordinary human passions and sufferings. No disguise renders them invulnerable, nor protects us.

PROVENANCE

Since Dacier and Vuaflart (1922), the traditional provenance of the painting has frequently been questioned, wrongly so in our opinion. When it was engraved, with several changes, before 1735 for the *Recueil Jullienne*, it belonged to "Mr. de Jullienne" (1686-1766). In the manuscript inventory of the Jullienne collection, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, under no. 157, is a "Mezzetin Jouant de la Guitare par Watteau 23 sur 17 [pouces] de ht" (or 45.9 x 62.1 cm). Unfortunately, we have not been able to consult this inventory (of which we possess a partial photocopy), but Dacier and Vuaflart were certain that the drawing accompanying this entry also showed a horizontal layout. In the inventory drawn up after Jullienne's death, under no. 111, is: "un mezetin Dans un jardin peint part Wateau dans sa bordure dorée, prisé quatre cents livres." In the sales catalogue of 30 March 1767, no. 253: "Un Mézétin jouant de la guittare, il est assis sur un banc dans un jardin. Ce tableau est bien conservé, les carnations ont le coloris de Rubens; ces avantages le distinguent. Il est peint sur toile, de 20 pouces de haut, sur 17 de large. Sa forme est ovale" (54 x 45.9 cm). We must take "oval" to mean that it was in an oval frame. (In fact, the trace of this frame can still be seen on color photographs; see CR 1970, pl. XLI.) The painting was acquired by Rémy for 700 livres, probably for Catherine the Great of Russia (1729-1796). It was housed in the Hermitage until 1931. To Wildenstein Gallery. Purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1934 through the Munsey Fund.

EXHIBITIONS

Petrograd 1922-1925, no. cat.; Chicago 1934, no. 154, ill. in color, frontispiece; Copenhagen 1935, no. 260, ill.; New York 1935-1936, no. 5, ill.; Paris 1937, no. 231; New York 1952-1953, no. 127; Boston 1970, p. 66, ill.; New York 1970, no. 393, ill.; Toledo-Chicago-Ottawa 1975-1976, no. 121, colorpl. 21; New York (Wildenstein) 1977, no. 54, fig. 31.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cat. Hermitage (1774?), no. 402 (see Lacroix 1861); Cat. Hermitage 1838, no. 96; H 1845, no. 43; H 1856, no. 43 (the composition); Lacroix 1861, p. 178, no. 402; Cat. Hermitage 1863, no. 1503 (also in 1871 ed.); Waagen 1864, pp. 304-305; G 1875, no. 86; Mollett 1883, p. 66; Dargenty 1891, p. 63 (print); Mantz 1892, p. 182 (print by L. Muller bet. pp. 88-89); Phillips 1895, p. 72; Dilke 1899, p. 82; Fourcaud 1901, repr. bet. pp. 96-97 (print); Staley 1902, pp. 68-69, 143; Josz 1903, p. 437; Fourcaud 1904, p. 139; Pilon 1912, p. 95, pl. bet. 92-93; Z 1912, p. 187, pl. 41; DV, III, under no. 215; Hildebrandt 1922, pl. p. 27; Cat. Hermitage 1923, pl. p. 284; R 1928, no. 57; *Beaux-Arts* (1 June 1929), ill.; Réau 1929, no. 414, with pl.; *L'Amour de l'Art* (July 1935), ill. p. 233; Wehle 1935, pp. 12-18; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 62; Florisoone 1948, p. 34, colorpl. 18; Wilenski 1949, pl. 42a; AH 1950, no. 206, pl. 144 (detail), colorpl. 145; Huyghe 1951, pp. 134-135 and fig. 1, p. 134, fig. 3, p. 138, and figs. 6, 7 (details), pp. 138, 141; Mus. cat. Metropolitan (Sterling) 1955, pp. 105-108, ill.; PM 1957, under no. 726; Chastel 1958, p. 42; Courville 1958, p. 198 pl. XLVI; Gauthier 1959, colorpls. LV, LIV (details); Mathey, *Conn. des Arts*, 1959, p. 43, ill.; M 1959, pp. 36, 55, 68; Descargues 1961, p. 32, ill., p. 24; Mirimonde 1961, p. 253 and fig. 1, p. 250; Schefer 1962, p. 51; Mirimonde 1963, p. 49; Nicolle 1963, p. 79 and fig. 51; Eckardt 1964, p. 36 and pl. p. 37; Levey 1966, pp. 72, 78, pl. 41; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 37; CR 1970, no. 193, colorpl. LVI; F 1972, A.37 ("painting authentically by Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 170, 173, 175-176, 231, 238, 256; Nemilova 1973, p. 149, fig. 39; Paulson 1975, pp. 95-97, fig. 49; Banks 1977, p. 183, fig. 119; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 22-24, fig. 8; Mirimonde 1977, pp. 34-35; Mus. cat. Metropolitan (Baetjer) 1980, p. 195, pl. p. 499; RM 1982, no. 235, ill. and color detail; P 1984, pp. 57, 206-208, 258, 288, n. 6, colorpls. 48, 49; RM 1984 (in press).

fig. 8



fig. 9





fig. 10

RELATED PAINTINGS

The existence of several *Mezzetins* and Dacier and Vuaflart's reluctance to acknowledge the New York painting as being the most important version of the painting, the one that had belonged to Jullienne, have caused difficulties for the experts who have tried to assign its exact provenance to every other version that is known today.

In eighteenth-century sale catalogues, ten works may be related to the composition—Andrew Hay sale, London (?), 4-5 May 1739, *"Le Rendez-vous"* (see Eidelberg 1967, pp. 285-294); Van Spangen sale, London, 10 February 1747 or 1748, no. 40, *"Man playing a guitar,"* acquired by Capt. Forest for £3-12-0 (see Raines 1977, p. 57, no. 34); Charles-Antoine Coypel sale, Paris, 1753, no. 80, ". . . *Un joueur de guittare* . . . gravé par B. Audran . . . sur bois et a un pied de haut sur 9 pouces de large"; Monsieur de la Haye sale [1754], no. 47, "Un Tableau peint sur bois, representant Mezetin . . . 10 pouces de haut sur 7 pouces de large. . ." (at the same sale, no. 105, were "Deux Tableaux peints sur toile, par de Troy père, representans l'un le Portier de Feuillans, l'autre Mezetin, de 18 pouces de haut sur 14 pouces de large," possibly the paintings in Muncie (DV 117, CR 149) (fig. 2) and Chantilly (fig. 3); Anonymous sale, Paris, 13 May 1765, no. 58, ". . . un *Mezetin* . . . sur bois, de 8 pouces de haut sur 7 de large . . ."; the Jullienne painting mentioned above was included in the estate sale, 1767; Mme. de Jullienne sale, 5 November 1778, no. 40, ". . . un *Mezetin* assis et pinçant de la guittare . . . sur bois H. 9 pouces, largeur 7 pouces"; Collection of the Vicomte de Saint-Priest, shown in Montpellier in 1779, no. 65, "un *Pierrot assis,* pinçant de la Guitare" (Stein 1913, pp. 376, 394); Ch[ario]t sale, Paris, 28 January 1788, no. 44, ". . . le *Donneur de Sérénade* and l'Amante inquiette . . .", 9 x 7 pouces, panel; Le Brun sale, Paris, 11-30 April 1791, no. 201, ". . . le donneur de sérénade et l'autre l'amante inquiéte . . .," 9 x 7 pouces, panel.

The first, and possibly the second, paintings on our list correspond to *The Rendez-vous* (New York art market; DV 174, CR 90; see Eidelberg 1977) (fig. 4). All the other listings probably refer to the Chantilly painting (fig. 5), or to the copy in Vienna, long considered an original, *The Serenader* (another copy, attributed to Mercier, was sold in Paris, 29 November 1976, no. 52, ill.). Following the Chariot sale in 1788, *The Anxious Lover,* engraved by Aveline in 1729 (on this painting see cat. P. 26), was treated as a companion piece to *The Serenader.* The two paintings are not true pendants, however.

Goncourt 1875, in his manuscript notes in the margin of his personal copy of his book on Watteau, as well as DV 1922, AH 1950, CR 1970, and F 1972, mentioned a number of listings in collections and sales in the nineteenth century. Some of these seem to be referring to *The Rendezvous;* others refer to copies of the New York or Chantilly painting (or to the many other guitar players painted by Watteau). Last, some of them refer to a *Mezzetin à la guitare* (105 x 84 cm; Private coll., Vaduz) (fig. 6), which we have never seen. Published by Mathey (1956, pp. 211-216, ill.; also ill. by CR under no. 193), the painting was exhibited in Munich in 1958 (no. 219, pl. 16), but, in general, has failed to gain acceptance. (See also exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 533, ill.)

The so-called *Mezzetin* in the collections of Groult in Paris, Stern and Levy in New York, exhibited in San Francisco in 1934 (no. 59) and in New York in 1939 (no. 409) and presently on the London market, is an oval copy of the figure of the guitarist in *The Ogler* (DV 14, CR 115) (fig. 7).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey (1957) connect only one drawing (PM 726, cat. D 110) (fig. 8) with the New York painting: the famous study, also at the Metropolitan Museum, for Mezzetin's head. Eidelberg (1977) considered a drawing in Oxford, a full-length study of a Mezzetin catalogued by Parker and Mathey as an "oeuvre de jeunesse" (PM 96) (fig. 9), a first sketch for the New York painting, even though it is facing left. He also believed that the drawing and the painting were executed within a shorter space of time than is generally believed.

RELATED PRINTS

Benoit Audran (1698-1772; Roux 1931, I, p. 24, no. 27) (fig. 10) engraved the painting, in reverse, for the *Recueil* while it was still in Jullienne's possession. The engraving was made no later than 1735. It presents some differences from the painting, especially in the left part of the landscape. The copperplate appeared in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.

L. Muller made a second engraving of the painting to illustrate Mantz' article (1889) and book (1892).

# 50 Happy Age, Golden Age ("*Heureux age! age d'or . . .*")

Oil on oak panel
20.7 x 23.7 (8⅛ x 9⅜)
Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth

Although there is no evidence that *Happy Age, Golden Age* was painted for Comtesse de Verrue, the celebrated "Dame de Volupté" of the Alexander Dumas novel (1857), she did own the picture. In fact, in the manuscript list of prints after Watteau written before 1731 (DV, II, p. 116), Mariette (1694-1774) mentions "A group of children, one of whom is playing with Harlequin's sword, engraved by Nicolas Tardieu . . . The painting is at Mde de Verrüe's [*sic*]." On the death of the countess, who was one of the greatest collectors of her time and whose libertine life and small Parisian court had made her famous, the painting was sold (the first catalogued sale in which works by Watteau appear) with *Gallant Assembly* (lost; DV 139, CR 171; but see cat. P. 42). According to Carritt (exh. cat. London 1978), it very soon went to England, like so many of Watteau's paintings. It resurfaced, most probably in Paris, in 1824, and then went to various large English collections (Alfred de Rothschild), French collections (Maurice Kann, David David-Weill) and American collections (Charles E. Dunlap), before entering the Kimbell Art Museum in 1981.

There seems to be general agreement on the date of this small panel among the rare specialists who have taken a position up to this time: according to them (Adhémar, Camesasca, Carritt, Pillsbury, Posner), it was probably painted just before Watteau's trip to England in 1720. This dating is based on two arguments: the five children occupy most of the surface of the painting and it is known that Watteau over time accorded a growing place to his figures; and the Tardieu print is on the same page of the *Recueil Jullienne* with *The Dance* (cat. P. 72), which, as we have shown, was painted during Watteau's London sojourn. These two arguments are fragile, and we prefer to adopt the dating Roland-Michel has



50

just suggested, c. 1716-1717, mainly because of the minute touch and the delicate and careful execution.

A very young Pierrot is seated on a bank, surrounded by four children (young girls according to Pillsbury). One of them holds under her arm "Harlequin's sword" (Mariette)—a bat, his usual symbol. This bat, the Pierrot costume, and the tambourine on the right of the work are the only allusions to the world of the commedia dell'arte. The daintily dressed little girl on the right of the composition seems to be playing a role. While the three other children watch her with attention or amusement, Pierrot, toward whom the little actress openly turns her head, remains indifferent to her. He looks at us without noticing her.

fig. 1



Once again Watteau mixed theater and reality in order to better analyze the states of mind of his models, who are children—an unusual feature. This mixture of reality and fantasy separates *Happy Age, Golden Age* from the paintings of children by the Le Nain brothers (the countess owned two of their paintings), which are also close in size.

Under a gray sky, on a gloomy day, a castle chimney is smoking in the background to the left in Watteau's painting. The five children are described with tenderness and amusement, without any attempt, however, to study their psychology, so special at their age. In that connection, the comparison with the *Young Draftsman* by Chardin, also in Fort Worth (Rosenberg 1983, no. D 85, ill.) and painted less than twenty years after Watteau's painting, is revealing. What Watteau painted with a dash of humor and great accuracy, yet with a certain superficiality in his observation of gestures and mimicries, became with Chardin a much more penetrating analysis of the world of childhood.

PROVENANCE

Comtesse de Verrue (1670-1736) (sale, Paris, 27 March 1737, part of no. 83: "deux petits tableaux" [531 livres]). Through Mariette we know that prior to December 1731 (DV, II, p. 116), "le tableau est chez Mde de Verrüe." According to Carritt (exh. cat. London 1978), the painting may be identified with: *Children att Play,* Couseim sale (or Cosein, according to Raines 1977, p. 56, no. 40, who did not link it to the Fort Worth panel), London, 8 February 1749-1750, no. 45 (£4-7-6); *Children at Play,* anonymous sale, London, Christie's, 2 May 1783, no. 26 (£0-18-6; acquired by Eyre); *A Juvenile Conversation,* Arthur Mair sale, London, Christie's, 11 July 1783, no. 86 (£3-13-6; purchased by "Phyn"); *Children Playing,* Sir Joshua Reynolds sale, London, Christie's, 19 December 1794, no. 77 (£5-15-6; purchased by Harvey). (Ferré [1972] adds to this list a Blackwood sale, London, 29 April 1752, no. 18, *Boys att Play* [Raines 1977, p. 57, no. 43]). Claussin

et al. sale, Paris, 9 June 1824, no. 9: "Watteau—Dans un joli Paysage, cinq enfans dont l'un déguisé en Pierrot, jouent ensemble. Ce petit tableau est remarquable par la finesse de la touche et la couleur." Alfred de Rothschild (1842-1918) (for other paintings in his collection, see cat. P. 42), in 1884 and 1889. Acquired from Charles Wertheimer by Sedelmeyer for Fr 10,585 on 14 June 1893; sold by Sedelmeyer for Fr 15,000 to Maurice Kann in January 1894. Maurice Kann, from 1894 to at least 1909. David David-Weill (1871-1952) by 1922. Mrs. Charles E. Dunlap (sale, New York, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 4 December 1975, no. 359, colorpl.; $55,000). Artemis. Acquired by Fort Worth in 1981.

EXHIBITIONS

London 1889, no. 86; Paris 1894, no. 81, ill.; Pittsburgh 1954, no. 49, ill.; London 1978, no. 17, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): H 1845, no. 2; H 1856, no. 26 (wrongly mentioned as coming from the "Cabinet Quentin de Lorangère"); Blanc 1857, I, p. 8; G 1875, no. 174; Mariette 1862 ed., p. 108; Leris 1881, p. 253; Dacier 1921, p. 124 (or p. 52 of the ed. in vols.); (on the painting): Davis 1884, I, no. 77, ill.; Phillips 1895, p. 56; Staley 1902, p. 149; DV, I, p. 95 and III, under no. 75; Henriot 1926, II, pp. 381-382, ill.; R 1928, no. 138; exh. cat. Paris, 1933 (Orangerie), under no. 276; AH 1950, no. 209; M 1959, pp. 29, 74, fig. 40 (canvas); CR 1970, no. 201, ill.; F 1972, B.91 ("attributed to Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, p. 282; *Apollo* (June 1978), pp. 510, 511, fig. 7; Pillsbury 1982, p. V colorpl. 11 and p. X, ill.; RM 1982, no. 195, ill.; P 1984, pp. 123, 227, fig. 177; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A round copy (panel, diam. 27 cm) (fig. 1) which, according to the catalogue, belonged to La Live de Jully and Crozat, was offered in the estate sale of Mme. S. G., Paris, 22 May 1919, only no., ill. Another (36 x 50 cm) (fig. 2) which separates the figures from each other, attributed to Mercier (formerly in the Patino collection, Paris?), was sold in New York, Christie's, 9 June 1978, no. 135, pl. 57.

A third belonged to William Hallsborough of London in 1951 (*Connoisseur*, June 1951, ill. p. LXXX).

RELATED DRAWINGS

A counterproof in the Bonnat Museum in Bayonne (PM 713) (fig. 3) shows three studies for children's heads. The one on the left is very close to the little girl to the right of the young Pierrot. The same head was used for *Country Amusements* (cat. P. 52) and *The Repulsed Lover* (CR 111). Auguste (1789-1850) made a pastel copy (14 x 12 cm) of the composition (exh. cats. 1933a, no. 276 and Paris 1977, no. 309), which belonged to René de Boutray, Versailles, in 1933.

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Nicolas-Henri Tardieu (1674-1749) (fig. 4) is accompanied by the following verse:

Heureux age! age d'or, ou sans inquiétude
Le coeur scait se livrer a d'innocens plaisirs,
Dans ces simples enfans une badine Etude
Peut contenter tous leurs desirs.
O Sort bien différent! l'amour, la perfidie
Nous privent d'un repos, que nous cherchons en vain,
Le tissu de nos jours, est une comédie
Joüée aux dépens du prochain.

This engraving was listed in the inventory drawn up after the death of François Chereau in 1729. The copperplate had come from Pierre Sirois who died in 1726, placing its execution prior to that date (see DV, II, pp. 22, 31, 65). Mariette (*Notes mss.*, X, fol. 19 [13]) mentions the engraving. The copperplate appeared in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the 1770 and 1778 Chereau catalogues.



fig. 2

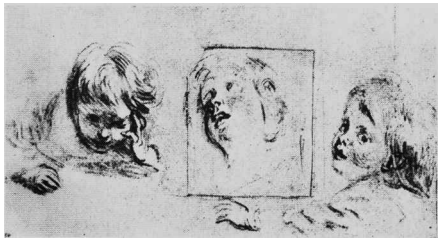


fig. 3



fig. 4

## 51 Pleasures of the Dance ("*Les plaisirs du bal*")

Oil on canvas
52.6 x 65.4 (20 11/16 x 25 3/4)
The Governors of the Dulwich Picture Gallery, Dulwich

*Pleasures of the Dance* "is rightly considered one of the most beautiful [paintings] by Watteau," wrote Mariette in c. 1730 (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 194 [85]). Judging from the number of old copies, by Pater among others, the work seems to have been particularly admired in the first half of the eighteenth century. Evidence of this can be found in the special interest shown it by its first owners, from Claude Glucq to his cousin, Jean de Jullienne, to Montullé (see Provenance). But at the end of the eighteenth century it was less appreciated and does not seem to have found a purchaser for 5000 livres in 1783, for 4000 livres in 1787, and for 3000 livres in 1791. It entered the Dulwich collections at the beginning of the nineteenth century, somewhat by chance.

Unquestionably, Watteau himself accorded a great importance to his painting as the numerous preparatory drawings mentioned under Related Works prove.

Watson (1953) published x-rays of the painting (fig. 1), which show that at first Watteau had conceived of a quite different architectural setting. In the upper left part the artist had painted an Italianate rounded apse, apparently inspired by the interior of Bernini's San Andrea al Quirinale, for rea-

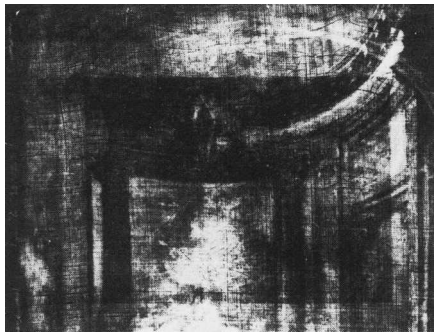


fig. 1



fig. 2

sons of which we are unaware. This setting, which was partly eliminated in favor of the fountain and large trees, was replaced by a light gray and slate-colored architecture, directly inspired by Salomon de Brosse's ringed columns at the Palais du Luxembourg. As for the lines cut into the paint, which clearly show through in the lower left part, they seem to be the rule with Watteau, who would again use them in his *French Comedians* (cat. P. 70; see also P. 9). While Bernini and de Brosse, as well as Bibiena, have been mentioned as possible sources for the architecture, since Parker (1932) the composition has frequently been linked with a painting by Hieronymus Janssen, *Ball on the Terrace of a Palace,* signed and dated 1656, in the Musée de Lille (exh. cat. Brussels 1965, *Le Siècle de Rubens,* no. 114) (fig. 2). It has also been pointed out that a Watteau drawing (Louvre; PM 346) after *Christ and the Centurion* of Veronese in Kansas was used by the artist for the young black servant in the center of the composition. (The figure leaning over the terrace was also derived from Veronese.) This reference to Veronese evokes the celebrated lines of Constable who found the Dulwich painting "painted in honey; so mellow, so tender, so soft and so delicious . . . This inscrutable and exquisite thing would vulgarise even Rubens and Paul Veronese" (see Leslie 1938).

Although the figures seen on the canvas have been counted (sixty-five people and four dogs!) by those who were enraptured by the painter's virtuosity in introducing so many figures into such a small space, attention has less frequently been called to the laurel-crowned bust. Placed in a curious shell above the elegant caryatids that frame a sumptuous buffet in the style of Desportes or Huilliot, it dominates the scene. These caryatids, as though alive, introduce us to an unreal world. Other signs of this can be picked out in the painting.

The date of the work is perplexing. If the date of 1719 suggested by Adhémar is too late, the date of 1714-1715 suggested by Brookner (who considers that the "packing of the figures on the extreme right . . . might indicate a lesser hand than Watteau's . . . a certain confusion in the composition and a general over-accumulation of detail") seems a little early. The date 1716-1717, although too often assigned to Watteau's paintings, seems to us to be more appropriate.



fig. 3



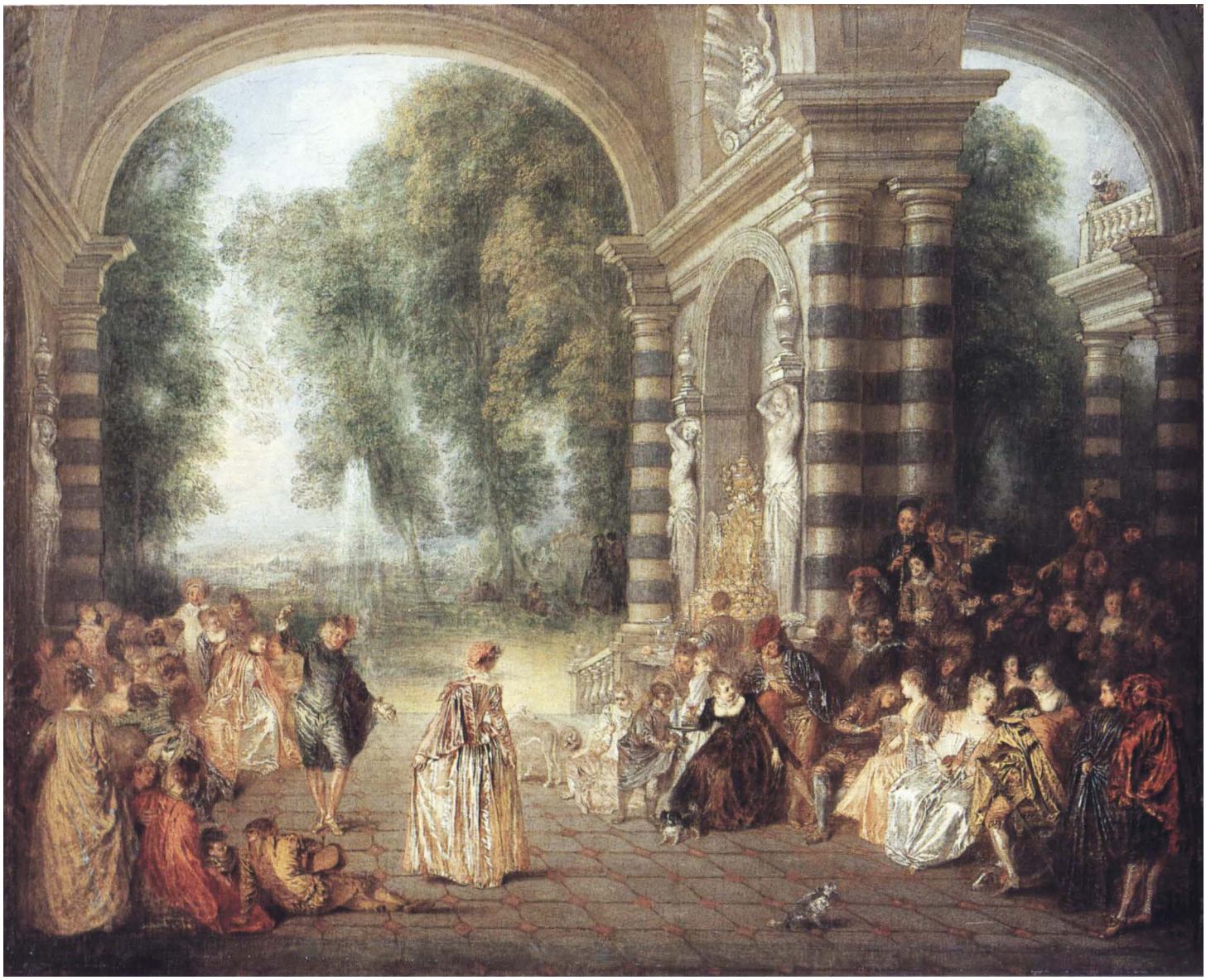
fig. 4



fig. 5

The work mixes musicians and actors: the fool seated in the foreground, Pierrot and a harlequin in the background at left; children and servants; spectators (with two men dressed in the old style with Van Dyck ruffs); and couples of lovers. In the center, dancers dressed in theater costumes "are beginning a minuet" (Tomlinson, 1981).

What did Watteau mean? The mixture of reality and fantasy has already been mentioned. If there are numerous references to everyday life, if there are obvious allusions to contemporary spectacles, Watteau also is anxious to baffle and surprise. He places his scene in his time, in the present,



51

yet also in a past that is evoked by some of the costumes and the architecture. He especially places it outside time, that time of lovers whom music and dance seem not to distract; some are already moving away to seek refuge under the large trees where the splashing of the fountain has replaced the musicians' concert.

PROVENANCE

Possibly painted, according to Caylus or at least the original draft of his 1748 lecture (in Champion 1921, p. 102, n. 3) "Pour M. le président de Bandolle," François II de Boyer de Bandol, a collector from Aix-en-Provence and president of the Parlement of Provence (1673-1748). In 1730, year of Scotin's engraving, it belonged to "Mr. Glucq, Conseilleur au Parlement." Claude Glucq (after 1674-1742) was the younger son of Jean Glucq (Jullienne's cousin) and Marie-Charlotte Jullienne. In 1752, according to Dezallier d'Argenville, the painting "Le Petit bal de Watteau, gravé dans son oeuvre," was at the "rue de Richelieu, près de la Fontaine de ce nom" at the home of Louis Pasquier, esquire, royal counselor of trade for Normandy province. Upon his death on 11 November 1754, the painting passed to his executor, Vincent de Gournay, intendant of trade and commerce for the Lyons area, Burgundy, and elsewhere, living at the rue de la Grange-Batelière (will dated 3 March 1754, published by Dacier and Vuaflart; the painting was entitled *"un Bal de jour"* and valued at 3,000 livres). However, by c. 1756, it is mentioned (no. 365, *"Le Bal"*) in the illustrated manuscript catalogue of the Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) collection (formerly Fenaille collection, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York). Jullienne bequeathed it in his will of 25 May 1764 to Jean-Baptiste-François de Montullé (1721-1787), his first cousin. He noted that the painting "a appartenu à M. Pasquier et avant lui à M. Glucq" (document first published by Dacier and Vuaflart). Montullé sale, Paris, 22 December 1783, no. 55, purchased for 5,000 livres by the dealer Le Brun; de Vaudreuil (sale, Paris, 26 November 1787, no. 6, where it was again purchased by Le Brun, this time for 4,000 livres; Marquis de Montesquiou (sale, Paris, 9 December 1788, no. 212; purchased a third time by Le Brun for 3,000 livres; Le Brun sale, 11 April 1791, no. 197, unsold (priced at 2,000 livres); passed into the hands of his friend and partner Noël Desenfans (174?-1807); in 1792, Sir Abraham Hume (1749-1838) traded another painting to Desenfans for it; traded back to Desenfans in 1797. In the possession of Desenfans in 1802 (no. 68 of the cat.), in 1803 and in 1804 (insurance list no. 46); bequeathed by Desenfans to Sir Francis Bourgeois (1756-1811); given by Bourgeois to Dulwich College in 1811. When Dulwich opened to the public in 1814, Watteau's painting created a sensation (see Whittingham, in press).

EXHIBITIONS

London 1896, no. 78; London 1932, no. 166 (pl. 31 of the album and no. 258, pl. 50 of the commem. cat.); London 1949-1950, no. 90, pl. 23 of the album; Amsterdam 1951, no. 137; London 1954-1955, no. 241, pl. 48 of the album; London 1968, no. 724, colorpl. III.



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10



fig. 11



fig. 12



fig. 13


BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dezallier d'Argenville 1752, p. 105; H 1845, no. 123; H 1856, no. 125 (thinking that the original was in the "gallery of Count Rastapchine [*sic*], at Saint Petersburg"); Head 1854, II, p. 297; Bürger [Thoré] 1860, p. 271; Mariette 1862 ed., p. 108; Lejeune 1964, I, p. 213; [Cousin] 1865, p. 29; G 1875, no. 155; Dussieux 1876, p. 328; Dohme 1880, pp. 10, 28; Mollett 1883, pp. 69-70; Mantz 1892, p. 193; Phillips 1895, pp. 24, 40, 41, 54, 56, 73, 82; Staley 1902, p. 125; Alfassa 1910, p. 19 (in the offprint; p. 137 of the vol.); Pilon 1912, pp. 60, 102, 188; Z 1912, p. 188, pl. 79 (pls. 80-81, details); Champion 1921, p. 102 n. 3; Ingersoll-Smouse 1921, p. 86; DV, III, under no. 114; R 1928, no. 133; Whitley 1928, pp. 33-34; Parker 1931, pp. 34-35, 43, 47; Parker 1932, p. 7, n. 5; Leslie 1938, p. 263; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 21; Bunt 1947, pp. 93-98, ill. p. 93; Réau 1947-1948, pp. 113-114; Adhémar 1950, p. 31, ill. detail; AH 1950, no. 196, pl. 128 (and pls. 130-131, details); Watson 1953, pp. 238-242; Mathey and Nordenfalk 1955, p. 139; Moussali 1955, pp. 79-80, ill. p. 80; PM 1957, under nos. 554, 561, 564, 587, 596, 604, 616, 670, 676, 692, 816, 897 (see also no. 346); Gauthier 1959, pl. XLIV; M 1959, p. 68; Mirimonde 1963, pp. 49-50; Medley 1964, pp. 278-280; Sitwell 1968, p. 132, colorpl. p. 131; Cat. Wallace Coll. 1968, under no P 420; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 20; CR 1970, no. 164, ill. and colorpls. LII-LV; F 1972, A.36 ("authentically by Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 101, 120, 192-194, 198, 209-210, 215-217, 219, 222, 224, 227, 274, 330, 331, 342, 357; Mus. cat. Louvre, 1974, under no. 927; Mirimonde 1977, p. 118; Mus. cat. Dulwich (P. Murray) 1980, no. 150, ill.; Tomlinson 1981, p. 37; RM 1982, no. 168, ill. and colorpls. pp. 30-31; P 1984, pp. 123, 167, 169, 203, 256, 288 n. 8, colorpls. 29, 30 (detail), figs. 123, 125, 127; RM 1984 (in press).


RELATED PAINTINGS

No painting by Watteau has been more copied. The most familiar copies, which we know from reproductions, are: Wallace Collection, by Pater, formerly owned by the Duc de Morny and possibly in several eighteenth-century sales (canvas, 56 x 69 cm; Cat. Wallace Coll. 1968, no. P420) (fig. 3); Private col-

fig. 14



fig. 15



fig. 16



fig. 17







fig. 18



fig. 19

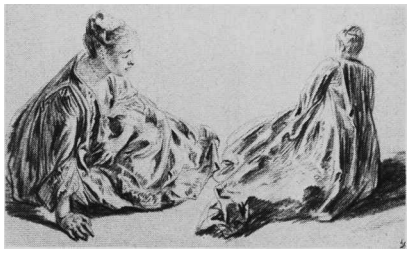


fig. 20



fig. 21

lection of the Duke of Wellington, London; formerly in the Spanish royal collections (canvas, 51 x 61.5 cm; exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 182: Z 1912, pl. 143); Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin (canvas, 55 x 65 cm); Dr. James Hasson, London, repr. Bunt 1947, who also illustrated the Yerkes and North versions (on the Hasson version see Reau 1947-1948); Henry Say sale Paris, 30 November 1908, no. 21. ill (canvas, 62 x 69 cm); Private coll., Paris; exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 181, ill. (canvas, 52 x 65 cm); sale, Paris, Drouot, 27 January 1921, no. 7, ill. (canvas, 48 x 59 cm); Mori collection (photograph in the Witt Library). For the copies by or attributed to Pater, see Ingersoll-Smouse 1921, nos. 600-609.

Other copies are mentioned in Hédouin 1845, Dohme 1880, Dacier and Vuaflart, Bunt 1947, Adhémar, and Camesasca. Turner introduced the Dulwich painting into a small work on panel entitled *Study of Watteau* according to the Principles of Dufresnoy (exh. cat. Paris 1983, p. 31, fig. 10) (fig. 4). For the copy by Leslie, which Constable admired, see Leslie 1938, p. 263. Finally, there is the small copy in the Louvre of the principal female figure in the painting (RF 1938-35; panel, 20 x 14.5 cm) (fig. 5). Laboratory tests conducted by Mme. Hours (1949, pp. 58-59) showed that only the central fragment of the work was old. It had been set into a modern canvas and glued onto wood. Although generally considered to be a copy, it has just recently been restored and is of much higher quality than previously thought (Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 927, ill.).

## RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey link twelve drawings (thirteen, in fact) to *Pleasures of the Dance*. Seven of them were used in nineteen other paintings from *The Village Betrothal* (see cat. P. 21) to *The Grove of Bacchus*, including *The Charms of Life*, *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55), *The Romancer*, and *Venetian Fêtes*. Overall, these drawings date from 1714-1716. It should be noted that five of the drawings listed (PM 564, 587, 596, 604, 616) were used only for the Dulwich painting, perhaps because of the very large number of figures that Watteau assembled there" (Roland-Michel 1984). Two studies for the painting (cats. D.59, 103) are exhibited here, of which one (cat. D. 103) has not previously been related to the Dulwich painting. In addition, there is a copy, probably by Pater, of PM 587 in the Clowes Collection in Indianapolis (mus. cat. 1973, pp. 160-161, ill.). Ingres made a copy from the engraving, of the principal female figure in the painting, but unclothed, as was his custom (Musée Ingres, Montauban, M.I. 867.4079) (fig. 21).

We are reproducing here all the drawings connected with the picture (figs. 6-20).

## RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Gérard Scotin (1698-?) (fig. 22) for the *Recueil Jullienne* was announced in the November 1730 *Mercure de France* ("un Bal dans un Salon," p. 2465; see also April 1731, p. 747). Mariette mentions it (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 194 [85]). The copperplate appeared in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the 1770 and 1778 Chereau catalogues. The inscription on the print states that it was the same size as the painting. In reality, the print measures 498 x 645 mm whereas the painting is 526 x 654 mm. That may be the reason that historians since Alfassa (1910) and DV (II, p. 76) have maintained that the painting used for the engraving was not the one at Dulwich but rather one of Pater's copies.

Numerous preliminary drawings were engraved in the *Fddc*. Boucher (Jean-Richard 1978, nos. 70, 133, 39) etched PM 554 and 617 (directly related to 616; copied by Auguste, exh. cat. Bordeaux 1963, no. 205) and a study for a seated woman, playing with a fan (fig. 23). Etchings were made by Caylus of PM 587 (Roux, 1940, IV, p. 134, no. 18), by B. Audran of the torso of a woman leaning on her right elbow, looking into space (Roux 1931, I, p. 241, under no. 31) (fig. 24), and by Trémolières of a young girl with a surprised look. (See exh. cat. Cholet 1973, p. 120, no. 3 pl. VIII) (fig. 25).

A tapestry (at Benadava) was directly inspired by the painting (repr. *Conn. des Arts* 128 [October 1962]).

fig. 22



fig. 23



fig. 24



fig. 25





Before Restoration

## 52 Country Amusements (*"Amusements champêtres"*)

Oil on panel
32 x 47 (12⅝ x 18½)
W, P Private Collection

This painting must not be confused with *Country Entertainments,* the famous painting in the Wallace collection that is still called *Country Amusements.* In the center a man dressed as a "shepherd" crowns his female companion with flowers; farther back on the right, another man, less finely attired, throws roses into the apron held out to him by a young woman who, like her neighbor, shows him her bosom. On the left a young boy looks at the flowers that a young girl has placed in her apron. But for them the age for love has not yet arrived.

To render the subject even more legible, Watteau placed at the left of his composition a sculpture group directly inspired by Sarrazin (Girodie 1934; see also cat. P. 54) showing a putto mounting a he-goat, "symbol of nascent love" (Mirimonde 1962; a second putto who clings to the animal is more clearly seen in the print). Thanks to the language of flowers, to the "living sculptures," and of course to the poses and gestures, to the looks and the inclination of the necks, and especially, to the hands, Watteau gives his painting the tension that is so markedly absent in the works of his followers Pater and Lancret. He gives to the genre—the *fête galante*—that would open the doors of the Academy for him, and of which the *Country Amusements* is a fine example, his originality, his erotic content, and also his poetic vision.

Watteau used several drawings in painting *Country Amusements.* Some were reused by the artist in other works, including the Berlin *Embarkation to the Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 62) and *The Repulsed Lover* (DV 308, CR 111); other studies appearing on the same sheets were used for *Bantering Conversations* (DV 95, CR 91), *The Perspective* (cat. P. 25), *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 66), and *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56). Finally, Watteau used a drawing now in the Musée de Besançon (cat. D. 139) for his landscape, which seems so "natural." In fact, that page copies a study by the Venetian artist Campagnola, today in the Louvre and once in the Crozat collection, which explains the lack of French characteristics in the fawn in the



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4

background. Examination of these different sheets makes it possible to suggest a rather precise date for the painting, 1716-1718, a date that the restoration of the work, which should be completed for the exhibition, should confirm. We should not exclude the possibility that the restoration will show that the sculpture group and tree at left were painted by Watteau at a later time, perhaps to balance his composition better.

One last word on the refinement of Watteau's psychological observation. Although the couple in the foreground look at each other confidently and happily, the recoiling movement of the young woman and the aggressive, already possessive gesture of the man at right shows the whole game of desire. The end-of-day light and the calm of the landscape pacify the human passions.

The little girl with the snub nose is a portrait and is found also in *Happy Age, Golden Age.*

PROVENANCE

Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) in 1727, date of Aveline's engraving. No longer in his possession by about 1756, date of the illustrated manuscript catalogue of his collection (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York); Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun (1748-1813) (sale, 11 April 1791, no. 199): "L'intérieur d'un jardin, composition de six figures où l'on voit deux hommes qui présentent des fleurs à des femmes. Plus loin, deux enfants sont assis sur l'herbe, tenant des fleurs. Un lointain ouvert et plusieurs arbres terminent ce précieux tableau qui est de la plus belle couleur et de la touche la plus spirituelle. Hauteur 11 pouces et 3 lignes; largeur 15 pouces et demi" (c. 30.4 x 41.9 cm, panel). Acquired by D'avenpart "for 260 livres." Théodore Patureau, honorary member of the Académie royale d'Anvers; his sale, Paris, 20-21 April 1857, no. 62; a long, fairly accurate description of the painting and an indication of the Jullienne and Le Brun provenance (for the Patureau collection and sale, see Blanc 1857, II, pp. 521-536; see also cat. P. 36). According to DV: "adjugé à M. de Rothschild," but, according to Réau and Adhémar (whose opinion we do not share) it passed first through the hands of Jules Strauss. Still in the Rothschild collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): H 1845, no. 90; H 1856, no. 91; G 1875, no. 104; Dargenty 1891, p. 79 (print); Josz 1903, p. 321 n. 1, p. 451 n. 1; Fourcaud, 1904 repr. bet. pp. 204–205 (print); Alfassa 1910, n. p. 13; Girodie 1934, p. 15; Mirimonde 1962, p. 15; Cat. Wallace Coll. 1968, p. 362, P. 391; (on the painting): DV, III, under no. 126 (and I, p. 262); R 1928, no. 160; AH 1950, no. 173, pl. 101; PM 1957, under nos. 333, 435, 551, 675, 713, 783; M 1959, p. 69; Cooper 1963, p. 177, ill. and on the cover in color; CR 1970, no. 189, ill.; Mirimonde 1977, p. 84, n. 16; RM 1982, no. 234, ill.; P 1984, p. 154, fig. 113; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Through a photograph, we know of an old copy of the central motif of the composition, the man crowning a woman with flowers.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey mentioned several preparatory drawings for this painting: PM 435 (Besançon; cat. D. 139) (fig. 1), for the landscape, after a drawing by Campagnola in the Louvre (inv. 27136); PM 713 (Bayonne) (fig. 2), counterproof, for the head of the child seen facing; PM 551 (British Museum) (Hulton 1980, no. 27) (fig. 3), for the head of the woman wearing an apron at right; PM 675 (Switzerland; Private coll., cat. D. 74) (fig. 4), for the man placing flowers in the woman's apron.

In their discussion of PM 333 (fig. 5), a study for children playing with a goat, Parker and Mathey stated that "There was another drawing, unknown to us, of the same group seen from behind which was used in *Country Amusements.*" Goncourt (1875) suggested that one of the studies from PM 783 (Bordeaux-Groult; cat. D. 83) (fig. 6), was used for the head of the woman being crowned with flowers. Parker and Mathey rightly doubted the connection,

fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8



and Grasselli has pointed out that the actual study is on PM 778 (location unknown). Ingres copied, after the engraving, the central motif of the painting (Musée Ingres, Montauban, MI 867.4076) (fig. 7).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Benoit Audran (1698-1772; Roux 1931, I, p. 235, no. 13) (fig. 8) for the *Recueil Jullienne* was announced in the *Mercure de France,* December 1727 (p. 2677). The third state, reproduced here, informs us that the painting was in the "Cabinet de Mr. Dejulienne" and that it is "de même grandeur" as the "Tableau original Peint par Watteau." The engraving measures 31.7 x 45.2 cm, which is almost exactly the size of the painting. It is mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 194 [67]), who confirms that the painting did belong to Jullienne. The copperplate appears in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the 1770 and 1778 Chereau catalogues.



## 53 The Shepherds (*Les bergers*)

Oil on canvas
56 x 81 (22 x 31⅞)
Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin

The interpretation of the painting has changed noticeably in very recent years (Leppert 1978; Posner 1982, 1984). In fact, the Berlin *Shepherds* was long considered a representation of a meeting in the open air, a pastorale portraying a couple of dancers, a musette player, and their companions.

The scene is broken up into three episodes. The swing at left, with its back and forth motion, alludes to feminine fickleness; the hesitation of the young woman seen from behind can be imagined. Second, a shepherd rudely embraces his companion, whose resistance seems to weaken. Third, the dancing couple symbolize the union of the lovers. The bagpiper (the phallic form of his instrument need not be stressed), counselor of youth, is preparing to play, thus giving the signal for action to begin. In the foreground, a



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

young man, alone, is watching the dancers; the dog's posture is there to make us understand his wish.

Did Watteau intend to make these erotic allusions? Were they understood by his contemporaries? In any event, a reading of the painting as "an exercise on the theme of love and desire" cannot be rejected without examination.

Since the reawakening of interest in Watteau in the nineteenth century, the Berlin painting has been compared with *Pastoral Pleasures,* owned by Mariette in 1729 and today conserved in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (fig. 1). Unfortunately the regulations of that museum forbid its loan, thus preventing a direct comparison of the two works. If the two paintings appear at first glance to be identical, even to the color of the costumes of the figures common to the two works, a closer examination forces one to revise this first impression.

Let us pass over the dimensions of the Chantilly painting, which is much smaller and painted on wood. Let us discount also Watteau's addition of a figure to the Berlin painting; his replacement of the figure leaning on the musician's shoulder by a couple who are looking at the dancers; his relocation of the dog and complete change in the position of the young man seated in the foreground of the painting; and, finally, his substitution of the player of the old-fashioned *cornet à bouquin* with the tow-headed musette player (this would be Pierre La Thorillière [1659-1731], the second of the three artists of this family of actors of the Théâtre-français). It is not without interest, however, to note that at least four of the eight preparatory sketches known for this work were only used for the Berlin version.

More important in our view is the difference in style and spirit between the two works. In the Chantilly painting only the couple who are beginning a dance step are elegantly dressed. The models for the other figures seem to have been peasants, ordinary people. The musician, his companion, and the shepherd who is embracing his companion were directly inspired by Rubens (as, of course, was the dog in the foreground). In the Berlin painting, on the countrary, the protagonists are dressed with elegance and care, and one lady wears a pearl necklace. The scene has lost its spontaneity: the painter seems to have distanced himself from his models who, less vigorous and natural, seem more dreamy and more meditative.

Even the three groups who bring movement to the painting, the woman seen from behind on her swing, the aggressive shepherd, and the dancing couple, are more static in the Berlin painting, where their gestures have acquired a serenity absent in the Chantilly picture—their long and beautiful hands better express their intentions. The Chantilly dancer stares at and observes his companion with the garland of white roses; in Berlin he caresses her with his contemplative gaze.

How many years separate the Chantilly painting from the Berlin one? (Only Dohme [1883] reverses that order of execution.) The latter is never dated before 1716, rarely after 1717 (Zimmermann, 1716-1718; exh. cat. Paris 1937, "c.

fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7







fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10



fig. 11

1717-1719"). The Chantilly painting is generally considered as earlier by only one or two years. However, it seems to us that the technical and psychological evolution between the two works implies a longer interval of time.

In the Berlin canvas Watteau clarified his composition and his scene is better disposed in space. For the new figures he used more elegant drawings, but above all he places his figures as if they were outside time. The landscape has greater depth. Watteau no longer paints the countryside, but nature. (The execution of the sheaves of wheat at right is admirable.) He has found his own very personal mode of expression, that *tone* still missing in the Chantilly sketch.

PROVENANCE

Although the painting certainly came from the collection of Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712-1786), the circumstances of its acquisition are unknown. It was mentioned for the first time in Oesterreich's 1773 catalogue (no. 543), and not again until 1876 when it was in the old Berlin Castle; transferred to the New Palace, Potsdam; in 1937, to the Schloss Charlottenburg.

In our opinion, this painting is the one mentioned by Voltaire in a letter dated 17 January 1741, addressed from Brussels to Bonaventure Moussinot (ed. Besterman 1955, XI, p. 19): "Quant aux tableaux que vous voudriez envoyer en Prusse, le roy aime fort les Vataux, les Lancrets et les Pater. J'ay vu chez lui de tout cela, mais je soupçonne 4 petits Vataux qu'il a dans son cabinet d'être d'excellentes copies. Je me souviens entre autre d'une espèce de noce de village, ou il y a un vieillard en cheveux blancs très remarquable. Ne connaissez-vous point ce tableau? Tout fourmille en Allemagne de copies, qu'on fait passer pour des originaux. Les princes sont trompez, et trompent quelquefois."

This text has usually been related to *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11), but the "old man with white hair" in that painting is only a secondary figure, whereas he is the center of interest in *The Shepherds.*

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1900, no. 28 ill.; Paris 1937, no. 234; Wiesbaden 1947, no. 115; Wiesbaden 1951, no. 58; Berlin 1962, no. 91, fig. 6; Paris 1963, no. 34, colorpl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Voltaire 1741 (ed. Besterman 1955), XI, p. 19; Oesterreich 1773, no. 543; Dohme 1876, p. 91, no. 9; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1883, pp. 97-98 (with an etching by G. Eilers); Phillips 1895, p. 50; Fourcaud 1900, p. 272; Lafenestre 1900, pp. 554-555; Seidel 1900, no. 147 (with the etching by Eilers; the central group drawn and engraved by Peter Halm, p. 5); Staley 1902, p. 136; Josz 1903, p. 378; Z 1912, p. 189, pls. 85, 86 (detail); DV, III, under no. 209; Hildebrandt 1922, pl. 70; Foerster 1923, p. 61; R 1928, no. 77; Eisenstadt 1930, pp. 150, 152, 181; Parker 1931, pp. 20, 43; Kühn 1937, p. 5; Brinckmann 1943, pls. 54, 55 (color details), 56; Adhémar 1950, p. 29, ill.; AH 1950, no. 143, pl. 74 (detail, pl. 75); PM 1957, under nos. 79, 540, 572, 573, 653, 744, 823; Gauthier 1959, pl. XXIV; M 1959, p. 68; Schefer 1962, p. 50; Eckardt 1964, p. 22, colorpl. p. 23; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 96, fig. 14 (detail); Levey 1966, p. 76, fig. 45; CR 1970, no. 176, ill. pls. XVII, XVIII, XIX (details); Cormack 1970, pl. 117; F 1972, B.37 ("attributed to Watteau"); Börsch-Supan 1974, p. 20, fig. 6; Cailleux 1975, pp. 85-87, 88, pl. p. 85 (Eng. ed., pp. 246-258); Posner 1975, p. 292; Börsch-Supan 1977, p. 37 and fig. 7; Mirimonde 1977, pp. 60, 118; Leppert 1978, pp. 59-60; Posner 1982, pp. 76-77, fig. 2; RM 1982, no. 215, ill. and color details; P 1984, pp. 26, 163-167, 169, 245, 286, n. 83, colorpl. 28, figs. 121, 122 (detail); RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

In the Wildenstein coll., Paris, there is a replica, known to us only in a photograph (55.2 x 78.4 cm, according to F 1972, B. 38; in our photograph ([fig. 2]), one figure—the young man pushing the swing—is missing, whereas he appears in the photograph reproduced by Ferré). According to Adhémar (1950), this version belonged to the Marquis de Chaponay, then to Wildenstein, Sigismond Reitlinger, and then to his daughter, Mme. Emile Kann. In the catalogue of the 1963 Paris exhibition the painting belonging to Mme. S. Reitlinger (1937) was separated from the ones belonging to Wildenstein (1950) and the Marquis de Chaponay; the latter painting was associated with one in the Hugh Lane coll., listed in exh. cat. Paris 1937. The Berlin painting has always been compared to *Pastoral Pleasure* (fig. 1), which was engraved by Tardieu in 1729 for the *Recueil Jullienne,* and which belonged to Mariette in the eighteenth century. Today it is in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (panel, 31 x 44 cm; CR 150; a copy of the painting was sold at Christie's, London, 9 May 1896, no. 135; another was auctioned at Versailles, 15 May 1968, pl. II, "d'après Lancret"; another was sold at Paris, Drouot, 24 October 1983, no. 51, ill. canvas, 73.5 x 90.5). In 1972, Ferré published a painting, *The Hurdy-Gurdy Player* (canvas, 65 x 82 cm; Private coll., Geneva, which came from a sale held on 10-11 December 1947, no. 93) (fig. 3); Ferré considered it an original Watteau (A. 35, color ill.), but this attribution has hardly been followed.

RELATED DRAWINGS

The drawings related to this painting are as follows, reading from left to right: PM 540 (Private coll., London) (fig. 4), for the woman, seen from behind, on the swing (see also Related Prints); PM 653 (Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris, cat. D. 84) (fig. 5), for the shepherd with his arms around the young girl (although his pose is the same, his clothing in the drawing is that of an aristocrat playing at being a shepherd); PM 573 (Private coll., Paris) (fig. 6), for the woman who resists him; PM 572 (Private coll., Paris) (fig. 7), for the woman with the pearl necklace turned toward the dancing couple; PM 744 (Institut Néerlandais, Paris) (fig. 8) one of the seven studies of heads on this sheet is a study for the face of the woman wearing the pearl necklace; PM 736 (Private coll., Paris) (fig. 9), for the man with the odd cap between that woman and the bagpiper; PM 823 (Louvre; cat. D. 56) (fig. 10), for the bagpiper (the other study on this sheet is for the *The Village Betrothal* in the Soane Museum, London); PM 79 (loc. unknown) (fig. 11), for the female dancer (used by Watteau in several of his works).

RELATED PRINTS

An etching by G. Eilers illustrated the works of Dohme (1883) and Seidel (1900). The latter also reproduced a drawing by Peter Halm copying the painting's central group.

The Tardieu engraving of 1729 for the *Recueil Jullienne* (DV 209), entitled *"Le plaisir pastoral,"* is after the painting now at the Musée Condé, Chantilly. (PM 653 was etched by Boucher [Jean-Richard 1978, no. 124, ill.] for the *Fddc* [It shows some variants from the same figure as depicted in the painting; see also, though the relationship is less conclusive, Jean-Richard 1978, no. 62, ill.]). PM 736 was etched for the *Fddc* by L. Cars (1699-1771); Roux 1934, III, p. 484, no. 87.



## 54 The Family (*"La famille"*)

Oil on canvas
41.2 x 32.4 (16 3/16 x 12 3/4)
Private Collection, Switzerland

Although often cited, *The Family* has rarely been reproduced: it is not pictured in Adhémar's monograph, and Camesasca (1982), Roland-Michel (1982), and Posner (1984) chose to illustrate the engraving by Aveline. In Ferré 1972 the photograph was reversed, one of the reasons why Posner (1984) believed that *The Family* was not from the hand of Watteau but rather an old copy.

An examination of the painting removes any doubt, despite the abrasion of the sky, which had been pointed out by Clément de Ris and Thoré as early as 1848 and 1860 when *The Family* was presented in the first exhibitions of the nineteenth century. We have not seen the work since its restoration, which we wager has recovered the painting's original brilliance and the bold accord between the young woman's yellow robe and the violet suit of her companion.

In 1729, the date of the print for the *Recueil Jullienne,* the work belonged to Titon du Tillet, the colorful author of *Le Parnasse François* (see Colton 1979). He owned another Watteau painting also exhibited here, *The Italian Serenade* (Stockholm; cat. P. 42). But *The Family* should be dated considerably later. Adhémar inclined toward 1716; Mathey, toward 1713-1715; Camesasca and Roland-Michel, 1715. The two splendid preparatory drawings exhibited here already display a mature style (cats. D. 78, 79) (figs. 2, 3); the fact that one of them would be used by Watteau for his *Gallant Assembly* (DV 130, CR 171) causes us to opt for the first dating proposed, perhaps even for 1717.

A fascinating document discovered by Dacier and Vuaflart (*AN, MC,* XXVI, 389) enlightens us on the interpretation to be given the subject: the estate inventory of the wife,



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

née Marie-Louise Gersaint, of Jean Le Bouc-Santussan, master goldsmith and jeweler, drawn up on 27 May 1777. This document specifically states that the Aveline print represents "the late Sieur Le Bouq-Santussan and his family." The painting would thus show us the Le Bouc-Santussan couple and their son, who became a goldsmith on 24 September 1738, and who was to marry the daughter of Edme-François Gersaint.

There is nothing to disprove this identification, but can one indeed claim that Watteau had wished to paint a family portrait? It is true that he drew the young couple from the model, as was his custom, but then he assembled the composition from the different studies in his usual fashion. The best proof is that the painting did not belong to the Le Bouc-Santussans. Further, if Watteau sought to capture a likeness in the Amsterdam drawing (cat. D. 78), such is not the case in his painting, whose composition would not ordinarily lend itself to portraiture.

Why did Watteau paint a man leaning back in such an uncomfortable position and foreshorten his head and shoulders? His gesture alone provides the explanation for this position. He is pointing his finger toward a sculpture group that Watteau liked to represent, inspired by a work by Sarazin. (A version of this is in the Louvre; see Girodie 1934 and cat. P. 52, where the same work is presented from a different angle.) The group shows us a putto straddling a he-goat, frequent symbol of passionate love. In this case, the *bouc* has a more prosaic *raison d'être:* it makes an amusing allusion to the name of the models.

Seated on a sort of mound, the young woman brings a fan to her lips. A black ribbon fastens a strand of pearls around her throat. She looks with astonishment and amusement at her husband who holds his young son in his left arm. Halfway between *scène galante* and conversation piece, between an open-air painting and a portrait, *The Family* excels through its daring compositional arrangements. In accordance with Watteau's habit, the hands and eyes are the most expressive elements. No doubt the artist wanted nothing more than to describe the simple happiness of a family, together at the edge of a wood on a beautiful autumn evening.

fig. 4



fig. 5



PROVENANCE

In 1729, the year of Aveline's engraving for the *Recueil Jullienne,* it belonged to Evrard Titon du Tillet (1677-1762; see Colton 1979, and, on the other Watteau painting in his collection, see cat. P.42). Still in Titon du Tillet's possession in 1752 (Dezallier d'Argenville mentioned that it was at his house in the rue de Montreuil), but was not cited by Dezallier in 1757. According to DV, "peut-être *l'Heureux menage*" of an anonymous sale [Hue], Paris, 20 June 1833, no. 39: "esquisse terminée" [no dim.]. In 1848 (see Exhibitions), property of M. "Collot, marchand de nouveautés à Paris" (H 1856); Capron sale, London, 4 March 1854, no. 46: "A lady, in a white satin dress, holding a fan, with a little girl at her side, in conversation with a gentleman in a landscape." By 1860 (see Exhibitions), in the collection of the Duc de Morny (1811-1865) (sale, 31 March 1865, no. 115: "La Dame à l'Eventail"; Fr 7650). "En Angleterre" in 1905 (Fourcaud). Maurice de Rothschild (1881-1957), by 1922; seized during World War II by the Germans and chosen by Goering for his personal collection; returned in 1945 to its owner, Edmond de Rothschild, Prégny, Switzerland; sold by him to another collector.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1848; Paris 1860, no. 266; Paris 1946, no. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dezallier d'Argenville 1752, p. 243; H 1845, no. 59; H 1856, nos. 60 (composition), 133; Clément de Ris 1848, p. 194; A.J.D. *L'illustration* (1848), p. 562; Bürger [Thoré] 1860, pp. 270-271; [Cousin] 1865, p. 29; G 1875, no. 134; Mollett 1883, p. 68; Dargenty 1891, p. 25 (print); Phillips 1895, p. 40; Fourcaud 1905, pp. 105-106, 111 (print); DV, III, under no. 86 (and I, p. 261); Dacier 1923, p. 89; R 1928, no. 194 (and p. 14); Parker 1931, p. 49; Girodie 1934, p. 15; AH 1950, no. 170; PM 1957, under nos. 333, 557, 665, 910; M 1959, p. 68; Mirimonde 1962, p. 15; CR 1970, no. 114, ill. (print); F 1972, B.33 ("attributed to Watteau") (ill. reversed); RM 1982, no. 150 ill. (print); P 1984, pp. 208, 237, 243, 248, 289 n. 21, fig. 167; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Wildenstein (1924, no. 622) (fig. 1), mentions a copy attributed to Lancret in the Musée de Bordeaux (42 x 32 cm).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Three drawings are related to this painting—PM 665 (Armand Hammer coll.; cat. D. 79) (fig. 2), for the man on the left of the composition; PM 557 (Amsterdam; cat. D. 78) (fig. 3), for the woman (for the identity of the models for these drawings, see PM 910 and also Roland-Michel 1983); PM 333 (Private coll., Basel) (fig. 4), for the sculpture group.

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Pierre Aveline (1702-1760) (Roux 1931, I, 311, pl. 7) (fig. 5), for the *Recueil Jullienne* was announced in the *Mercure de France,* September 1729 (II, p. 2244), with the name of the owner at that time; in addition, it stated that the "tableau original" was "de la même grandeur de l'estempe [*sic*]." Indeed, the print measures 37.6 x 28.0 cm, or about 4 cm less than the painting. Mariette (*Notes mss.,* IX, fol. 193 [40]) mentioned the engraving. The copperplate appeared in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the 1770 and 1778 Chereau catalogues.

The two studies seen on PM 557 were all engraved in the *Fddc:* the seated woman by Boucher (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 55), and the study of the head by Laurent Cars (no. 231 of the volume; missing from the Roux inventory, 1934, III).

## 55 The Love Lesson (*"Leçon d'Amour"*)

Oil on walnut panel
43.8 x 60.9 (17¼ x 23¹⁵⁄₁₆)
P Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

The painting very quickly became known. Engraved for Caylus in London shortly after Watteau's death, and then for the *Recueil Jullienne* in 1734, *The Love Lesson* passed, like so many of the paintings by Watteau owned by Jullienne, into the collection of Frederick the Great of Prussia. It was sold by his descendants after the fall of the Prussian Empire. In 1919 the Académie des Beaux-Arts, Paris, used a reproduction of the painting to illustrate an unfortunate petition demanding "firmly that in the preliminary talks for the peace treaty the principle should be registered that the diminution of the artistic treasure of the countries that were attacked will be compensated by sacrifices of art works in the possession of the countries which carried out the destruction." It was acquired in 1953 by the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, which



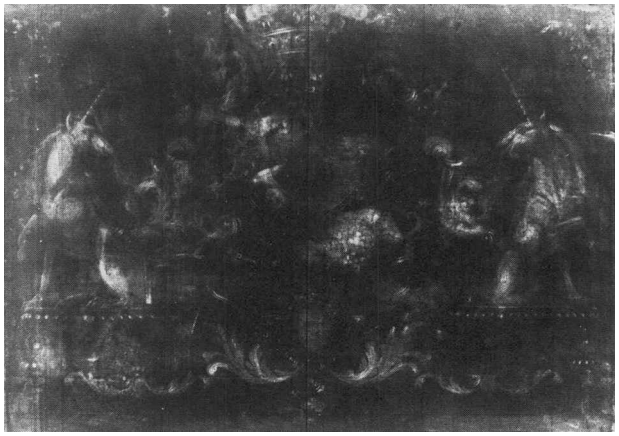


fig. 1

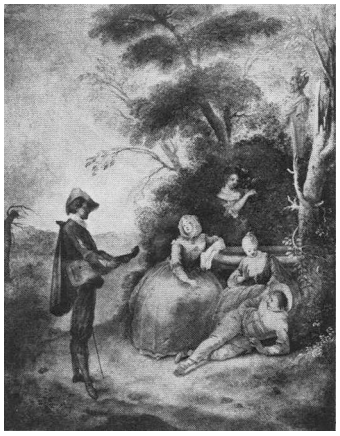


fig. 2

was already rich in eighteenth-century French paintings but owned no works by Watteau up to that time.

The work of Nordenfalk (1953, 1979), who devoted himself to the acquisition and then to the study of the painting, has made it possible to understand the painting better. Its date, c. 1716-1717, seems to be unanimously accepted. (Posner [1984] advanced the date a little to 1715-1716; Mathey [1959] had thought of 1720, the date of Watteau's stay in England, basing his view on the Mercier print that would appear to prove the painting was in London in 1722-1723. But many works that were definitely executed in France passed over to England during Watteau's lifetime or shortly after his death.) The style of the numerous drawings used by the artist for his painting (and sometimes for other works) confirms this date. The Chicago *Landscape* after Campagnola (cat. D. 141) (fig. 10), linked to the painting by Eidelberg (1977), was most likely copied at Crozat's. Since Crozat had probably acquired it in Italy, whence he returned in 1715, that provides additional proof for this hypothesis.

The painting is in mediocre condition (which sometimes has caused doubt about its authenticity; see, for example, Camesasca 1972), due to Watteau's misuse of rich oil, which made the painted surface "wrinkle" as if it were crumpled. But there is a second reason for the curious crackling of the surface. The work is painted on a varnished walnut panel, and x-rays (fig. 1) have permitted the rather easy reading of an earlier painted composition representing "an ornamental cartouche with an escutcheon surmounted by a marquis' coronet and supported by two unicorns." It was most certainly the varnished door of a ceremonial carriage. Is the coat of arms identifiable, and is it the one belonging to a branch of the Colbert family (as the unicorns could make one think)? Is the hidden painting a decorative work by Watteau and in that case would it date from c. 1709, the time when the artist left his master, Audran, for whom he had executed decorative arabesques? How did Watteau regain possession of the panel? Nordenfalk has raised these questions and attempted to supply detailed answers; we, in turn, are unable to suggest any further explanations.

*The Love Lesson* appears to us to have retained all its poetry. Its title, which originated in the *Recueil Jullienne*, suits it perfectly. Mirimonde (1961, 1962) provided a convincing interpretation: a few strollers are resting on the edge of a wood. A sculpture of a very young, rather plump nymph (whom Watteau will use again on several occasions), of great "carnal reality" and liveliness, is seated on a pedestal ornamented with a sculptured decoration. Her long hair characterizes Opportunity, while the dolphin is the messenger of love. The figure on the pedestal symbolizes Echo, the nymph who listens. She is listening to the guitarist who waits "for his

fig. 3

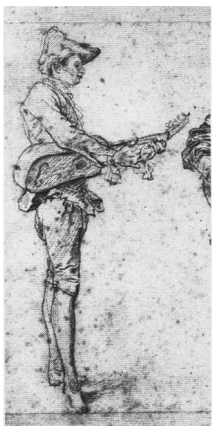


fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6





fig. 7

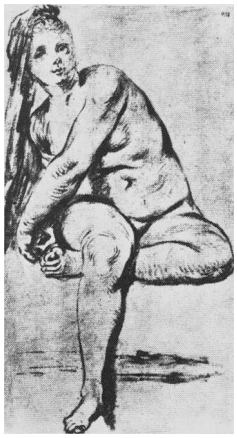


fig. 8



fig. 9

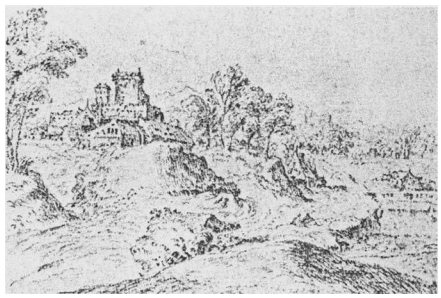


fig. 10

serenade to be answered." The armfuls of roses indicate that he is about to receive his reward.

As in the paintings of Troyes and Brodick Castle (cats. P. 17, 19), the Stockholm guitarist is isolated, set off against a beautiful, clear sky. By contrast, the strollers who pore over the score and pick roses seem to be lovers. The opposition between the musician and the four listeners gives the masterly composition an amorous atmosphere, warm and strained. But it is the union between music, nature, and love that makes Watteau stand out among his contemporaries and explains the quick success of this work.

PROVENANCE

According to DV (1922), who relied on the information provided by Mercier's engraving, the painting was in England in 1722-1723, but recent studies on paintings by Watteau in Great Britain during the eighteenth century cannot confirm this theory. Possibly belonged to Caylus (1692-1765), to whom Mercier dedicated the engraving (Raines, written communication, 1983). It was in Jean de Jullienne's (1686-1766) possession by 1734, the date of the engraving by Dupuis, but no longer in his collection in 1756, the date of the manuscript inventory of the Jullienne collection (formerly Fenaille coll., now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York). Acquired for Frederick the Great of Prussia (1712-1786) through Frederick Rudolph, Count von Rothenburg, the Prussian ambassador to France from 1744-1746. First mentioned in the royal Prussian collections in 1773 (but certainly never belonged to the Marquise de Pompadour; Dohme 1883). In 1926, it was awarded, along with three other Watteau paintings in Berlin (cats. P. 62, 70, 72), to the Hohenzollern heirs. Sold in 1930 by the deposed Crown Prince Louis-Ferdinand. To the dealer Hugo Moser, then to Mrs. Hugo Moser in Switzerland. In the United States from 1930-1950; Duveen brothers in 1951; acquired in 1953 by the Nationalmuseum with funds provided by a national public subscription.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1883, no. 44; Paris 1900, no. 30; Berlin 1910, no. 74 (no. 146 of the large format ed.); London 1932, no. 172 (commem. cat.; no. 255, pl. 30 of the *Illustrated Souvenir*; a postcard of the painting was published at this time); Pittsburgh 1951, no. 76; Stockholm 1958, no. 63, pl. 22; Stockholm 1979-1980, no. 492, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Oesterreich 1773, no. 79 (?); H 1845, no. 98; H 1856, no. 99; G 1875, no. 144; Dohme 1876, p. 90, no. 7; Dussieux 1876, p. 228; Dohme 1880, p. 9, ill. (print); Dohme 1883, p. 102; Mollett 1883, p. 69; Ephrussi 1884, p. 99; Dargenty 1891, p. 81 (print); Phillips 1895, p. 64; Lafenestre 1900, p. 554; Fourcaud 1900, p. 272; Seidel 1900, p. 143, no. 150, ill.; Staley 1902, pp. 58, 69; Josz 1903, pp. 320-321; Fourcaud 1905, p. 113; Alfassa 1910, pp. 169-170; Vaudoyer 1910, p. 18, ill. p. 6; Pilon 1912, pp. 80, 84-85, 104, 114, 115; Z 1912, p. 188, pl. 82 ("canvas"); *Les Arts* 1919, no. 173, ill.; DV, I, p. 164 and III, under no. 263; Foerster 1923, p. 61; R 1928, no. 128; Borenius 1932, p. 91; Brinckmann 1943, fig. 52; AH 1950, pp. 47-48, no. 138, pl. 70; Gauffin 1953, pp. 9-12; Nordenfalk 1953, pp. 61-156 (French summary); PM 1957, under nos. 529, 632, 731, 746, 779, 804, 827, 897 (see also no. 427); M 1959, p. 69; Mathey 1959, *Conn. des Arts*, p. 43; Rydbeck-Zuhr 1952, pp. 258-261 (ill. with detail); Mirimonde 1961, p. 268; Mirimonde 1962, p. 16; Exh. cat. Berlin 1962, p. 63, no. 145; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 98 n. 35; Mirimonde 1977, p. 84; Eidelberg 1977, p. 67, fig. 31; CR 1970, no. 153 (print); F 1972, A. 21 ("authentic"); Ingamells and Raines 1976-1978, under no. 293; Nordenfalk 1979, pp. 105-139; RM 1982, no. 190, ill. p. 69; P 1984, pp. 111, 154, 157, 160, 174, 283 n. 59, figs. 135, 155; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A pastiche by Pater, in the same direction as the print, is in the Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin (Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, no. 61, fig. 218). Another, in the same direction as the painting, but in a vertical format, attributed to Octavien, passed through a sale in Paris, 28-29 April 1905, no. 220, ill.; fig. 2.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey catalogued eight drawings related to this painting including two studies for the guitarist—one for the whole figure, PM 804 (J. R. coll., Lyons) (fig. 3), and the other for his head, PM 731 (Petit Palais, Paris, cat. D. 77)

fig. 11



fig. 12



fig. 13



(fig. 4), which were also used for *The Enchanter* at Troyes (cat. P. 17); PM 779, a sheet with a study for the seated woman turning her head and for her left forearm (Teylers Museum, Haarlem; cat. D. 99) (fig. 5); PM 746, a study for the head of the man leaning over the music score and for the woman's two hands (Henry Farman coll.; see also cat. P. 20) (fig. 6); PM 632, a study for the standing woman who is gathering roses (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) (fig. 7); PM 529, a study for the statue on the far right, formerly Jacques Mathey coll.) (fig. 8); and PM 897, a study for the King Charles spaniel in the foreground (Private coll., Fontainebleau) (fig. 9). The link between PM 827 and the Stockholm painting (proposed by Parker and Mathey) is not very convincing. In addition, Eidelberg (1977) correctly connected a drawing in the Art Institute of Chicago (cat. D. 141) (fig. 10), after Campagnola (?) with the landscape in the middleground at left in the Stockholm painting. For the Rouen drawing (cat D. 80), see also exh. cat. Paris 1968, no. 48 (fig. 13).

RELATED PRINTS

Two prints after the painting should be mentioned. The earlier one, by Philippe Mercier (1689-1760) (fig. 11), was dedicated to Caylus. According to Ingamells and Raines (1976-1978), it was probably executed in 1722-1723, during Caylus' stay in England (1722-1723). The one engraved by Charles Dupuis (1685-1742), entitled *Leçon d'Amour* (Roux 1955, VIII, p. 370, no. 27) (fig. 12), for the *Recueil Jullienne* in 1734, was announced in the *Mercure de France,* October 1734 (p. 2266). The copperplate is mentioned in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. The caption specified that the painting belonged to Jullienne and measured "haut 2 pieds sur 1 pied 6 pouces de large" (64.8 x 48.6 cm; the engraver of the caption obviously reversed the dimensions for the height and width; the difference between these dimensions and those of the Stockholm painting can be accounted for if its frame was included when the painting was measured). Mention can also be made of two etchings by Boucher after Watteau drawings that were used for this painting (Jean-Richard 1978, nos. 82 and 86, PM 804).

## 56 Assembly in a Park (*Assemblée dans un parc*)

Oil on walnut panel
32.4 x 46.4 (12¾ x 18¼) (two strips, 10 mm each, seem to have been added at top and bottom at a fairly early date)
P Musée du Louvre, Paris

The painting is counted among the most famous by Watteau, yet there remain many unanswered questions.

Its provenance is becoming better known today. While it seems certain that it belonged to Jules-Robert de Cotte, can it also be said that it had also belonged to his architect father, Robert de Cotte? There is no evidence to that effect. It is noteworthy, however, that among the architect's papers published by P. Marcel in 1906 (p. 127, no. 470), there is one that indirectly associates Watteau with de Cotte. In 1716-1717 Robert de Cotte was selected as arbiter in a conflict between the archbishop of Metz and the sculptor René Chauveau concerning work in the chapel of the Château de Frescati near Metz. Coincidentally, as shown by a report in de Cotte's papers, the arms and armorial bearings painted on glass for this chapel had been carried out on designs by Claude Audran, Watteau's teacher.

1716-1717 is the date unanimously fixed for the Louvre painting, with Brookner (1969) even specifying "the end of 1716 or beginning of 1717." She added: "The picture was painted in the first instance as a landscape study, and as such is one of Watteau's finest; the figures were added later with a more loaded brush." Roland-Michel (1982) presented the opposite point of view: "The visible discord between the figures and the background suggests either two different hands (Watteau having painted the figures in a landscape of another artist), or two periods of activity, Watteau reworking a landscape painted several years earlier." These critical judgments (to which we might add Brinckmann's, who in 1943 spoke of "Schulwerk"), do not take sufficiently into account the condition of the work. As the Goncourts wrote (1875; see also Mantz 1892); "[The] *Assembly in a Park* . . . which a few amateurs were able to see in all its fineness and delicacy on the occasion of its purchase by M. La Caze, was repainted by M. Roehn, following the wishes of the owner who was pained by the painting's wear and tear." Despite the "remarkable restoration" by Goulinat in 1966 (Mirimonde 1968), the painting is no longer what it once was, with the trees transformed into a shapeless mass. Perhaps the one isolated behind the lake toward the left of the composition was in at least part by Roehn, probably Adolphe (1780-1867), rather than by his son, Jean-Alphonse (1799-1864?); the silks are overly shiny and distort the flesh. Moreover, the work has lost the glazes that are so important in Watteau's oeuvre.

The Louvre painting remains among the most perfect

fig. 1

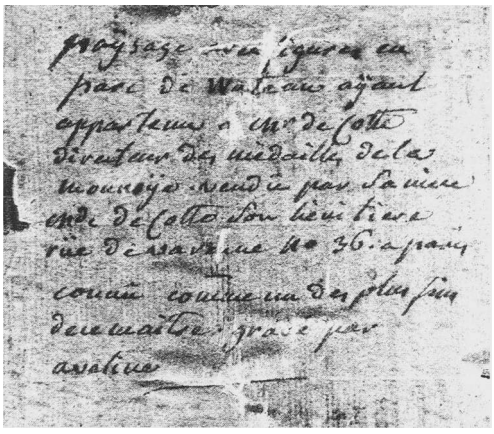


fig. 2





of the artist's *fêtes galantes*. An autumnal light illuminates the scene; in the center is a miniature spaniel and a little girl who turns her back to two children playing; to the left a couple is moving away, on the right a seated couple seem to be talking while another couple looks at a woman who is repulsing a suitor. No one is listening to the transverse flute player. In the distance, behind the artificial lake a lone man turns his back on the scene (believed by some to be Watteau himself!).

If until recent years critics were content to stress "the amorous and melancholy enchantment of a phrase from Mozart" (Josz), "the melancholy . . . of the shadows which invade the deaf twilight" (Gillet), today they seek a more precise interpretation of the scene. They stress the stagelike disposition of the figures, the importance of water as a symbol (Alain Beausire, in exh. cat. Paris 1977, pp. 199-218), the "figure . . . who becomes a part of the landscape" (Schefer 1962); or, on the contrary, in the view, the "discord" between the figures and the landscape, and finally the "virtual sensuality of the bodies neutralized by their immobility" (Tomlinson). We shall merely point out that Watteau places his couples with great skill. He has no hesitation in turning a back to us or in placing his composition off-center; he knows how to lead our gaze toward the solitary person who is openly leaving the scene. Above all Watteau sought to paint an amorous atmo-

fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5

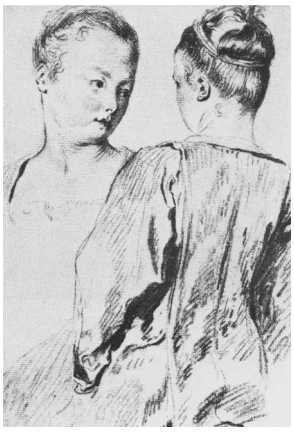


fig. 6

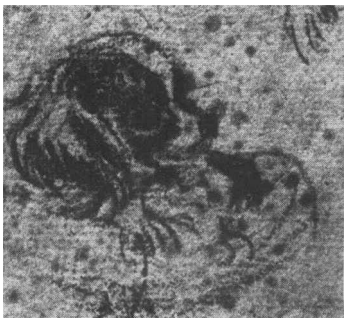




fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9

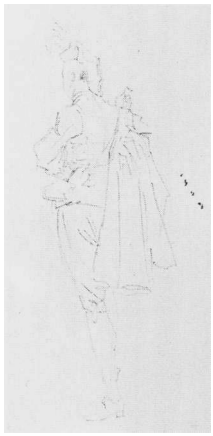


fig. 10

sphere, "the delights of love, its progress, and its disappointments" (Mirimonde 1977). Like *The Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* that the *Assembly in a Park* foreshadows, it is placed (and places us) both outside and inside time, as the artist obliges us to contemplate and participate in the scene.

In closing we would cite Watteau's advice to Lancret, as reported by Lancret's first biographer Ballot de Sovot, which applies perfectly to the painting (Guiffrey, n.d., p. 19): "He [Watteau] advised him [Lancret] to go draw some views of landscapes in the outskirts of Paris; then to draw some figures, and to make a painting from them out of his imagination and his choice."

PROVENANCE

On the back of the panel, on a label dating from the early nineteenth century, is the following inscription: "paysage avec figures en / parc de Wateau ayant / appartenu à Mr de Cotte / directeur des médailles de la / monnaye vendu par sa nièce / Mle de Cotte son héritière / rue de Varenne no 36 a paris / connû comme un des plus fin / de ce maître gravé par Aveline" (fig. 1).

No serious study has ever been made of this label. It contains one important error: the painting was not engraved by Pierre Aveline who, as we know, played a very important role in the dissemination of Watteau's work. Those who have used the text have sometimes attributed it to La Caze himself, or have come to the conclusion that the painting had belonged to Robert de Cotte (1656-1735) (Adhémar 1950; Camesasca 1970; Ferré 1972), even though the label actually refers to one of his sons, Jules-Robert (1683-1767), inspector and then general administrator of the King's Buildings, director of the Gobelin factory, advisor to the Academy in 1710 (two years before Watteau was admitted) and director of the Currency ("des médailles de la monnaye"). Who could this "niece," who lived at 36 (and not 46; Mus. cat. Louvre 1870) rue de Varenne, be? Jules-Robert had a brother who was a priest and a sister who married the prosecutor Gilbert de Voisins; after the death in 1811 of his son, Jules-François, the Cotte papers were acquired by the State (Marcel 1906, p. XVII-XIX, see p. 127); Jules-Robert's daughter married Etienne Le Peletier.

Dr. Louis La Caze, 1798-1869, by 1861; La Caze Bequest to the Louvre, 1869.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1945, p. no. 123; Paris 1946, no. 295 (as canvas); Vienna 1966, no. 76, pl. 17; USA 1967-1968, colorpl.; Paris 1977, no. 38, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Landrin 1861, p. 244; Mantz 1870, p. 12; Cat. La Caze coll. 1870, no. 263; G 1875, p. 165; Eudel 1882, p. 154; Dohme 1883, p. 104; Foucart 1884, p. 21; Mantz 1892, pp. 175-176; Phillips 1895, p. 55; Staley 1902, p. 128; Legrand 1902, p. 13; Josz 1903, pp. 313-315; Pilon 1912, pp. 80, 83, 115; Z 1912, p. 187, pls. 45, 46 (detail); Hourticq 1921, pl. bet. pp. 264 and 265; DV, II, p. 99; R 1928, no. 149; Gillet 1929, pp. 34, 36, pl. 31; Parker 1931, pp. 29-31, fig. 7; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 39; AH 1950, no. 186, pls. 113, 114 (color detail); Adhémar 1956, p. 21, colorpl. pp. 24-25; PM 1957, under nos. 547, 606, 668, 675, 760, 813, 897; Gauthier 1959, pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX; M 1959, p. 68, Mathey 1959 (*Conn. des Arts*), p. 46, ill.; Schefer 1962, pp. 50, 53-54, ill. facing p. 53; Eckardt 1964, p. 30, pl. p. 31 (detail); Levey 1966, pp. 69-70, fig. 40; Mirimonde 1968, p. 19, fig. 14 (detail); Béguin and Coustans 1969, p. 7; Eidelberg 1969, p. 283; Brookner 1969, pl. 24; CR 1970, no. 170, colorpl. XXVII; Macchia 1971, p. 14; F 1972, A.26 (as "authentic painting by Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 224-226, 330-332; Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 922; Cailleux 1975, p. 87 (Eng. ed., p. 248); Mirimonde 1977, pp. 87-88; Bauer 1980, pp. 32, 40; Hagstrum 1980, p. 299; Bryson 1981, pp. 86-87, fig. 31, p. 81; Tomlinson 1981, pp. 88-89 (see also figs. 18a, b, c, 19); RM 1982, no. 211, ill.; Brookner 1983, p. 763; P 1984, pp. 111, 176, figs. 142, 143, 157, colorpls. 38, 44, 45; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

The figure of the transverse flute player on the right of the composition was used by Watteau in a painting in the Musée de Grenoble (canvas, 55 x 45 cm; CR 2° AA) (fig. 2). In that work, only this character and his female companion can be attributed to Watteau, as Eidelberg has shown (1978, pp. 12-19). Eidelberg now believes, correctly in our opinion, that the landscape is by Jean-François Millet II (1666-1723).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey catalogued seven drawings related to the painting—PM 668 (Louvre) (fig. 3), the figure on the right was used for the man seen from the back on the left of the painting (and also for *Amour Paisible*, in Berlin, cat. P. 66); PM 606 (Private coll., Dublin) (fig. 4), the figure on the right was used by Watteau for the woman holding the man's arm; PM 760 (British Museum, London) (Hulton 1980, no. 29) (fig. 5), the head on the right could be a study for the same woman; PM 897 (Private coll., Fontainebleau) (fig 6), the same miniature spaniel is seen in the center of the painting; PM 813 (location unknown; fig 7), a study for the reclining figure seen from behind in the foreground and for the transverse flute player (see also cat. P. 60); PM 675 (Private coll., cat. D. 74) (fig. 8), probably a study for the figure seated behind the one studied in PM 813; PM 547 (Private coll., cat. D. 85) (fig. 9), study for the seated woman seen full-face and turning her head towards the figure studied in cat. D. 74.

As Parker had already shown in 1931, these drawings also contain studies for other compositions by Watteau, in particular for *The Enchanted Isle* (cat. P. 60).

RELATED PRINTS

In spite of what the old label on the back of the panel says, the painting was not engraved by Aveline. The Louvre has a drawing by Delacroix (RF 10312) (fig. 10) that copies an etching by Boucher (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 45, ill.) of the man seen from behind at left in the composition. For a snuff box that reproduces the motif of the couple seen from behind, see the Rasmussen sale, Copenhagen, 20-24, April 1979, no. 154, ill.



## 57 The Faux-pas (*Le faux-pas*)

Oil on canvas
40 x 31.5 (15¾ x 12⅜)
Musée du Louvre, Paris

The title of the painting, *The Faux-pas,* was bestowed by Frédéric Reiset, author of the catalogue of the La Caze collection. On its first presentation to the public in 1860 it was called *The Happy Fall,* a title taken up by Bürger (Thoré) and Gautier in their celebrated reviews in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and the *Moniteur Universel.* Thoré found the "azure sky a little intense in tone. The background of the painting seems stripped of several original glazes which would have softened the transition from the blues of the sky to the bright red of the young man's face."

Since that date many authors, from Mantz to Fourcaud, from Réau to Ferré, have been disturbed by the condition of the work, accusing a "barbarous restorer" (the name of La Caze has been mentioned only in the last few years) of having "removed the surface layer" (Mantz 1892). More annoying, in our view, are the red cloak and the plants on the right of the composition, which may have been repainted or at least reinforced. The composition was cut with a razor from a larger painting, as established in an examination by the Louvre Service de Restauration. However, only Ferré and Bazin go so far as to doubt the attribution of the work to Watteau himself.

Agreement on the date of the painting is unanimous, with Zimmerman (1912) and Mathey (1959) opting for 1716-1718, Camesasca for 1717, and Adhémar for c. 1718-1719.

All the authors compare *The Faux-pas* to the well-



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

known *Pleasures of Love* in Dresden (fig. 1), in the center of which is found the same couple with three changes in detail: the heroine of the scene who rejects without conviction her enterprising partner is bringing her left hand to her breast instead of leaning on the grass; and the position of the two heads and the hairstyles are slightly different. The range of color is comparable even if the Dresden heroine is more blond than the one in Paris. Watteau had already used the same group, in reverse, in an earlier work, the *Peasant Dance* (CR 5) (fig. 2), today in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, and in the Berlin *Prelude to a Concert* (cat. P. 48).

The connection between the Louvre painting and the one in Dresden has resulted in the former being called a "sketch" (Goncourt). This term is all the more inappropriate since the figures in *The Faux-pas* are clearly larger than the ones in *Pleasures of Love*. And it is by no means certain, in our view, that *The Faux-pas* was made earlier than the Dresden picture despite the fact that several pentimenti, particularly in the man's hand, can clearly be distinguished in the Louvre painting.

The theme of the *faux-pas* is far from rare in northern painting: Posner (1984) is the latest to have compared the Louvre painting with one by Jan Steen (Leyden Museum) (fig. 3) and with a work by Adriaen van der Werff (a version signed and dated 1690, Wallace Collection, London; *Summary Catalogue* 1979, ill. p. 280). But above all the whirling groups in Rubens' *Kermesse* (fig. 4) are at the origin of the composition. That painting would influence also Watteau's imitators, especially Lancret, while Nicolas Vleugels, Watteau's friend, would be inspired by Rubens in his painting of 1735, lost but known through a photograph (see Hercenberg 1975).

The three hands admirably tell the story of the scene: one rests delicately on the ground, the other repels, the last encircles the waist and pulls. The nape of a neck and a face red with desire give the composition its tension and its violence. Nothing indicates that the man will be victorious, nor suggests that his companion's resistance is feigned. Watteau here mixes eroticism and modesty with the ambiguity that he so loved. Moreover, he depicts as no one before him had done, the isolation and solitude of lovers.

In conclusion, let us cite the fine page from Théophile Gautier, the earliest comment on the work and perhaps not the most implausible:

> Never has the Comic Opera maxim "It is more dangerous to slip on the grass than on the ice" seemed better justified than in this little painting, inflamed in tone like the face of a satyr; the cavalier encircles the body of the young women with his arms, but most certainly it is not to help her up. The nervous grip of the hands, the light of the eye, the ardent breath from his mouth, his purple color and especially the woman's fright indicate that this time desire has seized opportunity by the forelock.

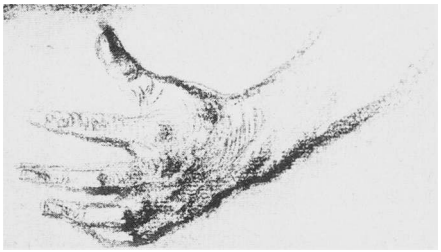
PROVENANCE
Dr. Louis La Caze, 1798-1869, by 1860; La Caze bequest, 1869; Louvre, M.I. 1127.

EXHIBITIONS
Paris 1860, no. 275; San Francisco 1949, no. 51, ill.

fig. 4



fig. 5



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bürger [Thoré] 1860, p. 273; Gautier 1860, pp. 1065; Landrin 1861, p. 244; Lejeune 1864, II, p. 447, 1865, III, p. 323; [Cousin] 1865, p. 29; Cat. La Caze coll., 1870, no. 266; Mantz 1870, p. 12; G 1875, p. 165; Dohme 1883, p. 99; Mollett 1883, p. 73; Mantz 1892, p. 152; Phillips 1895, p. 56; Fourcaud 1901, p. 257; Legrand 1902, p. 13; Staley 1902, p. 128; Marcel 1904, p. 377; Pilon 1912, pp. 50, 89, 114, 121; Z 1912, pp. 188-189, pl. 83; R 1928, no. 135; DV, I, pp. 164, 259; *La Renaissance* (August 1939), colorpl. on cover; Brinckmann 1943, pp. 29, 60, pl. 63; Wilenski 1949, p. 105; AH 1950, no. 189, colorpl. 117; PM 1957, under no. 826; Gauthier 1959, colorpl. XXXV; M 1959, p. 68; Béguin and Constans 1969, p. 7; CR 1970, no. 172, pl. XXXIII; F 1972, B.59 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 200, 225, 342; Bazin 1974, p. 61; Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 923, ill.; Cailleux 1975, p. 87 (Eng. ed. p. 248); Hercenberg 1975, p. 109, fig. 153; Posner 1975, p. 292; Banks 1977, pp. 129, 190-191, fig. 134; Bauer 1980, p. 30; RM 1982, no. 238, ill. and color detail; P 1984, pp. 169, 173, colorpl. 32, fig. 130; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

The two figures in *Faux-pas* are seen in a very similar pose (the woman with her left hand on her bosom) in *Pleasures of Love* in Dresden (CR 178) (fig. 1). They are found, reversed, in the *Peasant Dance* now in the Judge Green collection in the Huntington Library and Museum, San Marino, California (DV 27, CR 134) (fig. 2), and in the background of *Prelude to a Concert* (cat. P. 48). Both Lancret and Pater were often inspired by them (see Wildenstein 1924 and Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, fig. 24).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey listed only one drawing related to the painting, PM 826 (location unknown) (fig. 5), a study for the man's hand holding back the young woman. The drawing could also be a study for *Pleasures of Love* (Dresden). For a copy drawn by Ronald Searle, see exh. cat. Paris 1977, p. 472, no. 702, ill.

# 58 Finette ("*La finette*")

Oil on oak panel
25.3 x 18.9 (10 x 7½) (enlarged with oak strips, 8 mm at the top, 8 mm at the bottom (?), 8 mm on the left, 20 mm on the right)
P Musée du Louvre, Paris

*Finette* and *The Indifferent* (cat. P. 59) are among the most famous works by Watteau, and rightly so. However, they present certain problems that we shall attempt to resolve here.

The provenance of the two small panels is well-known. As early as 1729, the date they were engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne,* they belonged to Jean-Baptiste Massé, a painter who was best known for his engravings after Le Brun. On his death in 1767 they entered the collection of the Marquis de Marigny, brother of La Pompadour, and then belonged to Auguste-Gabriel Godefroy, Inspector General of the Navy, who also owned Chardin's *Child with a Top* (Louvre; Rosenberg 1983, pl. III). Finally they belonged to the merchant and art critic, Le Brun, husband of Madame Vigée.

At the time of the Marigny sale (1782), the question of whether the two works should be acquired for the king's collection arose. Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790) submitted to d'Angiviller, who had succeeded Marigny in his functions as superintendent of the King's Buildings, a report on the paintings he proposed to purchase at that sale for the royal collections: "[they] are quite small and only contain one figure each, but they are good, and probably will not be expensive, this esteemed master was a colorist and his works are becoming rather rare; otherwise one can also wait until more important ones are found." The First Painter to the King, Jean-Baptiste-Marie Pierre (1714-1789) noted on this report that the two paintings "have been cleaned too much; are seen from a little too close, and that is too bad." Louis XVI did not acquire the two works. It was not until the bequest of La Caze (1869) that they entered the Louvre. Two points in Pierre's remarks are worth discussing.

First, he found that the two works "are seen from a little too close." Is this the reason for their having been noticeably enlarged on the sides, to make them breathe better? In any event the prints in the *Recueil Jullienne* give the impression that the paintings had their current format as early as 1729. Let us note, however, that the sale catalogues of 1782 and 1785 gave the dimensions as "6 pouces 6 lignes" in width, and the one of 1806, "7 pouces."

A second comment by Pierre seems equally important: "[they] have been cleaned too much." The state of the two works has often been noted. The man who stole *The*



*Indifferent* in 1939 (see Provenance) wanted to efface a "diabolo" and its string. While restoring it he probably ruined the work, according to J. G. Goulinat, chief of the Louvre restoration department at that time. (Goulinat would have restored the painting after its return to the museum.) Indeed, the two paintings are worn. The Venetian-style constructions that were once visible on the right of *The Indifferent* can no longer be distinguished and the foliage of the trees is a shapeless mass, but everything suggests that this condition (by no means improved by the probable interventions of La Caze, the theft of 1939, and the accident of 1981) goes back to the eighteenth century. If the thief of 1939 had ruined *The Indifferent,* this painting would be more damaged than *Finette,* which is not the case.

Even if the titles did not come from Watteau himself, they do deserve some comment. *Finette,* the diminutive of the French word *fin,* means prankishness, cunning, guile, adroitness. The model in Watteau's painting wears a hat and the sleeves of her flowing dress are inordinately wide. The *Indifferent,* in principle, cared no more for one thing or one person than for any other, recalling the absurd association of the *Ordre des Indifférents* instituted in 1738 by Mlle. Sallé of the Comédie-Française. Its members, of both sexes, swore to combat love and to withdraw from its sway. The insignia of the order was a crystal imitation of a piece of ice.

If the titles of the two works seek to inspire curiosity, it is not impossible that perhaps *Finette,* and in any case *The Indifferent,* may have had a pronounced sexual connotation (see Henric 1983).

Questions have been raised about the musical instrument that *Finette* wears slung across her back like a bandolier: Marigny spoke of a "guitar"; the catalogue of his sale called it a "mandolin," the 1785 sale, a "mandolin," Le Brun in 1806 and Gautier in 1860 returned to "guitar" and Louis Gillet (1929) thought it was a "lute." Mirimonde (1966) proved that it was an Italian model of a large theorbo (see Appendix C). As for the date of the two paintings, all of the scholars placed them between 1716 and 1718; with the majority opting for 1717.

There remains still the question of the subjects of the two works. Marie Laroche (1949) recognized them as portraits of members of the Sirois family; Wilenski identified *Finette* with the "première Parisienne"; Jean Repusseau saw in *The Indifferent* another portrait (unpublished poem); but today it is agreed that the first presents an image of music and the second shows one of the dance (no castanets, no strings, and no diabolo!). Jolynn Edwards (letter, 1983) noted that *The Indifferent* is represented in a perfectly balanced position, before the beginning of the dance. The feet, in an accurately observed fourth position, and the arms, in second position, indicate that the variation is about to begin.

Often copied for costume balls, *The Indifferent* has inspired theater people, painters (Gainsborough, Renoir, Manet . . . ) and writers. For Proust (letter mailed in London to Vaudoyer in early 1920 and sold at Drouot, 12 March 1975, no. 144), it was one of the eight French works in the Louvre that should have hung in the Tribune. "Delightful creature" (Somerset Maugham, *A Writer's Notebook,* 1949, p. 85); "image of spontaneous happiness" (P. Gaxotte, *Carrefour,* 4 February 1953). "He listens, he waits" (Paul Claudel, 1946, in a famous page that deserves to be quoted in its entirety), "the right moment, he looks for it in our eyes, from the trembling tips of his fingers, to the extremity of his outstretched arm he counts, and the other arm like a wing with the ample cape prepares to support the *jarret*. Half fawn, half bird, half sensibility, half discursive, half aplomb and half already relaxed! Sylphe, magic spell, and the vertiginous pen preparing for a paraph!"

A word about the colors: *Finette,* painted in a range of sea-greens, "a very simple harmony" and somewhat monochrome, but extremely distinguished and rare (Thoré), is set off against a setting sun. By contrast, *The Indifferent,* "this harbinger of the Dawn" (Claudel), his red cape lined with blue, also dressed in green, sketches his step before a morning sky. The pink and silvery harmonies give the work its magic and grace. "Such is the ambiguous poet, inventor of his own prosody; it is not known whether he is flying or walking, whether it is his foot, or a wing when unfurled, a stranger to no element, whether earth, air, fire or that water for swimming that is called ether."

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



PROVENANCE

Belonged to "Mr. Massé" by 1729, according to the engraving by Benoit Audran. Not mentioned in the will of Jean-Baptiste Massé (1687-1767), published by Campardon in 1880. The painting and its pendant were purchased by Charles-Nicolas Cochin for the Marquis de Marigny (1727-1781) for 700 livres at an estate sale for "J. M. Macé," but no copy of the sale catalogue has been found. According to the Marigny accounts (Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, fonds Marigny, N.A. 108, fol. 143), Cochin was reimbursed 700 livres on 4 February 1768 (document generously supplied by Alden Gordon). This document proves that the text of the label attached to the back of the panel, as well as to the back of *The Indifferent*, "la finette a appartenu à Mme de Pompadour qui l'a donné à son frère le marquis de Marigny" (a label probably written by La Caze), is inaccurate. Marigny sale, 18 March-6 April 1782, no. 143 (both paintings); purchased by "Godefroy" for 475 livres; (Auguste-Gabriel Godefroy [1728-1813] to whom they still belonged in 1783; see Exhibitions); Godefroy sale, 25 April, postponed until 15 November 1785, no. 43 (the two paintings were acquired by Godefroy de Villetaneuse for 496 livres); Jean-Baptiste Pierre Le Brun (1748-1813), artist, dealer, and connoisseur (sale, 29 September 1806, no. 130 (both; he erroneously claims that the two paintings "ont ornés le cabinet de M. de Jullienne"); acquired for Fr 75 by "Renout." Dr. Louis La Caze (1799-1869), before 1848. Bequeathed by La Caze to the Louvre, 1869, M. I. 1123.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Salon de la Correspondance, 1783, nos. 61, 62, "*Un danseur et un Joueur de guittare*, à M. Godefroy"; Paris 1848, no. 140; Paris 1860, no. 271; London 1932, nos. 193 (pl. 29 of *l'Illustrated Souvenir*) and 254 (commem. cat. pl. XLIX); Paris 1946, no. 297; Paris 1977, no. 37, colorpl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(cited in all the monographs on Watteau): H 1845, no. 46 (the composition); Clément de Ris 1848, pp. 194, 562; H 1856, no. 47 (p. 96, nos. 20, 21 were confused with *The Adventuress* and *The Enchanter*; cats. P. 17, 18); Mantz 1859, p. 351; Bürger [Thoré] 1860, pp. 272-273; Godard 1860, pp. 333-334; Landrin 1861, p. 244; Chennevières and Montaiglon, in Mariette (1862 ed.), p. 108 n. 1; Lejeune 1864, II, p. 447 and 1865, III, p. 323; [Cousin] 1865, p. 28; Cat. La Caze coll. 1870, no. 262; Mantz 1870, p. 12 (ill. of the print by Rajon); Guiffrey and Courajod 1873, p. 396; G 1875, no. 83; Goncourt 1881, p. 78; Dohme 1883, p. 103; Mollett 1883, p. 65, ill. (print); Mantz 1892, pp. 115, 175; Phillips 1895, pp. 38, 64, 72; Dilke 1899, pp. 83, 85, 89; Fourcaud 1901, pp. 256-257 and print bet. pp. 108-109; Legrand 1902, p. 13; Staley 1902, p. 128; Josz 1903, pp. 401-403; *L'Illustration* (Christmas 1908), colorpl.; Pilon 1912, pp. 78, 89, 103-104; Z 1912, p. 186 pl. 22; DV III, under no. 128; R 1928, pl. 93; Gillet 1929, p. 38, pl. 35 p. 33; Laroche 1949, p. 79; Wilenski 1949, p. 110, pl. 426; AH 1950, no. 128, pl. 65; PM 1957, under no. 561; Gauthier 1959, colorpl. XX; M 1959, p. 69; Mathey 1959 *(Conn. des Arts)*, p. 40, ill.; Nemilova 1964, pl. 44; Mirimonde 1966, p. 143, ill. p. 142; Lossky 1966, pl. V; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 16; Béguin and Constans 1969, p. 7; CR 1970, no. 158, ill.; F 1972, A.16 (as "authentic"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 176-178; Scott 1973, p. 31, fig. 12; Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 920, ill.; Cailleux 1975, p. 87 (Eng. ed. p. 248); Haskell 1976, p. 18 pl. 25; Le Coat 1979, p. 54; RM 1982, no. 198, ill.; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A copy "dans la Coll. de l'avocat Schmidt à Kiel en 1817" (Adhémar 1950), but the description in the Schmidt sale (Kiel, 25 October 1825, nos. 50, 51) does not correspond to either *Finette* or *The Indifferent*. A replica under Watteau's name in the Vicomte E. de Plinval sale (14-15 April 1846, no. 42): "Petit portrait d'une dame habillée en robe de soie couleur de rose, elle est assise sur un banc et tient dans sa main un luth suspendu par un cordon bleu"; a version (?) in the Charles Mera sale, Lyons 8-13 February 1886, no. 247 (panel, 64 x 53 cm): "La Joueuse de Mandoline. Une jeune femme en élégant costume rayé bleu et blanc, vue presque de dos, pince de la mandoline et tourne gracieusement la tête se laissant voir de trois-quarts"; a copy by Edouard Crébassa was exhibited in Paris 1977 (no. 312, ill.) with a work on the same subject by Christie Milo (no 540).

RELATED DRAWINGS

A study for *Finette* can be seen on a well-known sheet in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (PM 561; fig. 1). Watteau made use of other studies on the same sheet for figures in other paintings exhibited here (cats. P. 45, 51, 71). See also PM 844 exhibited here (cat. D. 111).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Benoit Audran the Younger (1698-1772; Roux 1931, I, pp. 236-237, no. 17; fig. 2) for the *Recueil Jullienne* was announced in the *Mercure de France*, July 1729 (p. 1603). It was mentioned by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [8]) who gave the name of the owner of the painting and its pendant. The copperplate is listed in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the 1770 and 1778 Chereau catalogues. In addition, Benoit Audran very likely executed an etching for the *Fddc* of a lost Watteau drawing for *Finette* (Roux, under no. 31). An English engraving is mentioned under DV 128A. In the nineteenth century, an engraving by Rajon illustrated the Mantz article of 1870. A private collection in London contains a beautiful gold enameled box attributed to J. B. Massé, which is directly inspired by the Louvre painting (Exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 246, colorpl.). For nineteenth-century engravings see Exh. cat. Paris 1977, nos. 397 and 429.

OTHER RELATED WORKS

Although less well known than *The Indifferent*, *Finette* was the inspiration for a medal by Georges Prud'hommes (Exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 573, ill.) and for a two-franc stamp by Gandon in 1973 (Exh. cat. Paris 1977, nos. 574, 578, 593). A Worcester porcelain platter, decorated by Fidelle Duvivier and inspired by the Audran engraving, was offered for sale at Sotheby's, 29 March 1966 (ill. p. XXXV, announcement in the March 1966 issue of *Burlington Magazine*; fig. 3).

# 59 The Indifferent—(*"L'Indifférent"*)

Oil on oak panel
25.5 x 18.7 (enlarged at the top by 8 mm; at the bottom 8 mm; on the left by 11 mm; on the right by 13 mm).
P Musée du Louvre, Paris

See preceding entry.

PROVENANCE

See preceding entry. On Sunday, 11 June 1939, at about 3:50 in the afternoon, a lecturer at the Louvre, Mlle. Colette Tissier, noticed that the painting had disappeared from the Flore galleries (then called Schlichting galleries) where it had been hanging. She notified the guard, Charles Césari, who alerted his supervisors. The theft occasioned much comment in the press.

On 14 August of the same year, a twenty-four-year-old designer, Serge Claude Bogousslavsky, who was half-Russian and a great grandson of Pierre Puget, returned the painting to the authorities. He had burned the frame and admitted having cleaned the work "effaçant le diabolo qu'il affirme n'avoir pas été peint par Watteau." The 15 August edition of *Paris-Presse* shows photographs of the thief surrounded by his four lawyers, the room where he lived on the sixth floor of 203 rue Saint Honoré, and a written statement by Bogousslavsky stating that "Watteau avait été outragé. Je lui ai restitué son véritable visage." He later declared (*Le Temps*, 16 August 1939): "J'estime . . . que les services du musée du Louvre font sur les tableaux de maîtres des travaux qui déforment la pensée des artistes. C'est ainsi que j'ai acquis la certitude que *L'Indifférent* avait été retouché d'une manière scandaleuse . . . J'ai donc décidé de m'approprier *L'Indifférent* et de le remettre dans son état primitif." The affair rapidly gained notoriety and was further complicated by a romantic intrigue. Bogousslavsky's wife, Denise Nusia, was the mistress of the actor Richard Desprès, who had hoped to profit by selling "souvenirs" of the the theft. Whereas Bogousslavsky claimed to have "treated" the painting with a cognac-based varnish, J. G. Goulinat, head of the Louvre's restoration workshop, maintained that "On a en réalité employé un gros vernis à voiture qui a attaqué gravement la célèbre toile [*sic*]." Actually, the panel had been already "scoured" prior to 1782 (see Guiffrey and Courajod 1873) and had suffered little from its new "restoration," as shown by comparison with *Finette*, which had not left the confines of the Louvre.

On 10 October 1939, a few weeks after the outbreak of World War II, Bogousslavsky was sentenced to two years in prison, a fine of 300 francs and five years' probation. Following the theft, the *Office International des Musées* (International Museum Office) circulated a description, illustrated with photographs of the painting, of the frame (or at least of the frame of *Finette*) and of the verso, one of the first of this type of description now made familiar by Interpol. Finally, Colette (*En pays connus*, 1975 ed., pp. 184-188) mentioned the theft in her *Journal intermittent*. The "voleur . . . était épris du gracieux petit personnage blue et rose, au pied fin posé très en dehors, un léger mantelet sur l'épaule."

On 10 October 1981, before the opening of the museum, *The Indifferent* was the object of another attack: it was scratched from the upper right corner to the lower right corner, and though it has been very skillfully restored, the mark can still be seen in a raking light.



59

EXHIBITIONS

Paris, Salon de la Correspondance 1783 (see the preceding entry, cat. P. 58); Paris 1848, no. 139; Paris 1860, no. 270; London 1932, no. 189 (pl. 29 of the *Illustrated Souvenir*) and 253 (commem. cat. pl. XLIX); Paris 1946, no. 296; Paris 1977, no. 36, colorpl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(see preceding entry): H 1845, no. 41 (the composition); Clément de Ris 1848, pp. 194 and 562; H 1856, no. 41 (see preceding entry); Mantz 1859, p. 351; Bürger [Thoré] 1860, pp. 272-273; Du Pays 1860 [n.p.]; Godard 1860, pp. 333-334; Gautier 1860, p. 1065; Landrin 1861, p. 244; Chennevières and Montaiglon in Mariette 1862 ed., p. 108 n. 1; [Cousin] 1865, p. 28; Cat. La Caze coll. 1870, no. 261; Mantz 1870, p. 12 (ill. print by Rajon); Guiffrey and Courajod 1873, p. 396; G 1875, no. 84; Dohme 1883, p. 103; Mollett 1883, p. 65 (ill. print); Hannover 1888, p. 59, fig. 5; Mantz 1892, pp. 115, 175; Phillips 1895, p. 52; Dilke 1899, pp. 83, 85, 89; Legrand 1902, p. 13; Staley 1902, p. 128; Josz 1903, pp. 401-402; *L'Illustration* (Christmas 1906), colorpl.; Pilon 1912, pp. 24-25, 27, 57, 74-75, 102-103, 126; Z 1912, p. 186, pl. 21; DV, III, under no. 129; R 1928, no. 92; Bazin 1932, p. 153, fig. 13 p. 152; de Vallée [Adhémar] 1939, p. 68, fig. 3; Claudel 1946, p. 151, ill. (dated 8 December 1939); Laroche 1949, p. 78; AH 1950, no. 129, pl. 66; Hackenbroch 1956, p. 550 (ill. print); PM 1957, under nos. 662, 669; M 1959, p. 69; Gauthier 1959, colorpl. XXIII; Schefer 1962, p. 51; Eckardt 1964, p. 20, colorpl. p. 21; Nemilova 1964, pl. 43; Lossky 1966, pl. IV; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 17; Béguin and Constans 1969, p. 7; CR 1970, no. 159, colorpl. XI; F 1972, A.17 (as "authentic"); Scott 1973, p. 31, fig. 111; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 176-177; Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 919, ill.; Cailleux 1975, p. 87 (Eng. ed. p. 248); Haskell 1976, p. 18, pl. 24; Le Coat 1979, p. 54; Tomlinson 1981, pp. 36-37; RM 1982, no. 199, ill.; Henric 1983, p. 190; P 1984, p. 169, colorpl. 31, fig. 128; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

Tronchin sale, 12 January 1780, no. 135, two paintings "d'après Watteau": "Ils offrent des Jardins. Dans l'un on voit un homme un scapin dansant; et dans l'autre une femme habillée à l'espagnole densant le menuet" 8 x 5 pouces, canvas. A copy "dans la coll. de l'avocat Schmidt à Kiel en 1817" (Adhémar 1950). A copy sold at Sotheby's, London, 12 May 1969, no. 248 (18¼ x 15¼ in). A copy by Manguin executed in June 1898, and noted by the artist himself (1980, p. 395, no. 1294); three other copies exhibited in 1977 (Exh. cat. Paris 1977: by Edouard Crébassa, no. 311, ill.; by Emile Bouneau, no. 531, ill., and by Christie Milo, no. 539). *The Indifferent* inspired one of Lancret's most famous paintings (Wildenstein 1924, fig. 51).

RELATED DRAWINGS

See preceding entry for figs. 1,2,3.

Parker and Mathey have related two drawings to the Louvre painting—PM 662 (Rotterdam; cat. D 58) (fig. 4), a study with important changes for the figure; and PM 669 (formerly Goncourt coll., then G. Ménier) (fig. 5), studies of a Mezzetin in four different poses and four studies for *The Indifferent* seen from different angles.

There is a copy of the Rotterdam drawing in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne. According to the file in the Service d'Etudes et de Documentation du Louvre, a red chalk study for *The Indifferent* was in the possession of General Jannot, Nice, in 1939. Finally, Carpeaux copied the painting (drawing at Valenciennes; Kocks 1981, p. 13, no. 313, fig. 6). Benn drew a copy in 1942 (Exh. cat. Paris 1977, no. 620, ill.) and Tim turned it into a political cartoon (*L'Express*, 3-9 October 1977, p. 113) (fig. 6).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving of *The Indifferent* by Gérard Scotin (1698-?) (fig. 7) for the *Recueil Jullienne* was announced in the *Mercure de France* of July 1729 (p. 1603). A smaller print was published as no. 107 in the *Fddc.* It was etched by Cochin after a lost Watteau drawing (unique impression in L'Arsenal; Roux 1940, V, p. 60, pl. 37, see also nos. 36, 38, 39) and later by B. Audran. The print in the [E. de] Rothschild collection in the Louvre (DV no. 129A) is attributed by Dacier and Vuaflart to Benoit Audran and by Jean-Richard (1978, no. 77) to Boucher. In the nineteenth century, Rajon made an engraving of the painting to illustrate the 1870 article by Mantz.

OTHER RELATED WORKS

A porcelain figurine by Meissen (Hackenbroch 1956); a nineteenth-century tapestry (photograph in the Witt Library, London); a Dahomey stamp; a theater costume for *La Fausse suivante* by Marivaux; a Max Papart collage; a matchbox cover; a fan (see Exh. cat. Paris 1977, nos. 568, 579, 689, 593, 446); and several medals (see "Watteau en medailles," Exh. cat. Paris 1977); last, we can mention a costume ball in 1935 given by the Comte Etienne de Beaumont to which Coco Chanel came dressed as *The Indifferent* (Charles-Roux 1979, p. 279, fig. 3).

fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7





## 60 The Enchanted Isle ("*L'île enchantée*")

Oil on canvas
46 x 56.3 (18⅛ x 22³⁄₁₆) (for a possible modification in the original dimensions of the painting, see the description)
Private Collection, Switzerland

*The Enchanted Isle,* which has been seen rarely in recent years, has been both celebrated—because of its title—and misunderstood. The Goncourts (1875) considered it "very doubtful." Ferré (1972) listed the original as "lost." The other Watteau scholars accept it and agree on a date of 1716-1718 (or 1717).

However, the work deserves more attention. Its provenance, from the engraving by Le Bas for the *Recueil Jullienne* (fig. 1) (published in 1734 when the painting belonged to Jean-Sylvain Cartaud, Crozat's architect) to our time, seems unquestionable, which is rare. One point however has not attracted sufficient attention: the caption on Le Bas' print states specifically that "the original . . . [is] of the same dimensions as the print." However, the latter measures 34.5 x 46 centimeters, while the painting's dimensions are 47.5 x 56.3 centimeters. Can one explain such a discrepancy between the dimensions of the painting and the related print, which is far from unique in the *Recueil Jullienne*?



fig. 1

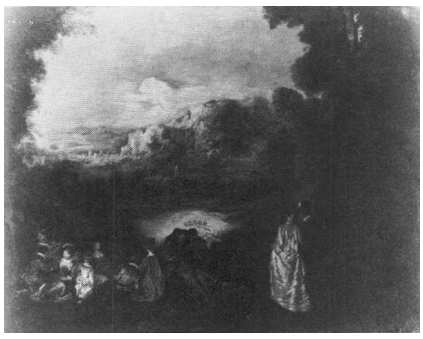


fig. 2



fig. 3

In this case a comparison with the painting makes it clear that the print shows only the central part of the painted work. The engraver omitted the plane but above all in the extreme foreground the upper part of the work—the tops of the trees—and on the right, a group of shrubs. How should one interpret these changes? It is difficult to answer that question but one point is certain: the painting was not enlarged. It would appear that Le Bas, for some inexplicable reason, only engraved the principal part of the work, the figures, neglecting most of the vegetation. The dimensions of the print would then be those of the corresponding part of the painting by the artist.

The painting has been damaged, mainly in the area of the sky; Reynolds, one of the most prestigious owners of the work, is said to have repainted it. According to Mario Modestini, who has just carried out a remarkable restoration of the painting, the old, quite skillful restoration (which he was able to remove) had in no way distorted the painting, but the sky had been deliberately scraped, perhaps at the request of Reynolds who "wanted to see how Watteau painted." The work was admired by another great English painter, Turner, who in c. 1815-1818 made a sketch of it and noted its colors. Dr. Selby Whittingham has made a very detailed study (in press) on the considerable influence of Watteau and especially of *The Enchanted Isle* on English painting, which will show how artists from Gainsborough to Turner have interpreted and adapted these *fêtes champêtres* by Watteau.

In *The Enchanted Isle,* before a distant body of water, numerous couples whom Watteau carefully studied in a large number of preparatory drawings are brought together. Two couples, at the ends of the painting, want to go toward the isle. The other seven couples show coolness toward each other, attack each other, or reject each other. One man alone is stretched out flat on his stomach and some couples motionlessly watch the water, with the blue mountains in the distance. The lake is illuminated by the last rays of the setting sun, which bathes the composition in a warm light and gives it its unity and atmosphere.

Even if Watteau could have known of (Stuffmann in exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982) the celebration ordered by Louis XIV at Versailles in May 1664 entitled *Pleasures of the Enchanted Isle,* the composition seems unrelated to the theater and the stage. The landscape is still inspired by the Venetian examples but it is also, to borrow Tolnay's expression (1955), a "universal landscape." By moving the figures away from that landscape as in *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56), Watteau accented the mysterious side of *The Enchanted Isle,* its aspect of unreality. If a few couples are concerned only with themselves, others are participating in the grandiose and mysterious spectacle of nature. *The Enchanted Isle,* like *The Island of Cythera,* is on the earth yet unreachable, in time yet timeless. It is for us, as for some of its spectators, synonymous with escape.

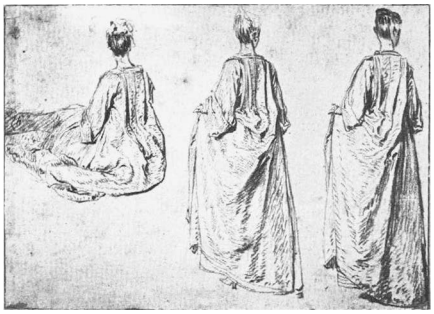
fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



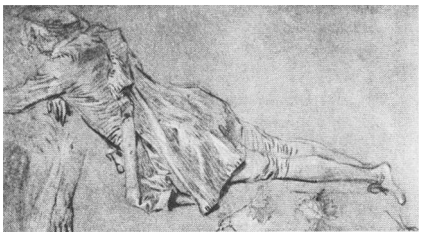


fig. 7

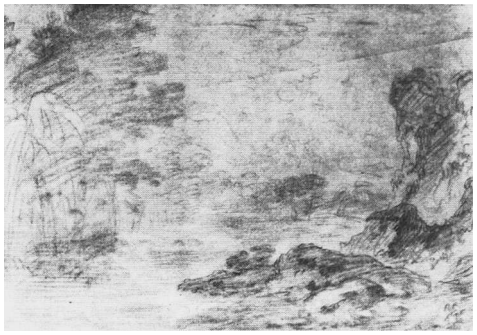


fig. 8

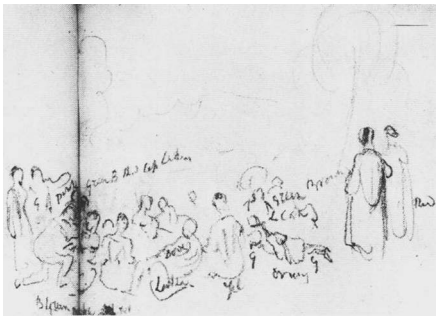


fig. 9

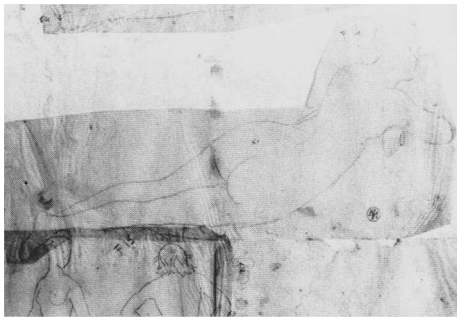


fig. 10

PROVENANCE

By 1734, date of Le Bas' engraving, it belonged to "M.r Cartaud, Architecte de feu S.A.R. Monseig.r, le Duc de Berry." Jean-Sylvain Cartaud, or Cartault (1675-1758), built Pierre Crozat's *hôtel* on the rue de Richelieu (cat. P. 35) and also completely renovated the Crozat chateau, Montmorency (cat. P. 25). The painting is listed in an inventory of Cartaud's belongings dated 11 August 1755: "une fête champêtre prisé Deux cent quarante livres" (*AN, MC,* XLI, 525; discovered by Whittingham, who will shortly publish his findings). May have appeared in the Dr. Bragge sale (London, 17 March 1758, no. 30; "1 Landskape" acquired for £3-3-0 by Reynolds). The painter Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1728-1792 (sale, either 11 March 1795, no. 45: "A conversation, Champetre, fine," acquired for £8-8-0 by Hughes, or 17 March 1795, no. 28: "A conversation Champetre," purchased for £18-18-0 by Stainforth). The watercolorist James Holworthy (1780-1841), by 1815-1818 (see Related Works), then to his wife, née Anne Wright (d. 1842; she was the niece to Wright of Derby); Miss Hannah Wright (1775-1867), Mrs. Holworthy's sister (sale, Brookfield Hall, Hathersage, Derbyshire, 19 March 1868, no. 90 (£168); John Waterloo Wilson, Brussels, by 1873 (sale "pour cause de départ," Paris, "en son hôtel avenue Hoche," 14-16 March 1881, no. 25; Fr 2,000 to Febvre); the expert Alexis-Joseph Febvre (1810-1881) (sale, Paris, Drouot, 17-20 April 1882, no. 35; Fr 20,000; ill. with a print by Gustave Greux); Baron E. de Beurnonville (sale, Paris, 21-22 May 1883, no. 42, ill. with the Greux engraving; Fr 15,000); Edouart Kann, by 1883 (sale, Paris, 8 June 1895, no. 9; Fr 41,000); Léon Michel-Lévy (1846-1925) (sale, Paris, gal. Petit, 17-18 June 1925, no. 158, ill.; Fr 475,500, to Wildenstein); Wildenstein; François Coty (sale, Paris, Charpentier, 30 November-1 December 1936, no. 30, ill.; acquired by Georges Wildenstein for Fr 560,000.

EXHIBITIONS

Brussels 1873, p. 50 (Le Bas' print repr. p. 58); Paris 1883-1884, no. 142.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(the composition or the print): H 1845, no. 101; H 1856, no. 102; [Cousin] 1865, p. 31; F 1972, B.60 (as "attributed to Watteau") ("lost"); Raines 1977, pp. 58, 62-63, no. 75 (?); (the painting): Mantz 1859, p. 348 (seems to have known the painting since he spoke of its "fonds bleuissants"); Tardieu 1874, p. 42; G 1875, no. 139; Eudel 1882, pp. 51, 70, 73, 238, 260; Fourcaud 1893, p. 529; Phillips 1895, p. 66; Fourcaud 1901, p. 118 (print); Z 1912, p. 188, pl. 58; DV, III, under no. 264; R 1928, no. 151; Eisenstadt 1930, fig. 15 (print) bet. pp. 152-153; Parker 1931, pp. 31, 39; *R.A.A.M. Ancien et Moderne* (January 1937), ill. p. 287; AH 1950, no. 188, pl. 115; PM 1957, under nos. 467, 547, 590, 666, 676, 813; M 1959, p. 68; CR 1970, no. 169, ill.; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 220-221, 330-332 esp.; Bauer 1980, p. 40; Exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982, under no. D17 (print); RM 1982, no. 209, ill.; Whittingham 1984 (in press); RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A faithful copy, of English origin, dating from the late eighteenth century, belongs to the Milhouse Gallery, Petworth (color repr.; *The Connoisseur* [March 1975], canvas, 23 x 31.5 cm; fig. 2). Another painting was sold 1-2 March 1844, no. 57: "Paysage dont l'horizon est terminé par des montagnes et dont le milieu est occupé par une rivière; sur le devant du terrain, une nombreuse société, composée de cavaliers et de dames, est assise."

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey listed six preparatory studies for *The Enchanted Isle*—PM 676 (Louvre; fig. 3), three studies of men, each of which is used in the painting (one on the left, kneeling, one in the center in the middle ground, and another standing on the right); PM 547 (Private coll., cat. D. 85; fig. 4), for the woman on the left, pushing away the man keeling; PM 813 (former L. Michel-Lévy coll.; fig. 5): for the man seated in the foreground, back turned (also used for *Assembly in a Park* (cat. P. 56); PM 590 (Private coll., exh. cat. Paris 1978 [Cailleux]; fig. 6), three studies, one for the woman seated with her back turned, and two for the woman walking away on the right of the composition; PM 666 (Petit Palais; fig. 7), for the man lying on his stomach and turning his head away (on the same sheet is a study for *The Expected Declaration,* cat. P. 45); PM 467 (Pierpont Morgan Library; fig. 8), a landscape study, which Parker and Mathey related rather too hastily, to the painting.

We should also cite a counterproof of the central part of the painting in the Marius Paulme sale, 14 May 1929, no. 262 (ill.); a pencil copy by Turner, executed between 1815 and 1818 with indications of the painting's colors (exh. cat. Paris 1983 (Turner), p. 30, fig. 7) (fig. 9); and a drawing by Ingres in the Musée Ingres, Montauban (M.I. 867.4084; fig. 10), which copies, from the print, the man lying on his stomach (but changed to a woman).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving by Jacques Philippe Le Bas (1707-1783; Sjöberg and Gardey 1974, XIII, p. 264, no. 498; fig. 11), in reverse, with captions in French and Latin, was made for the *Recueil Jullienne.* The print was announced in the October 1734 *Mercure de France* (p. 2266). The copperplate appears in the 1755 Chereau Inventory and in the 1770 and 1778 Chereau catalogues. (Boucher engraved one of Watteau's drawings for the *Fddc,* the man lying down in the Petit Palais study [Jean-Richard 1978, no. 91; the relation made by Jean-Richard for no. 75, ill., as "une des jeunes femmes assises de *l'Ile enchantée,*" is not so convincing, however; see also G 1875, no. 553, also dubious].) Finally, there is the Gustave Greux etching that illustrated the Febvre (1883) and Beurnonville (1883) sale catalogues.

# 61 Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera
## (*"Le pélerinage à l'isle de Cithère"*)

Oil on canvas
129 x 194 (50¾ x 76⅜)
P Musée du Louvre, Paris



When Watteau was accepted by the Royal Academy on 30 June 1712, his colleagues asked him for a reception piece. In a departure from normal practice, the subject of the painting was left for him to choose, "à sa volonté." But Watteau did not submit the painting, *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera,* within the usual time. Several calls to order (5 January 1714, 5 January 1715, 25 January 1716) had no effect. Finally, on 9 January 1717, "The Academy having requested the candidates to come and explain their delay, it gave Sieur Watteau six months." On 28 August 1717, a Saturday and a meeting day of the Academy, Watteau was received. We reproduce the manuscript page in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts: the title of the painting *"Le pélerinage a l'isle de Cithere"* is crossed out and replaced by "une feste galante" (fig. 1). We shall return later to the importance to be accorded these two titles.

Beginning in 1717 the work was exhibited at the Academy in the assembly hall (that is, in the Louvre); it was inventoried in 1775 by Chardin as "An embarkation for Cythera," and entered the Louvre collections in 1795.

This painting has always been famous despite the fact that it was not engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne.* It was cited in the eighteenth century not only by Watteau's biographers, but also by numerous authors of general works on the lives of painters (Papillon de la Ferté, Dandré-Bardon, Taillasson, Gault de Saint-Germain, Le Carpentier . . . ), always with admiration. Under the Revolution it underwent a short eclipse in popularity. Here is the often reported anecdote, cited from the primary source, of the pellets of bread: "Thirty or forty years ago," wrote Pierre Bergeret (1782-1863) in 1848

fig. 1

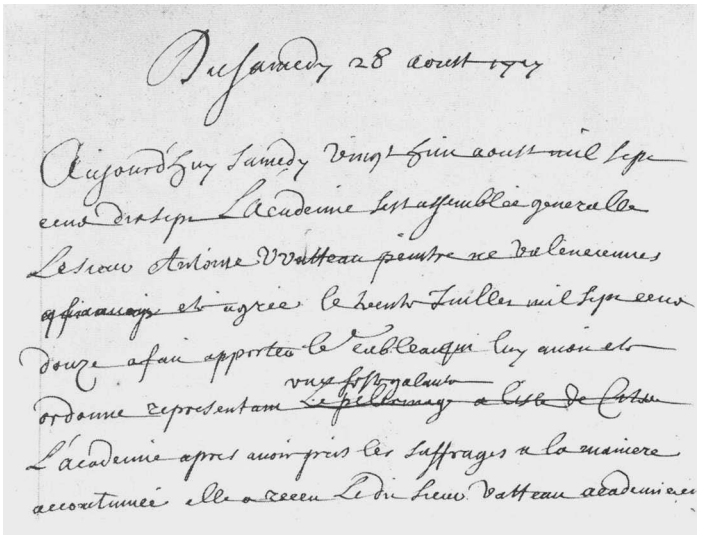






fig. 2

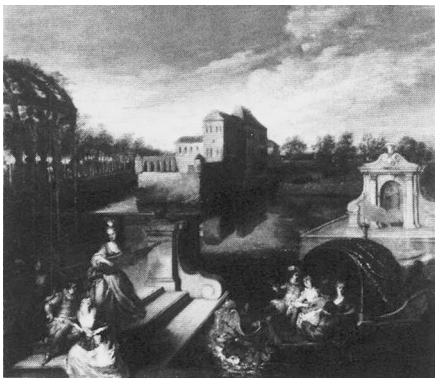


fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5

(pp. 334-335), "the paintings of Watteau had fallen out of favor. The Revolution had gone to everyone's head so no one wanted, no one spoke of anything else, but Greek and Roman. I remember that his painting on the *Departure from Cythera,* which is today in the museum, was then in the study hall of the academy; it served as target for the bread pellets of the draftsmen and for the clay pellets of the sculptors, to the great indignation of M. Philipot, curator of paintings at the Academy [Phlipaut, once the Academy's concierge, had been promoted to curator under the Revolution; Fontaine 1910, pp. 87-89] who exhausted himself in saying: But gentlemen, I have had the honor of knowing Mr. Watteau. He was a charming man, of exemplary gentleness. He would never have thrown pellets at your drawings." Still according to Bergeret, "one day, a student of the primitive sect, carried away by his antipathy for Watteau's painting, raised himself upon his bench and vigorously punched the painting to destroy it so that 'Philipot took down the unfortunate painting and put it in the attic'." It was not there for long, for though it was not in the catalogue of 1810, it was mentioned again in 1816. That was to be the only Watteau exhibited in the Louvre before 1869, the date of the entry of the La Caze collection into the national collections. This was to be the only easily accessible painting by Watteau, the one that would inspire many texts on the artist before those of the Goncourts (Posner 1974), particularly those of Hédouin, Nerval, Houssaye, Banville, Michelet, Charles Blanc, Gautier ("the most coloristic painter of the French school"), without forgetting Baudelaire: "If a painting of the island of Cythera was commissioned from M. Ingres, most assuredly it would not be frolicsome and laughing like the one by Watteau, but robust and nourishing, like antique love" (Baudelaire, *Le Musée classique . . .*, 1846, La Pleiade ed., 1958, p. 603).

The date of the painting poses no problem. Called to order by the academicians in January 1717, Watteau pre-

fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9





sented his painting in August 1717. He thus painted it quickly, in eight months, and its rapid execution has caused critics since Mantz and the Goncourts to often consider it a "sketch."

Though quickly done, the idea for the painting had developed over a long period. We have seen that as early as 1709 Watteau painted the *Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9) today in Frankfurt, his first thought for the reception piece.

The pilgrimage theme, the one of the isle of love, had always interested Watteau, as is shown by his Pilgrim from *The Island of Cythera* (DV 60, CR 2-U; fig. 2) engraved by Desplaces after a lost work by Watteau or his Spring of the Julliennе Seasons, which has just come to light (Christie's sale, London, 8 July 1983, no. 48, colorpl.; fig. 3) and whose figures are from the hand of Watteau.

The rapidity of execution, particularly in the left part of the sky, has become even more obvious since the restoration of the work, which has brought out numerous pentimenti (particularly in the left, among the putti) and above all restored its original coloration. Successive yellow varnishes had distorted the painting, making certain parts illegible, such as the mountainous landscape on the left of the composition, but above all radically altering the colored harmony sought by the artist: the blue of the lake had become brown, the azure of the sky had changed to green. (See the essay by Bergeon and Faillant immediately following this catalogue an account of the remarkable restoration, successfully carried out by Jacques Roullet.) But whether the painting has been restored to its original condition cannot be confirmed.

We do not believe that the restoration has changed our interpretation of the work. True, the painting is much less "blond," "autumnal," less "twilight" than has been mentioned, but its magic and mystery remain.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the painting has always represented for all critics an "Embarkation for Cythera," to use the title of Tardieu's engraving after the Berlin version (cat. P. 9). According to their temperament and the nature of their research, scholars have looked into its historical record and its reputation with the critics; the (meager) iconographical sources that could have inspired Watteau (B. Picard; de Vallée [Adhémar]; Jordaens, fig. 4 [Mirimonde 1969]); the influence of Rubens, Veronese, and



fig. 10



fig. 11



fig. 12



fig. 13

Leonardo da Vinci; the links of the work to the theater (Tomlinson 1981); some iconographical details (the roses, Mirimonde 1962); or the profane meaning of the work ("Fête galante or danse macabre," Ostrowski 1977); sometimes they devoted a detailed monograph (Jamot 1937; Michel, Aulanier, de Vallée [Adhémar] 1939, on which Emile Henriot wrote a particularly pertinent review published in *Le temps* (26 July 194?).

But no one had dared before 1961 to challenge the title of the work or its subject. In that year, in an article in *The Burlington Magazine,* Michael Levey, current Director of the National Gallery of London, pointed out that the pilgrims were not leaving for Cythera, but were leaving the isle; that we were not witnessing a departure ("joyous") for the isle but a departure ("melancholic") from the isle: the scene is read from right to left. But where Rodin (1911) saw "perhaps a feigned indifference" (the woman with the fan), Levey saw "revery." The face of the woman who is turning away, marked "consenting passivity" for Rodin while for Levey it expressed a "certain sadness." In other terms Levey reversed the psychological trajectory of the three scenes, "the long action" that Rodin had analyzed in such a masterly way. Where Tolnay (1955) saw "persuasion, consent, harmony by union," one should sense amorous absorption, departure, and regrets. Where Levey saw a *fait accompli,* Michelet saw "hope, dreams," and Rodin saw an ever more pressing *desire.*

Levey supported his demonstration with other iconographic observations. He stressed the original title of the reception work as it can be read on the manuscript of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (and which we have adopted here), "le pélerinage à l'isle de Cithère." (Dezallier d'Argenville in 1745, p. 424, also speaks of a "pilgrimage to the isle of Cythera.")

Levey's demonstration, clearly and simply formulated, made a sensation. He required the specialists to wonder about Watteau's intentions. Some resistance arose, first from Bauer (1966, 1980), followed by Le Coat (1975), the authors of the Frankfurt catalogue of 1982, and, quite recently, with some nuances, from Posner (1984). If one were to sum up in a few words the positions taken by these authors in their articles, which are often very long and uselessly impenetrable and obviously do not adequately convey the shades of opinion and thought of their authors, one might say that *Cythera* was an allegory, not so much about love but about the power of erotic poetry and gallantry. Le Coat specifies that the formulation of the title of the reception piece "à l'isle de Cithère" can be interpreted in two ways: "either one is on Cythera or one is going there." As for Posner, he supports Bauer's demonstration while stressing Watteau's

fig. 14



fig. 15



fig. 16



fig. 17





fig. 18



fig. 19



fig. 20



fig. 21

method of work, group by group, without a preparatory sketch of the whole, painted or drawn, and points out that the definitive title adopted in the *procès-verbal* of the Academy, "une feste galante," reflects the perplexity of the Academicians and is perfectly appropriate for the work.

We think that both interpretations are correct: the painting is as much a departure toward the isle as a departure from the isle, a pilgrimage as much as an allegory. The isle itself is a "non-place" (Schefer 1962). The painting is both stiff and active; it represents a moment and it is beyond all time.

That is the way Watteau wanted it (and that explains the fame of the work). Painted quickly but slowly developed, *Cythera* is an ambiguous work that has given rise to and still engenders interpretations that could appear contradictory but are in reality complementary. The extraordinary fascination with the work by painters (Turner, Monet), poets (Verlaine), musicians (Debussy), writers (Proust), and more widely, the public, finds no other explanations.

The composition unfolds as if on a fan. Large trees connect the blue Leonardesque mountains in the background and the mound in the foreground. Under a Venus with lowered eyes and without arms, the three pilgrim couples prepare to board the boat. Each one has his own story and participates in an evocation. The unity of time and action are at the same time destroyed and respected. The Academy showed great daring when it admitted Watteau into its ranks and accepted his painting two years after the death of Louis XIV. Did it understand that Watteau had painted, in his own way, a mythological painting, a history painting?

This is what Denon felt, in a rarely cited note published in 1829 (in Amaury-Duval), but written much earlier: "the painting shows the departure for the isle of Cythera where the empire of Love is exercised on all the characters; where the prudish woman, the flirt, and the sensitive woman yield, each in her own way, to the general seduction. Everything breathes love, the air is bathed with it, it fills the sails of the boats, which will bring lovers to the empire of this seductive despot. The aspect of the landscape, the voluptuousness of the nature, the subject, which seems to consist only of grace and lightness, everything is treated with a plenitude of idea that gives it the profundity and philosophy of one of Poussin's compositions."

PROVENANCE

This was Watteau's reception piece, which he presented to the Academy on 28 August 1717. (Antoine Coypel presided at the session, which was attended by many members of the Academy, including Gillot, Vleughels, Desportes, Largillièrre, and Rigaud. Watteau's "présent pécuniaire" was lowered to 100 livres.) The painting was exhibited by the Academy in the Salle d'Assemblée—that is, in the Louvre—during the entire eighteenth century. It was seized with the entire collection of the Academy in 1795, and entered the Louvre in that year. It appears in all of the Louvre's catalogues, except for that of 1810; Louvre, M.I. 8525.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1945, no. 40; Paris 1946, no. 293; Paris 1950 (no cat.; exhibited at the Petit Palais beside the Berlin version; numerous articles in the press).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(All eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century authors who mentioned Watteau cite this painting; see also cat. P. 62.) H 1845, no. 7; Orsin-Déon 1851, pp. 192-197; H 1856, no. 7; Michet 1863, p. 318; Blanc 1865, p. 8; Gautier, *Paris Guide* 1867, I, pp. 401-402; G 1875, under no. 128; Mollett 1883, pp. 33-34; Mantz 1892, pp. 74, 101-105, 114, 172; Rosenberg 1896, fig. 59; Fourcaud 1901, pl. bet. p. 116, 117; Staley 1902, p. 127; Josz 1903, pp. 374, 378-379, 383, 389, 469, 472; Rodin 1911, pp. 91-97, 101; Pilon 1912, pp. 18, 24, 32, 61, 70, 81, 84, 87-90, 104, 107, 114, 159, 196; Z 1912, p. 188, pls. 59, 60-61 (details); Pilon 1921, pp. 11-22, ill.; DV, III, under no. 110; Hildebrandt 1922, pp. 18-20, 17, fig. 2; R 1928, no. 155; Eisenstadt 1930, esp. pp. 142-144; Jamot 1937; de Vallée (Adhémar) 1939, pp. 67-74; Michel, Aulanier, de Vallée (Adhémar) 1939; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 57; Adhémar 1947; AH 1950, no. 192, colorpls. 120, 121 (detail), 119, 122 (details); Tolnay 1955, pp. 97-102, ill.; PM 1957, under nos. 22, 93, 467, 606, 643, 658, 669, 731, 744, 773, 775, 782, 861, 862, 866, 868; Gauthier 1959, colorpls. XLII and XLIII; Mathey 1959, pp. 18, 69; Levey 1961, pp. 180-185, ill.; Mirimonde 1962, pp. 18-19, ill.; Schefer 1962, pp. 37-56; Bauer 1966, pp. 251-278, ill.; Levey 1966, pp. 57-64, ill.; Brookner 1969, colorpls. 26 (detail), 27; Mirimonde 1969, pp. 242-244, ill.; CR 1970, no. 168, colorpls. XXVIII-XXXII; F 1972, A.27 (as "authentic"); Levey 1972, pp. 20-21; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 200-204, 219-221 esp.; Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 924, ill.; Ferraton 1975, pp. 82-91, ill.; Le Coat 1975, pp. 9-23, ill.; Haskell 1976, pp. 59-61, pl. 146; Adhémar 1977, pp. 165-171; Banks 1977, p. 227, fig. 181; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 66-67, 177-178, 188-196; Ostrowski 1977, pp. 9-22; Bauer 1980, pp. 21-51, ill.; Tomlinson 1981, pp. 110-126, 129, 169, fig. 26; Exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982, no. D 15; RM 1982, no. 112, colorpl.; P 1984, pp. 9, 57, 67, 107, 116, 128, 176, 181-195, 201, 203, 277, 287, n. 124, figs. 147, 153 (detail), colorpls. 39, 40, 41 (detail); RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

See cat. P. 62, the Berlin version. For a list of copies, see DV, AH, CR, and Exh. cat., Paris 1977. The number of copies is immense; it is impossible to provide even an abridged list here. Several compositions on this subject that were attributed to Watteau during the eighteenth century should be noted: sale, 13 May 1765, no. 177: "Un Tableau représentant le départ de Pélerins pour l'Isle de Cythere peint par Vateau, sur toile de 3 pieds de haut sur 4 pieds de large . . ." as well as one in the 1789 inventory of the Liotard estate (see Loche 1980, p. 78). Numerous artists, both major and minor, have copied the painting for pleasure or training (in addition to those mentioned in exh. cat. Paris 1977 [La Monnaie]), among them Leclerc des Gobelins, Boudin (now at the Musée de Honfleur), Fantin-Latour, Carpeaux, Chaplin. . . .

Finally, *The Pilgrimage* is visible in Samuel Morse's painting of the Salon Carré in the Louvre (Exh. cat. USA 1983-1984, no. 22) and in some works



61



62





by Lévy-Dhurmer (sale, Versailles, 25 April 1982, no. 58), Dagnan-Bouveret (Hermitage; fig. 5), La Touche (*L'Art et les Artistes,* June 1908).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Watteau used many of his drawings for this composition; three are in this exhibition (cats. D. 54, 77, and 80). Parker and Mathey listed seventeen in their catalogue (reading from left to right in the painting)—PM 782 (formerly Groult Coll.; fig. 6), the face on the left for the head of the female pilgrim at the lower left (see also DV 291*bis*, ill.); PM 669 (location unknown; fig. 7), for the man whose arm she holds; PM 658 (British Museum; fig. 8), for the male pilgrim preceded by two putti; PM 862 (Private coll., Paris; fig. 9), for the couple in the center of the composition; PM 773 (formerly Private coll., New York; fig. 10), for the head of the woman in that couple; PM 861 (British Museum; fig. 11), for the following group, a man helping a woman rise; PM 775 (Rouen, cat. D. 80; fig. 12), one of the six studies on this sheet may have been used for the man's head; PM 22 (Dresden; fig. 13) for the kneeling male pilgrim; PM 93 (Stockholm; fig. 14), counterproof of that figure; PM 643 (Private coll., New York, cat. D. 54; fig. 15), initial sketch for the same figure; PM 731 (Petit Palais, Paris, cat. D. 77; fig. 16), a study, with changes, with head of the male pilgrim; PM 606 (Private coll., Dublin; fig. 17), for the woman holding a fan; PM 744 (Institut Néerlandais, Paris; fig. 18), one of the seven studies on this famous sheet was used for her head; PM 802 (location unknown; fig. 19) seems to be a study for her hand and the fan. Parker and Mathey mentioned one additional drawing (PM 467), but its relationship to the painting is more tenuous. For the problem of the oil counterproofs (PM 866 [fig. 20], 868, [fig. 21], and under PM 861) used by Watteau for the Berlin version, see Eidelberg 1977. See also cat. P. 62.

RELATED PRINTS

The painting was not engraved in the eighteenth century; in the nineteenth century, it was engraved by Chaplin and Lecouteux. A detail from the painting was engraved by Borel and was reproduced by Mantz (1889 and 1892 bet. pp. 104-105). The head in the drawing PM 731 was used by Boucher in a print for the *Fddc* (Jean-Richard 1978, under no. 86). Boucher used PM 861 in his drawing *The Graces at Watteau's Tomb* (Windsor), which he also etched (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 1, ill.).



## 62 The Embarkation for Cythera (*"L'Embarquement pour Cythère"*)

Oil on canvas
129 x 194 (50 13/16 x 76 3/8)
Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Berlin, Berlin

Watteau presented his *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera,* now in the Louvre (cat. P. 61), to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture on 28 August 1717. We do not know the precise reactions of the academicians and Parisian art lovers who saw it. In any event, he painted a repetition—probably for Jullienne (though we have no proof) no doubt in 1718 or 1719—but these generally accepted dates are not based on any document. In 1733, the date of the Tardieu engraving, the painting belonged to Jullienne. He no longer had it in 1743, since on that date it was sold at The Hague with the collection of Jacob (Francesco) Lopez de Liz, an extremely rich and socially prominent Portuguese Jew who had been the talk of the town during his stay in Paris, between 1725 and 1729 due to his loves with the young ladies of the Opéra and his subsequent bankruptcy. The first author to mention the Berlin painting was Caylus in 1748, but he probably wrote well before that date (see Rubin 1968-1969).

In 1763 the painting was again sold in The Hague, to Frederick the Great of Prussia; it was the last work by Watteau he was to purchase (he already owned *The Departure for*





fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

*Cythera* by Lancret, today also in Berlin; Wildenstein 1924, no. 290, fig. 74; Börsch-Supan 1983). It is a little-known fact that the painting until very recently still belonged to the Prussian imperial family. Kept on deposit in the Charlottenburg castle for approximately thirty years by Prince Louis-Ferdinand of Prussia, it was purchased for fifteen million Deutsch marks by the Charlottenburg castle, only a few months ago, thanks to the assistance of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, the city of Berlin, and the help of a public subscription, each of whom contributed one-third of the price.

The Tardieu engraving bears the double Latin and French title: *"Ad Cythera Conscensio" "Embarquement pour Cythère."* We have mentioned the reasons why this title has been doubted in the discussion of the Louvre version (cat. P. 61). It was adopted, however, not only for the Berlin painting (we have kept it ourselves) but also, by extension, for the Louvre version. Let us make it clear, however, that if the *Mercure de France* (which announced the Tardieu engraving in 1733) stated that the painting "represents the Embarkation of the Pilgrims for the Isle of Cythera," the first author who pointed out the Berlin version (1748), wrote ". . . the embarkation *from* [our italics] Cythera which he painted for his reception . . . and which he repeated." The Oesterreich catalogue of 1743 mentioned a "Departure for the Isle of Cythera."

But do the Louvre and Berlin paintings in fact represent the same scene? They are of the same size and, since the restoration of the Paris painting, of comparable tonality. The colors of the clothes are not identical; thus the pilgrim woman who is being helped to her feet by a young man at center wears a blue dress and not a yellow one, but the brown varnishes that covered and distorted the Louvre painting have been removed, restoring the painting to its original colors.

There are in fact a number of differences between the two versions. The Berlin painting is more crowded (twenty-four persons, instead of eighteen). On the right, Watteau added a couple of lovers accompanied by three putti; in the background, a young man pours roses into a girl's apron (for this couple and the interpretation of the scene, see cat. P. 52). In addition, he replaced the bust of Venus with a full-length sculpture of the goddess to create a "living statue," an idea Watteau borrowed from Rubens and a composition from Abraham Bosse (Blum 1924, pl. XXII) (fig. 1), but giving it much more significance. He also changed the expression of the pilgrim who is facing us and the two cupids flying above the couples. And on the left of the composition, if the boat (the word "gondola" is often used to describe it) has lost its bargeman, it now has passengers, a large pink sail, a banner, and a mast. The number of cupids increased fourfold. But above all, the mountains in the background and on the left have disappeared, replaced by a large azure and pink sky. These additions were often preceded by drawn studies. The principal groups, as Eidelberg (1977) has shown, were painted with the aid of oil counterproofs made from the first version.

Do these changes justify the assertion that the Louvre and Berlin paintings do not represent the same scene; that the latter presents, according to the various current interpretations, a departure *for* Cythera, a departure *from* Cythera, or an allegory of erotic poetry and elegant games? In an article that deserves rereading, only one author, Claude Ferraton (1975), adopts the latter hypothesis. For him the Louvre painting is a *Departure for Cythera* while the Berlin scene takes place on the island; hence the very special importance of the statue of Venus, goddess of love. He points out that the removal of the mountains in the background is explained if the scene takes place on Cythera. But, above all, for him the "Paris painting represents love in the future, ideal love, dreamed love. The Berlin painting represents love consummated, after which there is nothing more but to go home."

As we have said in greater detail in the discussion of the Louvre painting (cat. P. 61), the two Paris and Berlin versions are as much a definite site—the isle of love—as an abstract place that one arrives at or leaves indiscriminately; a chain of amorous episodes, as much the successive stages of crystallization as an allegory beyond time. That is what the writer in the *Mercure de France* of 1733 felt, since he described the subject of the Berlin painting as being "just as elegant as allegorical."

Certainly Ferraton was right in stressing the allusions and the much more numerous and explicit iconographic symbols in the Berlin painting than in the Louvre canvas, but



fig. 4

that observation, though it may clarify Watteau's intentions for us, does not allow us to subscribe to the conclusions of the critics who overly simplify what Watteau wished to leave ambiguous and with a double meaning. As proof, we can turn to a lost painting that should probably be placed between the Louvre and Berlin versions. It was engraved by Benoit Audran with the title *Bon Voyage* (DV 35, CR 170; fig. 2). Here the same couple is seated on the right, but already the galley of the Berlin painting. Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [11]) described the engraving in these terms: "A lover who takes leave of his mistress before embarking for Cythera." This interpretation of the subject, which would have the couple separating, certainly applies to a third composition, but reveals that contemporary critics of Watteau were perplexed by interpreting the subjects of his oeuvre. Was he blamed for not having been sufficiently clear in the Louvre *Pilgrimage*? And who blamed him—his colleagues, the academicians, or the person who commissioned the "repetition painting"? It is true, in any case, that the Berlin painting was more easily interpreted than the Louvre painting. Where in that work there is uncertainty, hesitation, and veiled interpretation, in the Berlin picture there is an explicit symbol. Thus the statue of Venus (that one finds occupying an equally important place in the admirable *Pleasures of Love* in Dresden, CR 178; fig. 3) is accompanied by the helmet, sword of justice, and shield of Mars, her partner in love. On the pedestal of the statue there is a head of a faun, which strengthens the image. The goddess holds a quiver of arrows for which a sculptured cupid vies, while two very much alive cupids crown Mars' helmet with laurel and caress Venus' shoulder. At her feet, three cupids encircle two embracing lovers with garlands of roses.

Critics have preferred the Paris version to the one in Berlin. Only Seidel (1900) and Posner (1984), in response to Adhémar ("in Paris, it is a dream tinged with melancholy, in Berlin it is a feast of youth and joy"), hold the opposite opinion. Posner does not see why one should prefer the "melancholy" (or at least the supposed melancholy) of the first version to the "joy" of the second. We do not share their points of view. True, the structure of the work is clearer, but its "rhythm is less poetic" (Tolnay 1955). The composition is too heavily charged, too finished. The colors are more strident and less harmonious. The disappearance of the landscape diminished the "enchanted" side of the work. The gestures have hardened and become heavier, and the faces are more "earthy." More explicit, they become less suggestive and more ornamental. Above all, the execution is more mechanical, as if the artist were bored (compare, for example, the treatment of the trees), which is less inspired.

Watteau (like Chardin) was not in the habit of making repetition paintings, and it would be a great pity if one were to forget that the Berlin painting remains a great master piece—even if the world of Watteau is more one of allusion than precision.

fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7





fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10

PROVENANCE

In 1733, the date of Tardieu's engraving, the painting belonged to Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766). Through Caylus (Champion 1921, p. 102) we learn that Watteau had "repeated" his reception piece, but there is no evidence that the second version had been ordered by Jullienne or had been made for him.

In 1743, the painting was included in the Jacob (called Francesco) Lopez de Liz sale at The Hague (28 March, no. 12: "Een Heerlyk en Kapitaal Stuk door Watteauw, geen diergelyk hier te lant van hem bekent, zynde de Inscheeping van Chiteere, B: 6 v: 3. d: H: 4. v° 3 en een halfd"), valued at 455 florins. De Liz was a very wealthy Portuguese Jew (see van Gelder's 1915 monograph). During his visits to Paris in 1725 and 1729, he courted several of the most popular dancers at the Opéra (Mlle. Sallé, Mlle. Pelissier, Charlotte Legrand . . .). His extravagant lifestyle at La Haye led to his financial ruin; on 6 November 1742, the courts declared him bankrupt.

William Lormier sale (but not the one in The Hague, 4 July 1763: according to Hoet 1752, II, p. 449), "Een landschap, een lief de Gezeldschadat in Pelgrimasie, en Scheen gaat het Eyland van Citerne, met veel Vliegende Cupidoos." Purchased by Frederick the Great (1712-1786) at an unknown date between 1752 and 1765. Mentioned in 1765 by the restorer F. Schultz: "1 Stuck von Wattow le depart pour Cytère aufgespannt and Zurechtgemacht." In 1806, in the Painting's Gallery at Sans Souci; after 1815 in a corridor behind the Gallery room; in 1829, taken to the Berliner Schloss. For an account of the painting's travels throughout the various Prussian Imperial residences see Börsch-Supan 1983. Acquired by the Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten for the Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, in 1983 from Crown Prince Louis-Ferdinand of Prussia (for 15,000,000 marks, one-third paid by the Federal Republic of Germany, another third contributed by the city of Berlin, and one-third contributed by the private sector).

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1883, no. 1; Berlin 1930, no. 182; Wiesbaden 1947, no. 114, pl. 4; London 1949-1950, no. 86 (pl. 22 of the souvenir album); Paris 1950 (Petit Palais) (no cat.); Wiesbaden 1951, no. 54, pl. 8; Berlin 1951-1952, no. 135; Berlin 1962, no. 94, pl. 7; Paris 1963, no. 36, colorpl.; Berlin 1983 (unnumbered cat.), before pp. 20-25.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(See also cat. P. 61.) Caylus 1748 (in Champion 1921, p. 102); Oesterreich 1773, no. 548; Nicolaï 1779, II, p. 860 (1786, III, p. 1146); G 1875, no. 128; Dohme 1876, p. 89 no. 1; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1880, p. 21 (detail of the print by Tardieu); Dohme 1883, pp. 104-106; Michel 1883, p. 915 (as "earlier than the one in the Louvre"); Mollett 1883, pp. 33, 68; Mantz 1892, pp. 103-104, 185; Seidel 1894, p. 55; Rosenberg 1896, fig. 60; Seidel 1900, no. 155, ill.; Staley 1902, pp. 134-135; Josz 1903, p. 378, 441; Fourcaud 1901, ill. (print) bet. pp. 120-121; Pilon 1912, pp. 75-76, 88-90, 136, 150-151, pl. bet. pp. 88-89; Z 1912, p. 188, pls. 69, 70-76 (details); DV, I, pp. 241-242 and III, under no. 110; Hildebrandt 1922, pp. 18-20, p. 107 fig. 55; R 1928, no. 156; Eisenstadt 1930, esp. pp. 142-144; Parker 1931, pp. 32-34, fig. 9; Brinckmann 1943, pls. 64, 65-69 (details); AH 1950, no. 195, pls. 125, 126-127 (details); Tolnay 1955, pp. 97-102, ill.; PM 1957, under nos. cited for cat. P. 61, 551, 729, 766, 767, 771, 772; M 1959, p. 69; Bille 1961, p. 114; Levey 1961, pp. 180-185; Bauer 1966, pp. 251-278; Levey 1966, pp. 57-64; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 29; CR 1970, no. 185, colorpls. XXXVI-XC; F 1972, A.32 (as "authentic"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 200-204, 219-221; Mosby 1974, p. 52, fig. 2; Le Coat 1975, pp. 9-23; Ferraton 1975, pp. 82-91; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 66-67, 177-178, 188-196; Bauer 1980, pp. 21-51, ill.; Tomlinson 1981, pp. 110-126, 129-169; Exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982, under no. D 16; RM 1982, no. 233, colorpl.; Sperlich and Börsch-Supan 1983, pp. 163, ill. (response of W. D. Dube, 1983, pp. 210-211); Börsch-Supan 1983; P 1984, pp. 124, 194-195, 199, figs. 155, 156, colorpls. 42-43; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

For copies of the *Cythera* in the Louvre, see DV, III, no. 110 and cat. P. 61. Exact copies of the Berlin painting are also known (sale, Versailles, 15 May 1968, no. 148, ill), in the direction of the engraving; sale, Versailles, 24-25, November 1968, no. 111, ill. and a porcelain by Abel Schilt (1872) now in the Musée de la Céramique, Sevres (fig. 4).

RELATED DRAWINGS

For a list of the preliminary drawings for both this painting and for the Louvre version, see cat. P. 61. Several drawings were used by Watteau for the Berlin version only—PM 771 (Private coll., England; fig. 5), for the head of the woman seen in profile standing on the ship; PM 729 (Louvre, Paris; cat. D. 27; fig. 6), one of the studies on this sheet was used for the woman in a straw hat seen full face; PM 766 (Private coll., New York; fig. 7), two studies for the same figure; PM 772 (Louvre, Paris, cat. D. 97; fig. 8), for the head of the pilgrim next to her; PM 767 (Private coll., Paris; fig. 9), for the head of the pilgrim helping his companion to

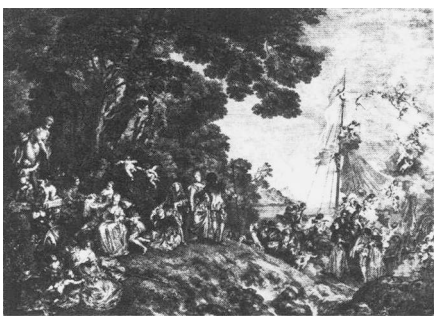
fig. 11



fig. 12



fig. 13



her feet in the center of the composition; PM 551 (British Museum, London [Hulton 1980, no. 27]; fig. 10), for the woman holding her apron at the far right of the composition; PM 675 (Private coll., Geneva, cat. D. 74; fig. 11), with changes, for the man facing her. For the oil counterproofs, see Eidelberg 1977. An unpublished drawing that may be by Watteau (we have not seen it), for the couple at the foot of the statue, was sold at Christie's, London, 29 November 1983, no. 98; fig. 12.

RELATED PRINTS

The Berlin painting was engraved in reverse by Nicolas-Henri Tardieu (1674-1749) for the *Recueil Jullienne* (fig. 13). The engraving was announced in the *Mercure de France,* April 1733, p. 772, which noted, as did the caption of the print, that the work "est dans le Cabinet de M. de Jullienne . . . un des plus beaux Tableaux de feu Watteau, Peintre Flamand de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture." According to the print, the painting measures 4 feet in height by 6 feet in width (1.29 x 1.95 m), which exactly matches the dimensions of the Berlin painting. The copperplate is listed in the 1755 Chereau inventory and the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. For the prints inspired by the Tardieu engraving, see DV 110A and 110B.

Engraved by Peter Halm in the nineteenth century for the books by Dohme and Seidel. Two related drawings, PM 766 and 771, were etched by Boucher for the *Fddc* (Jean-Richard 1978, nos. 52 and 120).

## 63 Gallant Recreation (*Récréation galante*)

Oil on canvas
111 x 163 (43¾ x 64¼)
Gemaldegälerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

While the attribution of the painting is not doubted, it is among the least liked works by Watteau in Berlin. And rightly so, in our view.

It is not easy to give it a title; it was not engraved in the eighteenth century. In order to avoid confusion with the Louvre painting (cat. P. 56), we have chosen not to call it by its usual title, *Assembly in a Park.* Likewise, in order to avoid any confusion with the admirable Dresden painting, unfortunately absent from our exhibition (CR 182), it is better to call it *Gallant Recreation* rather than *Gallant Reunion.* In fact, it shares a certain number of figures, differently disposed of course, with those two paintings, as well as with *Occupation According to Age* (now lost; DV 203, CR 186; fig. 1) and the *Venetian Fêtes* (Edinburgh, also not in the exhibition; DV 6, CR 180.

However, the two works with which *Gallant Recreation* offers most similarities are *Gallant Assembly* (now lost; DV 139) and *The Scale of Love* (National Gallery, London, also absent from our exhibition), both in a much more modest format than the Berlin painting. The seven principal figures of *Gallant Assembly* and *Gallant Recreation* are almost identical. As for *The Scale of Love,* it repeats—or rather, it is probably the Berlin painting that was second in date—the motif of the guitarist leaning toward the young woman who is turning the pages of a musicbook.

Its unfinished state, on which the experts agree, has provided Dohme (1883) as well as Posner (1984) with an opportunity to examine the painter's practices. Watteau first placed a local tone, then rapidly outlined the forms with his brush and placed the lights and the shadows, before he concerned himself with the glazes and finishing his work with tiny brushstrokes, so many accents on the faces, the noses, the lobes of the ears . . . cruelly lacking here.

But the work does have the interest of showing us also how Watteau went about his painting. We mentioned earlier that numerous figures in it are found in other compositions painted by Watteau. In fact these figures have their common origin in drawings by the artist. A text by Caylus (1748), often cited, clarifies the artist's method (Champion 1921, pp. 100-101):

> His custom was to draw his studies in a bound book. . . . He had elegant clothing, some from the theater, which he used to dress persons of one or the other sex, depending on whom he found willing to sit, and whom he placed in poses that nature presented to him, happily preferring the more simple ones to others. *When he took it into his mind to make a painting* (emphasis ours) *he had recourse to his collection. From it he chose the figures* that suited best his needs of the moment. He formed his groups from them, most often according to a landscape background that he had conceived or prepared. Rarely did he do otherwise.

The painting shows the effects of that practice: that vitality, that élan that characterize Watteau's paintings (more the small ones than the large ones, with a few noteworthy excep-

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3



tions), is lacking, as Posner, who went so far as to use the word "boredom," noted. No doubt Watteau was aware of his failure and abandoned the work.

When did he paint it? Most of the critics have dated it, correctly, in our view, to 1717-1718. A few (Zimmermann, Börsch-Supan, in exh. cat. Paris 1963, though in exh. cat. Berlin 1962, he tended toward c. 1717; and exh. cat. Berlin 1978) have favored 1720, the eve of the painter's death.

If it is preferable not to attempt an interpretation of the subject of the work—in any event Caylus' text encourages caution—we must nevertheless linger over the composition, the figures arranged in a semicircle, presented as links in a chain, supported by two couples turning their backs to us and who seem to be leaving the scene. Another couple moves away toward a fountain surmounted by a sculptured group, inspired by a work by Sarrazin (Louvre) that was in the gardens of Marly during Watteau's time and of which Mariette, Jullienne, Crozat, and many others owned some "models." (This group is seen from another angle in *The Cascade*, lost since it was sold in Zurich at Galerie Koller, 16 May 1980, no. 1782, pl. 14; DV 28, CR 133). On the left of the painting three children are playing while at the far left a man, his fist on his hip, seems to leave the canvas and speak to us.

Watteau does not succeed in fixing our attention, in guiding our gaze to any particular point in the painting. The groups are juxtaposed without any connection between them. Even the landscape and the colors are in no way convincing. However, the Berlin painting remains a witness to Watteau's desire to renew himself by creating a new type of composition of more static, symmetrical, and classical concept.

PROVENANCE

Frederick the Great (1712-1786), but not mentioned before 1773, when it was located in the Small Gallery of the Sans Souci Palace at Potsdam. From Sans Souci it entered the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in 1889.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1883, no. 3; Paris 1951, no. 56, ill.; Wiesbaden 1951, no. 52; Munich 1958, no. 218; Berlin 1962, no. 92; Brunswick-Aix-la-Chapelle 1983-1984, no. 37, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Oesterreich 1773, no. 292 ("L'amusemens du Bal"); Nicolaï 1786, III, p. 1217; Rumpf 1794, p. 186 (and 1803 ed., II, p. 99); Dohme 1876, pp. 92-93, no. 13; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1883, p. 104; Ephrussi 1884, pp. 99-100; Mantz 1892, p. 186: Rosenberg 1896, p. 63, figs. 56, 58 (detail); Dilke 1899, p. 84, ill. bet. pp. 90-91; Staley 1902, p. 136; Z 1912, p. 190, pls. 105, 106 (detail); *Les Arts* (1919), no. 173, ill. p. 25; DV, III, under no. 139 (Dresden, not Berlin); Eisenstadt 1930, pp. 111-112, 154; Mus. cat. Berlin 1931, pp. 519-520, no. 474 B; Parker 1931, pp. 38-39, pl. 14; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 37; Mus. cat. National Gallery, London (M.



63







fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10



fig. 11

Davies 1957, p. 222 under no. 2897); AH 1950, no. 190, pl. 116; PM 1957, under nos. 330, 631, 660, 668, 770, 786, 815, 824, 830, 871, 961; Mirimonde 1962, p. 15; Exh. cat. Paris 1963, under no. 40; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 91; CR 1970, no. 173, ill. and pls. XV, XVI (detail); F 1972, B. 51 (as "attributed to Watteau") (see also I, p. 170); Mosby 1974, pp. 53, 54, fig. 3; Cailleux 1975, p. 87 (Fr. ed.), p. 247 (Eng. ed.); Mus. cat. Berlin-Dahlem (Eng. ed.) 1978, pp. 476-477, ill.; RM 1982, no. 213, ill.; Lévèque 1983, p. 38, ill.; P 1984, pp. 71, 196-197, 201, 237, 239, 288 n. 1, 289 n. 2, fig. 158; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A large copy executed in a painstaking and uninspired manner (127 x 192 cm), formerly in Mannheim, is now in the Munich Pinacotek (Paris 1963, no. 40, ill.; fig. 3). Traditionally attributed to Lancret (Wildenstein 1924, no. 377, fig. 197), it has some differences from the Berlin painting: an opening showing a château and a mountain landscape has replaced the group of trees to the left of the composition; in the foreground, musical instruments and a score are lying on the ground. One copy was exhibited in Los Angeles in 1937, no. 79, ill. 20; another was sold in New York, Christie's 12 January 1978, no. 75, ill. For an analogous composition in the Saint sale, 4 May 1846, no. 57, see F 1972.

For *Gallant Assembly* (now lost) and for *The Scale of Love* (National Gallery, London), see Related Prints and Related Drawings.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Watteau used a large number of drawings for this canvas. The same study was sometimes used for a number of paintings. Conversely, a single sheet may contain several studies which were used in several different compositions. The related drawings are, reading the painting from left to right—PM 660 (Petit Palais; fig. 4), for the standing figure at the lower left; PM 961 (unknown Ger-

fig. 12



fig. 13



fig. 14



fig. 15





fig. 16



fig. 17

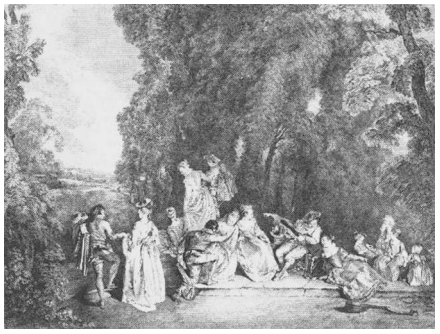


fig. 18

man coll.; fig. 5), for the little girl seen from behind; PM 897 (Private coll., Fontainebleau; fig. 6), for the King Charles spaniel, PM 786 (Boston, a counterproof in the British Museum; fig. 7), for the head of the woman holding the music book; PM 815 (Rouen [Rosenberg-Bergot, U.S.A. 1981-1982, no. 125]; fig. 8), for the guitar player; PM 830 (British Museum, London, Hulton, 1980, no. 47; fig. 9), for the head and the bust of the guitar player; PM 824 (formerly Groult coll.; fig. 10), study for the hand holding a closed fan pointed toward the ground; PM 668 (Musée du Louvre, inv. 33, 386; fig. 11), three studies, all used for the three men to the right of the composition; PM 631 (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; fig. 12), for the woman walking toward the sculpture; PM 770 (Groult coll., Paris; fig. 13), for the head of the same woman; PM 334 (British Museum [Hulton 1980, no. 48]; fig. 14), for the sculpture; PM 635 (Copenhagen; fig. 15), for the woman to the far side of the composition; PM 871 (location unknown; fig. 16), for her companion. Finally, there is a red chalk copy of the whole composition in the Louvre, bearing a pen inscription at lower left, *Pater* (fig. 17).

RELATED PRINTS

The painting was not engraved. However, it has been related to two compositions in the *Recueil Jullienne; ("Gallant Assembly")* engraved by J. Ph. LeBas, DV 139; CR 171 (fig. 18); (the original, now lost, belonged to the Comtesse de Verrue in 1731; a copy at Waddesdon Manor), and *The Scale of Love* (also engraved by J. Ph. LeBas; DV 149, CR 161; the original, now in the National Gallery of London, belonged to Denys Mariette in 1729; fig. 2). Several drawings, used by Watteau for his composition, some of which have not survived, were engraved for the *Fddc* (for those by Boucher; see Jean-Richard 1978, no. 129, ill.).

## 64 Judgment of Paris ("Le Jugement de Paris")

Oil on oak panel
47 x 30.7 (18½ x 12⅛)
P Musée du Louvre, Paris

The *Judgment of Paris* was not engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne* and no preparatory drawings are known. To our knowledge it was not mentioned before 1856, when it was included in one of the Barroilhet sales under the name of Pater. Dr. La Caze was responsible for having restored the attribution to Watteau and for giving it to the Louvre.

The subject is a favorite with painters. Venus is receiving the golden apple from the hands of Paris, the shepherd; her two rejected rivals, Minerva, who hides behind her shield, and Juno, accompanied by her peacock, depart, greatly vexed. Mercury witnesses the scene.

Questions have been raised about Watteau's visual sources: Zimmermann in 1912 linked the work with a figure in the middle distance of *Diana and Actaeon* by Titian, today in Edinburgh; more recently (1959), Mathey recalled Primaticcio (and we cite another figure from *The Judgment of Paris* by Albani, today in the Prado), while most critics compare the painting with Rubens' *Judgment of Paris,* in Paris during Watteau's time and today in London (fig. 1). It is certain that Watteau knew this work since he copied two motifs from it in a drawing in an English private collection (PM 941). Further, the dog sleeping at the feet of Paris is directly inspired by the

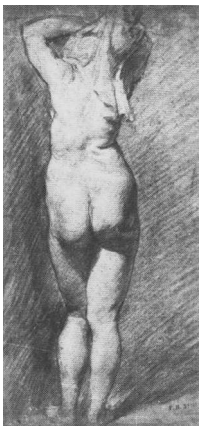
fig. 1

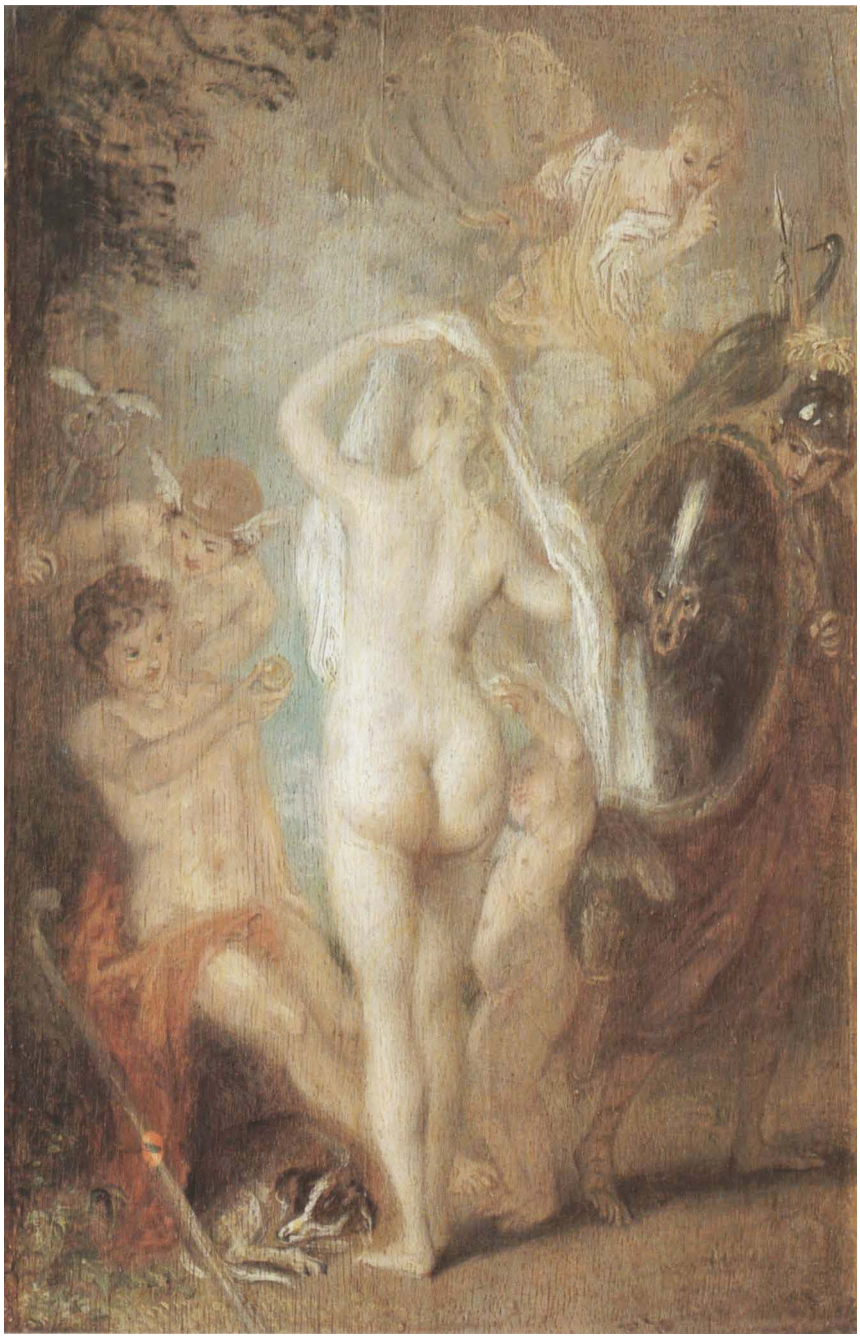


fig. 2



fig. 3





one in the *Crowning of Marie de' Medici* (fig. 2), and in the Louvre there is a drawing attributed to Rubens (R.F. 2028; see exh. cat. Paris 1959, Cabinet des dessins, Louvre; *Dessins de Rubens,* no. 20; fig. 3) that is very close in its composition to the figure of Venus. Watteau's Venus is seen from behind, while other artists from Rubens to Renoir show her from the front.

Questions have been raised about the date of the painting: most authors favor a late date. (Mathey, between 1717 and 1721; Zimmermann, 1719-1721; Camesasca, 1720; Adhémar, 1720-1721; Brookner, 1721.) They base their views on the excessively elongated proportions of the model which remind them of the woman seen from behind on the left of the *Gersaint's Shopsign* (rather unconvincingly, in our view). Boerlin-Brodbeck's arguments (1973) are of a different order. She notes that on 14 June 1718, a "heroic pastorale in three acts and a prologue by the Abbé Pellegrin . . . music by M. Bertin," entitled the *Judgment of Paris,* was presented in Paris; scarcely one month later a parody, "in one act and in the form of a light comedy," it was produced at the opening of the Foire Saint-Laurent. The opera and its parody could have influenced Watteau.

The late date of the execution of the *Judgment of Paris* has just been challenged by Roland-Michel (1982): comparing the Louvre painting with *Vertumnus and Pomona* in the Wildenstein collection (DV 20, CR 126; fig. 4), engraved by Bou-



fig. 4

cher in 1727, which she singles out as a possible pendant to the *Judgment of Paris,* she suggests the date of 1714 for the latter. The hypothesis is attractive but nothing prevents one from thinking that the two works might have been executed in c. 1718.

It will be further noted that the panel on which the artist executed his composition is very lightly prepared, and that Watteau painted almost on the wood itself. The quickness of the execution explains the word "sketch" used by Goncourt. But one technical detail, particularly visible in the figure of Juno in the upper right part, is worthy of attention: Watteau used the handle of his brush to trace certain contours and to mark certain details.

More than the humor of the scene and the slightly ironic way he treats (or mistreats!) mythology (and history painting), what has elicited comment above all was the way Watteau painted the female nude: Rodin (1911) noted "the very strongly developed pelvis and . . . the more narrow shoulders . . . [of that] northern type [of blond]" which foreshadows the women of Fragonard (Mantz 1892) and Brigitte Bardot (S. Chantal, in exh. cat. Paris 1977 (La Monnaie), p. 180). And it is true that the artist lingered less in painting Minerva, helmeted and irate, Juno beating a retreat toward heaven or Paris with his adolescent body and lively dark eyes, than the back of Venus, this pearly back and that "flesh which becomes, in Watteau's oeuvre, more fragile and sweet than in the works of foreign precursors" (Pilon 1912). However, it is the elegant and wholly natural gesture with which Venus, aided by a little cupid, removes her last veils that gives the work its rhythm and its grace, its simplicity and its freshness.

PROVENANCE

Formerly in the collection of singer Paul Barroilhet, 1810-1871. Sale, 10 March 1856, No. 55, as "Le Jugement de Pâris"; by Pater; Fr 225, bequeathed; Dr. Louis La Caze 1798-1869; bequeathed to the Louvre, 1869, MI 1126.

EXHIBITIONS

Amsterdam 1926, no. 115; New York 1939, no. 407; San Francisco 1939-1940, no. Y-94.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cat. La Caze 1870, no. 265; Mantz 1870, p. 13; G 1875, p. 52; Mollett 1883, p. 62; Mantz 1892, pp. 89, 176; Fourcaud 1901, pp. 255-256; Staley 1902, p. 129; Josz 1903, p. 398; Rodin 1911, p. 91; Pilon 1912, pp. 52, 106, 111; Z 1912, p. 190, pl. 107 (as on canvas); Ingersoll-Smouse 1928, no. 569; R 1928, no. 7; Van Puyvelde-Lassalle 1943, pl. p. 23; Gillet 1929, p. 40, pl. 38; Godfrey 1949, pp. 63-64, ill.; Wilenski 1949, p. 105, pl. 44; AH 1950, p. 89 and no. 214 pl. 150; Rodney 1952, p. 65, ill.; Dumont 1957, pl. p. 63; Gauthier 1959, pl. XLIX; Mathey 1959, p. 69; Schefer 1962, n. 50; Eckard 1964, p. 42, colorpl. p. 43; Thuillier-Châtelet 1964, p. 164; Béguin 1969, p. 124, fig. 5 p. 121; Béguin and Gastins 1969, p. 7; Brookner 1969, pl. 43; CR 1970, no. 210, colorpl. LXIV; F 1972, A. 33 (as "authentic"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 99, 197, 225; Posner 1973, pp. 26, 73, fig. 36 (detail); Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, pp. 197-198; Mirimonde 1977, p. 81; Hagstrum 1980, p. 284, pl. 15; RM 1982, no. 133, ill. and color detail; Henric 1983; P 1984, p. 201, colorpl. 47; RM 1984 (in press).

## 65 Love in the Italian Theater (*"L'amour au théâtre italien"*)

Oil on canvas
37 x 48 (14⅝ x 18⅞)
Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

*Love in the Italian Theater* has always been linked to *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38). We have said that the two paintings were artificially paired as pendants, brought together in the beginning of the eighteenth century, before 1734, but everything leads one to believe that *Love in the Italian Theater* was painted at an obviously later date than the execution of its pseudo-pendant. Posner (1984) suggested 1718, a date that should be confirmed when the Berlin painting is cleaned.

Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, pp. 66-68) tried to interpret the subject of the painting and to justify the title given it in the 1734 print. They mentioned that the Italian comedians, who were evicted from the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1697 (Watteau made their departure the subject of one of his first paintings, now lost; DV 184, CR 8; fig. 1), were recalled by the Regent soon after the death of Louis XIV. Their first presentation at the Palais Royal, on 18 May 1716, was called in French *L'Heureuse surprise* (in Italian *L'Inganno fortunato*). First, Hérold

fig. 1



and Vuaflart identified the twelve actors of the new troop in the Watteau painting, from right to left, as: Scaramouche, Pantaloon, Mezzetin, Scapin, Harlequin, Pierrot, Silvia, Flaminia, the Doctor, Violetta, the singer, la Cantarina, and then gave a name to each of the actors. Thus they see Giuseppe Balleti in Pierrot, the celebrated Luigi Riccoboni (and not Angelo Costantini, in prison in Prague in 1716) in Mezzetin, and the famous Zanetta Rosa Benozzi in Silvia.

This double identification, too strained, has had a long story. Macchia (1971) does not accept it, nor does Courville (1973) or Taviani (1982). Not only the identification of the costumes of a few of the actors, but also the names seemed to them to warrant caution. Mirimonde (1961), followed by Boerlin-Brodbeck (1973) and Posner (1984), gave a more general interpretation of the scene: we would be at the end of the play, when the actors are coming together for the "vaudeville." "This word . . . designated an entertainment made up of sung couplets, cut by repeated choruses and by dances." This interpretation is all the more plausible since Watteau certainly did not wish to create a work on current events and to record what no doubt was an important event in the artistic life of Paris of the time. Mirimonde's "hypothesis" will be recalled in this connection (1962, pp. 272-274), noting that in the struggle between the comic opera, the stage theater, and the French comedy, Watteau always took the part of the comic opera, symbolized by Pierrot. On their return to France the Italian actors allied themselves with the French actors, hence with Watteau's "enemies." By placing a Pierrot in the center of his painting Watteau once again indicated his preference. But Moureau (Appendix B) has suggested a much more convincing interpretation that accords more with the reality of the theater in Watteau's time.

There is no need to stress again the difference in style and concept between *Love in the French Theater* and *Love in the Italian Theater.* The twelve actors are grouped facing the public. They are turned toward us, but without looking at us or seeing us. Although the faces of the actors are fairly well "typed," some showing astonishment, they are not portraits.





fig. 2

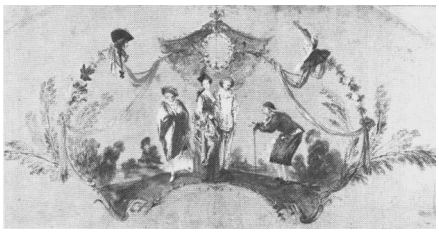


fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5

They are painted on a rather large scale and occupy the main part of the composition.

Two features characterize the painting: Pierrot is preparing to play the guitar. He is with Flaminia, the center of interest. But in contrast to *Love in the French Theater* and despite the great unity of the composition, nothing happens on the scene.

The second original aspect of the painting is its nocturnal lighting. The cold light of the moon (which has been celebrated by Verlaine and yet this is its only appearance in Watteau's oeuvre!) and the warm ones of Mezzetin's torch and Cantarina's lantern on the left of the composition illuminate the scene and lend it a strange character, halfway between Caravaggism and German romanticism.

Not only is this Watteau's sole nocturne, one of the rare paintings of a genre which, before Wright of Derby and Volaire, had but few practitioners in the eighteenth century, but also it constitutes one of the most curious attempts to paint—as the rules required, however—a theatrical presentation of night. But once again Watteau does not show us the reality of the stage in the evening, lit by candles. He places his composition in the open air and lights it with the torch and lantern that push back into the shadows the large trees and the dog on the right.

Rarely did Watteau betray so clearly his aim as a painter: true, once again he used people from the stage and mixed reality with the theater. But by painting his beloved actors in artificial light he attempted to give life to a kind of composition and to give it, thanks to the night, a mysterious and compelling character. One can only regret that he did not try the experiment again.

PROVENANCE

According to the engraving by Cochin for the *Recueil Jullienne*, announced in the *Mercure de France* in May 1734, the painting belonged at that date to "Mr de Rosnel"; for information about Rosnel, see cat. P. 38. Acquired before 1769 by Frederick the Great (1712-1786); at that time cited in the paintings gallery at Sans Souci Palace, Potsdam. Transferred to the Royal Prussian Museum, Berlin, in 1830.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1929, no. 77, ill.; Paris 1951, no. 58, pl. 59; Wiesbaden 1951, no. 5; Munich 1958, no. 221; Berlin 1962, no. 96; Bordeaux 1980, no. 68; Frankfurt 1982, Ce 9, pl. p. 69 (and pp. 68, 70); Brunswick-Aix-la-Chapelle 1983-1984, no. 35, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Nicolaï 1769, p. 516; Nicolaï 1786, III, p. 1212; Oesterreich 1771, no. 169 (Ger. ed., 1770, no. 167); Rumpf 1794, p. 180; 1803, II, p. 132; 1823, p. 100; Waagen 1830, p. 120, no. 479; H 1845, no. 76; H 1856, no. 77 (composition); Viardot 1844, p. 373; Schasler 1856, p. 40; Lejeune 1864, I, p. 213; G 1875, no. 69; Blanc 1865, p. 8; [Cousin] 1865, p. 31; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1883, p. 106; Mollett 1883, p. 63; Dargenty 1891, p. 98 (print); Mantz 1892, p. 184; Phillips 1895, p. 82; Rosenberg 1896, p. 75, ill.; Dilke 1899, p. 85; Staley 1902, p. 136; Josz 1903, p. 327; Fourcaud 1906, p. 203 (print); Dacier 1905, pp. 48-49; Pilon 1912, pp. 91, 98, 100, 104; Z

fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9

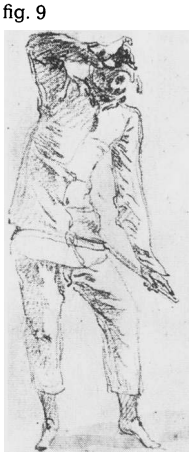




fig. 10



fig. 11



fig. 12

1912, p. 187, pl. 35; Alexandre 1919, p. 124, DV, III, under no. 271; Hildebrandt 1922, pl. p. 47; R 1928, no. 55; *La Renaissance,* May 1929, p. 268, ill.; *Le Gaulois artistique,* 29 March 1929, p. 208; Parker 1931, p. 49; Mus. cat. Berlin 1931, p. 518, no. 469, ill.; Mathey 1939, p. 160; Elling 1942, pp. 11-71; Brinckmann 1943, pl. 58; AH 1950, no. 204 pl. 139; Panofsky 1952, pp. 331-332; PM 1957, under nos. 175, 652, 668, 692, 726, 741, 751, 804; Courville 1958, pp. 194-195, 198-199, pl XXVII; Gauthier 1959, pl. LIII; M 1959, p. 58; Mirimonde 1961, pp. 275-276, fig. 28 p. 284; Nicolle 1963, pp. 139-140, fig. 88; Lossky 1966, pl. XIII; Adhémar 1968, p. 230; Brookner 1969, pl. 23; CR 1970, no. 188 pl. L (color detail); Macchia 1971, p. 13; F 1972, A. 30 (as "authentically by Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 148-150; Posner 1974, p. 360, n.; Croft-Murray 1974, p. 178 and fig. 5; Cailleux 1975, p. 86 (Eng. ed., p. 247); Eisler 1977, p. 302; Mirimonde 1977,, pp. 110-111 Mus. cat. Berlin 1978, pp. 475-476, ill. (Eng. ed.); Chan 1978-1979, p. 110, fig. 5; Nordenfalk 1979, p. 119; Bauer 1980, p. 38; exh. cat. Washington 1980, 20, 85, no. 3, ill.; RM 1982, no. 227, ill.; Taviani 1982, pp. 298, 311; P 1984, pp. 121, 258-265, 269 n. 61, colorpl. 55, fig. 191; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

There is a photograph of a mediocre copy of the painting in the files of the Service d'Etudes et de Documentation at the Louvre (fig. 2). A "pastiche absolu" (!) was exhibited at La Monnaie (Paris 1977), but was not reproduced in the catalogue (no. 305). A copy in the Batistelli collection, Pesaro, was sold in Milan, 23-26 March 1914; (no. 336, ill.; canvas, 40 x 60 cm). Still cited, following Goncourt, is a painting at the Morrin sale, 5 February 1776, no. 81: "Un paysage très savant, son effet est au clair de lune; on voit à gauche six personnages en habit de bal, dont un tient un flambeau; plus loin d'autres figures. Le tableau est peint sur une toile de 16 pouces de haut, sur 20 pouces de large B [*sic*]." See also Lejeune 1865, III, p. 323: "Watteau, Louis Joseph, dit Watteau de Lille . . . AM. Gabriel Loze, de Bruges, La Comédie italienne et la Comédie française, très belles répétitions d'après Antoine Watteau." We would also like to mention "Masquerade au clair de flambeaux," 9 pouces by 6 pouces, de Hoppe sale, Vienna, 8 January 1822, as well as the splendid fan in the British Museum, exh. cat. London 1980, no. 6 (Croft-Murray 1974, colorpl. p. 177; fig. 3) on which the same bent old man leaning on his cane is depicted in watercolor and gouache, on Japanese paper. A painting in Prague, sometimes mentioned and sometimes attributed to Jan Steen, was reproduced by Z 1912, pl. 159.

RELATED DRAWINGS

PM 751 (Musée Bonnat, Bayonne; fig. 4), study for the man holding the lantern on the far left in the painting; PM 741 (Louvre; fig. 5), the first figure in the lower left of this famous sheet was used by Watteau for the woman on the guitarist's left (for the identification of the model, see Posner 1984); PM 740 (formerly Groult coll.; fig. 6), study for the hands and the mask of the woman near her; PM 804 (Private coll., Lyons; fig. 7), study for the guitarist (on the same sheet as the study for our cats. P. 17, 55); PM 692 (Louvre; fig. 8), often considered a study for the head of the Pierrot; PM 652 (Musée Atger, Montpellier; fig. 9), study for Harlequin; PM 668 (Louvre; fig. 10), study of hands posed on a cane (for this drawing see also the fan in the British Museum, London, cited above under Related Paintings); PM 175 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; fig. 11), may be related, with some reservations, to the figure of the doctor on the right of the composition; a copy in Frankfurt (DV 1231; fig. 12).

For the copy by Delacroix (DV, I, p. 183), see cat. P. 38, Related Works.

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving for the *Recueil Jullienne* by Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Elder (1688-1754; Roux 1940, IV, p. 620, no. 152; fig. 13) was announced in the May 1734 *Mercure de France* (p. 940; see cat. P. 38). The *Mercure* specifically states that the prints are in the same direction as the paintings. The following verses, signed "Mr Roy," were inscribed on the print:

La jalouse Italie effrayant les Amours,
Les fait marcher de nuit, les contraint au mistère;
mais une Sérénade y supplée aux discours;
Un geste, un seul regard conclud ou rompt l'Affaire,
L'impatient François en intrigue préfère
Les chemins moins couverts: les croyes-vous plus courts?

On Mr Roy, see the entry for *Love in the French Theater.*

The man with a lantern at the far left of the composition was engraved by Boucher (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 58, ill.) after the Bayonne drawing (PM 751); see also G 1875, nos. 408, 564 (Audran; see Roux 1931, I, 265, under nos. 73, 731).

fig. 13





## 66 Peaceful Love—(*"L'Amour paisible"*)

Oil on canvas
56 x 81 (22 1/16 x 31 7/8)
Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin

In the *Recueil Jullienne* there are two of each work entitled *Delights of Summer, Rendez-vous,* and *Peaceful Love,* one probably painted for Dr. Mead during Watteau's stay in London (now lost; DV 268, CR 197; fig. 1) and one in the collection of Frederick the Great, now in Berlin. At first glance the two compositions hardly resemble each other.

The Charlottenburg *Peaceful Love* precedes the English work although the experts disagree on its date: according to Mathey it would be 1716; Camesasca, 1717; Roland-Michel, correctly, in our view, 1718; Börsch-Supan (exh. cat. Paris 1963), 1718-1719; and Adhémar, 1719.

The couple standing at left in the composition appears in several of Watteau's works, *Assembly in a Park* in the Louvre and *Italian Recreation* in Berlin (cats. P. 40, 56) as well as *The Gallant Assembly* (now lost; DV 139, CR 171). The dog lying in the foreground is also found in the *Judgment of Paris* of the Louvre (cat. P. 66). Watteau's custom and working method was described for us by Caylus (Champion 1921, p. 101); Watteau, after having brushed in his landscape, painted the figures, using preparatory studies for each one of them according to a procedure similar to tracing. (See Eidelberg 1977 on this subject.) One must not be astonished, consequently, that Watteau used the same drawing on several occasions. However, the study (also in Berlin, cat. D. 75) for the standing woman who delicately lifts a fold of her dress is much more of a portrait than the same figure in the painting.

Watteau's working methods could make it seem as if his paintings "meant nothing." If one guards against any "overinterpretation," a temptation to which many art historians succumb today, if one must avoid the pitfalls of a single reading that would provide the key to the interpretation of the entire work (every Watteau painting is melancholic, gay, licentious, a synonym for evasion, etcetera), but which would



fig. 1



fig. 2

singularly diminish it, still one must wonder about the painter's intentions.

Three couples are together in the country. Only a guitarist is looking at us, facing us. Two men try to persuade their companions, either by gesture or by word. A couple whose faces betray regret move away from the men, still looking at them. A comparison with the lost Mead painting provides us with the hoped-for explanation: in this work, the departing couple, placed in the center of the composition, are seen from the back. The young woman jealously turns back toward a lute player to whom her neighbor offers a rose (children are there to imply innocence), while her companion points out to her an overflowing fountain supported by cupids. "Peaceful Love" is the love that is fulfilled, which no longer knows desire, nor passion. It is faithful love, without fever (symbolized by the sleeping dog). In the Berlin painting, it is the guitarist, with his curious hat, who is given the role of drawing the lesson from the story.

The painting's merit lies above all in the delicacy of its execution, the splendor of its saturated colors, and the simplicity and elegance of its composition. There are certain inventions such as the black knot that holds the pearl necklace on the neck of the young reclining brunette, her lavender blue dress with red sleeves and collar and white cuffs, the blue sleeves and cuffs of the guitarist, the dark greens of the landscape. But it is above all the harmony between the rhythm of the couples and that of the curves in the landscape that seduces us. A neo-Venetian mountainous landscape (rather than the "banks of the Marne," Champion 1921), still stormy on the left, with a river and a waterfall, closes the composition. "A sudden shower has just fallen, and the greenery is greener because of it . . . the sky is clearing, a few pink rays linger on the valley. The air is hot and humid.".

One painting has always been compared with *Peaceful Love: The Enchanted Isle* (cat. P. 60). The landscape with its distances, its rays of light, its character of fantasy, both artificial and real, plays an essential role in the two works. But here, we are still on earth.

PROVENANCE

The name of the owner is not indicated on the 1730 engraving made for the *Recueil Jullienne*. Collection of Frederick the Great (1712-1786), "acheté . . . peut-être à Julienne" (DV), but it is difficult to identify it as any particular painting by Watteau in the collection of the King of Prussia. Perhaps it is the "agréable conversation dans une agréable contrée, peinte sur toile par Watteau. Cette pièce a été gravée à Paris," mentioned by Oesterreich in 1773 as being in the Small Gallery. In 1876, in the Berlin Castle, then returned to the New Palace; in 1937, moved to the Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1883, no. 45; Paris 1900, no. 29 (etching by Mannsfeld; details engraved by Peter Halm, pp. 9, 58); Berlin 1910, no. 68 (no. 145 of the large edition, ill.); Paris 1937, no. 235 (pl. 58 of the album *Cent trente chefs-d'oeuvre . . .*); Wiesbaden 1947, no. 116; Wiesbaden 1951, no. 57; Berlin 1962, no. 97; Paris 1963, no. 37, colorpl.; Frankfurt 1982, D 18, pl. p. 87.

fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6





fig. 7



fig. 8



fig. 9

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition): Thoré [Bürger] 1860, p. 271; G 1875, no. 103; Mollett 1883, p. 67; (on the painting): Oesterreich 1773, no. 79, no. 545; Dohme 1876, p. 91, no. 11; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1883, p. 101; Ephrussi 1889, pp. 98-99; Dargenty 1891, p. 77 (print); Mantz 1892, pp. 119, 185; Phillips 1895, pp. 42, 51; Rosenberg 1896, p. 57, fig. 52 (engraved by Mannsfeld); Fourcaud 1900, p. 272; Lafenestre 1900, pp. 555-556; Seidel 1900, no. 148 (engraving by Mannsfeld; two groups engraved by Peter Halm, pp. 1, 4); Fourcaud 1901, pp. 164-165; Staley 1902, pp. 33, 53, 57, 83; Josz 1903, pp. 320-321, 378, 431; Fourcaud 1905, pl. bet. pp. 112-113; Alfassa 1910, p. 170; Meier-Graefe 1910, p. 264, ill. p. 265; Vaudoyer 1910, pp. 17-18, pl. p. 16; Pilon 1912, pp. 84-85, 115, 143, 150; Z 1912, p. 188, pl. 66, 67-68 (details); Bouyer 1921, p. 96 (24 in the separate volume ed.); Champion 1921, pp. 112, 40; Dacier 1921, p. 43, ill. (*idem.*); DV, III, under no. 74; Foerster 1923, p. 61; R 1928, no. 161; Eisenstadt 1930, p. 153; Parker 1931, p. 34; Kühn 1937, p. 5; Brinckmann 1943, colorpl. 53; AH 1950, no. 207 pls. 142, 143 (detail) (see also p. 54 n. 25); PM 1957, under nos. 571, 629, 668, 675, 770, 824, 864, 867 (897, incorrectly); M 1959, p. 68; CR 1970, no. 174, ill.; F 1972, A.31 (as "authentically by Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 119, 204, 221, 227, 331; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 174-177, 196-197, pl. 105; Hagstrum 1980, p. 300, pl. 19; RM 1982, no. 214, ill.; P 1984, pp. 9, 111, 173, 188, fig. 2; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A copy was offered in the Duc de Morny sale, 31 May-12 June 1865, no. 114: "Des gentilhommes, en compagnie de dames, sont arrêtés sur une éminence d'où l'on aperçoit un paysage montagneux. Les uns sont debout, les autres causent assis sur l'herbe. Un d'eux joue de la guitare. Au loin sur la colline, se voit un vieux castel. Un rivière arrose la vallée; un berger, assis, regarde paître son troupeau. Gravé par Favanne." Panel (15 x 24.7 cm); for more on the painting, which was resold in the Demidoff sale, 3 February 1868, no. 41, see the comments by Thoré [Bürger], 1860, p. 271.

Another copy in the Peck Collection, London, shown at the Guildhall, London, 1902, no. 122, repr. Z 1912, pl. 142.

We reproduce a copy which may perhaps be the Morny/Demidoff painting cited above: fig. 2.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey, 1957, cite eight drawings for this painting—PM 668 (Louvre; fig. 3), for the man standing at the left in the painting (the drawing was also used for cats. P. 53, 63); PM 629 (Berlin, cat. D. 65; fig. 4), for the woman holding that man's arm (for this woman, see also PM 559, Stockholm); PM 770 (Groult Coll., Paris; fig. 5), for her head; PM 867 (British Museum, London; fig. 6), and oil counterproof of this couple (see Eidelberg 1977 and Hulton 1980); PM 675 (Private coll., Geneva, cat. D. 74; fig. 7), for the man sitting at the feet of the couple; PM 824 (Groult Coll., Paris; fig. 8), for the woman the man is trying to embrace; PM 864 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; fig. 9), oil counterproof of the same woman (see Eidelberg, 1977); PM 571 (formerly the van Beuningen Coll.; fig. 10), for the woman with a fan in the center of the composition.

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving, cited by Mariette (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [7]), signed "Jac. de Favanne" (?-1770; Roux 1955, VIII, p. 478, no. 2; fig. 11) is accompanied by the following six lines:

> Les Ruisseaux, et les Bois au tour de ce Vilage
> d'où l'oeil peut découvrir un Charmant Peisage,
> où règne l'innocence et la tranquilité;
> d'un champêtre Instrument l'amusante harmonie,
> pour tenir lieu de Simphonie,
> où ces Jeunes Amans font la félicité.

On 7 June 1730, Chereau's widow was granted a copyright for this print, as well as for eleven others (DV, III, no. 74). Engravings by Mannsfeld and Peter Halm were reproduced in 1883 by Dohme and in 1900 by Seidel (and in exh. cat. Paris 1900); see Bibliography. Four drawings used by Watteau for *Peaceful Love* were etched by Boucher for the *Fddc*: PM 770 (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 82, ill.); PM 824 (and 864) (Jean-Richard, no. 47, ill.); and PM 571 (in combination with a lost drawing for the guitarist [Jean-Richard, no. 98, ill.]) (fig. 12).

fig. 10



fig. 11

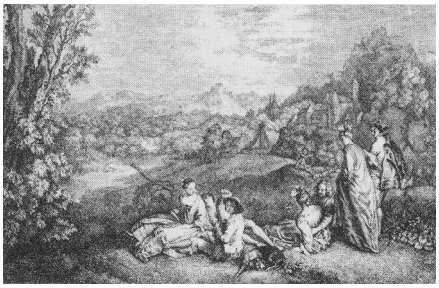


fig. 12





# 67 Portrait of a Gentleman (*Portrait d'un gentilhomme*)

Oil on canvas
130 x 97 (51¼ x 38¼)
Musée du Louvre, Paris

Acquired by the Louvre in 1973, the painting necessitates questioning on three points: Is it by Watteau? What date was it painted? Whom does it portray?

As early as 1859 Mantz had no hesitation in attributing it to the painter. The majority of experts concurred with the exception of Thoré (who was hesitant) and an anonymous writer in 1879 ("Lancret"), of Hans Vollmer in 1942 in Thieme-Becker, of Adhémar (1950) who thought it was by a "pupil whose name escapes us and who, on his drawings or on his sketches, perhaps, might have executed (it)," of Ferré (1972; see also 1975), of Bazin (1974, "has always seemed to me not only not from Watteau's hand, but very different from the 'manner' of that painter") and of Saint-Paulien (1976, "Jean-François de Troy"). At the time of its purchase the press questioned the price paid by the Louvre, the opportuneness of its acquisition, and occasionally worried about the correctness of its attribution, but, no more than the specialists, whose names we just mentioned, did they suggest a more convincing attribution.

The date of the work has considerably perplexed those who have tried to settle it: Mathey (1959) placed the painting c. 1711-1712; Adhémar, c. 1716; Roland-Michel, before 1718; and finally Posner (1977) who made the most careful and exhaustive study on the painting, c. 1720.

The problem of the model's identification further divides scholars. Mantz, in 1859, called the model an "unknown person." But the following year, at the exhibition of eighteenth-century French paintings at the Boulevard des Italiens (catalogue by Philippe Burty), it was presented as a *"Presumed Portrait of M. de Jullienne."* Since that date, Mathey (1959) has been the chief defender of that hypothesis, which today has scarcely any support, and rightly so. Not only are the features of Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) sufficiently well known through a number of portraits (François de Troy, 1722, according to the inscription on the print, Musée de Valenciennes [fig. 1]; La Tour, c. 1735, Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum [fig. 2]; a study in the Musée de Saint-Quentin; not to mention the Tardieu engraving after [?] a lost painting by [?] Watteau, *"Seated beside thee in the shade of these charming trees"* [DV 3, CR 209; fig. 3]), but if Watteau had painted Jullienne, the portrait would certainly have been engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne* and it would have

fig. 1

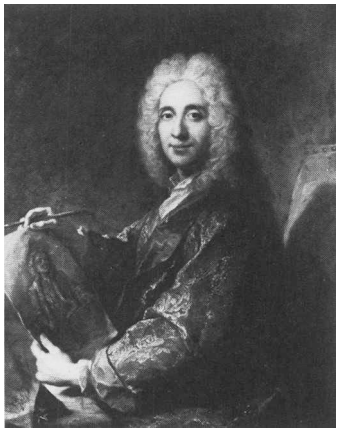


fig. 2



fig. 3

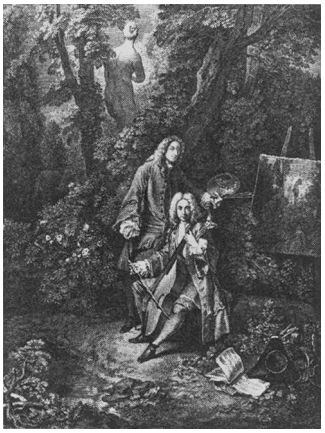


fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7





appeared in the different inventories and catalogues of his collection. Instead of returning here to these different points, we would prefer to wonder, above all, about the place of the portrait in the painted oeuvre of Watteau. First, let us note that today we do not know of any portrait, in the strict sense of the term, by Watteau (with the exception of *Antoine de la Roque* [DV 269; CR 118; see also exh. cat. Atlanta 1983, p. 23]) (fig. 4). True, *Pierrot* (*Gilles*) (cat. P. 69) could enter into that category, but Watteau's aim in that work was quite different. As for the portrait, said to be of Antoine Pater of Valenciennes (CR 148; fig. 5), we belong to that minority who cannot see the hand of Watteau there: "The almost aggressive vigor of the facture" (Posner), the direct and veristic analysis of the model's psychology seem to us to be the opposite of the spirit of Watteau. Like Posner (1977), we think that "of the two paintings, the *Pater* would seem to me to be the most difficult to reconcile with Watteau's style." In the Louvre painting certain details such as the model's elegant hands with the long nervous fingers, the impasto of the face—a marked face, heavily re-worked—that indicates the occasional portraitist, his dreamy expression, the "portrait of a smile," to use Mathey's line, seem to us to correspond better to the idea one could have of a Watteau portrait.

When could the artist have executed his work? Like all the painters of his time, Watteau wished to jump up the rungs in the hierarchy of genres. By posing a quiver and arrows by the side of a female nude he had wanted to transform a profane work into a *Diana at Her Bath* (cat. P. 28); in the same way Watteau wanted to be a portraitist and if his painting has this very personal aspect, a mixture of smiling serenity and detachment, one must agree that the artist had some difficulty—above all if one thinks of the contemporary professional portrait painters Largillière and Rigaud—in capturing the model's likeness. For proof, there is the infrared photograph that shows us a mustached face and a model looking downward (fig. 6).

Who is he? He seems to be approaching forty. It seems to us that he must be sought among Watteau's friends; he is a successful man, judging by the cuffs and lace jabot, the wig, the sword, the three-cornered hat under his arm, the maroon-colored suit, and the gray vest trimmed with silver. One name comes to the lips: Crozat. Could he be Antoine, born in 1655; Pierre, of whom, strangely, there is no known portrait, born in 1665; or Louis-François-Joseph-Antoine or Louis-Antoine, born in 1696 and 1699, respectively? But that is just another new hypothesis. Mention can also be made of Posner's recent, very attractive theory (1984), that sees the Comte de Caylus (1692-1765), Watteau's biographer, as the model.

We hope that when the *Gentleman* of the Louvre—who seems to listen more than to see, who is "in an indefinable state of mind," a connoisseur "of the parks and the woods where *fêtes galantes* were held" (Posner)—is viewed alongside sixty or so sure works by Watteau, the attribution will be confirmed.

PROVENANCE

In 1859, to the "eccentric" Jules Duclos, "faubourg Saint-Victor" (Mantz 1892); in 1878, to "M. Jean-Baptiste Chazaud à Paris"; considered as a possible acquisition for the Louvre for Fr 220,000 in 1879 (Archives du Louvre, 13 March 1879, 1 BB, 24, p. 12); Camille Groult (1832-1908) until 1892, then F. Groult; purchased from Pierre Bordeaux-Groult by the Louvre before the sale, Paris, Palais Galliera, 28 November 1972, no. A in the catalogue (color repr. on the cover); acquired with funds from the 1973 budget.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1860, no. 427; Paris 1878, no. 699; Paris 1956, no. 98, ill.; London, 1968-1969, no. 733, fig. 6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mantz 1859, p. 347; Bürger [Thoré] 1860, p. 232; Chennevières and Montaiglon, in Mariette 1862 ed., VI, pp. 105-106 n. 2; [Cousin] 1865, p. 33; Chazaud 1877, pp. 10-11 (with print by Boulard the Younger as frontispiece; Mantz 1878, p. 875 (print by E. Champollion, facing p. 888); Anonymous 1879, p. 60; Jouin 1879, p. 149, no. 699; Mollett 1883; p. 49 (ill. print bet. pp. 48-49); Saint-Denis 1884-1885, p. 106 (print by V. Focillon, p. 106); Mantz 1892, pp. 159-160, ill. p. 161 (print by Champollion); Larroumet 1895, p. 72; Dilke 1899, p. 87, n. 2; Josz 1903, pp. 255-256; Pilon 1912, pp. 41-42; Z 1912, pl. 177 (in the suppl.) (Fr. ed., p. 177, pl. 40; "un des plus beaux portraits du maître"); Wildenstein 1924, no. 572; R 1928, no. 187; Wehle 1935, p. 12; Vollmer 1942, p. 194; AH 1950, no. 152 (and also p. 181); Adhémar 1956, p. 21 (detail of the print by Boulard from Chazaud 1877); *Arts* (16-22 May 1956), ill.; Mathey 1956, p. 215 and fig. 5, p. 214; PM 1957, under nos. 803, 910; M 1959, pp. 14, 52-54, 80 pl. 143, detail of the hand pl. 147; Gimpel 1963, p. 39; Anonymous (probably B. Nicolson), *Burl. Mag.* (February 1968), p. 62; CR 1970, no. 138, ill.; F 1972, B. 78 (as "attributed to Watteau"); *Conn. des Arts* (March 1973), p. 98 and colorpl.; *G.B.A., Chronique* (March 1973), p. 3; Bazin 1974, p. 61; *Conn. des Arts* (March 1974), pp. 94, 98; *G.B.A., Chronique* (February 1974), p. 14 fig. 43; Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 921, ill.; Ferré 1975, p. 81, 90; Saint-Paulien 1976, pp. 54-55; Posner 1977, pp. 80-85, colorpl. p. 83 and detail on cover; RM 1982, no. 231, ill.; Cailleux 1983, p. X; Posner, *Apollo*, 1983, p. 99; P 1984, pp. 201, 243-244, 289, n. 34, colorpl. 51, fig. 174; RM 1984 (in press).

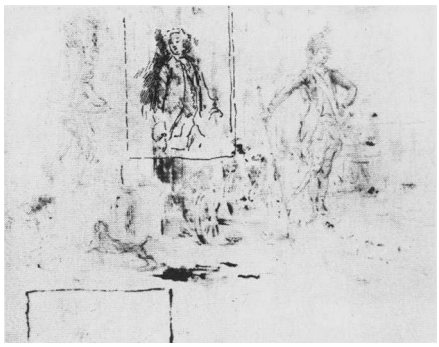
fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10



RELATED PAINTINGS

In 1973, we saw a fine copy (127 x 92 cm), with no obvious differences, in a private collection near Paris (fig. 7) (from an anonymous sale, Paris, 11 March 1865, no. 73, "Watteau: Portrait de M. de Julienne"; Sourdeau sale, 5 December 1872, no. 34: "Watteau: Portrait présumé de M. de Julienne"; Bacqua sale, Nantes, 18 February 1873, no. 63: "Watteau. Portrait de M. de Julienne, protecteur de l'artiste." The "Portrait d'homme" in the Dr. G.H.N. sale, Paris, 29 May 1908, no. 61, ill., has no relation to the painting in the Louvre, nor does the one that appeared in a sale of 26 March 1923, no. 107).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Mathey (1959) linked two of Watteau's drawings to the painting in the Louvre—PM 910 (British Museum, cat. D. 42; fig. 8), in which the hand delicately posed on the model's left hip recalls the pose of the Louvre *Gentleman*; and PM 803 (Musée Jacquemart-André; fig. 9), studies of a man's coat "which could almost be considered a detailed study for the portrait."

Also, there is a pen and ink drawing in a sketchbook believed to have belonged to Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780), now in the Art Institute of Chicago (48.383; fol. 2, verso; fig. 10), which might be a copy of the painting. The same sketchbook contains a copy of the *Nymph and Satyr* (cat. P. 36).

RELATED PRINTS

Three prints by Boulard the Younger, E. Champollion, and V. Focillon were executed after the painting during the nineteenth century (see Bibliography).

## 68 Head of a Man (*Tête d'homme*)

Oil on canvas
12.8 x 9.1 (5 x 3⅝)
P Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon



The painting is little known. Only Posner mentioned it recently (1984), to reject its attribution. It was examined in 1962 by Adhémar and Charles Sterling (Gulbenkian Foundation Archives) who considered it, as we believe, a late work painted around or a little before 1720. The hasty yet sure execution, the color harmonies, the expression of the face, and the tension of his look would lead us to accept the attribution. Of course this is only a rough sketch, a quick study for a figure in the painting, or even a fragment cut out of an unfinished canvas.

Is this a self-portrait of Watteau, as proposed by the author of the Opporto exhibition catalogue in 1964? The question of Watteau's portraits is disputed, as much in regard to his painted, drawn, or engraved self-portraits as for portraits of him by his contemporaries. Most of the various hypotheses regarding Watteau's portraits advanced in recent years are not entirely satisfactory, as if the artist were once again attempting to hide.

The Lisbon painting cannot represent the artist, if only because the composition does not give the impression of someone looking at himself in the mirror.

PROVENANCE

Purchased by C. S. Gulbenkian (1869-1955) in 1921.

EXHIBITIONS

Opporto 1964, no. 10, colorpl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

P 1984, p. 289 n. 35.

## 69 Pierrot (called Gilles) (*Pierrot, dit Gilles*)

Oil on canvas
184.5 x 149.5 (72⅝ x 58⅞)
Musée du Louvre, Paris

The painting deserves to be the subject of its own book or exhibition, so great is its success. Of all of Watteau's "images" this is the one that has most inspired poets and writers, photographers and filmmakers (*Les Enfants du Paradis*) not to mention numerous fancy-dress balls (for Picasso and Le Douanier Rousseau, see Rubin 1983).

However, there is little information on the origin of the work and on the circumstances of its commission. It was not

engraved for the *Recueil Jullienne,* nor was it mentioned anywhere before 1826. Its title, the identity of the models, its date, and Watteau's intentions have been the subject of innumerable hypotheses. Actually, nothing is certain.

Today it is known that Dominique Vivant-Denon purchased the painting during the First Empire; that it was acquired, or rather repurchased, at the sale after the death of the former director of the Musée Napoléon by his nephew, Brunet-Denon, and that after having passed through the hands of the Marquis de Cypierre, it entered the collection of Dr. La Caze, his favorite painting (on the death of La Caze, see Eudel 1885). La Caze bequeathed it to the Louvre in 1869 with the whole of his collection, the finest donation ever made to this museum.

But where was the painting during the eighteenth century? The influence of the work on the canvases of Pater (*Processional of the Italian Comedians,* Frick Collection, New York; fig. 1), and of Lancret (*The Actors of the Italian Comedians,* Louvre; fig. 2) is obvious, which assures that the two artists had seen it. Further, a document from the archives published by Rambaud (1971, p. 882) and which Baticle will discuss in detail in the forthcoming Watteau colloquium describes the interior of a house of the rue Saint-Sébastien at the Point-au-Choux, rented for three years by Pierre-Paul Gervais Fleury du Parc to Antoine-François Bernier, a doctor. One room of that house is decorated with three original paintings by Watteau, "a *Pierrot,* the second a *Mezettin* [*sic*], the third a *Pasquarel* . . . the first much larger than the others." One may wonder also about the meaning of a few lines of the biography of Watteau by Dezallier d'Argenville (1745; Champion 1921, p. 72): "The curate [the one from Nogent where Watteau was to die in 1721] who had a handsome face and whom the painter had known for a long time, had often been used in his works, the figure of *Gilles* [our italics], which he represented there, was not very noble and he apologized greatly to him for it." The anecdote, misinterpreted in the nineteenth century but repeated again in 1783 by Pahin de la Blancherie (p. 232) would not merit further discussion if Watteau had painted several paintings of *Gilles.* However, one painting alone, the one in the Louvre, could claim that title. Finally, the curious print that decorates the flyleaf of a work by "CC. Léger, Chazet [?], Em. Dupaty and Desfougerais," *Le Déménagement du Sallon ou le Portrait de Gilles* (published in the year VII), "a comedy-parade in one act and in vaudevilles" (fig. 3). It presupposes a knowledge of the Watteau composition on the part of its (anonymous) author.

However modest these indications may be, they demonstrate, in our view, that *Pierrot* (*Gilles*) was not unknown in the eighteenth century. As for its initial location, it has been cautiously and convincingly established by Adhémar (1951 and 1977). She cites a passage from the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des spectacles* of the Parfaict brothers (1743, I, pp. 36-38): Belloni as "Pierrot . . . applauded by the public as a whole" had retired from the theater before 1718 and had opened "a café [on the] rue Aubry-le-Boucher on the corner of Quincampoix where he placed his portrait dressed as Pierrot." True, the name of Watteau is not mentioned, but the painter could very well have known Belloni (c. 1680-1721), a Greek actor and native of Zante who was celebrated in Paris for his representations of Pierrot. One point will confirm that the work was indeed originally a sign: when one looks at an enlarged photograph of Pierrot's face (fig. 4), one can clearly distinguish a vertical line dividing it. On the left part is a network of crackling in a circle while the right side is free of all damage. Faillant will suggest at the Watteau colloquium an explanation for that peculiarity: part of the sign was probably struck down and certain less protected pieces may have fared worse than others. (See infrared photograph, fig. 5.)

It has perhaps been noted that we sometimes call the painting *Gilles* and sometimes *Pierrot.* At the Denon sale in 1826 Pérignon catalogues it under the title of *Gille* [*sic*] but Hédouin, in 1845, spoke of Pierrot. Very soon, however, the first designation took precedence. In a celebrated and clever article (1952) Dora Panofsky undertook to demonstrate that it was "connected to the cycle of Parades entitled *The Education of Gilles,* or in a more popular mode *To Wash the Head of a Donkey,*" and that one must hold to *Gilles.* However, since that date and without entering into the details of the arguments that set art historians as well as historians of the theater against each other, *Pierrot* clearly has won over *Gilles.*

Let us recall that Gilles' origins are unclear: should he

fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

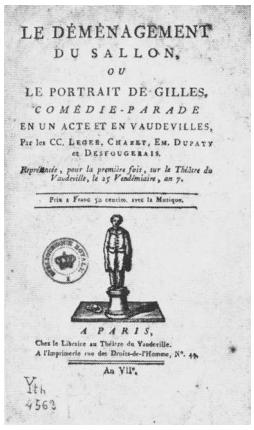
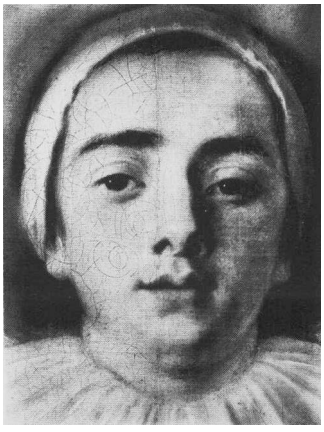



fig. 4





69



be sought, as suggested by Ménage and others, in Gilles le Niais, an actor who created the character in the middle of the seventeenth century, or else in Saint Gilles who fled rather than be crowned king (hence the expression "faire Gille" [to flee], or even in the Italian "Gilio"? In any event, there were many celebrated Gilles in the beginning of the eighteenth century (but they were "not very noble" acrobats). Pierrot, an actor, is a much more familiar figure both in the works of Watteau (*Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin*; DV 97, CR 155; fig. 6) and also in contemporary theater. Robert Storey, with the aid of numerous examples, recently attempted to show (1978) that in Watteau's time the costumes of the two figures were identical. They would be so intermingled that in *Arlequin, valet de Mulin* (1718) the officer Le Sage addresses Pierrot as both "Pierrot" and "Gilles" without distinction.

François Moureau, in his discussion of the characters in Watteau's paintings (Appendix B), has taken the opposite view of that interpretation and has proved that Watteau most surely painted a *Pierrot*.

It remains still to identify the four other protagonists of the scene, who can be seen in the lower part of the composition. But there too, discussion is far from over (see, for example, DV, I, p. 70). It might be the Captain of the farce, then Léandre, the man with the mysterious rooster's crest, and Isabelle. Finally, mounted on the donkey, the "Doctor." The latter has no mask, which is unusual, but Watteau made considerable changes in this figure when he was painting it, as can be seen with the naked eye. But the hypothesis of Donald Posner (1983), who sees above all in the painting a number of portraits, is illuminating. Moureau has also proposed a new study.

The many efforts made to identify the models with different actors of the time (see Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973) are well-known. It will be recalled that Manz, who in 1870 saw François Biancolelli in the figure of Pierrot, by 1892 regretted "the time . . . lost in the past while seeking with an ill-starred zeal the names of the actors. . . ." In 1896 Schéfer saw him as Corneille van Clève, the rector of the Academy. Dacier and Vuaflart thought they recognized Giuseppe Balletti (in their view, Pierrot would have served as a sign for the production of Danaë at the Foire Saint-Laurent in 1721. Panofsky (1938) did not rule out the possibility of this being a self-portrait and Parker and Mathey saw in Pierrot the portrait of Pierre Sirois, Watteau's dealer. But if one accepts Adhémar's hypothesis, discussions are now ended: the hero of the painting would be the actor Belloni in his new role as owner of a coffee house. Nothing would then prevent seeing the other figures as friends of Watteau (or of the model).

A text that has until now escaped notice serves to strengthen this hypothesis. The luxurious work devoted to the Vivant-Denon collection, *Les Monuments des Arts du dessin . . .*, is well-known. The fourth volume, published in 1829, contains a rather flat report by Amaury-Duval on Watteau. But he added as a note, "M. Denon, who was much more enthusiastic about Watteau than we are, would perhaps not have been completely satisfied with the rather cold praise that we have given here of the painter's talent." But more important, he published a note by Denon on Watteau that is admirable for its lucidity and warmth, particularly on Cythera: "I own also a painting of figures larger than life," he wrote in connection with his Pierrot, "in which he made portraits of his friends and by which one can judge how much color and truth he retained in a size that was so foreign to him."

We have said nothing about the date of the painting, which is very uncertain and fluctuates between 1715 and 1721. The date of 1718-1719, when Belloni was established as a café keeper, seems the most persuasive, both historically and stylistically.

We must be excused for failing to discuss in detail the sources, which are more (on Gillot, see Tomlinson 1981, pl. 1; fig. 7; Callot) or less distant (Rembrandt) from the composition (nothing very convincing has been suggested in this domain), and for not having devoted ourselves to a new psychological analysis of the painting and its model. It will be noted, however, that Watteau had first painted his Pierrot with a wider hat and that this part of the work is more worked over than the other, rapidly brushed (with the exception, we repeat, of the "doctor" mounted on his donkey, which seems to have been changed during the course of the painting).

The format of the work is exceptional. It is the only

fig. 5

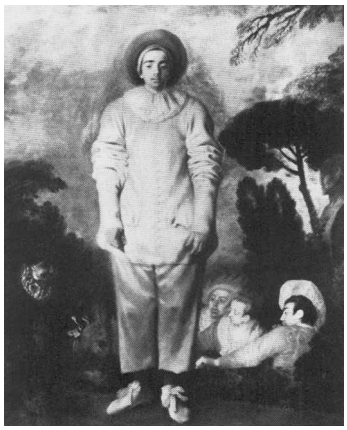


fig. 6



fig. 7



painting by Watteau that shows a life-size figure, his only monumental composition. Pierrot is alone, motionless, and silent, entirely separated from the four actors seen in half-length in the lower part of the composition. These four are noisily enjoying themselves. One leads, with the help of a rope, a donkey decorated with ribbons and mounted by the "doctor" who turns toward us. The eye of the donkey, round and sad, the same as the one from *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* by Caravaggio (Galerie Doria, Rome), connects the two planes of the work. The four actors are set off against a wood, parasol pine, poplars, and a satyr with half-closed eyes (the one of *Pierrot Content,* cat. P. 13). Pierrot, seen full-face, standing on a hillock with arms dangling, is set against a blue sky. The oval of his head is accented by the skullcap, the wide, round, yellow straw hat, and the ruff, multiplying the circles around his moon face. His trousers, too short, show his elegant slippers, decorated with rosettes of pink ribbons. It is of course the different whites of his flannel jacket and his satin trousers that one notices at once. The cold light illuminates his hand, torso, and head.

The expression on his face has caused considerable perplexity. People have read in it "stupidity," "credulousness," "lethargy," "revery," "melancholy," "poignancy." It is in fact indefinable, as is the emotion that the painting brings out. *Pierrot,* "a painting in the buffoon genre" (Gautier 1860), is neither the "statue of the commander" (Landrin 1861) nor the self-portrait of the painter. However, there is in the work an obvious feeling of self identification that concerns us just as it concerns the painter. Cut off from the world surrounding him, without movement, isolated and alone, Watteau's poignant and awkward image of *Pierrot* remains unique in the history of art.

PROVENANCE

No specifics on the painting before the beginning of the nineteenth century (see text below): "Pierrot . . . il appartenait, il y a quarante ans, a M. Meuniez, marchand de tableaux, qui l'a garde pendant plusieurs années sans parvenir à le placer. Pour attirer les yeux et flatter les chalands, il avait écrit au crayon blanc, sur le fond de ce tableau, deux vers d'une chanson jadis très populaire:

Que Pierrot serait content
S'il avait l'art de vous plaire!

Purchased by M. Denon, Directeur du musée sous l'empire, for Fr 150 (Hédouin 1845); Baron Dominique Vivant-Denon (1747-1825) is said to have acquired it against the advice of David (Le Gentil 1871); his sale, April-May 1826, no. 187: *Gilles* (catalogue by AN Pérignon); acquired by his nephew, M. Brunet-Denon, for Fr 650 (for two other paintings from the same collection which sold for 3015 francs, see cats. P. 19, 20). He in turn sold it to Casimir Perrin, marquis de Cypierre (1784-1844), not for Fr 1200 (quoted by Hedouin), but for Fr 2000, on 28 June 1838, according to the accounts at Cypierre (Demoriane 1974, p. 35). La Caze bought the painting directly from Cypierre before 1845, for either Fr 16,000 (according to Louis Legrand, who obtained this figure from Emile Rousse, a friend of La Caze; Legrand 1902, p. 8), or Fr 2500 (according to the Cypierre accounts [Demoraine 1974, p. 35]). Louis La Caze (1789-1869). Bequeathed to the Louvre in 1869, M. I. 1121.

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1846, no. 111 ("le Gille de la comédie italienne"); Paris 1860, no. 269; London 1932, no. 250 (no. 257 of the commem. cat.; repr. as the frontispiece of the *Illustrated Souvenir*); Paris 1945, no. 41; Paris 1946, no. 294; Hamburg-Munich 1952, no. 70, pl. 10; Vienna 1966, no. 77, pl. 14 (head of Pierrot in color on the cover).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(before the painting entered the Louvre in 1869): Pérignon 1826, pp. 86-87; Amaury-Duval 1829, IV, p. 300; Dinaux 1834, p. 20; H 1845, no. 65; H 1856, no. 66; Robert [Montaiglon] 1846, pp. 157, 164, 171; Clément de Ris 1847, p. 156; Waagen 1857, IV, pp. 96-97; Blanc 1858, II, p. 363; Mantz 1859, pp. 347-348; Bürger [Thoré] 1860, pp. 268, 271-272 (print by Edmond Hédouin, bet. pp. 260–261); Gauthier 1860, p. 1065; Godard 1860, p. 333; Landrin 1861, p. 244; Des Essarts 1862, pp. 161-165; Mariette 1862 ed., p. 108 n. 1; Chennevières and Montaiglon, in Michelet 1863, p. 319; Lejeune 1864, I, p. 447, III (1865), p. 323; Blanc 1865, p. 8; [Cousin] 1865, pp. 29-30; Dumont 1866, pp. 24-25; Bürger, *Paris Guide . . .*, 1867, p. 544 (ill. print bet. pp. 544-545); Cat. La Caze 1869, no. 260; Auvray 1870, pp. 99-100; Mantz 1870, pp. 9-12; Le Gentil 1871, pp. 24-25. (after the painting entered the Louvre): G 1875, p. 76; Clément de Ris 1877, p. 446; Chennevières 1883-1889, pp. 121-122 (1979 rpt.); Dohme 1883, pp. 106-107; Mollett 1883, p. 64 and anonymous print, p. 75; Eudel 1885, pp. 156-170; Mantz 1892, pp. 97-99, 159, 167, 172 (print by Edmond Hédouin); Phillips 1895, pp. 68-70, 80, 87; Schéfer 1896, p. 188; Dilke 1899, p. 87, ill. p. 86; Legrand 1902, pp. 4, 8; Staley 1902, p. 128; Josz 1903, pp. 332-333; Fourcaud 1904, p. 147, ill.; Pilon 1912, pp. XIII, 18, 24-25, 57, 83-84, 91, 96, 105, 126, 159, 163, ill. bet. pp. 96-97; Z 1912, p. 189, pls. 96, 97 (detail); DV, II, p. 99; Hildebrandt 1922, pp. 53 fig. 18, 55 fig. 19; R 1928, no. 56; DV, I, pp. 68, 70, 151, 182, 199, fig. 23 p. 69; Gillet 1929, pp. 36-38, pls. 32, 33; Panofsky 1938, p. 252; Brinckmann 1943; colorpl. 83 and 82, 84 (details); Wilenski 1949, colorpl. III; AH 1950, no. 205, pls. 135, 137 (detail), 136 (color detail); Adhémar, *Arts* (7 December 1951), p. 2; Panofsky 1952, pp. 319-340, 377-382, ill.; PM 1957, under nos. 768, 769, 932; Gauthier 1959, colorpls. L, LI; M 1959, pp. 54-55, 60, 69; Mirimonde 1961, p. 286 n. 24; Brookner 1969, pl. 47; CR 1970, no. 195, pls. LVII, LVIII; F 1972, A.38; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, esp. pp. 163-166; Mus. cat. Louvre 1974, no. 925, ill.; Demoriane 1974, pp. 34-36, ill.; Haskell 1976, pp. 43, 76, pl. 111; Adhémar 1977, pp. 171-172; Girod de l'Ain 1977, pp. 171-172; Storey 1978, pp. 75-77, fig. 9; Tomlinson 1981, p. 10; RM 1982, no. 237, ill. and color detail on the cover; Posner 1983, pp. 97-99, ill.; P 1984, pp. 120, 265-271, 291 n. 71, colorpls. 57, fig. 196; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

The "étude (or copy) de la tête de Gilles [qui] passe à la vente F. Doisteau," 11 June 1909, no. 85; [25 x 20 cm], cited by Adhémar (1950), is unrelated to Watteau. It has been copied often, most recently by Rainer Gross (*Fiac* 1983, repr. *Magazine Hebdo* [14 October 1983]).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey mention three studies for this painting—PM 768 (private coll., England; fig. 8), study for the only woman in the composition (actually

fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10



fig. 11







fig. 12



fig. 13



fig. 14



fig. 15

made for the *Italian Comedians,* cat. P. 71); PM 769 (Munich; fig. 9), for the doctor at left in the composition; PM 932 (private coll., Paris; fig. 10), first idea for Pierrot's head. See also PM 659, 779 (cat. D. 99), and 931; figs 11, 12, and 13.

RELATED PRINTS

The painting was not engraved in the eighteenth century (for the nineteenth-century engravings see Bürger 1860, 1867); Mantz 1892; the one by Pierre Vidal after a drawing in the Louvre [R. F. 22413] appears in exh. cat. Paris (La Monnaie) 1977, no. 437; another by L. Flameng, B. N., Ef 383 a, fol. T.2, and a third by Mlle. Rachel Rhoden, in *Art 1875* (facing p. 168).

It has been linked, however, to the arabesque painted by Watteau and engraved by Louis Crépy (DV 161; Roux 1946, V, p. 390, no. 14; fig. 14) entitled *"Pierrot debout."* PM 768 was etched by Boucher for the *Fddc* (Jean-Richard 1978, no. 67). Moreover, Roland-Michel (1984) has pointed out that "one recognizes the man with the cock's comb, wearing a simple skullcap" in a print by Filloeul for his rare *Livre de différents caractères de Têtes* . . . (Pognon and Bruand 1962, IX, pp. 185-188, nos. 13-40).

OTHER RELATED WORKS

The painting enjoyed enormous popularity in the nineteenth century. See, in addition to the numerous references in exh. cat. Paris (La Monnaie) 1977 (stamps, matchboxes, caricatures, fans, faïence figures from Strasbourg; fig. 15), the works of Lévy-Dhurmer (*L'atelier de Watteau,* 1890), of Jean Chalon, of Tim Rainer Gross, not to mention the photographs, costume balls (Marc Doelnitz, *la Fête à Saint-Germain,* 1979), and films (Buster Keaton in *Le Mécanicien de la Generale,* 1927; see *Apollo* [September 1980], 196-197).

## 70 French Comedians (*"Comédiens François"*)

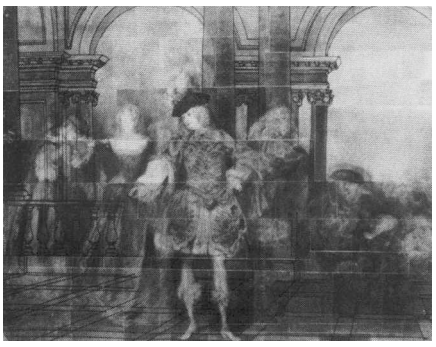
Oil on canvas
57.2 x 73 (22½ x 28¾)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The
P, B Jules Bache Collection, 1949

The title, *French Comedians,* comes from the 1731 engraving, and though this seems to be a painting that is easy to interpret, that is not the case.

The work belonged to Jullienne before entering into the collections of Frederick the Great and then went through the Bache donation, to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1949). ("The Banker Julius Bache has just acquired the Italian [*sic*] Comedians by Watteau [the painting that the Kaiser took with him under his arm when he fled to Holland]," P. Morand, New York 1930, p. 231.) It was cut on the sides after 1731: at that date it measured 59.4 x 75.6 centimeters. Two centimeters are missing today on the right, vertically dividing the body of the cupid, and nearly three centimeters were removed at top and bottom. That last alteration is not without importance; it prevents us from seeing the fleurs-de-lis that decorated the medallion in the upper center of the composition, which until now has not attracted adequate attention.

Since Dohme (1883), there has been agreement in dating the New York painting to the last years of the painter's activity: only the catalogue of the great Paris exhibition of 1937 puts the date forward to c. 1715-1716. Mathey (1959) seems hesitant, too, since he inclines toward 1717-1721, no doubt because of the rare preparatory drawings. The one in the Musée Jacquemart-André, a study for the face of the principal figure in the painting, and the only drawing found up to now that Watteau certainly used, must be appreciably earlier than the painting. In any event the specialists today think that the painter executed his painting on his return from London. He was in Paris on 21 August 1720 and died on 18 July 1721: between these two dates he would have painted the *French Comedians.*

fig. 1





That dating is actually based on an argument that can no longer be maintained. For a long time, the *French Comedians* has been regarded as a pendant to the *Italian Comedians* in Washington (cat. P. 71). But the dimensions of the two works, their provenance, and their style prevents this pairing. Despite the scale of the figures, the monumentality of the composition, and its fine pastel colors nothing prevents its placement before Watteau's departure for London (after 20 September 1719). A historical reason invites the proposal of such a date: in 1718, after a long controversy, the Italian comedians were banned from the fair theaters, representing, in effect, a victory for the French comedians (see Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time").

What indeed could the New York painting represent? One point alone is sure: the *Mercure de France* of December 1731, which announced the publication of the engraving after the painting "by the late Antoine Watteau, Flemish painter [*sic*]," described it as showing "French Actors performing a tragi-Comedy." Because of this one text, for more than a century specialists on Watteau and the French classical theater have devoted themselves to a double investigation (and a bitter battle). The results are as contradictory as they are unconvincing and disappointing. What production is represented, and who are the actors in it? We shall only briefly review the principal opinions that have been put forth before calling attention to certain details to which the specialists, surprisingly, have not devoted more attention.

Five actors are on the stage: two men and three women. Two occupy the front of the scene, two are hiding their faces, a fifth is mounting the step of a palace. The scene is played around the pieces of a torn letter in the foreground on the left.

But are we faced with a tragedy (Goncourt, Fourcaud, Thiébault-Sisson), a comedy (DV, I, p. 64, and especially Boerlin-Brodbeck), "an *allegory* of the French theater" (exh. cat., Paris 1937; Adhémar 1950 (and, with slight differences,



fig. 2



fig. 3

Posner 1984) or yet by a parody (Mirimonde 1961, but also Schéfer in 1896, and Macchia in 1971)? Are these actors playing *Andromaque* (exh. cat., Paris 1935), the *Chinois* of Dancourt and Dufresny (Fourcaud), *Bérénice* (Pilon 1912) or Act IV, scene 3 of *Dépit amoureux* by Molière (DV, Boerlin-Brodbeck)? Do they symbolize the *Lovers*, the *Confidant*, and *Comedy* (exh. cat., New York 1939)? Could the heroine be La Champmeslé (1642-1698) (Goncourt), Mlle. Duclos (Fourcaud, often followed; but see Parker 1931, p. 44, under no. 43), or one of the Loison girls, her companion Beaubourg (according to M. Conet, "librarian of the Comédie-Française" (exh. cat. Paris 1937, but Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, p. 300, n. 317 points out that he had retired from the stage in 1718 at the age of 56; for Parker and Mathey it could be . . . Julienne!). The weeping soubrette could be still according to Adhémar (1950) the other Loison sister. As for the man who is ascending the steps, it is agreed—with scarcely any proof—that it is the actor Paul Poisson (1658-1734) in the role of Crispin.

Certain details of the painting—the fleurs-de-lis, the classical architecture with its portico, composite capitals, and marble flooring (see the x-ray, fig. 1)—suggest much more the actual appearance of Versailles than a stage set. As for the costumes and gestures, they are those of an earlier time. If one compares the *French Comedians* with the *French Spectacle* (fig. 2) (lost; DV 294, CR 24) from at least ten years earlier and a first idea for the New York painting, one notes that the costume of the actor in that painting is much more modern: here an "embroidered *cuissarde*," a "generous wig," a "pannier, with bodice with ocellated peacock's tail," a "rapier," a "silk stock embroidered with a featherstitch" (Goncourt and Josz). All these exceptionally rich costumes evoke another time. These two works moreover have another point in common: the dolphin held here with both arms by a putto and there straddled by him certainly indicates that the cupid he symbolizes plays his role in the play presented to us. That Watteau "derides the pompous costume, the extravagant action and the emphatic declamation" of the *French Comedians* does not preclude an examination of the painting from another point of view.

Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694-1752) was a painter who had his hour of glory and is in part regaining his rightful place today. A collector of works by Watteau who dedicated himself to the representation of theater plays, he was ten years younger than Watteau. In his paintings of the theater he sought "to sum up in the attitude and the face of a figure an entire character and even, if possible, a whole drama" (Schnapper 1968, p. 260). That he was more occupied with painting the theater than with painting is well-known. His father, Antoine Coypel (1661-1722), First Painter to the King, and one of the figures who dominated the artistic scene during Watteau's time, had opened the way to studies of theater subjects, as much by his paintings as by his writings. In his *Discours prononcez dans les conferences de l'Académie* . . . (published in 1721 but written c. 1705, revised after 1712, and read before the Academy between 1712-1714 and 1718-1719), he wrote this sentence, which might have struck Watteau: "The Rules of Declamation are needed for Painting, to reconcile the gesture with the expression on the face. The painter, who unfortunately is unable to give speech to his figures,

fig. 4



fig. 5

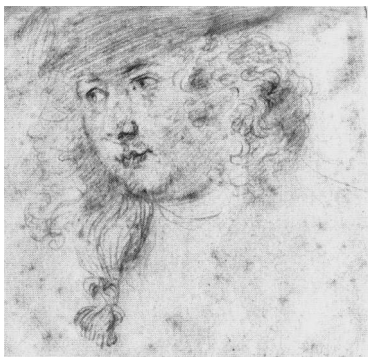
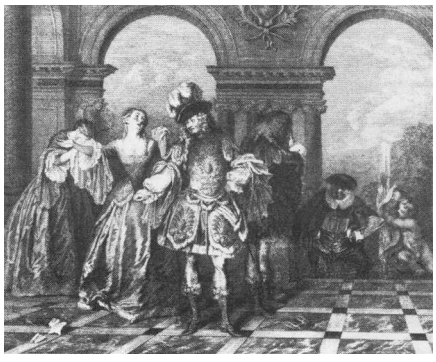


fig. 6



should replace it by the lively expression of the gestures and actions that mutes ordinarily use to make themselves understood."

Abbé Dubois had just published his celebrated *Réflections critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture* (1719), at a time when the analogy between poetry and painting (that is, theater and painting) was accepted by everyone. It should not be excessively surprising that Watteau, although he sought also to parody the *French Comedians,* should seek to paint the theater, to which he had shown such attachment.

PROVENANCE

In 1731, according to the caption on the Liotard engraving, in the "cabinet de M.r de Jullienne." Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) apparently resold the painting before 1756 since it did not appear in the handwritten catalogue of his collection of that year (Pierpont Morgan Library). Probably acquired for Frederick the Great (1712-1786) of Prussia by Frederick Rudolph, Count von Rothenburg (1710-1757) while he was ambassador to France, between 1744 and 1746 (see DV, I, p. 240). Mentioned for the first time in 1773, in Potsdam, as being in a "small gallery." In 1875 (Goncourt), cited as being "au vieux Palais de Berlin (petits appartements Salon rouge)." Awarded to the descendants of the Hohenzollerns after the fall of the Empire in 1919, but it remained in the New Palace in Potsdam until 1928. Duveen in 1928; acquired by Jules Bache in 1928 and given by him to the Metropolitan Museum in 1949.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin (not London) 1883, no. 8; Berlin 1910, no. 88; London 1933, no. 45 (ill. in the vol. of plates; pl. 147, ill., large-size ed.); San Francisco 1934, no. 58, ill.; Copenhagen 1935, no. 261; Paris 1935, no. 949; Paris 1937, no. 230; New York 1939, no. 406, pl. 81; New York 1940, no. 212, ill.; New York 1942, no. 68; Philadelphia 1950-1951, no. 50.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(the composition): H 1845, no. 73; H 1856, no. 74; Goncourt 1859, p. 212; [Cousin] 1865, p. 31; Goncourt 1881, p. 60; Goncourt 1888, I, pp. 273-274; Foerster 1923, p. 61; Aghion 1926, p. 109 (ill. print); Grigaut 1954, p. 156, ill. p. 152 (print); Mirimonde 1962, p. 14; Chevalley 1970, p. 325 (ill., print); Exh. cat. *Comédie Française,* Paris 1980, p. 44, no. 133 (ill., print); Exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982, p. 92, fig. 2 p. 91. (the painting): Oesterreich 1773, no. 544; G 1875, no. 64; Dohme 1876, p. 90, no. 8; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1880, p. 8; Dohme 1883, p. 106; Mollett 1883, p. 66; Ephrussi 1884, p. 102; Dargenty 1891, p. 95 (print); Mantz 1892, p. 186; Phillips 1895, p. 72; Schéfer 1896, p. 186; Seidel 1900, no. 157 (Peter Halm engraved [p. 36] the central group of the composition); Fourcaud 1901 (ill. bet. 252-253); Josz 1903, pp. 201-202, 378; Dacier 1905, pp. 47-48 (ill. print); Fourcaud 1904, pp. 149-150; Alfassa 1910, pp. 168-169, ill. p. 167; Vaudoyer 1910, pp. 13-14, 16 and four ills.; Pilon 1912, pp. 70, 98-99, 113, 150; Thiébault-Sisson 1912, p. 3; Z 1912, p. 189, pls. 101, 102 (detail); Dacier 1921, p. 57, ill. (ed. in vol.); DV, I, p. 264 and III, under no. 205; Hildebrandt 1922, pl. p. 49; R 1928, no. 53; Caylus, *Le Gaulois artistique* (9 January 1929), p. 108, ill.; Parker 1931, p. 46; Mathey 1939, p. 152; *Duveen Pictures* 1941, no. 238, ill.; Brinckmann 1943, pls. 60, 61 (detail); Cat. Bache coll. 1944, no. 54, ill.; AH 1950, no. 212, colorpls. 148, 147 (detail); Sterling 1955 (mus. cat.), pp. 102-105, ill.; PM 1957, under nos. 117, 615, and 753; Gauthier 1959, pl. LVII; M 1959, p. 69; Mirimonde 1961, p. 273; Exh. cat. Berlin 1962, no. 144; Gimpel 1963, p. 351; Brookner 1969, colorpl. 45; CR 1970, no. 206, ill. pl. LIX; Macchia 1971, p. 13; F 1972, B.22 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 124-137; Eidelberg 1975, p. 578, no. 7; Posner 1975, p. 292; Fowles 1976, p. 176; Eisler 1977, pp. 302-303, 305; Baetjer 1980 (mus. cat.), p. 195, ill. p. 499; Bryson 1981, pp. 75-76, 78 pl. 25; RM 1982, no. 245, ill.; P 1984, pp. 10, p. 266, colorpl. 56; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

According to Adhémar (1950, p. 231), "a painting offered to the Louvre in 1858 entitled *Les Célébrités dramatiques de l'époque*" was perhaps a copy of this painting (P5. acq. 1 July 1858). The description of the painting, however, would seem to indicate that it was a copy of *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey have published three drawings as related to the painting (but only one can truly be considered a preparatory study)—PM 615 (British Museum; Hulton 1980, no. 18) (fig. 3), with a study in the lower right corner for the Crispin at lower right in the painting; PM 753 (Private coll., New York) shows too many differences to be a study for the New York painting; PM 117 (Darmstadt ) (fig. 4) seems related to a painting of Watteau's youth, *French Spectacle* (lost; DV 294, CR 24) (fig. 2), rather than to the *French Comedians.* On the other hand, PM 940 (Musée Jacquemart-André) (fig. 5) is a study for the head of the main character in the painting. (A relationship can be shown between the Darmstadt drawing and a study of a crying woman, which was offered at a Christie's sale in London on 30 March 1975, no. 999, ill.)

RELATED PRINTS

The print, in the same direction as the painting, was engraved by "Joannes Micaël Liotard" (1702-1796) (fig. 6) for the *Recueil Jullienne.* It was announced in the *Mercure de France,* December 1731 (II, p. 3091). The title, *Comédiens François,* is given in both French and Latin. The print gives the name of the owner of the painting as Jullienne and specifically states that it was "Gravés d'Après le Tableau original peint par Watteau, haut de 1. pied 10 pouces sur 2. pieds 4. pouces de large" (or 59.4 x 75.6 cm; an error in the dimensions as given in DV was repeated in Camesasca and Ferré). The copperplate appeared in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. For the engraving executed by Peter Halm after a motif in the painting, see Seidel 1900.

## 71 Italian Comedians (*"Comédiens italiens"*)

Oil on canvas
63.8 x 76.2 (25⅛ x 30)
National Gallery of Art, Washington,
Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1946

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries this painting was not always highly regarded. It was described by Waagen as early as 1857: "I do not hesitate to pronounce it one of the most remarkable works of the master I know. It recalls the picture [*Pierrot* (*Gilles*), cat. P. 69] of my friend M. La Caze's fine collection in Paris, only that there the figures are as large as life." It was scarcely mentioned during the nineteenth century, despite its inclusion in two exhibitions in London (1870, 1902). After 1890 and the appearance in France of the Groult version (which was accompanied by much fanfare though it actually came from England; see Related Works), critics almost unanimously agreed that the latter was the Watteau original. Not until Parker (1931)—followed by the catalogue of the great London exhibition of French art in 1932—was the Groult painting rejected as an "inferior replica." Since 1942 and the transferral of the painting into the Kress collection from the Thyssen collection, critics have agreed that the Washington painting is the original. There are two notable exceptions: Eisler (1977), in his catalogue of the non-Italian paintings in the Kress Collection, wavered between calling it an "excellent, very early copy" and a work begun by Watteau and finished by Mercier; Posner (1983, 1984) saw the Washington painting as a copy.

These opinions can easily be understood when one takes into consideration the condition of the work. It was flattened by a clumsy relining, is worn and repainted in places, and some parts are awkwardly made up. Since we last saw it in September 1983, a skillful restoration should have restored those qualities that could earlier only be imagined in certain details of a few faces, the hands, and some costumes. We hope that this restoration and the comparison



fig. 1

of the Washington painting with so many Watteau masterpieces will lead those who doubt the painting's authenticity to revise their view. The Groult version—also now in Washington, where we compared it with the Kress painting—can only be considered an old, mediocre copy.

If the specialists' hesitations about the attribution are understandable, yet there is reason to identify the composition as the work painted for Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754) by Watteau during his stay in London from late 1719 to early 1720. Three old sources (see also Whitley 1928 for a fourth text dating from 1755) greatly strengthen this supposition. In 1724 George Vertue mentioned in the Mead collection "two pictures painted by . . . Wateaux. Conversations, painted in England" (on the second painting, see below; Vertue, 1933-1934 ed.). The *Mercure de France* of March 1733, announcing the engraving by Baron, specified that it was executed "after a Painting by the late Watteau, which is in the Cabinet of M. Mead. He had Watteau do it on the trip he made to London." Finally, Walpole (1798 edition) stated clearly: "He [Watteau] having come hither [to England] only to consult Dr. Meade, for whom he painted two pictures. . . ." Watteau, suffering from tuberculosis, had decided to visit Dr. Mead, the noted English physician who was famous for his collection, hanging in his gallery at Great Ormond Street in London, and his love for all things French. It is not surprising, then, that Watteau should have consulted the doctor and painted two pictures for him. The evidence (not always convincing) advanced by Hérold and Vuaflart to explain the trip by Watteau's desire to earn some money hardly contradicts this analysis.

As we have pointed out, Watteau made two paintings for Mead: the second (or at least the first, since probably it preceded *The Italian Comedians*) is a *Peaceful Love* (lost; DV 269, CR 197) (fig. 1), also engraved by Baron and not to be confused with cat. P. 66, which bears the same title. On the other hand the often suggested hypothesis (Eisler, Roland-Michel) that sees the *French Comedians* (cat. P. 70) as a pendant to the *Italian Comedians* is difficult to defend. The dimensions of the two works, their compositions, and their aims are appreciably different (as are their titles; that the inscription for the Washington painting was translated into Latin as *"Itali historiones"* and the one for the New York *French Comedians* by *"Galli comoedi."*).

But it is over the identification and the interpretation of the subject of the Washington painting that the experts have clashed most bitterly for more than a century.

fig. 2

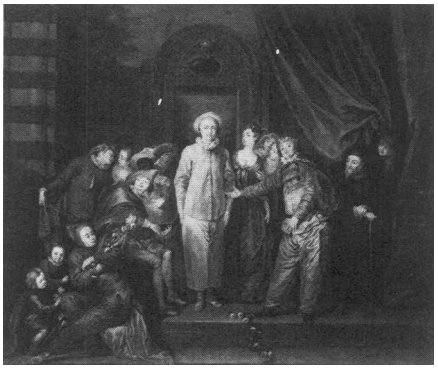


fig. 3

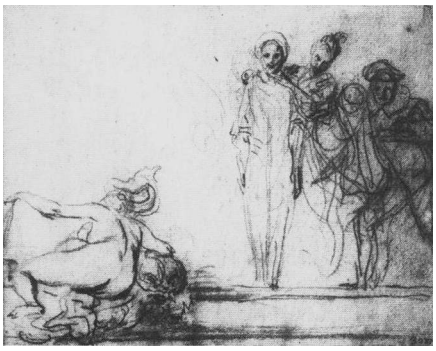


fig. 4



fig. 5

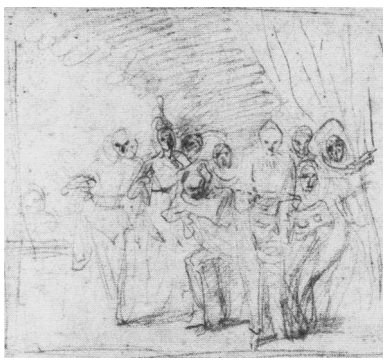


fig. 6



fig. 7





71

Efforts have been made to identify precisely the models of the Italian Comedy and to place a name to each face. The raising of the curtain or, alternatively, the play's end, has been proposed. The central figure of the composition has been identified in turn as the rector of the Royal Academy, Corneille van Clève (Schéfer 1896); with Dr. Mead (Jamot 1921, p. 208) and even with Christ (D. Panofsky 1952). In Panofsky's celebrated and otherwise brilliant article, the undoubtedly fortuitous parallel between Watteau's painting and Rembrandt's *Hundred-Guilder Print, The Small Tomb,* and *The Ecce Homo* is developed. It has been argued (Chan) that the painting is an allegory of the steps of life, with youth on the left and old age on the right. It has been claimed (Mirimonde 1961, 1977) that Watteau could not have wanted to paint the Italian Comedians, the allies of his enemies the French Comedians, but that on the contrary he was celebrating "the last vaudeville" of the Opéra-Comique, banned from Paris in March 1720 (see DV, I, p. 96) and of which "a part of the troupe had come to London, at the very same time Watteau was living there."

These analyses, some of which deserve special attention, do not take into consideration, in our view, two important facts. First, it will be noted that Watteau had made careful studies for his painting. The numerous preparatory drawings are listed in Related Works, but we have perhaps not sufficiently stressed the studies for the composition as a whole (see cats. D. 101, 102). They show the importance Watteau attached to the equilibrium of his composition, its truly quite unusual rhythm, with the groups that respond to each other, the play of the hands, the poses, the gestures, the looks,



fig. 8



fig. 9



fig. 10

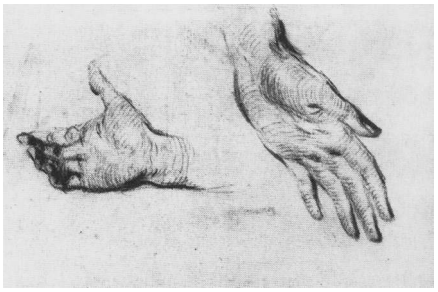


fig. 11

and the dumb shows. More than anything else, Watteau wanted to make a painting that would make its mark, an ambitious work.

But let us return to the text of the *Mercure de France* of 1733, which surprisingly has not been cited more often: "The painting is engraved under the title of the *Italian Comedians;* these are almost all portraits of men skilled in their Art, whom Watteau painted in the different clothing of the Actors of the Italian Theater." Thus, once again Watteau used the numerous studies he had drawn of his friends dressed up in costumes of his choice, to create a painting in his own way.

Although this text prevents a precise and faithful reading of the painting as it related to the contemporary theater (an approach advocated by a theater historian, Xavier de Courville, in 1958), it does shed light on Watteau's actually rather artificial ties with daily reality (just as it would be absurd to see the work merely as a collection of portraits).

Watteau used the theater (just as he had obviously borrowed from the works of his predecessors whom he admired) to evoke, and not to describe, as a means rather than an end. There is the "lost and bewildered doctor who looks without understanding," "the two lovers who abandon themselves to their caresses," the smiling stone mask, the playing children, the fool with his cap and bells seated on the steps of the stage. There is above all the strange, awkward figure of Pierrot who is looking at us and smiling without making the slightest gesture, while everything around him is moving and spinning around. Here it is overly full in contrast to the emptiness in the *Pierrot (Gilles)* (cat. P. 69).

But above all there is an astonishing collection of faces and of expressions, each one different and as fascinating as the other, set off against an architectural background, a glimpse of landscape and a red curtain. By the presence of Pierrot, who seems to be at the same time the hero of the scene and the one least concerned about it, Watteau knows how to hold our attention and intrigue us.

PROVENANCE

According to Vertue, the *Mercure de France,* and Walpole, painted for Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754) during Watteau's stay in England; it belonged to Dr. Mead in c. 1733, the date of Baron's engraving for the *Recueil Jullienne;* Mead sale, London, Langford, 20-22 March 1754, no. 43: "Italian comedians"; it was purchased for £52-10-0, probably by Alderman William Beckford (or possibly by his brother Richard Beckford) through the intermediary of Whood or Wood, who seems to have resold it in 1755, along with Beckford's house, to Sir James Colebrooke (see Raines 1977, p. 62, nos. 52-53); probably Roger Harence or Herenc (sale, London, Langford, 1-3 March 1764, no. 53: "Italian Comedians"; acquired along with its companion piece, *Peaceful Love,* for £8-18-6 by the Duke of Grafton. The drop in the painting's price has been explained as being the result of a 1755 fire that destroyed Fonthill House, William Beckford's residence, and might have damaged the work. Thomas Baring (1799-1873) in London by 1857 (see Waagen 1857). His nephew, Thomas George, the First Count of Northbrook; Asher Wertheimer, London; Agnew, London, 1888; Edward Cecil Guinness, First Earl of Iveagh, County Down, by 1888 (the Earl began trying to sell the painting in 1925; see Gimpel 1963); Walter Edward Guinness, after the death of his father in 1927; Baron Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza (1871-1947), Rohoncz Castle, Rechnitz, Hungary, in 1931 (Parker); Wildenstein, c. 1936; acquired by Samuel H. Kress (1863-1955), in 1942. National Gallery, Washington, since 1946.

fig. 12

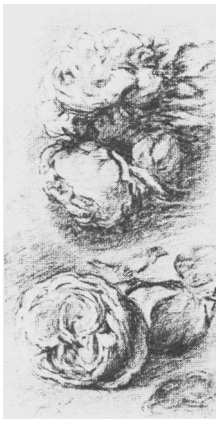


fig. 13



fig. 14



fig. 15



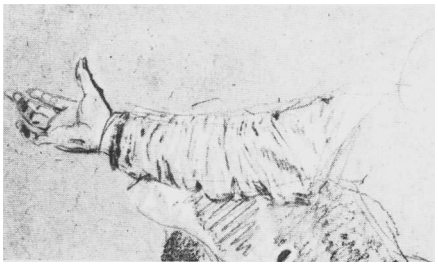


fig. 16



fig. 17



fig. 18

EXHIBITIONS

London 1871, no. 176; London (Guildhall), 1902, no. 40; Munich 1930, no. 348, pl. 122; London 1932, no. 177 (pl. 28 of the *Illustrated Souvenir*); no. 260 of the commem. cat.; Washington 1980, no. 1, ill. p. 20.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(on the composition or the Groult copy): H 1845, no. 74; H 1856, no. 75; Mantz 1859, p. 271; [Cousin] 1865, p. 31; G 1875, no. 68; Dussieux 1876, p. 276; Dargenty 1891, p. 94 (print); Mantz 1892, pp. 119, 177-178 (print p. 121); Mollett 1883, p. 63; Phillips 1895, p. 70; Schéfer 1896, pp. 186-188; Rosenberg 1896, p. 76 (print fig. 67 p. 78); Dilke 1899, p. 87; Fourcaud 1901, p. 165, ill., print bet. pp. 164-165; Josz 1903, pp. 430-431, n. 1; Pilon 1912, p. 143 and n. 2; Gillet 1921, pp. 123 and 242, n. 1; Jamot 1921, p. 268; DV, III, under nos. 204 (see also I, pp. 68, 70, 94-96, 99); Hildebrandt 1922, p. 51 fig. 17 (print); R 1928, no. 70; Whitley 1928, I, pp. 28-29; Réau 1931, p. 158. (on the Washington painting): Walpole 1796, p. 496; Waagen 1857, IV (suppl.), pp. 96-97; Gower 1885, p. 25; Staley 1902, pp. 68, 147; Parker 1931, pp. 21, 35-36, 46; Neveux 1932, p. 106, ill., p. 103; Wildenstein 1932, ill. bet. pp. 74-75; Vertue 1933-1934, p. 23; Cairns and Walker 1944, p. 110, colorpl. p. 111; Frankfurter 1944, p. 78; Frankfurter, *Art News* (1944), pp. 10, 24; Wilenski 1949, p. 106, pl. 46b; AH 1950, no. 211 pl. 146; Panofsky 1952, pp. 334-340, fig. 9 p. 333; Einstein 1956, pp. 219-223, fig. 3 p. 217; PM 1957, under nos. 561, 681-683, 702, 726, 739, 768, 810, 827, 830, 873, 875-877, 883; Courville 1958, pp. 197-198, pl. XX; Cooke 1959, p. 26; Gauthier 1959, pl. LVI; M 1959, p. 69; Mirimonde 1961, pp. 273-279, fig. 27 p. 283; Gimpel 1963, p. 281; Nicolle 1963, pp. 92-93, fig. 63; *Christie's Bicentenary Review* 1965-1966, pp. 251, 272 (ill.); Brookner 1969, colorpl. 46; CR 1970, under no. 203, ill.; F 1972, B.21 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 160-161; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 30-34, fig. 16; Eisler 1977, pp. 300-306, ill.; Mirimonde 1977, p. 109; Raines 1977, p. 57 no. 53, pp. 62, 64; Chan 1978-1979, pp. 107-112, colorpl. 1; Sutton 1981, pp. 238-329, fig. 6 p. 330; Bryson 1981, pp. 77-79, figs. 28, 77; Tomlinson 1981, p. 12 n. 18, fig. 36; RM 1982, no. 244, ill.; Exh. cat., Washington 1982, no. 24, ill.; Morgan-Grasselli 1982; Posner 1983, pp. 97-98, fig. 2; P 1984, pp. 120, 263-267, 269, 291, ns. 62, 64, figs. 192, 194, 195 (detail); RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

The copy, formerly in the Groult Collection in Paris and now in the National Gallery, Washington (64 x 75.8 cm) (fig. 2), was for a long time thought to be the original. When it arrived in France shortly before 1890, it was hailed as "une conquête faite sur l'Angleterre" (Mantz 1892). It passed for the original even in the eyes of such informed connoisseurs as Phillips, Fourcaud, Lady Dilke, Gillet, Jamot, Dacier and Vuaflart, and Réau. However, it is an unimaginative copy with smaller figures and more space at the top and the sides. One of the figures in both the print and the original is missing. The colors of some of the protagonists' costumes (for example, the fool) are different from the colors in the Kress painting.

Another old copy from the Mainwaring Collection, Ottley, Shropshire, was recently on the New York art market.

A "recent copy" was listed by Hédouin in 1856 as belonging to "M. Ries, employé au ministère du commerce à Paris."

Another copy (?) appeared at the 1889 Watteau exhibition, Lille (no. 111; Wattel-Bajoud Collection); another sold 20 November 1941, no. 36 (canvas, 62 x 74 cm); another sold 22 March 1948, no. 21 ("genre de Watteau," canvas, 48 x 58 cm); last, a copy sold Versailles, 27 July 1961, no. 46 ("Atelier de . . . Watteau"; canvas, 127 x 91 cm).

A pastiche, showing only the major characters of the composition in an outdoor setting, was sold in New York, Parke Bernet, 9 June 1939, no. 124, ill., and then went to Knoedler, London.

There is also an interesting tapestry in the Lehmann Collection (sale, Paris, 4-5 June 1925, no. 134, ill.; on the subject of the tapestry, see DV, III and Eisler 1977). For *Peaceful Love*, with which the *Italian Comedians* was paired in the collection of Dr. Mead and in the sale of 1764, see the entry.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Parker and Mathey listed sixteen preparatory drawings for this painting; six are included in the exhibition. We know of four compositional studies—two are shown here (cats. D. 101, 102) (figs. 3, 4); one in the British Museum (PM 876) (fig. 5) and one in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris (verso of PM 245) (fig. 6). The preparatory studies for the different figures in the painting (from left to right) are listed below—PM 702 (Rotterdam, cat. D. 122) (fig. 7), for the children in the foreground; PM 681 (Minneapolis, cat. D. 121) (fig. 8), for the man standing on the far left of the composition; PM 810 (Alençon) (fig. 9) and PM 830 (British Museum), for the guitar player; PM 561 (Ecole des Beaux-Arts) (fig. 10) for Harlequin; PM 827 (British Museum, cat. D. 120) (fig. 11), studies for the hands of two of the characters in the painting; PM 883 (Private coll., London) (fig. 12), for the roses in the foreground; PM 739 (British Museum) (fig. 13), for the head of the woman standing next to Pierrot; PM 768 (Private coll., England) (fig. 14), for the woman standing next to her; PM 877 (Private coll., England) (fig. 15), counterproof of a drawing for the character who is presenting Pierrot; PM 830 (British Museum) (fig. 16), for the arm of the mezzetin; PM 683 (formerly Groult coll.) (fig. 17), counterproof of a study for the bearded man leaning on his cane; PM 682 (British Museum, cat. D. 120) (fig. 18), drawn on the verso of PM 827, for the young man raising the curtain.

In addition, Caylus made an etching after a drawing, now lost, representing "Mezzetin la main gauche sur son coeur, la main droite étendue dans un geste déclamatoire" (*Fddc* 541).

(For the drawings in the British Museum, see Hulton 1980; for the ones at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, see exh. cat. Brugerolles 1981; for those in Minneapolis, see Rosenberg 1972-1973; and for the drawing in Alençon, see the exh. cat. of the museum's drawings, 1981, no. 55).

RELATED PRINTS

The print, engraved in reverse in England by Bernard Baron (1696-1762; Roux 1933, II, pp. 60-61, no. 33) (fig. 1) for the *Recueil Jullienne*, was announced in the *Mercure de France* in March 1733, p. 554 (for the text of the announcement, see the entry). The print gives the name of the owner as "Dr. Mead, Medecin du Roy de la grande Bretagne à Londre [*sic*]" and the dimensions of the painting as "2. pieds 1. pouce by 2. pieds 6. pouces de large" (67.5 x 81.1 cm). This would mean that the Washington canvas was slightly cut on the sides, which the print does not seem to indicate; rather, we think Baron may have been in error. The copperplate for the engraving appeared in the Chereau inventory of 1755 and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.

fig. 19





## 72 Iris (The Dance) ("*Iris, c'est de bonne heure . . .*" or *La Danse*)

Oil on canvas
97 x 116 (38¼ x 45¾) (for the original size of the painting, see the entry)
Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

The work was acquired in 1766 by Frederick the Great or by his younger brother Henry in Amsterdam, at the sale of the famous collection of Gerrit Braamcamp, through the no less celebrated merchant, P. Fouquet, the author of the atlas that bears his name. The painting has come down to us in a state that leaves much to be desired (it has been so greatly altered that Levey [1972] considered it an old copy): in 1900 Seidel noted that the painting had been "increased in width by 5 centimeters on both sides." One can clearly see with the naked eye that for a time it was framed as an oval. We reproduce here a most interesting document hitherto unpublished: an x-ray sent to us by our colleagues in Berlin showing that only the central part of the painting is by Watteau (fig. 1). An irregular circle in form, the original composition included the four figures of the scene and the landscape up to the village church, but did not include the left part of the composition, in particular the tree on whose trunk the little girl is leaning. Does the x-ray give us the original form of the paint-

ing? The Cochin print, probably prior to 1726, faithfully corresponds to the composition of the Berlin painting. Two hypotheses should be considered, though we refuse to choose sides: the painting was originally round but the eighteenth-century engraving gave it the appearance it has today; or, on the contrary, *The Dance* was originally rectangular, like the print. Transformed early into a round painting, it was later restored to its original form. The first hypothesis is perhaps more accurate since an oval version of the Cochin print exists. In any case one point is certain about the work as we know it today: only its central part is from Watteau's hand.

The x-ray also shows us that Watteau changed the composition in the course of working on it. At first the little girl held her left arm under her white, lace-bordered apron. Curiously, during the first exhibition of the painting in Berlin in 1883 some "artists" of that city had reproached the painter because of the left arm, which was too short, in their eyes (Dohme).

The time has come to wonder about the painting itself. For the experts its date varies between 1719 and 1720. That it was painted during Watteau's stay in England, between September 1719 and August 1720, is confirmed by two facts. Roland-Michel has noted the connection between the work and a drawing on which Watteau had copied details of a painting by the Le Nain brothers, which the artist could only have seen in England. But above all, Thornton (1965) has discovered that the little girl wears a dress of English silk, a pattern of printed cloth dating from 1718.

Though the name of the author of the quatrain that accompanied the Cochin print and gave the painting its title, "*Iris, c'est de bonne heure . . .*," is unknown, the interpretation of the subject is easy. A coquettish little girl is getting ready to dance before her three young companions. One of them plays a small recorder with six holes. She looks at us and smiles at us (in the print she looks away and her face is much less pleasing). The shield with a heart and the arrow (which is difficult to see on the x-ray) confirm that the girl will not be long in making use of her charms.

True, the subject is gallant and rustic, but in painting his model on a monumental scale to which he has not accustomed us, Watteau mainly wished to make a portrait (though efforts to identify the model have, until now, been in vain). Despite its subject—the sensual awakening of a very young girl—and despite the quatrain attached to it regarding Iris, goddess of the rainbow and messenger of the gods, the work is by no means equivocal, ambivalent, or ambiguous. Watteau took pleasure in painting, with a dash of humor, the early charms of a young girl as she turns away from her three companions who are still part of the world of childhood.

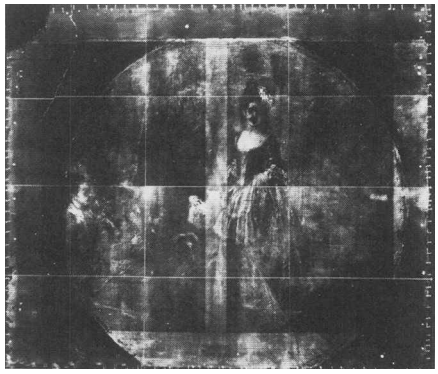


fig. 1

fig. 2



fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5





fig. 6



fig. 7

PROVENANCE

Cochin's engraving does not name the owner of the painting. Gerrit Braamcamp (1699-1771) (sale, Amsterdam, 4 June 1766, no. 55); it was acquired for forty-three florins by P. Fouquet, most likely for the collection of Frederick the Great (1712-1786; see Bille 1961), or, possibly, for the collection of Henry of Prussia (1726-1802), Frederick's younger brother (it was listed in the inventory of his estate in 1810, Potsdam; written communication from H. Börsch-Supan). In 1875, it was in "le Vieux château de Berlin, chambre de parade, Salon Vert" (Goncourt), and later it was moved to the New Palace, Potsdam (see Appendix D). In 1926 it was returned to the old imperial family, the Hohenzollerns who offered it at a sale. In 1927, at the Chateau d'Oels in Silesia. Hugo Moser, Berlin (1928), Switzerland, and then New York offered it at a sale. Acquired in 1942 for the museum Hitler planned to build in Linz (Austria). After 1945, Treuhand Verwaltung für Kulturgut, Munich; in 1952, deposited by the Federal Republic of Germany in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1883, no. 5; Paris 1900, no. 31 (ill. of two details pp. 18, 20); Berlin 1910, no. 75 (ill. p. 75; no. 148, ill. of the large ed.); London 1932, no. 167 (no. 256, pl. 51 of the commem. cat., and a postcard was issued for the exhibition); Berlin 1962, no. 98; Paris 1963, no. 38, ill.; Düsseldorf 1967, no. 221, colorpl. 47; London 1968-1969, no. 725, fig. 55; Brunswick and Aix-la-Chapelle 1983-1984, no. 36, ill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Bastide 1766, p. 54; G 1875, no. 175; Dohme 1876, p. 90, no. 6; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1880, p. 17, ill. (print); Dohme 1883, p. 106; Mollett 1883, p. 72; Ephrussi 1884, p. 102; Mantz 1892, p. 186; Phillips 1895, p. 56 and n.; Rosenberg 1896, p. 73 fig. 63; Lafenestre 1900, p. 554; Seidel 1900, no. 156 (with two details drawn and engraved by Peter Halm, pp. 6 and 53); Fourcaud 1900, p. 271, 272, ill. (print); Staley 1902, p. 136; Josz 1903, p. 378; Alfassa 1910, p. 169; Meier-Graefe 1910, pp. 263-264, ill.; Vaudoyer 1910, p. 17, ill. p. 3; Pilon 1912, pp. 102, 104, 113-114, 150, 201; Z 1912, p. 189, pl. 93 (details pls. 94, 95); Maurel 1919, pl. p. 26; DV, I, pp. 37, 261, II, pp. 22, 31; III, under no. 76 and p. 136; Foerster 1923, p. 61; Dacier 1923, p. 92; R 1928, no. 110; Houtart 1929, p. 6; Parker 1931, p. 48, pl. 15; Borenius 1932, p. 91; Wilenski 1949, pp. 106-107, pl. 46a; Adhémar 1950, pp. 29-30, ill. p. 29; AH 1950, no. 208 pls. 140, 141 (see also p. 50); PM 1957 under nos. 705, 710, 712 (see corrections, p. 405); Bille 1961, I, pp. 73, 127, 222, II, pp. 78, 85; Mirimonde 1963, p. 51; Nemilova 1964, *T.G.E.*, p. 92; Thornton 1965, pp. 107, 168 (pl. 52B, detail); CR 1970, no. 200, ill.; F 1972, B.39 (as "attributed to Watteau"); Levey 1972, pp. 20, 360 n. 34; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 168, 207, 330-331; Smith 1973, pp. 402-403; Ingamells and Raines 1976-1978, under no. 253; Mirimonde 1977, pp. 118, 220; Raines 1977, p. 53; Mus. cat. Berlin 1978 (Eng. ed.), p. 477, ill.; RM 1982, no. 246 ill., colorpl.; P 1984, pp. 167, 201, 245, 247, figs. pp. 226, 246; RM 1984 (in press).

RELATED PAINTINGS

A simplified copy, executed after the engraving and attributed to Philippe Mercier, was in a sale (Paris, Palais Galliéra, 13 June 1969, no. 149, ill.; [fig. 2]) see also the painting by Mercier in the Pembroke Collection (Raines 1977, p. 53, fig. 2) in which the group of three children is repeated.

RELATED DRAWINGS

Studies are known for the heads of the three children—PM 712 (Fogg Art Museum; cat. D. 21) (fig. 3), for the child holding the shepherd's crook; PM 705 (Private coll., Lausanne) (fig. 4) for the girl seated below him; PM 710 (Cognacq-Jay; cat. D. 108) (fig. 5), for the child playing the flute (the flute was erased relatively recently). See also PM 343, after Le Nain (cat. D. 134) (fig. 6).

RELATED PRINTS

The print, executed in reverse for the *Recueil Jullienne*, was long thought to be anonymous. Dacier and Vuaflart can be credited with the discovery of the identity of the engraver. Using the observations of Mariette, who called the work "une jeune fille dansant au son du flageolet" (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [14]) as their point of departure, they were able to show that the engraver was Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Elder (1688-1754; Roux 1940, IV, p. 604, no. 32) (fig. 7). They also discovered ("additions au catalogue," I, p. 261) a first state with the name of the engraver on it. There is no question that the engraving was executed before 1729, because the copperplate is listed in the inventory made after the death of François Chereau on 12 September of that year; it may even have been executed before July 1726, the date of Pierre Sirois' death.

A rather mediocre quatrain by an anonymous author accompanies the print:

> Iris c'est de bonne heure avoir l'air à la danse,
> Vous exprimez déjà les tendres mouvemens,
> Qui nous font tous les jours conoitre à la Cadance,
> Le goust que vôtre Sexe a pour les instrumens.

The copperplate is listed in the Chereau inventory for 1755 and the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778. There also exists, as Mariette noted (*Notes mss.*, IX, fol. 191 [11]), a horizontal, oval version of the engraving (an octagonal version was repr. in DV, II, p. 148). The rectangular version inspired a panel in "azulejos," in the entrance hall to the Ministery of Justice in Lisbon, 17 Calcada do Combo (for the reproduction, see Smith 1973).

## 73 The Shopsign, or Gersaint's Shopsign (*"L'Enseigne,"* called *"l'Enseigne de Gersaint"*)

Oil on canvas
166 x 306 (65¼ x 120) (an 11 cm strip has been added to the upper part of the painting; the top was originally arched and the format was different; the right half measures 151 cm; the left half, 155 cm).
Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Berlin

Thanks to the *Mercure de France* of 1732, and to Gersaint himself (1744), we are particularly well-informed on the circumstances under which *The Shopsign* was painted:

> On his return to Paris, which was in 1721, during the first years of my establishment, he [Watteau] came to me to ask if I would agree to receive him and allow him *to stretch his fingers,* those were his words, if I were willing, as I was saying, to allow him to paint a ceiling which I was to exhibit outdoors; I had some reluctance to grant his wish, much preferring to occupy him with





73



something more substantial; but seeing that that would please him, I agreed. The success he had with this piece is well-known; the whole was made from life; the positions were so true and so relaxed; the disposition so natural, the group so well understood that it attracted the looks of the passerby; and even the most skillful painters came several times to admire it; it was a work of eight days, and still he only worked mornings, his delicate health or more accurately, his weakness, did not permit him to work longer. It is the only work that slightly sharpened his conceit; he made no bones about admitting it to me. (Gersaint [1744] in Champion 1921, pp. 183-184.)

Also thanks to the *Mercure,* we know that Gersaint, the dealer of paintings and prints, had been established since 1718 "on the Pont Notre-Dame" and that the "*Shopsign* was exhibited for only fifteen days. All Paris admired it. It was sold to M. Glucq. It is now seen in the cabinet of M. Jullienne." According to Gersaint, Jullienne still owned it in 1744. Shortly after that date it entered the collections of Frederick the Great, at a price and under circumstances that are still unknown—just as it is not known why Edme Gersaint, Claude Glucq, and his first cousin, Jean de Jullienne, the close friend of Watteau, gave it up.

Today the *Shopsign* exists in the form of a painting cut vertically in two (in the nineteenth century the two parts were separately framed). But what could have been its original format? Alfassa (1910) of the Louvre laboratory and Adhémar (1964) have provided the material for a response to this question. The shops of the Pont Notre-Dame—Gersaint's bore the number "35"—measured 3.56 meters in width between the pillars. That is the original format of the Berlin painting (3.55 m; see the reconstruction suggested by Adhémar), which today measures no more than 3.06 m in width. Two bands were cut off the sides and partially reused in the upper part of the work, enlarged by eleven centimeters. Further, the painting was originally arched in form, as can be seen with the naked eye and verified on Hubert Robert's painting in the Louvre showing *The Demolition of the House on the Notre Dame in 1786* (fig. 1).The painting was exhibited under the canopy of the shop, above the front of it and in a strongly inclined position.

When was it cut and by whom? That is not known, but the laboratory examinations would tend to prove that these changes took place very soon after the work was completed. In any event it would seem clear that Watteau painted his work on two separate canvases, with the handle of the glass door marking the division of the composition. The x-rays of the Louvre still show the thrusts of the Austrian saber on the right, which the painting suffered in 1760 when it was already in Charlottenburg.

It is surprising that on the eve of his death Watteau should have painted the *Shopsign:* in doing so, did he not devote himself to a banal genre and in a way show disrespect toward the Academy (at whose sessions Watteau was not a very faithful attendant)? The truth is more subtle. On his return from England, and probably at the end of 1720 (the *Almanach Royal* of 1721, p. 252, stated that he was living at that time with Gersaint); Watteau decided "to stretch his fingers," to paint a sign for his friend. He executed his painting in eight mornings. Although only one real preparatory drawing is known for the work (cat. D. 126; but see Eidelberg 1977), there is evidence that he had thought about it for a long time, since the Louvre drawings show us a draper's shop and a barbershop (cats. D. 1, 7) (figs. 2, 3), which are very probably studies for the sign. The *Alliance of Music and Comedy* (DV 30, CR 123), Pomona (DV 20, CR 126) and probably the *Pierrot* (*Gilles*) (cat. P. 69) of the Louvre belong to the sign genre. The

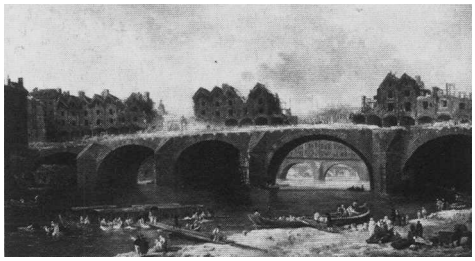


fig. 1

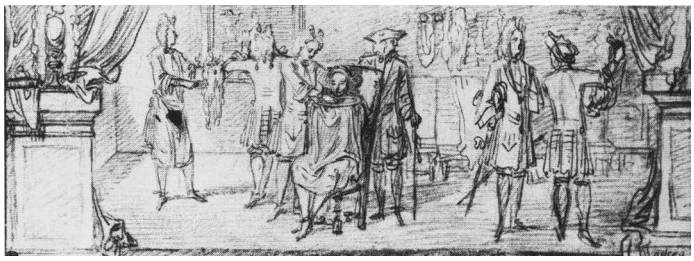


fig. 2

fig. 3







fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6

one he painted for Gersaint was the product of long reflection.

A few words by Caylus confirm this interpretation. That erudite antiquarian believed that Watteau's paintings "have no object. They do not express the concourse of any passion and are in consequence lacking in one of the most piquant part of painting, I mean action" (Champion 1921, p. 102). A few rare paintings are exceptions according to Caylus, including the "*Shopsign* made for le sieur Gersaint."

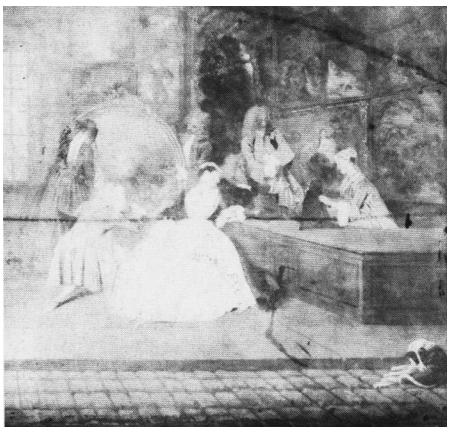
What then is the "object," the subject of the painting, what is its "action," its meaning, in what way is it "impassioned" (in the sense of the theory of the "passions")?

Perhaps Caylus picked a bad example? The *Shopsign* shows the interior of a richly appointed shop seen from the street. On the left a packer in shirtsleeves is putting a portrait into a case and an employee is unhooking a mirror. A porter contemplates the scene, but Adhémar (1964) doubts that he is by Watteau and does not rule out the possibility that the porter might be an addition by the hand of Pater, covering a straw cart that was there originally. A man offers his hand to a young woman in a flowing dress who enters the store. On the right, a couple, seen from behind, contemplates an oval painting that a salesman shows them. Three young men are looking at a mirror with a stand that a salesgirl holds out to them. The room is covered with paintings and mirrors. A dog on the right, the one from Rubens' *Crowning of Marie de' Medici* (Louvre) and *Charms of Life* (Wallace Collection) (fig. 4) is looking for his fleas.

One should be careful not to "overinterpret" the painting (see Banks 1977, and Le Coat who evokes Couperin), but one cannot fail to be impressed by the ambition of Watteau's undertaking.

A young woman looks at the portrait of Louis XIV which is about to be packed up. More than to the end of the reign of the Sun King, this scene alludes to the name chosen by Gersaint for his shop, Au Grand Monarque. An elderly couple examines a mythological painting: the woman, dressed as a widow and wearing a bonnet, inspects the landscape with her eyeglass while her companion leans toward the female nudes. Finally, in the third scene, young men gaze into a mirror, more interested in themselves than in the works of art surrounding them.

The portrait of Louis XIV (fig. 5) is directly inspired by the one of Rigaud, but the oval mythological canvas is a symbol. The paintings that decorate the shop—the mythological nudes, the religious works, a still life, a landscape—recall Van Dyck or Veronese, Snyders or Bassano, without actually being copies. Aside from the Rigaud, the only work that has been identified is the large *Mercury and Argus* by Jordaens in the right corner of the composition (Levey 1964) (fig. 6):











unfortunately this copy is found in a part of the *Shopsign* that was not painted by Watteau. In passing it will be noted that those pastiches from Watteau's hand are often incised in the paint with the handle of the brush while those seen in the parts added to the original painting are more thickly applied.

Efforts to connect names to the faces of the figures in the scene (the Julliennes and their cousin Glucq standing on the right; La Roque, one knee on the ground; Watteau in the center, the Gersaints presenting the mirror and the painting) have failed. This is not very surprising, since Watteau did not paint the one person that one would have expected to see in the painting, Gersaint. Gersaint would not fail to mention it: when he wrote that Watteau had painted the *Shopsign* "from life," Gersaint meant that he had not made a copyist's sterile work, but that he had completely invented the composition.

One could dwell further on the construction of the composition—at the same time both closed and open—and on the use of the light from the street, which gives a glaucous gray-green tone to the cobblestones, and on the light from the rear of the shop that illuminates the room so subtly and so skillfully. Instead, we shall return to the paintings decorating the walls of the Grand Monarque. Aragon (1947) saw in it the "systematic criticism of painting and painters who had preceded" Watteau. "The very subject of the *The Shopsign* . . . is *modern painting*. . . ." Tolnay wrote, "These are works by masters he admired. It is therefore less an image of the shop of his friend than an 'imaginary gallery' of the works of his artistic ancestors, the Venetians of the sixteenth century and the Flemish of the seventeenth century."

Watteau's *Shopsign*—inclined toward the past, turned toward the future, an "artistic testament" painted a few months before his death—occupies an exceptional place in the painter's oeuvre, like *Las Meniñas, L'Atelier,* Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* or *Le Passage du Commerce Saint-André*. Masterly trompe l'oeil, an unsilvered mirror, the *Shopsign* is more than a painting within a painting; it is what is unique to painting: illusion and reality.

PROVENANCE

Painted for the shop on the Pont Notre-Dame owned by Edme-François Gersaint (1694-1750), a dealer in paintings and bric-a-brac, almost certainly during the last months of 1720. According to the *Mercure de France* of 1732, it was exhibited for only two weeks; then sold by Gersaint to Claude Glucq (c. 1674-1742), parliamentary counsellor, who then sold it to his cousin Jean de Jullienne (1686-1766) who owned the sign in 1732, when it was engraved by P. Aveline, and still in 1744 (Gersaint, p. 184). By 1756, it was definitely no longer in Jullienne's possession. Probably acquired by Frederick the Great of Prussia in c. 1744, through the intermediary of Frederick Rudolph, Count von Rothenburg (1710-1751); Alvin-Beaumont (1910, p. 17) published a note from Seidel (see also Seidel 1910), according to whom the "two pendants" priced at 8000 livres, which had seemed "exorbitant" to Rothenburg (27 April 1744) and to Frederick the Great (May 7), that were finally purchased were the two halves of *The Shopsign*.

During the occupation of Berlin by the Austrians in 1760, the painting, then at Charlottenburg, was miraculously spared, according to the Marquis d'Argens (1704-1771). The guard's report notes, however, "qu'il fut donné des coups de sabre dans un des grands tableaux de Watteau" (Seidel 1900): the sabre strokes are still visible in x-rays (fig. 7). Thanks to the guard who refers to "grands tableaux" and to d'Argens (1798, I, p. 213) ("les deux enseignes de Watteau"), we know that at that date *The Shopsign* was definitely divided into two pieces.

By 1874 (letter from Dohme to Goncourt, B.N. ms. fr. nouv. acq., 22461), the painting was "dans la chambre d'Elisabeth, Salon rouge," at the Old Palace in Berlin. In 1900, it was still at the same Palace in the Salon of the Empress.

EXHIBITIONS

Berlin 1883, nos. 2a and b; Berlin 1910, nos. 67 (right half), 89 (left half) (pls. 150, 151 of large-scale cat.); Berlin 1930, no. 189 (reunited as one painting) (ill. of right half); Paris 1937, no. 237 (pl. XLIII of official album, pls. 56-57 of the album *Arts et Métiers Graphiques*); Wiesbaden 1947, no. 113 pls. 5, 6; Wiesbaden 1951, no. 55, pls. 6, 7; Paris 1951, no. 59, pls. 60-61; Berlin 1951-1952, no. 136; Munich 1958, no. 222, pl. 61; Paris 1962, no. 99, pl. 8; Paris 1963, no. 39, colorpl.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gersaint 1744, pp. 183-184 (in Champion 1921, pp. 62-63); Nicolaï 1769, p. 481 (1786, III, p. 1014); Oesterreich 1773, nos. 561-562; Rumpf 1794, p. 262; Hécart 1826, p. 11; H 1845, no. 124; H 1856, no. 126; Mantz 1859, p. 272; G 1875, no. 95 (notes the existence of the Berlin painting); Dohme 1876, pp. 89-90, nos. 2, 3; Dussieux 1876, p. 222; Dohme 1880, p. 22; Dohme 1883, pp. 107, 108; Michel 1883, pp. 908, 915; Mollett 1883, pp. 51-52; Ephrussi 1884, pp. 102-103; Fournier 1884, pp. 196, 406-407 (ill. print by Trichon); Eudel 1886, p. 103; Mantz 1892, pp. 127, 145, 185; Phillips 1895, pp. 48, 80-82; Rosenberg 1896, pls. 77-80; Dilke 1899, p. 95, ill. bet. pp. 94-95; Laban 1900, pp. 54-59, ill.; Seidel 1900, p. 25, 148-151, nos. 158 and 159; Fourcaud 1901, pp. 167-171 with ill. (detail) and bet. pp. 168-169 and repr. of the print bet. pp. 170-171; Staley 1902, p. 135; Josz 1903, pp. 378, 439, 442; Alfassa 1910, pp. 126-172 (pp. 1-47 of the separate volume; p. 2 has an essential bibliography of the "polemic"); Alvin-Beaumont 1910, monograph; Seidel 1910, pp. 174-186, ill.; Pilon 1912, very often quoted, pl. bet. pp. 136-137; Z 1912, no. 190, pls. 108-113; Maurel 1913, monograph; Alfassa 1913, pp. 349-381, ill.; Alfassa 1914, pp. 61-64; Maurel 1914, pp. 54-60; Lebel 1921, pp. 55-61; DV, I, pp. 108-112, III, under no. 115; Hildebrandt 1922, pp. 65-66; R 1928, no. 182; Parker 1931, pp. 15-16, 49, pl. 16 (print); Réau 1931, pp. 58-61, ill. (*G.B.A.*) and pp. 59-62 (*BSHAF*); Fischel 1932, pp. 341-353 (with 11 detail ills.); de Vallée (Adhémar) 1939, p. 69, ill. detail; Brinckmann 1943, pls. 75-80; Kunstler 1943; Aragon 1946 (with group of articles claiming the painting for France; long mention of Maurel 1913); AH 1950, no. 215, pls. 151-155; Tolnay 1955, p. 102; Van Heule 1955, pp. 601-622, ill.; PM 1957, under nos. 140, 180, 366, 688, 787; Rave 1957, monograph; Boucher 1958, pp. 123-126; Gauthier 1959, pls. LVIII-LXI; M 1959, pp. 32, 59, 69; Adhémar 1964, pp. 6-16; Levey 1964, p. 462, fig. 29 (detail); Levey 1966, pp. 78-83; Brookner 1969, pl. 44; CR 1970, no. 212, pls. LX-LXIII; F 1972, A.39 (as "authentic"); Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, esp. pp. 200-202; Banks 1977, pp. 231-291, pls. 182, 187-189; Eidelberg 1977, pp. 232-253, fig. 199; Chastel 1978, II, fig. 90; Le Coat 1978, pp. 169-172; Meyer 1979, pp. 270-274; Posner 1979, pp. 29-33, ill.; RM 1982, no. 248 and colorpl.; Georgel 1983, p. 172, fig. 312; P 1984, pp. 123-124, 148, 201, 244, 266, 271-277, colorpls. 58, 59-60 (details), figs. 198, 201 (detail); RM 1984 (in press).

fig. 8



fig. 9

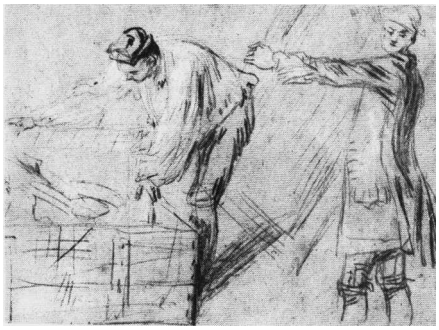






fig. 10



fig. 11



fig. 12

RELATED PAINTINGS

In the years preceding World War I, a lively artistic and political debate, widely reported by the press, divided Watteau scholars into two camps with regard to the two pieces in Berlin, which were extremely difficult to see as they hung in the private apartments of the Emperor: Were they originals by Watteau or was the large fragment (98 x 130 cm) of the left half of the composition, then in the collection of Leon Michel-Lévy (1846-1925) by another hand (fig. 8)? This fragment had passed through the collections of the Abbé Guillaume (sale, 18 May 1769, no. 209: "Un Tableau sur toile . . . qui formait un des côtés du Tableau de Gersaint représentant un Peintre qui fait encaisser des Tableaux" 36 x 48 cm); of the scuptor and pastellist Auguste (1789-1850), who copied the painting (sale 28 May-1 June 1850, no. 62: "la moitié de l'Enseigne tableau en plafond fait pour son ami Gersain . . . ;" and of Baron de Schwiter (sale, 3 May 1886, no. 46); it was also exhibited at the Petit Palais in 1900 (no. 4574). Favoring the Michel-Lévy painting were Alexandre, Vauxcelles, Balbin, Dayot, Mourey (see references in Alfassa 1910, p. 2), Josz, and of course, Maurel (1913), and, curiously, Meier-Graefe (1910). The painting was sold with the collection on 17-18 June 1925, at the Galerie Georges-Petit, no. 159, ill., for Fr 470,000. We do not know the present whereabouts of this work, which is now generally agreed not to be by Watteau. The painting from the Françillon sale (12 May 1829, no. 157 perhaps constituted a comparable fragment of the right half of the composition: "Le Cabinet d'un marchand de tableaux. Dans une salle ornée de peintures, une jeune femme assise à son comptoir, présente à une dame un petit tableau que celle-ci regarde avec beaucoup d'attention. Un autre tableau posé à terre occupe particulièrement les regards de plusiers amateurs dont l'un s'est agenouillé pour le mieux voir. Nous avons entendu dire que cet ouvrage fut fait pour Gersaint et servait d'enseigne à son magasin"). Another version, in the direction of the engraving and measuring 78 x 108 cm (possibly cited in Adhémar as in Antwerp), was in a private collection in Liège in 1955 (see L. Van Heule). It can in no way be attributed to Watteau (colorpl. in F 1972, p. 231).

Finally, the copy in the Edgar Stern collection, almost certainly by Pater (canvas; 50.8 x 83.2 cm; Ingersoll-Smouse 1921, no. 598, fig. 169) which, according to Alfassa (1910), was used by P. Aveline for his engraving, rather than the large painting, is now in a Swiss private collection and included in exh. cat. Paris 1977 (La Monnaie) (no. 209, colorpl.).

RELATED DRAWINGS

Watteau used few preliminary drawings in the execution of this large painting (or at least few have been found)—PM 688 (Paris, Cognacq-Jay Museum; cat. D. 126) (fig. 9), principal drawing for the man leaning over a crate in which he is placing a painting and for the man carrying a mirror; PM 55 (location unknown) (fig. 10), early drawing, perhaps used for the man seen at the center of the composition; PM 180 (location unknown) (fig. 11), for the woman seen from behind, who is examining the oval painting resting on the floor (early drawing?); Parker and Mathey related the women's heads from the celebrated drawing in Stockholm (cat. D. 125) (fig. 12) to those in the Berlin painting, and the head of the character on the left in the no less celebrated drawing in the Louvre (PM 933) to that of the man leaning on his elbows on the right in *The Shopsign*. In addition, the left side of PM 366 (formerly Seilern coll., now in the Courtauld Institute, London), often considered to be a copy of a *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* (fig. 13) by Veronese, seems to be a study for the religious painting that can be seen in the first row of paintings on the right in the Berlin canvas (Mathey 1959, figs. 56, 57). Finally, mention must be made of the two drawings in the Louvre (cats. D. 1, 7) (figs. 2, 3); they can be seen as first sketches for the Berlin composition (Lebel 1921 and especially Eidelberg 1977).

Auguste, who owned the L. Michel-Lévy copy, himself made a copy of *The Shopsign* in pastel, but using the Aveline engraving as his model (27 x 58.4 cm; exh. cat. Paris 1977 [La Monnaie] no. 310, colorpl.).

RELATED PRINTS

The engraving made for the *Recueil Jullienne* by Pierre Aveline (1702-1776; Roux 1931, I, pp. 313-314, no. 14) (fig. 14) was announced three times in the *Mercure de France*, March (p. 550), July (p. 1609), and November 1732 (pp. 2449-2450). We have already given above the essential points from the *Mercure*'s text. The print is in reverse of the painting. Its inscription notes that the "Tableau en Plat-fond [a été] peint par Watteau pour M Gersain son amy Marchand/sur le Pont Nôtre Dame, haut de 5. pieds sur 9 pieds 6. pouces de large, qui est à présent/dans le Cabinet de M.r De Jullienne" (1.625 x 3.085 cm). The following anonymous lines accompany the engraving:

Watteau, dans cette enseigne, à la fleur de ses ans,
Des Maistres de son Art Imite la manière;
Leurs caractères différens,
Leurs touches et leur goût Composent la matière;
De ces Esquisses Elegans.
Que n'attendions-nous point de tant d'heureux Talens!
Si le Ciel eut voulû prolonger sa carrière
Il auroit surpassé ses Modeles charmans.

The copperplate is listed in the 1755 Chereau inventory and in the Chereau catalogues of 1770 and 1778.

Paul Alfassa (1910), following Laban (1900), confirmed that Aveline had probably used the Pater copy for his engraving (see above) rather than the Watteau painting, which was much too large to be faithfully reproduced. In any case, Pater's painting and Aveline's engraving are of similar dimensions.

Peter Halm also engraved this painting at the end of the nineteenth century (repr. Dohme and Seidel). PM 180 was etched by Audran (1667-1756) for the *Fddc* (Roux 1931, I, p. 265, under no. 73). Watteau's composition can be discerned in the background of a print by Paul Helleu (Paris 1977, no. 557, ill.).

fig. 13



fig. 14



# Restoration

# The Restoration of the *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera*

Ségolène Bergeon and Lola Faillant-Dumas
Restoration conducted by Jacques Roullet

The Louvre *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 61) was painted on an irregularly woven canvas, with a very prominent weave[1] and an original horizontal over-cast seam at the bottom.[2] X-radiographic examination clearly reveals the original support: a fine canvas, loosely woven (eleven threads to the warp and twelve threads to the weft for each $cm^2$), very irregular, but without any pattern in texture variation.[3] The painting was lined in 1798 by Fouque,[4] to a fairly regular canvas with a vertical English seam.[5] The whole picture, which is still stable, was stretched on a keyed stretcher, with double-crossed dovetailed joins,[6] and did not require any additional support. As the surface was still satisfactory, relining was not justified for either aesthetic or technical reasons, as no blistering showed and the lining canvas still guaranteed good support (fig. 1).

The essential problem confronting us was an aesthetic one: Watteau's paint had been covered by a very thick brown mass of successive coats[7] of varnish (fig. 2), some of which had been applied to the picture while it was still in the frame, as shown by the lighter vertical edges. Watteau's paint layer had been distorted, and it had become desirable to thin out this layer of darkened varnishes, which gave the picture a yellow-brown tone, and considerably reduced the contrasts and sense of depth. It would have been tempting to remove the varnish completely, which is simpler and quicker than thinning the varnish,[8] but it is unrealistic to think one could thus rediscover the real colors and values of the eighteenth century. Certain tones fade and others become more transparent with age;[9] therefore varnish removal would mean highlighting these discordances caused by time, and emphasizing the material quality of the paint.[10] It is desirable, but more difficult and delicate, to attempt to remove the varnish that distorts the work, while leaving a sufficient amount to cover the painting and thus help to ensure that its subject matter predominates over its material condition. This is what is known as leaving a "patina," an essential justification for the thinning process (fig.3). Thinning the varnish had been discussed as early as 1950, but the decision was not made until 1956, when Jean-Gabriel Goulinat, chief of the Louvre's restoration studio, undertook very minimal cleaning at the request and under the supervision of Germain Bazin. This operation consisted of a very light overall thinning of the varnish, for the excellent condition of the work had already been recognized. While most of the retouches that were removed were only small, localized, and superficial,[11] inexplicably, one more extensive, opaque area of repaint, which Goulinat considered a nineteenth-century addition,[12] was found between the layers of varnish in an area under the central group of figures. Obscuring a space 35 cm long by 10 cm high, this retouching masked the original paint, which was uncovered in 1956 and found to be delicate and in excellent condition.

This cautious attitude reflects the general French position adopted for restoring the Louvre's paintings, which are cleaned in stages; first, because the connoisseur's eye must gradually be prepared, and second, to leave our successors the possibility of acting with more certainty thanks to more diversified chemical products after more refined examination techniques.

Twenty-five years later, after the original cleaning, it



fig. 1. This photograph taken in raking light reveals the painting's excellent condition, and the very good adherence of the paint layer. It also helps locate the horizontal seam at the bottom of the original canvas and the slight trace of the vertical seam in the lining canvas.



fig. 2. The four areas at which an attempt has been made to thin the varnish in the sky, the hill, the sailor, and the small dog make clear the distorting effect on the work by the darkening of the varnish covering the entire picture.

became necessary to reexamine the problem in light of the *Watteau* exhibition, and to see if it was possible to carry out a second thinning of the varnish in order to balance *The Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* with other Watteau paintings in the Louvre like *Gilles* (cat. P. 69), without going as far as to remove all the varnish. Committees and subcommittees met for this purpose.[13] Thinning the varnish was technically possible because the varnish was simple, made with a mastic resin base,[14] the most reversible of resins,[15] and because the layer of paint was nearly pure, with retouching in only a few very local and superficial areas.[16] While this operation was possible, it nevertheless turned out to be difficult, due to the surface condition of the paint, which was not smooth, either



fig. 3. The area around the small dog, still covered with a brown-reddish varnish, demonstrates two stages of the thinning : One deeper stage is visible at the top left but the desired level—to preserve the greatest respect for the "patina" or the effect of the normal passage of time—is that which is more moderate and visible on the dog.

because of certain areas of locally applied impasto in the highlights at the center of the picture (ivory mountain in the distance and light accents on the figures), or because of the irregular weave of the canvas, whose threads were accentuated by the earlier lining. This thinning operation was also difficult because of Watteau's techniques: his paint layer is fragile for two reasons. First, it is often very thin. This can be seen in the light blue sky on the upper left, where the white ground is visible everywhere, even after the rapid brushstrokes of the artist, or in the green and brown glazing[17] of the earth in the foreground. Second, it is rich in colors which are fragile by nature: the browns and reddish-brown used for the foliage.[18] Only the restorers' skill is a guarantee of good treatment.[19]

Though thinning was possible, it had to be done carefully to avoid making the pentimenti conspicuous (fig. 4). They were already visible through the yellow varnishes, such as the raised right arm of one of the boatmen[20] and the various positionings of the winged cupid, shown from the back, between the second and third couples on the left.[21] The way was paved for the restoration work, the planning of which was begun in March 1982 through various experiments conducted for technical reasons in the thin and fragile areas (the sky at the top, the earth at the bottom in the foreground), and for aesthetic reasons in areas essential to the composition (group of figures and background landscape); and was then presented to a series of committees.[22] Beginning in June 1983, the restorer was able to carry out the progressive thinning of the varnish of the whole painting,[23] an extremely important procedure that confirmed the excellent general condition of the work, even in the areas where one expected problems: the original paint was in good condition under a small area of repaint in the center in the waterfall in the blue-green landscape; the faint pentimento around the boatman's right arm did not even call for a balancing glaze, nor did that



fig. 4. This infrared photograph provides the most revealing information: it shows Watteau's delicacy and virtuosity in the execution of this "sketch," the speed of which is emphasized by numerous pentimenti. The most prominent and distinguishable are: the boatman's right arm, previously set higher; a small figure behind the boatman, which no longer appears; a cupid seen from behind, under the young women's dress, and another full-face to the right, slightly overpainted by Watteau.
This infrared examination also emphasizes the luminosity of the sky, gradually penetrating in the trees on the right.

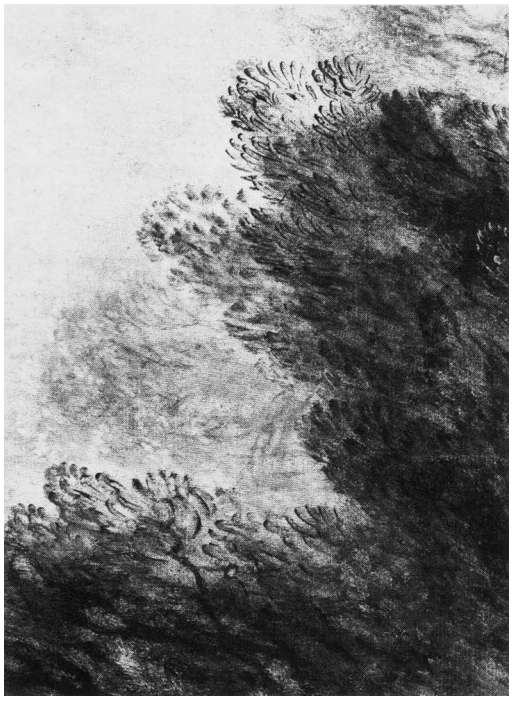


fig. 5. In the lower portion of the foreground, the traces of crayon, already very visible before the thinning of the darkened varnish, suggest quick execution.

of the cupids. The foreground was not shallow as one might have feared: this area, still rather warm after thinning, is covered with green and brown glazes which are vaporous and diffuse, but whose presence sufficiently disguises the sketchy aspect of that area and does not hinder viewing.[24] The treatment revealed that the picture seems to have been unbalanced by earlier varnishing: we found the sky to have been covered more heavily by darkened varnish than the figures; its light, wide expanse must have bothered or worried restorers, and was subjected to less varnish-thinning than the figures, which had been lightened before 1956.[25] The restoration of the *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* shed light on Watteau's rather allusive technique, which involved surprisingly light colors. The quick technique of the artist covered the white ground[26] so little, that some "crayon" marks, always visible, affect numerous areas of the painting, above all the barely sketched foreground (fig. 5).[28] The sky's pale blue[29] is a result of rapid brushstrokes of very liquid color;[30] the earth of diffused green and brown glazes was also painted quickly and enriched with bold pink touches; most of the foliage was painted at one sitting using a long, supple brush applied firmly to the canvas, and rich in medium (fig. 6).[32] On the other hand, the figures took more of the artist's time, as the particularly well-developed network of cracks and wrinkles in central areas of the picture shows (fig. 7).[33]

The x-radiographic examination confirms the thinness of the paint layer and the virtuosity of the artist's execution (fig. 8). The interpretation of the x-radiograph is difficult for two reasons: first, because the thick ground is made of white lead and oil emulsified in animal glue and the lead forms a screen against the penetration of x-rays; secondly, because the very thin pictorial layer is composed of pigments, mostly used as glazes, whose atomic mass is weak. Nevertheless, white highlights remain visible and are evidence of some hesitation and pentimenti. The sky is done with rapid strokes, using a short, firm, narrow brush. The thickness of the ground makes it impossible to follow the outline of the images and of the white mountain (a pentimento is discernible in the top left); the area of trees to the right is slightly less dense and permits lively accents indicating the foliage to be seen. Although the ground is homogeneous over all of the work, the frieze of the figures shows a more distinct vision of each person's position, because of the density of long, threadlike strokes used to decorate the ship and long, broken ones to interpret the brilliant texture of dresses,

fig. 6. This detail shows a good example of Watteau's manner in painting foliage: a long brush, carrying very fluid paint, which he applied firmly, thus producing a thin wedge of excess color extruded on each side.



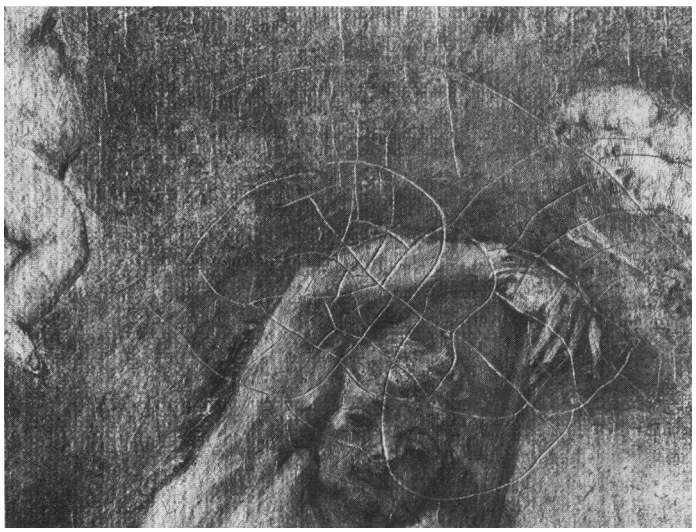


fig. 7. A network of cracks, very obvious on the face and the raised arm of the sailor, as well as a wrinkling of the paint film at the top right on the cupid reveal the artist's changes. The multi-layered structure of the paint has caused the drying problems.



fig. 8. Several fields of color are affected by a network of cracks (visible on the surface), larger and more open than age cracks which cover the whole of the paint layer. On the x-radiograph they show up as blurred and heavily painted areas, evidently the painter's pentimenti: cupids on the left in the sky, around the boatman, the sculpture. Radiography brings out another observation on the treatment of the faces; a dark undermodeling outlines each face in which light touches modulated flesh tones. While these contours are often repeated on the surface for emphasis, they manifest the painter's desire to plan the composition before applying any color.

silk knee-breeches, or velvet jackets. One also notices that sometimes the figures' silhouettes are underlined with a very dark, brownish-gray, nearly black line (profile of the woman on the left),[34] and the flesh-tones are reinforced with violent red touches (hands).[35]

The major discovery made during this treatment was the artist's taste for colors, even brighter than had been previously imagined: the bluish-white, barely tinted color of the sky, milky in some areas and white-pink in others; the bright-yellow horizontal touches in the sky behind the group of cupids flying on the left; the allusive pre-impressionist strokes of intense blue in the mountain shadows, either coarsely ground or already dried a little on the palette (fig. 9); and the deep reds and greens of the clothes, which have become pinks and light blue-greens. The variety of foliage is more evident from bright, impastoed highlights in the trees in the center to the thin green and brown glazes, more or less rich in medium, passing through some daring, quite bright red touches.

The thinning of the varnish in Watteau's *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* brings back intact a work from the beginning of the eighteenth century with an extraordinarily new brilliance and range of color; such a resurrection permits the possibility and the justification of bold new scholarship.[36]

(Translated by Michèle and Valerie Morris)

1. As noted by G. Emile-Mâle in 1957 (Archives of the SRPMN).

2. 7 to 7.5 centimeters from the lower edge.

3. The fineness of the weave made the canvas less resistant to time: it is weakened, but without any real flaws except for two small holes in the top left corner and a slight tear in the center, in the upper part of the sky, 3.5 cm. by 0.4 cm.

4. Louvre Archives—no. 1BB3 p. 230—23 *ventose*, year VI (or 13 March 1798) "Will be lined by Fouque" and Louvre Archives accounting: 22 *fructidor*, year VI (8 September 1798) "landscape and figure lined on an area 6 pieds by 4 pieds or 24 pieds for 18 livres" quoted in "Mémoire des travaux faits."

5. The lining still visible today bears the stencil mark "MR crowned," and thus dates from before 1830; it is very likely that this lining is Fouque's, done in 1798, because the Louvre's Archives for this period have been well-researched (see Mme. Munich) and do not mention any restoration between 1798 and 1830.

The lining must have been done using the traditional French method, with paste glue (see Fouque's formula cited by F. X. de Burtin in 1808. See A. Malpel, typed ms. 1983, p. 44). This case is a valuable source of information, as it is a still visible and perfectly documented lining (date, name, and procedure).

6. The key-stretcher, called "English," seems to have appeared in 1757 (see Pernéty). The dovetailed assemblies are older than the simple system. The double-cross is also called the "cross of Lorraine."

7. The thickness of the varnish is 100μ (Analysis by J. R. Rioux, DMF Laboratory).

8. Huyghe, R. *Alumni*, 1950, 252-261; Brandi 1963, 129: "la voluntà di spingere la iatanza della materia." And a short synthesis on the subject: Bergeon, "L'Allègement des vernis," 1980, 16-25.

9. The transparency of the paint layer made of pigments in a binding medium is a function of the refractive index of its constituents: if they are similar, it is more transparent than if they are different. In aging, the refractive index of the oil increases and approaches the refractive index of the pigments; an old paint layer is more transparent than a newer one.

10. Philippot 1966, p. 138 and Bergeon 1980, 9: "la 'patine' une notion capitale et complexe."

11. See the 1956 report by J. G. Goulinat and notes by G. Emile-Mâle in Archives of the SRPMN. Some tiny, very thin repainted areas were found between the varnish layers (four little dots on the crest of the mountain, one little dot on the pale mountain in the left center, two others in the middle green area to the right, and several spots in the waterfall in the center, as well as two small ones near the cupids in the sky); some more extensive retouches were also found in the areas of Watteau's pentimento around the boatman's lifted arm, on the cupid seen from behind at lower left center, and finally, along the man's legs in the third couple from the left.

12. See the report by J. G. Goulinat, 1956 (Archives of the SRPMN); see also the note by G. Emile-Mâle before 1957: "The very dark varnish and the large areas of repaint hid the figure sketched in the foreground, who must have been esthetically disturbing."

13. The existence of restoration committees is a Napoleonic tradition begun with the one that met in 1800 to follow the transfer from wood to canvas of Raphael's *Madonna of Foligno* in Paris by François Toussaint Hacquin, under

the authority of Jean-Baptiste Pierre Lebrun (O'Reilly 1808 and Emile-Mâle 1962, 121). In the case of Watteau, the committees were presided over by the director of the Museums of France and assembled at the request of Michel Laclotte, Chief Curator of the Department of Paintings of the Louvre, with the participation of Pierre Rosenberg, Germain Bazin, René Huyghe, G. Emile-Mâle, and Jacques Roullet. They agreed on the conditions under which new restoration proceedings would be started by Jacques Roullet, head of the studio: the committees of 5 October 1982 and 25 January 1983 would judge the first results; sub committees of 24 May 1983 and 7 July 1983 would monitor the subsequent findings, and the committee of 4 October 1983 judged the final results. A committee will meet sometime in 1984 to evaluate the accomplished work.

14. The analysis was made at the CNRS laboratory of Macromolecular Chemistry by J. Petit (report of 4 May 1983). It reveals a highly oxidized mastic resin, but no evidence of additional resin, nor any artificial bleeding, as the very dark color might have suggested. In general, it seems the orange-yellow or brown-black color of the varnish is a result of the possible migration of iron present in the paint layer (pigment or unstable elements) and from the formation of complex iron salts reacting with amino acids, because of proteins (animal glue, egg white) present in, or on, the varnish.

15. G. Emile-Mâle 1975, 22:1.

16. See the area which is identical to that of the same retouches found by J. G. Goulinat in 1956 (see n. 9 above).

17. Literally, a glaze is a transparent layer of color; hence, a translucent layer of color, rich in binding medium and poor in pigment, is called a glaze. A glaze can contain resin as an additive to the medium, and thus be more sensitive than the paint layer itself.

18. Browns and reddish-browns are often more delicate than lighter colors for several reasons: they take longer to dry, as is the case for iron oxide, because they contain more binding medium (the pigment absorbs a lot of oil), or because they have no quick-drying pigment such as the white lead present in the highlights.

19. It can never be overemphasized that the quality of the restoration depends more on the restorer's experience and know-how than on the type of materials used; the best products in clumsy hands will lead to catastrophes (hence the absurdity of the transmitting simple formulas without knowing who will use them). On the other hand, strong products used by a skilled person make it possible to obtain admirable results.

20. This area, showing evidence of overpaint by the artist, exhibits the typical creases resulting from a difficult drying process due to the presence of an oily undercoat. Furthermore, because of the age cracks, or craquelures, due to the tension of the support that affected the entire pictorial layer including the ground, the layer of color slid along the edges of the cracks and has formed a slight network of so-called "premature" craquelures.

21. This cupid is seen from behind in the woman's dress of the second couple from the left, then facing forward a bit more to the right, and is finally seen from behind again, further to the right.

22. The consulting committee gave a favorable opinion.

23. The mixture of solvents used is composed of ethylene-glycol monoethyl ether with turpentine (sometimes the addition of a drop of eucalyptus oil was necessary).

24. Often the foregrounds in Watteau's paintings, with very cold green glazes, are disturbing because of their very sketchy character, because of wear, or because the paint has become very sparse as a result of varnish removal. In addition, here one must note the strong presence of brown glazes, well preserved at the bottom and on each side, which give the whole composition a sort of theatrical architecture.

25. Opinion of Jacques Roullet in October 1983 expressed jointly with Pierre Rosenberg.

26. White lead with linseed oil emulsified with animal glue (analysis by J. P. Rioux, DMF Laboratory). On linen canvas, usually sized with animal glue, it was very rare at that time to find a white ground. All written texts as well as experience suggest that an initial dark ground was covered with a second coat of light primer until the end of the eighteenth century. Because of personal preference, Watteau must have covered the *Pilgrimages* canvas with the white ground customarily used on wood supports (S. Bergeon).

27. Diderot and D'Alembert, 1754, 4:429: "*craion (craiyon)* generic term which designates several earthy, stony and colored mineral substances that are used to trace lines, to draw . . . such as chalk, red chalk, black chalk; crayon or blende, lead pencil (molybdenum) . . . , no one is unfamiliar with the use of *crayon* in drawing."

28. Especially in the center of the picture, in the light part of the earth. Note by G. Emile-Mâle, 1957 (SRPMN Archives).

29. Analysis reveals a small quantity of lapis lazuli mixed with large amounts of white lead. It seems that enough iron is present to justify J. P. Rioux's hypothesis that Prussian blue was mixed with lapis lazuli for reasons of economy. Prussian blue had been discovered in 1704, commercially sold around 1720, and "ready-mixed for sale in 1722," according to Georg Collazious in Utrecht (Buck 1965). If Rioux's theory is verified, it would mean that Prussian blue had been used as early as 1717.

30. The binding medium is linseed oil (according to Rioux's analysis); sometimes, in order to prevent the yellowing of ultramarine, little oil is used, and the binding medium is thinned with turpentine or oil of spike (process described in a manuscript by Dupuy du Grez 1699, p. 252).

31. Laboratory analysis showed a succession of layers very rich in medium (linseed oil). The green color is due to a mixture of white lead and green earth. (J. P. Rioux, DMF Laboratory).

32. This kind of stroke is characterized by two small lateral ridges of binding medium and an almost total absence of color in the center, varying according to the width of the brush used to paint. (This was confirmed with Jacques Roullet.) This kind of work is different from that produced by the technique in which the artist turns his brush over and removes with the handle what he has just applied with the brush: the removal of color is complete along one line and progressive on either side of it (see Watteau's *Autumn*, cat. P. 34, and the *Judgment of Paris*, cat. P. 64, in the Louvre).

33. See n. 17, above, on pentimenti. The so-called "color" or drying cracks, also called premature—found only in the layer of color and not in the primer—appear rather early, before the oil is completely dry. This last process is estimated to take place, on the average, over a period of almost one hundred years. These cracks are due to progressive drying in depth, after the surface dries and hardens quickly, while the underlying layer moves, thus causing the surface to crack. The sliding effect that has been observed reveals that the drying process was difficult, because a pigment inhibited drying (bitumen, for example), because the paint's oil content was too high, because the oil used was too "rich," or because there was an oily undercoat (the rule "rich paint over lean" was not observed).

See Watin 1776, 3rd ed., p. 90: "Quick-drying oil is made from the following mixture: ½ oz. litharge (lead oxide, highly siccative); ½ oz. calcined lead carbonate (lead carbonate becomes lead oxide); ½ oz. umber (from Umbria: clay colored by iron oxide, with manganese, hence quick-drying); ½ oz. talcum or Jesus stone (hydrated magnesium silicate) in one pound of linseed oil. The mixture is boiled over a gentle, even flame, and mixed. The foam must be skimmed off. When the foam decreases and turns russet, the oil is sufficiently cooked and 'degreased.' Let it rest and gather the clear oil on top."

The above description of the manufacture of a highly viscous oil ("rich") shows that the aim was to obtain a very quick-drying oil in order to rapidly superimpose multiple layers of this medium and thus obtain deep shadows. But such highly siccative oils dry quickly on the surface and their "skin" cracks as the core solidifies more slowly, resulting in drying cracks, chapping, or "toad-skin."

34. Apparently an outline that was not covered in the end, either by flesh tones or by the background on either side of the profile, which explains the dark edge visible through x-radiographic examination (undermodeling).

35. This is a thick, bright red, not a transparent, deep lacquer. We hope that a later non-destructive analysis (through x-ray micro-fluorescence) will allow us to determine whether the pigment is red ochre (with iron), vermilion (with mercury), or even minium (with lead). It was against our policy throughout the restoration to allow the removal of any sample, even of 1mm$^2$, except under a paper edge from a work, in such excellent condition. Therefore our knowledge of Watteau's palette is incomplete.

Some important points still need explanation. What sort of yellow is involved—yellow ochre, traditional lead–tin yellow called "giallorino," or Naples yellow (that is, white lead and antimony), as analyzed by Fougeroux de Bondaroy in 1766 but already mentioned in 1676 by Félibien, in 1684 by Piles, in 1699 by La Hire, and in 1699 by Dupuy du Grez? What sort of white did Watteau use—silver white or Krems white? (that is, a basal lead carbonate or ceruse white, a mixture of lead carbonate and of chalk, which is lighter, less white, but has more body).

Did Watteau use only green earth? If he added to dark green gut gum, which includes a fragile binding medium, mixed with iris green, or with an unstable pigment called "bladder green" (a yellowish-green color obtained from buckthorn, therefore a brownish-yellow lacquer obtained by fixing on chalk or alum a buckthorn decoction), then one should be worried about the actual condition of his greens.

36. It is interesting to point out that the texture of the canvas, the thickness of the ground, the painting technique and style noted in the Louvre *Pilgrimage* are very similar to those of the Berlin *Embarkation*, though the latter is more elaborate and has more layers of color than the former.

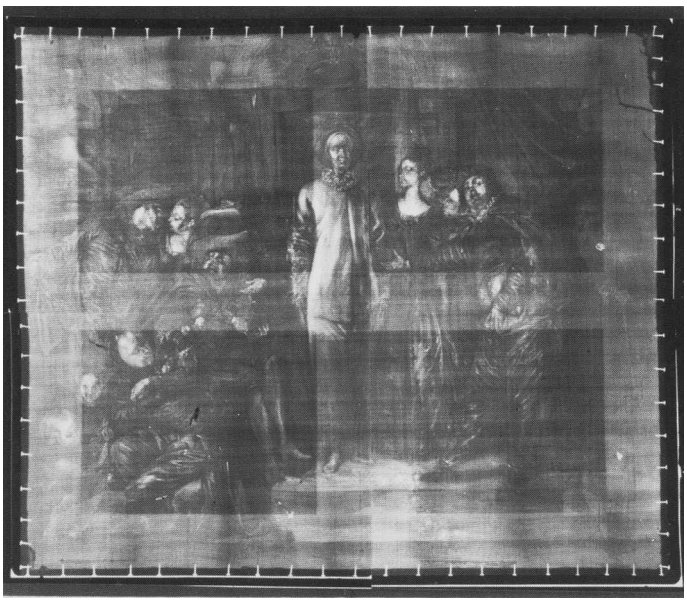
# The Examination and Treatment of Watteau's *Italian Comedians*

Sarah L. Fisher

The *Italian Comedians* was examined and treated in the National Gallery of Art painting conservation laboratory between September, 1983 and April, 1984. This is a preliminary report on the work; an analysis of the painting materials is still in progress. X-ray fluorescence examination of the pigments was carried out by Barbara Miller. The treatment consisted of the removal of the discolored varnish and overpaint that was disturbing and disfiguring, followed by the inpainting of those losses and abrasion that detracted from the unity of the work as a whole. The varnish removal made appreciation of the painting's quality possible, revealing the artist's shimmering, satiny drapery effects and pearly, opalescent tones, which had been disguised for years by the thick, discolored varnish and overpaint.

The original fabric is a fine, moderately tightly woven linen type fabric, with 14-15 threads per centimeter in both warp and weft. The tacking edges of the fabric have been cropped and it has been lined with a slightly heavier weight fabric using a water-based adhesive, probably paste. The lining fabric has been tacked to a 6-member wooden stretcher with half-lap corners, one vertical and one horizontal crossbar, and twelve keys. The cropped original fabric is approximately 5.0 mm narrower than the new stretcher on all sides, and paper tape extending around to the front of the painting covers the 5.0 mm wide space as well as the tacking margins. According to Kress Collection records, this lining was carried out by Stephen Pichetto in 1943. Scalloped lines of tension in the threads along the edges of the original fabric, which may indicate the location of the original edges, are quite noticeable in the x-radiograph along both the upper and lower edges of the original fabric but not along its vertical edges (fig. 1).

fig. 1. Overall photograph of the x-radiograph assembly.



The ground is off-white, yellowish-tan, and consists mainly of a calcium carbonate with probable admixtures of white lead and iron oxides. It has been smoothly applied and is of medium thickness. Over it, a very complete, fluid underdrawing in bright red is present. It appears to have been applied with a fine brush in strokes of noticeably varying width. It outlines all the forms and indicates the major drapery folds and features. Its cool, dark, transparent tones suggest that a red lake was used as the coloring matter. Its broadest strokes can be observed under the lower right edge of Pierrot's jacket, whereas in some of the faces there are lines no wider than a pin scratch. The medium of the red underdrawing may have been richer, "fatter," or waxier than that of the overlying paint. With magnification, the overlying paint can be seen occasionally to have adhered poorly to these red lines of the underdrawing, often "pearling up" over them, revealing and overemphasizing the lines. However, the underdrawing may also have been deliberately left visible by the artist in some areas, for example in the jacket of the young lover at far left. No chemical change or damage would otherwise account for the degree to which some of the red lines are visible.

Only a few pentimenti in the underdrawing can be seen, most noticeably changes in the upper contours of Pierrot's hat (fig. 2) and the bent arm of Harlequin. In both cases, the painted version is narrower or smaller than the drawn form. Other small changes were observed in the drawing of the legs and feet. Although the more opaque paint may hide other changes, the evidence implies that there were no major alterations in forms between the drawing and painting stages, only minor ones in the contours.

The comparison of this underdrawing with those of other paintings by Watteau will provide useful information on the artist's working techniques and methods of transferring his drawings to fabric. Because red is not detected by infrared reflectography, that tool cannot help in giving us an overall accurate and precise image of this underdrawing. The accompanying photograph shows schematically all areas where the underdrawing was visible after varnish removal and before inpainting (fig. 3). No other underdrawing was detected by infrared reflectography.

A few observations on the paint application can be made with the help of microscopic examination of areas of abraded paint. No distinctly separate underpainting was seen other than some black, sketchy lines under Mezzetin's shoes. The paint has been fluidly and spontaneously applied with low impasto in the highlights, and soft brush texture



fig. 2. Detail of Pierrot's head and hat after cleaning and before inpainting; shows traction crackle in the hat and the pentimento in the upper contour.

is apparent throughout. The yellowish-tan ground serves as a warm middle tone with lights scumbled and built-up opaquely and the darks in many cases glazed thinly over it. Glazes are used extensively, often to create shimmering color effects over the textured, parallel lines of lighter colors pulled around the contours of the forms. Transition areas in the flesh tones and whites often consist of only a thin scumble of gray that turns bluish and acquires a pearly opalescence over the yellow of the ground below. Warm vermilion-toned strokes are used quite commonly to highlight contours in the hands and in the faces. The question as to whether the painting was left unfinished by the artist has not yet been clearly answered by this examination. The degree of abrasion from past harsh cleanings has probably overemphasized any sense of incompleteness. Pentimenti in the paint layers are minimal, as in the underdrawing, and are present in Pierrot's hat and shoulder and Harlequin's upraised arm.

Results of the x-ray fluorescence analysis suggest the following pigments: lead white in Pierrot's jacket; orpiment and realgar in the yellows and reds (confirmed by polarized light microscopy), iron oxides in the yellows and reds, and vermilion and red lake. In the blues no copper was found and the consistent presence of iron suggests the possibility of Prussian blue. Copper and iron were found in the greens.

It is known that Watteau's painting techniques have led to severe traction or premature crackle problems in his earlier paintings, which are still present although to a lesser degree in his later paintings. Contemporary comments from friends and patrons mention his impatience and the carelessness of his techniques: the application of thick layers of fast-drying oil, *huile-grasse*, to his unevenly drying paintings; and his use of a sloppy, rarely cleaned palette with dust and splatters from other colors mixed in with the paints.[1] Traction crackle is present in the *Italian Comedians* in most of the thin, dark browns of the shadows, and in Pierrot's hat. The original paint is also full of brush hairs, and inclusions of lumps of

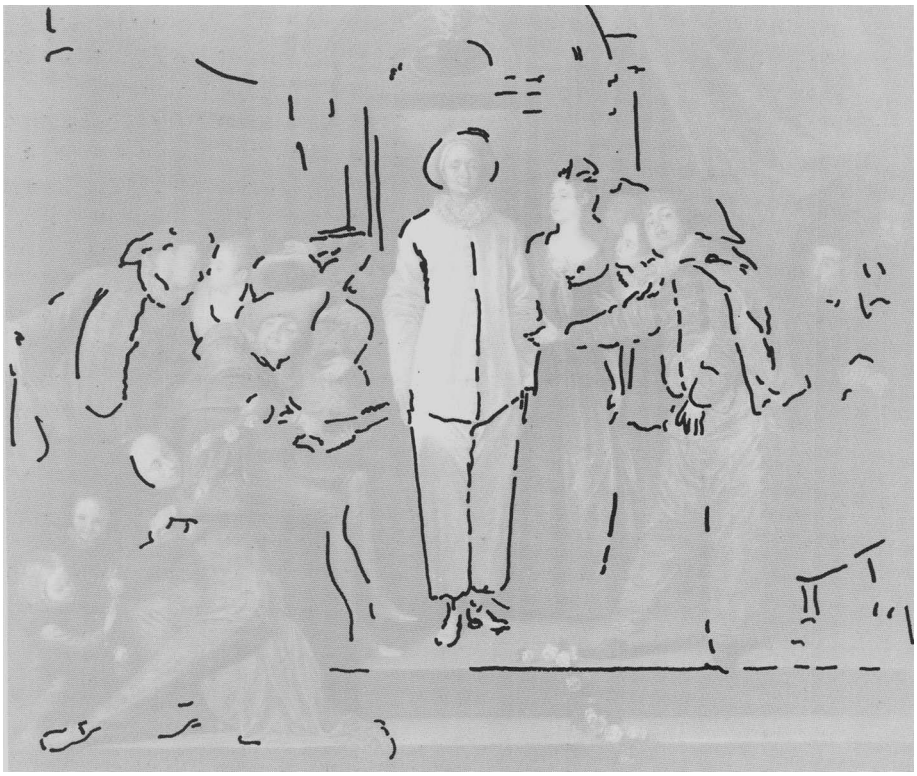


fig. 3. Overall photograph of the painting after treatment with the underdrawing shown in black wherever it was visible to the naked eye — after cleaning and before inpainting.



fig. 4. Detail, heads of young lovers, after varnish removal and before overpaint removal.

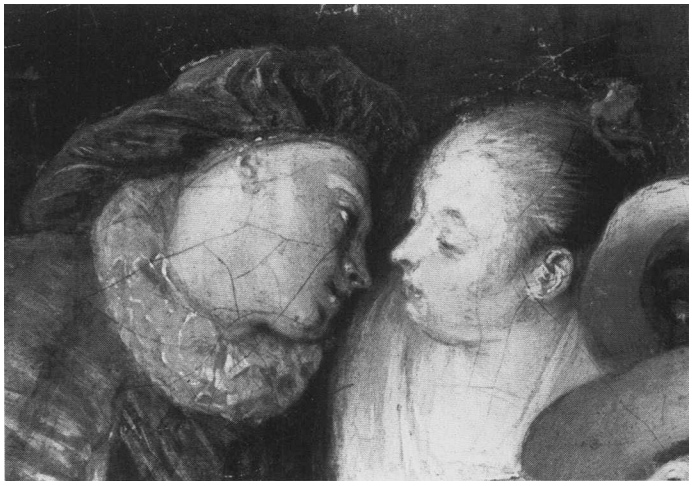


fig. 5. Detail, heads of young lovers, after overpaint removal and before inpainting; showing, in conjunction with fig. 4, the extent of unnecessary old overpaint on the man's head.

different colored paints. The sensitivity of the original paint to solvents, not only in the reds and the blacks but also in some of the grays and browns, indicates a very lean paint application or the use of a medium other than pure oil.

The painting's support is in good condition and required no treatment. The paste lining of 1943 is strong and the paint is secure. There were a few, minor repaired losses in the paint and ground layers, and a more serious repaired uneven vertical line of loss, approximately 16 cm long, reaching from Pierrot's proper right hand up into the foliage to the left of his proper right shoulder. A few old horizontal, short lines of flake loss extended in from the upper right corner. The most visually disturbing problem was the abrasion of the paint layers caused by harsh past cleanings of the delicate paint surface. Prior to our cleaning it was difficult to assess the extent of this damage. The thin paint application and use of lead white in the ground made x-radiography of little help, and the thick yellowed varnish and the age and extent of most of the repaint rendered other forms of observation useless. However, the removal of much of the yellowed varnish layers and the discolored overpaint revealed less damage than had been estimated originally. The worst areas of abrasion were in the grays of the steps below the Fool at left and below Dr. Baloardo at right, in the red drapery below the Fool at left, and in Pierrot's trousers. In addition, the thinly applied transition tones, where contours of figures and background met or where little paint had been needed to achieve the desired effect, have also suffered abrasion.

The extensive repaint was of at least three different periods. The most recent, probably dating from Pichetto's 1943 treatment, was visible in ultraviolet light and had whitened slightly. The second was more granular, very hard, and had darkened noticeably. The earliest repaint was thinly applied and opaque, had not darkened, but did not exactly match the original. It could only be removed mechanically, and in appearance was heavy and sharper than the delicate original strokes. The unknown early restorer had attempted to make the original contours more precise, the highlights brighter, and in general had hidden the subtlety of the original coloring and brushwork. The most noticeable repaint was that over the two pairs of light shoes at lower center, over the red drapery of the Fool at left, creating bright, harsh, pink highlights, and over the doctor's black tunic at right, putting strong buttons and folds where only faint ones had been. Much of the repaint had also been liberally applied over islands of darkened varnish in the steps which the earlier restorer had left. Some of the faces had been generally overpainted as well, usually to hide crackle and discolored varnish patches, for example in the young lover's face at far left (figs. 4 and 5).

Apart from the abrasion, the one other type of damage that marred the paint surface was a fine fabric texture that had been unevenly imprinted into the upper paint surface. This texture probably was impressed from a gauze facing applied to protect the paint during the paste lining.

The surface coating had the appearance of being a thick natural resin layer. It had darkened to a brownish yellow and concealed all of the original colors and brushwork. There were many remnants of older, darker varnishes under this, either hidden under repaint or left in the interstices of textures.

The purpose of this conservation treatment was to reveal as much original paint as possible and bring the painting's appearance to a closer approximation of the artist's original intent. Because of the sensitivity of the original paint, most noticeably the reds, blacks, and some of the grays, a thin layer of the old varnish or of a hard old repainted glaze was often left in place. The inpainting concealed the disturbing losses and abrasion and returned an overall unity to the painting's appearance. For varnishing and inpainting, stable, non-yellowing synthetics were used.

1. John Ingamells and Herbert Lank, "The Cleaning of Watteau's 'Les Charmes de la Vie,'" *Burlington Magazine* (December 1983), 737.

# Watteau in His Time

François Moureau

## I The Century Was Two Years Old

"The life of the man in the history of a painter is not the whole biography of the artist," noted Edmond de Goncourt in the preface of his *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint, dessiné et gravé d'Antoine Watteau* (1875). Unfortunately (and the chronology in this catalogue shows it amply) we know very little of the "life of the man." The aim of these pages will appear both ambitious and modest: to situate in his time a man whose daily existence and even the more general aspects of whose life remain—after three centuries—singularly mysterious. Neither confidences nor confidant has come to light. A few letters of doubtful authenticity, a few signatures at the bottom of official registers: the crop is meager when we look over this evidence, thanks to which the painter might well have joined the common lot of his contemporaries. Neither a man of the court nor a man of power like Le Brun, nor the middle-class manager of his oeuvre and academic honors like Chardin, Watteau maintains above all a very special quality of silence.

Curiously enough, this silence has been fostered by all the fuss that has been made over Watteau since his rediscovery in the nineteenth century. "Bergamasques silhouettes" at the end of a park, *fêtes galantes,* frivolities, light touches, rice powder, and good manners—even today one cannot escape this Watteau of the overdoors whose designs were bastardized by the porcelain factories of Saxony, or worse. Watteau often represented a certain triumphant Louis XV style, an emblem à la Pompadour, the Enlightenment without the enlightened, Voltaire prior to his famous rictus; in short an eighteenth century that could have spared itself a revolution.

But let us return to history. This symbol of French taste was barely born a subject of the King of France. Hainaut—conquered at sword's-point by Louis XIV in 1677—traditionally looked to the North, toward the Spanish Netherlands, Brussels or Antwerp, and if necessary to Madrid. Paris seemed a foreign capital on the road to Italy. A mercantile and cosmopolitan Flanders confronted a Gallocentric, imperialistic France, anxious above all to establish the famous *pré carré* (literally, a square field) dear to the heart of Colbert: with natural frontiers on the Rhine. The main part of the painter's life was played out under the reign of Louis XIV; Watteau never knew the reign of Louis XV. When the old monarch died at Versailles on 1 September 1715, only six years of life were left to Watteau. When Louis XV was crowned in Reims, Watteau had been dead just over a year. Watteau was one of the last painters of the century of Louis XIV.

Precisely for this reason Voltaire found no difficulty in placing him in the catalogue of "famous artists" in his *Siècle de Louis XIV* (Berlin, 1751). But perhaps we are victims of an error of judgment attributable to the broken career of an artist who died at the very threshold of maturity. Born in 1684, one year before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes that was to weigh so heavily on the destiny of France, exiling and putting to flight the Protestants of the kingdom, as a painter Watteau belonged roughly to the generation of Jean-Baptiste Oudry (born 1686), Charles-Antoine Coypel (born 1694), or even Chardin (born 1699). He was a year younger than the composer Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683). He was four years old at the birth of Marivaux (1688), five years older than Montesquieu (1689); he was ten at the birth of François Arouet (1694), the future "king" Voltaire. However, Marivaux' career as a dramatist really began in 1720, Voltaire's in 1718 with *Oedipe,* Montesquieu's oeuvre in 1721 with the *Lettres persanes,* and Rameau's in 1733 with *Hippolyte et Aricie.* Watteau's contemporaries were just making their first appearances when he had already wasted away with consumption.

Watteau could have been one of the great artists of the century of Louis XV, who died in 1774. Voltaire presented *Irène* in 1778 on the stage of the Comédie-Française; Rameau gave *Les Paladins* in 1760 at the Opéra. Can one imagine what Watteau would have been in the 1750s? But our painter was absolutely a contemporary of the last rays of the century of Louis XIV.

The painter of *fêtes galantes* lived in a time that was not exactly festive. There is hardly any period in the history of modern France quite as calamitous as the first decade of the eighteenth century. It is enough to read a few of Fénelon's famous texts (*Directions pour la conscience d'un Roi*) or Vauban's *Projet d'une Dixme royale* (1707) to measure, at its low point, the state of moral and political decline of the kingdom.

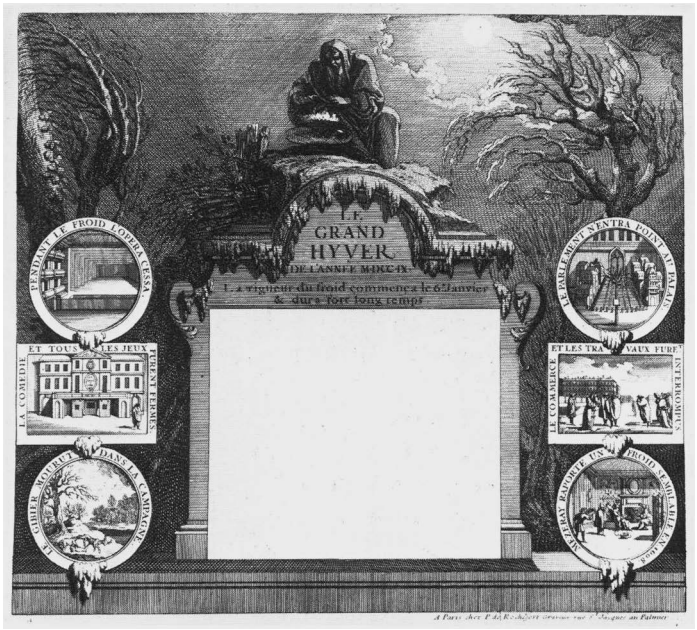



fig. 1.
S. Thomassin, *The Plague in Marseilles in 1720,*
engraving after J.B. de Troy.

Before the Great Plague of Marseilles (fig. 1), the famous winter of 1709 when famine and cannibalism reigned for some months in Paris, haunted the memory of the French for many years and laid the groundwork well in advance for frightening disruptions. In 1709 Watteau had been living in Paris for seven years (fig. 2).

During his short life (1684-1721) Watteau witnessed a country almost continually at war, a territory invaded several times, his native Hainaut overrun with foreign troops, Paris threatened by siege and by an army rabble on the rampage. He drew and painted this world of border cities; his soldiers are not those of the *guerre en dentelles* so dear to certain apologists of the century of Louis XV. He describes a very real microcosm that threatened to spread from the borders to the Capital: the victory of steel, leather, and bloody wounds over satins, masks, and make-up.

fig. 2.
P. de Rochefort, *The Great Winter of 1709,*
engraving.




He was born in a France at war. It would remain so during almost his entire life, except for the few years between the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) to the first rumblings of the War of the Spanish Succession (1700), and during the relatively peaceful hours of the Regency, at least up until the Franco-Spanish War of 1719, preceded just before the death of Louis XIV by one great year of peace after the Treaty of Rastatt in 1714. Altogether, in thirty-seven years Watteau and his contemporaries knew six or seven years of relative peace. These were situated essentially during the first luster of the Regency of Philippe of Orléans. We will have occasion to characterize the influence of the Regent, nephew of Louis XIV, on the art of his period, and perhaps a certain "Regent" rather than "Regency" air in the art of Watteau. For the French of the years 1715-1723, the Regent was above all, despite his faults and the hatred he had engendered, the man of peace regained, of the alliance with England, who preferred negotiations rather than the sword wherever and whenever possible. Note with what tenderness Watteau painted the portrait of his friend Antoine de la Roque, one of the heroes wounded in the frightful butchery of Malplaquet (1709), a particularly allegorical portrait that must be considered in the atmosphere of the period (lost; DV 269; see cat. D.113, which shows La Roque informally dressed, leaning on a crutch).

Were he a painter—and only a painter—and somewhat "indifferent" and secretive (Champion 1921, p. 51), as his friends and biographers described him, Watteau, who did not associate with the court under Louis XIV and who later had relationships with the entourage of the Regent in which politics played scarcely any part—this same Watteau felt, like all his contemporaries of the Paris intelligentsia, the effects of the major events that convulsed the French nation. A man of the North (sedentary except for his stay in Valenciennes and his trip to London), of a conventional catholicism à la Montaigne, he lived nonetheless in a heavy atmosphere of a *fin de règne* in which the revolt of the Camisards (1702-1704) brought on the royal "dragonnades" and the horrible repression of the Protestants in the south; he must have been even more aware of the miseries of Port-Royal: the circle in which he moved—parliamentary nobility and humanist academicians—actively recruited for Jansenism, the "Friends of Truth." In the first ten years of the century, Pascal's Jansenism, philosophical and to a certain extent tolerated, gave way to political Jansenism, hidden and fiercely Gallican, which would later nourish the ideology of the first years of the Revolution. In October 1709 the nuns of Port-Royal were dispersed, and the following year no stone of their convent at Champs was left standing. The year before his death, the king forced the Parlement de Paris to register the Bull *Unigenitus*. This formal condemnation by the Holy See of modern Jansenism was the source, even beyond the religious issues, of the most violent conflicts between the royal Power, the "appellants"—priests refusing to accept the Bull—and the Parlements, who made of this struggle a useful dress rehearsal for the assault that the most virulent among them dreamed of leading against absolutism. Unlike many of his

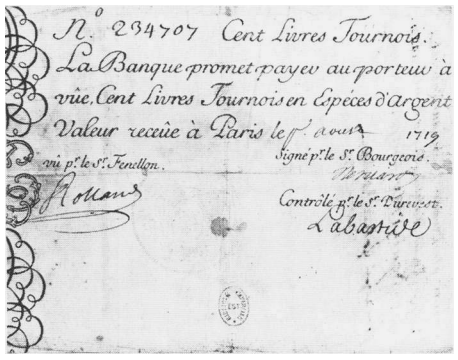


fig. 3.
Anonymous, from a *Collection of Historic Prints,*
engraving.

colleagues in the Académie Française, Watteau, certainly not a history painter, nonetheless took no part in ornamenting the sanctuaries of the official church.

In May 1713, one month after the signing of the Peace of Utrecht, Dufresny, the director of the *Mercure galant,* the great Parisian literary monthly, wrote these significant lines: "In France and in the countries of its Allies one sees only festivities and public rejoicing . . . ; one can only hope that the appeal of such a happy condition will soon touch the rest of Europe and will make peace general" (p. 49). This aspiration to "happiness" provides the key to the profound about-face that France experienced during the eight years of the Regency. For some time during the last moments of the reign of the Great King, it seemed the French monarchy was cursed: in less than a year, between April 1711 and March 1712, the three dynastic successors to the king died: his son, grandson, and great-grandson. One child alone remained,

fig. 4.
Banknote of the Law Bank, 1719.




Louis "the Godgiven," whose fragile constitution hardly foretold the robust sexagenarian that he was to become. Louis XIV distrusted his nephew, the Duc d'Orléans, glorious general and brilliant wit whom he doubtless suspected of harboring a quite different ambition from that of playing the role of "Petit fils de France" (fig. 3). Indeed, less than two weeks after the death of Louis XIV, the Duc d'Orléans, as Regent, had the will of his uncle broken before the assembled Parlement. The Regent reorganized the government, instituting specialized councils, and restored to health, as if by miracle, a desperate financial situation. He plunged into an ambitious banking policy, permitting the Scotsman John Law to create in 1716 the *banque générale,* which rapidly became associated with the state. This bank was put in charge of managing the companies of Senegal, the Indies, China, and Africa. The France of Colbert opened up to the outside world and the years of peace favored the creation of immense fortunes founded on the wondrous discovery of a primitive form of unrestrained capitalism.

Crozat "the poor," Watteau's patron, was as capable as others of building enormous financial power during these blessed years. In the delirium of what was called "the System"—speculation on paper (fig. 4) and on the enormous cargos coming from the "Indies"—money was to be had at the corner of every street and especially the rue Quincampoix, the headquarters of Law's bank (fig. 5). The anecdotes of the day are filled with descriptions of these *nouveaux riches* gorged with "paper" gold. Cooks passed directly from the pantry to boxes at the Opéra, from their dish towels to diamond necklaces, coachmen leaped directly from their boxes onto the satin cushions of carriages with heraldic arms painted on the doors, which they had just purchased with a

fig. 5.
Benard, *Almanach of Fortune,*
engraving, 1720.






fig. 6.
Anonymous, *Entry of the Persian Ambassador into Paris,* engraving, 1715.

noble property. From the Capitol to the Tarpeian Rock there are only a few steps. John Law covered this ground in less than one year. Controller General of Finance in January 1720, he fled the turmoil and Paris at the end of the same year. The profiteers of the "System," particularly the small ones, were ruined: all his life Marivaux, among others, suffered from this blow.

Montesquieu, a land owner and parliamentarian, came to a widely accepted conclusion in his *De l'Esprit des Lois* (Part IV) that was to keep France from seizing, along with England, the opportunity offered by the first industrial revolution: a distrust of commercial enterprises and of speculation, a physiocratic praise of agriculture as the only source of real wealth. Let us add that the Regent's political system, even before the disgrace of John Law, had been greatly undermined by his repudiation of the governments of the Councils (1718) and by the conflict that set him against the Parlements: little by little, despite the skill of Abbé Dubois, his old tutor and now Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Regent veered toward the interventionist and absolutist politics of his predecessors. Social peace was disturbed by the deportation to Louisiana of wives for the colonists. Watteau depicted this *Departure for the Islands,* subsequently engraved by Dupin (DV 275). The fact remains that the painter spent the last years of his life in a France at peace, and one that was respected and a friend of almost all of Europe. Three months before Watteau's death France was reconciled with Spain and an Infanta was betrothed to the young King Louis XV. People came from everywhere and visited France and Paris as the center of all that was new and grand in modern Europe. Czar Peter the Great who dreamed of lifting Russia out of its medieval barbarism came to breathe the air of Paris, to visit the Gobelin tapestry works and the academies. Peter followed the traces of the so-called Persian Embassy (fig. 6), which had aroused Paris in the last months of the reign of Louis XIV.[1] Watteau had left numerous drawings of the subject, taken from life. (See cats. D 45-49.) Conversely, England, with which France had been almost continuously at war since the fall of Charles II, officially opened its doors to French travelers and artists. Watteau was not the last to take advantage of this new fashion.

Paris, intellectual capital of Europe: no one could have contested this title at the beginning of the new century and especially after 1715. There art thrived, thought sparkled, knowledge deepened. Some said openly that this new Rome was amply equal to the ancient one. One can feel that Watteau arrived in Paris just at the moment when the last fires of Louis XIV's glory were dying out, and that Watteau, like many of his contemporaries, was just a little tired of the pomp of Versailles of which he could have known only the exhausted harping of the end of the reign. A possible interpretation of *The French Comedians* (cat. P. 70) could go in this direction. But dates are almost always deceiving; the spirit of the eighteenth century was born in the preceding one. Today this is a mere truism.[2] As early as 1680, the first sparks of the Enlightenment in France and in the French-speaking diaspora in Holland feebly testified that the days of absolute certainties of the past were numbered. The first *Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns*—on the face of it a purely literary debate—weighed the century of Augustus against that of Louis XIV and concluded that the present time of progress was superior to that time of simple mimesis. Charles Perrault, who was Colbert's man in the arts and at the Académie Française, led the troops of the moderns. His poem *La Peinture* (1668) took up the cudgels in favor of Le Brun; he then exalted the divine present in the *Parallèles* (1688-1697) and reconciled in his *Contes* (1697) national mythology and literature. The modern spirit came, then, from Versailles, which tried to impose it on Paris; the reading of Perrault's poem *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (1687) before the Académie Française was in its way a sort of legal coup d'état aimed at the arts. This apologia on behalf of the reign would lead to quarreling and to fierce partisanship; curiously and paradoxically it sounded the beginning of the Enlightenment.

Versailles had been an extraordinary laboratory of artistic creation. Although the king was not himself exceptionally cultivated, he had a fairly shrewd instinct as well as excellent advisers.[3] Superb dancer in the *Caroussels* at the beginning of his reign, sublime producer of his own apotheosis, he employed the greatest artists of the time to depict his glory. But by the end of the century Versailles was lethargic; the king resided by choice at Marly; he no longer attended the theater where plays already performed in Paris were rather languidly repeated. The world of Versailles turned in on itself, its taste hardened into a highly aristocratic scorn of everything that went beyond the norms of its own superannuated hierarchy. "The people of the court, especially the ladies, affect to scorn everything the bourgeois admires," wrote a sharp observer at the end of the century.[4]

The opposition between the taste of the court and the taste of Paris was a reality that a moralist like La Bruyère noted in the declining years of the reign (*Les Caractères,* 1688-1696, chapters "De la Ville," "De la Cour"). Parallel

courts, more liberal and at times quite brilliant, sprang up in some princely residences: at Anet for the Grand Dauphin, at Chantilly for the Condés, at the Palais-Royal in Paris for the Orléans, and above all at Sceaux for the Duc and Duchesse du Maine, who conceived after 1710 Les Grandes Nuits in which a veritable court art was reborn: spectacles, *fêtes*, and *académies galantes*. But these privileged places were eyed with mistrust from Versailles and as a matter of fact the managers of these festivities all came from Paris: actors, poets, and painters settled there as if at a resort. Paris had decided it would be the arbiter of fashion. After a long lapse of nearly forty years, the city resumed control of its creative energies, which had been in great part drained by the court. Princes came to Paris to forget their boredom. The great salons that had marked the reign of Louis XIII had disappeared, but the academies organized by Louis XIV had not replaced them: the rather affected tone of Versailles ruled there. But, as we shall see, Watteau found friends there and probably became acquainted with a seamier side of life through certain members of the Académie des Inscriptions.

In fact, the stimulating air that reigned in Paris took almost everything from the new dominant class. In a society of orders, like that of France under the Ancien Régime, the concept of class is rather difficult to handle. The barriers between the orders were after all rather thin: the duke and peer could marry without too much fuss the daughter of the tax collector who sat by their sides in the councils of the administration for the royal manufactories. A Parisian society that set fashion standards was formed in the last decade of the seventeenth century: at the top were some important men who escaped from the court and cultivated the fine arts. They were sometimes placed in charge of young ladies of the theaters. As first Gentlemen of the Bed Chamber, they mingled happily with high financiers and the state industrialists as concerned and privileged partners in the great manufacturing enterprises of the king. Crozat and Jullienne, Watteau's protectors, belonged to this world which, if it possessed no ideas of its own, could acquire them with the clinking coin of the realm.

In this intermediate world, one met the people who really created fashion, an elusive term applied to everything that was delectable, novel, fragile, or snobbish: "fashionable" words (Callières 1692), "fashionable" fairies (Mme. d'Aulnoy, 1698), "fashionable" clothes (B. Picard, Cl. Simpol del., Scotin sc., 39 pls.), and so on. The ephemeral preened itself in the enternity of the instant: a few morose philosophers like La Bruyère in his chapter on fashion in his *Caractères* saw in all this merely spiritual decadence and social corruption. Others made the best of it, and a small number thought to find there the shade of progress and the rejection of the prejudice that the moderns had made into the keys to the new taste. If the rebirth of the literary salons was only modest—at Mme. de Lambert's and Mme. de Tencin's—the latter rather more political, but both true oracles of the moderns—the development of cafés was a characteristic of the first twenty years of the century: be it Chez Procope across the street from the Comédie-Française, Chez la Veuve Laurent in the rue Dauphine, only a few steps from one of Watteau's domiciles, or Chez Gradot on the quai de l'Ecole, where painters and art dealers (Autreau, Malafaire) mixed with the fine flower of the moderns. "La Veuve Laurent," wrote Boindin, one of its habitués, "was in 1698 one of the meeting places of all the young people with a talent for Poetry, Eloquence, the exact Sciences or the Arts: in a word, the nursery for all the Academies."[5] These new salons, where one could talk without regard for the great figures and the obligatory manners of the old literary meetings, nourished intellectual ferments whose effects on Watteau's aesthetic will be measured below.

The world of the cafés was very mixed; the only requirements were those of good taste. If ladies were excluded from the cafés, they were not absent from other places where fashion was created. "There is nothing that makes a man fashionable quicker and raises his standing higher than gambling for high stakes. It is the same for the dregs of society."[6] Fashion tested itself also in those houses where people gambled in spite of the edicts: great ladies opened gambling dens; there demi-mondaines attracted a clientele by the charm of their conversation, by their high-stakes gambling, and for the little surprises of the *medianoche*. The world of arts and letters frequented the gambling house of the Loyson sisters: the brunette Tontine, the mistress of among others the Duc de Berry and of the Bishop of Gap,[7] and the blonde Doguine had themselves painted by F. de Troy in a décor of racy allegory (formerly at Annecy, the portrait of Tontine, Mme. de la Boissière, was engraved in mezzotint by A. Bouys); poets dedicated verses to them. A fashion plate shows them promenading in the Tuileries (fig. 7). Their *hôtel* was the "normal place to encounter the most illustrious youth of Paris and the elite of the court. There, gambling, concerts, balls during the season, and sumptuous feasts take place," wrote the moralist Brillon in 1696.[8] The poet Regnard received them with pleasure in the country at his Château de Grillon, where they met the actor Paul Poisson, who came as a neighbor from his own country place at Roinville, and also La Thorillière, another member of the

1. On the "Embassy" of Mehemet Riza Bey, see Montesquieu, *Lettres persane*, 91 and the *Journaux historiques* of the voyage published by H. Lefèvre de Fontenay, *Nouveau Mercure galant* (February and March 1715), supplements.

2. Paul Hazard, *La Crise de la conscience européenne 1680-1715*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1935).

3. See *Collections de Louis XIV. Dessins, albums, manuscrits* (exh. cat. Paris 1977-1978).

4. J. N. du Tralage, *Notes et documents sur l'histoire des théâtres de Paris au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1880), 30.

5. Nicolas Boindin, "Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Boindin," *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1753), 1:X.

6. J. de la Bruyère, *Les Caractères*, ed. R. Garapon (Paris, 1962), 400.

7. A. Du Noyer, *Lettres historiques et galantes*, new ed. (London, 1757), 3:314-316; René d'Argenson, *Rapports inédits* (Paris, 1891), (23 March 1702), 95-96.

8. P.-J. Brillon, *Portraits sérieux, galants et critiques* (Paris, 1696), 313-320.




fig. 7.
G. Scotin the Younger, *Mlles. Loison Promenading in the Tuileries,* engraving after J. de St. Jean, 1694.

Comédie-Française,[9] two of Watteau's models for various pictures and drawings dealing with comic subjects.

In this same world of enlightened sophisticates into which the young painter Watteau could not have failed to be introduced at some point, there shone a number of other stars of importance. Jean Leriget de la Faye—the shadow of La Motte, head of the modern party and oracle of the Café Gradot[10]—received at the establishment of his mistress the Comtesse de Verrue, nicknamed Dame de Volupté in memory of an amorous attachment she had with the princely family of Savoy. This well-informed bibliophile[11] decorated her Parisian *hôtel* in the rue du Cherche-Midi with the most refined works of modern art; to copy the Northern masters she employed Alexis Grimou, a specialist in *têtes de fantaisie.* This was an area in which Santerre also excelled and whose style Grimou imitated to perfection, according to a short biography by the art dealer Malafaire.[12] Mme. de Verrue and La Faye in 1709 stood as godparents to a child of Grimou.[13] Mme. de Verrue's collection at the time of her death in 1736 included eleven paintings by Vleughels, Watteau's friend,[14] and several paintings by Watteau, among which was one she had inherited from La Faye, *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11).[15] Advised by Jullienne in her purchases (DV, I, p. 235), the countess bequeathed[16] numerous works of art to two of her intimate friends, J.-B. Glucq de Saint-Port, a relative of Jean de Jullienne (DV, I, pp. 204-205), and Jean-Baptiste de Montullé, both outstanding collectors of Watteau's works. The influence of Mme. de Verrue during the Regency and her friendships with John Law, the Duc de Bourbon, and the Duc d'Orléans himself made her a point of convergence for the new aesthetic. The fact that she was also able to appreciate Watteau's painting, just as she favored the new literature, is not without importance for our purposes here.

Mme. de Caylus, scion of the old court and a first cousin of the morganatic wife of the late king, Mme. de Maintenon, exerted a discreet influence on a circle that was in appearance quite removed from that of the Comtesse de Verrue. Under the Regency one found at Mme. de Caylus' the old guard of the Maintenon clique (the Maréchal de Villeroy at its head, appointed by Louis XIV to look after his successor during the latter's minority);[17] intellectuals from the Académie des Inscriptions; the vestiges of the libertine clan in which the widow Scarron, future Mme. de Maintenon, was raised; friends of Ninon de l'Enclos; and intimates of the Vendômes.[18] This composite universe, mixing erudition with profligacy of ideas and devotion to worldly tastes, was the one that nurtured the Countess' beloved son Anne-Claude-Philippe, Comte de Caylus, friend and biographer of Watteau.[19] "Intellectual curiosity and the society of a number of men of reputation had made her learned in spite of herself," wrote the Abbé Gédoyn, a close friend of hers and of Ninon's.[20] It is not known at what point Watteau associated with the Caylus family—that was doubtless rather late in the Regency period (Champion 1921, p. 35). The young count who had traveled for a long period in Europe and the Near East formed his antiquarian tastes in contact with members of the Académie des Inscriptions who gravitated around his mother: Gédoyn (mentioned above), Fraguier, and La Monnoye whom we will discuss later in talking of Watteau's *tombeaux poétiques*

9. Concerning the *fêtes* of Grillon and the Loyson sisters see A. Calame, *Regnard. Sa Vie et son oeuvre* (Algiers, 1960), 86-91. The dramatist Palaprat, a friend of Regnard, dedicated a poem to them: "Pour deux soeurs infiniment aimables." *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1735), 376-378.

10. N. Boindin, *Mémoire pour servir à l'histoire des couplets de 1710* (Brussels 1752), 28.

11. Ernest Quentin-Bauchard, *Les Femmes bibliophiles de France* (Paris, 1886), 2: 409-429.

12. *Nouveau Mercure,* September 1718, 75. The artist's name is spelled "Grimoule." Malafaire had composed a "dictionnaire manuscrit" of dead artists (Malafaire, 1718, 69). The *Mercure* published extracts of this: see the article on Jouvenet (October 1718) and on Michelangelo (November 1718). Nicolas Malafaire, a friend of La Motte and the modern group, was intimately involved in the scandal of the "couplets" by Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, which basely attacked the Comtesse de Verrue and La Faye (see Boindin, *Mémoire,* and Saurin, *Factum,* published in the *Anti-Rousseau* of 1712). A brother-in-law of the painter André Vanheck who was himself a dealer in pictures and engravings, Malafaire also sold jewelry and bric-a-brac. See *MC* (Paris, 1971), 391-395 and François Moureau, *Dufresny, auteur dramatique 1657-1724* (Paris, 1979), 87.

13. BN, ms., P.O. 1689, art.: *Leriget.*

14. B. Hercenberg, *Nicolas Vleughels* (Paris, 1975), 12.

15. Inventory following the death of La Faye (*MC:* I-355, 26 September 1731).

16. *MC:* I-379, 20 September 1736.

17. Report of a supper at Mme. de Caylus' where the marshall presided. *Correspondance littéraire du Président Bouhier* 3 (Saint-Etienne, 1976), letter from l'Abbé d'Olivet, 14 February 1722.

18. La Faye, guest of the Vendômes at the Temple, later dedicated some verses to "Mme la comtesse de Caylus." G. Amfrye de Chaulieu, *Oeuvres diverses* (London, 1740), 2:282.

19. He edited the memoirs of his mother whose original and independent character is well depicted in the work.

20. Nicolas Gédoyn, *Oeuvres diverses* (Paris, 1745), 228-232: "Portrait or rather a sketch" for a portrait of Mme. de Caylus. Cited on p. 230. See beginning of "Memoir on the life of the author."

(poetic tombstones). Caylus, a hero of Malplaquet like La Roque, could have met Watteau either through La Roque or Crozat. It is certain, in any case, that the Caylus clan was important in creating a certain posthumous myth about Watteau.

Despite the diversity of the circles where those whom La Roque calls in his obituary of Watteau the "true admirers of [his] painting" (Champion 1921, p. 43) gathered (men of power and financiers under the Regency and half-pensioners of the Old Court), there was a sort of intellectual communality that resided in both new classes and the old soldiers of the dead monarch: an aspiration to live nobly and gallantly outside the confines of the court. Versailles was fading away, the palace was falling into a long slumber that would last throughout the Regency. The government and the king settled in Paris. The court broke up, and what had already been a general tendency among the nobility for quite a long while accelerated and became universal: fashion acquired a certain urbanity in which the rules of the court survived, in a minor key and removed from their pedestal; the pomp of the monarchy became secularized in pleasure, comfort, and good taste. The new art, a product of the transposition of court art to the city, drew from its dual origins and from their intimate conflict its most noteworthy characteristics.

## II The Games of Thalia and Momus or the Scenes of the Painter

Watteau's art is shot through with theatrical fictions whose meaning has called forth a tremendous number of studies in the past 100 years, the most recent and not the least among these being those of Yvonne Boerlin-Brodbeck (1973) and Robert Tomlinson (1981). Even before presenting certain new or renewed iconographic hypotheses and establishing a list of dramatic types used by Watteau, it is worthwhile to point out certain milestones the critics have rarely noted. Presumably Watteau was able to see various theatrical road companies at Valenciennes: even if we are certain only of the visit of the Duke of Hanover's company in 1681 and that of the entrepreneur Dolet in 1704,[1] nothing keeps us from assuming that Watteau got his first impression of dramatic art at Valenciennes. A garrison town, Valenciennes attracted, besides theatrical troops for the entertainment of officers, many merchants who used the stage and two character *parades* to hawk their unguents and their Hungary water. Claude Gillot, from whom Watteau learned to express the essence of the theater, represented one of these scenes of commercial seduction in an engraving of the *Fables* of La Motte (1719, Book 5). In it the huckster is accompanied by a musician (fig. 8). Watteau himself sketched a number of these street scenes (cats. D.2, 69).

fig. 8.
C. Gillot, *Homer and the Deaf Man,*
engraving for A. Houdart de La Motte, *Fables nouvelles,* Book V, 1719.



It was in Paris that Watteau truly discovered the theater—less as a spectator than as a modest participant, if one can believe Jean de Jullienne (Champion 1921, pp. 46-47, 69). We do not know the name of the painter with whom Watteau arrived from Valenciennes in 1702 to work on the theatrical decoration of the Opéra. Despite their useful detail, the accounts of the Académie Royale de Musique in 1704, published recently by J. de la Gorce,[2] fail to name any of the collaborators who produced the painted scenery for the lyric stage. It has sometimes been supposed (DV, I, p. 7) that J. Vigouroux Duplessis, a painter on whom some light has been shed by a recent publication,[3] was one of Watteau's foremen at the opera house. In any case, he did not stay there long.

In the first years of the eighteenth century, theater life was relatively simple. Five years before Watteau arrived in Paris, the king's company of Italian Comedians was peremptorily ordered to close the doors of its theater in the Hôtel de Bourgogne in the neighborhood of Les Halles. The theater was dark from 1697 until 1716. Not far from there, on the Right Bank, the old Palais-Royal theater where Molière performed had belonged to the Opéra since 1673. This theater, situated inside the precincts of the Orléans' palace, attracted the lovers of lyric art in what is traditionally called the *cul-de-*

1. Georges Mongrédien, *Dictionnaire biographique des comédiens français du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1961), 226. The two colleges in Valenciennes run by the Jesuits and by the Augustinians put on plays with pedagogical content according to the tradition of the teaching orders. It is unlikely that Watteau had any contact, directly or indirectly, with these collegial stages. Gabriel Hécart, *Recherches historiques, bibliographiques, et littéraires sur le Théâtre de Valenciennes* (Paris, 1816), 20.

2. J. de la Gorce, "L'Académie royale de Musique en 1704, d'après des documents conservés dans les archives notariales," *Revue de Musicologie* 2 (1979), 160-191. The author presumes that this report is incomplete (172).

3. See La Gorce, "Un peintre du XVIII^e siècle au service de l'Opéra de Paris: Jacques Vigouroux Duplessis," *BSHAF,* (1981).

*sac de l'Opéra.* In 1689 the Comédie-Française settled permanently on the Left Bank at the edge of the *Pays Latin* country, the student quarter that included the Sorbonne and the domain of the Abbey of Saint-Germain des Prés where certain profitable freedoms had attracted a number of merchants and theatrical producers. It was in this territory of relative autonomy that the Foire Saint-Germain flourished. Its booths offered *objets de Paris* (jewelry, gimcracks, pictures) to a clientele animated by the theaters—which at first were precariously, then firmly established after 1697—during the summer season. At the other end of Paris the spring fair called the Foire de Saint-Laurent (beyond the Porte Saint-Denis, in the domain of the Order of Missionaries of Saint Lazarus) attracted a slightly less elegant clientele than that at Saint-Germain, but one that likewise sought fashionable purchases and theatrical entertainments. The theatrical geography in Watteau's Paris was not changed until 1716 with the return of the Italian troupe, who settled back into their old theater at the Hôtel de Bourgogne after a few months at the Opéra, taking the title of *Comédiens-Italiens du duc d'Orléans, Régent.*

Watteau, along with Callot and Degas, was the French artist who best expressed the spirit of the theater. Unlike the chroniclers of choreographic art, he rarely evoked a definite dramatic moment or even a specific theater. To be sure, the Italian comic style seems to have dominated a whole section of his work; he was responsible, even more than his master, Gillot, for those tiresome scenes of the commedia dell' arte that his second-rate imitators later propagated across Europe. A closer examination reveals that Watteau, "the painter of the Italian comedy," only had access to this theater during the last years of his life under the Regency, excluding the time he spent in England—though even in London he was able to see an Italian company playing "à la française" (DV, I, p. 96).

The leading theater of the period was the Comédie-Française, free until 1716 from the tough competition of the Italian stage. Molière's company merged in 1673 with the Marais troupe and in 1680 with the old company of the Comédiens du Roi at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, giving birth in that year to the Comédie-Française. This official theater placed under the authority of the First Gentlemen of the Bedchamber formed a sort of mini-republic tempered by intrigue. In Watteau's time the theater in the rue des Fossés Saint-Germain was the meeting place of the *beaux esprits,* of the gilded youth, dandies, and women of fashion. Today it is hard to measure the importance of the theater for the society of the Ancien Régime. The provinces—Bordeaux, Lyons, Rouen—imitated Parisian fashions. The theater was also a meeting place—the Café Procope, the first Parisian café, was born across the street from the Comédie-Française—and produced a way of life that made theater out of the everyday. The *bel air* public paraded on the very stage of the theater: this practice continued until 1759. They showed themselves or held salon in the boxes or in the wings: the prologues to the plays and intermissions were enlivened by these traditional games of fashion. Living with Audran at the Luxembourg Palace or at the bottom of the rue Dauphine, Watteau was only a few hundred steps from the temple of the living theater.[4] He probably did not occupy the very expensive seats on the stage, near the boxes, nor even the amphitheater, but rather the pit where one remained standing during the performance where the most knowing segment of the public and the one the actors feared most of all, if not the richest segment,[5] was to be found. They performed every day around 5:15 in the afternoon, giving two plays—a longer one in five acts and a shorter one in one or three acts.

The rule of alternation required that the same play should not be presented two days in a row.[6] This favored the maintenance of a varied repertory and the confrontation of recent plays with those of the preceding generation—comedies of Molière and his contemporaries, and even earlier ones, including works of Scarron and Rotrou.[7] The rather mixed public at the Comédie-Française, relatively lower class on Sundays when shops were closed, felt the consequences of economic downturns, as Alasseur has shown.[8] During the first two decades of the century, however, one notes a certain rise in the financial status of the theater-going public. The effect of this on the repertory was by no means negligible. A royal decree of 1712, reissued in 1719 because the earlier one had not been respected, obligated the actors to give alternately "one serious play and one comic play."[9] The tragic art in which the Grands Comédiens of the Hôtel de Bourgogne and also to a certain extent Molière's company had proven their talents, and the historical plays that brought success to the Marais Theater gave way now to a comedy of manners, satirical, light, and forgotten as quickly as it was seen, but which delighted the public. A few second-rate imitators of Racine, among them Antoine de la Fosse, a relative of the painter who protected Watteau (Champion 1921, pp. 60-61) and who was close to the moderns,[10] did not draw large crowds to the Comédie. Only Crébillon *père,* an innovator whose importance was recognized by Marivaux in his own time and who still has not been fully assessed by scholars, returned to the Greek sources of tragedy and created a "black" genre whose mainspring was fright.

Even if there were still great tragic actors like old Baron, companion of Molière, and Mesdemoiselles Duclos and Desmares, the most fashionable actors were recruited from among the comic characters. The tradition had been maintained since Molière's time of the actor-playwrights who furnished plays to the company that they had written themselves or that they had more or less talked the author into giving to them in return for the authorization to produce them for a modest recompense. Hauteroche, Champmeslé, Baron, and R. Poisson were among these privileged actors. At the beginning of the century, Florent Carton Dancourt, surrounded by his numerous family, exercised a considerable influence on the Comédie-Française (fig. 9). Dancourt put his wife, Marie-Thérèse, and his two daughters, Manon and Mimi, on the stage and became a specialist in so-called *dancourades,* cynical comedies about the vices and fashions of the time, inspired directly by the social realities of a certain stratum of Paris society: broken-down artistocrats, crooks

of all sorts, nouveaux riches, aging wives on the prowl for sensual *ragoûts,* perverse little girls—roles in which Dancourt's own daughters triumphed—and, as a counterpoint, rustic characters whose natures were no worse than those of the city dwellers. Born at the end of a reign, this theater appeared quite acceptable to the court at Versailles. But beneath the airs of an amiable and suavely amoral game often concluded by an entertainment of music and dancing in which the players happily embarked for suburban Cytheras, it expressed in its own way the distance between the sham of the court and the astonishing social ferment of the city. From his reception in the Comédie-Française in 1685 until his retirement in 1718, Dancourt imposed this style of comedy of which he, alone or with a few discreet collaborators, was its uncontested master.[11]

The production of authors like Regnard, Dufresny, and, even more, of Lesage, was slight compared to Dancourt's comedy factory that turned out success after success for the Comédie-Française, often immediately forgotten, but still very remunerative. The cynicism of Regnard was more subtle,[12] the sad comedy of Dufresny was deeper,[13] the humane spirit of Lesage was much more exact, but Dancourt dominated the comic art of his time by the regularity of his production and his attention to the slightest variations in the character of society.

A number of indicators, unfortunately often obscured by disorganized research on the painter's life, lead us to believe that Watteau was rather closely associated with certain actors of the Comédie-Française. *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38) and *The French Comedians* (cat. P. 70) do not depict any particular production but are rather a sort of lyric synthesis of the art of the theater. We will see (Appendix B, "Theater Costumes in the Work of Watteau") that Watteau's iconographic sources worked in a much more complex way than is generally imagined. The plays of Dancourt, which are so contrary, as we have just said, to what appears to be the spirt of Watteau, furnished him with a considerable number of indirect sources—*Le Galant Jardinier* or *Les Trois Cousines* (Fourcaud 1904, pp. 148, 204), and so on, as did Molière's with *Le Dépit Amoureaux* or *M. de Pourceaugnac* (Fourcaud 1904, pp. 148, 149). These iconic guessing games rest uncomfortably on fragile bases that ignore the interpenetration of different theatrical styles in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. With these matters we pass from what is quite probable to what is most uncertain.

Charlotte Desmares had numerous reasons for meeting Watteau. A famous tragic actress, she did not disdain the role of soubrette in the *dancourades*—such as Colette in *Les Trois Cousines.*[14] She began acting at the age of eight in 1690 and retired from the stage in March 1721.[15] The niece of the great Mlle. Champmeslé, who had created the finest roles of Racine, she was in competition with Mlle. Duclos, the tragedienne par excellence of the French stage. She was also the mistress of the Duc d'Orléans, future Regent,[16] and a very



fig. 9.
G. Gence, *Portrait of Florent Carton Dancourt,* 1704.

4. Description of the hall in H. Lagrave, *Le Théâtre et le Public à Paris de 1715 à 1750* (Paris, 1972), 73-81.

5. List of the prices for tickets to the Comédie-Française between 1701 and 1721: Claude Alasseur, *La Comédie-Française au 18e siècle, Etude économique* (Paris, The Hague, 1967), table no. 2, 77. The price of a ticket in the pit was a bit less than one livre; the price of a theater seat (that is, on the stage itself) was more than five livres during the 1720-1721 season.

6. Lagrave, *Théatre,* 310.

7. The abandonment of the old repertory was perceptible only after 1725 (Lagrave, *Théâtre,* 330). For more details, see H. C. Lancaster, "The Comédie-Française, 1701-1774," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* n.s. 41, part 4 (Baltimore, 1954), 593-849.

8. Curve of the price of wheat inverse to the curve for receipts from ticket sales (Alasseur, *Comédie-Française,* 53).

9. Jules Bonnassies, *La Comédie-Française. Histoire administrative* (Paris, 1874), 134-137.

10. Translator of Anacréon, La Fosse associated with the circle of librettists at the Opéra, among others Abbé Pic and Abbé Pellegrin. He is the author of various poems dealing with painting (*Les Oeuvres* [Paris, 1747], vol. 2): "Sur le Portrait d'une Dame peinte en Flore," 171; "Sur les Peintures de Mademoiselle Chéron. A l'occasion de son portrait fait par elle-même," 179-183; "Madrigal. Sur un Portrait du Roi, qui d'une main soutient un globe et de l'autre une Eglise," 225-226. For contemporary references to La Fosse, see Pierre Mélèse, *Répertoire analytique des documents contemporains d'information et de critique concernant le théâtre à Paris sous Louis XIV. 1659-1715* (Paris, 1934), 51; add to that the obituary in *La Clé du Cabinet (Journal de Verdun)* (June 1709), 424, which reproduces an epitaph by Pellegrin and a madrigal by Baraton, *Poésies diverses* (Paris, 1705), 279, composed "For M. de la Fosse, ordinary painter to the King and M. de la Fosse-Daubigny, his nephew, a dramatic poet."

11. André Blanc, *Le Théâtre de Dancourt,* 2 vols. (Lille, Paris, 1977).

12. Calame, *Regnard.*

13. Moureau, *Dufresny.*

14. Contrary to common opinion, Mlle. Desmares did not create the role in 1700; she played it in a revival (A. Blanc, 1:156, n. 3).

15. See Mongrédien, *Dictionnaire biographique,* 59; H. C. Lancaster, *A History of Parisian Drama in the Last Years of Louis XIV, 1701-1715* (Baltimore, London, 1945), 11; Mélèse, *Répertoire,* 83.

16. [Jacques de Varenne], *Mémoires du Chevalier de Ravanne* (Liége, 1740),

shrewd art collector, as we know from an inventory of 1746[17] where we find a version of Desportes' *Self-Portrait as a Hunter, Deer Hunt* by the same artist, numerous old Italian, Flemish, and Dutch paintings, history subjects, genre scenes, battles, and still lifes, as well as a pastel portrait of herself by Charles-Antoine Coypel, two pictures of the Regent, and a *Concert* by an anonymous painter, a total of thirty-seven paintings of great quality. Three works by Watteau (CR 165, 166, 167) are thought to be portraits of Mlle. Desmares; Fourcaud (1904, p. 204) even supposed that she was depicted in the *Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9), inspired, as he thought, by the final interlude of *Les Trois Cousines*. An engraving by Desplaces after a Watteau drawing shows her "playing the role of a pilgrim" (DV 59).

One might object that Colette—Mlle. Desmares—did not appear in this finale where the "pilgrimage" was led by Mlle. Hortense and by Touvenelle, a singer of the Comédie-Française.[18] We believe Mlle. Hortense was played by Marie Hortense Racot, Mlle. Dangeville, called "la belle Hortense" who, like Desmares, played roles of the woman in love or the tragic princess.[19] Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, p. 70) have partially reestablished the truth about the actors in this entertainment. It remains to be proved that *Les Trois Cousines* was the sole source—or even one source—of the *Island of Cythera*.

The same uncertainty shadows the identity of *Finette* (cat. P. 58): Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, p. 70) saw in it an evocation of Dancourt's younger daughter Mimi, who played Marotte in *Les Trois Cousines* and, generally, the roles of the comic lovers and soubrettes.[20] Mimi was the niece of Pierre Le Noir, sieur de La Thorillière, who entered the Comédie-Française in 1684 and played *à manteau* roles—today one would say character roles—valet, drunkard, peasant, and so on. He had married Catherine Biancolelli, the great Colombine of the Italian company and the daughter of Dominique, the first modern Harlequin, whose sister was Dancourt's wife.[21] Successor of Raisin in some of the great Molière roles but without having created any real comic type himself, he had nonetheless fashioned such an original silhouette that a play at the Fair called for a "Pasquin in the style of La Thorillière *le père*."[22] Du Tralage described him as "pleasure loving and a gourmand."[23] Various peasant types in Watteau's works are more or less direct evocations of La Thorillière. A plate in the *Figures de différents caractères* (no. 198) shows him seated, wearing a skullcap and with long hair falling to his shoulders, his left hand resting on a cane. An etching by Du Bosc reproduced the print with the inscription: *Le Tourilière Comédien* (Goncourt 1875, no. 74; DV, III, p. 141). Four drawings, all of which are exhibited here (cats. D. 28, 29, 56, 72) evoke this comic character and may be reasonably considered as picturing La Thorillière, of whom no certain portrait is known to exist.

*Dumirail Dressed as a Peasant* (DV 57) inspired the same reflection: This print and its related drawing (cat. D. 15) must represent Vincent Charles de l'Estoile, called Dumirail, the son of a dancer at the Opéra, who made his debut at the Comédie-Française in 1708.[24] This engraving by Desplaces in the *Figures françoises et comiques* belongs to a series in which *Mlle. Desmares Playing the Role of a Pilgrim* and *Poisson Dressed as a Peasant* (see cats. D. 43, 44) also appear.

*Poisson Dressed as a Peasant* clearly represents a member of one of the most famous comic families of the Comédie-Française. It can only be Paul Poisson. We have met him already at Grillon's parties in the company of Regnard and the Loyson sisters, with La Thorillière and the friends of the comic poet: park *fêtes* where they perhaps crossed paths with Watteau. Paul Poisson, Raymond's son and creator of the character of Crispin, had made his debut in 1680; following a temporary retirement in 1711 he had made a comeback in 1715.[25] He retired permanently in 1724 and died in 1735. This engraving cannot thus represent either Raymond, who died in 1690, or Paul's son Philippe, recruited in 1700 to play youthful tragic roles.[26] Paul Poisson, of whom we have portraits by Grimou (sale, London, Sotheby, 23 June 1982, former collection of Comte de Fénelon in Paris) and an anonymous one sometimes attributed to Watteau (Musée de la

1:108, 118; Jean Hervez, *La Régence galante* (Paris, 1909), 42-43. One must be prudent about the romanticized "memoirs" of Ravanne: readers overly fond of anecdotes have been taken in by them.

17. Donation by Charlotte Desmares to Charlotte Damour, 23 September 1746; reproduced in its entirety in E. Campardon, *Les Comédiens du Roi de la Troupe française pendant les deux derniers siècles* (Paris, 1879), 72-79. The Regent had married off to the Marquis de Ségur the daughter he had by Mlle. Desmares (Princesse Palatine, *Correspondance complète* (Paris, 1912), 1: 321; 2: 67). This "Charlotte Damour" *(sic)* may be another natural daughter. Mlle. Desmares was the mistress of Baron the younger, and, according to the Princess Palatine, also of the Elector of Bavaria.

18. Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des théâtres* (Paris, 1756-1762), 5:494.

19. H. Lyonnet, *Dictionnaire des comédiens français* (Paris, 1908-1909) 1:425.

20. Lyonnet, *Dictionnaire*, 423-424.

21. Campardon, *Comédiens*, 181; Mélèse, *Répertoire*, 89; Mongrédien, *Dictionnaire biographique*, 107-108.

22. L. Fuzelier, *Les Adieux de Melpomène* (a performed never play, 1725) (BN, ms., f.fr. 9332). Pasquin, an Italian comic character (created in Paris in 1697 with *Pasquin et Marforio* by Dufresny) was in the tradition of the cynical adventurers and the enterprising valets.

23. Tralage, *Notes et documents*, 2-3.

24. Parfaict, *Dictionnaire*, 3:428; *Comédie-Française* 116 (1983), 33 (article on Dumirail). He doubled as Poisson and Baron in comic roles. Son of a dancer and a dancer himself (he played at the Opéra from 1717 to 1724), he is often confused with his father; for example, see C. Fischer, *Les Costumes de l'Opéra* (Paris, 1931), 59.

25. Campardon, *Comédiens*, 227-228. A little-known work of Jean Nicole Moreau de Brasey, *Mémoires politique amusans et satiriques*, 3 vols. (1716). See, in that volume, "Veritopolie, Jean disant Vrai" *(sic)*, which contains some curious anecdotes about Paul Poisson (1:169-170, 233-235). *La Clé du Cabinet des Princes* (March, 1706), 164-167 published the *Requête de Poisson comédien* to the King, in favor of Crispin's daughters, in which Crispin comically "taxes" the Princes for keeping his daughers.

26. Campardon, *Comédiens*, 225-227, 228-229. On Raymond, see A. Ross Curtis, *Crispin I^er^. La vie et l'oeuvre de Raymond Poisson, comédien poète du XVII^e^ siècle* (Toronto, 1972).

27. Mélèse, *Répertoire*, 92.

28. See n. 9.

29. Curtis, *Crispin*, 84.

Comédie-Française, Paris) was considered one of the "principal debauchés" of the company according to Tralage.[27] Regularly cast as Crispin whose traditional costume he wore, he is one iconographic source for the numerous Crispins done by Watteau (see Appendix B, "Theater Costumes in the Work of Watteau").

Watteau's predilection for portraits of comic actors of the French company is worth noting. Beyond a more general meaning that this might have in Watteau's work, which is combined with his taste for parallel characters in the Italian tradition that we will discuss below, the depiction of these comedians corresponded once again to a fashion. This fashion did not please a power anxious to control the good morals and dignity of the first theater of the kingdom, which tried to impose by regulation[28] a balance in the repertory of the Comédie-Française between the neglected tragic theater and the comic "little plays," starring industrious valets and naïvely perverse peasants, which had become the specialties of Poisson and La Thorillière. Still rather rare in Regnard's theater, Crispin triumphed in the comedies of Lesage, played in the first decade of the century.[29] He is at right in the picture of *The French Comedians* (cat. P. 70). He advances from the back of the stage, enigmatic and heavy, ready to take the place of the pompous tragedians who hold our attention for a few more moments.

This picture offers us a happy transition for a short study of the stage in Watteau's work. We will try to situate certain aspects of Watteau's works in the specific world of the musical spectacle. Once again we must mistrust certain first impressions and recall one essential rule for interpreting Watteau's iconographic sources: even when they seem obvious, they are not, in fact, what they seem, that is, illusions of illusions in the imagination of the painter.

There is no simple iconography in the spectacles from the beginning of the eighteenth century. There was a constant exchange of themes, roles, and characters between the different theaters—Comédie-Française, Opéra, the fairs and, from 1716, the Comédie-Italienne. One can if necessary speak of dominant characters in certain spectacles, but that in no way excludes the presence of secondary characters elsewhere. This situation is explained by particular historic circumstances. The old Italian troupe, which was dismissed in 1697, had based the success of its spectacles around 1690 on the use of a new dramatic combination that was not yet called *opéra comique:* the world of the opera was copied and parodied with alacrity and good humor.[30] For its part, the Comédie-Française with its *dancourades* was developing an original kind of comedy ending in a musical *divertissement* where dancing, song, and spectacle tried to compete with the style of the opera. In January 1718, the orchestra of the Comédie-Française had six instrumentalists: three violins, one oboe, and two basses.[31] The singer Touvenelle, whom some thought they recognized in the *Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9), directed the musical parts of the spectacle. After 1697, the Paris companies pounced on the remains of the banned Italians. The fairs took up and developed their musical spectacles, using transalpine comic characters. For its part, the Opéra integrated into its entertainments certain silhouettes taken from the Harlequin theater. It was thus that characters such as Folly, the Espagnolettes, or the Doctor passed from one theater to the other with the result that we cannot determine today their definitive theatrical sources. One must also take into account the taste of the private theaters, at the court and in the city, for entertainments where amateurs were costumed as the traditional characters of the theater. It is there perhaps that Watteau got the castoff costumes that he made his friends put on in order to paint them as make-believe Mezzetins or Orientals.[32]

Having said this, even if its spirit is often present there, the world of the opera remains evanescent in Watteau's oeuvre. It was there, however, that in 1702 he discovered the first facets of the Paris stage. His master, Gillot, was certainly one of the costume designers for the lyric stage, but only after Watteau had already left him.[33] Although only in its thirties, the Académie Royale de Musique seemed like an old lady whose survival in the early part of the century was far from assured. Since the death of its founder in 1687, Lully's theater, which went from one economic crisis to another, experienced rapid turnover of managers, among them privileged persons and some professionals like Jean-Nicolas de Francine, Lully's son-in-law, and a few businessmen charged with reestablishing a semblance of order in a theater clearly in a financial abyss. Watteau lived through the revolutions that shook the Academy in 1704, 1712, and February 1721. Francine remained the strong man during all this period, despite a lessening of his influence after 1704 and the nomination in 1713 of the composer Destouches as "inspector general of the entire operation of the Académie Royale de Musique."[34]

The Opéra had the justified reputation of being an expensive theater: the price of seats was double that of the other official Paris theaters.[35] The hall it occupied at the Palais-Royal[36] was considered unsuitable for the presentation of the great spectacles that the grand opera of Louis XIV's time required (fig. 10). In its beginnings the Academy's purpose was to serve the court. It was there that Lully created

30. See Moureau, *Dufresny,* sect. II, ch. 3.

31. N. Boindin, *Lettres historiques sur tous les spectacles de Paris* (Paris, 1719), "first letter about the Comédie-Française," 10.

32. One may judge this in F. Moureau, "Les Comédiens-Italiens et la Cour de France (1664-1697)," *XVII^e Siècle* 130 (January-March 1981), 78. An *amateur,* T.-S. Gueullette performed Italian plays in various private theaters at Auteuil and at Maisons from about 1707. See J.-E. Gueullette, *Thomas-Simon Gueullette* (Paris, 1938), 62-66.

33. For the ballet *Les Eléments* (1721). See Populus, *Claude Gillot (1673-1722). Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé* (Paris 1930), 65, cat. nos. 394-478. To this may be joined the vignettes drawn in 1715 for the edition of the two operas by Lully: *Amadis and Thésée* (Populus nos. 487-498, engraved by G. Scotin). *L'Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo* asserts, without proof, that Gillot participated in the decoration of the operas of La Motte at the beginning of the century.

34. The ups and downs of life at the Opéra at this period are minutely analyzed in an unpublished manuscript by F. Parfaict ("Histoire de l'Académie de Musique depuis son établissement jusqu' à présent" [1714]; BN, mas., f.fr. 6532). This information can be completed by recent studies by Jérôme de la Gorce, cited in n. 2, and "L'Opéra et son public au temps de Louis XIV," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France* (1981, 1982), 27-46.

35. Lagrave, *Théâtre* 47.

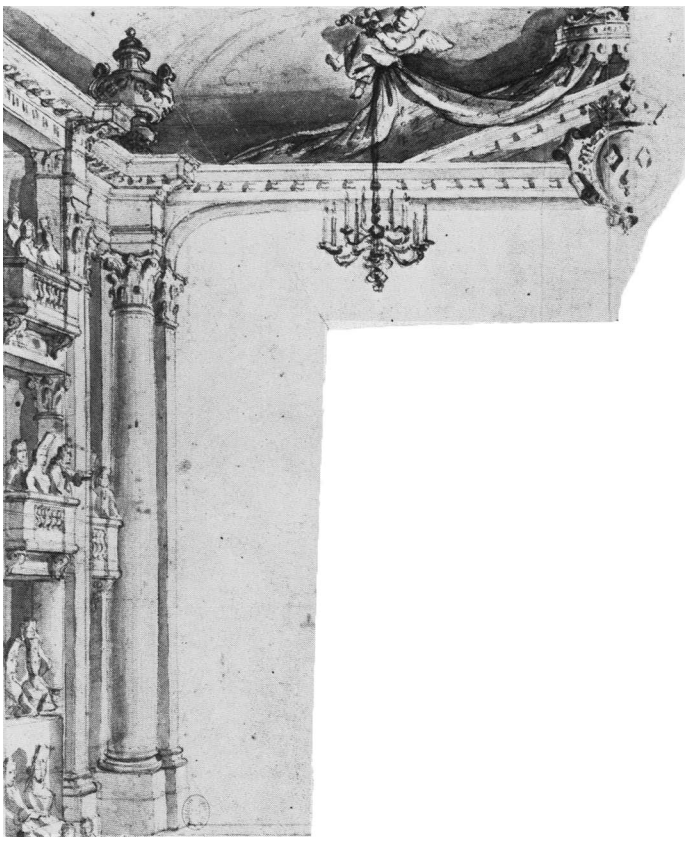


fig. 10.
Anonymous, *Proscenium,*
ink and wash, end of the 17th century.

the French opera—out of whole cloth—for the king. The vogue for it had diminished at Versailles, paralleling the waning interest of the King and the aging of the Lully repertory. François de Callières noted in 1692 that opera had become a "bourgeois entertainment."[37] When one remembers the aristocratic sources of the French opera—court ballets and prologues in praise of the king—its relegation to the common lot of spectacles indicates once again that the spirit of Paris was opposed to that of the court. But contrary to other fashions, the city's taste for opera was somehow retrograde: the new classes of the city, financiers and other fashionable types, mimicked at the Opéra the aristocratic ceremonial that surrounded the musical play at the court. But in a world where the "marvelous" of the monarchy ceded nothing to the "marvelous" of the stage, one proceeded to a simple spectacle, an empty shell where only very earthly harmonies resounded. The new queens of the opera were the Loyson sisters,[38] whom we mentioned above, and the fashionable crowd that transposed Versailles to Paris. The repertory of the Académie Royale de Musique was the stuffiest of all the theaters in Paris;[39] it consisted of fourteen operas by Lully which, according to the Regulations of 1714, had to be repeated two at a time every year. Lully, creator (together with Quinault) of the musical tragedy,[40] a lyric adaptation of a certain form of French classical tragedy where the marvelous and the spectacular dominated, imposed on his successors a style of opera that no longer suited the spirit of the times. The heroic pastorale developed on an intermediate level where the Graces consorted easily with a gallant mythology better adapted to a generation that was often less cultivated or one that liked the novel better than history or the fables of antiquity. From 1695 on, with *Les Saisons* of Colasse, and even more so two years later with *L'Europe galante* of Campra, the opera-ballet, a new lyric style adapted to this time of crisis for the great genres was born. Its historian in the eighteenth century, Louis de Cahusac, called this original genre in 1754 "pretty Watteaus, piquant miniatures that demand all the precision of drawing, the graces of the brush, and the brilliance of color."[41]

The opera-ballet represented the modern genre par excellence. The librettist of *L'Europe galante* was in fact none other than Antoine Houdar de La Motte, the future leader of the modern party. The opera-ballet was born first of all out of the boredom engendered by the five-act tragedies of the Lully period. Cahusac, before comparing the opera-ballet to "pretty Watteaus," drew a parallel between the musical tragedy and a "picture of vast composition like those of Raphaels and Michelangelos."[42] This classical comparison of the arts, of which we will see another example in Watteau's "poetic tombstones," has only relative truth. At least Watteau's style seemed contemporary and similar to a certain form of opera.[43] Contrary to the musical tragedy, which offered a sustained plot entered upon and resolved according to the principles of classical art, the opera-ballet offered a sequence of *entrées* loosely tied together by a vague theme, a "composite of several different acts each of which presents an action intertwined with *divertissements*."[44] This theme was gallant, of course, and often a pretext for exotic decors and for psychological fantasies: the amorous Turk, the jealous Spaniard, and so on. In fact, the plot was practically abandoned and was limited to the brief modulations of elementary passions: love, despair, jealousy—exalted pleasures of the moment. From one *entrée* to the next, the same fragile silhouettes appear, the same spectacle of these private moments when the heart overflows, this singular immobility of time in the choreographic swirl of the *divertissements.* More than to Watteau's scenes of balls, the opera-ballet pointed (by what mysterious artistic transmutation?) to his pictures of parks where silent figures, scattered about according to a sentimental geometry whose key we lack, pursued from picture to picture (or from *entrée* to *entrée*) the sublime immobility of time. Danchet wrote in the preface to his libretto for *Télémaque* (1704): "this work may be compared to a cabinet of choice paintings by different masters."[45]

The birth of this genre also bore witness to the renunciation of the majestic tone of the opera. The new style was directed toward the public of the city, to a world in a hurry, bored by long romances, who preferred short tales.[46] Though Watteau was able to hear excellent musicians and contemporary works of high quality from André Cardinal Destouches to André Campra, from *Issé* to the *Fêtes vénitiennes,* he lived in decades of "digestion" rather than of "creation"; in a period, nevertheless, when according to Cahusac, La Motte introduced the "pastorale and the allegory"[47] on the lyric stage.

Watteau was also able to attend the Opéra through his friend Antoine de la Roque who is said to be the poet who wrote the libretto for *Théonoé,* presented in 1715 to the music of Salomon.[48] We know nothing of Watteau's relationship with the singers[49] or the dancers of the Academy; with Gabriel Vincent Thévenard, the most famous artist of the Opéra at that time; with Louis Dupré, the best dancer; or with the others who specialized in roles where they mimed the comic characters often painted by Watteau. Claude Javillier was Scaramouche in *La Vénitienne,* Pantaloon in *Les Fêtes vénitienne,* Pilgrim in *Les Plaisirs de la Paix;* Anne Harant played most of the roles from 1710 to 1722 of "peasant women" or of "Biscayennes" in the dance entertainments; and Léonard Lavigne danced Polichinelle in the revival of Lully's *Psyché* in 1703.[50] The man known as the *Indifferent* (cat. P. 59) certainly represents a dancer, and it is even clear (Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, p. 177) that he is executing a *dégagé croisé en avant.* This sophisticated step suggests that Watteau used a professional dancer as his model.

On the other hand, the relationship of the painter with the musician Jean-Féry Rebel is attested by an exceptionally fine drawing (PM 926), engraved by Moyreau (DV 104). The violinist Jean-Féry Rebel is shown in front of a harpsichord on which he has placed his violin. This detail may permit us to date this drawing rather accurately. In fact, Rebel was designated one of the twenty-four Violinists of the King in 1705 and was already a musician at the Opéra. He became the harpsichord accompanist responsible for the continuo at the head of the "small chorus" in 1713 and in 1717 was named orchestra director, conducting from the harpsichord. A document of 1702 indicates that he was responsible for the "basso continuo for the harpsichord."[51] This makes it clear that Watteau had represented the musician as conductor rather than as an instrumentalist. Born in 1666, as seen in the records of Laborde, Rebel had begun his career by singing in Lully's chorus, according to F. Parfaict.[52] He composed a mediocre opera, *Ulysse et Pénélope* (1703), and some rather fine sonatas in the Italian style for two or three instruments, *La Sincère, La Fidelle, L'Iris,* and *La Brillante.* He is ranked accordingly among the Italianizing composers. Under the Regency he was the protégé of John Law who, according to Rosalba Carriera, attended the Crozat concerts, of which Watteau has left a drawing (cat. D. 127).

The musical soirées given by Pierre Crozat in his *hôtel* in the rue de Richelieu bore witness to a new taste for chamber music. This vogue came from Italy and it permitted the Parisian dilettantes before the creation of the *Concert Spirituel* in 1725 to hear works that were not in the repertory of public concerts, where only lyric works—operas or comic operas—were given. Crozat was not alone in following this fashion. Saint-Colombe performed viola trios with his daughters and Marin Marais played concerts with his sons.[53] A picture by F. de Troy (National Gallery, London) shows a gathering of the flutist La Barre and his friends. In high society it was good form to play an instrument; bourgeois circles reverberated with these sonatas. In one drawing there are three musicians portrayed by Watteau at an unknown concert, all identified by Mariette's inscription (cat. D. 127): Mlle. d'Argenon, niece of the painter La Fosse; the castrato Antonio Paccini; and the Genoese violinist Giovanni Antonio Guido, called "Antoine," who arrived in Paris around the beginning of the century and entered the service of the Duc d'Orléans.[54] Guido conducted the Regent's orchestra and we owe to him several motets and instrumental pieces that the prince, a lover of Italian music[55] and himself a flutist, particularly liked. The history of private concerts, which prolifer-

36. Plan, elevation, and layout of the hall are analyzed in La Gorce, "L'Opéra," figs. 4-6.

37. *Des Mots à la mode* (Paris, 1692), 7.

38. See the *Satire sur quelques personnes étant un jour a l'Opéra en 1705* (BN., ms., f.fr. 12693, ff. 298-299) where the "Loyson family," Chaulieu and La Fare, both intimates of Mme. de Caylus, appear.

39. Lagrave, *Théâtre,* 346-347.

40. See the work of Cuthbert Girdlestone, *La Tragédie en musique (1673-1750) considérée comme genre littéraire* (Geneva, 1972).

41. Louis de Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne ou Traité historique de la Danse* (The Hague [Paris], 1754), 3:109.

42. Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne,* 3:108.

43. See the unpublished thesis on the opéra-ballet at the Académie de Musique by Françoise Dartois-Lapeyre (Université de Paris I–Sorbonne, 1983).

44. Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne,* 3:108-109.

45. *Recueil général des opéras* (Paris, 1706), vol. 8; and *Théâtre de M. Danchet* (Paris, 1751), 2:293.

46. See François Moureau, *Le "Mercure galant" de Dufresny (1710-1714) ou le journalisme à la mode* (Oxford, 1982), ch. 4: "Historiettes et contes."

47. Moureau, *Le "Mercure galant,"* 3:111.

48. According to the official *Recueil Ballard* (*Recueil général des opéras* [Paris, 1720], vol. 11), the libretto is by La Roque. But the "Histoire" by Parfaict (BN, ms. f.fr. 6532, 138), followed by most modern specialists, attributes the text to Abbé Pellegrin, one of the most prolific authors of the Opéra and of the theaters at the Fair. Incidentally, other librettos are attributed to Pellegrin that are signed officially by amateurs.

49. The tenor Jacques Cochereau, whose second wife was originally from Valenciennes (E. Campardon, *L'Académie Royale de Musique au XVIII^e siècle* [Paris, 1884], 1:131-138), was the singing master of the daughters of the Regent. It is not unlikely that Watteau may have met him in a milieu where he had many friends.

50. About these artists, see Campardon, *L'Académie,* 1:283-292 (L. Dupré); 391-394 (A. Harant); 2:5-11 (Cl. Javillier), 89-91 (L. Lavigne); 307-313 (G.-V. Thévenard).

51. La Gorce, "L'Académie royale," 182, n. 82; Lionel de la Laurencie, "Une dynastie de musiciens aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles," *Bulletin de la Société internationale de Musique,* Leipzig (January 1906), 257-269. See also the article in the *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo,* 8:762 and Marcelle Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du Roi. Etude institutionnelle et sociale. 1661-1733* (Paris, 1971), 203-204. Boindin, describing the orchestra in 1718, said that Rebel was the "*batteur de mesure.* He is at the head of the Twenty-Four Violins of the King, and he gets a special pension for rehearsing them" (*Lettres,* "first letter on the Opéra," 115).

52. Parfaict, "Histoire," 106.

53. Parfaict, *Dictionnaire,* 76-77.

54. Benoît, *Versailles,* 153; *The New Grove Dictionary* 7:803.

55. Benoît, *Versailles,* 36-37.

ated in the first decades of the century, is still little known. Gétreau's study (see Appendix C, "Watteau and Music" suggests that Watteau had a good knowledge of instrumental technique; the classic study on the subject (Mirimonde 1961) must henceforth be reconsidered on these new bases. The fact that Jullienne had himself shown playing the violincello in a landscape with Watteau, who was "imitating nature" on his canvas (DV 3), suggests certain correspondences that emerged little by little at the beginning of the century before resulting in 1725 in the famous theories of Père Castel on the "ocular harpsichord."[56] Derived from Père Marin Mersenne in the previous century, the theory of correspondences was accepted quite naturally in an aesthetic universe where the harmony of the spheres referred to the various physical realities and to art, more natural than nature itself. It was the moment when Couperin defined the psychological color of musical tones and set up a series of concordances between colors and feelings: modesty—pink; hope—green; fidelity—blue; perseverance—linen-gray; languor—violet, and so on.[57]

In this world of Italianizing musicians and of modern politicians and literati, Watteau and Jean-Féry Rebel could have had a useful relationship. Rebel invented a new style of ballet in the last years of Louis XIV's reign, the "symphonic dances," which already anticipated Noverre's mime-writing style. In *Les Caractères de la Danse* (1715), Rebel made choreography an independent expressive art[58] and allowed it the *mimesis* of the affections that other arts influenced by Cartesianism had pursued, and of which Le Brun had established an equivalent in the art of drawing in his *Caractères des passions* (engraved by S. Leclerc, 1696).

Some of Watteau's pictures could be studied in light of the choreographic principles of Rebel and the classic treatises of Beauchamp and Feuillet.[59] Tomlinson (1981, p. 36) has found a rhythmic theme of branle and contredanse in *Country Entertainments* (Wallace Collection; CR 183) and snatches of minuets in several of his important works. The world of the dance lived in the painter's works in such a fashion that it could not help having just as deep a meaning as the plays or the scenes of musicians. As the mute art par excellence, dance joins painting at the boundaries of the inexpressible.

Balls are depicted numerous times in Watteau's paintings. For example: the rustic *Marriage Contract* (cat. P. 21) and the *Country Ball* (cat. P. 24) and the elegant *Venetian Fêtes* from Edinburgh (CR 180), the *Actors at a Fair* (cat. P. 10), the charming *Dance* (called "Iris it is time . . .") (cat. P. 72), and especially the sumptuous *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51). Some may speak of the extent of traditional aspects in this genre—in the northern painting well-known to Watteau. It also corresponds to a fashion that may have inspired him directly. The finances of the Académie Royale de Musique were in such disastrous shape that, beginning in 1713, the king decided to help the Opéra by authorizing it to put on great public balls in the hall of the Palais-Royal. A regulation of the Regent (December 1715) fixed the number of balls to be given at the Opéra alternating with the spectacles themselves, at three per week. Specially installed flooring and original decor were provided.[60] The hall "was decorated with busts, a cabinet of mirrors at the back of the hall, two orchestras, one at each end, and a buffet of refreshments in the middle."[61] These balls, which one attended masked, disguised as a bat or a "domino," mixed all segments of society; from the Regent's daughter, who "hunted" there, to the shop assistant, and to the famous Chevaliers du Soleil of the rue St. Denis. René de Bonneval in 1717 described the singular atmosphere that reigned in those wild nights at the Opéra as "the most fertile source of gallant adventures."

> This shepherdess so simple in her clothes and manners is perhaps a Princess who wants to set aside for the evening the dignities of her rank. . . . In a word, everyone is marvelously disguised. Costume, wit, heart, face, gestures, language: nothing is natural. But do you not admire the excitement of this world as all its movements are measured and respond to the cadence?[62]

The success of these balls led the Comédie-Française to ask for the same privileges, which were granted in December 1716. However, beginning with the following carnival, the Opéra succeeded in having this competition suppressed.[63] Other more discreet nocturnal *fêtes galantes*[64] were organized in the aristocratic residences of the capital or the suburbs: they took as themes country balls, fairs, dominos, libertine embarkations, and pilgrimages over which Terpsichore and Amor presided. Cahusac mentioned the masked balls at Sceaux and the Palais-Royal given by the du Maine and the d'Orléans families, those at Suresnes organized for the exiled Elector of Bavaria, and those of the Hôtel de Bretonvilliers in Paris for Prince Emmanuel of Portugal: "An extraordinary profusion of refreshments, the most brilliant illuminations, and the least constraints of freedom were the ornaments of the masked balls that they gave."[65]

Watteau could have gained entrance to those places frequented by some of his friends and protectors. The atmosphere of the ball, its ambiguities, and the flirtatious masking or unmasking, as in the *Coquettes* (cat. P. 29), suffuse a part of Watteau's work.

The most controversial question, and the most deliberately obscured of all Watteau's theatrical sources, is the Italian style of certain of the phantoms present in the paintings and the drawings of the artist. In contrast to the majority of characters of the Comédie-Française and the Opéra, the Italian stock characters are easily recognizable. Such "fixed types" were comic characters, always wearing the same characteristic costumes, who had clearly defined roles (valet, adventurer, lover, senile old man, and so on) and the same manner of being, feeling, and acting in all of the plays where they appeared. The scenario of the *commedia all'improvviso* was a comic argument that the actor created in his own way with the aid of the *zibaldone* (collections of tirades) and from his own personal experience as an actor always playing the same role. The actor improvised freely, always interacting with the other characters. After 1680, the royal company of Italian comedians in Paris recruited a number of authors and amateurs to draft certain French *scènes détachées* whose purpose was to render more understandable outlines of the Italian scenes. When the Italian theater was closed in 1697, most of the new plays were in French and were

approaching in style the forms that were used at the Comédie-Française: written plays, divided into acts, followed by musical entertainments.

But there remained a certain inimitable Italian style of which the French actors were very jealous, an abandoned repertory that aroused the interest of small theaters installed at the Fairs. From 1697 to 1716, during the bulk of Watteau's career, the Italian characters continued to be used only in the itinerant companies. The Opéra (and less frequently the Comédie-Française) as well as the private theaters used the castoff costumes of the Harlequin theater, the first two in the danced *divertissements* of the finales, the third in the *parades* that were often directly inspired by the old Italian sketches. Thus the Académie Royale de Musique, to which Francine had intended in 1700 to add an Italian company,[66] had Italian characters played by his own dancers or by utility players borrowed from the Fairs.[67] The Italian characters appealed to the public's nostalgia for the banned theater. In *La Vénitienne* (1705), a comedy-ballet by La Barre based on a libretto by La Motte, the *divertissement* of the prologue provided a very complete ensemble of Italian characters played by dancers of the academy: Harlequin (the younger Dumoulin), Pantaloon, The Doctor, Spesafere or Capitan (played by Dumirail at the Opéra), Scaramouche, Polichinelle (the younger Dangeville), and Pierrot (Marcelle). The "ball" of the third act put some of these characters on the stage, plus a Harlequine danced by Mlle. Provost and a Scaramouchette by Mlle. Caré (*Recueil général des opéras,* Paris, vol. 8, 1706). In this work by the future leader of the modern party there are numerous iconographic elements dear to Watteau: Italian characters, ball scenes, fools wearing cap and bells, Orientals, troupes of masks. *Les Fêtes Vénitiennes* (1710) by Campra and Danchet offered as dancers, besides fools and masks, a Pierrot, a "Venetian" Doctor (variation on the traditional Bolognese Doctor), other classical types, and a Pantaloon; and in an additional *entrée,* Harlequin, Colombine, and Pierrot's wife—an extremely rare personage who may have come out of the Fair where she was seen occasionally (*RGO,* vol. 10, 1714). Harlequin, Harlequine, and Polichinelle appear in the "ball" of the third act of *Les Fêtes de Thalie* (1714), a Marseilles opera by the Provençale Jean-Joseph Mouret based on a libretto by La Font (*RGO,* vol. 2, 1720). Apparently the return of the Italians in 1716 slowed down the frequency of these entertainments, which were less justified at a moment also when the "Venetian" subjects were ceding precedence to new gallant localities. Some curious costume sketches in silhouette for *La Vénitienne* by La Barre do not fit well with the traditional costume of the characters that they are supposed to represent.[68] But as a general rule, if one believes the frontispiece of the *Recueil général des opéras,* the characters wear their distinctive costumes.

On occasion the Comédie-Française used the same characters, at least it did in the first burst of competition with the Fair at the very beginning of the century. The very year that Watteau settled in Paris, Boindin's *Le Bal d'Auteuil* (1702) presented a ball in the third act, set in the fashionable suburb of Auteuil with Harlequin, Harlequine, Scaramouche, and Scaramouchette all dancing.[69] In the same spirit of rivalry Dancourt invented a *divertissement* danced by Harlequin and Scaramouche for *L'Amour charlatan* (1710). But it is on the private stages where these types seem to have survived the longest: at the court where the young nobility danced costumed as Italian characters; at Sceaux during the *Grandes Nuits* of the Duchesse du Maine; at Auteuil again, where Gueullette, the future historian of the Comédie-Italianne, acted prior to 1710 "with a most agreeable group of people [his] age," in plays for which he disguised himself as Harlequin and his friends as Scaramouche or Pierrot.[70] If the sources of these costumes are investigated—perhaps sales of used effects by the administrators of Paris troupes[71] or tailors who specialized in theatrical costumes?[72]—it is clear that many costumes were available to the theatrical milieu. As the

56. Anne-Marie Chouillet, "Le Clavecin oculaire du Père Castel," *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 8 (1976), 141-166.

57. Pierre Citron, *Couperin* (Paris, 1956), 150-157.

58. See the strophe on the *danses de caractère* in the *Ode de la Danse* by Le Roy, given a prize at the Académie Française in 1714 (J. Bonnet, *Histoire générale de la danse sacrée et profane* [Paris, 1723], 140).

59. Raoul-Auger Feuillet, *Chorégraphie ou l'Art de décrire la danse. . . .* (Paris, 1700). See also Gregorio Lambranzé, *Neue und curieuse Theatralische Tantzschul* (Nuremberg, 1716), for interesting details about the dance in the tradition of the commedia dell'arte.

60. Parfaict, *Dictionnaire,* 139; L.-F. DuBois de Saint-Gelais, *Histoire journalière de Paris* (Paris, 1716), 2:2-4.

61. Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne,* 2:175. An inventory of 1716 describes "Frames and partitions in the screen panels on the stage for the aforesaid ball, with tiers on which to place the musicians and balustrade in front at both ends of the hall" (AN: H 2169). In June 1721, a masked ball was given there for the Turkish Ambassador (*Le Mercure* [June 1721], 2nd part, p. 5).

62. René de Bonneval, *Momus au cercle des Dieux* (Paris, 1717), 110-111.

63. Lagrave, *Théâtre,* 367; Sylvie Chevalley, "Les bals de la saison d'hiver en 1716-1717," *Comédie-Française* 66 (1978).

64. Bonnet, *Histoire générale,* 146; ch. 6: "De l'origine des bals masqués."

65. Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne,* 2:173-174.

66. *Mercure historique et politique* 28 (April 1700), 427.

67. Bonnet, *Histoire générale,* 173, speaks of a Scaramouche and a Harlequin from Alard's traveling theater who "appeared in several operas with applause."

68. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra: twelve silhouettes in black; the inscription on each design indicates precisely the role of the actor who was playing it. This confirms that these are costumes created in 1705. Blondy's Pantaloon and Ferrand's Doctor are different from the costumes of the stock characters.

69. Boindin, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1753), 1:140.

70. See n. 32 and for Sceaux, see the *Suite des Divertissements de Sceaux* (Paris, 1725), 168-169 (Eighth and Ninth Nights).

71. Seventy livres, resulting from the "sale of old clothes," appears in the accounts of the Opéra for 1720 (Parfaict, *Dictionnaire,* 152). A merchant from the Pont Notre-Dame had a business dealing in costumes for the Italian theater (DV, I, p. 34).

72. In 1704, Famin was tailoring costumes for the Opéra and Ducreux *fils,* and François Claude Baraillon made the masks (La Gorce, "L'Académie royale," 167, 171, 172). Jean-Antoine de Rohan (d. 1742), master tailor and dancing master for the pages of Monsieur, was also working at the Opéra for the corps de ballet and for costumes: a document of 1699 indicates he has available "some old clothing suitable for opera costumes" (see Campardon, *L'Académie,*

inscription on a print by Watteau (cat. E. 8; see Goncourt 1875, n. 1) put it, "the clothes are Italian."

This Italian tradition was a favorite at the Fair. The types of the commedia dell'arte had prospered at the Fairs since 1697 and a new form of show was born from the encounter of the *all'improvviso* style and the solid French traditions of farce (claptrap *à la Tabarin,* marionette shows, and *chansonnier* creations).

At the two fairs—Saint-Germain in the spring and Saint-Laurent in the autumn—booths and shops supplied fashionable novelties to the Parisian clientele. The registration of the leases at the Foire Saint-Laurent[73] proves that a number of painters or art dealers set up shop alongside the cafés, the jewelers, and the theater "boxes."[74] Numerous actors or entrepreneurs for the touring companies had direct ties with painting. Even if it is hard to believe that "Gillot," the marionettist at the Fair in 1708, was the painter of the Comédie-Italienne and Watteau's master,[75] other names are worth mentioning here.

Several historians[76] have mentioned the presence of an artist who like Gillot has unfortunately always been confused with someone of a similar name. The Parfaict brothers indicated a new producer at the Foire Saint-Laurent in 1705, by the name of Michu de Rochefort, the son of a painter of the same name and a painter himself.[77] He had played Harlequin roles in the provinces since 1699 and created a marionette troupe in Paris on his arrival there. He seems to have been present at the Fair, except for several trips to the provinces, until his death in 1730. This "Rochefort" had nothing to do with the artist and engraver Pierre de Rochefort (1673?-1728) who engraved for Gillot, Watteau, and Rigaud and who ended his career in Portugal with his son Charles. The artist in question was much less known: Benoît Michu, called de Rochefort, who died in Paris in 1930, the son of Benoît Michu, Flemish painter and glazier (1610-1703) and himself a painter and glazier. He worked at Les Invalides between 1699 and 1709, at the Convent of the Cistercians and at the Chapel in Versailles. This "Michu" was indeed the real entrepreneur of the Fair and its delightfully varied activities.

Other producers also practiced this double profession. Antoine de la Place, one of the most famous Pierrots of the Fair and the leader of a well-known company, had studied painting before 1697 and lived at his master's home with various other Comédiens-Italiens. After the closing of the Italian theater in the Hôtel de Bourgogne he was hired as a decorator by Joseph Tortoriti, the former Pasquariel of the company, and followed him to Toulouse. He returned to Paris in 1703 and to the Foire Saint-Laurent in 1705 where he found himself in competition with Belloni for the role of Pierrot. He then took on Scaramouche roles.[78] Nothing is known of his work as a painter. The work of François Octavien is better documented:[79] a contemporary of Watteau, he began his career as a singer in the troop of Alard the Elder, a relative. In 1710, he was involved in a cabaret riot and he appears in police records as a "painter by profession, singer."[80] Octavien's canvases that are known often have military subjects, inspired apparently by Watteau, as well as *galant* park scenes. He was received into the Academy in 1727 with the painting *Foire de Bezons* (Louvre), which also recalls the works of Watteau. His marriage in 1712 was recorded, as is his domicile on the Petit Pont in 1721.[81] It is highly likely that Watteau knew him. The museum in Nancy has a *Disappointed Pierrot* from his hand.[82] Another artist who called himself "Master Painter of the King's Pleasures"—he decorated court stages—was involved professionally with the Fair in the 1710s: Guillaume Rauly, a relative of one of the first producers of itinerant theater, the Fleming Moritz van de Beck (Maurice Vondreback),[83] ran the Bel-Air tennis court in the rue de Vaugirard near the Luxemburg palace. His work is unknown except for a very rare signed engraving representing a "loge" at the Foire Saint-Laurent over which there is a painted advertisement for "the man without arms." This engraving was meant to serve as a frontispiece for the com-




fig. 11.
G. Rauly, Frontispiece for *La Foire Saint-Laurent* by M.A. Legrand, 1709.

252-256). Beginning in 1717, the stores for the Opéra were installed in the rue Saint-Niçaise, where one also found "wardrobes for costumes" and rehearsal halls (Parfaict, *Dictionnaire,* 143; dossier on the stores in AN: H. 2169; Boindin, *Lettres historiques . . . spectacles,* 2nd letter: "First letter about the Opéra," 120).

73. Arthur Heulhard, *La Foire Saint-Laurent, son histoire et ses spectacles* (Paris, 1878), ch. IV, 33 ff. There is also an engraving of the Foire Saint-Germain Plan by Iollant.

74. Sauval wrote in 1705 (*Antiquités de Paris*) concerning the Foire Saint-Laurent: "besides jewelry merchants, cafés, and other things, they have also been selling porcelain and other curiosities for the past several years" (quoted in Parfaict, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des spectacles de la Foire,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1743), 1:38.

75. Parfaict, *Dictionnaire* 3:304 and 4:166, and again by E. Campardon, *Les Spectacles de la Foire* (Paris, 1877), 1:381. Hérold (DV, I, p. 11) supposes that this Gillot is the one from Langres; an opinion held also by B. Populus (*Claude Gillot* [Paris, 1930], 25). It is clear that it is someone of the same name.

76. Populus, *Claude Gillot,* 26, 39; R. Tomlinson, *La fête galante: Watteau et Marivaux* (Geneva, 1981), 12.

edy of Marc-Antoine Legrand, *La Foire Saint-Laurent,* produced by the Comédie-Française in September 1709 (fig. 11). Scene seven of this play presents Le Rat, displayer of "changing tableaux" at the Fair who, to avenge himself from being thus ridiculed, put on a burlesque of the "most famous actresses" of the Comédie-Française.[84] Le Tellier, father of the actor-writer, of whom we will speak later concerning the "embarkations for Cythera," plied this agreeable trade in competition with the trained monkeys and educated rats that had been such successes in the first Fairs. We do not know whether these "monkeyshines" inspired engraved and painted *singeries.* Finally, let us mention Antoine Benoist (1629-1717), "ordinary painter to the King and his first sculptor in wax," who was treated alongside Poussin, La Fosse, Santerre, Rigaud, and a few others in a poetic homage at the beginning of the century.[85] His attraction at the Fair was an assembly where one met all the famous personalities of the time—in wax.[86]

The list of these painters is limited only by the shortcomings of the archives concerning artists who for the most part, like those of the Pont Notre-Dame, were modest artisans making crude copies or furnishing *genre* scenes to a clientele of modest means. The anecdote about the canvases painted by Pierrot-Belloni might lead us to think that the *Gilles* in the Louvre originally served as a sign in front of one of these theaters or a café. For many reasons (see cat. P. 69), this hypothesis is completely abandoned today. The information about the Fair furnished by the Parfaict brothers in their *Mémoires*[87] is nonetheless useful to us in understanding certain sources for Watteau's iconography. A Greek by birth and a guitarist, Belloni began his career in the provinces as a member of the troupe of Cadet the elder, a former scenery painter for the Comédie-Italienne. Belloni played the roles of Trivelin and Scaramouche. He then went to Toulouse in Joseph Tortoriti's company where he interpreted the role of Pierrot. It was in this costume—worn by "Gilles" in Watteau's painting—that Belloni appeared at the Fair, beginning in 1704. As an actor in the Saint-Edme company in 1714, he was arrested by the police, then released after having been



fig. 12.
A. Humblot, *Rue Quincampoix in 1729,*
engraving.

prohibited from acting.[88] It was doubtless about this time that he began selling lemonade in the rue des Petits-Champs "across from the small passage du Cloître Saint-Honoré," according to the Parfaict brothers, in a shop "with a placard above the door picturing the Italian actors in which his own face is not forgotten and with the motto: *Au Café Comique.*" The community of lemonade sellers forced him to remove this picture, and some time later he closed up shop. In 1720, during the full fury of the "System" (which justified any and every extravagance), Belloni set up shop again with a new beverage stand in "the rue Aubry le Boucher and at the corner of the rue Quincampoix," the seat of John Law's bank (fig. 12). "[There] he put up a sign with a portrait of himself dressed as *Pierrot.*" He had left the theater in 1718.

We do not know, of course, who painted these pictures; perhaps it was Antoine de la Place, Belloni's rival at Tortoriti's who later flourished as a manager of the Fair and a painter? The engraving by Rauly mentioned above proves that advertising canvases were used at the Fair. Other contemporary iconographic sources confirm this idea.[89] It was

77. Parfaict, *Mémoires,* I:44-45.

78. Parfaict, *Mémoires,* 1:50-53.

79. See exh. cat. Paris 1968, nos. 14-15.

80. Campardon, *Foire,* 2:233.

81. *MC:* II-378 (20.X.12); CXV-399 (14.V.21: Inventory and estimates of the property of Marc-René d'Argenson, Guardian of the Seals, former Lieutenant of Police, who had closed the Italian theater in 1697; Octavien acted as the expert for the pictures). Francis Merland (BSHAF, 1910, 60-65) published various documents attesting the sojourn and the death of one "Françoise Octavien, painter" at Nantes in 1732. In the death certificate it is stated that he was "of Italian origin" and was married to Madeleine Dijon. The Parisian Octavien had married Jeanne Giraux in 1712. Despite the fact that they bear the same name, it is not certain that we are dealing with the same person. The father and brother of François Octavien bore the same first name and were both painters; but the names of their spouses do not correspond to the François Octavien in Nantes (*MC,* 353-354).

82. Louis Réau, *Histoire de la peinture française au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1925), 1:25.

83. A. Jal, *Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d'histoire,* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1872), 165; Campardon, *Foire,* 2:298-302.

84. M. A. Legrand, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1770), 1:VII.

85. Baraton, *Poésies diverses* (Paris, Brussels, 1705), 281. In this collection we find twelve poems on French painters and sculptors from Le Sueur to Coysevox.

86. Campardon, *Foire,* 1:122-124; Jal, *Dictionnaire critique,* 142-156(?).

87. Parfaict, *Mémoires,* 1:33-38.

88. René d'Argenson, *Rapports inédits* (Paris, 1891), 338-358.

89. "The man with the large head who is seen near the iron grill in the faubourg St. Denis during the Foire Saint-Laurent" (anonymous engraving, BN, est., Coll. Hennin no. 6665).

thus in a milieu where the theater *naturally* created its own painted representations that Watteau could obtain the essence of his theatrical material.

The history of the traveling shows is extremely complicated,[90] necessitating a quick summary, adapted for our purposes. The traveling companies developed, as mentioned, at the very end of the seventeenth century. Small troupes, where two or three actors traveled about with a few acrobats, developed rapidly into undertakings of a certain importance: booths of wood were replaced by real theaters with large stages, stage machinery, and so on. Unlike the official theaters, all these theaters were privately owned, in the hands of a producer—or his widow—a simple businessman or actor; and the employees, as well as the management itself, were very unstable, hiring themselves out to the highest bidder. This is why we see the traveling actors moving from theater to theater and working in various provincial companies during the long periods between Fairs. The traveling shows of Maurice and then of his widow, Alard, Dolet, Mlle. Baron, the Abbé Pellegrin (under the name of his brother the Chevalier), and Octave make up the incomplete list of the great traveling theaters. Agreements, break-ups, debauchery of the actors or the authors—the history of the Fair is the most animated of all the Paris theaters of the time.

We must also say a word about the relationship between the Fair and the other shows, because many incorrect things have been written on this subject and as a result the interpretation of certain of Watteau's works has suffered. According to the system of royal privileges that was in force,[91] the traveling theaters were utterly illegal. Two monopolies were enforced officially by the Comédie-Française (spoken theater) and the Opéra (musical theater). The latter happily squabbled with the former when it took on too many musicians, singers, and dancers for its *divertissements*. The two theaters had cooperated with each other in obtaining the suppression of the Comédie-Italienne, but they each took a different stand with regard to the traveling theaters. The Comédie-Française—especially the *sociétaires* like Phillipe Poisson and La Thorillière, two of Watteau's models—brutally attacked the traveling theaters and demanded their total suppression. The law would have permitted this, but the special status of the Fairs within the private ecclesiastical domains led to all sorts of juridical quibbling and slow-downs that were profitable to business. The Comédiens-Français obtained numerous citations against the traveling theaters (1703, 1707, 1709, 1719) and forced them to alter their performances—at first they could only perform monologues, then in mime, and finally using only written placards (the text of the play was written on a placard, which the public then sang to some well-known popular tune). The actors of the traveling theaters did not speak; the spectators did it for them. But beginning with the Foire Saint-Germain of 1708, the Alard-Veuve Maurice company came to terms with the Opéra, which authorized it to make use of "changes of scenery and singers in the *divertissements* and dancers in the ballet."[92] Thus the *opéra-comique* was born. This company, with an ever-changing management, remained together until the Fair was closed in 1719. During a good part of Watteau's career there was a real complicity between the Opéra and the Fair. On the other hand, the hostile attitude of the Comédie-Française remained unchanged. For its part, the reborn Comédie-Italienne hired some of the more brilliant actors from the Fair: members of the old company like Jean-Baptiste Costantini (Octave) or actors of the new generation like François Biancolelli (Pierrot and Trivelin), son of the great Dominique, or Pierre Paghetti (the Doctor). But soon competition again started. Because of the similar repertories and the need to enforce the royal privilege of the Regent's troupe, the Comédie-Italienne fought to have the traveling theaters suppressed. Their efforts were unsuccessful, though the Regent's mother patronized them and the Regent of his own accord invited them to perform in the opera hall of the Palais-Royal (1718). The Italians found no better recourse than to install themselves during the Fair in the abhorred den of their competitors, so doing on 25 July 1721 at the Foire Saint-Laurent. Watteau had died seven days earlier.

The repertory of the Fair consisted of two parts. Their interrelationship explains the ambiguity that reigns in the iconographic interpretations of Watteau's work. It was often produced by mediocre writers, but one also finds among them Louis Fuzelier and the Abbé Pellegrin, Rameau's future librettist, and authors like Alexis Piron and Alain-René Lesage, author at the Comédie-Française of a masterpiece like *Turcaret;* in the domain of the novel he was the author of *Gil Blas* (1715-1735); and as early as 1707 of the *Diable Boiteux,* a short satirical novel in the Spanish manner from which, if one can believe a somewhat doubtful letter from Sirois (23 November 1711) to the bookstore owner Josset, Watteau drew inspiration for "two pendants" ordered by the writer, of which no trace remains. Lesage, together with his accomplice d'Orneval, was the most prolific and the best paid of the playwrights for the traveling theater (*Le Théâtre de la Foire ou l'Opéra-comique,* Paris 1721-1737, 10 vols.). In the first years of the century the repertory revived without any hesi-

fig. 13.
C. Gillot, *The Tomb of Master André,* Musée du Louvre, Paris.



tation or scruple the plays that had been abandoned by the old Italian theater, under their original titles or with only slightly modified plots; therefore Fuzelier was often credited for plays that, for example, had been written ten years earlier by Dufresny for the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Thus at the beginning there was a symbiosis of the two theaters. The *Recueil* of Gherardi that lists all the plays given by the Italians between 1681 and 1697 was the "Bible" of the traveling theater. But during their annual sojourns in the provinces they inaugurated new plays at Lyons, Toulouse, Rouen, or Grenoble of which we have rather numerous examples in the work of Pierre-François Biancolelli, either printed or in manuscript. (He was descended from a great family of actors, a brother-in-law of La Thorillière of the Comédie-Française, and perhaps a co-author of the last plays in Gherardi's *Recueil*. In any case, he was a writer educated in the good Parisian schools and on the best stages of the theater.[92]) His *Arlequin, fille malgré lui* that was performed at the Foire Saint-Laurent in 1713 directly inspired a picture of Watteau's known today by the engraving of it made by Cochin (*To Protect the Honor of a Beauty,* DV 83).

Most of the many plays produced for the Fairs before 1715 are either unpublished or lost. It was only after 1721 that the producer Lesage made an edition of them in which he gave particular prominence to his own plays and to those of his collaborators. But it is precisely in those plays, which are so inaccessible even for specialists, that we might find the best sources of Watteau's theater iconography. Robert Tomlinson suspected this when he began to study the repertory.

A traveling show was presented in two quite different parts, as attested in the reports of the police pressed into diligent service by the complaints of the official companies. Thus on 1 September 1707 Commissioner Duchesne went to the theater of the widow Maurice and furnished future historians with an excellent description of a performance there:

> The hall is so constructed that there are two tiers of boxes, one above the other, a parterre, a parquet, an orchestra, and a theater [stage] with decorations, perspectives, chandeliers, and such just like that of the King's Comedians. The performance began with tight rope walking: afterward the theater's canvas [curtain] having been raised, a number of acrobats appeared. Next, the performance of a comedy piece began in which eight different actors appeared, which were: a Doctor, a Scaramouche, a Harlequin, a Pierrot, a Mezzetin, a lover in the person of Octave, two actresses, and an apothecary.[94]

This play was *La Foire Saint-Germain* by Regnard and Dufresny, taken from the repertory of the old Italian troupe. The program for the following day was announced as a comedy of the same origin, *Arlequin Empereur dans la lune* by Fatouville,[95] of which Watteau made a painting now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes (cat. P. 1), painted c. 1707-1708, possibly at the suggestion of Gillot. Claude Gillot, probably at this presentation, sketched the famous scene "of the carriages" from *La Foire Saint-Germain* (Louvre, inv. 29326). He then painted a picture of it now in the Louvre. He also worked on a piece taken from the same repertory, *Le Tombeau du maître André,* for which we know preparatory drawings (Louvre, invs. 26750, 26753) and the painting, also in the Louvre (fig. 13).[96]

These examples prove the ambiguity of speaking of "Italian" scenes when we really should be speaking of the road companies' adaptations of these productions. From this time on, the theaters at the Fairs produced original plays—what N. Boindin called "comedies in the style of the old Italian theater."[97] These works presented all the Italian comic types that had disappeared from the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. In the first rank were the zanies: Harlequin, the cynical but happy adventurer; Mezzetin, his musician accomplice; Colombine, the feminine equivalent of Harlequin; Scaramouche, the most antipathetic of all; Polichinelle, the cruel hunchback; and two old men in love, the Doctor and Pantaloon. All these characters emerged from the Fair, some say with a new luster that they had lost on the Italian stage in Paris. There, since the retirement of Tiberio Fiorilli (fig. 14),

fig. 14.
Habert, *Tiberio Fiorilli as Scaramouche,* engraving, 1700




90. The standard work is Parfaict, *Mémoires.* They knew most of the protagonists in the epic of the traveling theaters, among them Fuzelier, who furnished information to the brothers. The documents from the archives were brought to light by E. Campardon, *Foire,* and complete the story.

91. See Jules Bonnassies, *La Comédie-Française, histoire administrative: 1658-1757* (Paris, 1874) and *Les Spectacles forains et la Comédie-Française* (Paris, 1875).

92. Parfaict, *Mémoires,* 1:74.

93. P.-F. Biancolelli, *Nouveau Théâtre Italien* (Paris, 1712), and "Théâtre," unpublished ms. (BN, ms., f.fr. 9331).

94. Repr. Campardon, *Foire,* 2:117-118. See also a rather similar account of 1708 (Campardon, *Foire,* 2:176).

95. Another account (Campardon) mentions an actual performance on 6 September 1707.

96. The Cabinet des Dessins at the Louvre has various other drawings of Gillot inspired by Italian plays that were revived at the Fair: *Arlequin esprit follet* (inv. 26748), *La Fausse Coquette* (inv. 26751), *Les Métamorphoses d'Arlequin* (inv. 26752), *Colombine avocat pour et contre* (inv. 26754), *La Baguette de Vulcain* (inv. 26762) and an original play by Fuzelier given at the Foire Saint-Germain in 1711: *Jupiter curieux impertinent* (INV. 26749). These pictures were engraved along with others, now lost, by Gabriel Huquier (*Livre de scènes comiques,* twelve plays, Populus nos. 342-353).

97. N. Boindin, *Lettres historiques à M. D*** sur la nouvelle comédie italienne* (Paris, 1717), 3rd letter, 17.



fig. 15.
B. Picart or C. Simpol,
*Pierrot Returning from the Hunt,* drawing,
Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.

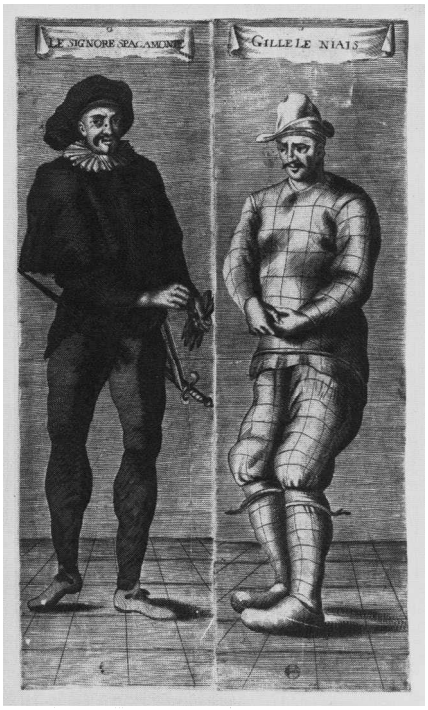



fig. 16.
Anonymous,
*Sir Braggart - Gilles the Simpleton,*
engraving, end of the 17th century.




fig. 17.
Eisen, Frontispiece for
*Théâtre des Boulevards,* 1756,
engraving.

Scaramouche had fallen into decay and Polichinelle had ceased to exist after the retirement of Michelangelo de Fracanzano, who had made his debut in 1685 and had himself naturalized under the name of "de Frécansal" after 1697. (He was an impassioned amateur, the son of the Neapolitan painter, Francesco Fracanzano, and the nephew of Salvator Rosa.[98]) These characters, revived from the old Italian theater, permit us to understand what happened to another type, a very secondary one, who was brought back to the stages of the traveling theaters though the talents of some truly great actors.

Pierrot (Pedrolino) was a second zany (valet) who was traditionally paired with Polichinelle (Pulcinella) on the Italian stages. Giuseppi Geratoni created the modern type of Pierrot in France around 1673; he had practically no success at all in this and he worked himself into auxiliary roles—valets who pretended to be idiots, caricatures of ridiculous peasants, and so on. He played only rarely after 1684 (*Arlequin Empereur dans la lune*), and even then in practically nonspeaking roles, according to the *Recueil* of Gherardi (fig. 15).[99] This Pierrot, clothed all in white and with the white powdered face in the French tradition of the *farceurs,* became, on the other hand, one of the very successful types of the Fair. He was also one of the favorite characters in Watteau's works.

The famous painting now in the Louvre (cat. P. 69) was given the name *Gilles* upon its rediscovery in the nineteenth century. This was the result of a confusion between the Pierrot type and a classical character of the Boulevard pantomimes of the nineteenth century, namely the Gilles or the Janot of the Théatre de Funambules, which used the traditional Pierrot costume.[100] Now Gilles did exist in the eighteenth century at the Fair; under this name (or Gilotin) he was even an important character in the traveling companies. But he was on stage only at the beginning of the performance, which was the domain of the tumblers and acrobats. His typical costume had nothing to do with Pierrot's (fig. 16) and was closer to the fool's costume, which was well documented from the sixteenth century in court ballets and other danced *divertissements.* Gilles was not at all an Italian type, but was purely French.[101] An acrobat and not an actor, he fitted into a certain song mythology, that of Gilles, the betrayed but cowardly husband, very much present in the national French songwriting tradition.[102] Much later, around 1750, he was the hero of the scatological *parades* played on the private stages (fig. 17) and a classical character of the *Variétés Amusantes* (Volange, c. 1780). At the Fair, the first Gilles "to appear in France" was called Marc: he debuted in 1697 but died shortly thereafter; Benville succeeded him; then Drouin under the name of Gilles the Nephew: "It is he who gets slapped for dancing on the tight-rope," noted the historians of the Fair.[103] Many others followed, among them Reistier, an English tightrope walker, and Génois, who introduced clog dancing.

The Pierrot of the Fair was almost certainly a creation of the theaters at the beginning of the eighteenth century. A great succession of comedians, often in competition with each other, gave him a brilliance that he had never had. The Parfaict brothers mention "the naive air and the happy tones of Belloni as Pierrot."[104] But prior to the comedian-cum-lemonade peddler mentioned above, other actors interpreted this role: Antoni, called de Sceaux, from 1700 on; Bréon, the decorator of Dolet's troupe beginning in 1704;

Reistier the Younger in 1706; and especially the great Hamoche, whom Watteau undoubtedly never saw, since he began at the Foire Saint-Laurent only in 1721.[105] Pierre-François Biancolelli, called Dominique the Younger, who was a link with the old Théâtre-Italien before becoming a famous actor at the new one, made an interesting innovation in the physical appearance of Pierrot. Traditionally powdered white, Biancolelli created *Les Deux Pierrots* at the Foire Saint-Laurent in 1714 by appearing without make-up. "The Nouvel Opéra-comique de Dominique" that he directed put on a huge publicity campaign about this unique Pierrot-Dominique.[106] We should also note that the Gilles-Pierrot of Watteau is also shown without make-up, contrary to the tradition for his character.

Any analysis of the finer perceptions in the "comic subjects" of Watteau presupposes a profound acquaintance with the contemporary theatrical world in which he and his contemporaries lived naturally. What appear to us today as "constructions" with hidden meanings were as easily interpreted by the fashionable world of his time as was a fable by a historical painter. Mirimonde (1961) tried to interpret several of these specialized pictures. He saw in Watteau a particular taste for the Fair and a somewhat ironic regard for the official French stage. We quite agree with him in this. From 1709, with the *Poussins de Léda* by Le Noble, a parody of Danchet's tragedy *Les Tyndarides* played at the Comédie-Française, the Fair launched a fruitful campaign against the troupe of the King's Comedians, whom they sarcastically called "the Romans."[107] This date corresponds, and not by chance alone, to the date of the agreement between the traveling Opéra-comique and the Paris Opéra. Mirimonde concluded from this that *The Alliance of Music and Comedy* (DV 39, CR 123), a very complex painting by Watteau, represents "the symbolic coat of arms of the Opéra-comique" (Mirimonde 1961, P. 262) (fig.18). If one examines the painting or the engraving very closely one can only think that Mirimonde's interpretation was incorrect. Above the heraldic arms there is a bust-portrait of Crispin of the Comédie-Française, and in the middle of the arms, where Mirimonde finds "Pierrot's mask" (he never wore a mask) we see a mask such as those worn by the dancers of the Opéra. This element fits imperfectly with the musical symbols that together form the *pièces d'armes* of the

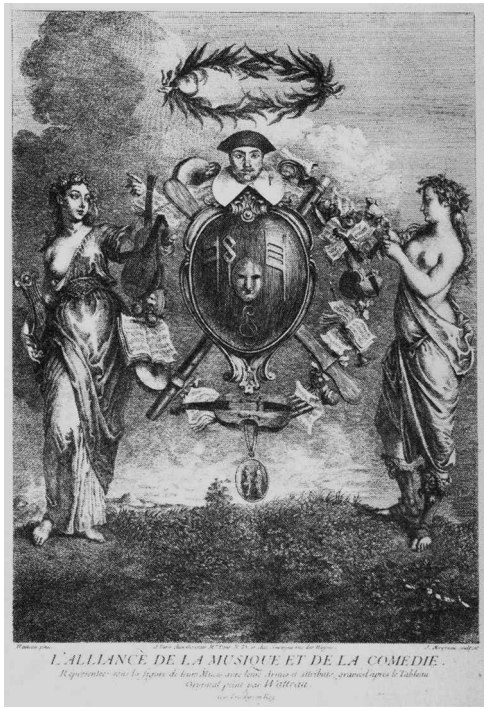



fig. 18.
Moyreau after Watteau, *The Alliance of Music and Comedy*, engraving (DV 39).

round heraldic shield. The muses of Music and Comedy (Erato and Thalia); the musical instruments and the musical scores; Harlequin's bat crossed with a flute, passing diagonally behind the shield like the two batons decorated with *fleur-de-lis* of a Marshal of France do not refer to any theater in particular, and certainly not to the Fair, where Crispin almost never appeared.[108] On the other hand, this alliance corresponds exactly to an allegory of the official Paris stages, the Opéra and the Comédie-Française, that included also a certain derisive wit aimed at the "serious" genres (as shown by its similarity to a Marshal's coat of arms and by the presence of Crispin). The same humor, again with Crispin present, is found in the *French Comedians* in New York (cat. P. 70). The lack of interest on the part of the fashionable public for tragedies and the tragic theater give a plausible historic explanation of Watteau's two works.

98. Parfaict, *Histoire de l'Ancien Théâtre Italien* (Paris, 1753), 112; A. du Pradel, *Le Livre commode des adresses de Paris pour 1692*, ed. E. Fournier (Paris, 1878), 1:230-231, n. 4 (points out an item in the *Abecedario* of Mariette); M. Spaziani, *Il Théâtre Italien di Gherardi* (Rome, 1966), 605; *La Peinture napolitaine de Caravage à Giordano* [exh. cat. Paris 1983], 213-214. There is no Polichinelle in Gherardi's *Recueil*: the editor, incidentally, takes note of this in his foreword.

99. Parfaict, *Théâtre Italien*, 107-108; M. Spaziani, *Théâtre Italien di Gherardi*, 606.

100. On Deburau, see Pierre-Louis Duchartre, *La Commedia dell'Arte et ses enfants* (Paris, 1955), 243, fig. 178.

101. Despite his transalpine version of "Giglio," who never really got over the Alps. The French Gilles is a tightrope dancer (Duchartre, *La Commedia dell'Arte et ses enfants*, 239). See Campardon, *Foire*, 2:302.

102. Whence the expression "faire Gilles"—to run away suddenly: P. J. Leroux, *Dictionnaire comique* (Pamplona, 1786), 1:492, 576. W. J. Kirkness, *Le Français du Théâtre Italien d'après le Recueil des Gherardi 1681-1697* (Geneva, 1971), 359. "Etre Gille"—to be a cuckold: L. Hennet, *Le Regiment de la Calotte* (Paris, 1886), 105, text of 1737.

103. Parfaict, *Mémoires*, 1:6. Robert L. Storey, *Pierrot: A Critical History of a Mask* (Princeton, 1978), suggests a date around 1720, a confusion.

104. Parfaict, *Mémoires*, 1: intro.

105. Parfaict, *Mémoires*, 1:21, 42, 55, 176. A memoir by Fuzelier in 1713 indicates the presence of Pierrot Hamoche in the *Bel-Air* traveling troupe (ms. autog., B. Opera: Fonds Favart, Carton I; C,6: *Opéra*, 3).

106. Parfaict, *Mémoires*, 1:159; Campardon, *Foire*, 2:349, 353.

107. Parfaict, *Mémoires*, 1:101.

108. Mentioned in passing by a police report of 1718 (Campardon, *Foire*, 2:403-404) in a performance of the *Bel-Air* opéra-comique.

On the other hand, the title *Italian Comediens* (cat. P. 71) given to the Washington picture when it was engraved (in England by Baron) seems very badly chosen. If one refutes the theory of Tomlinson (1981, p. 12, n. 18) who sees a famous engraving by Abraham Bosse,[109]—an allegory of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, home of the Grands Comédiens at the time of Molière (but Tomlinson actually reproduced [fig. 3a] a later pastiche that combines the work of Bosse and the engraving after Watteau's *Italian Comedians*)—it is clear that the artist intended an allegory of the traveling shows in this picture. Here Pierrot is designated by Brighella as the typical character of this comic scene, in which one can still see in the background a Pantaloon, a Mezzetin, a masked Harlequin, and Folly. Brighella and Folly were not characteristic of the traveling theaters: apparently, the Italian type and the classical character from the Opéra are conferring a kind of comic "royalty" on him who is honored both by the old and the new theater. To be sure, after 1716 there were Pierrots at the new Comédie-Italienne, but they were only clever imitations of those that came from the Fair. Several texts points out that for contemporaries Pierrot symbolized the road company. Lesage's *La Querelle des Théâtres* was created at the Fair of 1718 and performed by order of the Regent's mother on the stage of the Palais-Royal. In addition to the traditional satire on the Comédie-Française expressed by the dismantling of the scenery "à l'antique" by the strolling players, it can be noted that the allegorical role of the Opéra was played by Harlequin while that of the Fair was played by Pierrot. Mezzetin, Polichinelle, and Gilles play the "followers of the Fair"; Pantaloon and Scapin the "followers of the Comédie-Italienne" (*Le Théâtre de la Foire,* vol. 3). This play was premiered one year before Watteau painted the so-called *Italian Comedians* for Dr. Mead in London. But from 1712 the traveling show of Dolet, La Place, and Bertrand protested the insolence of the Comédie-Française in taking advantage of the success of Pierrot by introducing him (played by Baron *fils*) in the *Comédie des Comédiens ou l'Amour charlatan* by Dancourt (1710, act III). "The strolling players let it be understood," wrote the Parfaict brothers, "that they had the right to claim this character, who was, so to speak, a part of their patrimony."[110]

fig. 19.
Anonymous, *Departure of the Comedians After the Suppression of the Comédie-Italienne in 1697,*
Musée du Havre, Le Havre.



In the left corner of *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*) (cat. P. 69), bent over and ironic, mounted on a donkey, appears a Crispin whose meaning seems to become clear when studied with the *Italian Comedians.* This donkey-rider, the opposite of the heroic cavalier, slowly travels from the vainglory of the *French Comedians* (cat. P. 70) where, in the palatial scenery, he had just played his role of spoilsport, toward a landscape of *Pierrot* that symbolically integrates the herm of a faun and presents the new king of comedy looking even stiffer than usual, pushed to the front of the stage by a wide-eyed ass[111] that Crispin, disillusioned and weary, rides bareback. The same derisive and lonely reign is shown also in an engraving by L. Surugue after a lost painting in which Pierrot and Crispin are in the same respective positions (*Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin;* DV 97).

To an eye experienced in the different styles of the period, the tone of these works conjures up the very special world of the Fair more than the games revived by the Italian company, recalled to Paris by the Regent in 1716. What Watteau nonetheless owed to the Italian theater will serve as the conclusion to this part of our study. These years were doubtless Watteau's most productive as he was reaching his maturity and painting *Pierrot,* the *Pilgrimage, Pleasures of the Dance,* and some of his other masterpieces.

Since the nineteenth century a classic parallel has been drawn between the painter of the *fêtes galantes* and the most famous supplier of plays to the Italian troupe, the "painter of love a-borning," Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux. He was the author of *Jeu de l'Amour et du Hasard,* the two *Surprises de l'amour,* and *La Fausse Suivante.*

At the beginning of this text we stated that the parallel is chronologically inaccurate, since Marivaux began to produce his plays in the last year of Watteau's life. More profoundly, despite the coincidences that Tomlinson (1981) has recently touched upon, Marivaux theatrical world is quite different from that of Watteau. We would point out, for example, the complete absence of any Pierrot or Mezzetin in his work, where the competing zanies, Harlequin and especially Trivelin, triumph. This does not preclude certain subtle correspondences, but they are of a quite different order, above and beyond costuming.

The company that came from Parma to Paris and set up provisionally in the Palais-Royal in May 1716 had nothing in common with the old Comédie-Italienne, which had been closed nineteen years earlier (fig. 19), an event that Watteau had dramatically reconstructed in a painting, *Departure of the Italian Comedians in 1697* (lost; DV 184). The Regent and his mother, who had previously sponsored the Italians, nonetheless considered that the new era should be marked by the revival of a theater that had fallen victim, it was believed, to the reign of Mme. de Maintenon at Versailles.[112] As soon as he took over, Philippe d'Orléans opened discussions on the proj-

ect with Antonio Farnese, Prince of Parma. After a number of false starts, the company of Luigi Riccoboni decided to set up in Paris.[113] Riccoboni, who played the role of the lover Lélio, had already had a very full career in Italy as an actor and playwright. His own taste directed him toward the *Commedia sostenuta*—the grand genre, the romantic tragicomedy. Riccoboni held the *all'improvviso* style in deep scorn and would have nothing at all to do with it in the French capital, where the Regent's company of actors had better things to do than to revive vulgar Harlequinades. He dreamed of acting in his own plays and those of certain of his friends, including Scipione Maffei, to adapt them in French if necessary, and to reveal to Paris his own *Samsone;* he wanted to compete *à l'italienne* with the Comédiens-Français. The spectacles at the Fair shocked him by their levity and their immorality, which the very devout Riccoboni condemned loudly. From the beginning there was a profound misunderstanding between himself and the public, which was nostalgic for the plays of the old *Théâtre-Italien.*

Installed after a few months at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, their old home, the Italians disdained to revive Gherardi's repertory, long the comic grab-bag of strolling players; they played old outlines of plays in Italian, the old "work-horses," for their daily bread. At the same time they hoped to accustom the Paris public to the great works so dear to Riccoboni, but diluted them and offered them in small doses, so as not to frighten the public away. Was the situation exacerbated by a language barrier or the spirit of the times? This new repertory had only a limited success; Riccoboni requested some aficionados, Gueullette and Fréret, to translate the outlines or plays into French to make them more easily understood. He also revived the better French plays from the old repertory, among which was *Arlequin, Empereur dans la lune.* In April 1718, he asked the painter Jacques Autreau for a completely French play: *Le Naufrage au Port à l'Anglais,* which inaugurated the new policy of the company. These steps in making the theater more French curiously resemble those that the old company had undertaken in the seventeenth century. Two years after Autreau, Marivaux made his debut on the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne.

The original Riccoboni company included the usual dozen or more actors for this type of theater: two lovers, Lelio and Mario (Riccoboni and Antonio Balletti); a female lead, Flaminia, "good-looking but very thin" (Elena Balletti, Riccoboni's wife); a second heroine, Silvia, "very good-looking" (future wife of Balletti); a Doctor, "a fat short man" (Francesco Materazzi); a Pantaloon (Pietro Alborghetti), "a tall skinny fellow"; a Scapin, "big man with a pleasant face" (Giovanni Bissoni); a mediocre Scaramouche with a "vulgar red face" (Giacomo Raguzini); and a Harlequin (Thomas Antoine Visentini, called Thomassin), "small but well built." Various small parts, among them La Cantarina (the singer), Violette, and Fabio, completed the company.[114] It was filled out by the addition of itinerant players: in October 1717 by P.-F. Biancolelli, first as Pierrot, then as Trivelin; in 1720 by Pietro Paghetti, "small and misshapen" Doctor, "ugly and hunchbacked but a good actor."[115]

This ensemble of characters made up the classic distribution of roles in Marivaux' plays for the Italian theater. A character like Mezzetin, so well represented in Watteau's works, never appeared there during his lifetime; Angelo Costantini, the Mezzetin of the preceding period and back in Paris in 1729 after a highly adventurous life, began again in the costume that had made him famous. The disappointment was immense.[116] As for Pierrot, he never really fitted into the new troupe, despite the engagement undertaken by P.-F. Biancolelli, who quickly gave up the role in favor of Harlequin's double, Trivelin, which he played in Marivaux' best plays and in certain others. Even before reaching Paris, Riccoboni had noted that Pierrot had turned into a French character.[117] Likewise, the traditional Colombine of the old company, played then by Catherine Biancolelli and revived at the Fair in her role as the feminine counterpart to Harlequin,[118] was totally absent in the new company. Thus of the Mezzetin, Colombine, and Pierrot whom we meet so often in Watteau's drawings and paintings, the first two were unknown on the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne and the last appeared only very seldom. But Watteau was able to see some of these types during his stay in England,[119] where, as mentioned above, he painted subjects on the comic theme.

Watteau's picture *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65) was long thought to depict the Riccoboni company which, in May 1716, inaugurated its return with *L'Heureuse Surprise (L'Inganno fortunato).* Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, pp. 66-67) even assigned a name to each actor according to the characters painted by Watteau. Alas, this is only an interpretive fan-

109. *L'Hôtel de Bourgogne* (Georges Duplessis 990).

110. Parfaict, *Mémoires,* 1:149-150.

111. See a curious little contemporary work about this animal by L. Coquelet, *L'Asne* (Paris, 1729).

112. See F. Moureau, "Du côté Cour: la Princesse Palatine et le théâtre," *Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre* (1983-3), 275-286.

113. The standard work on this subject is Xavier de Courville, *Luigi Riccoboni dit Lélio,* 4 vols. (Paris, 1943-1958).

114. Courville, *Luigi Riccoboni,* 2:19-25; Boindin, *Lettres,* Letter 1, 7-17 (the critical appraisal of the actors is by Boindin). See also Gueullette, "Théâtre Italien" (ms.), Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Reserve 625 (1-2), vol. I, 131-132, and E. Campardon, *Les Comediens de Roi de la Troupe italienne pendant les deux derniers siècles,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1880).

115. Parfaict, *Mémoires,* 1:143-147; Gueullette, "Théâtre Italien," vol. I., f° 134r.

116. Philip Koch, "Les dernières années de Mezzetin: vérité et légende," *Dix-Huitième Siècle* 11 (1979), 307-319.

117. Petition to the Duke of Parma (1716) cited by de Courville (2:26): "Pierrot, although French, is born in the Italian theater."

118. Mlles. Maillard and Delisle (Parfaict, *Foire,* 1:121, 189, 201), beginning respectively in 1711 and 1716.

119. See DV, I, p. 96. Besides the Italian comedians performing plays of their French repertory, Watteau also had occasion to attend the theater of Lincoln's Inn Fields, where John Rich was triumphing as Harlequin. Consult the synthesis by Viola Papetti, *Arlecchino a Londra, la pantomima inglese 1700-1729* (Napoles, 1977), 299.

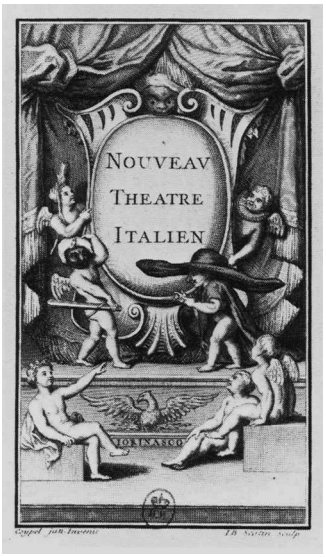



fig. 20.
J.B. Scotin,
Frontispiece for *Le Nouveau Théâtre Italien,*
engraving after C.A. Coypel.

tasy without basis in fact. Various characters are easily recognizable: from left to right, the Doctor, Pierrot, Harlequin, Mezzetin carrying a torch, and Scaramouche. The feminine characters as always are much harder to identify, as are the gnome placed between Harlequin and Mezzetin, and the old man (rather in the French style) seen between the latter and Scaramouche. The first impression is that it is a composite group. This night scene that today is no longer considered a pendant to *Love in the French Theater* (see cat. P. 38) certainly does not represent *L'Inganno fortunato* of 1716. That belief was based on a text by Gueullette and was accepted by all subsequent historians of the Italian theater, who stated that *L'Inganno fortunato* contained "some excellent night scenes."[120] Watteau's painting was considered a tribute to the revived company, whose curtain after 1721 carried the proud motto "Io rinasco" (fig. 20). Boindin, who attended this premiere, wrote of its extraordinary success;[121] Gueullette left a manuscript description of the same evening that deserves to be quoted in full:

> All the actors appeared in it, even the Singer; the audience was extremely pleased and Thomas Antonio Vissentini (called Thomassin Arlequin) carried off high honors, as did almost all the other actors; in this comedy there are some excellent night scenes; I attended this first performance, and although I arrived in the *cul de sac de l'Opéra* by two o'clock, I was unable to get a place except in the parterre; I saw much surprise on the faces of the spectators because Harlequin did not speak through his nose or gurgle his speeches, as those at the Fair normally do, and because he wore his belt around his waist and not hanging down on his thighs . . . ; in any case, the actors were infinitely pleasing to the public, although they were not all of the same caliber; henceforth Thomassin must be considered an actor fashioned by the Graces.[122]

Modern criticism doubts the reference to *L'Inganno fortunato,* but without any serious historical basis (Mirimonde 1961, p. 276; Boerlin-Brodbeck 1973, pp. 148-150); only Xavier de Courville, unexpectedly, seems to accept this

128. Soleinne's collection in the nineteenth century contained a ms. of a three-act comedy in prose with a prologue and with *divertissements* entitled *L'Heureuse Surprise.* This play, performed at the Italian theater, was thought to have been written by Marivaux. It has disappeared. F. Deloffre, modern editor of Marivaux, *Théâtre complet* (Paris, 1968), 1: XIII, thinks we are dealing here with the translation of an outline of 1716, but doubts, with good reason, that it is by Marivaux.

129. See F. Moureau, "L'Amour à l'Ancien Théâtre Italien" (colloquium in Toulouse, 1983 [in press]), which deals with the company that was expelled in 1697, but also with its direct successors at the Fair.

130. Boindin, *Lettres,* Letter 1, 8.

131. I. Jamieson, *Charles-Antoine Coypel, Premier Peintre de Louis XV et auteur dramatique (1694-1752)* (Paris, 1930). Preferable to this rather mediocre work is Thierry Lefrançois, "Charles Coypel, peintre du Roi: 1694-1752," Ph.D. diss., Paris IV, 1983.

132. A lost picture, engraved by F. Joullain (Courville, *Luigi Riccoboni,* 3:296 and repr., 1).

133. Antoine Schnapper, "A propos de deux nouvelles acquisitions: Le Chef-d'oeuvre d'un muet ou la tentative de Charles Coypel," *Revue du Louvre* 4-5 (1968), 253-264. Mariette reproaches him (see p. 253) for deliberately "looking to the theater for his models for attitude and expression."

134. Courville, *Luigi Riccoboni,* 2:194.

135. H. Stanley Schwartz, "Jacques Autreau, A Forgotten Dramatist," *PMLA* 46 (June 1931), no. 2, 498-532.

136. Brought to light at the end of the century by Pahin de la Blancherie, *Essai d'un tableau historique des peintres de l'Ecole française* (Paris, 1783), 232, no. 57. Pesselier (see n. 137 below) thinks that the third man in the portrait is Danchet and not Saurin.

137. See the editor's preface by Pesselier in Autreau, *Oeuvres,* 4 vols. (Paris, 1749).

138. Autreau, *Oeuvres,* 2:pl. 1.

139. E. F. Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné des différents effects curieux et rares contenus dans le Cabinet de feu M. le Chevalier de la Roque* (Paris, 1745), no. 206.

140. Boindin, *Lettres,* Letter 4, 36.

141. "A Monsieur Law. Défi.," *Nouveau Mercure,* December, 1719.

142. According to Pesselier in Autreau, *Oeuvres,* 1:7.

143. René-Louis d'Argenson, *Notices sur les oeuvres des théâtre* (Geneva, 1966), 1:382 (SVEC 42). We have very little information on Théveneau, a singer with the Italian troupe, who joined the company in December 1717, and for whom P. F. Biancolelli wrote *Agnès de Chaillot,* a parody on *Inès de Castro* de La Motte (1723) (see Campardon, *Troupe Italienne,* 1:67, n.).

144. Boindin, *Lettres historiques . . . spectacles,* 1st letter on the Comédie-Française, 4; Parfaict, *Dictionnaire,* 6:86; Gersaint, *Catalogue . . . La Roque,* 9. See Hervé Guénot in *Dictionnaire des journalistes. Supplément III* (Grenoble, 1984). A planned history of the French theater in eight volumes, including the Italian troupe and the Fairground theaters, was announced by the *Mercure* of June 1722. One year after La Roque was named *co-privilégé.* The regulations of the Comédie-Française for 1726 and 1729 gave La Roque free entry to the performances, no doubt because of his role at the *Mercure,* where he was editor of certain drama reviews. See J. Bonnassies, *La Comédie-Française. Histoire administrative* (Paris, 1874), 128, 163.

120. T. S. Gueullette, *Notes et souvenirs sur le théâtre italien au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1938), 71. See also the text cited on 122; A. D'Origny, *Annales du Théâtre Italien* (Paris, 1788), 1:29; Parfaict, *Dictionnaire,* 6:674, and so on.

121. Boindin, *Lettres,* Letter 1, 22.

122. Gueullette, "Théâtre italien," 1:fol. 157^r. Text repr. in the Notes, 27-28.

123. Courville, *Luigi Riccoboni,* 2:195.

124. Courville, *Luigi Riccoboni,* 2:42.

125. *L'Inganno fortunato overo l'Amata aborrita* (Paris, 1659), in-12°, a play performed as an adaptation from the Spanish.

126. He gives an extract of it according to the edition in Gueullette, "Théâtre Italien," 1:176-197.

127. Gueullette, "Théâtre Italien" 2:fol. 337.

hypothesis.[123] He also points out that *L'Inganno fortunato* is a revival of a play of the same name performed in 1659 by the old troupe.[124] This statement is wrong for two reasons: the first is that we know the text of the comedy by Brigida Bianchi, called Aurelia, printed in Paris by Claude Cramoisy.[125] This heroic play, set in Hungary, was in the style of the *commedia sostenuta* that the seventeenth-century troupe had tried at one time to introduce in Paris. No comic Italian character appeared in it. On the other hand, there is an excellent night scene in it (Act III, Sc. 9) in the most conventional Spanish taste. But the decisive argument came from Gueullette himself, who knew Bianchi's play very well[126] and who stated that *L'Inganno fortunato* of 1716 "is not the subject of Aurelia's play."[127] We can thus conclude that the outline used by the new company was a traditional scenario with characters containing night scenes—but unfortunately it seems to be lost,[128] unless it exists under another title. This outline can in no way have served as an iconographic source for Watteau. Three figures present in the picture establish this formally: Mezzetin, who reappeared at the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1729, eight years after the painter's death; Pierrot, absent from the troop in 1716; and Harlequin, who wears his belt hanging down on his thighs, whereas, as we have just seen, the peculiarity of the new Italian company was precisely that he wore the belt adjusted to fit his waist, as did all his eighteenth-century successors. On the other hand, the three characters (Harlequin, Mezzetin, and Pierrot) brought success to the traveling companies just at that time. *Love in the Italian Theater* is thus a love note to the Fair and deserves some consideration.[129]

If Watteau had wanted to make a group portrait of Riccoboni's troupe, he surely would have included Lelio, the character that Riccoboni himself played. Lelio, according to Boindin, lacked the "French graces" and had "in his physiognomy a somber air suited to depicting the sadder passions."[130] He does not appear in any of Watteau's works. Nonetheless, he was a friend of Charles-Antoine Coypel, the painter and playwright[131] who designed the frontispiece for the new *Théâtre-Italien* (1733) and depicted the comedian in his *Ecce Homo,* painted for the Church of the Oratorians in Paris.[132] The pictorial theatricality of that young artist[133] is not unrelated to Watteau's own personal tastes. Riccoboni and his wife, Flaminia, attended the Crozat concerts. Xavier de Courville thinks that Riccoboni met Rosalba Carriera in Paris, for the Italian artist came to visit the musician Bononcini, Flaminia's father-in-law, who lodged with the Riccobonis.[134] There are secondary reasons here for believing that Watteau had met the Comédiens-Italiens. He also could have known them through one of his colleagues: Jacques Autreau (1657-1745) whom we have already found in the company of Houdar de La Motte, leader of the moderns, and who, in addition to a career as a dramatist begun at an age when others were retiring from active life,[135] lived off his earnings as a painter. His works deserve to be studied. Among them is a "painting representing Fontenelle, La Motte, and Saurin disputing an intellectual work," a tribute by the painter to the three party leaders; an "Allegory showing Diogenes holding his lantern up to the Cardinal de Fleury,"[136] a picture that had a certain *succès de scandale* when it was seen because the painter, who liked to pass himself off as a misanthrope,[137] had given his own features to the Cynic philosopher; and a *Self-portrait,* published by Xavier de Courville as the work of Autreau.[138] Antoine de la Roque had in his collection a portrait by the same artist.[139] Autreau assiduously sought the company of Abbé Buchet,[140] predecessor of La Roque as director of the *Mercure,* the journal of the moderns, in which he himself published a poem in 1719 dedicated to "Monsieur Law." In it he spoke highly of his friendship and of his own participation in the propaganda for "the System."[141] The picture of the leaders of the modern party mentioned above had been in the collection of La Faye,[142] the lover of Mme. de Verrue, La Motte's "monkey," and the fortunate owner, as we have said, of *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11).

Strangely enough, it has been said that Autreau's Italian comedy *L'Amante romanesque* (December 1718) served as an iconographic source for *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38). This hypothesis has been almost universally abandoned today (Tomlinson 1981, p. 97). But one enlightened *amateur,* the Marquis d'Argenson, noted in regard to this in the first half of the eighteenth century: "One often sees in the works of this author that he is a painter, and more particularly one in the style of Watteau; he furnished them with attitudes, groups, and gallant images."[143] La Roque, the faithful friend of Watteau's last years, began a history of the French theater in the early 1710s and supplemented it from 1716 on with a chronology of the new Italian theater. This manuscript text is lost.[144] Whichever way he turned, however, Watteau could not escape dramatic games.

## III The Roads to Cythera

Watteau's oeuvre seems to pass effortlessly from the closed, contrived, ironic world of theater to the sumptuous foliage of the parks, inhabited by Arcadian phantoms whose sole occupation seems to be to seize the fleeting moment. The tie that might exist between these two never-never lands has never really been seriously questioned. In truth, are they really of "nowhere," like those comedy scenes that derive from no particular work and at times, even despite costumes and poses, from no particular theater?

Aside from a few views of Vincennes or the banks of the Bièvre, near the Gobelin tapestry works, Watteau's work as a landscape artist does not reflect sketches made from life.

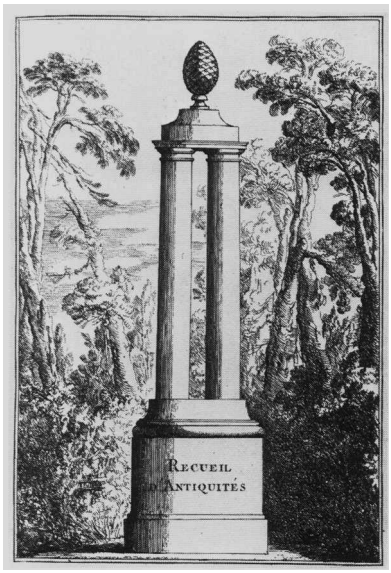



fig. 21.
Caylus, Frontispiece for *Recueil d'Antiquités,* Vol. II, etching, 1752.

Crozat's park at Montmorency, of which there is a very fine drawing by Pierre-Jean Mariette[1] that recalls Watteau's backgrounds, has been mentioned on occasion. A little known etching by Caylus picturing "the end of [his] garden"[2] (fig. 21) may also be compared to the badly "groomed" spots that enchanted the painter. These weak links suggest at least that Watteau's *fêtes galantes* were not taken only from the artist's imagination.

For a number of years, scholars have looked into those centrifugal forces which caused the fashionable world of the Regency period to flee the city.[3] It was at that time that the countryside was "discovered," not the nature in which Rousseau was to spell out the alphabet of feeling, but the aristocratic sojourn of elite souls. If the city rejected the court and all its vain prestige, it still dreamed of living "nobly"; the money of the nouveaux riches—merchants and profiteers—of the "System" gave to the city an atmosphere that breathed vulgarity. To "live nobly" was to pick up and leave, not without abandoning the refinements of city life; it was to overrefine the grosser pleasures into delectable enjoyments. Mme. de Murat wrote: "the country is made for love" (Démoris 1971, p. 340). The echo of this phrase ran through a good part of the *galants* novellas of the period on contemporary themes where one passed from the spectacles of the city to those retreats where love was conjugated with nocturnal entertainments, mysterious parks, libertine tableaux, and intimate concerts.

Such places did not come from the imagination of a few novelists; they had their reality in the same world that Watteau knew. The pleasures of the country were for the most part the pleasures of the suburbs, sojourns near Paris in the midst of a decorative nature, whose primary virtue was its discreet isolation. In those years the first follies[4] were born to the east of Paris in the Popincourt area; impassioned gardeners—a new fashion[5]—on weekly leave from Parlement, government, or literature were found there; they shut themselves away for evenings whose echo never passed over the walls of those parks, freed from the formal French style. It was essentially in the suburbs where the games of gallantry and noble leisure took refuge. A few great lords had small courts of their own, at Sceaux, at Chantilly, at Chatenay, or at Saint-Cloud. If these were the best known, they were not necessarily the most refined. Pierre Crozat at Montmorency did only what he considered to be *bon ton* in the financial world, which, for a moment, was so happily linked to the nobility or lawyers. It is almost possible to construct a geography of Watteau's friends who withdrew to the country around Paris. Jean Glucq, a relative of Jean de Jullienne, and father of two famous Watteau collectors, bought his house at Auteuil in 1714 from Thérèse Dancourt, the wife of the actor-playwright (DV, III, p. 203). At the same time Autreau led a carefree life in a "house in the fields that some of his friends had rented at Arcueil"; a poem described its comforts without enumerating all its charms:

| | |
|---|---|
| Le reste est un mystère | The rest is a mystery |
| Qu'on ne révèle point | That is never revealed |
| . . . | . . . |
| Cabinet, lit de verdure | Cabinet, bed of greenery, |
| Ornements de la nature pure; | Ornaments of pure nature; |
| Parterre gai, allée obscure, | Gay parterre, dark alley, |
| Salon bien frais, | Fresh salon, |
| Dont les murs sont discretes, | Whose walls are discreet, |
| Peu chargé de dorure: | So little laden with gold: |
| Mais la cuisine auprès: | But the kitchen nearby: |
| Voilà notre Palais.[6] | There is our Palace. |

The Abbé de Chaulieu, a friend of Caylus, sang the "praises of country life" in regard to his country house at Fontenay;[7] Gueullette, as we said, performed comedies and shared other pleasures at Maisons and Choisy.[8] Fraguier, who would write *L'Epitaphe de Watteau,* relaxed in the house at Auteuil that belonged to his friend Rémond; Mme. de Verrue entertained at Meudon. The suburbs were the craze of the times.

Romantic and dramatic literature recorded this vogue, which suddenly hit the city dwellers. It either transposed it directly or played on its myth. Watteau scholars who have dealt with this matter have not, for the most part (Eisenstadt 1930, etc.), distinguished in these societies of love and pleasure between what was the novelist's fantasy, the muted criticism of a pretended writer of memories, or a reality that was scarcely magnified. Many of the sources cited came from the clandestine pamphlet mills that abounded in the eighteenth century in France and Holland and from a sizeable anti-aristocratic literature that mushroomed in the last two decades of the century.[9] We shall mention only sure or likely references.

Watteau was received into the Academy in his capacity as painter of *fêtes galantes,* a genre that was actually created for him. He was far from being the first craftsman of a myth that was until then essentially literary or poetic. From the medieval courts of love to *L'Astrée* of Honoré d'Urfé and to the French romantic tradition of the early seventeenth century, Madeline de Scudéry to Gomberville and La Calprenède, love and gallantry conjure up the country and Arcadian landscapes. The Italian-style pastorale had invaded the

French theater, but this genre was in complete decline by Watteau's time. On the other hand, the eclogues of Fontenelle (1688) or idyls of Mme. Deshoulières (1688) as well as a notable consideration on the modern pastorale, together with the revival of the *précieux* movement, gave an up-to-date reality to that *sensibility,* which French literary classicism used sparingly.

But the *fête galante,* as it was conceived in the novels and poetry of Watteau's time, had essentially *modern* characteristics: the ancient or Gallic disguises, favored by seventeenth-century novelists who saw, for example, the Prince of Condé in the *Cyrus* of Mlle. de Scudéry give way in the first works of the new century to a simple *transposition.* A literature of short stories, adventure, and at times novellas and news items became the ruling force in the Paris publishing business.[10] The *fête galante* was one of its most privileged forms. Furetière gave an excellent definition of the expression under *galant* in his *Dictionnaire* (1690). According to him the word described an "enjoyment of the respectable people" ("une réjouissance d'honnêtes gens"). In the masculine, a *galant* was "a man who has a courtly air, agreeable manners, and who seeks to please." In the feminine, a *galante* woman was a person "who knows how to live, knows how to choose and entertain her social world." There was no shadow of a derogatory flavor in this judgment, which repeats the contemporary *Dictionnaire* of Richelet, in which, inspired by the *Remarques* by Vaugelas, the author insisted on the close relationship of an "air of the court" and "gallantry." For Watteau's contemporaries the *fête galante* represented a *modern* adaptation, desanctified and perhaps nostalgic, of a court art that was dying out. Secondary aristocrats, financiers of lowly extraction, lawyers, and artists reconstituted a certain monarchic ceremonial; anointment of the Lord was replaced by Bacchus and the goddess of Cythera, and etiquette by futile and deliciously constraining rules. Mme. du Maine, wife of the royal bastard, created at Sceaux the "Order of the Honey Bee,"[11] which was conferred on all the society folk of the city who would never under any circumstances be received at court. Alongside these large-scale undertakings there was a rash of more intimate fêtes, those *parties carrées* which gave their name to a Watteau pic-




fig. 22.
N. Guérard, *Universal Masquerade,*
engraving, end of the 17th century.

ture *The Party of Four* (cat. P. 14), and where according to Furetière's definition (under *partie*): "two men and two women only join together for some promenade or repast."

Marivaux gave a good description in 1719 of the special atmosphere of these games of civilized nature:

> A few days ago, I was in the country at the house of one of my friends; quite a number of ladies and gentlemen were assembled there. I took it into my head one morning to go and walk alone in the wood near the house; I was already plunged in the most remote paths when I was suddenly overtaken by rain; to avoid it I rushed to a shelter that I saw nearby. I was about to enter it when I heard voices: lending an ear, I heard two ladies of our company who had apparently taken refuge there before me.[12]

The arithmetic of love and the geography of the passions developed in these humanized locales and nourished a strategy in which reality simulated fictions of the most refined sort. There the "bearer of faces," Marivaux' beautiful description of man[13] (fig. 22), played under his own mask the

1. A note on the drawing: "Dans les jardins de M. Crozat à Montmorenci, 1724." *Le Dessin français dans les collections hollandaises* (exh. cat. Paris—Amsterdam 1964), no. 76, pl. 57.

2. Frontispiece of *Recueil d'Antiquités* (Paris, 1752). See p. XV: "Explication des vignettes et des culs-de-lampes." The "petit monument de pierre dure" is by Bouchardon.

3. See Démoris (1971) and the article by Jean Sgard, "Style rococo et style Régence," *La Régence* [colloquium at Aix] (Paris, 1970), 11-20.

4. Marcel Fouquier, *Paris au XVIII^e siècle. Ses folies* (Paris, 1912). For example, the *Folie Titon,* which was decorated by the best artists of the period, among them La Fosse, Jouvenet, and Poërson (114).

5. La *Folie Dufresny* (dramatic author and gardening *amateur;* see Moureau, *Dufresny*) or the gardens of Lefèvre de Fontenay, successor to Dufresny as editor of the *Mercure* (*Dictionnaire des journalistes. 1600-1789. Supplément II* [Grenoble, 1983]).

6. Autreau, *Oeuvres,* 4:196-197.

7. G. de Chaulieu, *Oeuvres diverses,* 1:51. Poem dated 1710.

8. Gueullette, *TSG,* 58-59.

9. An identical fault in the sometimes well-documented works, that, however, lack proper criticism of the sources: Jean Hervez, *Les Sociétés d'amour au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1906); and by the author, *La Régence galante* (Paris, 1909); Arthur Dinaux and Gustave Brunet, *Les Sociétés badines, bachiques, littéraires et chantantes,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1867).

10. See F. Moureau: "Fiction narrative, nouvelles et faits divers au début du XVIII^e siècle: l'exemple du *Mercure galant* de Dufresny," *Cahiers de l'U.E.R. Froissart,* Valenciennes 3 (1978), 126-134.

11. *Les Divertissemens de Seaux* (Paris, 1712).

12. Marivaux, "Lettre contentant une aventure" (1719-1720) in *Journaux et oeuvres diverses* (Paris, 1969), 77.

13. Third sheet of the *Spectateur français* (January 1722), *Journaux et oeuvres diverses* (Paris, 1969), 124.



fig. 23.
B. Picart, *Country Concert,*
engraving, first state, 1708.

theatricalization of selected sentiments. The air of the suburbs was still the air of the theater. On the stage of the Opéra, the ballet *Fêtes galantes* (1698) by Duché and Desmarets had assured the emergence of a theme that in the following years was to invade (together with the fairy tale) the contemporary literary imagination. The Palais-Royal theater often gave itself over to fictions that allied the show to a lyric conception of existence: the third *Entrée* of Campra's ballet *Les Ages* (1718) represented "gardens near Padua prepared for a *fête galante*"[14] and it is to a "gallant fishing expedition [sic . . .]" that the first *Entrée* of *Les Plaisirs de la campagne* (1719) of Bertin[15] extended an invitation. At this period, the expression *galant* had already lost a great deal of its original force. "The *fêtes* in the second act are *galantes,*" wrote Boindin in 1719[16] about the *Dieux comédiens* of Dancourt, played the preceding year at the Comédie-Française. At that same time, the Abbé Dubos in his *Réflexions sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (1719) contrasted the *grand genre* to the "grotesques" of "gallant painters."[17]

At the end of the second decade of the century a new meaning for the word *galant* evolved, soon signaled by the new edition of Richelet's *Dictionnaire.*[18] Derision had set in; the new "nymphs" of the Tuileries, cousins of those "nymphs of our day" of whom Fraguier spoke in his *Epitaphe de Watteau,* scarcely recall those *Nymphes de la Seine* who were celebrated by Racine. We will comment on the sense that can be given to such "embarkations for Cythera." But the *fête galante* lived on in the literature of the happy suburbs, where iconic elements were at work to tie the theme of the *fête* to the theme of departure. In *L'Ambigu d'Auteuil* (1709), an anonymous collection of eight novellas, the guests in a gallant retreat go down the Seine as far as the *Ile aux Cygnes.*[19] Elsewhere, in *Les Petits Soupers de l'été,* published by Mme. Durand in 1702, are found "four women of quality, experts at tasting this sort of innocent pleasure," which derives from "a countryside, above all, not too far from Paris, where one breathes pure air, where unrestricted in a garden, one can wander about in agreeable surroundings and can see one's friends from morning till evening."[20]

*The Country Concert,* engraved by Bernard Picart[21] and so often compared to Watteau's work (DV 37; CR, fig. 23) was not necessarily an iconographic fantasy: it participated in a new *art de vivre* that literature and the *beaux arts* raised in dignity and value. This countryside remained very citified, and, as Mme. Durand so elegantly wrote, it relaxes one "from the tumult of the city, provided one can return there whenever one wishes."[22]

The *fête galante* fostered immobility, the Horatian *carpe diem,* and serenity—pure enjoyment of oneself in communion with other souls "of quality," repose from the passions and awakening of the senses. But it arose from an elementary, but essential translation: the old man stripping and symbolically putting on new attire for the voyage that would take him to never-never land, where he would discover himself in the face of his own truth.

"In the gallant dress of the century in which we live," to repeat a phrase from Fraguier's *Epitaphe,* Watteau painted the inverse journey from the kingdom of the shadows to that of reality, which reunited in select places the pilgrims of the ironic sculpted God (Chance? Fate?), whose presence haunted so many of the works of our painter. According to Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593), translated into French by Jean Baudoin as early as 1637, *Exile* was "represented by a man clothed as a pilgrim carrying a staff in his right hand and a falcon on his left."[23] The pilgrim was not on his way to an agreeable "elsewhere"; he was returning to his own country. "Pilgrimage" was therefore a return. The theme of spiritual and particularly amorous exile fed a whole body of literature in which numerous Watteau scholars have more or less delicately drawn the forms and defined the colors (Eisenstadt 1930; Adhémar 1977; Bauer 1979; Tomlinson 1981). The pilgrimage was also assimilated to a large extent to pastoral poetic games. Since antiquity, the shepherd, eternal wanderer and guide for his flocks and given mystic connotations

by Orphism and Christianity, played a role that was parallel to that of the pilgrim. The pilgrim of love, spiritual child of the knight of the medieval *geste,* invaded the literary fiction of the Latin countries from the Renaissance on. Examples from novels to theater to poetry are numerous: Olivier de la Trau published in 1609 a *Pèlerin d'Amour divisé en quatre journées,* where its hero, Iderée, wandered across Europe and "voluntarily and freely obligated himself to visit the altars [of Love] in every province where he would find them erected in [Love's] name."[24] Lope de Vega has a *peregrino de amor* traveling and carrying a staff in *El Peregrino en su patria* (Seville, 1604). But from 1589, for the marriage of Ferdinand de' Medici and Christine de Lorraine, Girolamo Bargagli had presented in Florence, in *La Pellegrina,* a *Drusilla giovanna pellegrina*[25] who served as a model in France for Angélique in *La Pèlerine amoureuse* (around 1632) by Rotrou.[26] In the literature inspired by *L'Astrée* and by numerous Italian and



fig. 24.
Anonymous, *On the Island of Cythera,*
engraving after B. Picart.



fig. 25.
B. Picart,
*Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera,*
drawing with wash, 1708,
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Spanish sources, it would be tiresome to mention all of the examples of this amorous quest. It was often linked to a revived ancient myth, that of the Happy Isles.

These places of eternal life had an actual location, the White Island at the mouth of the Danube, on which Achilles mysteriously survived; or mythical sites, the Isles of the Blessed, paradise of Orphism or of Neo-Pythagoreanism, whose master was Hyperborean Apollo, and where Cronos lived, reconciled with his son Zeus. But it was the Isle of Cythera, where Aphrodite landed, scarcely arisen out of the seafoam, and borne by the Zephyrs, which since Renaissance times held at least as important a place in the gallant mythology as did the myth of Psyche. If we limit ourselves to the second half of the seventeenth century in France, the tales of voyages to the Isle of Love by Paul Tallemant (1663) or by Pierre Aubert (1666) were simple examples of an element in gallant fiction that writers and artists have repeated rather tiresomely, including our predecessors (Eisenstadt 1930; Dacier 1937; Adhémar 1977; Tomlinson 1981).

All that, however, does not explain the appearance of this theme in Watteau's painted works in the second decade of the eighteenth century. Among the artists whose similarity of inspiration with Watteau's is notable in other circumstances, certain subjects were shared. On the path that leads to Watteau, Bernard Picart's *Isle of Cythera* engraved by Duclos (fig. 24) or his *Pilgrims of the Isle of Cythera* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 25) are important landmarks

14. *Recueil général des opéras* (Paris, 1734), 11:360.

15. *RGO* 1734, 459.

16. Boindin, *Lettres historiques . . . spectacles,* First letter on the Comédie-Française, 19.

17. Boindin, *Lettres historiques . . . spectacles,* 1:2.

18. See glossary, Marivaux, "Lettre contenant . . . ," 776.

19. *L'Ambigu d'Auteuil ou Veritez historiques* (Paris, 1709), 77.

20. C. Beclacier (Mme. Durand), *Les petits soupers de l'été de l'année 1699 ou Avantures galantes Avec l'origin des Fées* (Paris, 1702), 1:1-2: *Epître à Mme. . . .*

21. Two states: 1) dated 1708; 2) dated 1709 with an octet by François Gacon (BN, est., Ed. 56a, ff. 161-162).

22. Beclacier, *Petits soupers,* 1:2.

23. *Iconologie ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images . . .* (Paris, 1637), 1st part, 83, no. LV.

24. Bergerac, 1609, 51-52. See also *Le Pélerin estranger* (1634) by Brethencourt and *Le Pélerin* (1670) by Brémond.

25. *La Pellegrina Commedia Del Materiale Intronato* (Siena, 1589).

26. *Angélique ou la Pèlerine amoureuse,* Paris [1637]: "Je fuis d'aveugles feux dont mon âme est atteinte" (III, 2).

that tie in with the numerous drawings of Gillot representing gallant conversations (Louvre, inv. 26771-26774) and a fascinating *Embarkation for Cythera* also by him, only recently documented.[27] But Tomlinson has sounded the true iconographic, if not the ideological sources of Watteau in his treatment of the theme. For a long time, these were stubbornly sought in the Comédie-Française and in Dancourt's *Les Trois Cousines*. In particular, a portrait of Mlle. Desmares as a pilgrim, and repeated in the *Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9), was reminiscent, as we have said, of a *divertissement* in Dancourt's play.

In fact, the Isle of Cythera theme in Watteau came from quite different sources; it was born at the Fair and at the Opéra in the first years of the second decade of the century, more precisely between 1710 and 1715. Before, as well as after that time, these trips to Cythera were extremely rare on the Paris stage. It seems useless to underline how much this simple fact throws light on some of Watteau's paintings, from the first *Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9) to the two *Pilgrimages* (cats. P. 61, 62) in the full frenzy of the Cytherean plays. This fashion was launched at the Fair when it was beginning, along with the Opéra-Comique, to parody most effectively the great lyric stage. The real origin of the theme is found in the spectacles of the court and of the city formerly performed at the Opéra—for example, that of the *Jardins de Cythère* in the *Plaisirs de l'Ile enchantée* performed at Versailles in 1664 (Eisenstadt 1930; Tomlinson 1981). But if the evocation of Cythera and the amorous embarkations were not rare in the text of the librettos (see *La Vénitienne* [1705] of La Motte and La Barre, I, 6), the scenography of the Opéra did not give it any particular attention, even though *fêtes,* balls, and mythological tableaux were the daily bread of the prologues and the *divertissements* of the great French genre. It was in *Les Amours déguisés* (1713) by Bourgeois that the stage of the Palais-Royal saw the first "embarkation." The author of the libretto was none other than Louis Fuzelier, a deserter from the Fair theaters and the future owner of the *Mercure* along with Antoine de la Roque. The *Prologue* "represents a seaport where the Fleet of Love is ready to set sail for the *Island of Cythera*." The lovers, "chained together by garlands of flowers," hasten to the call of Venus; Bacchus, leading bacchants and satyrs, follows her, to the great discomfiture of Minerva and her nymphs, who symbolize the struggle of Reason against the "blind ecstasy" of Love. Minerva refuses to embark for the island of her rival, and Venus, accompanied by Games and Pleasures disguised as sailors, calls encouragement to the couples about to depart:

| | |
|---|---|
| Partez, nouveaux Sujets de<br>l'Empire amoureux,<br>Venez être témoins de nos<br>aimables fêtes,<br>Qu'a vos yeux en ce jour<br>un spectacle pompeux<br>Des Amours déguisés retrace<br>la conquête.[28] | Depart, new Subjects of<br>the amorous Empire,<br>Come be witnesses of our<br>pleasant fêtes,<br>Which for your eyes today<br>a pompous spectacle<br>Of disguised cupids retrace<br>the conquest. |

The following year Fuzelier revived this clever idea of the embarkation, which, admittedly, allowed the Opéra to reuse all the sailor costumes that had been tailored for various "Venetian" fêtes, the great hit of the previous season. The Prologue of *Arion* (1714, music by J.-B. Matho) situated the scene at the end of a voyage on the Isle of Cythera, "where the young cupids left idle during the war are sleeping at the feet of the Beloveds who are lying on beds of grass; the absence of their lovers puts them into a tender reverie expressed by their poses."[29] Afterward, this scenic localization disappeared, despite a few pilgrims of either sex and the floating barque of the *Jugement de Pâris* (1718)[30] by Pellegrin and Bertin, pointed out now and then by Watteau scholars, and the Island of Paphos where the Prologue of the *Amours de Protée* (1720) by Lafont and Gervais was located.[31] All these works had a definite mythological character.



JUGEMENT DE PARIS

fig. 26.
Dubercelle, *Judgment of Paris,*
engraving for P.C. Marivaux, *L'Homère travesti,* vol. II, 1716.

That was not the case of the embarkations presented at the Fair which, not surprisingly, introduced a note of derision into the evocation of the myth of the Isle of Love and reduced it to a contemporary reality whose elements deserve to be noted.[32] At the same time, the young Marivaux, reviving an old burlesque technique, wrote *Homère travesti* (1716), where the heroes of the Iliad appeared, in an engraving by Dubercelle, dressed up as Italian stock characters or as modern gallants (*Jugement de Pâris,* fig. 26). In a play performed in Toulouse in 1712, known through the manuscript by P.-F. Biancolelli, a comic Pierrot decides to go on a pilgrimage with Diamantine. Harlequin, who wants to accompany them, is dressed "in a very comical pilgrim costume" and is provided with a "staff laden with roots, vegetables, onions, and sausages."[33] Fuzelier, who was at that time giving thought to his libretto for the *Amours déguisés* for the Opéra, put on a performance of the *Pèlerins de Cythère*[34] at the Foire Saint-Laurent in the spring of 1713, thus inaugurating the cycles of embarkations in the traveling theaters, and was honored by the presence of the Duc d'Orléans, the future Regent.[35] The play can be interpreted on two levels: as a lovers' departure for Cythera, the general theme; and as a pleasure trip down

the Seine to Saint-Cloud, a comic echo. "The theater represents the banks of the Seine; one sees a boat similar to the *galiote* [covered river barge] at Saint-Cloud with Love at the helm; one hears the drum beaten behind the scene and the boatmen calling out" (scene 1). An anonymous synopsis at the beginning of the play relates the plot and the essential elements of these ambiguous games: "These are various people who want to leave Paris and embark for Cythera, and all of them disguise themselves so they won't be recognized; some women by their husbands, Harlequin and Pierrot, who are coach-masters in Cythera; others from their lovers. In short, an amorous intrigue that also embarks for the Isle of Cythera." This pilgrimage is a voyage to the land of conjugal infidelity, quick love affairs, and frivolous passions. Thérèse embarks, in love with the "ducats" of Jeannot, the cashier; Mme. Prenelle, Harlequin's wife, takes no chances and takes *two* gallants along. Pierrot plays with off-color ambiguities concerning his pilgrim's staff.

*Les Pèlerines de Cythère,* performed the following year in the fall of 1714 in Dolet and La Place's theater at the Foire Saint-Germain,[36] is known from an edition of 1717, unfortunately untraceable, and by a summary published by the Parfaict brothers.[37] Colombine and Marinette, abducted by Pierrot and Mezzetin, are conducted to Cythera, where they find Harlequin and Scaramouche, their former lovers who marry them in the finale. Then they sing an enticing song:

| | |
|---|---|
| Vous qui cherchez des maris, | You who seek husbands, |
| Venez nous voir à Cythère; | Come see us at Cythera; |
| Parmi nos jeux et nos ris, | Among our games and laughter, |
| Vous trouverez votre affaire. | You will find your affair. |

The play was by Jean-François Letellier, a marionnettist at the Fair; it was repeated the following year and at Marseilles in 1717 by Octave's company.[38] Less brutally cynical than Fuzelier's work, this comedy was no less about Cythera, the purlieu of free love, even if the intrigues also ended in traditional marriages.

The third and last play in the strolling players' Cythera cycle was performed in the autumn of 1715 on the boards of the Foire Saint-Laurent. *Les Amours de Cythère,* a pleasant comedy by Charpentier, is the least parodic of those we have examined.[39] Troupes of pilgrims of both sexes, seamen, and shepherds lead Harlequin, Colombine, Scaramouche, Pasquariel, and Pierrot to the "seaside" where they will embark for Cythera. In the light of the rising sun, the pilgrims breakfast on the grass and render homage to Bacchus before giving themselves over to Venus. Act IV shows the Palace of Cythera, where a *fête galante* is being readied to celebrate the marriage of Harlequin. But the road-show style is never far from these delicate arabesques. The Harlequin obsessions—food and drink—give serious competition to the game of love. After 1715, the representation of the voyage to Cythera falls into abeyance; by 1716, a single scene in *l'Ecole des Amants* by Fuzelier (sc. 7) barely keeps the theme alive.

The Cytherian games lasted only a few years on the Paris stages of the fairs and the Opéra. How much light can they shed for us on Watteau's work, of which the *Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9) and the two *Pilgrimages* (cats. P. 61, 62) are dated exactly in the years around Louis XIV's death? The road-show interpretation follows the various "Cytheras" in the suburbs whose existence is well confirmed by other sources. The *galiotes* from Saint-Cloud referred to by Fuzelier in *Les Pèlerins de Cythère* in 1713 actually did exist: these boats of leisure and pleasure plied the river between Paris and the park of Saint-Cloud (domicile of the Orléans family) carrying city-dwellers attracted by the promise of a short, gallant adventure. The mythical superimposition of the theme of a voyage to Cythera on the escapade of a trip down the Seine to Saint-Cloud was certainly present in the minds of contemporaries. It can give coloring to the painting in the Prado (cat. P. 21, sometimes called *The Gardens of Saint-Cloud*). In the third *Entrée* of the *Fêtes de l'Eté* by Pellegrin, created at the Opéra in 1716, the banks of the Seine were the departure point for a gallant, extra-conjugal pilgrimage, which proves the proximity of the two themes, one mythological, one quite real. A poem by Danchet alluded to this *galiote,* in which pilgrimages were undertaken;[40] we have already mentioned the trip down stream to the *Ile aux*

27. D. F. Mosby, *Master Drawings* (1974), no. 1, 49-56; *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 31 (November-December 1974); Adhémar 1977, 169-170.

28. *RGO* (Paris, 1720), 11:7.

29. *RGO* 1720, 53.

30. *RGO* 1734, vol. 12: Frontispiece by J.-B. Scotin, after Bonnart, representing this scene.

31. *RGO* 1734, vol. 13, 69. The Duc de la Vallière (*Ballets, opéra et autres ouvrages lyriques* [Paris, 1760]) records in his collection (p. 162) a manuscript of the *Voyage de Cythère,* a pastorale in one act, written for the Opéra around 1720, but never performed. This manuscript is conserved in the BN (ms., f.fr. 24357, ff. 63-71). In Scene 1, a chorus of lovers sing of their embarkation for Cythera. Tomlinson (1981, 118) believes, in error, that this ballet is from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The list of the Opéra's embarkations furnished by the same author (1981, 174) confuses 'representation' with the 'evocation' of these voyages, which are not always for Cythera.

32. Tomlinson, *La fête galante,* 174-175, gives an incomplete list that calls for the same remark made in the preceding note. Essentially, after 1715, the theme is 'evoked' rather than 'staged.'

33. *La Fausse Belle-Mère,* II, 13 (BN, ms., f.fr. 9331).

34. An unpublished play (BN, ms., f.fr. 9545). As to the circumstances see Fuzelier's memoir: *Opéra* (B. Opéra: Fonds Favart; Carton I; C, 6; 4-5).

35. Georges Cucuel, "Sources et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'opéra-comique en France," *L'Année musicale* (1913), 253.

36. Parfaict, *Mémoires,* 1:161.

37. Ed.: Marseilles, 1717. Parfaict, *Dictionnaire,* 4:87.

38. Maurice Henriet's article, "Letellier, auteur dramatique forain," *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique de Château-Thierry* (1903), 179-207, does not add much compared to E. Campardon, *Foire,* 2:75, 189, and Desboulmiers, *Histoire du théâtre de l'Opéra comique* (Paris, 1769), 2:524.

39. An unpublished play. (BN, ms., f.fr. 9312: the manuscript is from the Soleinne collection and, before that, from Jean-Nicolas du Tralage, known for his compilations on the theater at the end of Louis XIV's reign.) Tomlinson (1981, 176-179) reproduces a scene from this play (Appendix 3).

40. Antoine Danchet, *Oeuvres mêlées* (Paris, 1751), 4:107-108.

*Cygnes* in Passy; Tomlinson (1981, pp. 116-177) cites other examples. The *Island of Cythera* in Frankfurt (cat. P. 9) fits in perfectly with this thematic game. The recent link established between the stairway seen in the background of the painting and an engraving by Israel Silvestre: *View and Perspective of the Cascade in the Garden . . . of Saint-Cloud*[41] confirms the conclusions that we reached through literary sources. Iconographic elements from the traveling theaters, other than the inevitable "pilgrimages," can be brought into line with the Frankfurt picture, for example the putti who are at the helm of the *galiotes* at Saint-Cloud are identical to those in *Les Pèlerins de Cythère* by Fuzelier. The *galant* ships of Watteau no doubt have a different source from these very prosaic *galiotes,* perhaps a vessel seen by the painter and much talked of at the time. In January 1717, a bilander from Rouen was tied up across from the Tuileries and drew large crowds and chroniclers. This flat, single-masted boat used on the canals in Holland was decorated with pennants that floated in the wind.[42] This iconographic source cannot apply to the *Island of Cythera* in Frankfurt, which antedates it; more likely Watteau found the inspiration for his boats there in the court shallops, of which the most famous had been the one presented to Louis XIV by the Republic of Venice. Once again, such a work by Watteau suggests a Fair theater production rather than one on any of the great Parisian stages.

The problems raised by the *Pilgrimages* of the Louvre and Berlin (cats. P. 61, 62) are of quite another order from the questions raised by the *Island of Cythera.* We do not presume to believe that we can resolve them, and we will limit ourselves to setting forth information that is historically verifiable. The Cytherian theme functions on several levels in the literature of the time. On the first level, in a simple transposition of the life of the suburbs or of pleasant retreats, Cythera is an idealization of the new *galant* manner of aristocratic life.

Heureux, en s'écartant du sentier ordinaire,
Sous des groupes nouveaux, il fit voir les Amours,
Et nous représenta les Nymphes de nos jours,
Aussi charmantes qu' à Cythère,

Happy, in departing from the ordinary path,
Under new groups, he made us see Cupids,
And represented for us Nymphs of our day,
As charming as on Cythera,

wrote Abbé Fraguier in his *Epitaphe de Watteau,* clearly assimilating the modern Cythera to reality and not to a myth, like the myth of the Golden Age that fed a certain melancholy or politically disguised poetry of the period. Cythera actually existed, as is not hard to prove through texts written between 1710 and 1720. One of the most interesting is attributed—wrongly, alas—to the Comte de Caylus himself, but probably did come from Watteau's circle.[43] One finds there a description of the Port, "the pleasure house of M. and Madame P. . . . This place is appropriately called *The Port,* because it is there that a large number of persons—and persons of the first quality—arrive; it is also called *The Port* because it is a true place of refreshment, repose, good food, and pleasure." The house is "half-surrounded in a semicircle by very pure water . . . the obstacles that might make one apprehensive




fig. 27.
E. Desrochers, *Mlle Fillon called "la Présidente",* engraving.

there and that just missed overturning our barque were the carp and the pike. . . . This little boat ride reminded me of the pleasure I had of going with you to the Island of *Thalia.* . . . The day is divided between good food, play, walks, and concerts . . . this house resembles a city whose goods belong to everyone, to such an extent are people there well-bred, considerate, gracious, and free."[44]

But the general theme of Cythera refers back to some old myths, some from Antiquity, and to the Platonic theory of the two Venuses: Aphrodite Curania, daughter of Uranus, goddess of pure love; and Aphrodite Pandemian, daughter of Dione, goddess of vulgar love. The Love figures,[45] Cupid and his enemy-brother, debauched Cupid (to repeat an expression of Dufresny),[46] corresponded to these two Venuses. The Cythera referred to in different expressions belonged to the second type: "jeu de Cythère" (physical love) (Tomlinson 1981, p. 56) or "couvent de Cythère" (house of prostitution)[47] (fig. 27). The sojourn on the Island of Cythera was an allegory for pleasures of the flesh. Venus battled Minerva on the stage of the Opéra in *Les Amours déguisés* (1713) by Fuzelier; Tomlinson (1981, p. 57) cites a parody by the same author performed at the Théâtre Italien in 1719: *La Rupture du Carnaval et la Folie,* where Love frankly left ancient Cythera, seat of pure love, for the modern Isle of Love—the "temples of Passy and of the Moulin de Javelle"—where Venus reconciled Bacchus and gallantry. The "grenadier" Cupid in *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38) seems indeed to have the meaning Tomlinson attributes to it. Other texts, unknown to this author, confirm that the world of Cythera, near the territory of Bacchus, was a Golden Age *à la moderne,* the purlieu of earthly pleasures and perhaps the allegorization of a certain disdain for metaphysical realities. In *La Réunion des Amours* (1730) a few years later, Marivaux reconciled the little libertine Cupid with Love, the god of "beautiful tenderness." For now, insofar as our texts suggest it, the embarkation for Cythera, the sojourn on the Isle of Love, and the return were just so many different steps in an amorous escapade that

involved the senses, without preoccupying the mind or the sensibilities. There still existed some Islands of Love where the Golden Age survived, celebrated by modern poets, Fontenelle foremost of all. In *L'Amant libéral dans l'Isle d'Amour* (Paris, 1709) Guillaume Castri placed this site of pure pleasure in an imaginary Sicily. But if *La Nouvelle Astrée* (1713), dedicated to the mother of the future Regent, tied in with a certain pastoral tradition and proved the attraction that the modern and *néo-précieux* movement felt for the nostalgic evocations of the *national* mythology (Province of Le Forez in Honoré d'Urfé), the games of Cythera—a travesty of the deep struggles of the time between the old base of Christian morality and libertinage—incite very clear interpretations.

We will cite only two examples of this: in the first years of the century, in *La Perfection d'Amour,* a prose "fable" dedicated by Chaulieu to the Duc de Bourbon,[48] the idea of a utopia of the two sister isles of Cythera was developed. The first had an "eternal springtime" where "neighbors to a world of childhood" lived, a population of shepherds and shepherdesses who amused themselves with musical "pipes" and "bagpipes." They lived an existence in which love without shame was the principal occupation. "Gallant conversations" took place "either in a moss-lined den or under great leafy trees, old as the universe," and they conversed "nonchalantly reclining on a bed of grass." The other island was inhabited by a hirsute population distinguished from the shepherds on the neighboring isle by their particular taste for working the earth. Their god was Bacchus. Venus, having come from Cythera, visited the isle of the shepherds and the isle of the satyrs and decided to make "something perfect out of these two very imperfect things." This cross-breeding destroyed the primeval innocence of the shepherds, who meanwhile taught the satyrs joys that they were sorry to have been deprived of. Venus reunited them on the "Happy Isle" where henceforth lived two folk, one descended from the satyrs, half-breeds, strong, hard-working, not very talkative; the other, educated by the satyrs but "pure" and remaining a "tender and refined" group, "of soft manner and sensitive heart." The apologue, which curiously anticipated that of the Troglodytes of Montesquieu (*Lettres persanes,* Letters XI-XIV), was easily interpreted. Likewise, René de Bonneval, author of *Momus au cercle des Dieux* (Paris, 1717) furnished "detailed tidings from the *Island of Cythera*" (p. 17)—anecdotes about the Parisian theater, *galanteries* from the ball at the Opéra—before giving tidings from the "Isle of Love" (p. 132). A "letter from Dorante to Clarice" (p. 134) gave a "description and view of the isle," where the God of Pleasures reigned. Every morning the inhabitants betook themselves to the temple of Love to offer him their "desires as sacrifices." On this island, nourished by the utopias of More, Campanella, and Fénelon, art was banished. The houses were "not at all decorated with paintings. And what purpose would they serve there? Would it be to conjure up tenderness with gallant stories? Everyone finds them in his heart." But the conclusion of the letter was even more arresting. "But do not believe," wrote Bonneval, "that this island is like Cythera a rendezvous of libertine loves, or of pleasures without choice and without rule. Fidelity is its first law" (pp.141-142).

Cythera of the suburbs or of nowhere, the islands of Love therefore had an ideological significance at the beginning of the century that went far beyond their role of simple vehicle of gallant allegory. That libertine atmosphere found in Watteau's work, which is so clearly oriented "toward Cythera"—its temples, satyrs, Bacchuses, and "earthly" pleasures—deserves to be studied more thoroughly. The ways of Cythera lead to the philosophical routes charted since the Renaissance. The painter whose "libertine spirit" Caylus celebrated and whom he described as "pure shepherd, born caustic and shy" (in Champion 1921, pp. 111, 94, 90), and whom Gersaint called "libertine in spirit but morally virtuous" (Champion 1921, p. 64), Watteau still had a number of surprises in reserve.

41. *Jean-Antoine Watteau. Einschiffung nach Cytherea. L'Ile de Cythère* (exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982), 75.

42. *Nouveau Mercure,* January 1717, 240-242.

43. *Recueil de pièces sérieuses, comiques et burlesques,* s.l., 1721. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale attributes it to Caylus, because its copy has a handwritten *ex dono* of the Count dated 1765. But in fact, this composite collection (including, among other things, some *Remarques sur l'Angleterre* whose author is at times thought to be DuBois de Saint-Gelais, at other times Boureau-Deslandes) is only a reissue with a new title page of the *Pièces échapées du feu* (Plaisance [Holland], 1717). The editor of this volume is Albert-Henry de Sallengre, a Dutch Huguenot who was in Paris in 1713-1714 and associated with certain of Watteau's acquaintances, among them Abbé Fraguier. Moreover, Adhémar (1977, 171) attributes to Caylus *L'Apothéose de Beau-Sexe* (London, 1712), but there is not the slightest chance that it was published by him (BN: R 26774).

44. *Recueil de pièces,* "Lettre de M. l'abbé de M. à M. de S[allengre]," 103-105.

45. See Tomlinson, *La fête galante,* "Cupidon ou l'Amour," 50-74.

46. *Les Adieux des Officiers ou Vénus justifiée,* a play performed by the Italian troupe in 1693.

47. De Bois-Jourdain, *Mélanges historiques, satiriques et anecdotiques* (Paris, 1807), 2:305 (text of 1716).

48. Chaulieu, *Oeuvres diverses,* 2:49-69.

# IV Watteau's "Poetic Tombstones"

If during his lifetime Watteau's friends were silent about the painter with whom they associated, they composed some singular requiems for the artist very soon after his death. The few pages that follow are intended to list these tributes and to give a rapid review of their significance.

Champion published in 1921 what might be called the five authoritative "lives" of the painter: La Roque's obituary in the *Mercure* (1721), Jullienne's summary (1726), Pierre Mariette's note, Dezallier d'Argenville's note (1745), and Caylus' discourse (1748). One may add to this, in 1719, the article in the *Abecedario pittorico* of Orlandi. The details of the milieu of these recent or older friends is little known. The illustrious antiquarian Caylus, author, among other things, of rather improper works of light literature,[1] passed quite officially as a libertine and even as an atheist;[2] he had no declared taste for the opposite sex and he took drugs, at least after 1740.[3] Gersaint, famous picture dealer, whose own story unfortunately has not been really recorded,[4] left at his death a curious library in which very libertine books stood side by side with those of the most dedicated atheistic firebrands.[5] Personal taste or simply good business? We are hardly in a better position to define Antoine de La Roque, often confused with his brother Jean despite the biography that Gersaint wrote at the beginning of the catalogue for his sale (1745) and despite recent studies on him. As a director of the *Mercure,* from 1721, he associated with two dramatists, Dufresny and Fuzelier:[6] "probity, gentle manners, candor, and sincerity . . . constituted his character." Gersaint spoke of a "sweet and agreeable physiognomy, gentle but playful, an amusing, light conversation,"[7] which connotes an honest man of fashion. For his part La Roque seems always to have been a friend of Gersaint whom he praised, even as late as 1744, in the *Mercure.*

The studies of Hérold and Vuaflart (DV, I, 2nd part) have established the essence of what can reasonably be known about Jean de Jullienne, the first person to "promote" Watteau's glory. Stuffmann's study (1968) shed new light on the famous financier Crozat and his environment. His large "hall of mirrors" whose ceiling was decorated in 1707 by La Fosse was considered the most modern decorative ensemble of the period (Stuffmann 1968, pp. 16-17). The Regent's man, a profiteer of the Law "System," Crozat had only friends. Because of his modern taste in the arts, he even represented, for those spirits who were attached to the preservation of the *grand genre* and were nostalgic for the prestige of Versailles, the symbol of the new decadence and corruption of all the basic values. It seems that in *Le Voyage du Parnasse* (1716), an anti-modern pamphlet by Limojon de Saint-Didier, he was designated under the name of the financier 'Nasidiéne,' leader of the movement, who received in his *hôtel* decorated "with paintings by different modern painters"[9] all the most aggressive elements in this *bourbier* (stink-pot)—a Voltairean expression[10]—of artists who were friends of the new Power. Crantor, a partisan of the Ancients, exclaimed at the sight of Nasidiéne's gallery that "painting has fallen very low since these great men [Poussin, Le Sueur, Lebrun, and Mignard]. The insatiable desire to amass worldly goods has taken the place of emulation: people no longer work in order to recommend themselves to posterity." He continued his condemnation of modern art:

> People are content to censure everything that is not in the new taste. They no longer know what correction is. They completely ignore costume, they neglect form and contour for color; and such color! They no longer paint, they just rub and glaze. Most of them know only the pitch, lacquer, and yellow lake with which they blacken their canvases, and they call that the taste for color. . . . Nothing proves our pettiness so much as this enslavement to fashion . . . why it is necessary today, in order to be pleasing in paint, to make pictures that have, like these, nothing in them but glitter and where the figures resemble just so many dolls? Most of our painters affect to distance themselves, insofar as they find themselves distanced, from the Antique.
>
> Women have elected themselves arbiters of the fine arts: they direct the workers in all the gew-gaws of embellishment.[11]

This text allows us to situate Watteau's work rather exactly in the political and social context of the time, and to measure what reticence—difficult to separate today—it occasioned.

Another life, unearthed relatively recently (Lévy 1958), places Watteau in a very different, intellectual environment after his death. This is the note published in 1725 in the new edition of Moréri's *Dictionnaire,* where painters, especially French ones, did not occupy an exceptional position. The note on Watteau is surprising first because of its singularity in this very serious work. Lévy thought that the notice was a collective undertaking of Watteau's friends, spoken of by Crozat to Rosalba Carriera, and whose author would have been the Abbé Jean-Antoine de Maroulle, connoisseur and intimate of Crozat (Stuffmann 1968, p. 23), a friend of Mariette and author of the eulogy for Rosalba in the *Mercure.* This worldly cleric (1674-1726) was also an intimate friend of Charles-Antoine Coypel who left a pastel and a very sensitive engraved portrait of him (five states; BN, est., Db7, fol., pp. 85-86). Unfortunately, Lévy's attribution is based on arguments of incredible fragility: kinship of style(?) between the texts of the *Mercure* and of Moréri's *Dictionnaire,* and the possibility that Maroulle (like some ten others) might have composed the note. A serious study of the editors of the new edition of the *Dictionnaire* would have permitted him to discover the true author. Responsibility for the seventh expanded edition (Paris) was entrusted to a future member of the Académie des Inscriptions, Louis-François Joseph de la Barre (1688-1738), a native of Tournai whose family was living in Valenciennes. But La Barre, who may well have known Watteau, was not the real editor of the revisions. He was helped by two collaborators, the jurist Vailly for the genealogical articles and the Abbé Laurent-Josse Leclerc for all the rest. In 1723, the latter had furnished "five or six thousand corrections" to the *Dictionnaire;* on 18 April 1723, La Barre received his "remarks on the letters R, S, T."[12] Abbé Leclerc is the author of the article on Watteau in the Moréri *Dictionnaire* for two excellent reasons: (1) Leclerc was the official

editor of the new edition of the *Dictionnaire;* and (2) (no less determinative) this doctor of theology, director of the Seminary at Orléans, who is said to have been a friend of the Jesuits, was none other than the son of the engraver Sébastien Leclerc whose oeuvre he catalogued.[13] He was a friend of the Mariette family, and toward 1720 his mother was still living with his brother, the painter Sébastien II, at the Gobelin manufactory[14] in Jullienne's territory. It was not hard for him to put together a biography on Watteau.

Laurent-Josse Leclerc, moreover, introduces us into a very special world, and on first sight an unexpected one which, in the years following Watteau's death, would spread Watteau's glory by means of curious "poetic tombstones." Leclerc associated with various members of the Académie des Inscriptions, among them those who, like Père Desmolets, were interested in scientifically analyzing the historic bases of the Christian religion. In the Sunday assemblies of Pierre-Nicolas Desmolets, an Oratorian, which were attended by many enlightened spirits including Leclerc and the Abbé Conti, friend of Mme. de Caylus, there were established the bases for a certain tolerance. These apparently learned gatherings were judged "suspect" by the police.[15] Other members of this Académie—Nicolas Boindin, avowed atheist, and Nicolas Fréret, discreet destroyer of a number of superannuated truths—also moved in theatrical and artistic circles. The Abbé Fraguier, former Jesuit and also a French Academician (1707), was a member of this Académie that was entrusted following its reform in 1701 with vast historical studies, at a time when criticism of sources could well have had dangerous developments;[17] he was one of the friends of the old Ninon de Lenclos. A connoisseur of antique art, Fraguier knew Watteau and, according to Caylus who had possibly introduced the two men, "during his lifetime I had often seen his works excite a certain rapture in M. l'Abbé Fraguier that shows the wisdom and the extent of his taste" (Champion 1921, p. 112). Abbé Fraguier, who had a very frail constitution, lived in Paris and at Auteuil with his friend, Nicholas-François Rémond, a counselor of the Parlement, to whom he dedicated numerous Latin poems. Rémond "the Greek," a "fine wit," a member of Philippe d'Orléans' council, became in 1719 the "Introducer of Ambassadors."[18] The Regent's man, brother of the Fontenellian and atheistic writer, Toussaint Rémond de Saint-Mard, Rémond belonged to a milieu that was certainly libertine but which, contrary to the modern clan, supported a form of erudite humanism often tainted with Jansenism, whereas the Moderns happily mixed with Jesuits and the Ultramontanes. Erudite humanism sought light in the manner of Bayle or of his favorite disciple and editor Desmaizeaux, who lived in England but attended the gatherings of Desmolets in Paris and maintained excellent relations with Fraguier.[19] Fraguier's literary work is all in Latin, following a tradition honored in the pre-

1. See Alexandre Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1969), 1:464-466 and, for the mss., the inventory established by Charles Henry in the appendix to his edition of Charles Nicolas Cochin, *Mémoires inédits sur le comte de Caylus, Bouchardon, les Slodtz* (Paris, 1880).

2. Sabatier de Castres, *Les Trois Siècles* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1772), 1:231. In 1745, Caylus received as an exceptional tribute from the printer one of the copies of *L'Histoire naturelle de l'âme,* a materialistic synthesis of La Mettrie. See F. Weil, "La diffusion en France avant 1750 d'éditions de textes dits clandestins," in *Le Matérialisme du XVIII^e siècle et la littérature clandestine,* ed. Olivier Bloch (Paris, 1982), 209.

3. His police record describes him thus in 1748: "gross, badly built, with the air of a peasant; he is the intimate friend of M. de Maurepas; he has a great deal of wit, lives in a singular fashion and takes drugs."

4. Note the Letters of Gersaint to C. G. Tessin (1743-1748), published by Jan Heidner in *Archives de l'Art français* 26 [in press].

5. *Catalogue des livres, tableaux, estampes et desseins de feu M. Gersaint* (Paris, 1750). The printed catalogue furnishes an example of a totally libertine library: criticism of religions, heterodoxy, demonology, physics; on the other hand, very few works touching on the fine arts, except a section on architecture—a total of 2217 items. Two copies of the catalogue (BN: 48729, and Arsenal: H 25435[4]) contain, in addition, a handwritten list of "singular books of the Library of M. Gersaint not contained in the present catalogue" (p. 5) and which could not be sold openly: books by La Mettrie, Diderot, and various materialists, besides books that are simply not serious, as well as an important series of Jansenist or violently anti-Jesuit works. The peculiarity of this catalogue is pointed out by F. Weil, "La diffusion," 208.

6. See the *Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789),* ed. J. Sgard (Grenoble, 1976), 228; Moureau, *Dufresny,* 106-109; *Dictionnaire des journalistes. Supplément III,* eds. A.-M. Chouillet and F. Moureau (Grenoble, 1984), article by Hervé Guénot.

7. Gersaint, *Catalogue . . . La Roque,* 6, 15.

8. *Mercure de France,* February 1744, 341-352: a review of the catalogue of Quentin de la Lorangère; La Roque speaks here of the friendship between Gersaint and Watteau (346) and of the resemblance to the portrait he makes of the painter (347-348).

9. Ignace-François Limojon de Saint-Didier, *Le Voyage du Parnasse* (Rotterdam, 1716), 162.

10. *Le Bourbier* (1714): "For all rhymsters, inhabitants of Parnassus" (Moland, *Oeuvres complètes,* 1:491).

11. Saint-Didier, *Le Voyage,* 163-166. *Nouveau Mercure* (of the Moderns) publishes a critique of this work signed "V. S. Raymond" (January 1717, 179-209) which, of course, defends the leader of the party, La Motte, and alludes to the satirized "bourgeois Maecenas" (207).

12. Arnold Miller, *Louis Moreri's Grand Dictionnaire historique,* SVEC, 194 (1981), 22; Louis Bertrand, *Vie, écrits et correspondance littéraire de Laurent Josse Le Clerc* (Paris, 1878), 117-118.

13. Maxime Préaud, *Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du XVII^e siècle. Sébastien Leclerc* 1 (BN, est.) (Paris, 1980), 8:18-19.

14. Letter from Simon, priest, to L. J. Leclerc (BN, f.fr. 24420, fo. 136-137).

15. *Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789),* ed. J. Sgard (Grenoble, 1976), 122.

16. Boindin wrote several plays for the French theater. Fréret adapted Maffei's *Mérope* and Riccoboni's *Samson* for the Italians; generally, he translated the action of the Italian plays under the name of Bernard (d'Origny, *Annales,* 1:45; Gueullette, *TSG,* Notes, 29).

17. See Moureau in *Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789). Supplément I.* eds. A.-M. Chouillet and F. Moureau (Grenoble, 1980), 79-81.

18. BN, ms., Cabinet d'Hozier 287; Dossiers bleus 560, 561; Nouveaux d'Hozier 561; Pièces originales 2458.

19. See the correspondence of the Amsterdam bookseller J.-L. de Lorme in which one encounters in 1707 and 1708: L. J. Leclerc, Desmaizeaux, Fraguier, and Rémond de Saint Mard. See L. J. Van Eeghem, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel 1680-1725* (Amsterdam, 1960), vol. 1. The active and passive correspondence of President Bouhier is likewise replete with these personalities on whom it sheds much light—it would take us too far afield to go into it here. *Correspondance littéraire du Président Bouhier,* 10 vols., ed. H. Duranton (Saint-Etienne, 1974-1983).

ceding century by numerous Jesuits and by Canon Santeuil. His poetic works were published after his death by Abbé d'Olivet, himself a former Jesuit. Aside from his poems to Rémond and to various representatives of the party of the Ancients (including Gédoyn, friend of Mme. de Caylus), the *Carmina* (Paris, 1729) contained his *Mopsus,* already published in 1721, in which he excused the Socratic sin as natural and pure among the Greeks ("de impura autem libidine omnino nihil," p. 330). Fraguier, at the suggestion of Caylus (who frequented numerous "antiquaries") composed a Latin epitaph for Watteau (Champion 1921, p. 117). This poem in elegiac distichs, entitled *Wateavi Pictoris Epitaphum,* was intended for the *Figures de différents caractères* published by Jullienne in 1726. The anonymous epitaph was followed by a French translation, itself also anonymous. Père Desmolets, editor of the *Continuation des Mémoires de littérature et d'histoire,* announced the publication of the *Figures* in a letter of his periodical dated 20 November 1726 and printed the epitaph of his friend Fraguier, designating him by name. The translation was also reproduced, accompanied by two quatrains by Bernard de la Monnoye that were dedicated to Watteau. These quatrains were published, without the author's name, as the frontispiece to the second volume of the *Figures de différents caractères* (p. 110).

A louer l'illustre Wateau
Le devoir en vain nous invite,
Pour en bien tracer le mérite
Il faudrait une plume égale à
à son pinceau

To praise the illustrious
Wateau
Duty invites us in vain,
To best trace his merits
Would require a pen equal
to his brush.

*Autre*
Les Grâces qui dans les
ouvrages
De l'incomparable Wateau
Offrent partout aux yeux de
riantes images,
Versent des pleurs sur son
tombeau[20]

*Other*
The Graces who in the works
Of the incomparable Wateau
Everywhere offer the eyes
laughing images,
Pour tears on his tomb

It is highly likely that the translation of the epitaph was itself by La Monnoye, friend of Fraguier,[21] Rémond the Greek, and Mme. de Caylus.[22] He was ruined by the "System" and thereafter was supported by Mme. de Caylus and by Glucq de Saint-Port, the Watteau collector who bought Rémond's library but left it to his own use during his lifetime.[23] Old La Monnoye (1641-1728) had long since specialized in the translation of Latin poems by his Apollonian colleagues.

The Latin version of Fraguier's epitaph was last published in 1729[24] in the edition of his poems joined to those of P.-D. Huet, the illustrious bishop of Avranches, friend of Mme. de La Fayette and the Jesuits, to whom he left his library. What is one to think of this poem? It is both a eulogy of the painter ("Fortunate in departing from well-worn paths" [*Ergo non veterum tabulas aut signa secutus*]) and a personal lament ("Of my ardent friendship these lines will be the token" [*pignus amicitias*]). In Fraguier's verses, more than in La Monnoye's translation, there is a sentimental vibration that bears witness to the place that Watteau had in this circle of friends:

. . . in caris vivit amicis
Qui sibi praereptum nocte dieque dolent.

. . . he lived among dear friends
Who, separated from him, grieve night and day.

Two self-portraits of Watteau engraved by Crépy (DV 43) and Boucher (*Fddc,* I, p. 7) were accompanied by quatrains signed by J. Verduc and C. Moraine. We have no information at all about the first, who was doubtless from the Verduc family of rather famous doctors of the time (Laurent, Laurent the Younger, Jean-Baptiste). C. Moraine was probably the Moraine who presented a play in 1730 at the Comédie-Italienne, *Le Mariage fait par crainte,* that was booed according to T.-S. Gueullette,[25] and which threw its author into an abyss from which he never recovered. The *Sonnet sur la Paix* signed by "M. Moraine" (BN: Ye 274), despite Dacier (DV, II, p. 92), may have been by someone of the same name. There is nothing special to be mentioned about these two letters in verse, except that the Watteau mythology in them was developed around the themes of novelty, the graces, gallant tone, and natural genius. This play of concepts, much harder to analyze, incidentally, than it would appear, form a recurring theme in all the writings on Watteau in the first half-century after his death. In 1755 they are found piled up to the point of caricature in the short notice on the painter by the Chevalier de Jaucourt in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert (vol. V, p. 322).

Meanwhile other poetic texts had contributed to ranking Watteau in the pantheon, in that kind of "French Parnassus" of painters that Evrard Titon du Tillet had neglected in favor of the national glories, both literary and musical (fig. 28). An art connoisseur nonetheless, he owned two Watteau paintings, *The Family* (cat. P. 54) and *The Italian Serenade* (cat. P. 42). Titon du Tillet (fig. 29), in commenting on paper on this "Parnassus" of great French artists, gave no mention at

fig. 28.
J. Audran, *The French Parnassus,*
engraving.





fig. 29.
Petit, *Evrard Titon du Tillet,*
engraving after N. de Largillierre, 1737.

all to painting: a supplementary proof of the intellectual hierarchy of the arts that still survived.[26] However, we have found an unpublished poem that very early placed Watteau among the few painters worthy of a *paragone.* The anonymous ode to "M.C. . . .," a melancholy poem evoking the "bad fortune of the dedicatee," a writer menaced by "cares, a son of indigence," was written in 1733 or thereabouts:

| | |
|---|---|
| Charmant C. , ami rare, | Charming C. , rare friend, |
| Tu joins l'esprit au bon coeur; | In you are wit and a good heart join'd; |
| Tel est l'oranger qui pare | Just as fruit join'd with its flower |
| Le fruit, joint avec la fleur. | Adorns the orange tree. |
| Dans test écrits, la Nature | In your writings, Nature |
| Este belle sans aucun fard. | Has an unvarnished beauty. |
| L'Art simple dans sa parure | Simple Art so adorned |
| N'y ressemble plus à l'Art. | No longer looks like Art. |
| Quand tu peins une Bergère, | When you paint a Shepherdess, |
| Ah! que j'aime ton pinceau! | How I love your brush! |
| Notre Lebrun, c'est Voltaire, | Our Lebrun—that is Voltaire, |
| C. est Vatteau.[27] | C. is Vatteau. |

In this intermediary "gallant" genre, Watteau was as dominant as Le Brun in history painting, or Voltaire, author of the *Henriade,* in the epic.

The last series of "poetic tombstones" that should be mentioned comes precisely from the Voltaire milieu. It has often been said, and justifiably, that Voltaire looked down on Watteau's northern art; that he considered Watteau a "Flemish Painter," as he was described by Fraguier's translator, Jullienne, and Voltaire himself in *Le Temple du Goût,* 1733 (DV, I, p. 147). "In the field of the gracious he was more or less the same as Teniers was in the field of the grotesque," wrote the author of *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751), a sentence stolen by Jaucourt in his article for the *Encyclopédie.* On the "small panels" of his boudoir at Cirey, Voltaire could see a version of the *Five Senses,*[28] lost sections from a screen that are known from engravings by Huquier (DV 192-196). If he had his doubts about several of Frederick the Great's Watteaus, which he considered fakes like many other paintings seen in Germany, Voltaire admired *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11), in "which there is a most remarkable white-haired old man."[29] Elsewhere he speaks of the painter's *vaguezza.*[30] More than the master of ambiguous feelings—he, like most of the poets who sang Watteau's praises, saw in him the painter of bucolic life and of gallant pictures of peasant life. In replying to "Le Hameau" by Gentil-Bernard, the future librettist of Rameau and a favorite poet of Mme. de Pompadour, who had exclaimed:

| | |
|---|---|
| Rien n'est si beau | Nothing is as nice |
| Que mon hameau! | As my hamlet! |
| Quel paysage | What a landscape |
| Fait pour Vateau[31] | Made for Vateau |

Voltaire returned the compliment in these verses:

| | |
|---|---|
| Son heureux mètre | His pleasing measure |
| Coulant sans art, | Artlessly flowing |
| Brillant sans fard, | Sparkling without artifice |
| Est la peinture | Is the painting |
| De la nature. | Of nature. |
| C'est un tableau | It is a painting |
| Fait par Vatau.[32] | Made by Vatau. |

These scraps of poetry fit in very well with the genius in small things that is willingly accorded to Watteau and that recalls the parallel drawn between the "petits Watteau" and the *Entrées* in the opéra-ballet cited in Chapter II above. And yet it is from the circle of Voltaire's friends who were closely tied to the Opéra—Berger, Thieriot, Gentil-Bernard—that would come the two most plentiful poems dedicated to Watteau—his true poetic tombstone.

20. *Figures de différents caractères* (Paris, 1727), vol. 3, Part I, 197-200.

21. See the two poems published together on the death of Mme. Dacier, leader of the *ancien* party: *Ad V. C. Andream Dacerium. De Obitu Annae Fabrae conjugis* (Paris, 1720), p. 4 (BN: Yc 2928).

22. Two poems dedicated to Mme. de Caylus and another to Rémond in his *Poésies nouvelles* (The Hague and Paris, 1745), 119-120, 149.

23. Foreword by Abbé Joly in the edition of the *Poésies nouvelles* (1745).

24. *Carmina* (Paris, 1729), no. XLVII, 278-279.

25. Notes (Paris, 1938), 115. The ms. of the play is in the BN, f.fr. 9308.

26. See Judith Colton, *The Parnasse François: Titon du Tillet and the Origins of the Monument to Genius* (New Haven and London, 1979).

27. *Journal de la Cour et de Paris (1732-1733),* ed. H. Duranton (Saint-Etienne, 1981), 140 (August 24, 1733). We give here the text according to the original manuscript: BN, ms., f.fr. 25000, 195.

28. Letter to Mme. de Graffigny, 5 December 1738 (Best. D. 1677).

29. Letter to Bonaventure Moussinot, Brussels, 7 January 1741 (Best. D. 2407).

30. Letter to F. Algarotti, January 1746 (Best. D. 3313).

31. Gentil-Bernard, *Oeuvres* (London, 1775), 235.

32. Letter to Berger, early 1736 (Best. D. 998).

Abbé de la Marre (1708?-1742) survived in a mediocre way as a librettist for Mondonville's beautiful heroic pastorale *Titon et l'Aurore* presented at the Opéra in 1753. As a sort of Jean-François Rameau, friend of the *philosophes,* he dragged his poverty around from café to theater, and belonged to the small group of Voltaire's protégés. The Comte de Clermont, a prince of the blood who was given to rather racy entertainments, esteemed him; La Marre dedicated to him a critical Epistle on the *Voyage du Parnasse* by Limojon de Saint-Didier who, as we have just seen, indirectly attacked Crozat. His poetic works are meager, gathered together in 1736 under the slightly ironic title *L'Ennuy d'un quart-d'heure.* This contains, however, two rather well-developed poems: "L'Art de la nature réunis par Wateau" and "La Mort de Wateaux ou la Mort de la Peinture,"[33] which were reprinted in 1763 in the volume of his *Oeuvres diverses.*[34] But a few months before the 1736 edition, *Le Glaneur français,* a periodical published by his friend, Charles-Etienne Pesselier, a biographer of the painter-writer Autreau, gave in its fourth brochure the first printing of *L'Art et la Nature,* following *Autres vers sur le même* on the same subject: "Ornamented 'à la francaise'. . . ."[35] A version of *L'Art et la Nature,* substantially different and anonymous, appeared engraved as the heading of the first volume of the *Recueil Jullienne.* La Marre's text seems, in fact, to have been commissioned to serve as a poetic overture to the monument raised by Jullienne to his "friend" Watteau. It immediately precedes in the volume the controversial engraving by Tardieu representing an ideal portrait of the two friends (*Seated Beside Thee,* DV 3). La Marre added in the edition of 1736 a note that deserves to be quoted, because it situates Watteau very well in the taste of the *amateurs* of the time: "This Flemish painter distinguished himself during the minority of T.C. [Très Chrétienne] His Majesty Louis XV; he was most successful in the graceful genre. Madame la Comtesse de Verus [Verrue], Messieurs Gluc [Glucq] and Julienne [Jullienne], whose exquisite taste is well known, possess a good part of his originals." The poem entitled *La Mort de Wateaux* ended with a eulogy of Jullienne, "friend of painting," who assured Watteau's survival through the expedient of engravings. . . . The verses of this second poem constitute a rather singular fable, in which Death comes and visits Painting and asks to have its portrait made. Painting succeeds so well in rendering Death's frightful nature on the canvas that Death, angered, decides to avenge itself by snatching away

| | |
|---|---|
| *Wateaux, son cher Wateaux,* | *Wateaux,* her dear *Wateaux,* |
| l'objet de ses amours. | object of her loves. |
| Cependant la Peinture avec son | Meanwhile Painting with her |
| cher *Wateaux* | dear *Wateaux* |
| Traçant sur les dessins de la | Making sketches based on |
| simple Nature | designs taken from simple |
| Une Fête galante au bord d'une | Nature |
| onde pure | A *Fête galante* on the edge of a |
| Oú l'Amour, travesti sous un | pure sea |
| habit français, | Where Love, dressed in French |
| A de jeunes beautés faisait | clothing, |
| goûter ses lois; | Was making young beauties |
| *Wateaux* exécutait: la Peinture | taste his laws; |
| charmée, | *Wateaux* was doing it with |
| Conduisant son pinceau sur la | charmed Painting |
| toile animée, | Leading his brush over the |
| | lively canvas, |

but Death kept him from finishing. It remained for Jullienne "to make amends for Death's crime."

We believe that the text of the *Recueil Jullienne* antedated the two versions of *L'Art et la Nature* that were twice published by Pesselier and La Marre himself (but see DV, III, p. 6). There the reconciliation of Art and Nature around Watteau recalls aesthetic obsessions upon which it would be too long and too hazardous to discourse. Let us merely remember a pretty expression that runs along the same lines we have suggested and that one does not think of in respect to Watteau: "Art, The father of Irony."

The very mediocre poem by the Chevalier de Séré, *Sur la galerie de Monsieur du Jullienne* (ms, 1764), ends this poetic inquiry in a minor key: it contains such very conventional expressions in regard to Watteau's painting as to reduce it little by little to an entertaining diversion by the second half of the century:

| | |
|---|---|
| Le galant villageois à l'ombre | The gallant villager in the shade |
| d'un ormeau | of a young elm |
| Danse avec sa bergère au son | Dances with his shepherdess to |
| du chalumeau.[36] | the sound of the flute. |

The Chevalier de Séré was related by marriage to Jullienne (DV, I, pp. 224-225).

The time had not yet come for the rediscovery of Watteau. And the road was going to be long from the "Flemish painter," the painter of "village scenes," to one of the most singular geniuses of French painting . . . *Watteau beyond time.*

(Translated by Robert Berry)

33. Paris, 1736, 17-22.

34. Paris, 1763, 26-34. Edition preceded by a *Vie de Monsieur de la Marre* (1-12).

35. Paris, 1736, 239-241. The approval of the third brochure is dated 8 November 1735; it appeared more or less monthly. The *Je ne scay quoy de vingt minutes* of La Marre (Paris, 1739) dedicates a *Fable* to his "dear friend" Pesselier (29-30).

36. Paris, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, ms. 103, 108 (a copy of the dedication honoring Jullienne, formerly in the Doucet collection). I wish to thank N. Parmantier who brought to my attention the existence of this text.

# Theater Costumes in the Work of Watteau

François Moureau

This illustrated essay provides a visual complement to the study of Watteau's theatrical sources undertaken in Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time." We showed that his typical characters, even if drawn from a specific scene, appeared in all Parisian theaters during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Only the French comic stock characters remained exclusively in the theater on the rue des Fossés-Saint-Germain. But their number was limited. It will be noted that there are relatively few feminine characters mentioned here. In fact, their costumes, in general rather unspecific, do not permit identification with particular figures found in Watteau's oeuvre.

Watteau's painted or drawn characters will be compared to contemporary iconographic sources. Whenever possible, referring only to the exhibited works, a repertory of stock characters will be furnished, classified according to origin: Italian theater, French theater, or lyric theater. The latter is the most poorly defined, since a typical character of the Opéra could have originated either at the Comédie-Française, with the Italian troupe, or even at the fairground theater. An inventory of theater scenes, limited to several works for which a dramatic source seems likely or possible, concludes this section.

Watteau does not paint the theater; he is inspired by it—it is useless to search for the face of a particular actor in a Harlequin or Crispin costume. And why shouldn't one see Sirois and his family in *In the Guise of Mezzetin* (Wallace Collection; CR 181) and the priest of Nogent-sur-Marne in *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*, cat. P. 69)? This iconography of the theater deals only with costumes; blood and soul are elsewhere.

## I. Italian Stock Characters

### MASCULINE CHARACTERS

In the traditional Italian theater, masculine characters were divided into three groups: *zanis*, or clowns (servants—adventurers), old men, and lovers. Only the latter did not have typical costumes; they wore whatever was in fashion. Throughout Europe, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the other stock characters wore comic costumes that changed little in the period and area under discussion.

*Clowns* (zanis): *Harlequin*

This is the best-known Italian character. He dominated the old troupe dismissed from Paris in 1697. Originally the second clown, a coward obsessed with food, he became the symbol of Italian comedy with Dominique Biancolelli (died 1688) and Evariste Gherardi (died 1700) (fig. 1).[1] Through the Fair, he achieved royal standing, which he shared with Pierrot. A self-made man ("omnis homo"), an adventurer ready for everything, cynical yet good-natured, not very faithful to his master when he chose to have one, Harlequin was a lone



fig. 1.
Lichery,
*The New Theater of the Italian Troupe,*
wash, 1688.



fig. 2.
B. Picart or C. Simpol,
*Harlequin Dressed as a Woman,* wash,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 3.
Cat. P. 65,
detail.

wolf. He delighted in disguises or dressing as a woman (fig. 2). At first a clown and master intriguer in the seventeenth century, he later became more refined. But he retained some elements of a simple rusticity, particularly in Claude Gillot's work (*Tomb of Master André,* Louvre, and a preparatory drawing, *Harlequin, Hungry Soldier,* Louvre, inv. 26750). Watteau shows the modern Harlequin, who is rather disturbing with his half-mask of black leather. Riccoboni described that costume in 1731: "pieces of red, blue, yellow, and green fabric are cut in triangles, and arranged next to one another from head to toe; there is a small hat that barely covers his shaven head; little pumps without heels, and a flat black mask without eyes, but only two quite small holes to see through."[2] Held by a chin strap, the mask had eyebrows and a moustache made of horsehair; the wart on the forehead was a distinctive sign of the Harlequin mask.[3] As mentioned in Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time," one Harlequin, Visentini, launched the fashion of the belt drawn high on the waist when the Italian troupe returned in 1716.

The Harlequin in *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65; fig. 3) corresponds perfectly to the stock character of the stage before 1716: the masked actor, slightly bowed and facing the spectator, in a costume sewn out of three different fabrics cut in triangles and held together by a yellow braid. This sketch of *lazzi* (Italian stage business) inspired by *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* (engraved by L. Surugue, 1719; DV 97) can be directly compared with the engraving that illustrates the previously quoted text of Riccoboni (*Harlequin's Modern Outfit,* engraving no. 2; BN, est., Db[7], fol., 80).[4] An even more classic position can be seen in the section of a folding screen engraved by L. Crépy, *fils* (*Harlequin Standing;* DV 162, fig. 4): in profile, his bat stuck in his belt, a masked face turned toward the spectator, this character has quite an insolent air. The same *lazzi* appears, somewhat altered, in *To Protect the Honor of a Beauty* (DV 83; fig. 5) and in *Colombine and Harlequin* (DV 64). Two engravings from the end of the preceding century reintroduce the nearly identical *lazzi: Harlequin* by Dolivar (fig. 6) and *Evariste Gherardi,* drawn by B. Picart (or Claude Simpol),[5] subsequently engraved (fig. 7) in *Douze modes dessinées d'après nature par B. Picart* (Amsterdam, 1728) (BN, est., Ed. 56a, fol.). Watteau frequently visited Pierre Mariette, the print dealer, and most likely also his son, Jean, after his arrival in Paris about 1702 (Adhémar 1950, 67-70). See also *The Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71) and a related drawing (PM 561).

*Clowns: Mezzetin*

The "modern" Mezzetin was a French creation of Angelo Costantini, who made his debut with the Italian troupe in Paris in 1683; he was a duplicate of Scapin. Costantini wanted to replace Dominique in the role of Harlequin, a character he was forced to yield to Evariste Gherardi a year later (October 1689). In life as well as on the stage, Harlequin and

fig. 4.
Crépy,
*Harlequin Standing,*
engraving after Watteau, detail.



fig. 5.
C.N. Cochin,
*"To Protect the Honor of a Beauty,"*
engraving after Watteau, detail.

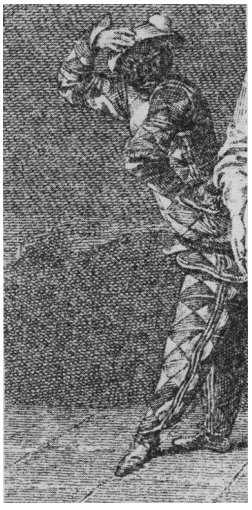


fig. 6.
d'Olivar, *Harlequin,*
engraving,
end of 17th century.

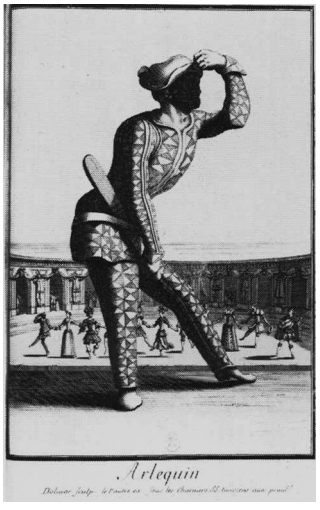



fig. 7.
B. Picart or C. Simpol,
*Harlequin,* wash,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.






fig. 8.
*Portrait of Angelo Costantini,*
chalk and wash,
Musée de l'Opéra, Paris.

with another newly fashionable character, Pierrot, who also frequently played instruments on stage in the fairground plays.

Mezzetin, along with Pierrot, is Watteau's favorite character. Harlequin, masked and disquieting, often half-hidden in the background, evokes the Chthonian world. Watteau idealized the stock character of Mezzetin only by showing the elegant musician. Costantini had a graceful and mobile face, and acted without a mask, even in the role of Harlequin. After him, all Mezzetins kept this custom, contrary to the tradition of the commedia dell'arte. It is probable that this detail was of some importance in Watteau's choice of this character.

Riccoboni describes his costume, "with stripes of several shades"[7] of red and white. This is how he can be distinguished from Scapin, who wore an identical costume with green and white bands.[8] There is a portrait of Costantini by François de Troy at the Musée Condé, Chantilly: it was



fig. 9.
C. Vermeulen, *Mezzetin,*
engraving after F. de Troy.



fig. 10.
B. Picart or C. Simpol,
*Mezzetin,* wash,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.




fig. 11.
Anonymous,
*Angelo Costantini as Mezzetin,*
after B. Picart.



fig. 12.
Cat. P. 49, detail.

Mezzetin were rivals. Riccoboni maintained one "could not define" his character: "he is a scheming servant and . . . always involved in swindles and disguises."[6] In fact, he played his role of second clown, which was supposed to contrast with that of his accomplice, the first clown or master intriguer. Costantini "modernized" the rather weakened traditional character by giving him special duties to distinguish him from Harlequin: he became the king of disguises and, above all, a musical and dancing clown at a time when the Italian troupe was developing its musical spectacles on the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Mezzetin was the director of the *divertissements* (entertainments) with song and dance, which became increasingly popular during the 1690s. Costantini left France in 1697 (fig. 8) and did not see Paris again until 1729. In the meantime, Mezzetin had become a traditional character in the theaters of the fairs. But he competed engraved several times, and accompanied by a short poem of La Fontaine's ("Ici de Mezzetin rare et nouveau Protée") for Cornelius Vermeulen's engraving (fig. 9).[9]

Among the portraits of Costantini as Mezzetin, there is the drawing by B. Picart (or Claude Simpol, fig. 10), engraved by the former (fig. 11). One can compare it to the costume of *Mezzetin* (cat. P. 49; fig. 12). Watteau's subject wears a vertically striped costume, half Scapin (green), half Mezzetin (red); hanging casually from his left shoulder is a *tabaro,* a short coat, which Mezzetin had almost abandoned in France. The large cap and the guitar are traditional for this character (fig. 13).

As a standing figure, depicted full-face, this character also appears very frequently in Watteau's work; we shall only mention the pictures shown here: *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65; fig. 14) or *Four Studies of Comedians* (cat. D. 107)



fig. 13.
C. Gillot,
*Jupiter, Curious, Impertinent,*
drawing, detail,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 14.
Cat. P. 65, detail.



fig. 15.
F. Joullain,
*Mezzetin's Costume,*
engraving after C.A. Coypel.



fig. 16.
N. Bonnart,
*Comedy,*
engraving, detail.

which must be viewed together with the engraving of Joullain after Charles-Antoine Coypel of Riccoboni's *Histoire* (fig. 15). In *Love in the Italian Theater,* Mezzetin also wears a mixed Mezzetin-Scapin costume, but with a matching cap, which conforms more closely to the typical character (fig. 16). Saurin, "a fat, very pleasant-looking boy," played the part in the Fair after 1711: the stock character was well served by this corpulence—whether comedians or his own costumed friends, Watteau's Mezzetins are pleasantly plump.[10]

See also the capped head of Mezzetin in *Coquettes* (cat. P. 29), another drawing of a head (cat. D. 110), and a bust in *Italian Serenade* (cat. P. 42), as well as the Mezzetin of *Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71), the seated Mezzetin in *Pierrot Content* (cat. P. 13), and another, standing, in *Actors at a Fair* (cat. P. 10). The figure seated at left in *The Party of Four* (cat. P. 14) looks like a Mezzetin, though the stripes of his costume are barely visible: they are more easily seen in the Moyreau etching (DV 169).



fig. 17.
Cat. P. 71, detail.

fig. 18.
Anonymous, *Brighella, Trivelin,*
engraving, end of the 17th century.



The character in *Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71; fig. 17) is a Brighella, a variant of Mezzetin (fig. 18). Other stock characters often took their typical costumes from him, plain with horizontal stripes like Brandenburgs (frogs and loops) on the front of the shirt and on the side of the trousers. For a time before 1697 Pasquariel wore such a costume: "white satin with long buttons and green ornaments" (*Pasquariel, Comic Actor from Italy,* engraved by N. Bonnart; BN print, Ed. 113, fol., vol. II). Likewise, Giovanni Gherardi, father of Evariste the Harlequin, played a similar part between 1674 and 1683, named either Flautin (engraved by Bonnart) or Scapin. In France, Flautin and Scapin played without masks. Giovanni Bissoni, Scapin in the new troupe of 1716, dropped the mask he had worn in Italy (engraved by Joullain, after Charles-Antoine Coypel; BN, est., Db,[7] fol., p. 82).[11]

*Clowns: Pierrot*

The Italian Pedrolino, introduced in Paris in 1673 and transformed into the French character Pierrot in 1684, was a real success at the Fair only after 1697; he became its symbol. Pedrolino was the second clown, ignorant and naive, who took over what had been Harlequin's function when the latter became the first clown, or leader. Pierrot was a variant of the Neapolitan Pulcinella, from whom he derives, according to Riccoboni, "the somewhat disguised garb and personality."[12] His costume of satin, silk, or "white twill," as described in the inventory of the *menus plaisirs*,[13] was similar, though more fitted, to that of Pulcinella; he wore a head band and pleated ruff of the same color. As stated above, this costume could not possibly be confused with that of Gilles.[14] Traditionally acted with a floured face, this character appeared with a plain face after 1714, as interpreted by Biancolelli. Watteau shows this detail in all his representations of the character. This does not mean that Watteau painted only this particular actor. As in the case of Mezzetin, an unmasked face allowed him to better express actual sentiments, instead of suggesting a simple transposition of a comic scene. At the Fair, Pierrot was the successful rival of Mezzetin; he was his successor in several musical *divertissements* and borrowed his guitar[15] (see Appendix C, "Watteau and Music"). *The Italian Serenade* (fig. 19) and *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65), for example, show this evolution. There are numerous portraits of Geratoni, the rather unlucky creator of the part before the comedians' expulsion in 1697; he has the same awkward air, with his arms hanging limply at his sides (fig. 20) that can be seen in *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*) (cat. P. 69; fig. 21). Gillot also drew him that way, although he endowed him with a certain lanky elegance (fig. 22): this Pierrot, seen from the back, can be compared to the same character in *The Party of Four* (cat. P. 14; fig. 23), of which there was a sketch engraved by Boucher (*Fddc* 339). See also *Pierrot Content* (cat. P. 13); *The Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71); *Actors at a Fair* (cat. P. 10) and see for the drawings *Studies of an Actor's Head* (cat. D. 134); *Four Studies of Comedians* (cat. D. 107); *Seated Pierrot Playing the Flute* (cat. D. 14); *Group of Comedians next to a Fountain* (cat. D. 102); and *Italian Comedians Taking Their Bows* (cat. D. 101).

*Clowns: Polichinelle*

This character of Neapolitan origin was seldom seen in France before the time of Fair theaters. As we have mentioned, Polichinelle wore a costume very similar to Pedrolino's. It then became customary, though not mandatory, to give him one or two humps, front and back. M.-A. da Fracanzano's French Polichinelle wore new garb for his Parisian



fig. 19.
Cat. P. 42, detail.




fig. 20.
Anonymous,
*La Baguette de Vulcain,*
engraving, detail,
end of the 17th century.

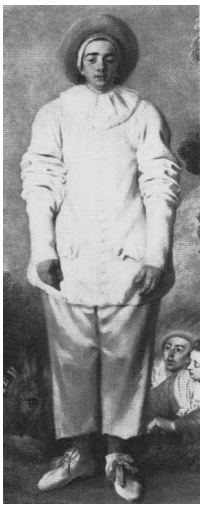


fig. 21.
Cat. P. 69, detail.



fig. 22.
C. Gillot,
*Jupiter, Curious, Impertinent,* drawing, detail,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.

fig. 23.
Cat. P. 14, detail.

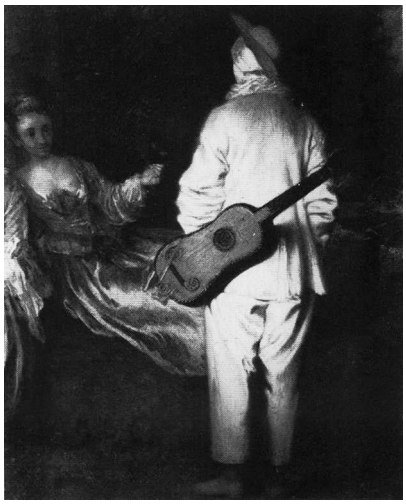




fig. 24.
P.P. Sévin,
*The Royal Troupe of Italian Comedians,*
Wash, 1688,
Musée de l'Opéra, Paris.

debut in 1685: a jacket with large buttons and red and yellow trousers with green braid—a costume derived from Jupille, the French Polichinelle of the early part of the century. The Neapolitan Pulcinella wore a mask and a brimless hat in the shape of a sugarloaf, often seen in paintings or drawings by Domenico Tiepolo. In France, Polichinelle wore a pleated ruff and a large gray hat adorned with rooster feathers.[16] He was a "rascal and a schemer."[17]

Fracanzano's Polichinelle appears in Sévin's drawing for the troupe of 1688 (fig. 24) and in Watteau's painting for *The Departure of the Italian Comedians in 1697* (lost; DV 184; fig. 25). Joullain's engraving (fig. 26) shows the traditional French Polichinelle. Watteau gave him slightly ridiculous amorous postures. His magnificent feathered hat in *The Romancer* (lost; CR 132, and its preparatory sketch, cat. D. 75a) is from the series of headdresses and caps Watteau used



fig. 25.
Jacob, *Departure of the Italian Comedians in 1697,*
engraving after Watteau, detail.

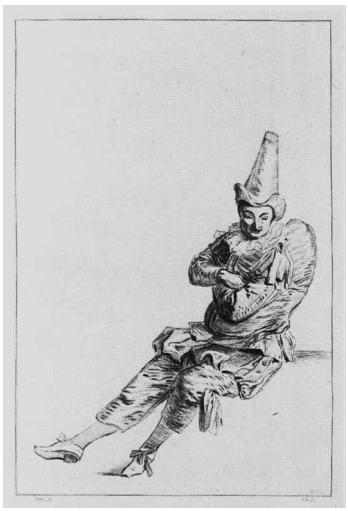



fig. 26.
F. Joullain,
*Costume of the Neapolitan Polichinelle,*
engraving after C.A. Coypel.



fig. 27.
P. Mercier,
*The Italian Troupe on Vacation,*
engraving after Watteau, detail.

fig. 28.
B. Audran, *Polichinelle,*
etching after Watteau (*Fddc* 251).



in his works. His hook-nosed mask and sugarloaf hat (here with a brim) appear in *The Italian Troupe on Vacation* (DV 309; fig. 27). In Watteau's work, Polichinelle is a rather secondary character, wearing different costumes (*Fddc* 251; fig. 28).

*Clowns: Scaramouche*

Also of Neapolitan origin, this character is close to that of Capitan (fig. 29). In the Spanish-occupied kingdom of Naples, he was the comic portrait of the Spanish ruffian, reminder of the ancient *miles gloriosus*. Riccoboni wrote that "his character is to be boastful and cowardly at the same time." He also observed, "in France he is used in many ways,"[18] clearly remembering Tiberio Fiorelli, the great Scaramouche who inspired Molière's Sganarelle. Scaramouche was a rather




fig. 29.
F. Joullain,
*Neapolitan Scaramouche,*
engraving after C.A. Coypel.




fig. 30.
Anonymous, *Giuseppe Tortoriti as Scaramouche,*
engraving after B. Picart,
end of the 17th century.



fig. 31.
B. Picart or C. Simpol,
*Scaramouche,* wash,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 32.
C. Gillot, *Jupiter, Curious, Impertinen*
drawing, detail,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 33.
Anonymous, *Scaramouche,*
engraving,
end of the 17th century.



fig. 34.
C.N. Cochin,
*"Beauty, Do Not Listen",*
engraving after Watteau, detail.



fig. 35.
Jeaurat, *Pierrot Content,*
engraving after Watteau, detail.



fig. 36.
Cat. P. 65, detail.

secondary stock character in the Italian theater in France, who suffered from the comical *zanis,* competition perhaps from having been too obviously born under special political circumstances. The French Capitan met the same fate.

His costume was "an imitation of the Spanish costume" (Riccoboni), and he has occasionally been mistaken for the Italian troupe's Pasquariel—black velvet with buttons, ruff, short coat, and sometimes bright red stockings. He wore a drooping moustache and a goatee. Giuseppe Tortoriti, who played Scaramouche for the Italian comedians in Paris and in the provinces after 1697, interpreted him that way (fig. 30); B. Picart drew him (fig. 31) as well as Gillot (fig. 32). An anonymous engraving (fig. 33) shows him with his traditional guitar.

This character appears frequently in Watteau's first works, those rather directly inspired by the Italian style: *Beauty, Do Not Listen* (DV 82; fig. 34) or *Departure of the Italian Comedians in 1697* (DV 184). He shows up again as a full-face bust in *Pierrot Content* (cat. P. 13; fig. 35), where he and Harlequin form an ironic couple; he is on the side in *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65; fig. 36).

## OLD MEN

### *The Doctor*

This was a classic character in Italian comedy, originating in Bologna. He played the role of pedant and rejected suitor, and is seen wearing the robe of the doctors of the University of Bologna. In Milan's Museo Teatrale alla Scala, there is a beautiful portrait of Giuseppe Biancolelli (repr. Duchartre, 183). Angelo Lolli, the doctor in the Italian troupe ousted in




fig. 37.
F. Joullain,
*Costume of the Old Doctor,*
engraving after C.A. Coypel.




fig. 38.
Audran, *The Doctor,*
engraving after Watteau.




fig. 39.
F. Joullain,
*Costume of the Modern Doctor,*
engraving after C.A. Coypel.



fig. 40.
Cat. D. 107, detail.



fig. 41.
Cat. P. 65, detail.

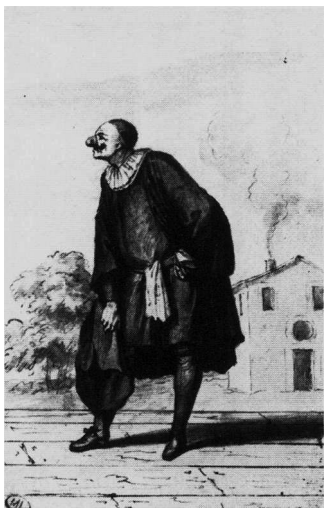


fig. 42.
B. Picart or C. Simpol,
*Doctor Baloardo,* drawing,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 43.
Anonymous,
*Marco Antonio Romagnesi as Dr. Baloardo,*
engraving after B. Picart.

1697, modified the costume: instead of the short knee-length black robe and the full-length black coat (fig. 37), he introduced the broad felt hat and fashionable jacket, a sort of buttoned doublet. He wore a black half-mask with a pimply nose and arrived on stage with rouge-smeared cheeks.

*The Doctor,* Watteau's lost painting of this character, is a magnificent full-length portrait (DV 156; fig. 38). The same character reappears in profile in *To Protect the Honor of a Beauty* (DV 83), another lost work from the period in which Watteau was greatly influenced by Gillot. The *Modern Doctor* after Charles-Antoine Coypel (fig. 39) must be compared with a drawing by Watteau, *Four Studies of Comedians* (cat. D. 107; fig. 40). On the left side of *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65; fig. 41), the doctor, shown in profile and slightly bent, is in the identical position as the doctor in B. Picart's drawing (fig. 42), dated a little before 1696. This must suggest that he is indeed A. Lolli (or Marco-Antonio Romagnesi, who succeeded him in 1694, fig. 43).

*Pantaloon*

This character is uncommon in Watteau's work, though like Harlequin he was generally symbolic of the commedia dell'arte. He was nearly absent from the old troupe and rather secondary at the Fair and in the new Italian troupe of 1716. According to Riccoboni, whose father played this stock character, Pantaloon was a Venetian "merchant, a simple man of good faith; but always in love and forever tricked either by a rival, or a son, or a manservant or a maidservant."[19] He was often portrayed as lewd, with several other vices, the least of which was greed. His costume changed after the sixteenth century. In Watteau's time, he wore a short, tight-fitting, red-



fig. 44.
Cat. P. 71, detail.




fig. 45.
C.A. Coypel,
*Costume of the Modern Pantaloon,*
engraving.

orange jacket; tights with straps under the feet; and a black cloak with broad sleeves called *zimmara*. He wore either Turkish sandals or soft slippers and a black cap with a rolled brim. His brown half-mask gave him a long hook nose and very prominent eyebrows. As Riccoboni put it, his beard was "artistically trimmed, all plump and pointed." The character depicted by Watteau in *The Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71; fig. 44) is not masked and wears pumps, but is a well-defined Pantaloon. He should be compared with the figure in the engraving by Joullain after Coypel (fig. 45), which may be a portrait of Alborgheti, Pantaloon in Riccoboni's troupe, also drawn and engraved by Claude Gillot (Populus 25). Watteau drew his inspiration instead from the Fair's Pantaloons, including the famous "Venetian Pantaloon," Giovanni Crevelli, who made his debut in 1712.[20]

## OTHER CHARACTERS

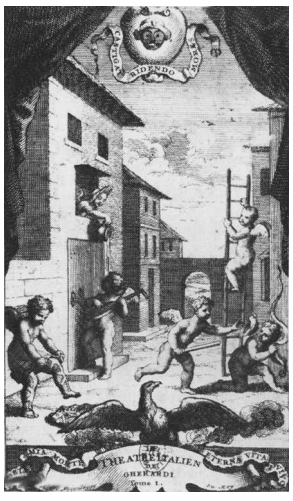
An odd figure, who cannot be classified as a stock character, appears in several of Watteau's comic scenes. His moonlike face, sometimes adorned with a round leather or cardboard nose,[21] suggests a grimacing gnome. He is seen in *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* (DV 97),[22] in *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65; fig. 46), and in *The Italian Troupe* (DV 130). We should note that Paghetti, the doctor at the Fair and later for the Italian troupe, was "extremely small and deformed," according to the Parfaict brothers[23] and T.-S. Gueullette.[24] This identification remains uncertain.

On several occasions, Watteau painted children wearing Italian theater costumes. This was not an uncommon practice on Parisian stages. In T.-S. Gueullette's *Arlequin Pluton,* produced successfully by the Italian company in 1719, the two children of the Harlequin Thomassin, aged five and six, made their debut dressed as Harlequin and Harlequine.[25] Moreover, the title page of Gherardi's *Théâtre Italien,* published in 1700, used the device of putti dressed in Italian style. Charles-Antoine Coypel used the same idea for the title page of Riccoboni's *Nouveau Théâtre Italien* (1733; fig. 47). Children's games in Watteau's work belong to this iconographic tradition, and need not be attributed to a specific theatrical source: *Happy Age, Golden Age* (cat. P. 50). Other paintings or drawings, some of doubtful authenticity, make use of this theme, which is difficult to interpret and might be better explained by various *singeries* of Watteau, including the Pierrot-monkey in *Love Poorly Accompanied* (DV 272). Other children disguised as Italian characters can be found in: *The Little Comedians* (CR 19), *Bantering Children* (DV 119); and two drawings (PM 109, 127).



fig. 46.
Cat. P. 65, detail.

fig. 47.
B.I. Audran, frontispiece for
*Théâtre italien de Gherardi,*
engraving after F. Verdier.



## FEMININE CHARACTERS

*Harlequine*

Harlequin's female counterpart was not traditionally part of the commedia dell'arte: she appeared in the old troupe's danced *divertissements* at the very end of the seventeenth century and subsequently in the same presentations at the Fair and the Opéra. Her costume was identical to Harlequin's, except the trousers have been replaced by a dress (fig. 48). Watteau painted her in *The Italian Troupe;* (DV 130; fig. 49). The central character in *Coquettes* (cat. P. 29) with her ruff and vertically striped costume is probably a female version of Mezzetin.

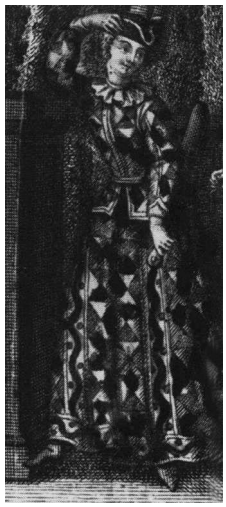


fig. 48.
Anonymous,
*The Opéra,*
engraving.



fig. 49.
Simonneau,
*"The Clothes are Italian"*
engraving after Watteau, detail.

*Colombine*

Since the seventeenth century, Colombine has been Harlequin's traditional feminine counterpart. But she did not appear in the new Italian troupe, where she was replaced by a less important Violette. Nevertheless, this brilliant and adventurous character kept her place at the Fair, played there by Mlles. Maillard (1710) and Delisle (1716).[26] Catherine Biancolelli created the modern Colombine, playing her from 1683 to 1697. A drawing by B. Picart shows her a little before 1696 (fig. 50). Her costume here was hardly characteristic, no more than the one shown in a nearly contemporary engraving by Leroux. *Colombine and Harlequin,* an arabesque engraved by J. Moyreau after Watteau (DV 64; fig. 51), provides the image of a half-fanciful costume. It should be possible to recognize her in the center of *The Departure of the Italian Comedians in 1697* (DV 184), at a time when she dominated all female roles for the Italian troupe; she is in the foreground, leading the comedians in the painting from Le Havre of the same subject (fig. 52). This feminine character placed next to, and on the same level as, Pierrot in the *Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71) is obviously a chief comic role. However, her elegant hat and fashionable costume do not suggest any particular stock character.

fig. 50.
B. Picart or C. Simpol,
*Colombine,* wash,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 51.
J. Moyreau,
*Colombine and Harlequin,*
engraving after Watteau.



fig. 52.
Anonymus, *Departure of the Comedians...*
detail, Musée du Havre, Le Havre.





fig. 53.
School of Bérain,
*The Heroic Character,* drawing,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 54.
Cat. P. 70, detail.



fig. 55.
Cat. P. 70, detail.



fig. 56.
N. de Largillierre,
*Mlle Duclos Playing Ariane,*
Musée de la Comédie-Française, Paris.

# II. French Stock Characters

This section includes various "heroic" costumes worn on the stage at the Opéra as well as at the Comédie-Française.

## HEROIC STOCK CHARACTERS

These costumes had been used since the seventeenth century in France for spoken and musical tragedies. There is a portrait at the Comédie-Française attributed to N. Mignard, showing Molière dressed as Caesar, called *La Mort de Pompée* (Molière exhibition, Paris 1973, no. 115). The title pages of operas or tragedies as well as royal statuary showed numerous examples of the heroic costume, combining ancient elements including breastplates and shin pads, and modern elements such as a wig and a feathered hat. The studios of Jean Bérain I and Jean Bérain II, decorators for royal productions, left a great number of models for these costumes, which were used well after the reign of Louis XIV (fig. 53). The hero in *The French Comedians* (cat. P. 70; fig. 54) wears a costume very similar to those of the models shown on the opposite page.

The heroines of tragedy also wore sumptuous costumes, but they conformed in large part to the rules of modern taste. Fourcaud (1904, p. 149) likened the central female character in *The French Comedians* (fig. 55) to the acting style of Mlle. Duclos, an illustrious member of the Comédie-Française, to whom Houdar de la Motte dedicated his ode, *La Déclamation.* Indeed, the character's position (arms extended away from the body, eyes looking upward) suggests, for example, the well-known painting by N. de Largillièrre showing the actress in the role of Ariane (fig. 56) included in the exhibition *Largillièrre and the Eighteenth-Century Portrait* (Montreal, 1981, no. 49). This depiction of an actress in action, probably ironic in Watteau's work, conforms to the classic rules of portraiture for actresses. One should also mention here a painting by François de Troy, formerly in Berlin, but now destroyed, which was supposed to show Mlle. Rochois in a scene from *Sophonisbe.*[27] Though this title of the play is unlikely, since the actress had never acted at the Comédie-Française and the play by Corneille was no longer performed in 1723, the date of the painting, one can see in this work obvious iconographic similarities to the painting executed by Watteau several years earlier.

## COMIC STOCK CHARACTERS

Only one French comic stock character appears in Watteau's work, but he is as important as the most common Italian ones. This is Crispin, the comic manservant inspired by Capitan, whose costume and rapier he wears. The *miles gloriosus,* suggested to R. Poisson by the Spanish Crispinillo, derives from the latter his cowardly, boastful character. Played by Raymond Poisson and his son, Paul, the actor who knew Watteau, Crispin became the manservant at the Comédie-Française. Good for everything, he was usually egotistic, rather disagreeable, hardly faithful to his master, hypocritical, a Figaro without cheerfulness. He wore a black jerkin, breeches, a short cape, and head band (also black) on which was placed a round hat; a white ruff, black boots with buckles, and the rapier as noted above. According to his biographer, A. Ross Curtis, Raymond Poisson never wore a sword.[28] The portraits of him would lead us to suppose this. The best-known is a painting by C. Netscher (fig. 57), which inspired numerous engravers.[29] The small head at the Comédie-Française, sometimes attributed to Watteau, probably depicts Paul, his son and successor (fig. 58). On the other hand, Watteau's Crispin wears the wide light-colored belt, rapier, and "Crispin gloves," a costume that A. Ross Curtis



fig. 57.
C. Netscher,
*Portrait of Raymond Poisson,*
Musée de la Comédie-Française, Paris.



fig. 58.
*Paul Poisson as Crispin,*
Musée de la Comédie-Française, Paris.



fig. 59.
Cat. P. 38, detail.

considers as having come much later; indeed it was seen more often at the end of the eighteenth century. Watteau replaced the traditional ruff with a starched white collar. It is therefore necessary to advance by several decades the date when the modern Crispin appeared, made famous by an actor such as Préville, who started at the Comédie-Française in 1753. This Crispin is shown seated with his hand on his sword in *Harlequin, Pierrot, and Scapin* (DV 97) and in a drawing at the Pushkin Museum (PM 203); in the paintings shown in this exhibition, he can be seen standing, in the same pose, in *The French Comedians* (cat. P. 70) and full-face, the same way, in *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38; fig. 59). The character seated on a donkey in *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*) (cat. P. 69; fig. 60) is, without any doubt, a Crispin (note the costume and skull cap), even though the starched collar is replaced here by the traditional ruff. One may compare this comic character perched on a burlesque mount to a Harlequin "in mourning on a donkey" in an engraving showing the final scene of *Le Tombeau de Maître André,* a play from the old repertory of Gherardi produced in 1695 (fig. 61) and often redone afterward at fairs or by the Italian troupe.

In addition to the head of Crispin in *The Alliance of Music and Comedy* mentioned in the essay, see the two drawings where one recognizes Crispin's arm (cat. D. 96) and, in a complex scene, he is the character on the right (cat. D. 102).

## ACTORS

We have already discussed the uncertainties that complicated the identification of particular actors or actresses among the fanciful characters painted or drawn by Watteau.

fig. 60.
Cat. P. 69, detail.



fig. 61.
Anonymous,
*The Tomb of Master André,*
engraving (1695),
Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris.



Whether in the case of La Thorillière, Dumirail, Poisson, or Mlle. Desmares, only the inscriptions on the engravings after Watteau suggest these names. One of the exhibited drawings (cat. D. 46; fig. 62) served as a model for the engraving: *Poisson Dressed as a Peasant* (DV 55), where we believe Watteau showed Paul Poisson and not his son, Philippe, as various authors have thought. Both were actors at the Comédie-Française at the same time, except for an interruption between 1711 and 1715; the father played Crispin and half-realistic peasants, while the son acted in secondary parts, serious or comic. Philippe Poisson was almost exactly Watteau's contemporary, but he was not as celebrated as his father. The inscription on the engraving refers only to "Poisson" without further detail, therefore meaning the most famous actor in the family. Santerre's renowned portrait of Mlle. Desmares (fig. 63) belongs to the category of characters painted in Spanish costumes, whose idealized image illustrates the best-known style of the painter. The famous actress was probably the model. The engraving after Watteau, showing her as "a pilgrim," does not weaken this hypothesis (DV 57). It is more difficult to recognize her in the other paintings she is believed to have inspired: *The Dreamer* (cat. P. 26) and the two *Polish Women* (CR 166, 167).



fig. 62.
Cat. D. 42.



fig. 63.
Attributed to Santerre,
*Portrait of Charlotte Desmares,*
Musée de la Comédie-Française, Paris.

## III. Opera Silhouettes

*(With the Collaboration of Philippe Hourcade)*

Characters will be classified here who are not necessarily derived from lyric theater, but who developed there in a very lively fashion. Although the Bérains (Jean I and Jean II), stage designers for the Paris Opéra, were Watteau's contemporaries, their sets did not inspire him directly. The only painting showing an opera dancer—*The Little Poinçon*—known only through the engraving by G. Scotin (DV 313; fig. 64) who attributed it to Watteau, has now been withdrawn from Watteau's oeuvre by all scholars; the actor in Scotin's engraving, who carries a dancer's keg, does not appear anywhere else in the painter's work.

Watteau began to visit the Opéra at a time when the Bérain style was on the wane in the great lyric theater. In 1714, La Font, who wrote the libretto for *Festes de Thalie,* noted in the preface: "This is, I believe, the first opera in which the women are dressed in French style, and the confidantes were like *soubrettes* of comedy."[30] As far as we can judge from the rare iconographic documents kept by the Opéra at this time, a certain simplification of costumes ensued, above all for the dancers, who began to practice the more expressive "character dancing" that required a certain freedom of movement, and for which the heavy and cumbersome costumes from the royal ballets of the seventeenth century would have been unsuitable. Several factors were favorable to this transformation: the success of opera-ballet, a more exotic rather than mythological style, and a sort of vague local color in the "Europes galantes." The increasing number of competing stages where danced *divertissements* were performed, and which profited from this transformation, was far-reaching. One could almost speak of a "half-realistic" costume which becomes apparent in the detailed inventories made by the *menus plaisirs,* a royal agency entrusted, among other things, with the conservation of costumes for productions: in them are found costumes of *paysan de demi-caractère* that can double as classical dancers or "gallant villagers."[31]

fig. 64.
G. Scotin,
*The Little Poinçon,*
engraving.





fig. 66.
Cat. P. 51, detail.



fig. 67.
Anonymous,
*A Noble Lady Dressed as Espagnolette,*
engraving, beginning of the 18th century.

## COSTUMES FOR "DEMI-CARACTERES"

These are costumes which idealize a national origin: Spanish, Venetian, Polish, Chinese, Persian, and so on; or a social classification: peasant, pilgrim, sailor, and so forth.

*Espagnolettes*

The Espagnolettes are probably the best represented in Watteau's work. They are integrated into various comic scenes and concerts. This conventional costume, which was often used by painters such as J.-B. Santerre and A. Grimou, appears in the portrait of Mlle. Desmares reproduced above (fig. 65): a dress with a low-cut bodice and pleats which emphasize the bosom, and an embellished hairstyle. An inventory of 1760 described an "old-fashioned" Espagnolette costume this way: "corset, skirt and hanging sleeves of plush black silk, rosettes of yellow taffeta."[32] Many of Watteau's Espagnolettes were identified as Mlle. Desmares, based on Santerre's painting. In fact, the latter freely idealized his models by giving them delicate oval faces and dressing them in Spanish costume, even if they were not actresses (*Portrait of Mme. Pelletier des Forts*).In 1717, Peter the Great was given a tapestry from the Gobelin factory after Santerre's *Espagnolette.*[33]

Several female characters in *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51; fig. 66) wear this costume, which may be compared to that of an anonymous engraving that may well date from the very beginning of the eighteenth century, entitled *Noble Lady Dressed as Espagnolette* (fig. 67). In fact, the Abbot of Chaulieu notes that in 1702 it was fashionable for "ladies of the court" to "dress and arrange their hair in Spanish

fig. 68.
Cat. P. 65, detail.



fig. 69.
Anonymous,
*Theater Scene,* engraving,
Bibliothèque du Musée de l'Opéra, Paris.



fig. 70.
B. Picart, *"Here from a Concert,"* 1708.



style."[34] Various feminine costumes in *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65; fig. 68) and *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38) belong in the same category; this may be seen in another anonymous engraving (fig. 69). B. Picart specialized in gallant scenes, where the Espagnolettes played their role (*The Duo,* 1708; fig. 70). Add to these several engravings after lost Watteau originals: *The Favorite of Flora* (DV 7); *Country Concert* (DV 72); *Beauty, Do Not Listen* and *To Protect the Honor of a Beauty* (DV 82, 83); *The Jullienne Seasons* (DV 200-203); and so on.

These characters seemed particularly common in the choreographic scenes that obviously suggested the great Opéra balls where people disguised themselves in "domino" or "Espagnolette" fashion.[35] La Motte's seventh Anacreontic Ode describes these delightful apparitions:

> At the ball, dressed in Spanish style,
> She took off her watchful mask;
> Faster than an arrow can fly,
> I was pierced by a thousand blows.




fig. 71.
After T. Bonnart,
*A Chinese Dancing in the Opéra at the Venice Carnival.*



fig. 72.
*Head of an Opéra Character,*
drawing,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.

*Orientals*

The Orient was always understood in the broadest sense on the eighteenth-century stage. In Watteau's work, one must set aside the Chinese and Tartar figures of the Château de la Muette (DV 232-261), a technical exercise in virtuosity, not entirely devoid of realism, as well as the drawings of Persian characters, drawn from life by Watteau during the Persians' diplomatic mission of 1715 (cats. D. 39-43). The Oriental of the theater wears a stylized costume (fig. 71) that directly corresponds to his stock character;[36] here is a description of a Persian of the Opéra in a 1754 inventory: "a short jacket of white satin with flower print . . . ; a turban of gold gauze with little stripes, interwoven with silver and cherry-red gauze."[37] Large turbans and tall cone- or crescent-shaped gauze hats for women appear in many title pages of "oriental" plays in the *Théâtre de la Foire:* vol. I: *Arlequin Mahomet* (1711); vol. II, *Arlequin Hulla* (1716) (engraving by F. Poilly after Bonnard, the younger); vol. III: *La Princesse de Carizme* (1718); vol. IV: *La Statue merveilleuse* (1720). This form of headdress seems to have been adapted by the Orientals at the Opéra, as evidenced in a studio drawing (fig. 72). *Actors at a Fair* (cat. P. 10) shows examples of the very ornate, so-called "oriental" headdresses (fig. 73). The feminine costumes of the Opéra, however, seem more traditionally heroic (fig. 74) than the clothes worn by these oriental ladies "on holiday." The oriental character in the *Venetian Fêtes* (Edinburgh; CR 180) may have been inspired by the Persians as Watteau saw them: it is quite unlikely that the stage, particularly Campra's opera-ballet, *Les Fêtes vénitiennes,* was its direct source.



fig. 73.
Cat. P. 10, detail.



fig. 74.
*Character from the Opéra,*
drawing,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.

fig. 75.
Anonymous,
*Opéra Dancer in Peasant Garb,*
engraving.




*Peasants*

The "gallant villagers" belong in the category of theatrical stock characters. The sketch for the portrait of Dumirail, which is exhibited here (cat. D. 15), shows this typical, albeit most elegant costume, of which a contemporary engraving gives a nearly exact equivalent (fig. 75).




fig. 76.
Desplaces, *Dumirail in Peasant Garb,* engraving after Watteau.



fig. 77.
B. Picart,
*Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera,*
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



fig. 78.
Cat. P. 9, detail.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the shepherds and shepherdesses from the pilgrims, discussed below. See *The Cajoler* (cat. P. 2).

*Pilgrims*

As mentioned in Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time," these characters appeared on the three most important Parisian stages of the period. They also fueled the imagination of painters who fondly drew portraits in the Spanish style. Santerre and especially Grimou[38] painted these male and female pilgrims of love, whom Watteau would integrate into a ballet, whose meaning today is so difficult to explain. The pilgrim's costume is a traditional double-role peasant outfit, such as the one in which Watteau depicted Dumirail (fig. 76). Nevertheless, it differs from it by certain ornaments: it is strewn with scallop shells (in remembrance of the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela) and symbolic attributes: pilgrim's staff and hearts pierced by intersecting arrows. The inventory of the *menus plaisirs* described an "old-fashioned" pilgrim costume: "brown taffeta outfit, adorned with little rosettes of silver and pink striped gauze, with pink and silver pins; pink taffeta jacket with scalloped edges and silver pins, black taffeta hood adorned with shells, and a shiny silver pouch."

The coresponding feminine pilgrim costume consists of "a brown taffeta skirt . . . with pink scalloped edges and silver pins." Tomlinson has explained the origin and mythical meaning of these costumes (1981, 121-122). A beautiful drawing by B. Picart shows them with all their adornments: a shell crowning crossed staffs, topped by a heart (fig. 77). The two engravings of a man and a woman in pilgrims' costumes in *Figures Françoises et Comiques* (DV 59, 60) reduce the symbolic elements: the shell disappears from the man's costume, though the hood and staff are kept; the woman's has shells on the hood, one of which hangs over crossed staffs on the shoulder. Desplaces' engravings after Watteau are very similar to the pilgrims in *The Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9; fig. 78), in which the hood of the pilgrim seen full-face is embroidered with crossed staffs over a heart, an adornment that is not very visible in the painting, yet clearly drawn in Larmessin's engraving (DV 155).

Among the works in the exhibition one will find pilgrims in the famous works depicting the pilgrimage to Cythera: the Berlin *Embarkation* (cat. P. 62) and the Louvre *Pilgrimage* (cat. P. 61), a drawing of men and women pilgrims (cat. D. 22), and another that shows cupids leaving for Cythera (cat. D. 13).

The engraving *Bon Voyage* by the young B. Audran after a lost painting by Watteau (DV 35) shows several pilgrims preparing to embark on a journey and marks an important step in the evolution of the pilgrim theme in the work of Watteau.

## STOCK FIGURES

*Fools*

As they had done during the Renaissance, readers at the beginning of the eighteenth century sang the *Praise of Folly* by Erasmus, in a very popular edition, translated by Nicolas Guedeville, and illustrated with engravings after Holbein (1713) (fig. 79). The Skullcap Regiment, a comic and satirical order created in 1702 by François Aymon,[40] who was its commander-in-chief, spread among the public their so-called "skullcaps," which were little satirical poems inspired by Momus, the God of Madness, whom Watteau painted as an arabesque (DV 277). Aymon (fig. 80) and his companions had themselves painted with the attributes of Folly: small bells, fool's caps, and baubles (fig. 81). The regiment's coat of arms (fig. 82) was adorned with the slogan: *Favet Momus, Luna influit,* which was inspired by the Northern carnival tradition (fig. 83). At the Opéra, Destouches' comedy-ballet, *Le Carnaval et la Folie* (1703), based on a libretto by La Motte,




fig. 79.
*L'Éloge de la Folie,*
illustration after Holbein
for Erasmus, 1713.




fig. 80.
*Aymon I,*
engraving by Caylus and Joullain
after C.A. Coypel, 1726.



fig. 81.
Anonymous,
*Small Bells, Fool's Caps,*
*and Baubles.*

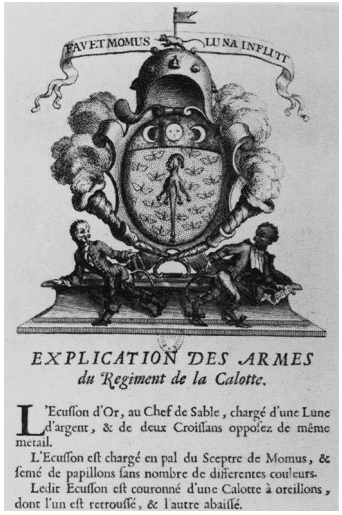



fig. 82.
Anonymous, *The Arms*
*of the Calotte Regiment,*
engraving.

included a *fête* (Act III, Sc. 3) where the "professor of Madness" taught his very useful science, and then a final carnival (Act IV, Sc. 5). A pretty engraving (fig. 84) shows this *divertissement,* where Folly appears in the foreground carrying her bauble. One can also see a Fool with bauble in the engraving by N. Bonnart, called *The Country Ball* (fig. 85), a subject of Italian inspiration whose similarities to Watteau's work of the same name (*The Country Ball,* cat. P. 24) should not be overlooked. As can be imagined, the theaters of the Fair gave these rather emblematic characters and their comical tone great importance. The title page of Lesage's *La Princesse de Carizme* (1718), in volume II of *Théâtre de la Foire,* is a piece by F. Poilly after Bonnart the younger. It represents a scene (Act I, Sc. 2) from the play where "several Fools" are dancing: they wear strange, crested caps that may be compared with the bizarre headdress of the first full-length character who appears on the right in *Pierrot* (called *Gilles*) (cat. P. 69). *Le Diable d'Argent* (1720) (*Théâtre de la Foire,* vol. IV, 1724) and *Le Régiment de la Calotte* (1721) also depict various similar characters: Folly and "calotins" or "calotines" (male or female capped Fools).

Watteau's style of Fool is very characteristic, though rather atypical with regard to classic costumes (fig. 86): he wears a sort of tight-fitting garment and cap with the customary bells and bauble. This type of Fool foreshadows the "baby fools" by Le Valois d'Orville for Rameau's *Platée.* The character appears in a very Gillotesque drawing, depicting a comic scene with Orientals (Chinese) and a woman in tears (PM 117); the identical group, with the Fool with bells and Folly with bauble, can also be seen in *Winter* (DV 93; fig. 87). On the left of the drawing exhibited here (cat. D. 12), which must belong to the same series as the preceding one, there is

fig. 83.
*Libet qui caret,*
engraving, 1595,
after K. van Mander.




fig. 84.
Anonymous, Frontispiece for
*Du Carnaval et la Folie,*
1703, engraving.




fig. 85.
Anonymous,
*The Country Ball,*
engraving.





fig. 86.
*Fool,* drawing,
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



fig. 87.
Huquier,
*Winter,*
engraving after Watteau.



fig. 88.
Cat. P. 42, detail.

a Fool shaking bells above his head. The Fool playing the drum in *The Italian Serenade* (cat. P. 42; fig. 88) and the seated Fool in *Italian Comedians* (cat. P. 71) are the other representations of this character.

The female Fool wears a fanciful costume decorated with bells. *Folly* (DV 279) may be added to the examples cited above. According to the inventory of the *menus plaisirs,* the male and female Fools' costumes should be made of taffeta in four different colors:[41] green and yellow are considered the traditional emblems of the Fool. Other drawings by Watteau showing the Fool are PM 70, 71, 121, 188, 189, 205.

*Masks*

Masks deserve more penetrating study than a simple iconographic survey; the "beautiful Mask" Death wears in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia,* "so that all may not see her with the same face,"[42] fosters a curious echo in Marivaux' *Spectateur français* (*f.* 3), which in 1722 defined man as "one who wore faces." Except for Harlequin, Watteau paints his characters with their masks off, held in hand, in a position that he could have seen in a painting in the Crozat collection: *The Comedian Who Holds a Mask* by Domenico Fetti, now at the Hermitage (cat. 1958, I, no. 158). Watteau's masks were those favored by fashionable people who attended opera costume balls such as in *Coquettes* (cat. P. 29). A lady dressed in theater costume (fig. 89) allows the establishment of a certain correspondence with the work of Watteau. The mask in *The Alliance of Music and Comedy* (Private coll.; CR 123) is typically that of a dancer, as mentioned above.

## IV. Theater Scenes

Several of Watteau's complex works, either drawn or painted, suggest specific theatrical moments. Various inscriptions—*The Gallant Gardener* (DV 73) and so on—lead one to believe Watteau depicted an authentic scene from the theater, as his mentor Gillot had done with Italian subjects, where a certain outline or play from the Gherardi collection is clearly recognizable.

Some of Watteau's subjects, which can be dated in the first part of his career when Gillot's influence was strong, certainly stem from an idealization of real scenes. The Nantes painting *Harlequin Emperor in the Moon* (cat. P. 1) is much disputed, but it shows a scene from Fatouville's play produced in 1684 by the Italian troupe (Gherardi, vol. I) and subsequently put on at the Fair. This "scene about the farmer from Domfront" in fact puts Harlequin on stage in a small, covered coach, along with the Doctor and finally, Pasquariel. It is difficult to know what Colombine is doing in the painted scene, as she is absent from the published play. Unless one supposes a lost version of the Fatouville play, no doubt adapted by the Fair troupe according to their custom, the Nantes painting suggests Fatouville, without necessarily depicting a specific scene.

Long and patient research has solved the mystery of one painting, now lost and known only by Cochin's engraving (DV 83): *To Protect the Honor of a Beauty* (fig. 90). This work shows the final scene (Act III, Sc. 5) of Pierre-François Biancolelli's comedy, *Arlequin fille malgré luy,* put on only once at the Foire Saint-Laurent in 1713:[43] the Doctor arrives and surprises Colombine, who is flirting with her rival Leandro. Harlequin, who has disposed of his feminine disguise




fig. 89.
Anonymous,
*Lady in Theater Clothes,*
engraving.

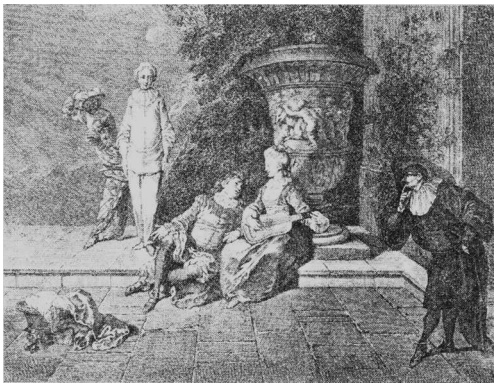


fig. 90.
*"To Protect the Honor of a Beauty,"*
see fig. 5.

(perhaps in the basket on the ground), and Pierrot stay in the background in this scene, which is followed by a danced *divertissement*. The five characters, their respective positions and the situation taking place correspond perfectly to Watteau's painting, which seems to form a pendant to another work, *Beauty, Do Not Listen,* also known through an engraving (DV 82) showing Scaramouche surprising Harlequin in the same position as Leandro in the preceding scene.

The drawings in Darmstadt that we mentioned in our discussion of the Fools (cat. D. 12; PM 117; and exh. cat. Frankfurt 1982, Cb 6) indeed belong to a series whose theatrical source could be more thoroughly explained if we had a better notion of Fair troupe's repertory around the 1710s. Unfortunately, many of these texts are lost. The comic military scene (cat. D. 12) may be compared to P. Sévin's ink drawing, which is a parody of some departing soldiers. Another drawing by the same artist (fig. 91), showing a market scene in Orvieto, is not unrelated to Watteau's *Street Scene* in Besançon (cat. D. 69).

The paintings inspired by the French theater do not seem to have any better defined source. A woman in tears in a drawing of either the Italian or Fair troupe mentioned above (PM 117) reappears in P. Dupin's engraving (1763) of a lost painting, *French Spectacle* (DV 294), a work that foreshadows the famous *French Comedians* in the Metropolitan Museum (cat. P. 70). Though tragic characters, they are basically stock figures. With comic figures in the background, they appear in the midst of a theatrical architecture in the style of the "instant palaces" created by the Comédie-Française decorators. The mixture of serious and comic elements suggests of course that these shows were satirized, in the same way that Dufresny reviewed the strange shows of the Opéra in his *Amusements sérieux et comiques* (1699, ch. 5). The architecture of "instant palaces" was in fact traditional on Parisian stages: the P. Sévin drawing, made for the Italian troupe shown above (fig. 92), is one of countless such examples. The New York painting in no way represents a scene from Molière's *Dépit amoureux*. Another Molière play, *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* (Act I, Sc. 2) is generally connected with *What I Have Done, Cursed Assassins* (Pushkin Museum; CR 13). However, this clyster scene, clearly theatrical in its origin, does not appear to have been inspired by a real stage scene. Much has been written on the Frankfurt *Island of Cythera* (cat. P. 9) and its connection with Dancourt's play, *Les Trois Cousines* but caution should be exercised in such matters.

Watteau's theatrical universe, which has barely been explored, may yield a few happy surprises. But if the stage of his day gave him costumes, routines, and a whole ambience which, though ephemeral, lives again in his works, Watteau was a creator and not simply an illustrator, producing his own characters and his own unique universe.

(Translated by Michèle and Valerie Morris)

fig. 91.
P.P. Sévin, *The French Dance,*
drawing,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



fig. 92.
P.P. Sévin, *Scene of the Charlatan Doctor,* drawing,
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



1. Sévin's wash drawing shows the stage debut of the actor who took over from Dominique in the role of Harlequin in 1688. (Bibliothèque Opéra Musée 852). On Pierre-Paul Sévin see *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français,* 1874-1875, 218-222. This drawing was engraved in reverse for the *Grand Almanach historique de 1689* (P. Landry exc.). There is another drawing in the same sense as the engraving, signed "Lichery del." (engraving and drawing: BN est., $Qb^5$ 1689). The Harlequin character is called "Mezetin" in the inscription. This can be explained by the fact that from 1 September 1688 to October 1689 Angelo Costantini played Harlequin without a mask under the name of Mezzetin, a name he retained though wearing a different costume. Gherardi then took over the masked Harlequin part.

2. L. Riccoboni, *Histoire du théâtre italien* (Paris, 1731), I:4-5. See also the psychological portrait by the same author: 2:309.

3. About this mask, see Léon Chancerel, "Arlequin," *Jeux, tréteaux et personnages* 11 (15 August 1931), 362; G. Malipiero, *Maschere della Commedia dell'arte* (Bologna, 1980). Reprs. in Pierre-Louis Duchartre, *La Commedia dell'Arte et ses enfants* (Paris, 1955), 125; Fausto Nicolini, *Vita di Arlecchino* (Milano, 1958), 208-210.

4. According to B. Populus, these seventeen portraits of stereotypic characters were engraved by Joullain after Charles Coypel (one engraving after Callot). See B. Populus, *Claude Gillot* (Paris, 1930), 248.

5. Hélène de la Vallée, "Sources de l'art de Watteau: Claude Simpol," *Prométhée* 3 (April 1939), 67-74; Adhémar 1950, 62.

6. Riccoboni, *Histoire,* 2:316.

7. Riccoboni, *Histoire,* 2:316.

8. Duchartre, *La Commedia dell'Arte,* 155.

9. Anne-Elisabeth Costantini, Angelo's niece, in c. 1730-1740 owned a replica (or the original) of Troy's portrait in which Mezzetin symbolically held a painting depicting Harlequin, a part that had been taken away from him (T.-S. Gueullette, *Histoire du théâtre Italien,* ms., Bibliothèque de l'Opéra: Rés. 625(2), 80). The various engraved versions show either this portrait of Harlequin or a picture of Proteus. The latter corresponds to the painting in the Musée Condé, Chantilly.

10. Cl. and F. Parfaict, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des spectacles de la Foire* (Paris, 1743), I: 120.

11. Gueullette, 1:103$^r$; P.-L. Duchartre, *La Commedia dell'Arte,* 145 (with reprs. of engravings).

12. Riccoboni, *Histoire,* 2:320. See also Duchartre, *La Commedia dell'Arte,* 235.

13. *Inventaire général des habits des Ballets du Roi par caractères,* 1 July 1760; "old" Pierrot costume (AN: $0^1$ 3235, 392).

14. Anonymous engravings of Gilles the Naive (BN: $Tb^1$ + rés., format 3, B. 485), and of Gilles (Bibliothèque Opéra: rés. 9264, f° 44); H. Bonnart's engravings for Gilotin (*ibid.,* ff. 37 and 42). Repr. Duchartre, *La Commedia dell'Arte,* 239.

15. See a police report, dated 10 February 1718, in which Pierrot is described at the Jeu Saint-Edme, "with a guitar . . . , acting and playing the instrument" (E. Campardon, *Les Spectacles de la Foire* [Paris, 1877], 2:362).

16. Duchartre, *La Commedia dell'Arte,* 208-209.

17. Cl. and F. Parfaict, *Histoire de L'Ancien Théâtre Italien* (Paris, 1753), 107.

18. Riccoboni, *Histoire,* 2:315.

19. Riccoboni, *Histoire,* 2:311.

20. Duchartre, *La Commedia dell'Arte,* 173-175.

21. Compare with the nose of B. Picart's *Doctor Baloardo,* shown above.

22. According to L. Surugue's inscription, this character is purported to be a Scapin, but this is quite impossible.

23. Parfaict, *Mémoires,* 1:147.

24. Gueullette, *Histoire,* I: f° 134$^r$.

25. Gueullette, *Histoire,* I: f° 185$^r$. See also Gueullette, *Notes,* Paris, 1938, 91 and E. Campardon, *Les Comédiens du Roi de la Troupe Italienne* (Paris, 1880), 2:154.

26. Parfaict, *Mémoires,* 1:121, 189, 201. See the description of Mlle. Delisle in N. Boindin, *Lettres historiques à Mlle. Delisle sur la nouvelle comédie Italienne* (Paris, 1718), "3rd letter," 16-17: "Short rather than tall, quite pretty, . . . vivacious and full of nobility and delicacy in her acting."

27. Jean Cailleux, "Some Family and Group Portraits by François de Troy," *The Burlington Magazine* 26 (April 1971), fig. no. 4 (formerly in the German Imperial Collection).

28. A. Ross Curtis, *Crispin Ier. La vie et l'oeuvre de Raymond Poisson, comédien-poète du XVIIe siècle* (Toronto, 1972), 78.

29. Among others, a copperplate by G. Edelinck, whose legend attributes the painting to Theodor, son of Caspar Netscher (BN, est., Hennin 5797). See A.C. Ross, figs. 4-6.

30. *Recueil général des opéras* (Paris, 1720), 11:179.

31. *Inventaire général des habits des Ballets du Roi par caractères* (1 July 1760), AN: $0^1$ 3235. Many of these costumes are "old-fashioned" and are identified as such.

32. *Inventaire général,* 273.

33. L. F. Dubois de Saint-Gelais, *Histoire journalière de Paris* (Paris, 1717), 2:157-158.

34. *Oeuvres diverses,* new ed. (London, 1740), 1:217.

35. A. de Bonneval, *Momus au cercle des Dieux* (Paris, 1717), 120.

36. Olivier H. Bonnerot, "Autour des Persans dans l'opéra au XVIII$^e$ siècle," *L'Opéra au XVIII$^e$ siècle* (Aix-en-Provence, 1982), 185-203.

37. *Inventaire général,* AN; $0^1$ 3235, 338. For a revival of *Thétis et Pélée* in 1754 (2nd act).

38. Grimou: female pilgrim (Paris, Petit-Palais; Douai; Florence, Uffizi); male pilgrim (Béziers; Florence, Uffizi); etc. Jean de Jullienne had bought from Santerre "a gallantly dressed female pilgrim" (1767 sale).

39. *Inventaire général,* 382-383.

40. Léon Hennet, *Le Régiment de la Calotte* (Paris, 1886).

41. *Inventaire général,* 366-367.

42. Trans. J. Baudoin (Paris, 1637), 153, no. C III.

43. Manuscript copies of the play: BN, ms., f.fr. 9312 and 9331. For the events surrounding its creation, see Fuzelier: "Etat des pièces jouées . . . depuis l'année 1710," Bibliothèque Opéra, Archives. *Théâtre Paris,* "Foires Saint-Germain et Saint-Laurent," 1, p. 6.

# Watteau and Music

Florence Gétreau

"Watteau remains the eighteenth-century painter who best understood the music of his time: he gave it a pictorial equivalent. . . . What Couperin and his contemporary composers conceived in music, Watteau realized in painting with a craft of exceptional quality, uniting an easy elegance with a tender revery, love of nature, and refinement of vision—always with that element of sarcasm that keeps the free expression of the emotions from becoming pathetic or doleful." So wrote A. P. de Mirimonde, the pioneer of French musical iconography, in a now classic study that gave Watteau's musical subjects their first erudite analysis, accompanied by a host of interpretations (Mirimonde 1961).

Almost one-third of Watteau's works deal in some way with music. He used musical instruments first as accessories and later to make allusions that enrich our understanding of the subject. Music was often the main subject or played an essential role in his images. As early as 1727, the inspiration Watteau found in music seemed obvious to those who judged the recently deceased artist, who with a "gracious and exact imitation of nature represented concerts, dances, and other amusements of civic life excellently well" (DuBois de Saint-Gelais, 1727, p. 75).

The full spectrum of musical subjects Watteau treated in his work (instruments, musicians and their performances, instrumental ensembles, and the settings in which music was performed), when compared with facts unearthed by musicologists studying the same period, leads the organologist to the realization that Watteau gives remarkedly rich and accurate reflection on the subject. Such study also makes a real contribution to the history of instruments and often results in the questioning of certain attributions that may at first have seemed secure.

Watteau began representing musical subjects very early in his career. Probably because he found inspiration in northern art, he first used the violin or musette as dance accompaniments. These instruments were depicted not from observed models but from paintings. In the same way, the tambourine or bagpipe are used as anecdotal elements of decorative "trophies" or to act as *repoussoirs,* as in *Beauty, Do Not Listen* (lost; CR 16); *The Little Comedians* (Musée Carnavalet; CR 19), and *Blindman's Buff* (lost; CR 10). Watteau's use of musical motifs and the ephemeral quality of his drawings follow the style of Gillot, as can be seen in the Pierrot playing a flute in the *Feast of Pan* (Private coll.; CR 9), for which we have two sketches (PM 806 and 807). Later, when working under Claude Audran III on the exotic decorations in the Château de La Muette, he invented "Chinese" instruments that were half fantasy, half European. Conforming to a longstanding tradition, the arabesques used in harpsichord decoration[1] belong also to the learning period of the artist (DV 206). At the time when Watteau submitted his first works to the Royal Academy, his favorite theme, the guitarist, had already appeared in a finished form but with many variations; one may easily see this by comparing *The Enchanter* (cats. P. 17, 19) and *The Party of Four* (cat. P. 14).

A little later in his career, Watteau frequented Crozat's *hôtel,*[2] which was a focal point for avant-garde music. The atmosphere there undoubtedly suggested to "this incomparable draftsman . . . who noted that the human body never remains in one position for any length of time" (Francastel 1971, p. 135) the best meditative subjects—because the essence of music resides in mobility. From that point on, Watteau never separated the instruments from their players: the musician would appear near his instrument, standing away for a short moment; or he would tune it, playing it with passion or detachment. Though written documentation is not very eloquent on this subject, Watteau's paintings and most of all his preparatory sketches indicate that music was an integral part of his life. There is no doubt that he attended the musical evenings hosted by the financier Crozat and was familiar with the musical celebrities of his salon, including Antonio Guido,[3] the violinist and chief musician of the Duc d'Orléans, and the castrato Antonio Paccini,[4] a favorite of the king. We can assume that Watteau had contact with the no less celebrated Jean-Féry Rebel, composer, violinist to the king, harpsichordist at the Royal Academy, and Master of

1. See our discussion of the harpsichord in the dictionary.

2. For a short note on Crozat, see "The Friends of Watteau" in this volume.

3. Born late seventeenth century—died after 1728. See M. Fillion, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), 4: 803.

4. On 16 March 1714 Antonio Paccini (1690-1764) received a pension of 1300 livres, granted by the king in place of an annual grant of 800 livres, which had been granted 25 January 1707. See also M. Benoit, *Musiques de Cour, Chapelle, Chambre, Ecurie, Recueil de documents* (Paris, 1971), 258. See also W. Dean, in *The New Grove,* 6: 66.



Detail, *The Scale of Love.*
National Gallery, London. CR 161.



Detail, *Country Concert.*
Location unknown. CR 160.
(From the print by B. Audran).

Chamber Music.[5] Among his friends were also numerous amateur performers, because at that time one did not have to be a professional to be a musician (La Thorillière, perhaps, was Watteau's famous musette player; Vleughels, one of the violinists; La Roque, a flutist; and Philippe Poisson or Sirois, on occasion, played guitar).

At these musical parties, Watteau was probably familiar enough to be inconspicuous. Thus he was able to capture particular attitudes—precise yet fugitive—of the musicians, who were so much in harmony with the instruments and sometimes a little ungraceful or tense because of the deep concentration in their faces. The poetic vision shown in Watteau's portrayal of three-quarter views, rear views, and general carriage of the player's body are other admirable qualities of his masterful craftsmanship. Watteau experimented by moving his musicians around before fixing a characteristic moment, and he did not intend to give a pictorial summation of eighteenth-century music. He offered some situations from it, certainly transposed but attuned to his own sensibilities, but these are more accurate than can be appreciated at first sight.

For Watteau, music provided excuses for gallant exchanges, whether in the form of duets (almost always a singer accompanied by a guitar, as in *The Scale of Love* (CR 161; fig. 1) or a singer and theorbo as in *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55) or even a singer with a transverse flute player, as in *Perfect Accord* (Private coll.; CR 196)). Among his pictures of larger ensembles, three combinations are most typical: *Prelude to a Concert* (cat. P. 48) (singer and violin for treble voice, theorbo and violoncello for the *continuo*); *Country Concert* (lost; CR 160) which was engraved by Audran (fig. 2) (three voices and flute accompanied by theorbo and base viol); and *The Charms of Life* (Wallace Collection; CR 184) (voice and guitar, theorbo and violoncello). These groupings correspond to the repertories of such composers as Couperin and Duval for the sonata and Campra for the cantata. A host of others could also be mentioned.[6] With the exception of the famous study showing the performers at a concert given by Crozat (cat. D. 127) (this included at least two voices and violin, and, it is probably safe to assume, harpsichord and theorbo), all of Watteau's duets and ensembles are depicted in outdoor settings.

The case is similar with the numerous dance scenes. Watteau seems to have had little interest in the contredanse, which was just coming into vogue[7] and was perfect for outdoor entertainments. He usually painted dances for couples, often minuets, accompanied by a single instrument such as the cornetto (*Pastoral Pleasures,* Musée Condé, Chantilly; CR 150), the hurdy-gurdy (*The Shepherds,* cat. P. 53 and *Venetian Fêtes,* National Gallery of Scotland; CR 180) or by two instruments: violin and hurdy-gurdy (*Country Entertainments,* Wallace Collection; CR 183) or two violins (*The Contredanse,* Private coll.; CR 131). One group brings to mind exactly an image from a later music piece by Jean-Jacques Naudot, "Les plaisirs de Champigny, ou Suite en trio pour musette ou viele ou flûte et un violon," also seen without changes in *The Country Ball* (cat. P. 24) and *Love in the French Theater* (fig. 3, detail of cat. P. 38). The *Village Betrothal* (Soane Museum; CR 127), with its numerous dancers, recalls the country line dance, or the chain formation of the Tricotets, accompanied by the two drone instruments that would become famous.[8] Finally, *Pleasures of the Dance* (fig. 4, detail of cat. P. 57) depicts a more aristocratic group, with two violins, an oboe, and a double bass, all ready to play for a ball to be opened with a minuet danced by a single couple, as was the custom.

The guitarist, an essential character in comic scenes or vaudevilles, also appeared in such well-known works as *The Serenader* (Musée Condé, Chantilly; CR 130), *Mezzetin* (cat. P. 49), and *Love in the Italian Theater* (cat. P. 65).

Watteau's military scenes are completely different from his comic scenes. Neither processional nor combative, these contain no band instruments. Sometimes a side drum appears among the pieces of baggage carried by a soldier on his shoulder (cat. P. 16).

Watteau selected certain musical situations in this period just before and during the Regency when the types of Parisian events, the entertainments and *pompes,* changed in response to more different occasions and more varied audi-



Detail, *Love in the French Theater*, cat. P. 38.



Detail, *Pleasures of the Dance*, cat. P. 51.

ences. At this time Nicolas Racot de Grandval perceived that "regarding musical matters [there are] . . . two sorts of peoples . . . the lowest commoners and a more gentlemanly, upright sort."[9] Sometimes they attended musical events in the capital together.

The public gatherings that punctuated the working days had their own music, sometimes somber and at other times quite lively. Some of the most rousing music was produced by the fife and drum corps of the Grande Ecurie du Roy at the time of "the ceremony for the transport of the flags and standards taken by our troops at the battle of Dauvray to the church of Notre Dame." Other stirring musical situations were those marked by the Persian ambassador's entry into Paris; "the funeral parade of King Louis XIV from Versailles to the Church of Saint Denis on Monday, 9 September 1715;" or "when his Majesty was to hold a *lit de justice* at the Parlement on 12 September;" and fanfares of horns for the day of the "fireworks for Saint Louis set off in the garden of the Tuileries on the eve of the feast of Saint Louis."[10] Such fireworks were the intermission feature at a grand outdoor concert of instrumental music given each year on 24 August by the Royal Academy of Music in the presence of the king and of a crowd made up of "aristocrats, commoners, soldiers, and servants."[11]

Opposite to triumphant and funeral processions, solemn and joyous fanfares, and outdoor concerts, where the music of Lully still made up most of the program, much religious music too was performed: the *Te Deum* for the funeral of Monseigneur le Dauphin at Notre Dame, the great motets of Lalande, Christmas music and the *Leçons de ténèbres* of M.A. Charpentier, the simple plain chant settings of offices, or the *Messes, à l'usage ordinaire des paroisses* of François Couperin. Neimeitz gave us a precious eye-witness account of these "public solemnities":[12]

Wednesday of Holy Week, Holy Thursday, and Friday, the Tenebrae are solemnized from two to four in the afternoon, in some religious convents such as Val de Grace, the Assumption, and Long-Champs outside Paris. The nuns chant the Passion with some spiritual motets (sung without music and accompanied by a small positive or chamber organ, or small organs) one after the other. Those at The Assumption pleased me most. . . . It is at that time that a large number of grand people are in this church and the convent profits greatly from renting out seats for the two hours, since everyone pays 24 *sols* for his place. But the Tenebrae of the King's Chapel in Paris surpass all the others, because it has all eight tones of the plain chant, with the entire chorus of the King's Music there. Corpus Christi Day or the Day of the Holy Sacrament, which is ordinarily celebrated during the month of June, is the greatest of all Catholic feast days. . . . The procession passes through the principal streets of the city of Paris and its suburbs. Here and there one sees street altars for the monstrances and altars put up expressly for it and decorated with silverwork, pearls, and jewels. Above it is placed the Sacrament, thus carried in procession, and then everyone prays on his knees. Very near the altar a platform is built on which music is played. . . . Midnight is remarkable. . . . All the churches, all the convents are full of people and then one runs from one place to the other. The music played in the churches is not very devout, for the organs play minuets and all sorts of worldly airs. It is then that lots of lewdness, foolishness, and impiety occur. The majority of the common people do not go to bed all night, but from Mass they go to the cabaret to practice debauchery until light of day.

Starting in 1715 the gatherings at public balls, authorized three times per week during the Carnival season and held in the hall of the Opéra,[13] were remarkably democratic.

5. 1666-1747. See P. Daub, *The New Grove*, 7: 639.

6. François Duval (c. 1673-1728) published seven collections of sonatas between 1704 and 1720. In 1728 Bachelier offered the *Recueil de Cantates contenant toutes celles qui se chantent dans les Concerts : pour l'usage des Amateurs de la Musique et la Poésie*. See D. Tunley, "An Embarkment for Cythera: Social and Literary Aspects of the Eighteenth-Century Cantata," *Recherches sur la Musique Classique Française* 17 (1972), 103-114.

7. One may suppose that one is being performed in *Country Entertainments* because of its lively execution. See J. Guilcher, *La contredanse et les renouvellements de la danse française* (Paris, 1969).

8. See E. Winternitz, "Bagpipes and Hurdy-gurdies in their Social Settings," *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven, 1979), 81-82; and R. D. Leppert, *Arcadia at Versailles. Noble Amateur Musicians and their Musettes and Hurdy-gurdies at the French Court (c. 1660-1789). A Visual Study* (Amsterdam, 1978), 59-60.

9. *Essai sur le bon goût en musique* (Paris, 1732), 52.

10. Benoit, *Musiques de Cour*, 22 October 1709, 194; 22 February, 9 September, 12 September 1715, 269; 24 August 1721, 323.

11. *Le Nouveau Mercure*, August 1719, 166; and *Le Mercure de France*, September 1726, 2153.

12. J. C. Neimetz, *Le séjour de Paris* (Leyden, 1727), 224, 225, 232.

13. See Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time."

At the time, collections of dance music were published regularly by Feuillet, Dezais, or Gaudrau[14] for the use of more discriminating amateurs. Along the same lines, there was also a kind of music for the theaters as well. At the Comédie-Française and the Comédie-Italienne, simple songs and dance entertainments aided the dramatic flow. At fairs, there were spectacles such as tightrope walkers, marionettes, and plays in verse, concluding with sung vaudevilles that satirized the Parisian mores. In both the theater and the fairs, instrumental music was provided by a small orchestra consisting of three to five violins, one or two basses, an oboe, and sometimes a bassoon or a guitar.[15]

For the upper crust of society, there was also chamber music, since it was in the salons, before concert halls were opened, that musicians met their audience and gave their concerts. After the court and the Nuits de Sceaux,[16] whereas the Regent,[17] an enlightened musician himself, favored the Italian style, and whereas the formal boundaries in society had become more flexible and the center of intellectual activity had moved to Paris, "an audience had formed that attended not only the Opéra, but musical assemblies of all kinds, from amateur musicales to private concerts to public concerts organized by professional musicians." As in the former century it was "an obligatory luxury in good society to offer a regularly fixed evening of music to one's friends."[18] Professional musicians such as Antoine Forqueray thus attracted students. Modeling himself on the Abbé Mathieu, curate of Saint-André-des-Arts, he was known for his Italian concerts.[19] "M. de Collignon . . . presented concerts at his home: the audience always included a large number of people of distinction."[20] The Prince de Conti (Louis-Armand de Bourbon) presided over the concert series of the *Mélophilètes* open to all without charge and where there were no professional musicians,[21] while the Duc d'Aumont, the Abbé Grave, Mademoiselle de Maes, and Monsieur Clerambault[22] gave less regularly scheduled soirées. In the same period, Pierre Crozat established a particularly brilliant musical forum. Once a month he received artists and noblemen, including the Regent and lawyers, as well as the most renowned professionals. Qualified amateurs were also welcome: the internuncio played the theorbo, Mademoiselle Guyot, daughter of a lawyer and member of Parlement, or Mademoiselle Boucon[23] played the harpsichord while Mademoiselle d'Argenon, niece of the painter La Fosse, sang seductively.

At a time when "cantatas and sonatas were being born underfoot,"[24] Crozat proved an ardent supporter of Italian music, uniting several of the major tendencies in French chamber music during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. A careful study of the inventory made after his death, never before undertaken from a musical point of view, considerably enriches what has been gleaned already from Mathieu Marais, Neimetz, Rosalba Carriera, Titon du Tillet, and of course Watteau.[25] Crozat's music library contained an overwhelming proportion of Italian music: many religious works (oratorios, psalms, and motets),[26] chamber duets, cantatas by Bononcini[27] or Stradella,[28] sonatas by Baldy and Vivaldi,[29] concerti by Albinoni and Corelli,[30] and selected works by Scarlatti. French composition was represented by only two musicians, both of considerable stature: Lully (for opera) and Marin Marais (for his *Pièces de viole* and his *Pièces en trio*). One could sample at Crozat's the Italian castrato voice that "cut through the instrumental accompaniment with an indescribable charm; that flexible voice with impossible breath control, that sweet, nightingalelike voice, that enchanted voice."[31] One can judge the poetic interpretation of a cantata there ("large work with Italian texts, comprised of recitatives, ariettas, and different movements; usually for a solo voice and *basso continuo,* often with two violins or with several instruments")[32] and the virtuosity of some Corellian sonatas ("ordinarily for solo violin with *basso continuo* for harpsichord, frequently with a more lively bass part for viola da gamba or bassoon"[33]). Confirming Crozat's enlightened support for the violin, an instrument that held from then on a noble rank, is the presence of Jean-Féry Rebel, one of the first French composers of sonatas for the violin,[34] and of Guido Antonio. It remains that one side of musical life under the Regency does not appear here, or in Watteau, although he constituted the ideal correspondence for it: the harpsichord. There were, in fact, about ten composers who brought the art to its peak and preserved its eminently French character. The great Couperin led the way, and already there was Jean-Philippe Rameau, whose first book of harpsichord pieces appeared in 1706. It was in fact during this period that creators and wits espoused "Les goûts réunis," the unification of the French and Italian musical tastes,[35] drawing their attention away from the exacerbated disputes of Raguenet[36] and Durey de Noinville.[37] As an epilogue, let us admit that "the harpsichord was made for a secret and lyrical soul turned toward acute observation and dreamy contemplation, toward irony and tenderness."[38] This description of Couperin, a real portrait in contrasts, may just as easily be applied to Watteau who, in the words of Caylus, had so much "refinement for judging music."

14. R. A. Feuillet, author of *Chorégraphie ou l'art de décrire la dance par caractères figures et signes démonstratifs* (Paris, 1701), also published numerous collections between 1704 and 1711. Dezais wrote a method for learning "without the help of a teacher" in 1712 and a collection of pieces each year between 1713 and 1720.

15. N. Wild, "Aspects de la musique sous la Régence : Les Foires, Naissance de l'Opéra Comique," *Recherches sur la Musique Classique Française* 5 (1965), 129-141. C. R. Barnes, "Instruments and Instrumental Music at the 'Théâtre de la Foire' (1697-1762)," *Recherches* 5 (1965), 142-168.

16. The Château de Sceaux was a favorite site for court and lively entertaining. See Appendix A, "Watteau in His Time."

17. "Charles [i.e., Philippe] d'Orléans proved himself to be a fervent amateur musician. He received many dedications, rewarded many musicians, presided at the Palais-Royal at brilliant performances, and, under the direction of Charpentier, Campra, Gervais, and Desmarets, wrote operas." (Michel Brenet, *Les Concerts en France sous l'Ancien Régime* [Paris, 1900], 160.)

18. Brenet, *Les Concerts en France,* 111.

19. M. Le Moel, "Un foyer d'italianisme à la fin du XVIIe siècle," *Recherches* III (1963), 43-48.

20. *Le Mercure Galant,* July 1700, 109.

21. M. de Lescure, *Journal et Mémoires de Mathieu Marais* (Paris, 1864), 3: 92.

22. J. C. Neimetz, *Le séjour de Paris,* p. 69. Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676-1749) was harpsichordist, organist, and author of cantatas published from 1710 to 1726.

23. One of Rameau's *Pièces en concert* was dedicated to Mademoiselle Boucon, the future Madame Mondonville. Her father addressed a poem to Mademoiselle d'Argenon. See *Le Mercure de France,* November 1719, 108-110.

24. M. de La Tour, "Dissertation sur le bon goût de la musique italienne et de la musique française, et sur les opéras," *Le Mercure Galant,* November 1713, 35.

25. Archives Nationales, Minutier Central des Notaires, Etude 30, 1., 128. At the rue de Richelieu, Crozat had a harpsichord by Joannes Couchet, made at Antwerp, "in a case painted to resemble marble and on a stand of carved and gilded wood." In the Enghien house he had a harpsichord without a maker's name, of a less prepossessing appearance but nevertheless more valuable, "in a case and on a stand of painted black wood with gilded tips."

26. The other authors are Batta, Biffi, Colinetti, Colombani, Fago, Gasparini, Lanciani, Leva, Lotti, Luca, Mancino, and Jacopo Perri, called Zazzerano.

27. Raguenet declared that more than 200 cantatas written by Bononcini (1670-1747) were known in Paris, when he was the model "pour les gracieux" (see nn. 31, 36).

28. But also of Bassani, Felzina, Gabrielli, and Zuccari.

29. Those of Somis and Mondonville are omitted from the present study because of their later dates.

30. Also, of Alberti, Sacco, and Valentini.

31. F. Raguenet, *Parallèle des Italiens et des François en ce qui regarde la Musique et les Opéras* (Paris, 1702), 78-80.

32. S. de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Amsterdam, 1703), 15.

33. S. de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique,* 139.

34. Later Crozat would also own the sonatas of Mondonville and some concerti by Locatelli.

35. Published by François Couperin in 1724.

36. (c. 1660-1772). He was a French priest and partisan of Italian music. See n. 31. Le Cerf de La Vieville was on the other side of the polemic with Durey de Noinville.

37. *Histoire du théâtre de l'Académie royale de Musique en France* (2d ed. 1757) provided a useful summary of the developments of Parisian music during the first half of the century.

38. P. Citron, *Couperin* (Paris, 1956), 75.

# A Short Dictionary of Musical Instruments

This dictionary is not comprehensive; rather, it describes approximately twenty instruments encountered in Watteau's works. Some appear frequently in the artist's oeuvre, and may be considered characteristic of his inspiration (guitar, violin, flute). Others (bassoon, cittern, double bass, harpsichord) appear rarely, or in a unique instance, but remain particularly symptomatic of the evolution of the early eighteenth-century instrumentarium. During these pivotal years, certain instruments disappeared or enjoyed a final period of popularity (cornetto, cittern, theorbo, recorder, and viola da gamba); others were transformed (transverse flute and oboe) or changed in usage (hurdy-gurdy); some others attained their apogee (harpsichord); while still others began to assert themselves (violin, violoncello, and double bass).

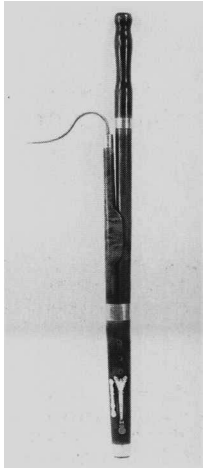
## Bassoon (Basson)

The bassoon of Watteau's day was made in four pieces (as opposed to the one-piece construction of its ancestor the courtholt), a design dating from the end of the seventeenth century, when the Hotteterres improved the bassoon much as they "modernized" the flute and oboe (see the entries for these instruments).[1] Playing the role of the bass member of the oboe family, the bassoon has a double reed set at the end of a curved bocal, which brings the reed into a position that allows the player to breathe and support the instrument comfortably. André Campra (1660-1744), a leading figure in French theatrical and sacred music of the early eighteenth century, used the bassoon in cantatas or to reinforce strings or to hold an independent line. The cello may serve as a substitute for the bassoon. The latter instrument's characteristic tone color became rounder and more subtle after the intervention of the Hotteterres, becoming almost "as sweet as that of the flute."[2] The only example found in Watteau's work could be given great importance: although difficult to study in detail because it is only a quickly sketched drawing, it seems that the musician, in the technique of his right hand,

*Standing Man Playing the Bassoon.*
Altes Museum, East Berlin. PM 850.



*Bassoon,* T. Stanesby,
Father and son, London,
early eighteenth century,
William Waterhouse coll., London.



uses a part of the third finger to operate a long key in the shape of a swallow's tail (that of F), and the little finger for a fourth key (that of G♯). If this could be confirmed through a study of the original drawing, this would help to indicate that the four-key bassoon appeared in France and Europe as early as the first third of the eighteenth century. Up to now that theory has been based on the existence of an instrument made by the Stranesbys (father and son), produced in London before 1734; on a guide to playing the instrument; and on the representation of such a bassoon on the business card of the instrument-maker Rijkel (Amsterdam, c. 1705).

1. The Hotteterre family included woodwind instrument makers, players, and composers.

2. P. L. Daquin, *Siècle littéraire de Louis XV ou Lettres sur les hommes célèbres* (Amsterdam, 1745), 152.

## Castanets (Castagnettes)

"The name castanet was given to this instrument because the two joined halves resemble two chestnuts attached to one another. Each castanet has a small lobe at one end in which a hole is drilled to allow a string to be threaded through, which is then tied to the player's thumb. The best materials are ebony, boxwood, and other dense and resonant woods."[1] "The graciousness of castanets depends on the hand that plays them, particularly in the movements, cadences, rapid passages, diminutions, and shades, which are made so rapidly that it is impossible to count the number of beats."[2] "Certain Spaniards excel at this, and know so well how to marry the sounds of the guitar with those of the castanets that one can find nothing more enjoyable or more amusing."[3]

Accessories to the dance, seen in *The Country Ball* (cat. P. 24) or in *The Dancer with Castanets* (lost; CR120), these percussion instruments are encountered in the burlesque scenes from the artist's youth (PM 117 and cat. D. 12). On the other hand, they apparently were not illustrated by Watteau in connection with the guitar, despite the fact that this pairing was so common that the celebrated guitar maker Alexandre Voboam (see the section on the guitar) was described in 1692 as "making excellent guitars, and perfect castanets."[4]

1. P. Trichet, *Traité des instruments de Musique* (c. 1640), with introduction and notes by François Lesure (Geneva, 1978), 197.

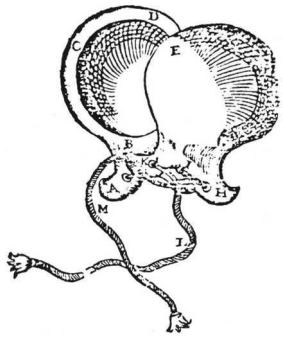
2. M. Mersenne, *L'harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636) (reprint, Paris, 1964), 48.

3. See n. 1.

4. A. de Pradel, *Le livre commode des adresses de Paris* (1692), 414.

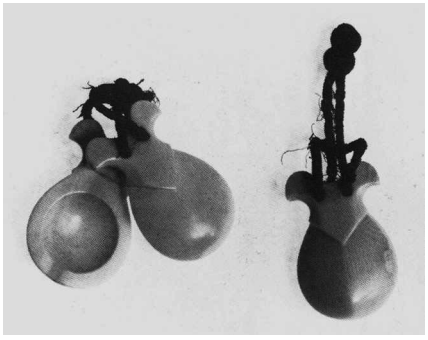


Detail, *The Dancer with the Castanets*. Location unknown. CR 120. (Detail of the print by Mercier).



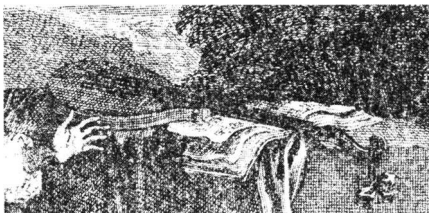
Marin Mersenne, *L'Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636, p. 48.

*Pair of castanets*, France, eighteenth century, Private coll.



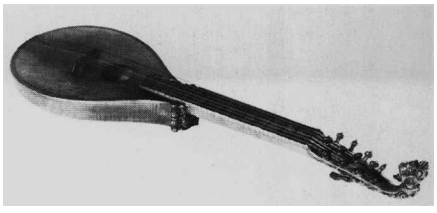
## Cittern (Cistre)

"This is a stringed instrument much used in Italy. It has nearly the same shape as a lute, but its neck is longer, and bears eighteen frets. The strings are usually made of brass, and are plucked with a small quill . . . they are attached at the end of the top of the instrument with a device known as 'the comb.'"[1] With a lustier sound than that of the guitar, the cittern could be used "all alone, as is the practice of barbers, or in concert music to play the alto or tenor parts."[2] It enjoyed great popularity up through the middle of the seventeenth century and even longer in England; see John Playford, *Musick's Delight on the Cittern* (1666).[3] In 1707 the royal



Detail, *Beauty, Do Not Listen*. Location unknown. CR 16. (From the print by C.N. Cochin).

*Cittern*, Antonio Stradivari, Cremona, c. 1700, Musée Instrumental, Paris.



accounts recorded the purchase of such an instrument for the last time; the cittern appears but once in Watteau's work, proving that its popularity was on the wane.

1. A. Furetière, in *Dictionnaire universel* (The Hague, 1690).

2. P. Trichet, *Traité des instruments*, 162. The cittern often formed part of the furnishings of barber's shops in order to provide diversion for waiting clients.

3. John Playford (1623-1686) published numerous collections of music and theoretical practical instructions for a variety of instruments.

## Cornemuse

The cornemuse, a type of bagpipe, is by its very nature a pastoral instrument. It is composed of an air reservoir or bag that is inflated by the player with his breath through a blowpipe, a chanter or melodic pipe with a conical bore, and one or several drone pipes. The pipes are all furnished with reeds.

Watteau represents two models. The first, in *The Bird's-nester* (Edinburgh; CR 71) corresponds to the "bagpipe of Poitou," a type that is still very much in use in the north and west of France: it consists of a relatively short, markedly conical chanter and a large independent drone that rests on the left shoulder of the player.

The other type, found more frequently in Watteau's works such as *Blindman's Buff* (lost; CR 10) and *The Swing* (Helsinki; CR 36) has a long chanter with a conical bore and a slightly shorter, cylindrical drone attached to the same stem. It is difficult to find an actual example of this kind of bagpipe: the eighteenth-century examples that have come down to us are more refined, using ivory for the pipes and precious materials to cover the sack.

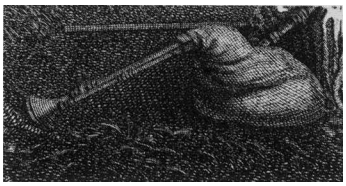
With the exception of a single sketch in which the instrument is shown in playing position (cat. D. 19), the cornemuse is always to be found lying on the ground like a border element or in the style of a trophy.



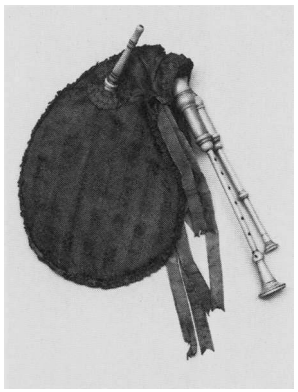
Detail, *Pastoral Pleasures*,
Musée Condé, Chantilly.
CR. 150.



*Cornetto*, Italy,
seventeenth century,
Musée Instrumental Paris.



Detail, *Blindman's Buff*,
DV 212.



*Cornemuse*, France,
eighteenth century,
The Royal College of Music, London.

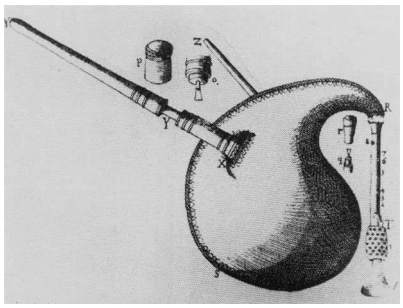
## Cornetto (Cornet à bouquin)

"Cornetti are ordinarily curved . . . they are made of two pieces of well-seasoned wood covered with leather." The instrument has six finger holes on top and two holes on the bottom, as well as a "simple-horn mouthpiece called the *bouquin* or *bocal*."[1] Very much in vogue during the seventeenth

Detail, *The Bird's-nester*,
National Gallery of Scotland,
etching (From the print by Boucher).



Marin Mersenne,
*L'Harmonie Universelle*,
Paris, 1636, p. 306.



*Cornemuse*, France,
seventeeth century.
Location unknown.



Detail, cat. D. 19.



century for "the processions of kings and great nobles into towns as well as for public ceremonies and *pompes*," the cornetto fell out of favor around the beginning of the eighteenth century. By 1733 the post of cornettist had disappeared from the rolls of the King's Music. The cornetto survived into the beginning of our century in its bass form, called a serpent. It was chiefly used as a military or ecclesiastical instrument. Watteau depicts the cornetto only once, as a dance accompaniment, much as he used the oboe. These interchangeable functions of the oboe and cornetto are also suggested by Sébastien de Brossard.[2]

1. Trichet, *Traité des instruments,*

2. Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique,* 24.

## Double Bass (Contrebasse)

"At the time of Mr. de Lulli *(sic)* this instrument was unknown in France. It was only long after his death that the double bass was used at the Opéra, and then only in tempest scenes, for subterranean noises, and in invocations. Mr. Monteclair and Mr. Sagioni were the first two double bass players at the Opéra. . . . The double bass plays an octave below the cello, and its body, neck, and strings are almost twice the size of those of the cello. The old six-string bass viols had much the same body outline."[1] In 1703 Sébastien de Brossard noted that the double bass "made a charming effect in accompaniments and large choruses": he was "astonished that the instrument was not used more frequently in France."[2] The luthier Nicolas Bertrand (d. 1725) made a double bass for the Opéra. The instrument figured in the orchestral inventory there until 1748.[3] The fact that Watteau depicted the double bass twice shows that he was well aware of the latest trends in instrumentation. He also appears to have been well informed on the two techniques of holding the bow, both still in use today. The first, with the hand on top of the stick, resembles the cello bow grip (French grip), while the second method employs an underhand grip in some ways similar to that used for the viol (German grip).

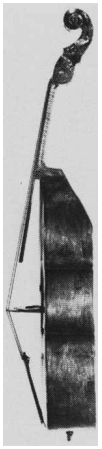
1. M. Corrette, *Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la Contre-Basse* . . . (Paris, 1781), preface. This was the first method for this instrument published in France. Michel Monteclair indeed entered the Opéra around 1700.

2. S. Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Amsterdam, 1703), 247.

3. Information provided by J. de La Gorce.



Detail, *Pleasures of the Dance,* cat. P. 51.



*Double-bass,*
Gasparo da Salo, Brescia,
sixteenth century,
Musée Instrumental, Paris.

*Man Playing a Double-bass.* Detail.
Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.
PM 821.



Plate from Michel Corrette,
*Méthode pour...la Contre-basse,*
Paris, 1781.



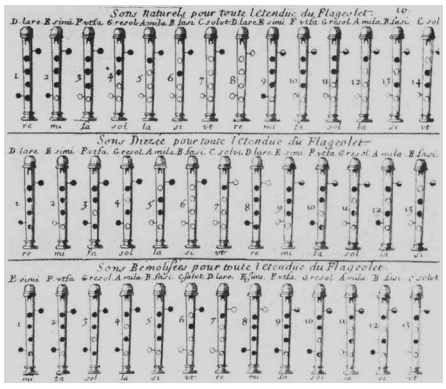
## Flageolet

A kind of diminutive recorder, the flageolet has only four finger holes on the front and two thumbholes on the back. "It is held with the right hand on the bottom. The left thumb covers

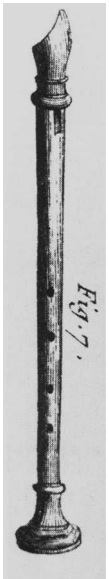


Detail, *Indiscreet* cat. P. 31.

Plate from Freillon-Poncein,
*La Véritable manière d'apprendre à jouer..., 1700*



Diderot and d'Alembert,
*L'Encyclopédie,*
Paris, 1785, plate 8.



the upper hole at the back of the instrument, while the first three fingers of the left hand cover the first three finger holes on top of the body. As a result, the right hand has only two holes to contend with. . . . The flageolet is especially suited to lively airs."[1]

The one-piece example illustrated was made in the Paris shop of Naust. Its design is typical of the period, and may be compared to the instrument shown in *Indiscreet* (cat. P. 31) (for which the sketch confirms the peculiar hand position) or *The Flirt* (lost, CR 103).

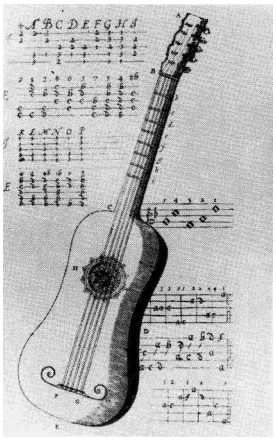
1. J. P. Freillon-Poncein, *La Veritable Maniére d'apprendre à jouer en perfection du Haut-Bois, de la Flûte, et du Flageolet* (Paris, 1700), 15.

## Guitar (Guitare)

During the first years of the eighteenth century the guitar was strung with five double courses on the lower strings, with sometimes a single top string *(chanterelle)*. The older four-course model persisted as well, as can be seen in *The Enchanter* (cat. P. 17, 19). The body was sometimes made of a light-colored wood like cedar or cypress, or sometimes ebony. The belly of the instrument was often decorated by a border composed of alternating ebony and ivory lozenges, an elegantly "moustached" bridge, and a rosette, that "extremely delicate stiff paper fretwork star or cup that descends into the instrument in a three-dimensional pyramid of the same material. The entire construction, which serves only as an ornament, is painted, gilded, and intricately cut out."[1]

The many different guitars depicted by Watteau have their living equivalent in the models made by the Voboam family of instrument makers, active in Paris between 1650 and 1730.[2]

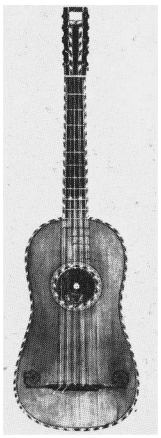
In dedicating his *Guitarre Royalle* to Louis XIV, the Spaniard Corbetta helped to popularize his instrument at the court: "everyone at court wanted to learn, and God alone can imagine the universal scraping and plucking which ensued."[3] According to Robert de Visée, guitar master to the king, and author of two books of guitar pieces, François Campion (1686?-1748?) was one of the last great representatives of a musical style that lingered in the background until 1760. In his *Traité d'Accompagnement* of 1716, he confessed "with the rest of the world, that the guitar is not as loud as the Harpsichord or the Theorbo. Nevertheless, I believe that it has sufficient power to accompany a voice, and it is certainly easier to



Marin Mersenne, *L'Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636, p. 95.



Detail, *The Scale of Love*, National Gallery, London. CR 161.

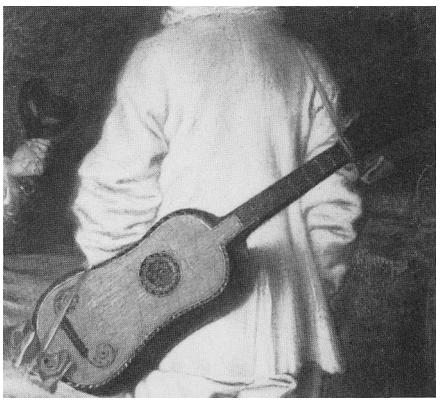


*Guitar*, Jean Voboam, Paris, 1690, Musée Instrumental, Paris.

Detail, *Mezzetin*, cat. P. 49.



Detail, *The Party of Four*, cat. P. 14.



Detail, *Peaceful Love*, cat. P. 66.



carry and to play than either of these other instruments. It also has the advantage over the theorbo of allowing non-inverted accompaniment parts, which are so more singing."

We can observe several different playing positions in Watteau's works, whose tonal effects are described by Marin Mersenne: "when one wishes to produce a softer sound, one plucks the strings above the neck rather than above the body of the instrument; in order to get a louder sound, one plays nearly at the bridge. One can also play at any other spot one wishes between the bridge and the frets, depending on the sound desired." *Mezzetin* (cat. P. 49) strives for a sharply defined almost nasal sound, while the musician pictured in *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 56) executes a *rasgueado* at the most delicate plucking point.[4]

1. *L'Encyclopédie,* 3.

2. For information on the luthiers René, Alexandre, and Jean Voboam, see our entry on a guitar by Jean Voboam in the exhibition catalogue, *Musiques anciennes; Instruments et partitions (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1980), 55. We are in the process of preparing a study about this family.

3. "Memoires du duc de Gramont," cited by A. P. de Mirimonde, *L'iconographie musicale sous les rois Bourbons* (Paris, 1977), 2:32.

4. The *Rasgueado* consists of dividing an accentuated note into many rhythmic fragments of the same intensity, by striking it with two, three, or four fingers successively. It is always concluded with a *relevé* or thumbstroke from the first course of strings to the fifth.

## Harpsichord (Clavecin)

The harpsichord was the vehicle of musical thought *par excellence* in Watteau's time, much as the lute had been in the middle of the seventeenth century. "A melodic as well as an harmonic instrument, whose strings one sounds by pressing down keys, which activate jacks"[1] fitted with quills, the harpsichord, because of its mechanism, is unable to swell or reduce the volume of sound. François Couperin explained how, nevertheless, the harpsichord may be played very expressively when appropriate articulation is employed: "It has hitherto appeared almost impossible to maintain that one could give any 'soul' to this instrument. However, I shall endeavor to show by what means I have managed to gain the happiness of touching the hearts of people of taste. The feeling or 'soul,' the expressiveness that I mean is due to the cessation and suspension of the notes, made at the right moment, and in accordance with the character required by the melodies of the preludes and the pieces. These two *agrémens,* by their contrast, leave the ear in suspense, so that in such cases where bowed instruments would swell their sound, the suspension (slight retardation) of the sounds of the harpsichord seems (by a contrary effect) to produce on the ear the desired and expected effect."[2]

The literature for the harpsichord reached its apogee during Watteau's lifetime with the first three books of pieces



*Harpsichord,* France, early eighteenth century, Château du Jeufosse.

*Harpsichord,* Pierre Bellot, Paris, 1729, Musée de Chartres.

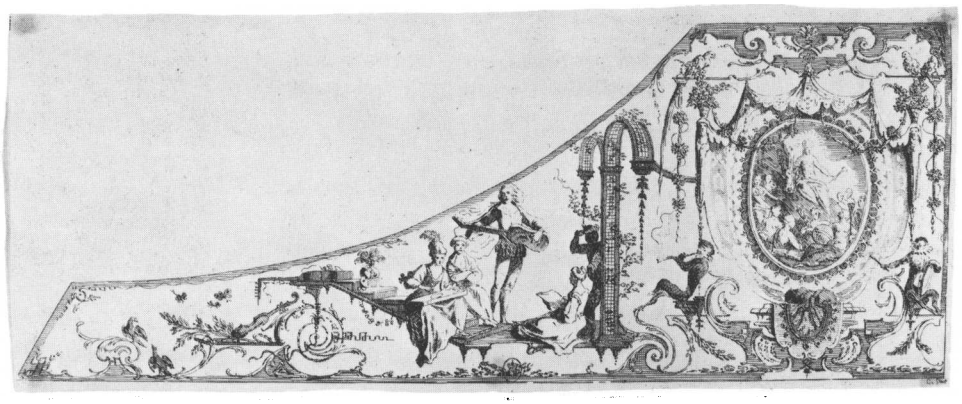


*Study for the portrait of Jean-Féry Rebel,* location unknown. PM 926.



by François Couperin and the first book by Jean-Philippe Rameau. This remarkably fecund era, within the same two decades, saw the publication of numerous other collections by Dieupart, Marchand, Dandrieu, Clérambault, LeRoux, and Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre. In 1713, Couperin published his first book of pieces which, circulated in manuscript, had already caused a sensation among connoisseurs. They were for the most part character pieces. "I've always had an object in mind when composing all of these works; suggested to me by various events or circumstances. Thus the titles refer to ideas that have occurred to me." Partisan and herald of the unification of the two reigning musical tastes of his time, he allied the "vivacity" of the Italian style (represented in the quasi-theatrical works like *Les Sylvains, Les Pellerines, Le Petit Deuil, Les Trois Veuves,* or *Les Culbutes*) with the French sweetness in his many pieces treating the subtleties of love, *Les Folies Françoises* or *Les Dominos, Le Carillon de Cithère, Les Langueurs Tendres.*

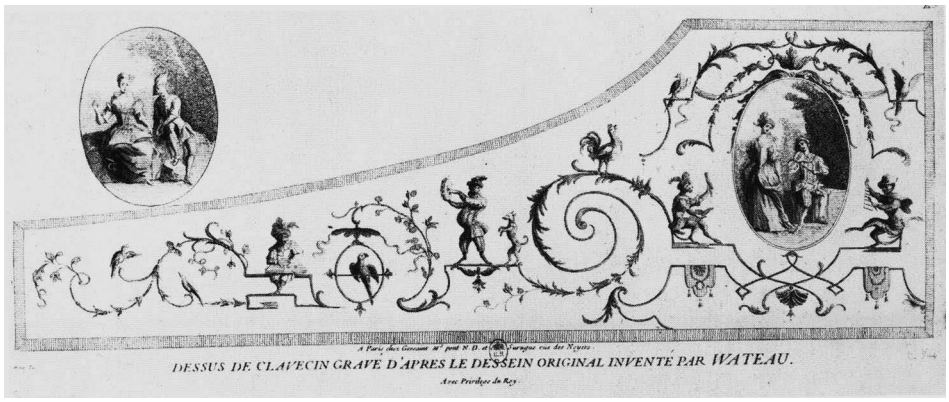
Watteau represented only one harpsichord, found in the portrait of Jean-Féry Rebel. It may be compared to one made by Nicolas Blanchet (1660-1731), founder of a dynasty that was synonymous with eighteenth-century Parisian harpsichord making.[3] Besides the single- and double-manual instruments of Blanchet or Pierre Bellot, with their silvery yet virile sound, mention should be made of those made in Antwerp in the seventeenth century by the three members of the Ruckers family and by Jean Couchet. These remained highly prized in Paris, but were "so limited in range that the



*Harpsichord cover,* engraving by Caylus after Gillot (?), Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris.



*Design for the Decoration of a Harpsichord Cover,* Claude Audran III, early eighteenth century, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.




*Harpsichord cover,* engraving by Caylus after Watteau, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris.

pieces and sonatas being written today cannot be played upon them." They were therefore subjected to *ravalement*. "It is in this art of enlarging the Flemish harpsichords of Ruckers and Couchet that the late Blanchet, French maker, succeeded perfectly."[4]

Pierre Crozat owned a harpsichord by Jean Couchet, undoubtedly enlarged, but not yet brought up-to-date from the visual standpoint. Its case was painted in imitation of marble in the Flemish fashion, but the instrument was supported not by melon-turned legs but by a carved and gilded stand. The harpsichord, a piece of furniture by second nature, echoes the changing of style in the decorative arts. The sketches of Claude Gillot, Claude Audran III, and Watteau testify to this decorative activity at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, no instrument extant today can be identified as having been decorated by their hands.

Before leaving this discussion of the harpsichord, mention should be made of the first attempts at fitting it with a device allowing gradual gradations of dynamic level. This mechanism was the brainchild of Jean Marius, inventor of the umbrella, the nonrigid military tent, and the "folding harpsichord," an instrument with hinges that could be closed to resemble a suitcase (five examples are extant). Marius submitted designs for four different harpsichords with hammer mechanisms, direct precursors of the piano, to the Academy in 1716. His warrant was protected by several patent letters signed by the Regent on 31 August 1717.[6]

1. *Art du faiseur d'instruments de Musique et Lutherie: Extrait de l'Encyclopédie Méthodique* (Paris, 1785), 4.

2. F. Couperin, *L'Art de toucher le Clavecin* (Paris, 1717), preface.

3. B. Samoyault-Verlet, *Les facteurs de clavecins parisiens: Notices biographiques et documents (1550-1793)* (Paris, 1966), 18. F. Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Paris, 1981), the inventory of the workshop of Nicolas Blanchet, 17 July 1722, 221-222.

4. Compare *L'Encyclopédie*, 5. The *ravalement* (lowering), from the word *aval* (downward), means the extension of the range of the instrument in the bass. For the harpsichord this involves an enlargement of the keyboard, which in turn necessitates a sometimes radical modification of the case, the sound board, and the internal bracing; this rebuilding was accompanied by a complete redecoration of the instrument in accord with the taste of the times.

5. See n. 26 in the preceding essay for an analysis of the inventory taken after his death, done from this point of view.

6. A. Cohen, *Music in the French Royal Academy of Sciences* (Princeton, 1981), 50. Samoyault-Verlet, *Les facteurs de clavecins*, 118.

Detail, *The Village Betrothal*, Soane Museum, London. CR 127.



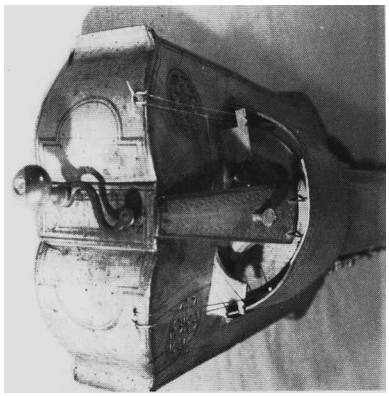
## Hurdy-gurdy (Vielle à roue)

"At the beginning of the eighteenth century, that is in 1700, the hurdy-gurdy was still as it had been at the end of the previous century: the form was more or less square, as is still to be found in those folk instruments found in Normandy. . . . Despite all these imperfections, the hurdy-gurdy was very much in vogue."[1]

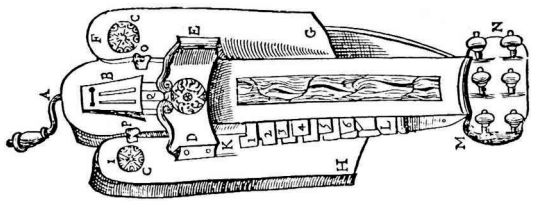
Watteau depicts precisely such rustic models of trapezoidal form, decorated with rosettes and pyrogravure, which are surprisingly similar to Marin Mersenne's drawings, and anticipated the craze for the instrument among aristocrats. Watteau's hurdy-gurdy players were far from beggars or vulgar street musicians, nor are they shown in rustic village settings. But neither had they profited from the work of Lord Baton, the luthier at Versailles who, around 1716, converted old guitars into hurdy-gurdies, ornamented them "with ivory inlays, and gave to their necks a more beau-



Detail, *Man Playing a Hurdy-gurdy*, cat. D. 29.

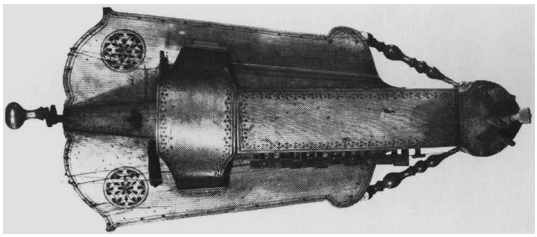


*Hurdy-gurdy*, foot of the instrument.



Marin Mersenne, *L'Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636, p. 215.

*Hurdy-gurdy*, France, early eighteenth century (?), Musée Instrumental, Paris.



tiful shape, similar to that of the bass viol. As a result, all the ladies wished to play the hurdy-gurdy, and soon the popularity of this instrument became universal."[2] Eventually the hurdy-gurdy was accepted as being on a level with other instruments, and was used in concerts instead of being relegated to dance accompaniment.[3]

1. A. Terrasson, *Dissertation historique sur la vielle* (Paris, 1741).

2. See n. 1.

3. See n. 8 in our essay, "Watteau and Music."

## Musette (Musette de cour)

In 1672 Borjon de Scellery observed that "in the past few years, nothing has become more common than to see noblemen, particularly those who live in the country, number musette playing among their pleasures." This instrument's immediate success among the aristocrats enamored of the pastoral life may be explained by the fact that "the difficulties of cross fingerings, so common on the recorder, the flageolet, the transverse flute, and other instruments, do not affect the musette. Embouchure and breathing problems are also non-existent."[1]

The instrument won such a great following that Jacques Hotteterre published a method for it in 1738. He described the component parts of the instrument: (1) windbag (2) small and large chanters (3) a shuttle drone tuned by projecting slides (*layettes*) (both chanters and drones are double reed pipes), and (4) a bellows to feed the windbag with air, allowing the player to avoid the graceless grimaces caused by blowing. "The skirt of the windbag is always clothed in a piece of fabric called the cover. Velours are best suited to this, being less slippery than other fabrics. One can further adorn the cover with lace or Spanish points, a sort of embroidery, as one wishes. Ornamentation and finery suit the musette well."[2]

While the Chédevilles[3] joined the Opéra as musette players in 1709, the musette remained above all the instrument of "lovers of *fêtes champêtres* and other pastoral amusements, because it recalls the idyllic times when shepherds courted their sweethearts by joining their voices to the soft, flattering tones of the bagpipe. The musette was made for the solitude of the forests and to express the sighs of a lover."[4]

1. *Traité de la musette* (Lyon, 1672), 5, 12.

2. *Méthode pour la musette* . . . (Paris, 1738) 2, 3.

3. Cf. E. Thoinan, *Les Hotteterre et les Chédeville, célèbres joueurs et facteurs de flûtes, hautbois, bassons, et musettes des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1894), 69.

4. Daquin, *Siècle littéraire de Louis XV,* 152.



Detail, *The Shepherds,*
cat. P. 53.



Detail, *Country Ball,*
cat. P. 24.

## Oboe (Hautbois)

Watteau knew the oboe as it came from the hands of Hotteterre, who had developed it from the earlier shawm, restructuring the body into three joints, abandoning the pirouette hitherto used to keep the lips in the proper relationship to the

*Musette,* France, eighteenth century.
Baron de Léry sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot,
14-16 June 1910, no. 459.



Score from Jacques Hotteterre,
*Méthode pour La musette,* Paris, 1738.

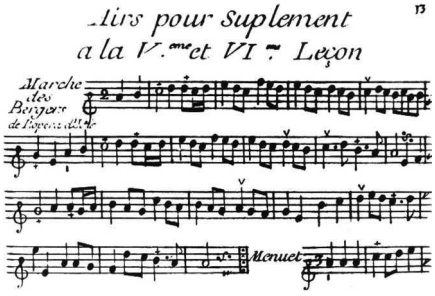
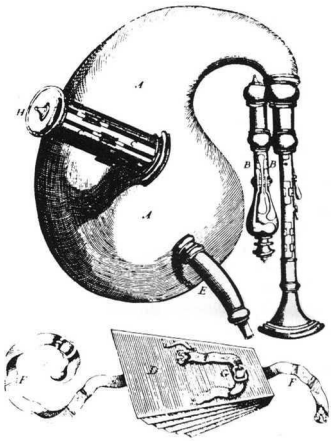



Plate from Jacques Hotteterre,
*Méthode pour La musette,* Paris, 1738.





Detail, *Love in the French Theater,* cat. P. 38.



*Oboe,* France c. 1700, Musée Instrumental, Brussels.



Detail, *Standing Savoyard with a Marmot,* PM 491.

reed, and adding three keys (one for C♯ and a double key for E♭). Lully brought the oboe into his orchestra. According to the method by Freillon-Poncein already cited in the discussion of the flageolet, the same authors who wrote methods and music for the flute also wrote for oboe, among them Jacques Hotteterre and Michel de La Barre.

The models depicted by Watteau are either of the folkish sort with a widely flared bell, baluster turned head-joint (*Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38), or of the more highly refined variety, like those made by the Hotteterres and the Ripperts, with a narrower bell and more bulbous turning on the head joint (*Pleasures of the Dance,* cat. P. 51) The oboe depicted in *Savoyard with a Marmot* is of an intermediate sort, with a short wide bell but an elongated bellows head-joint, as can be seen with exceptional clarity in the drawing. With only one key, it could only yield the limited number of tonalities employed in folk music.

Because the "brilliant sound of the oboes animates and enlivens our symphonies"[1] the oboes of the *Ecurie* (a division of the King's Music) were especially required by custom to play on certain occasions at the *lever* of the king, for example, "on the first day of May and on the feast of St. Louis. They should also be employed for large-scale entertainments and at grand state occasions."[2]

1. Daquin, *Siècle littéraire de Louis XV,* "Les Philidor et les Desnoyers dans le dernier siècle, y on excellé," 150.

2. *Etats de la France* (Paris, 1702).

Detail, *Pleasures of the Dance,* cat. P. 51.



*Oboe,* Hotteterre, Paris, c. 1700, Musée Instrumental, Brussels.



## Recorder (Flûte à bec)

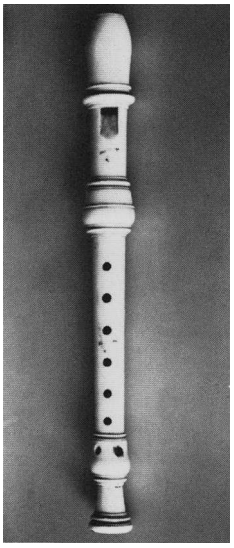
At the beginning of his career, Watteau depicted a roughly sketched recorder in his study of Pierrot for *The Feast to Pan* (cat. D. 14). Another drawing (PM 752) the only one in which Watteau accurately observed the instrument, shows a small recorder (the player's fingers are set very close to each other, which suggests the diminutive soprano size). The sketch corresponds with astonishing fidelity to the work of the Hotteterre family, both from the point of view of its form (in three pieces with well-defined tenons) and its playing technique. "One must hold the recorder directly in front of one, placing the top end (called the beak) between the lips. . . . The elbows must not be raised, but should fall loosely to the sides of the body. The finger holes need not be covered with the very tips of the fingers. The hands should be placed so that the middle finger of each hand, being longer than the others is a bit bent.



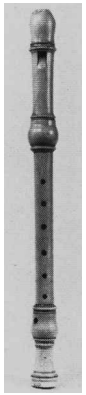
Watteau, *Study Sheet,*
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, PM 752.



Plate from Jacques Hotteterre,
*Principes de la flûte...,* Paris, 1707,
engraved by B. Picart.



*Alto Recorder,* Hotteterre,
Paris,
Early eighteenth century,
Musée Instrumental, Paris.



*Soprano Recorder,* Rippert, Paris
early eighteenth century,
Bayerisches Nationalmuseum,
Munich.

In this way it will fall directly over the hole, facilitating covering the hole."[1]

This one study was apparently never in any of Watteau's paintings, confirmation of the instrument's first decline in popularity at this relatively early date. The recorder was too intimate an instrument to figure in the larger orchestral groupings, which became increasingly important. It continued to be played, particularly solo, by amateurs who did not want to tackle the transverse flute and thus contented themselves with the easier technique and repertoire of the recorder.

1. J. Hotteterre, called le Romain, *Principes de la flûte traversière ou flûte d'Allemagne, . . . De la flûte à bec, ou flûte douce, et du Hautbois, divisez par traitéz* (Paris, 1707), 39. For information on the Hotteterres, see J. M. Bowers, *The New Grove,* 8: 733-737.



Detail, *The Burdens of War,*
cat. P. 15.

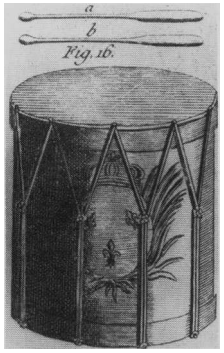
## Side Drum (Tambour)

"An instrument much used in war, made of a cylinder covered at both ends by skins that one stretches to greater or lesser tension, depending on the desired pitch. The instrument is played by striking the skin heads with two wooden sticks."[1]

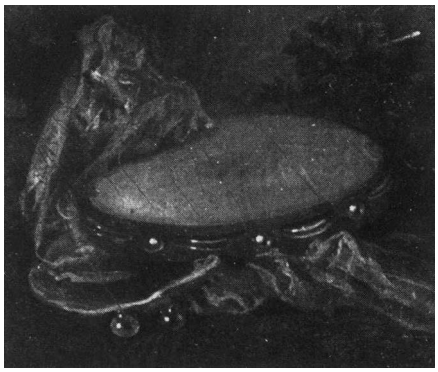
1. Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique,* 242, on tympani and drums.



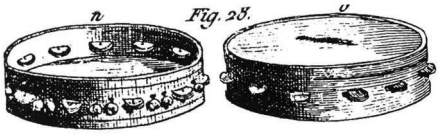
*Military side drum,*
Switzerland, eighteenth century,
Musée Instrumental, Paris.




Diderot and d'Alembert,
*L'Encyclopédie,*
Paris, 1787, pl. 2.



Detail, *Love in the French Theater,* cat. P. 38.




Diderot and d'Alembert, *L'Encyclopédie,* Paris, 1785, pl. 2.



Detail, *The Charms of Life,* Wallace Collection, London. CR 184.



*Theorbo,* France, early eighteenth century, Musée Instrumental, Paris.

## Tambourine (Tambourin de Basque)

"This is a little wooden hoop slotted to receive copper disks or jangles and bells. The hoop is covered with a skin, and is sounded by striking the skin with the fingers and the fist."[1] A favorite accessory for dancing found in *The Country Dance* (Private coll.; CR 5), the tambourine is also symbolic of love and folly (*The Italian Serenade,* cat. P. 42) and *Love in the French Theater* (cat. P. 38).

1. Diderot and D'Alembert, *L'Encyclopédie,* 181.

## Theorbo (Théorbe)

At the beginning of the reign of Louis XV, Titon du Tillet remarked that "the lute is an instrument with an extensive range, gracious and touching, but difficult to play well. It has been all but abandoned in concerts, and I don't believe that one could find more than three or four venerable old players of the instrument in all of Paris."[1] Charles Mouton (1626-1699) was the last representative of the French school of lute playing. The theorbo outlived the lute by several years, but was already on borrowed time during Watteau's life.

Watteau painted the theorbo several times, showing various ways of tuning and stringing the instrument. *Finette* (cat. P. 58) plays an instrument in the Italian style (six strings in the lower pegbox, and eight in the upper). The instrument shown in *Charms of Life* (CR 184) is also single-strung and of moderate dimensions. It is not possible to determine whether it has eight or ten strings in the lower pegbox; in the latter case the instrument could be classified as an *angelica.*[2] The theorbo classification is supported, however, by the fact that extant French instruments of this type share the backward tilt of the upper pegbox, a feature also depicted in the frontispiece of the Delair method of 1690.[3] An anonymous instrument in the Paris Musée Instrumental, with wide ribs and a rider on the pegbox for the *chanterelle,* provides a living equivalent. In the hands of an amateur, the theorbo was never used to realize *continuo* parts, but rather to play easy pieces and simple accompaniments.

1. *Le Parnasse françois* (Paris, 1732), 406. F. Moureau has kindly informed us that a manuscript of this work bears the date 1727, thus limiting the period even more precisely.

2. The instrument has 16 strings tuned diatonically, which makes the instrument very easy to play, but very limited.

3. *Traité d'accompagnement pour le théorbe et le clavecin* (Paris, 1690).

4. In 1701 Joseph Sauveur drew a distinction between the theorbo with fourteen courses—the theorbo "for pieces," which has nine frets on the neck and is the one discussed here—and the theorbo "to play *basso continuo,*" which had ten (*Principes d'acoustique* [Paris], pl. 3, cited by R. Spencer, "Chitarrone, theorbo, and archlute," *Early Music* [1976], 4:414. The last French publication for theorbo was Robert de Visée, *Pièces de Théorbe et de Luth, mises en partition,* which appeared in 1716 (these pieces were not in tablature; they were intended for amateurs who were no longer able to read it). In the same year the *Traité d'Accompagnement* of François Campion (see Guitar) appeared. This last theorbist of the Opéra lost his position around 1733, an indication of the waning popularity of the instrument.

## Transverse Flute (Flûte traversière)

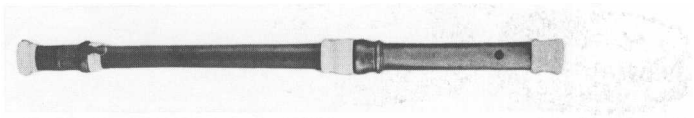
At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the extraordinary development of the transverse flute found a unique echo in the works of Watteau. The artist portrayed a significant number of flutes in his paintings, from different viewpoints and of varying morphology, of great importance to historians of the instrument. He left us perfect visual definitions of the two basic models of this time.

The sketch for *The Expected Declaration* (cat. P. 45) and

*The Country Concert* (Fitzwilliam Museum; PM 834) corresponds on the one hand to instruments made in Paris during the first decade of the 1700s by men such as Hotteterre, Naust, and Rippert (consisting of three joints articulated by large tenons, with a head joint capped with a more or less square turning, while the foot joint is rather bulbous and carries a single key),[1] and on the other hand to the description of the proper playing position advanced by Jacques Hotteterre in his *Principes:* "If one stands, one should be firmly planted on one's feet, with the left foot forward and the body poised over the right hip, without a feeling of constraint. . . . As to the position of the hand . . . the left hand, with which one holds the flute between the thumb and the first finger, should be uppermost on the instrument. The thumb should be bent, and the fingers arranged so that the first and second are somewhat rounded, while the third remains straight. As to the right hand, the fingers need hardly be bent at all . . . the little finger sits atop the instrument between the sixth hole and the molding of the foot joint."[2]



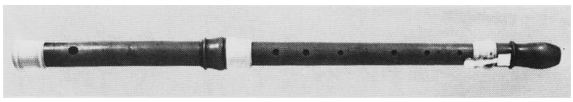
Detail, *Flutist* from cat. D. 82.



*Transverse flute,* Bressan, London, c. 1700,
Library of Congress, Washington.



Detail, *Man Playing a Flute.*
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. PM 834.



*Transverse flute,* Rippert, Paris c. 1700, Glasgow Museum.

Plate from Jacques Hotteterre,
*Principes de la flûte...,*
Paris, 1707,
engraved by B. Picart.



About 1715, a slightly different model appeared. It was the precursor of the four-jointed body style, still in use until the invention of the modern Boehm. Both the head cap and foot joint are rectilinear in design, as can be easily seen in *The Alliance of Comedy and Music* (Private coll.; CR 123), in *Perfect Accord* (Private coll., CR 196) and in its related drawing, and in *The Ogler* (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts; CR 115). The flute by P. Bressan (1683-1732) is the only surviving example of this new prototype.

In 1727 Neimetz noted that "the instruments most frequently played in Paris are the harpsichord and the transverse flute. The French today are totally without parallel in the delicacy with which they play these instruments."[4] The artistry of Descoteaux, Philibert, and Michel de la Barre, the latter publishing numerous collections of sonatas and suites between 1702 and 1725, testified to this new virtuosity.

1. J. Bowers, "New Light on the Development of the Transverse Flute between about 1650 and about 1770," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* vol. 3 (1977), 16-27.

2. J. Hotteterre, *Principes,* 5.

3. H. Byrne, "Pierre Jailland, Peter Bressan," *The Galpin Society Journal* 36 (1983), 2-28.

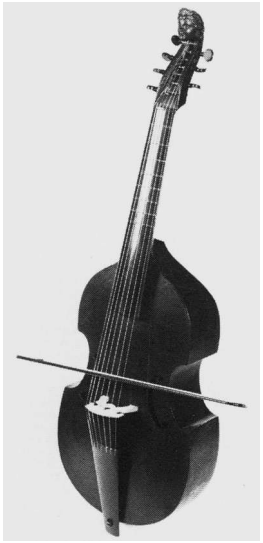
4. *Séjour de Paris,* 70-71.

## Viola da Gamba (Viole de gambe)

"In former times the old English viols had only six strings and seven frets. The seventh string, which we call the Bourdon, was added by Sainte Colombe. . . . At last Marais appeared . . . he carried the viol nearly to the peak of perfection. Perhaps he could have done even more had he been



Detail, *Country Concert*
Location unknown. CR 160.
(From the print by B. Audran).



*Bass viol,*
Nicolas Bertrand, Paris, 1720;
Musée Instrumental, Paris.

familiar with the Italian style of composition, but when this style came to France, it was too late for him to learn it. . . . One could say that no one has surpassed Marais. Only one man has equalled him, and that is the famous Forqueray, who was just born when the Italians were causing astonishing excitement and emulation in France, about 1698. He attempted to do everything on the viol that he had done on the violin, and succeeded in this enterprise. In all of his pieces one finds a certain saltiness not tasted in even the most carefully worked out of Marais's pieces. Marais limited himself to natural grace; Forqueray's invention was more sophisticated."[1]

Despite the vehement *Défense de la Basse de viole contre les entreprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncel,* published in 1740 by the Abbé Hubert le Blanc, the viola da gamba disappeared totally after the death of Forqueray in 1745.

1. Daquin, *Siècle Littéraire de Louis XV,* 142-147. Marin Marais (1656-1728) was represented in Crozat's library by his four books of *Pièces de viole* and his *Pièces en trio.*

## Violin (Violon)

"This instrument has a naturally brilliant and lively sound, which makes it very suitable for accompanying dances. But there are also ways of playing it that make its sound solemn and sad, soft and tender. It is this capability that makes it so much in demand most of all for foreign music, be it designed for the church, the chamber, or the theater." Brossard was not content simply to define the violin in this modernistic way. He left several sonatas and interesting manuscript fragments and sketched a treatise and playing method for the instrument, without doubt the earliest such method in France, before those of Montéclair[1] and Corrette.

From the first works of Jean-Féry Rebel in 1695 until 1720, over thirty collections of violin pieces and sonatas appeared in Paris, proof that the violin had successfully entered yet another new musical territory. However, the violin was not yet being exploited to its full expressive potential. All too often, it was thought fit only to play dance music, or to accompany voices. Its real emancipation began only around 1715 with the Francoeurs, virtuosi and composers, and continued in 1723 with Leclair.[2]

Still, the violin remained in demand for accompanying the most popular entertainments. Thus on 11 March 1717, "Luca Maria Savignoni, Greek by birth, performed several *tours de force* before the king, eating fire and drinking boiling oil to the accompaniment of violins."[3]

1. These manuscripts of Brossard are preserved at the Département de la Musique de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Res. Vm8 Cl. M. Montéclair (Pignolet de), *Méthode facile pour apprendre à jouer du violon* (Paris, c. 1711-1712).

2. See the remarkable study by Marc Pincherle, *La technique du violon chez les premiers sonatistes français (1695-1723)* (1911).

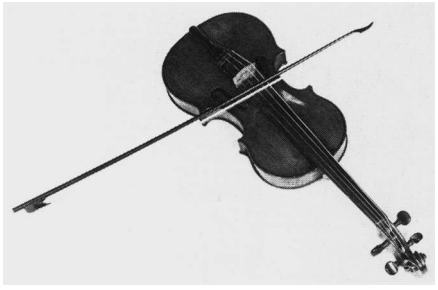
3. Marcelle Benoit, *Musique de Cour, Chapelle, Chambre, Ecurie* (Paris, 1971), 291.



Detail, *The Country Ball,*
cat. P. 24.



Plate from Michel Corrette,
*L'École d'Orphée,* Paris, 1738.



*Violin,* Claude Pierray,
Paris, 1720, Musée Instrumental, Paris.
Detail. *The Prelude*
*to a Concert,* cat. P. 48.



# Violoncello (Violoncelle)

"For about twenty or thirty years, the large viola da gamba tuned from G has been set aside in favor of the violoncello. The violoncello is much easier to play than the viola da gamba of yore, as its modeling is smaller and its neck shorter. These attributes allow it great freedom to execute different passages. Although most authors of sonatas and cantatas at the beginning of the century intended the bass lines of their works to be played on the viol, the 'cello can also play them to good effect. At present, the 'cello is used for the bass line at the Opéra, in the King's music, and at concerts. Voices find it a wonderful support—nothing makes them shine to such advantage as the accompaniment of this sonorous instrument, which speaks clearly and distinctly, articulating so well. The sound of the cello also goes well with that of the transverse flute, but nothing could be better as an accompaniment for the violin than the violoncello, which is its true bass, being of the same family."[1]

Watteau's works show the rivalry between the viola da gamba and the violoncello, which led to the demise of the former instrument.

1. M. Corrette, *Méthode théorique et pratique pour apprendre en peu de temps Le Violoncelle dans sa perfection* (Paris, 1741). This is the first teaching method for this instrument published in France in the eighteenth century. Not a single newly popular instrument escaped the pen of this most prolific author of instrumental methods.

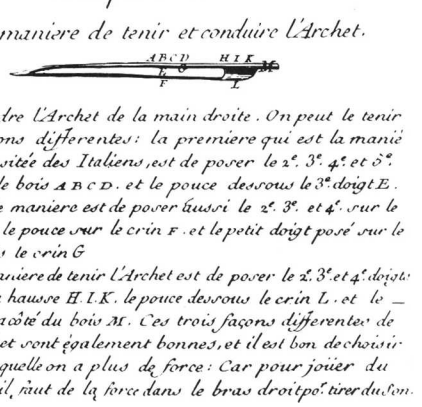
(Translated by Kenneth Slowik)



Detail, *The Prelude to a Concert,* cat. P. 48.



*Cello,*
Jacques Bocquay,
Paris, 1714,
Musée Instrumental, Paris.



Chapitre II.

De la maniere de tenir et conduire L'Archet.

Il faut prendre L'Archet de la main droite. On peut le tenir de trois façons differentes: la premiere qui est la maniere la plus usitée des Italiens, est de poser le 2e. 3e. 4e. et 5e. doigts sur le bois A B C D. et le pouce dessous le 3e. doigt E. La seconde maniere est de poser aussi le 2e. 3e. et 4e. sur le bois A B C. le pouce sur le crin F. et le petit doigt posé sur le bois vis avis le crin G

Et la 3e. maniere de tenir L'Archet est de poser le 2. 3e. et 4e. doigts du côté de la hausse H. I. K. le pouce dessous le crin L. et le petit doigt a côté du bois M. Ces trois façons differentes de tenir L'Archet sont également bonnes, et il est bon de choisir celle avec la quelle on a plus de force: Car pour joüer du Violoncelle il faut de la force dans le bras droit pour tirer du son.

Plate from Michel Corrette,
*Méthode... pour apprendre le violoncello,*
Paris, 1741.

# Frederick the Great and Watteau

Helmut Börsch-Supan

In 1773 the inspector of the picture gallery at Sans Souci, Matthias Oesterreich, wrote a description of Frederick the Great's palaces at Potsdam, Sans Souci, and Charlottenburg. He listed no less than twenty-four paintings under the name *Watteau*:[1] ten in the Sans Souci palace, nine in the city castle at Potsdam, and two in the New Palace. In the Charlottenburg palace art collection, which suffered severe losses during the Seven Years' War, there were three works by Watteau (*Gersaint's Shopsign*, cat. P. 73, was counted as two paintings since its two halves hung separately). To this tally must be added two more paintings in the Sans Souci picture gallery that Oesterreich noted earlier in the second edition of another catalogue published in 1770.[2]

If one adds to the twenty-six works by Watteau the thirty-two paintings that Oesterreich listed under the name Lancret[3] and the thirty-one under the name Pater, then the eighty-nine pictures in the manner of Watteau must have comprised one of the most extensive collections of its kind, even by eighteenth-century standards. This vast accumulation also attests to the owner's singularly well-developed aesthetic taste.

To be sure, not all Oesterreich's attributions to Watteau are accepted today. Nevertheless, Frederick the Great's enthusiasm (which must be differentiated from knowledgeable understanding) caused him to be proud of even those pictures wrongly ascribed to Watteau. Later research reassigned many paintings to Lancret and Pater, and confirmed that others were copies after Watteau or imitations by unknown artists, if not forgeries. Two pictures disappeared during the nineteenth century and their authenticity can no longer be verified.[4] Today, of the purported twenty-six paintings by Watteau in the palaces and the picture gallery, only twelve are considered genuine—or eleven if the two halves of the shopsign are counted, as they must be, as one work. To these eleven oils must be added three further autograph paintings. None was mentioned either by Oesterreich or in any of the other extant accounts of the Prussian palaces written during the time of Frederick the Great (1712-1786). But in light of the king's aesthetic preferences it seems certain that *The Dance* (cat. P. 72),[5] *The Shepherds* (cat. P. 53),[6] and *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55)[7] were surely part of the royal collection. They perhaps came from the poorly documented holdings of the king's relatives, whose possessions were inherited by the main branch of the family. The aesthetic sensibilities of the royal family were influenced by Frederick's brother Augustus William (1722-1758). A student of Antoine Pesne, and a painter of landscapes, Augustus William owned *Louis XIV Bestowing the Order of the Holy Ghost on the Duc de Bourgogne*,[8] a picture that survives today only in the form of an engraving by Nicolas Larmessin (CR 72, fig. 1). At Augustus William's death in 1758 the painting passed to his younger brother Henry (1725-1802) who kept the work in his palace Unter den Linden along with a *Couples in a Landscape* (now lost) by Watteau.[9] It was perhaps this oil that was referred to in 1810, eight years after the death of Prince Henry, as the one hanging in a little-used room of the Potsdam city castle along with another oil (also lost) *Dancing Couples in a Landscape*. The latter work was said to have been by Watteau, and may be *The Dance* mentioned above.[10]



fig. 1. Nicolas Larmessin (after Watteau), *Louis XIV Bestowing the Order of the Holy Ghost on the Duc de Bourgogne.*

The fourteen extant "Prussian" works by Watteau are no longer all located in Berlin or Potsdam. After the revolution of 1918, three paintings were given to the Prussian royal family as part of the property settlement worked out between them and the Prussian state. One of the oils, *The Love Lesson* (cat. P. 55), is now in Stockholm; another, the *French Comedians* (cat. P. 70), is in New York; and the third, *The Dance* (cat. P. 72), is back in Berlin, on loan to the picture gallery from the Federal Republic of Germany. During the course of the nineteenth century the picture gallery acquired three further paintings by Watteau from the royal palaces.

Eight picture are now on display in the Charlottenburg palace; five of them were exhibited earlier at the Sans Souci palace prior to the outbreak of the Second World War.

The uniquely important Berlin holdings of Watteau's works prompt one to ask several questions. What was it about Watteau that Frederick the Great so admired? How well did the king understand Watteau's art? To what extent did his appreciation change over time? In reading the inventories of which palace contained what painting attributed to Watteau, it becomes obvious that the large New Palace, constructed after the Seven Years' War, housed only two works, while the much smaller Sans Souci palace (to which the monarch moved in 1747) had ten paintings.

Information concerning acquisitions is spotty and rarely related specifically to a particular work of art.[11] Even Frederick, who so copiously recorded everything he thought and felt, failed to mention any impressions of Watteau's paintings. Consequently, the monarch's attitude toward the artist can only be gauged from our knowledge of his complex, often contradictory personality and of the building programs for his palaces. The truly memorable quotes are quickly cited and provide the general context in which Frederick's relationship with Watteau evolved.

Frederick was twenty-eight years younger than Watteau. The years of his youth, endured under the rigid tutelage of his father, were difficult ones. The talented crown prince's inclination toward art and science, as well as his sensitivity and love of pleasure, were viewed by his father, Frederick William I (1688-1740), as a grave liability to the state. The king consequently sought to purge his son's character of these traits through a regimen of brutal censure of the refined French culture that the crown prince so admired, and advocated strict adherence to the native protestant moral code. Although the king's court life was spartan, the queen was nonetheless permitted to engage in moderate displays of luxury. To a certain degree she carried on the tradition of brilliant, albeit wasteful, extravagance begun under the first king of Prussia, Frederick I (1657-1713). The crown prince naturally felt the greatest affection for his mother.

In this courtly milieu the dominant authority in the realm of painting was the portraitist Antoine Pesne who was called to Berlin in 1710 by Frederick I. Pesne, a Parisian by birth, was one year older than Watteau and had been a student of Charles de la Fosse. Through the depiction of human emotion he sought to enrich and enliven his sitters' physiognomy. Pesne left Paris in 1705 to continue his studies in Italy, and he only returned to Paris for a brief stay in 1723. By that time Watteau had died and it seems likely the two artists barely knew one another. But Pesne certainly did admire Watteau. In 1719 when Pesne was working on *Samson and Delilah*, the work that gained him admission to the Paris Academy, he sent a compositional sketch of the piece to his friend and colleague Nicolas Vleughels. Pesne asked Vleughels, a member of Watteau's circle, to evaluate his design and noted on the sheet, among others: ". . . show it also to monsieur Wateau (sic), he has the genius that I lack, and no flattery, please."[12] The only portraits that can be securely attributed to Pesne's 1723 stay in Paris are of Vleughels and Jean Mariette, an art dealer and engraver who was also closely associated with Watteau.[13] Further, Pesne knew Lancret, and was even referred to as "his good friend."[14] He owned two paintings by Lancret, which he sold in 1746 to Frederick the Great.[15]

It therefore seems possible that it was Pesne who first kindled the crown prince's interest in Watteau. Pesne's numerous portraits of the future king from the age of two onward attest to his close contact with Frederick. Even more well-acquainted with Frederick was Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, a student of Pesne's. His innate sensitivity, which made him perhaps more responsive than Pesne to the art of Watteau, allowed Knobelsdorff

1. Matthieu Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur des deux palais de Sans-souci, de ceux de Potsdam et de Charlottenbourg . . .* (Potsdam, 1773).

2. Matthias Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergallerie und des Kabinetts in Sanssouci. Zweyte vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe* (Potsdam, 1770), nos. 161 and 169.

3. To the works of Lancret mentioned by Oesterreich should be added the five pictures in the Berlin castle which Johann Daniel Friedrich Rumpf listed in his *Beschreibung der äussern und innern Merkwürdigkeiten der Königlichen Schlösser in Berlin, Charlottenburg, Schönhausen in und bey Potsdam* (Berlin, 1974), 50 and 137. During Frederick the Great's reign no other oils in the Watteau manner hung in the Berlin castle. This was apparently due to his belief that they were inappropriate for his Berlin city residence.

4. Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur*, no. 543: *"L'agrément du Bal"* and no. 545: *"Une agréable conversation."* Oesterreich mistakenly noted that these two pieces were engraved in Paris under these titles.

5. Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz. After 1876 it was securely documented within the collections of the palaces.

6. Charlottenburg palace. After 1876 it was securely documented within the collections of the palaces. There is a possible reference to *The Shepherds* (CR176) in a letter of 17 January 1741 from Voltaire to Bonaventure Moussinot (Théodore Besterman, *Voltaire's Correspondence* [Geneva, 1955], 11:9), in which he reports on the impressions received in Rheinsberg in November 1740: "As for the paintings which you would like to send to Prussia, the king very much likes the Vateaux (sic), the Lancrets, and the Paters. I have seen some of all those with him, however, I suspect 4 little Vateaux to be excellent imitations. I remember a kind of village wedding, among others, where there is a very remarkable old man with white hair. Don't you know this painting? Germany is crawling with imitations passing for originals. Princes are sometimes misled; sometimes they mislead." It is doubtful whether the remarkable figure of the bagpipe player is really an old man, as the hair is straw-blond rather than white. Also, nothing indicates a village wedding. In any case, Voltaire's opinion of the Rheinsberg Watteau is an important document.

7. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. After 1876 it was securely documented within the collections of the palaces. According to R. Dohme, the oil probably came from the sale of the collection of Mme. de Pompadour held on 28 April 1766. See R. Dohme, "Die Ausstellung von Gemälden älterer Meister in Berliner Privatbesitz 1883," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1883), 4:236.

8. Giovanni Macchia and E. C. Montagni, *L'opera completa di Watteau* (Milan, 1968), no. 72.

9. Friedrich Nicolai, *Description des Villes de Berlin et de Potsdam* (Berlin, 1769), 361.

10. Formerly Hausarchiv, Berlin. Repr. 14 C, no. 28 (*Liste von Bildern im Potsdamer Stadtschloss*). Raum 265: no. 4: "Watteau, Gesellschaft im Freien, 3' ½" x 4' ½";" no. 6: "Watteau, Tanzende Gesellschaft im Freien, 3' 3¾" x 3' 11".'

11. The sources are most completely listed in Paul Seidel, *Französische Kunstwerke des 18. Jahrhunderts im Besitz Seiner Majestät des Deutschen Kaisers* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1900). Unfortunately, no specific reference is made in the sources as to which documents in the Königlichen Hausarchiv were consulted. The remnants of that archive currently are housed in the Deutschen Zentralarchiv, Merseburg, German Democratic Republic.



fig. 2. Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, copy from *Peaceful Love* (by Watteau). Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

later to perceptively translate Watteau's ornamentation into his own vernacular in the interior decorations for the palaces of Frederick the Great.[16] That he must have closely studied Frederick's collection of Watteau paintings is attested by the sketch of a figure from *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 66).[17]

Precisely where Frederick first saw the work of Watteau —and whether in engraved reproductions or in the original— remains unclear (fig. 2). Engravings after Watteau comprised part of the estate of Frederick's mother (1687-1757), but the date when they came into her possession is not known. In 1728, when the sixteen-year-old crown prince was in Dresden, he could have seen paintings by Watteau.[18] But there is no indication that either the artistic treasures of Dresden or the pictures hanging in the Prussian palaces made any impression on him or contributed to his aesthetic education. In a letter of 17 June 1739, Frederick's sister Wilhelmine of Bayreuth, with whom he carried on a very confidential correspondence, wrote that she had heard her brother described as a "friend of pictures." But that designation was probably of recent origin.[19] Indeed, it appears likely that by 1736 Frederick did own something by Watteau. In that year, Jean de Jullienne wrote in *Abrégé de la vie d'Antoine Watteau* that one could find his pictures in England, Spain, Germany, Prussia, and Italy.[20] Since in later life Frederick did not acquire works of art out of a passion for collecting, but rather to furnish his buildings, it seems that this practical necessity caused him to begin acquiring art in the first place. Thus the year 1736, when Frederick moved into the Rheinsberg castle, which he had received from his father in 1734, probably marks the beginning of his interest in collecting. The newly-found independence at Rheinsberg gave the crown prince his first opportunity to live life solely according to his own inclinations. The gratefully welcomed freedom, youthful idealism, and awareness of both spiritual independence and his own *joie de vivre* all infected the court at Rheinsberg with great charm. Similar qualities may be found in the art inspired by Frederick.

The considerable poetic and musical talents of the crown prince took precedence in the court, however, over painting. Frederick's letters of this period seldom refer to the beauty of the architecture or to the pictures that were being created all around him. Nevertheless, the works of Watteau and Lancret left their mark at Rheinsberg and were not merely a pleasant diversion. Frederick's sensitivity to the delicate moods of a painting was revealed, for example, in a letter to Wilhelmine of Bayreuth. Dated 10 March 1736, it deals with his portrait, which Pesne was to paint for Frederick's sister. Pesne was requested to place less importance upon his features and to concentrate instead upon the expression of Frederick's brotherly affection for his sister.[21] Another letter to Wilhelmine of 9 November 1739 reported that two rooms in Rheinsberg—the "old bedroom chamber" and the "writing room"—were decorated chiefly with the oils of Watteau and Lancret.[22] Which pictures were meant is unclear. In an inventory of 1742 the eight works involved were summarily listed as "Dutch" paintings;[23] apparently the writer was aware of the Dutch characteristics in Watteau's art. Even Frederick, in the letter of 9 November 1739 referred to above, labeled Watteau and Lancret as "French painters of the school of Brabant."

The inspiration that Watteau's style gave to life at Rheinsberg is best glimpsed in a painting by Knobelsdorff of 1737 (fig. 3). It depicts court society (added later by Pesne) with a view of Rheinsberg in the background.[24] Watteau's—and to a lesser degree Lancret's—dreamily perceived reality was expanded by the Prussian artist into an actual view with recognizable portraits in the foreground. All the images that Watteau created were to become reality at Rheinsberg. Watteau's efficacy was confirmed also by the eagerness with which the crown prince directed the landscaping of the garden in a form resembling Watteau's landscapes. In a letter of 30 October 1739, Baron Bielfeld, a member of the Rheinsberg circle, compared life there to a picture by Watteau. In contrast, the court of Frederick William I, known as the soldier king, reminded the Baron—less appropriately—of Rembrandt. This comparison was even employed by Frederick: "In describing for you our stay at Berlin and Potsdam, I presented you with things in the taste of Rembrandt; today I am going to offer you things in the taste of Watteau, while conversing of Rheinsberg and the pleasures that we enjoyed there."[25]

Bielfeld's description of the carefree life enjoyed at Rheinsberg is confirmed in numerous letters by Frederick. For instance, writing to Wilhelmine of Bayreuth on 3 February 1737: "We divert ourselves with nothings and have no care for the things that make life unpleasant and cast disgust on our delights. We perform tragedy and comedy, we have balls, masquerades, and music of all sorts. That is a summary of our amusements." But he went on to add: ". . . with that, philosophy always has its course, because it is the most solid source from which we can draw our happiness."[26]

Frederick's writings, especially his letters, prove that he regulated his life according to principles derived above all from ancient philosophy. As more of his time became occupied with state affairs, ethical convictions weighed more heavily upon the Prussian king. For Frederick, the arts belonged to the realm of pleasure,

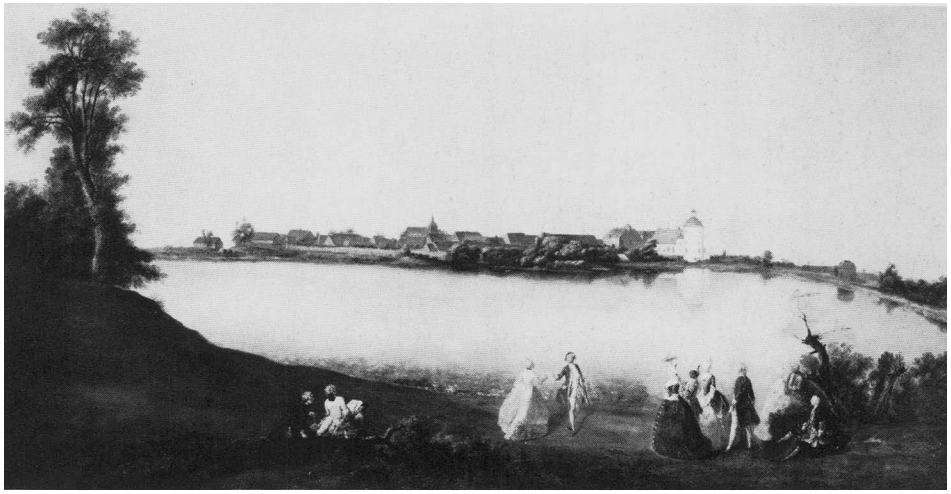


fig. 3. Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff, *Rheinsberg Castle.* Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.

to which he would have willingly devoted more time had he been a private citizen. He saw pleasure as a means to refine his own way of life, but not as an instrument for the spiritual and moral reeducation of the people, as, to some degree, was the case in Catholic south Germany. In Frederick's territories, as a result, artistic patronage was kept to a modest scale and was restricted by economic considerations. Frederick the Great was no Maecenas.

The palaces that were built for Frederick and the gardens laid out by him were aesthetic islands for his private revery, private oases to which the monarch retreated when the pressures of worldly events permitted. One reason the palaces of the king became aesthetic sanctuaries was the scarcity of either a culturally attuned aristocracy or bourgeoisie. Consequently, the arts lacked the broad sustenance so necessary to their growth and to their wider intellectual acceptance. That he believed the arts unnecessary for the education of the people is evident in Frederick's correspondence with persons in his immediate entourage, where he not infrequently characterized his own purchases of art as frivolous and silly; the truly wise person, in his opinion, did not require artistic enrichment.

With the death of Frederick's father in 1740 and his subsequent assumption of power, the Rheinsberg idyll ended. From that time on Frederick resided there infrequently. In 1744 he gave the castle to his brother Henry as a gift. Although the present whereabouts of the works by Watteau and Lancret once housed there are unknown, the interior decoration was still almost fully intact in 1742. By 1745, however, the four oils in the writing room were missing.[27]

The first palace construction project initiated by Frederick after 1740 was the addition of a new wing to the Charlottenburg palace between 1740 and 1742, that is, during the First Silesian War. Even before the wing was completed, the king furnished his two private apartments in the upper story of the extant structure. It is regrettable that nothing is known about how the rooms were decorated with art. That Watteau and Lancret did indeed provide the inspiration for the decor is confirmed in a note by Frederick Nicolaï. It states that Frederick William Höder painted two rooms of the new wing "in the style of Lancret."[28] One of the rooms was probably the antechamber to the king's apartment; unfortunately its mural paintings of a fancy-dress ball in a park were destroyed in

12. Jacques Hérold and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les Graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1929), 1:165.

13. Ekhart Berckenhagen, Pierre du Colombier, George Poensgen, and Margarete Kühn, *Antoine Pesne* (Berlin, 1958), nos. 320a and 226a.

14. Carl Heinrich von Heinecken, *Nachrichten von Künstlern und Kunstsachen* (Leipzig, 1768), 167.

15. Paul Seidel, *Friedrich der Grosse und die bildende Kunst* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1922), 151.

16. Tilo Eggeling, *Studien zum friderizianischen Rokoko. Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff als Entwerfer von Innendekorationen* (Berlin, 1980). Tilo Eggeling, "Uber das Verhältnis der Ornamententwürfe Watteaus zur Dekoration der Goldenen Galerie," *Bilder vom irdischen Glück* [exh. cat., Charlottenburg palace] (Berlin, 1983), 58-63.

17. Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Inv. 79 B 35, fol. 14r. The sketchbook can no longer be precisely dated, but probably derives from c. 1750.

18. When the paintings in the Dresden Gallery were acquired is not known. Already prior to 1736 Count Brühl had in his Dresden collection *The Embarrassing Proposition*, cat. p. 39. The work was acquired in 1769 by Catherine II of Russia.

19. *Friedrich der Grosse und Wilhelmine von Bayreuth*, vol. 1, Jugendbriefe 1728–1740 (Leipzig, 1924), 143.

20. Hérold and Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne*, 142.

21. Seidel, *Friedrich der Grosse und Wilhelmine von Bayreuth*, 312.

22. *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand* 27, part 1 (Berlin, 1854), 85.

23. Copy of an inventory in the possession of the Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Charlottenburg palace, fol. 33r; fol. 37r.

24. Charlottenburg palace. See Helmut Börsch-Supan, "Die Gemälde Antoine Pesnes in den Berliner Schlössern," *Aus Berliner Schlössern*, Kleine Schriften 7 (Berlin, 1983), no. 33.

25. Baron de Bielfeld, *Lettres familieres et autres* (The Hague, 1763), 61.

26. *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand* 27, part 1, 52.

27. Copy of the inventory for Rheinsberg palace in the possession of the Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlössen und Gärten, Charlottenburg palace.

28. Friedrich Nicolai, *Nachricht von den Baumeistern, Bildhauern, Kupferstechern, Malern, Stukkaturern und andern Künstlern, welche vom dreyzehnten Jahrhunderte bis jetzt in und um Berlin sich aufgehalten haben* (Berlin and Stettin, 1786), 145.



fig. 4. Antoine Pesne and Friedrich Wilhelm Höder, *Masquerade Scene,* detail from a mural painting in Charlottenburg palace ; destroyed 1943.

1943 (fig. 4).[29] Nicholaï's note is the only surviving document in which the names of Watteau and Lancret appear in conjunction with the Charlottenburg alterations.

Far more is known about the remodeling of the Potsdam city castle. Work on that project began in 1743, shortly before the outbreak of the Second Silesian War. This city residence (severely damaged during the Second World War and totally dismantled after its conclusion) sharply differed from the palaces of Sans Souci and Rheinsberg, as well as from Charlottenburg. To a greater degree than any of the other palaces, the city castle's representational character was a military one, a legacy from Frederick's father, the soldier king, who had earlier transformed the castle's pleasure garden into a parade ground for his troops. In the marble room of Frederick the Great's private apartment, past tradition was revered in four huge canvases. Dominating the entire space, these late seventeenth-century paintings glorified the military deeds of his great grandfather Frederick William (1620-1688), called the Great Elector, and kept them permanently before the eyes of his descendants.[30] Four other rooms in the king's quarters were initially decorated with art, most of which was derived from the Watteau tradition. The life-embracing, pleasure-loving ambiance of these rooms was in conscious opposition to the martial theme found elsewhere in the city castle. The focal point of the music room where Frederick indulged his love of composing and playing the flute was a painting of the dancer Marianne Cochois surrounded by her admirers.[31] The painting, executed by Antoine Pesne in 1745, was based on Lancret's *The Dancer Camargo* and was intended for that location specifically (figs. 5-6).[32] In thoughtful contrast to this piece, a scaled-down copy of Rubens' important late work, *The Consequences of War,* hung on another wall,[33] depicting Venus unsuccessfully seeking to restrain the enraged god of war. Flanking the painting by Rubens were two genre scenes by Lancret, which had been set into the wall.[34] The highly revealing mixture of artworks—so uneven in quality—affords us an insightful glimpse of the king's character in the year 1745.

The monarch's comprehension of painting was given clear expression in an ode of 1737 that he wrote to Pesne. In that poem he

fig. 5. Potsdam, City Castle, music room, destroyed.





fig. 6. Potsdam, City Castle, music room, destroyed.

encouraged the artist, who until then had done portraits almost exclusively, to paint bucolic scenes. Further, the king declared the correct choice of subject matter to be the most important duty of the artist.[35]

Pesne's help in outfitting the Potsdam city castle was welcomed by Frederick because his works created a proper framework for integrating the paintings of Watteau, Lancret, and Pater that had been purchased in Paris. Thus Pesne executed a half-length portrait of the dancer Barbarina,[36] the contemporary star of the Berlin Opera, as the focal point of a second room, the king's dining chamber (fig. 7). He also covered two *panneaux* with couples in a landscape[37] to complement two pairs of works by Lancret[38] and two by Watteau (actually, one was a copy after Lancret, and one was after Watteau).[39]

The third room was a small gallery, newly redecorated in 1802, containing three pictures by Watteau in addition to seven antique marble busts. One painting, the *French Comedians* (cat. P. 70, now in New York) is the only one for which documents are extant. It appears that Frederick wished to assemble his favorite artworks there despite their differences. In addition, he may have desired to juxtapose the arcadian with the heroic and the classical with the modern. Later, in the small gallery at Sans Souci, he repeated this scheme, also incorporating pictures by Pater and Lancret.

A fourth room used for confidential meetings was not hung with paintings until after the Seven Years' War. Finally, in 1750, the king authorized the decoration of the room with three commissioned pieces by Charles Amédée Philippe van Loo, the French court painter, and Blaise Nicolas Lesueur. Their subject matter not only clearly referred to the conflict between inclination and duty, between Epicurus and Cato, but also imaginatively alluded to the basic duality of character that plagued Frederick in his early life. Van Loo produced two *fêtes galantes*. One was the *Embarkation for*

29. Berckenhagen et al., *Antoine Pesne*, no. 531h.

30. From Jacques Vaillant, Paul Carl Leygebe, and purportedly from Theodor van Thulden. Paul Seidel, *Das Stadtschloss in Potsdam* (Berlin, 1922), 31.

31. Berckenhagen et al., *Antoine Pesne*, no. 59a. Börsch-Supan, "Die Gemälde Antoine Pesnes," no. 44.

32. It can no longer be established with certainty whether Pesne's work was based upon an engraving by L. Cars after the painting in the Wallace Collection (Georges Wildenstein, *Lancret* [Paris, 1924], no. 582, ill. 143) or upon a later variant in the New Palace, and now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Wildenstein, *Lancret*, no. 585, ill. 140).

33. Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Rudolf Oldenbourg, *P. P. Rubens. Des Meisters Gemälde*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921), 428.

34. Wildenstein, *Lancret*, no. 149, ills. 47 and no. 232, ill. 49.

35. *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand* 14:30.

36. Berckenhagen et al., *Antoine Pesne*, no. 46a. Börsch-Supan, "Die Gemälde Antoine Pesnes," no. 42.

37. Berckenhagen et al., *Antoine Pesne*, nos. 441 and 442. Destroyed in 1945.

38. Wildenstein, *Lancret*, no. 132, ills. 34 and no. 205, ills. 33; also, no. 334, ills. 93 and no. 355, ill. 96. All these works are now in the Charlottenburg palace.

39. *The Village Betrothal*, a copy after the Watteau original in the Soane Museum, London, and *Italian Comedians before a Fountain*, a copy after the Lancret original in the Wallace Collection, London (Wildenstein, *Lancret*, no. 290, ill. 74). Both copies are now in the Charlottenburg palace.

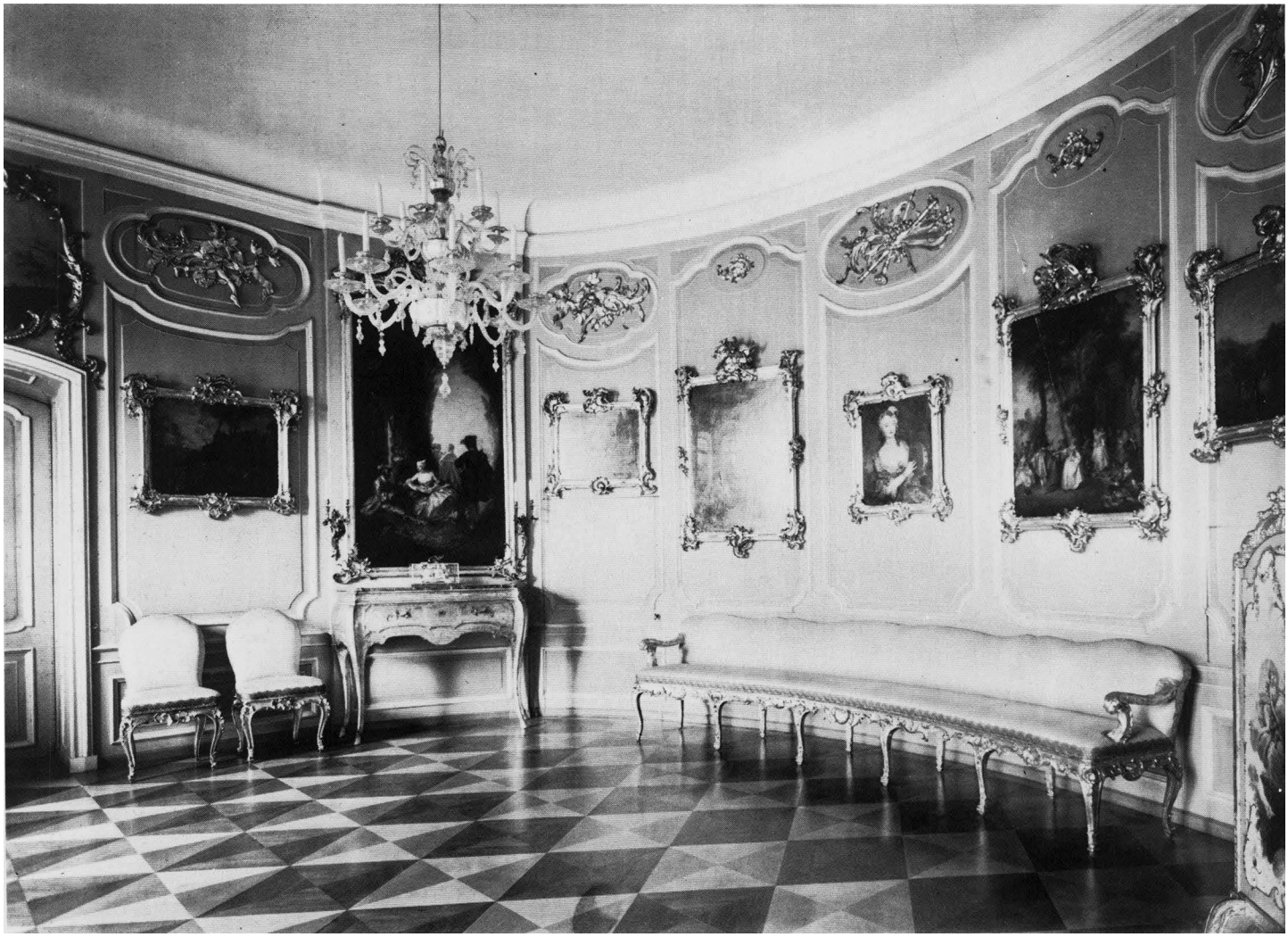
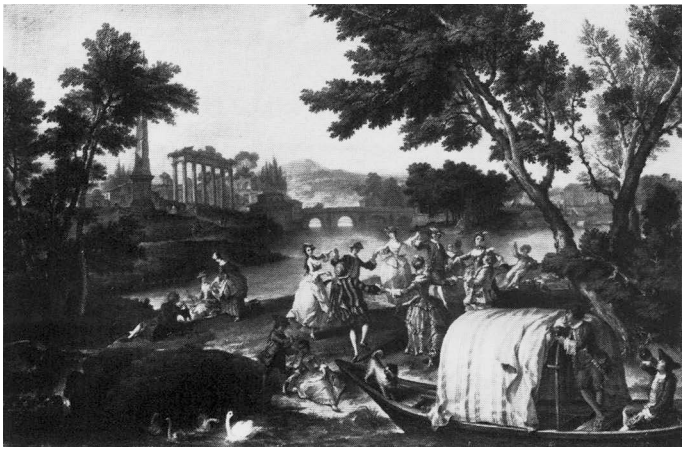


fig. 7. Potsdam, City Castle,
dining chamber, destroyed.

fig. 8. Charles Amédée Philippe Van Loo, *Embarkation for Cythera*.
Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.



fig. 9. Charles Amédée Philippe Van Loo, *Celebration in the Country*.
Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.



*Cythera* (fig. 8). Its figures were partly derived from the first version of Watteau's *Pilgrimage* (cat. P. 61) in the Louvre. The other one was *Celebration in the Country* (fig. 9), for which he borrowed from Lancret's version of the *Embarkation for Cythera* (which at the time was thought to be Watteau's) in the Sans Souci palace.[40] Lesueur's oil, on the other hand, contained references to the function of the room. His composition depicted a scene at a banquet in the palace of Dido: while Dido vainly tries to lure Aeneas to stay in Carthage, he declines in order to pursue his political obligations.[41] Later, in 1751, Lesueur illustrated the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la maison de Brandebourg* and, in 1752, the *L'art de la guerre*. In all three works he shows himself to be a competent illustrator of the statesmanlike virtues that Frederick hoped to some day embody.

The persistent tendency at the Potsdam city castle to arrange paintings according to opposites and to juxtapose erotic and martial images may help to explain a notation by Johann George Zimmerman, Frederick's last physician, quoted from a letter sent him by Minister von Horst: "In the second room from the large mess hall for officers of the palace guard at Potsdam, I saw, in the year 1747, a small painting by Vatteau that was the strongest of its kind I had ever seen. It was a completely nude woman lying stretched out near a naked youth. The picture was especially beautiful."[42] Perhaps for reasons of modesty, Oesterreich never mentioned this oil—assuming it was still there—in his account of 1773. According to Horst's testimony, after the Seven Years' War numerous erotic pictures were removed from the palaces; Watteau's nude was probably among them. This was done to avoid compromising the king's public image, as his popularity had begun to grow with the advent of peace. It seems plausible that this oil is identifiable as the *Reclining Nude* (CR 135) that now exists only as a fragment in the Norton Simon Museum of Art in Pasadena (fig. 10). A smaller and later oil by Pesne[43] portraying a reclining nude woman and her lover was probably based on the earlier Watteau composition, and thus was surely painted in Berlin (fig. 11).[44]

While the confidential meeting room was being decorated in the years 1745-1747, Frederick authorized the construction of the Sans Souci palace. Its splendid decor surpassed that of any of his other castles. In addition to French paintings, Sans Souci also contained Italian and Dutch eighteenth-century art. However, there were no witty juxtapositions in the arrangement of the collection as there had been in the Potsdam interior. In addition to Watteau, Lancret, Pater, and Pesne, other artists like Louis Boullogne the Younger, Pierre Jacques Cazes, Charles Antoine Coypel, Jean François Detroy, Jean Raoux, Louis Silvestre the Younger, and Van Loo were also represented. A uniform grouping of works in the Watteau style was achieved only in the small gallery. With the exception of Pesne's mural paintings in the music room, no consistent conceptual thread to explain how the works were installed can be discerned.

The placement of the art in the two picture galleries at the Charlottenburg palace, where Frederick established a second apartment beginning in 1747, is not known. In 1760, during the Seven Years' War, the palace was plundered and the majority of pictures carted off. Only Watteau's *Gersaint's Shopsign* (cat. P. 73), Chardin's *Cooks*, and an early work by Pesne remained undamaged. The empty walls were rehung rather randomly with works of very diverse character. The shopsign was located in the music room behind the golden gallery. Its representation of aesthetic enjoyment provided an appropriate link with music, and thus, by extension, to the room in which music was played.

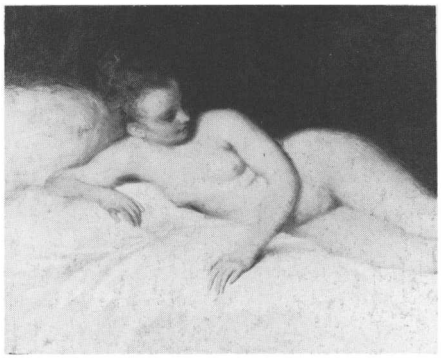


fig. 10. Watteau, *Female Nude*.
Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena.



fig. 11. Antoine Pesne, *Gallant Scene*.
Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.

Details of the purchases Frederick made for Potsdam, Sans Souci, and for his second apartment at Charlottenburg are documented in the king's correspondence. In 1744 a close confidant of the monarch, Rudolf Frederick, Count of Rothenburg, was sent to the French court of Versailles as part of the Prussian diplomatic mission. Count Rothenburg had served the French between 1727 and 1741 and through his wife, a daughter of the Marquis de Parabère, maintained intimate connections with Parisian society. In addition to his diplomatic duties, the count was responsible for the acquisition of works by Watteau and Lancret. In the letters exchanged by Rudolf Frederick and the king, only the names of these two artists were ever mentioned.

In a letter dated 7 April 1744, the king wrote that he needed three paintings by Watteau.[45] This surely was a reference to his in-

40. Wildenstein, *Lancret*, no. 296, ill. 79.

41. Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Die Kunst in Brandenburg-Preussen* (Berlin, 1980), no. 99.

42. Ritter von Zimmermann, *Fragmente über Friedrich den Grossen zur Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Regierung, und seines Charakters* (Leipzig, 1790), 1:50.

43. Berckenhagen et al., *Antoine Pesne*, no. 497. Börsch-Supan, "Die Gemälde Antoine Pesnes," no. 45.

44. Donald Posner, "Watteau's Reclining Nude and the 'Remedy' Theme," *The Art Bulletin* 54 (1972), no. 4, 383-389.

45. *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand* 25:587.

tention to decorate the small gallery in the Potsdam city castle. This bit of information reveals that the king did not acquire paintings for the Potsdam city castle on the basis of artistic quality, but because he had a practical need to decorate the building with works depicting subject matter that he considered appropriate.

Rothenburg was continually occupied with trying to locate paintings. In his letters he constantly complained about the scarcity of works by Watteau, especially the large-format ones that Frederick greatly preferred. In March 1744 he was offered two large companion pieces for a total price of 8000 livres. It is likely that these were the two halves of the shopsign. Rothenburg declined to purchase the pictures, judging the price to be too high.[46] His decision earned him praise from the king, who refused to pay exorbitant prices to realize his wishes.[47]

The decoration of the Sans Souci palace heralded—in conjunction with corresponding developments in the architectural plan—a major change in the king's taste in art in general, and in his opinion of the work of Watteau in particular.[48] To be sure, there were gems here like *Prelude to a Concert* (cat. P. 48), *The Village Bride* (cat. P. 11), *Gallant Recreation* (cat. P. 63), and *Italian Recreation* (cat. P. 40); but in the context of the other works Watteau's art no longer set the dominant tone. In 1754, when works by Lancret were offered to the king through an intermediary (his reader Darget), he did not buy them. In his letter of explanation, dated 14 December, Frederick wrote: "As for the paintings about which you spoke to me, I will tell you that I am no longer inclined to that taste, or rather I have enough of that genre. I am now happily buying Rubens, Van Dyck, in a word, the paintings of the great masters, as much from the Flemish school as from the French school."[49] According to this passage, the monarch did not consider Lancret, or even Watteau, to be great masters. Both painters represented a lifestyle that Frederick, in the meantime, had come to totally reject. In addition, the French painters were no longer able to command the kind of honor and respect that Frederick continued to show Rubens and Van Dyck. The outcome of this change in the king's taste in painting can be seen in the picture gallery located in the garden of Sans Souci. Built between 1755 and 1763, it contained mostly art of the seventeenth century. From 1765 onward, Watteau was represented there only by two small comedy scenes which, in 1830, passed into the collection of the recently founded picture gallery.[50] Frederick's new preference for the baroque also manifested itself in the architecture of the New Palace built in the garden of Sans Souci between 1763 and 1769. Although planned during the 1750s, it was only constructed after the end of the Seven Years' War. This significant change of aesthetic direction was itself intimately related to the king's historical studies, which he began under Voltaire, who resided at Frederick's court between 1750 and 1753.[51] The king may have been influenced by the philosopher, who had denigrated Watteau's importance. According to him: "He succeeded in the small figures that he drew and that he grouped very well; but he never made anything great; he was incapable of it."[52] The Marquis d'Argens, who had joined the intimate circle of the king in 1745 and belonged to the private round-table at Sans Souci, judged Watteau from his classical standpoint in 1752: "He painted little else but *bambochades*, and never made anything serious that deserved the esteem of connoisseurs; his talent consisted of presenting balls, theater scenes, and *fêtes champêtres*; and the clothing of the figures was always theatrical."[53] He blamed even the collectors who exclusively acquired works treating such kinds of subjects, and thus his barbs were aimed at the king. Frederick remained unmoved by the opinions of contemporary authorities and allowed himself to be guided, for the most part, by his own inclinations. And yet Frederick had been made somewhat insecure. According to a letter of 24 July 1747, written to Count Rothenburg: "The paintings of Lemoine and Poussin may be beautiful for connoisseurs, but, to tell the truth, I find them mighty ugly, the color is cold and unpleasant, and the style does not please me at all."[54]

For Frederick, Watteau continued to be an artist whose name was bound up with fond memories. This was clearly demonstrated in 1763, the year of the peace treaty ending the Seven Years' War, when Frederick purchased the second version of *Embarkation from Cythera* (cat. P. 62) from the auction of the Lormier collection in the Hague.[55] This purchase can be interpreted as a symbolic deed. One would have expected Frederick to hang the painting in either the picture gallery or in the New Palace, which was just being built and which he was slowly filling with pictures, many of them drawn from other palaces. For example, Watteau's *Peaceful Love* (cat. P. 66), which had been purchased some time earlier, and a copy after *Pleasures of the Dance* (cat. P. 51) had been moved to the New Palace. However, Frederick included the *Embarkation* among his very private and selective pictures grouped in the Potsdam city castle. The subject of the oil was already familiar to him from Van Loo's picture in the same building, and from the version by Lancret at Sans Souci. More important, the poetical connotations of Cythera were equated in the king's mind with the experiences of his youth, to which the prematurely aged and war-weary monarch looked back with mixed emotions. In 1763, then, the Mars and Venus theme may well have held special significance for him. Freder-

46. *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand* 25:584. The letter is dated 30 March 1744.

47. *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand* 25:591. The letter is dated 7 May 1744.

48. See Horst Drescher, "Das Neue Palais in Potsdam und der Spätstil der friderizianischen Architektur," Martin Sperlich and Helmut Börsch-Supan, eds., *Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, und Preussen; Festschrift für Margarete Kühn* (Munich and Berlin, 1975), 217-236.

49. *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand* 20:60-61.

50. Götz Eckardt, "Die Bildergalerie in Sanssouci. Zur Geschichte des Bauwerks und seiner Sammlungen bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," Ph.D. dissertation, Halle-Wittenberg, 1974.

51. Drescher, "Das Neue Palais in Potsdam," 233.

52. Voltaire, "Le temple de goût," *Oeuvres complètes* 12 (Paris, 1784), 171, n. 6.

53. "Examen critique des différents écoles de peinture," in Seidel, *Das Stadtschloss in Potsdam*, 154.

54. *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand* 25:610.

55. Gerard Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van Schildereyen, met derzelver pryzen* (S'Gravenhage, 1752), 2:449.

56. Charlottenburg palace. Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur*, no. 549.

57. Present location unknown. Oesterreich, *Description de tout l'intérieur*, no. 550.

ick hung the *Embarkation,* with Watteau's *Actors at a Fair* (cat. P. 10)[56] and pieces by Lancret and Pater, in a room whose windows looked out upon the parade grounds. The explanation for this arrangement and the meaning it held for the king is found in a copy after a then-famous work by Correggio, *The Penitent Magdalene,* painted in 1695 by the Berlin artist Gedeon Romandon.[57] Surprising in this context, the Correggio copy was included not for its aesthetic merit but for its thought-provoking qualities, just as the Rubens copy had been placed in the music room. To Frederick, Cythera called up—not without irony—memories of a world which, although no longer extant, was nevertheless worthy of admiration.

Just how deeply Frederick understood the art of Watteau remains an open question. No doubt his keen perception of mankind and his unusual sensitivity allowed him to appreciate the psychological nuances of Watteau's art. Even the satirical aspects of his work (as in, for example, *Gersaint's Shopsign,* cat. P. 73) were understood by the king. The image of Louis XIV's portrait packed in a case must have amused a man who had no picture of himself hanging in any of his palaces. Frederick knew that Watteau's work was a shopsign.

The limitations of the king's later comprehension became evident in his inability to distinguish between the genius of Watteau and the talent of Lancret. His simplification of Watteau's intellectual content into mere questions of painterly nuance reflects the bias of Louis Quinz, a contemporary of Frederick the Great, and those of German thought in general in that period.

(Translated by Christopher With)

# Exhibitions

*A Note to the Reader: For those years in which more than one exhibition was presented in the same city, we have listed our catalogue numbers for works included in the present exhibition.*

Aarau 1963
*Handzeichnungen und Aquarelle aus den Museen Frankreichs. Drei Jahrhunderte französischen Zeichenkunst,* Aarauer Kunsthaus.

Aarhus 1975
*Tegninger fra det Statslige Eremitagemuseum og det Statslige Russiske Museum,* Kunstmuseum.

Aix-en-Provence 1970
*De la commedia dell'arte au cirque,* Pavillon Vendôme.

Alençon 1862
*Dessins anciens provenant de la collection de M. le Marquis de Chennevières,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Amsterdam 1926
*Exposition rétrospective d'art français,* Rijksmuseum.

Amsterdam 1929
*Tentoonstellung van Oude Kunst,* Rijksmuseum.

Amsterdam 1935
*Antoine Watteau als teekenaar,* Willet-Holthuysen Museum.

Amsterdam 1951
*Het franse Landschap van Poussin tot Cézanne,* Rijksmuseum.

Amsterdam 1974
*Franse Tekenkunst van de 18de eeuw uit Nederlandse Verzamelingen,* Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum.

Atlanta 1968
*The Taste of Paris from Poussin to Picasso,* The High Museum of Art.

Baltimore 1959
*The Age of Elegance, The Rococo and Its Effects,* Baltimore Museum of Art.

Berlin 1883
*Ausstellung von Gemälde älterer Meister im Berliner Privatbesitz,* Königliche Akademie der Künste.

Berlin 1910
*Ausstellung von Werken französischer Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts,* Königliche Akademie der Künste (two editions, one in folio).

Berlin 1930
*Meisterwerke aus den Preussischen Schlössern,* Preussischer Akademie der Künste.

Berlin 1962
*Meisterwerke aus den Schlössern Friedrichs des Grossen,* Schloss Charlottenburg.

Berlin 1964
*Meisterwerke aus dem Museum in Lille,* Schloss Charlottenburg.

Berlin 1973
*Vom späten Mittelalter bis zu Jacques-Louis David,* Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen (Dahlem).

Berlin 1975
*Zeichnungen aus der Eremitage zu Leningrad. Werke des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts,* Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen (Dahlem).

Berlin 1983
*Bilder vom irdischen Glück,* Schloss Charlottenburg.

Berne 1948
*Les Dessins français du Musée du Louvre,* Kunstmuseum.

Besançon 1947
*Dessins français,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Bethnal Green 1877
*Exhibition of Drawings by A. Watteau, the Property of Miss James,* South Kensington Museum (see Bibliography, Anonymous 1878).

Bordeaux 1958
*Paris et les ateliers provinciaux au XVIII^e siècle,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Bordeaux 1963
See Related Prints, cat. P. 51.

Bordeaux 1964
*La femme et l'artiste de Bellini à Picasso,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Bordeaux 1965
*Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture française dans les musées de l'Ermitage et de Moscou,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Bordeaux 1967
*La peinture française en Suède,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Bordeaux 1969
*L'Art et la musique,* Galerie des Beaux-Arts.

Bordeaux 1980
*Les arts du théâtre de Watteau à Fragonard,* Galerie des Beaux-Arts.

Bordeaux-Paris-Madrid 1979-1980
*L'Art européen à la cour d'Espagne,* Galerie des Beaux-Arts; Grand Palais; Museo del Prado.

Boston 1939
*Art in New England, Paintings, Drawings, Prints from Private Collections,* Museum of Fine Arts.

Brunswick and Aix-la-Chapelle 1983-1984
*Französische Malerei von Watteau bis Renoir,* Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum.

Brussels 1873
*Collection de M. John W. Wilson,* Galerie du Cercle Artistique et Littéraire.

Brussels 1936-1937
*Les plus beaux dessins français du Musée du Louvre (1350-1900),* Palais des Beaux-Arts.

Brussels 1953
*La femme dans l'art français,* Palais des Beaux-Arts.

Brussels 1975
*De Watteau à David,* Palais des Beaux-Arts.

Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris 1949-1950
*Le Dessin français de Fouquet à Cézanne,* Palais des Beaux-Arts; Museum Boymans-van Beuningen; Musée de l'Orangerie.

Bucharest 1938
*Portretul francez in Desen si gravura,* Muzeul Toma Stelian.

Buffalo 1935
*Master Drawings: Selected from the Museums and Private Collections of America,* Albright Art Gallery.

Cambridge 1934
*French Drawings and Prints of the Eighteenth Century,* Fogg Art Museum.

Cambridge 1948
*Seventy Master Drawings: A Loan Exhibition Arranged in Honor of Professor Paul J. Sachs on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday,* Fogg Art Museum.

Cambridge 1960
*Thirty-three French Drawings from the Collection of John S. Newberry,* Fogg Art Museum.

Cambridge 1965
*Memorial Exhibition, Works of Art from the Collection of Paul J. Sachs [1878-1965],* Fogg Art Museum.

Cambridge 1967
*Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture from the Yale University Art Gallery,* Fogg Art Museum.

Cambridge 1979
*All for Art, The Ricketts and Shannon Collection,* Fitzwilliam Museum.

Canada 1961-1962
*Héritage de France, la peinture française de 1610 à 1760,* Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal; Museum of the Province, Quebec; Art Gallery, Toronto.

Chicago 1934
*A Century of Progress, Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture,* The Art Institute of Chicago.

Chicago 1970
*Margaret Day Blake Collection,* The Art Institute of Chicago.

Chicago 1974
*The Helen Regenstein Collection of European Drawings,* The Art Institute of Chicago.

Chicago 1976
*Selected Works of Eighteenth-Century French Art in the Collections of the Art Institute of Chicago,* The Art Institute of Chicago.

Cholet 1973
*P.-C. Trémolières, Cholet 1703-Paris 1739,* Musée de Cholet.

Cleveland 1980-1981
*The Realist Tradition: French Painting and Drawing, 1830-1900,* The Cleveland Museum of Art; The Brooklyn Museum; The St. Louis Art Museum; Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum.

Cologne 1939
*Französische Meisterzeichnungen aus der Sammlung Franz Koenigs,* Wallraf-Richartz Museum.

Columbia 1979
*Eighteenth-Century European Drawings,* Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

Copenhagen 1935
*L'Art français au XVIII^e siècle,* Charlottenburg Palace.

Copenhagen 1975
*Tegninger fra det Statslige Ermitagemuseum og det Statslige Russiske Museum in Leningrad,* Thorvaldsens Museums.

Detroit 1950
*Old Master Drawings from Midwestern Museums,* Detroit Institute of Arts.

Dijon 1960
*Dessins français des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles des*

*collections du Musée de Dijon,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Dresden 1972
*Meisterwerke aus der Ermitage Leningrad und aus dem Puschkin-Museum Moskau,* Gemäldegalerie.

Dublin 1964
*Centenary Exhibition, 1864-1964,* National Gallery of Ireland.

Düsseldorf 1967
*Preussischer Kulturbesitz,* Städtischen Kunsthalle.

Edinburgh 1965
*Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell,* National Gallery of Scotland.

Florence 1968
*Disegni francesi da Callot a Ingres,* Mostra di Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe.

Florence 1977
*Pittura francese nelle collezioni pubbliche fiorentine,* Palazzo Pitti.

Frankfurt 1977
*Französische Zeichnungen aus dem Art Institute of Chicago,* Städtische Galerie in Städelschen Kunstinstitut.

Frankfurt 1982
*Einschiffung nach Cythera,* Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut.

Geneva 1949
*Trois siècles de peinture française,* Musée Rath.

Germany 1958
*Französische Zeichnungen von den Anfangen bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Kunsthalle, Hamburg; Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne; Würtembergischen Kunstverein, Stuttgart.

Great Britain 1974
*From Poussin to Puvis de Chavannes,* Heim Gallery, London; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham; Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum.

Haarlem 1931
*Kind en Kunst,* Frans Hals Museum.

The Hague 1946-1947
*Herwonnen Kunstbezit,* Mauritshuis.

Hamburg 1969
*Dessins français du Musée de Besançon,* Kunsthalle.

Hamburg-Munich 1952-1953
*Meisterwerke der französischen Malerei von Poussin bis Ingres,* Kunsthalle; Pinakothek.

Hartford 1960
*Pierpont Morgan Treasures,* Wadsworth Atheneum.

Hazebrouck 1958
*Exposition des dessins français des XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles,* Musée Municipal.

Houston 1958
*The Human Image,* Museum of Fine Arts.

Ipswich 1927
*Bicentenary Memorial Exhibition of Thomas Gainsborough, R.A.,* Ipswich Museum.

Kansas City 1956
*The Century of Mozart,* William Rockhill Nelson Gallery.

Karlsruhe 1983
*Die französischen Zeichnungen, 1570-1930,* Kupferstichkabinett.

Lausanne 1963
*Exposition des dessins français,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Leningrad 1926
*Dessins des maîtres anciens. Exposition de 1926,* The State Hermitage.

Leningrad 1956
*An Exhibition of French Art of the 12th-20th Centuries,* The State Hermitage (catalogue in Russian).

Leningrad 1959
*The West European Landscape of the 16th-20th Centuries: Painting, Drawing, and Applied Arts,* The State Hermitage.

Leningrad 1963
*Risunki XV-nacala XIX vv. iz national'nogo muzeja Stokgolma,* The State Hermitage.

Leningrad 1972
*Watteau and His Time. Painting, Drawing, Sculpture, and Applied Arts,* The State Hermitage (catalogue in Russian).

London 1798-1799
*The Orleans Italian Pictures,* The Lyceum.

London 1871
*Works by the Old Masters,* Royal Academy of Arts.

London 1872
*Works by the Old Masters,* Royal Academy of Arts.

London 1889
*Works by the Old Masters,* Royal Academy of Arts.

London 1896
*Works by the Old Masters,* Royal Academy of Arts.

London 1902
*Selection of Works by French and English Painters of the Eighteenth Century,* Art Gallery of the Corporation of London.

London 1909-1910
*National Loan Exhibition,* Grafton Galleries.

London 1913
*French Art of the Eighteenth Century,* Burlington Fine Arts Club.

London 1932
*French Art, 1200-1900,* Royal Academy of Arts (commemorative catalogue published in 1933 with different numbers).

London 1933
*Three French Reigns (Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI),* Exhibition in aid of the Royal Northern Hospital, 25 Park Lane.

London 1936
*Watteau and His Contemporaries,* Wildenstein Gallery.

London 1949-1950
*Landscape in French Art,* Royal Academy of Arts.

London 1950
*French Master Drawings of the Eighteenth Century,* Matthiesen Gallery.

London 1951
*Exhibition of Old Master Drawings,* P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., Ltd.

London 1952
*French Drawings from Fouquet to Gauguin,* Arts Council of Great Britain.

London 1953
*Drawings by Old Masters,* Royal Academy of Arts.

London 1954-1955
*European Masters of the Eighteenth Century,* Royal Academy of Arts.

London 1958
*Old Master, Impressionist, and Contemporary Drawings,* M. Knoedler & Co.

London 1959
*Treasures of Cambridge,* Goldsmith's Hall [cat. D. 113].

London 1959
*Exhibition of Old Master Drawings,* P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., Ltd. [cat. D. 131].

London 1959a
*Loan Exhibition of Drawings by Old Masters from the Collection of Dr. & Mrs. Francis Springell,* P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., Ltd. [cat. D. 94].

London 1962
*International Art Treasures Exhibition,* Victoria and Albert Museum.

London-New York 1967
*Drawings from the National Gallery of Ireland,* Wildenstein Gallery.

London 1968
*France in the Eighteenth Century,* Royal Academy of Arts.

London 1968
*The French Taste in English Painting During the First Half of the 18th Century,* Greater London Council [cat. P. 4].

London 1970
*Drawings from the Teylers Museum, Haarlem,* Victoria and Albert Museum.

London 1977
Burlington International Fine Arts Fair.

London 1978
*Eighteenth-Century French Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture,* Artemis.

London 1979
*Old Master Paintings and Drawings,* P. & D. Colnaghi & Co., Ltd.

London 1980-1981
*Watteau. Drawings in the British Museum,* British Museum.

Los Angeles 1961
*French Masters: From Rococo to Romanticism,* University of California at Los Angeles.

Los Angeles 1976
*Old Master Drawings from American Collections,* Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Lyons-Nantes 1938
*Collection Walter Gay,* Musées des Beaux-Arts.

Manchester 1857
*Art Treasures Exhibition,* City Art Museum.

Manchester 1957
*Art Treasures Centenary, European Old Masters,* Manchester Art Gallery.

Manchester 1974
*Drawings by West European and Russian Masters from the Collections of the State Hermitage and the Russian Museum in Leningrad,* Whitworth Art Gallery.

Melbourne-Sydney 1978-1979
*Hermitage and Tretiakov Master Drawings and Watercolors,* National Gallery of Victoria; Art Gallery of New South Wales.

Minneapolis 1961
*The Eighteenth Century. One Hundred Drawings by One Hundred Artists,* University Gallery.

Montauban 1981-1982
*Dessins des XVIII^e^ et XIX^e^ siècles du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon,* Musée Ingres.

Montreal 1950
*The Eighteenth-Century Art of France and England,* Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Montreal 1953
*Five Centuries of Drawings,* Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Montreal 1981
*Largillière and the Eighteenth-century Portrait,* Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

Moscow 1955
*An Exhibition of French Art of the 15th-20th Centuries,* Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (catalogue in Russian).

Moscow-Leningrad 1978
*From Watteau to David, French Paintings of the 18th Century from French Museums,* Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, The State Hermitage (catalogue in Russian).

Moscow-Leningrad 1983-1984
*Masterpieces of the Collection of Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza (Western Painting of the 14th-18th Centuries),* Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, The State Hermitage (catalogue in Russian).

Munich 1930
*Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz,* Pinakothek.

Munich 1958
*Spätbarock und Rokoko,* Residenz Museum.

Münster 1973
*Frankreich vor der Revolution,* Landesmuseum.

Newark 1960
*Old Master Drawings,* The Newark Museum.

New London 1936
*Fourth Anniversary Exhibition: Drawings,* Lyman Allyn Museum.

New Orleans 1954
*A Loan Exhibition of Masterpieces of French Painting through Five Centuries, 1400-1900, in Honor of the 150th Anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase,* Isaac Delgado Museum of Art.

New York 1919
*Morgan Drawings,* New York Public Library (accompanied by an essay without a checklist).

New York 1934
*Landscape Paintings,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

New York 1935-1936
*French Paintings and Sculpture of the Eighteenth Century,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
New York 1939
*Masterpieces of Art,* New York World's Fair [cats. P. 64, 70].
New York 1939
*Exhibition Held on the Occasion of the New York World's Fair,* The Pierpont Morgan Library.
New York 1940
*Masterpieces of Art. Catalogue of European and American Paintings, 1500-1900,* New York World's Fair.
New York 1942
*French and English Art Treasures of the Eighteenth Century,* Parke-Bernet Galleries.
New York 1943
*Fashion in Headdress,* Wildenstein Gallery.
New York 1948
*French Painting of the Eighteenth Century,* Wildenstein Gallery.
New York 1952-1953
*Art Treasures of the Metropolitan,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
New York 1957
*Treasures from the Pierpont Morgan Library, Fiftieth Anniversary Edition,* Cleveland Museum of Art; Art Institute of Chicago; California Palace of the Legion of Honor; Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino; Nelson Gallery, Kansas City; Houston Museum; Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge.
New York 1959
*Great Master Drawings of Seven Centuries,* M. Knoedler and Company [cat. D. 79].
New York 1959
*French Master Drawings, Renaissance to Modern. A Loan Exhibition,* Charles E. Slatkin Galleries [cats. D. 26, 111].
New York 1961
*Loan Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings—Masterpieces,* Wildenstein Gallery.
New York 1963
*Master Drawings from the Art Institute of Chicago,* Wildenstein Gallery.
New York 1967
*An Exhibition of Treasures from the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute,* Wildenstein Gallery.
New York 1970
*Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
New York 1970
*100 Paintings from the Boston Museum,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art [cat. P. 25].
New York 1972
*French Drawings and Prints of the Eighteenth Century,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
New York et al. 1976-1977
*European Drawings from the Fitzwilliam,* The Pierpont Morgan Library; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth; The Baltimore Museum of Art; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Philadelphia Museum of Art.
New York 1977
*Paris-New York: A Continuing Romance,* Wildenstein Gallery.
New York 1980
*Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century French Drawings from the Robert Lehman Collection,* The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
New York 1981
*European Drawings, 1375-1825,* The Pierpont Morgan Library.
New York 1982
*From Watteau to David, A Century of French Art,* Maurice Segoura Gallery
New York-Boston-Chicago 1969
*Drawings from Stockholm,* Pierpont Morgan Library; The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; The Art Institute of Chicago.
New York-Cleveland-Chicago-Ottawa 1975-1976
*Drawings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene V. Thaw,* The Pierpont Morgan Library; The Cleveland Museum of Art; The Art Institute of Chicago; The National Gallery of Canada.
Norwich 1925
*Centenary of the Norwich Museum—Loan Collection of Pictures—Illustrative of the Evolution of Painting from the 17th Century to the Present Day,* Norwich Castle Museum.
Orléans 1975-1976
*Le dessin français du XVI^e^ au XVIII^e^ siècle,* Musée Historique.
Paris 1860
*Tableaux et dessins de l'école française, principalement du XVIII^e^ siècle tirés des collections d'amateurs,* Galerie Martinet.
Paris 1878
*Exposition universelle de 1878 à Paris. Notices des peintures, dessins exposés dans les galeries des portraits nationaux,* Palais du Trocadèro.
Paris 1879
*Dessins de maîtres anciens,* Ecole des Beaux-Arts.
Paris 1881
*Notice des Dessins de la collection His de la Salle exposés au Louvre,* Musée du Louvre.
Paris 1883-1884
*L'Art du XVIII^e^ siècle,* Galerie Georges-Petit.
Paris 1885
*Exposition de tableaux, statues et objets d'art au profit de l'oeuvre des orphelins d'Alsace-Lorraine,* Musée du Louvre.
Paris 1894
*One Hundred Paintings by Old Masters Belonging to the Sedelmeyer Gallery,* Galerie Sedelmeyer.
Paris 1895
*The Second Hundred of Paintings by Old Masters Belonging to the Sedelmeyer Gallery,* Galerie Sedelmeyer.
Paris 1896
*The Third Hundred of Paintings by Old Masters Belonging to the Sedelmeyer Gallery,* Galerie Sedelmeyer.
Paris 1900
*Les collections d'art Frédéric le Grand à l'exposition universelle de Paris de 1900,* Exposition universelle.
Paris 1922
*Estampes de Watteau et Janinet,* Galerie Brunner.
Paris 1925
*Paysage français de Poussin à Corot,* Palais des Beaux-Arts.
Paris 1927
*Le siècle de Louis XIV,* Bibliothèque Nationale.
Paris 1928
*Enseignes et Réclames d'autrefois,* Bibliothèque Nationale [cat. D. 7].
Paris 1928
*Collections privées d'Ernst Cognacq,* Samaritaine de luxe.
Paris 1928
*La vie parisienne au XVIII^e^ siècle,* Musée Carnavalet [cat. D. 126].
Paris 1929
*Le théâtre à Paris (XVII^e^-XVIII^e^ siècles),* Musée Carnavalet.
Paris 1931
*Chefs-d'oeuvre des Musées de province,* Musée de l'Orangerie.
Paris 1933
*Goncourt,* Gazette des Beaux-Arts [cats. D. 60, 62].
Paris 1933
*La Musique française du Moyen Age à la Révolution,* Bibliothèque Nationale [cat. D.105].
Paris 1933
*Voyage de Delacroix au Maroc et exposition rétrospective du peintre orientaliste Mr Auguste,* Musée de l'Orangerie [cats. P. 50, 73].
Paris 1933a
*Les chefs-d'oeuvre des musées de province,* Musée Carnavalet [cats. D. 3; P. 7, 45].
Paris 1934
*La musique française du Moyen-Age à la Révolution,* Bibliothèque Nationale.
Paris 1935
*Troisième centenaire de l'Académie française,* Bibliothèque Nationale [cat. P. 70].
Paris 1935a
*Le dessin français dans les collections du XVIII^e^ siècle,* Gazette des Beaux-Arts.
Paris 1935b
*Portraits et figures de femme,* Musée de l'Orangerie [cat. D. 105].
Paris 1937
*Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art français,* Palais National des Arts (accompanied by an albumm of plates, *Cent-trente chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art français du Moyen-Age au XX^e^ siècle,* published in a special issue of Arts et métiers graphiques.
Paris 1938
*Paysages de 1400 à 1900,* Galerie Seligmann [cat. P. 41].
Paris 1938
*Exposition des Trésors de Reims,* Musée de l'Orangerie.
Paris 1938
*Peintures de Goya des collections de France,* Musée de l'Orangerie.
Paris 1945
*Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture,* Musée du Louvre.
Paris 1946
*Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture française du Louvre des Primitifs à Manet,* Musée du Petit Palais [cats. P. 56, 58, 59, 61, 69].
Paris 1946a
*Les chefs-d'oeuvre des collections privées françaises retrouvés en Allemagne,* Musée de l'Orangerie [cats. D. 78, 100; P. 54].
Paris 1946b
*Les Goncourt et leur temps,* Musée des Arts-décoratifs [cats. D. 27, 60, 62, 81, 105, 115, 126].
Paris 1950
*Claude III Audran, Dessins du Nationalmuseum de Stockholm,* Bibliothèque Nationale.
Paris 1950
*Le dessin français de Fouquet à Cézanne,* Musée de l'Orangerie [cats. D. 72, 73].
Paris 1951
*Chefs-d'oeuvre des musées de Berlin,* Musée du Petit Palais [cats. P. 38, 63, 65, 73].
Paris 1951
*Plaisir de France,* Galerie Charpentier [cats. P. 17, 18].
Paris 1951
*Le dessin français de Watteau à Prud'hon,* Galerie Cailleux [cats. D. 67, 92].
Paris 1952
*Chefs-d'oeuvre de la collection D.G. van Beuningen,* Musée du Petit Palais [cat. P. 31].
Paris 1952
*Dessins du XV^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle du Musée Boymans de Rotterdam,* Bibliothéque Nationale [cats. D. 34, 39, 53, 58, 122, 135].
Paris 1953
*Donation David-Weill,* Musée de l'Orangerie.
Paris 1954
*Dessins français et miniatures du 18^e^ siècle,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.
Paris 1956
*De Watteau à Prud'hon,* Gazette des Beaux-Arts.
Paris 1957
*L'Enfant dans le dessin du XV^e^ and XIX^e^ siècle,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.
Paris 1958
*Portraits dans le dessin français du XVIII^e^ siècle,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.
Paris 1959
*Le Théâtre et la dance en France, 17^e^ et 18^e^ siècles,* Musée du Louvre.
Paris 1962
*Première exposition des plus beaux dessins du Louvre et de quelques pièces célèbres des collections de Paris,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.
Paris 1963
*La peinture française du XVIII^e^ siècle à la cour de Frédéric II,* Musée du Louvre.
Paris 1964
*Rameau,* Bibliothèque Nationale.
Paris-Amsterdam 1964
*Le dessin français de Claude à Cézanne dans les*

*collections hollandaises,* Institut Néerlandais; Rijksmuseum.

Paris 1965-1966
*Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture française dans les musées de l'Ermitage et de Moscou,* Musée du Louvre.

Paris 1967
*Dessins français du XVIII^e siècle; Amis et Contemporains de P.-J. Mariette,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins [cats. D. 60, 62, 64, 105].

Paris 1967a
*Le Cabinet d'un Grand Amateur, P.-J. Mariette, 1694-1774: Dessins du XV^e siècle au XVIII^e siècle,* Musée du Louvre [cats. D. 81, 90, 127, 135].

Paris 1968
*Watteau et sa génération,* Galerie Cailleux.

Paris 1970-1971
*Dessins du Musée de Darmstadt,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.

Paris 1972
*Cent dessins du Musée Teyler, Haarlem,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.

Paris 1973-1974
*Copies, répliques, faux,* Musée du Louvre (Petit journal).

Paris 1976
*Dessins du Musée de Dijon,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins [cat. D. 18].

Paris 1976a
*Dessins français de l'Art Institute of Chicago,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins.

Paris 1976-1977
*Hommage à Louis Gillet,* Musée Jacquemart-André (Dossiers du département des peintures).

Paris 1977
*Pélerinage à Watteau,* Hôtel de la Monnaie.

Paris 1977a
*Le corps et son image: Anatomies, académies . . . Dessins dans les collections du Musée du Louvre,* Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins [cat. D. 64].

Paris 1977b
*'La diseuse de bonne aventure' de Caravage,* Musée du Louvre (Dossiers du département des peintures) [cat. P. 8].

Paris 1978
*Sanguines, dessins français du dix-huitième siècle,* Galerie Cailleux (also shown in Geneva).

Paris 1980
*La restauration des peintures,* Musée du Louvre (Dossiers du département des peintures).

Paris 1980-1981
*Cinq années d'enrichissement du patrimoine nationale, 1975-1980,* Grand Palais [cats. D. 45; P. 28].

Paris 1980-1981
*L'Instrument de musique populaire. Usages et symboles,* Musée des Arts et Traditions populaires.

Paris-Geneva 1980-1981
*Des Monts et des Eaux,* Galerie Cailleux.

Paris 1981
*De Michel-Ange à Géricault, dessins de la donation Armand-Valton,* Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

Paris 1982
*Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza, maîtres anciens,* Musée du Petit Palais.

Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam 1970-1971
*Dessins du Nationalmuseum de Stockholm. Collection du Comte Tessin, 1695-1790.* Musée du Louvre; Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^er^; Rijksmuseum.

Paris-Lille-Strasbourg 1976
*Cent dessins français du Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge,* Galerie Heim; Palais des Beaux-Arts; Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Paris-Rotterdam-New York 1958-1959
See Rotterdam-Paris-New York.

Paris-Seoul 1977
*L'Art français du XVIII^e siècle dans les collections des Musées de la Ville de Paris,* Petit Palais; National Museum of Modern Art.

Philadelphia 1950-1951
*Diamond Jubilee,* Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Pittsburgh 1933
*Old Master Drawings,* Pittsburgh Junior League.

Pittsburgh 1951
*French Painting, 1100-1900,* Carnegie Institute.

Pittsburgh 1954
*Pictures of Everyday Life, Genre Painting in Europe, 1500-1900,* Carnegie Institute.

Porto 1964
*Arts plastiques français de Watteau à Renoir—Collection de la fondation Calouste Gulbenkian,* Museu nacional de Soares dos Reis.

Poughkeepsie-New York 1961
*Vassar College Centennial Exhibition, Drawings and Watercolors from Alumnae and Their Families,* Vassar College; Wildenstein Gallery.

Providence 1931
*French Painting,* Rhode Island School of Design.

Providence 1975
*Rubenism,* Department of Art, Brown University, and the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

Quimper 1971
*Dessins du musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Richmond 1952
*French Drawings from the Fogg Art Museum,* The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

Richmond 1956
*Fêtes Galantes,* The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (unnumbered checklist).

Rome-Milan 1959-1960
*Il disegno francese da Fouquet a Toulouse-Lautrec,* Palazzo Venezia; Palazzo Reale.

Rotterdam 1934-1935
*Honderd oude Franske teekeningen uit de Verzameling F. Koenigs,* Boymans Museum.

Rotterdam 1938
*Meesterwerken uit vier eeuwen, 1400-1800,* Boymans Museum.

Rotterdam 1952
*Choix de dessins,* Boymans Museum.

Rotterdam 1955
*Kunstschatten uit Nederlandse Verzamelingen,* Boymans Museum.

Rotterdam-Paris-New York 1958-1959
*French Drawings from American Collections, Clouet to Matisse,* Boymans Museum; Musée de l'Orangerie; The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Rouen 1936
*Fleurs et animaux dans la décoration,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Saint Petersburg 1909
*Les anciennes écoles de peinture dans les palais et collections privées russes,* Starye Gody.

Saint Petersburg 1912
*Exhibition of Drawings of French Artists of the Louis XIV Epoch and the Regency Period,* Museum of Baron Stieglitz, Central College of Technical Drawing (catalogue in Russian).

San Francisco 1934
*French Painting from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day,* California Palace of the Legion of Honor.

San Francisco 1939-1940
*Seven Centuries of Painting, A Loan Exhibition of Old and Modern Masters,* California Palace of the Legion of Honor and the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum.

San Francisco 1949
*Rococo Masterpieces of Eighteenth-Century French Art from the Museums of France,* California Palace of the Legion of Honor.

Sarasota 1967
*Master Drawings,* John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art.

Stockholm 1922
*Carl Gustaf Tessins franska handteckningar fran 18e arhundradet,* Nationalmuseum.

Stockholm 1958
*Fem seckler Fransk Konst,* Nationalmuseum.

Stockholm 1970
*Morgan Library gästar Nationalmuseum,* Nationalmuseum.

Stockholm 1979-1980
*1700-tal—Tanke och form i rokokon,* Nationalmuseum.

Tokyo 1954
*Ten Centuries of French Art,* National Museum of Western Art; Kyoto Municipal Museum (catalogue in Japanese).

Tokyo 1969
*French Art of the 18th Century,* National Museum of Western Art (catalogue in Japanese).

Tokyo 1979
*European Master Drawings of the Fogg Art Museum,* National Museum of Western Art.

Tokyo-Sapporo-Kyoto 1979
*Chefs-d'oeuvre des Musées de la Ville de Paris,* National Museum of Western Art; Hokkaido Prefectural Museum of Modern Art; Kyoto Municipal Museum.

Toronto-Ottawa-San Francisco-New York 1972-1973
*French Master Drawings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in North American Collections,* Art Gallery of Ontario; National Gallery of Canada; California Palace of the Legion of Honor; New York Cultural Center.

Toledo-Chicago-Ottawa 1975-1976
*The Age of Louis XV—French Painting, 1710-1774,* The Toledo Museum of Art; The Art Institute of Chicago; National Gallery of Canada.

USA 1952-1953
*French Drawings, Masterpieces from Five Centuries,* National Gallery of Art, Washington; The Cleveland Museum of Art; City Art Museum, St. Louis; Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

USA 1955-1956
*French Drawings, Masterpieces from Seven Centuries,* The Art Institute of Chicago; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; The Detroit Institute of Arts; The California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco.

USA 1967-1968
*French Paintings from French Museums, 17th-18th Centuries,* Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego; California Palace of the Legion of Honor; E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento; Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

USA 1972-1973
See Toronto-Ottawa-San Francisco-New York.

USA 1976-1977
*European Drawings from the Fitzwilliam,* The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth; The Baltimore Museum of Art; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Philadelphia Museum of Art.

USA 1979-1980
*Eighteenth-Century Master Drawings from the Ashmolean Museum,* Baltimore Museum of Art; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth; Cincinnati Art Museum.

USA 1979-1981
*Old Master Paintings from the Collection of Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza,* National Gallery of Art, Washington; The Detroit Institute of Arts; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; The Cleveland Museum of Art; Los Angeles County Museum of Art; The Denver Art Museum; Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth; Nelson-Atkins Gallery, Kansas City; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

USA 1981-1982
*French Master Drawings from the Rouen Museum from Caron to Delacroix,* National Gallery of Art, Washington; National Academy of Design, New York; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

Valenciennes 1934
*Cent-cinquantenaire des Académies et deux-cent-cinquantième anniversaire de la naissance de Watteau,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Valenciennes 1937
*VI^e centenaire de la naissance de Jehan Froissart,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Valenciennes 1962
*Watteau, 1684-1721,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Valenciennes 1972
*Dessins français du XVIII^e siècle,* Musée des Beaux-Arts.

Versailles 1962
*La Comédie-Française, 1680-1962,* Château de Versailles.
Vienna 1934
*Französische Zeichnungen,* Graphische Sammlung Albertina.
Vienna 1950
*Meisterwerke aus Frankreichs Museen,* Graphische Sammlung Albertina.
Vienna 1966
*Kunst und Geist Frankreichs im 18. Jahrhundert,* Oberes Belvedere.
Warsaw-Krakow 1962
*Francuskie Risunki XVII-XX W. I. Tkaniny.* Muzeum Narodowe; Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie.
Washington 1974
*Recent Acquisitions and Promised Gifts: Sculpture, Drawings, Prints,* National Gallery of Art [cats. D. 79, 129].
Washington 1974
*French 18th- and 19th-Century Drawings,* The Phillips Collection (checklist) [cat. D. 104].
Washington 1978
*Master Drawings,* National Gallery of Art.
Washington 1980
*Picasso: The Saltimbanques,* National Gallery of Art.
Washington 1982
*Eighteenth-Century Drawings from the Collection of Mrs. Gertrude Laughlin Chanler,* National Gallery of Art.
Waterville 1956
*An Exhibition of Drawings,* Colby College (Maine).
Wiesbaden 1947
*Malerei des 18. Jahrhunderts,* ————
Wiesbaden 1951
*Französische Kunst aus Fünf Jahrhunderten,* ————
Williamstown 1965
*Drawings of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries,* Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute.
Worcester 1951-1952
*The Practice of Drawing,* Worcester Art Museum (exhibition list in *New Bulletin and Calendar of Worcester Art Museum* 17, no. 3 December 1951, pp. 1-6).
York 1955
*The Lycett Green Collection,* York City Art Gallery.
York 1978
*Drawings from Dijon,* York City Art Gallery.
York-Kenwood 1969
*Ph. Mercier,* York City Art Gallery; Iveagh Bequest.
Zurich 1947
*Chefs-d'oeuvre du Petit Palais,* Kunsthaus.
Zurich 1955
*Schönheit des 18. Jahrhunderts,* Kunsthaus.

# Bibliography

* *The major references are starred.*


Adhémar, H.
*L'Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère — Watteau. Le musée des chefs-d'œuvre* (Paris, 1947).

Adhémar, H.
"La nostalgie du pays natal chez Watteau," *Médecine de France* 12 (1950), 28-32.

Adhémar, H.
"A propos de Claude Audran et d'Antoine Watteau," *Arts* (19 January 1951).

Adhémar, H.
"Watteau et ses amis," *L'Œil* 14 (February 1956), 20-25.

Adhémar, H.
"'L'Enseigne de Gersaint' par Antoine Watteau. Aperçus nouveaux," *Bulletin du Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre* 9 (1964), 7-18.

Adhémar, H.
"Watteau," in *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte,* Vol. 14 (Venice and Rome, 1966), 852-856.

Adhémar, H.
"Watteau, les romans et l'imagerie de son temps," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 90 (November 1977), 165-172.

Adhémar, H., see also Vallée, H. de and Michel 1939.

*Adhémar, H., et Huyghe, R.
*Watteau, sa vie, son œuvre,* preceded by *L'univers de Watteau* (Paris, 1950).

Adhémar, J.
*La gravure originale au 18e siècle* (Paris, 1963).

Adhémar, J.
"Lettres adressées aux Goncourt, concernant les Beaux-Arts, conservées à la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 72 (November 1968), 229-236.

Aghion, M.
*Le théâtre à Paris au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1926).

Alasseur, C.
*La Comédie-Française au 18e siècle* (Paris and The Hague, 1867).

Albert, M.
*Les Théâtres de la Foire (1660-1789)* (Paris, 1900).

Alexandre, A.
"Les Tableaux de la Collection Dutuit," *Les Arts,* no. 11 (December 1902), 6-21.

Alexandre, A.
"Sur 'l'Enseigne' de Watteau," *Les Arts* (May 1902), 10-13.

Alexandre, A.
"Ce qui est à nous et ce qui est à eux," *La Renaissance des Arts français et des Industries de luxe* 11, no. 4 (April 1919), 2-5.

Alexeyva, V. A.
*Antoine Watteau, Drawings* (Moscow, 1963) (in Russian).

Alexeyva, V. A., see Zolotov 1973.

Alfassa, P.
"Exposition d'art français du XVIIIe siècle à Berlin," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 27, no. 156 (March 1910), 161-178.

Alfassa, P.
"L'Enseigne de Gersaint," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1910), 126-172.

Alfassa, P.
"A propos d'un livre récent sur 'l'Enseigne de Gersaint,'" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1913), 349-381.

Alfassa, P., and Maurel, A.
"A propos de 'l'Enseigne de Gersaint,'" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1914), 54-63.

Allen, J. L.
"Drawings of the Biron Collection," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 33 (March 1938), 77-78.

Alpatov, M.V.
*Studies on the History of Art of Western Europe* (Moscow, 1939) (in Russian).

Alpatov, M.V.
*Studies on the Works of Art of Western Europe* (Moscow, 1963) (in Russian).

Alvin-Beaumont, V.
*Un problème d'art: Watteau en Allemagne —* "L'Enseigne de Gersaint" (Paris, 1910).

Alvin-Beaumont, V.
*Le Pedigree, erreurs et vérités en art — Watteau,* "La mariée de village" (Paris, 1925).

Alvin-Beaumont, V.
*Le Pedigree, erreurs et vérités en art autour de Watteau* (Paris, 1932).

Amaury-Duval
*L'atelier d'Ingres* (Paris, 1878).

Amaury-Duval
*Monuments des Arts du dessin chez les peuples tant anciens que modernes, recueillis par le baron Vivant Denon pour servir à l'histoire des arts,* Vol. 4 (Paris, 1829).

Ananoff, A.
*L'œuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard,* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1963).

Ananoff, A.
"Watteau face à tous ses imitateurs," *Connaissance des Arts* 174 (August 1966), 14-21.

Angles, A.
*Watteau* (Melun, 1914).

Anonymous
*L'ambigu d'Auteuil ou vérités historiques* (Paris, 1709).

Anonymous
"Théâtre inédit de la Foire" (manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, f.fr.9312).

Anonymous
*Twenty-six Drawings by A. Watteau, the Property of Miss James* (London, 1878).

Anonymous
"Guide raisonné de l'amateur et du curieux," *L'Art* 16 (1879), 60.

Aragon, L.
*L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (Neuchâtel and Paris, 1946).

Archimbaud, Abbé
*Nouveau Recueil de pièces fugitives d'histoire, de littérature, etc...* (Paris, 1717).

Argens, J. B. de Boyer, Marquis d'
*Correspondance entre Fréderic II, roi de Prusse et le marquis d'Argens* (Koenigsberg and Paris, 1798).

Argenson, R. d'
*Rapports inédits* (Paris, 1891).

Argenson, R. L. d'
*Notices sur les œuvres du théâtre* (Geneva, 1966).

*Art Q*
*Art Quarterly*

Artemis
*Artemis 1978,* Consolidated Audited Annual Report, Annual General Meeting (27 October 1978).

Aulanier R., see Michel E., 1939.

Autreau, J.
*Œuvres* (Paris, 1749).

Auvray, L.
"Chronique des Beaux-Arts," *La Revue artistique et littéraire* 18 (1870), 99-100.

Auvray, L., see Bellier de la Chavignerie.

Babin, G.
"Un Watteau illustre," *l'Illustration* 3491 (22 January 1910), 58-59.

Bacou, R.
*Il Settecento francese* (Milan, 1970) (I Disegni dei Maestri).

Bacou, R.
*Le dix-huitième siècle français* (Paris, 1976) (Les dessins des maîtres).

Baker, C.
*Catalogue of the Petworth Collection of Pictures in the Possession of Lord Leconfield* (London, 1920).

Banks, O. T.
*Watteau and the North: Studies in the Dutch and Flemish Baroque Influence on French Rococo Painting* (New York and London, 1977).

Baraton
*Poésies diverses* (Paris, 1705).

Bareuth, W. van (ed.)
*Jugendbriefe, 1728-1740,* Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1924) (Youthful letters of Frederick the Great).

Bargagli, G.
*La Pellegrina, Commedia del Materiale Intronato* (Siena, 1589).

Barker, G. W.
*Antoine Watteau* (London, 1939).

Barnes, C. R.
"Instruments and Instrumental Music at the 'Théâtre de la Foire' (1697-1762)," *Recherches* 5 (1965), 142.

Barret, P.
*L'ombre de La Thorillière aux Champs-Elysées* (n.d.).

Barthelemy
*Gazette de la Régence* (Paris, 1887).

Bastide, J. F. de
*Le Temple des Arts, ou le Cabinet de M. Braamcamp* (Amsterdam, 1766).

Bauer, H.
"Wo liegt Kythera? Ein Deutungsversuch an Watteaus 'Embarquement,'" *Wandlungen des Paradiesischen und Utopischen (Probleme der Kunstwissenschaft, Bd. 2)* (Berlin, 1966), 251-278.

Bauer, H.
*Rokoko malerei* (Mittenwald, 1980).

Bauer, R.
"Dernier voyage à Cythère. La redécouverte du rococo dans la littérature européenne du 19e siècle," *Fabian* (Winter 1978), 187-200.

Bazin, G.
"La collection Walter Gay au musée du Louvre," *L'Amour de l'Art* 19 (February 1938), 25-30.

Bazin, G.
"Enquête sur Watteau," *L'Œil* 230 (September 1974), 61.

Bedacier, C. (Mme Durand)
*Les petits soupers de l'été de l'année 1699 ou Avantures galantes. Avec l'origine des Fées* (Paris, 1702).

Béguin, S.
"Hommage à Louis Lacaze (1798-1869)," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 2 (1969), 115-120.

Béguin, S., and Constans, C.
"Le Docteur La Caze et sa collection," *L'Œil* 172 (April 1969), 2-8, 50.

Bell, C. F.
*Annual Report of the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1927).

Bellier de La Chavignerie, E., and Auvray, L.
*Dictionnaire général des artistes de l'école française depuis l'origine des arts du dessin jusqu'à nos jours,* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1885).

Benoit, A.N.
*Histoire de la peinture de toutes les époques et de tous les peuples,* Vol. 4 (Saint Petersburg, 1912).

Benoit, M.
*Musiques de Cour, Chapelle, Chambre, Ecurie. Recueil de documents (1661-1733)* (Paris, 1971).

Beraldi, H., and Portalis, R.
*Les graveurs du XVIIIe siècle,* Vol. 3 (Paris, 1882).

Berckenhagen, E.; Colombier, P.; du Poensgen, G.; and Kühn, M.
*Antoine Pesne* (Berlin, 1958).

Bergeon, S., see exh. Paris 1980 (Louvre).

Bergeret, P. N.
*Lettres d'un artiste sur l'état des arts en France* (Paris, 1848).

Bertrand, L.
*Vie, écrits et correspondance littéraire de Laurent Josse Le Clerc* (Paris, 1878).

Besnus, A.
*Mes Relations d'Artiste* (Paris, 1898).

Besterman, T. (ed.)
*Voltaire's Correspondence, and Related Documents,* Vol. 11 (Geneva, 1955); Vols. 85-135 of *The Complete Works of Voltaire* (Oxford, 1968-1977).

Bianchi, B. (Aurelia)
*L'Inganno Fortunato overo l'Amata aborrita* (Paris, 1659).

Biancolelli, D.
*Nouveau théâtre italien* (Paris, 1712).

Biancolelli, D.
"La Foire galante ou le Mariage d'Arlequin," *Mémoires politiques, amusants et satiriques* [par Jean-Nicole de Brasey], Vol. 3 (Veritopolie, 1716).

Biancolelli, D.
"Théâtre inédit" (manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, f.fr.9331).

Biermann, G.
*Antoine Watteau* (Leipzig, 1911).

Bielfield, J. F., Baron von
*Lettres familières et autres* (The Hague, 1763).

Bille, C.
*De Tempel der Kunst of het kabinet van den Heer Braamcamp,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1961).

Binyon, L.
"Les dessins de Watteau du musée britannique," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 228 (July-August 1921), 139-146 (also pp. 67-74 of a special edition for the bicentenary of the death of Antoine Watteau).

Bjurström, P.
"Two More Drawings by Watteau," *National-museum Bulletin* 3 (1979), 140-148.

Bjurström, P.
*Drawings in Swedish Public Collections. French Drawings. Eighteenth Century. Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm, 1982).

Blanc, A.
*Le théâtre de Dancourt* (Lille and Paris, 1977).

Blanc, C.
*Les peintres des fêtes galantes. Watteau — Lancret — Pater — Boucher* (Paris, 1854).

Blanc, C.
*Le Trésor de la curiosité, tiré des catalogues de vente de tableaux, dessins, estampes... avec diverses notes et notices historiques et biographiques,* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1858).

Blanc, C.
*Histoire des Peintres de toutes les écoles,* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1865).

Blemont, E.
*A. Watteau, poème dit par M. Georges Baillet à l'inauguration du monument d'Antoine Watteau au jardin du Luxembourg à Paris le 8 novembre 1896* (Paris, 1897).

Bloch, O.
*Le Matérialisme du XVIIIe siècle et la littérature clandestine* (Paris, 1982).

B[lunt], A.
"Watteau and His Contemporaries," *The Burlington Magazine* 69, no. 404 (November 1936), 230-231.

Blunt, A., and Whinney, M.
*The Nation's Pictures, a Guide to the Chief National and Municipal Picture Galleries of England, Scotland, and Wales* (London, 1950).

Boerlin-Brodbeck, Y.
*Antoine Watteau und das Theater* (Basel, 1973).

Boettcher, O.
*Antoine Watteau. Eine Skizze* (Cuxhaven, 1956).

Boindin, N.
*Lettres historiques à M.D. sur la nouvelle comédie italienne* (Paris, 1717).

Boindin, N.
*Lettres historiques sur tous les spectacles de Paris* (Paris, 1719).

Boindin, N.
*Œuvres* (Paris, 1753).

Bois-Jourdain de
*Mélanges historiques, satiriques et anecdotiques concernant des détails ignorés ou peu connus sur les événements et les personnes marquantes de la fin du règne de Louis XIV, des premières années de celui de Louis XV et de la Régence* (Paris, 1807).

Boissy, L. de
*L'élève de Terpsicore* (Amsterdam, 1718).

Bolingbroke, H.
*Lettres historiques, philosophiques et particulières* (Paris, 1808).

Bon, S.
"La danse et les peintres des fêtes galantes au XVIIIe siècle," *Jardin des Arts* 35 (September 1957), 643-650.

Bonnassies, J.
*La Comédie-Française — Histoire administrative (1658-1757)* (Paris, 1874).

Bonnassies, J.
*Les spectacles forains et la Comédie-Française* (Paris, 1875).

Bonnerot, O. H.
"Autour des Persans dans l'Opéra au XVIIIe siècle," in *L'Opéra au XVIIIe siècle* (Aix, 1982), 185-203.

Bonnet, J.
*Histoire générale de la danse sacrée et profane* (Paris, 1723).

Bonneval, R. de
*Momus au cercle des dieux, dans lequel il leur fait récit de ce qui se passe dans la république des lettres, dans la galanterie et dans la politique* (Paris, 1717).

Borenius, T.
"Watteau et Titien," *Beaux-Arts* 18 (November 1924), 279-280.

Borenius, T.
"Die französische Ausstellung in London," *Pantheon* 9 (January 1932), 82-92.

Borenius, T.
"'Le rêve de l'artiste' by Antoine Watteau," *The Burlington Magazine* 71, no. 413 (August 1937), 61-62.

Borjon de Scellery
*Traité de la musette* (Lyon, 1672).

Bornecque, J. H.
*Études Verlainiennes. Lumières sur les fêtes galantes de Paul Verlaine* (Paris, 1969).

Börsch-Supan, H.
"Les très riches heures de Charlottenbourg," *L'Œil* 225 (April 1974), 18-27.

Börsch-Supan, H.
"Music in Painting — A Theme in Frederick the Great's Collection," *The Connoisseur* 195, no. 783 (May 1977), 31-41.

Börsch-Supan, H.
"Art Collection in Berlin and Potsdam in the 18th Century," *Apollo* 106, no. 186 (August 1977), 126-133.

Börsch-Supan, H.
*Die Kunst in Brandenburg-Preussen* (Berlin, 1980).

Börsch-Supan, H.
*Antoine Watteaus* "Embarquement" *im Schloss Charlottenburg* (Berlin, 1983).

Börsch-Supan, H.
"Die Gemälde Antoine Pesne in den Berliner Schlössern. Aus Berliner Schlössern," *Kleine Schriften* 8, no. 33 (1983).

Bosc du Bouchet
*Journée calotine, en deux dialogues* (Maropolis, 1732).

Bosc du Bouchet
*Le conseil de Momus et la revue de son régiment* (1732).

Both de Tauzia, Vicomte
*Notice supplémentaire des dessins, cartons, pastels, et miniatures* (Paris, 1879).

Both de Tauzia, Vicomte
*Notice des dessins de la collection His de la Salle* (Paris, 1881).

Both de Tauzia, Vicomte
*Deuxième Notice supplémentaire des dessins, cartons, pastels et miniatures* (Paris, 1888).

Bottineau, Y.
*L'Art de cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V, 1700-1746* (Bordeaux, 1962).

Boucher, F.
"A propos d'une récente acquisition du musée du Louvre, 'La Foire Saint-Germain,' par Gillot," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* 2 (1923), 302-307.

Boucher, F.
"A propos d'une récente acquisition du musée du Louvre, Gillot et Watteau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 8 (September-October 1923), 165-178.

Boucher, F.
"Les sources d'inspiration de 'L'Enseigne de Gersaint,'" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, année 1957* (1958), 123-129.

Boucher, F., and Jaccottet, P.
*Le dessin français au XVIIIe siècle* (Lausanne, 1952).

Bouchot, H.
*Catalogue de dessins relatifs à l'histoire du théâtre conservés au Département des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1896).

Bouchot-Saupique, J.
"La part des musées de province dans l'exposition des chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art français," *Bulletin des Musées de France* (August 1937), 113-135.

Bouchot-Saupique, J.
*Watteau* (Paris, 1939).
Bouchot-Saupique, J.
*De Fouquet à Cézanne: les maîtres du dessin français* (Paris, 1950).
Bouchot-Saupique, J.
*Les dessins de Watteau* (Paris, 1953).
Boudaille, G.
*Musée de l'Ermitage* (Paris, 1964).
Bouhier, J.
*Correspondance Littéraire du Président Bouhier* (see Duranton).
Bourcard, G.
*Dessins, gouaches, estampes et tableaux du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1893).
Bourcard, G.
*A travers cinq siècles de gravure* (Paris, 1903).
Bouvy, E.
"Fêtes vénitiennes," *Études italiennes* (April-June 1921).
Bouyer, R.
"Watteau et la musique," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 228 (July-August 1921), 95-99 (and pp. 23-27 of a special edition for the bicentenary of the death of Antoine Watteau).
Bowers, J.
"New Light on the Development of the Transverse Flute between about 1650 and about 1770," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 3 (1977), 16-27.
Bowers, J. M.
"Hotteterre," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 8 (London, 1980), 733-737.
Brandi, C.
*Teoria del restauro* (Rome, 1963).
Bredt, E. W.
*Die drei Galanten Meister, Watteau, Pater, Eisen* (Munich, 1921).
Brenet, M.
*Les concerts en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1900).
Brié, R., see Ferré 1972.
Brigghe, V.
"Un grand artiste: Antoine Watteau," *La Croix du Nord* (8 April 1947).
Brillon, P. J.
*Portraits sérieux, galants et critiques* (Paris, 1696).
Brinckmann, A. E.
*J. A. Watteau* (Vienna, 1943).
Brisson, E.
*La maison et le parc de Watteau* (Nogent-sur-Marne, 1910).
Brookner, A.
"French Painting at the Royal Academy," *The Connoisseur* 135, no. 543 (March 1955), 40-44.
Brookner, A.
*Watteau* (London, 1967; Paris and Verona, 1969).
Brookner, A.
"Books Reviews — World and Image, French Painting of the Ancien Régime — By Norman Bryson," *The Burlington Magazine* 125, no. 969 (December 1983), 762-764.
Brossard, S. de
*Dictionnaire de Musique* (Amsterdam, 1703).
Bruant, Y., and Hébert, M.
*Inventaire du fonds français — Graveurs du XVIII^e siècle (Bibliothèque Nationale)*, Vol. 11 (Paris, 1970).
Brugerolles, E., see exh. Paris 1980 (École Nationale des Beaux-Arts).
Bryson, N.
*World and Image. French Painting of the Ancient Regime* (Cambridge, 1981).
Bryson, N., see Brookner, 1983.
Buck, R. D.
"Adriaen van der Werff and Prussian Blue," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 22, no. 2 (Winter 1965), 74-76.
Buendía, J. R.
"Goya, Watteau, y 'el sueño de la inconstancia,'" *Revista de Ideas esteticas* 13, no. 51 (July-September 1955), 247-250.
Buendía, J. R.
"'El sueño de la mentira y de la inconstancia' y sus raices Wattonianas," *Goya* 17, no. 100 (January-February 1971), 240-245.
Buisman, H.
"Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), Half-length Figure of an Oriental," *Old Master Drawings* 4, no. 16 (March 1930), 67-68.
Bunt, C. G. E.
"One Subject by Watteau and Others," *The Connoisseur* 119 (June 1947), 93-98.
Bürger, W. [Thoré]
"Exposition de tableaux de l'école française ancienne, tirés de collections d'amateurs," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1860), 7: 257-277, 330-340; 8: 228-240.
Bürger, W. [Thoré]
"Les collections particulières," *Paris-Guide* I (Paris, 1867).
Burollet, T.
"Le Musée Cognacq-Jay," *Médecine de France* 190 (1968), 25-40.
Burollet, T.
*Le Musée Cognacq-Jay* (Paris, 1973; 1978).
Burollet, T.
"Musée Cognacq-Jay," *Petit Larousse de la peinture*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1979), 1377.
Burollet, T.
*Musée Cognacq-Jay, peintures et dessins* (Paris, 1980).
*Burl. Mag.*
*The Burlington Magazine*
Burtin, F. X. de
*Traité historique et pratique des connaissances qui sont nécessaires à tout amateur de tableaux* (Paris, 1808).
B. W.
"Audelningen för äldre måleri och skulptur, Statens Konstsamlingas till växt och förvalting," *Meddelanden från nationalmuseum* 87 (1962), 22-26.
Byrne, N.
"Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan," *The Galpin Society Journal* 36 (1983), 2-28.
Cabanne, P.
"Grands collectionneurs. Les Cognacq," *Jardin des Arts* (October 1969), 72-85.
Cahusac, L. de
*La Danse ancienne et moderne ou Traité historique de la danse* (The Hague, 1754).
Cailleux, J.
"Les personnages de Watteau dans l'œuvre de Lajoue," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, année 1956* (1957), 101-111.
Cailleux, J.
"Four Studies of Soldiers by Watteau, an Essay on the Chronology of Military Subjects," *The Burlington Magazine* 101, no. 679 (supplement) (September-October 1959), i-v.
Cailleux, J.
"Decorations by Antoine Watteau for the Hôtel de Nointel," *The Burlington Magazine* 103, no. 696 (supplement no. 7) (March 1961), i-v.
Cailleux, J.
"A Rediscovered Painting by Watteau, 'La partie quarrée,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 104, no. 709 (supplement no. 10) (April 1962), i-v.
Cailleux, J.
"Four Artists in Search of the Same Nude Girl," *The Burlington Magazine* 108, no. 757 (supplement no. 16) (April 1966), i-v.
Cailleux, J.
"Newly Identified Drawings by Watteau," *The Burlington Magazine* 109, no. 767 (February 1967), 56-63.
Cailleux, J.
"Un portrait de Watteau par Rosalba Carriera," *Miscellanea, I.Q. van Regteren Altena* (Amsterdam, 1969).
Cailleux, J.
"Some Family and Group Portraits by François de Troy (1645-1730)," *The Burlington Magazine* 113, no. 817 (supplement no. 26) (April 1971), ii-xviii.
Cailleux, J.
"'Watteau and His Times,' at the Hermitage," *The Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 835 (October 1972), 733-734.
Cailleux, J.
"Un étrange monument et autres études sur Watteau," *Art et Curiosité*, special issue (March-April 1975), 85-88; English edition: "A Strange Monument and other Watteau Studies," *The Burlington Magazine* 117, no. 865 (April 1975), 246-249.
Cairns, H., and Walker, J.
*A Pageant of Painting from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, 1944).
Calame, A.
*Regnard, sa vie et son œuvre* (Alger, 1960).
Calvert, A. F.
*The Escorial* (London and New York, 1907).
Calvert, A. F.
*The Prado* (London and New York, 1907).
*Camesasca, E., and Rosenberg, P.
*Tout l'œuvre peint de Watteau* (Paris, 1970; 1983). First published in Italian with authors Montagni and Macchia (1968); also published in English with authors Camesasca and Sunderland (1971).
Campardon, E.
*Les Spectacles de la Foire* (Paris, 1877).
Campardon, E.
*Les Comédiens du Roi de la Troupe françoise pendant les deux derniers siècles* (Paris, 1879).
Campardon, E.
*Les Comédiens du Roi de la Troupe italienne pendant les deux derniers siècles* (Paris, 1880).
Campardon, E.
*Un artiste oublié, J.B. Massé, peintre de Louis XV* (Paris, 1880).
Campardon, E.
*L'Académie royale de Musique au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1884).
Canaday, J.
"Watteau's Forbidden World," *Horizon* 8, no. 3 (1966), 60-79.
Castri, G.
*L'amant libéral dans l'Isle d'Amour* (Paris, 1709).
Catroux, R.C., and Dacier, E.
"Collections de Mme la Marquise de Ganay," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* (April 1922), 284-300.
[Caylus?]
*L'Apothéose du Beau-Sexe* (London, 1712).
Caylus, Comte de
"Vie de Watteau" (lecture read before the Academy on 3 February 1748) (see also Champion 1921, and Rubin 1968-1969).
Caylus, Comte de
*Recueil d'Antiquités* (Paris, 1752-1767).
Cecil, R.
"The Remainder of the Hertford and Wallace Collections," *The Burlington Magazine* 92, no. 567 (June 1950), 168-172.
Cellier, L.
*Antoine Watteau, son enfance, ses contemporains* (Valenciennes, 1867).
Champeaux, A. de
*Histoire de la peinture décorative* (Paris, 1890).
Champeaux, A. de
"L'Art décoratif dans le vieux Paris," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 67 (February 1891), 134-158.
Champeaux, A. de
*L'Art décoratif dans le vieux Paris* (Paris, 1898).
Champier, V.
*Le Palais-Royal d'après des documents inédits (1629-1900)* (Paris, 1900).
Champion, P.
"Watteau à Nogent," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 228 (July-August 1921), 109-114 (also pp. 37-42 of a special edition for the bicentenary of the death of Antoine Watteau).
*Champion, P.
*Notes critiques sur les vies anciennes d'Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1921).

Chan, V.
"Watteau's 'Les Comédiens Italiens' Once More," *Racar* 5, no. 2 (1978-1979), 107-112.

Chastel, A.
"Peinture française en Russie," *Médecine de France* 91 (1958), 41-42.

Chastel, A.
"Watteau: passions et manigances," *Le Monde* (28 December 1973), 9.

Chastel, A.
*Fables, formes et figures,* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1978).

Chancerel, L.
"Arlequin" in *Jeux, Tréteaux et personnages* 12 (15 August 1931), 339-365.

Chazaud
*Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1877).

Chazet, A. de
"Watteau," *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne (Biographie Michaud),* Vol. 50 (Paris, 1827).

Chennevières, H. de
*Les dessins du Louvre, III. École française* (Paris [1882]).

Chennevières, P. de, and Montaiglon, A. de, see Mariette 1862.

Chennevières, P. de
*Dessins de Maîtres Anciens, exposés à l'École des Beaux-Arts en 1879* (Paris, 1880).

Chennevières, P. de
*Souvenirs d'un directeur des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1883-1884; reprinted 1979).

Chevalley, S.
*Album théâtre classique, la vie théâtrale sous Louis XIII et Louis XIV* (Paris, 1970).

Chevalley, S.
"Les bals de la saison d'hiver en 1716-1717," *Comédie-Française* 66 (1978)

Chouillet, A.M.
"Le clavecin oculaire de Père Castel," *Dix-Huitième Siècle,* 8 (1976), 141-166.

Cioranesco A.
*Bibliographie de la littérature française du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1969)

Citron, P.
*Couperin* (Paris, 1956).

Clark, K.
"Eine Sammlung geht auf Reisen — Die Fähigkeit des Enzückens," *Du* 40, no. 468 (1980), 31-45.

Claudel, P.
*L'œil écoute* (Paris, 1946).

Clay, J.
*Le romantisme* (Paris, 1980).

Clément de Ris, L.
"Beaux-Arts — Exposition de la Société des Artistes," *L'Artiste* (10 January 1847), 155-157.

Clément de Ris, L.
"Troisième exposition de l'Association des Artistes," *L'Artiste* (30 January 1848), 193-196.

Clément de Ris, L.
*Le musée royal de Madrid* (Paris, 1859).

Clément de Ris, L.
*Les musées de Province* (Paris, 1872).

Clément de Ris, L.
*Les amateurs d'autrefois* (Paris, 1877).

Clément de Ris, L.
"Le musée impérial de l'Ermitage à Saint-Pétersbourg — École française," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 21 (1880), 262-273.

Cochin, C.-N.
*Mémoires inédits sur le comte de Caylus, Bouchardon, les Slodtz* (Paris, 1880).

Cohen, A.
*Music in the French Academy of Sciences* (Princeton, 1981).

Collé, C.
*Journal et Mémoires,* rev. ed. (Paris, 1868).

Colton, J.
*The Parnasse françois: Titon du Tillet and the Origins of the Monument of Genius* (New Haven and London, 1979).

Colvin, S.
*Drawings of the Old Masters in the University Galleries and Christ Church* (Oxford, 1907).

Conisbee, P.
Review of Watteau: "A Lady at Her Toilette" by Donald Posner, *The Burlington Magazine* 116, no. 852 (September 1974), 545-546.

Constans, C.
"Hommage à Louis La Caze (1798-1869)," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 2 (1969), 115-132.

Constans, C., see Béguin.

Constantini, A.
*La vie de Scaramouche par Mezzetin* (Paris, 1695).

Cooke, H.L.
*French Painting in the 16th-18th Centuries in the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, 1959).

Coope, R.
*Salomon de Brosse* (London, 1972).

Cooper, D.
*Great Private Collections* (London 1963; French ed., Paris, 1963).

[Coquelet, L.]
*L'Asne* (Paris, 1729).

Cormack, M.
*The Drawings of Watteau* (London, New York, Sidney, and Toronto, 1970).

*Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie,* see Montaiglon.

Corrette, M.
*Méthode Théorique et pratique pour apprendre en peu de temps le violoncelle dans sa perfection* (Paris, 1741).

Corrette, M.
*Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la Contre-Basse* (Paris, 1781).

Costantini, see Constantini.

Cotolendi, C.
*Arliquiniania* (Paris, 1694).

Couperin, F.
*L'art de toucher le Clavecin* (Paris, 1717).

Courville, X. de
*Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre au XVIII^e siècle, Luigi Riccoboni dit Lélio,* Vol. 1 (Paris, 1943); Vol. 2: *L'expérience française, 1716-1731* (Paris, 1945); Vol. 3: *La Leçon, 1732-1753* (Paris, 1958).

Cousin, J.
*Le tombeau de Watteau à Nogent-sur-Marne — Notice historique sur la vie et la mort d'Antoine Watteau, sur l'érection et l'inauguration du monument élevé par souscription en 1865* (Nogent-sur-Marne, 1865).

Coypel, A.
*Discours prononcé dans les conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris, 1721).

Coypel, C.A. (and Lalande)
*Les Folies de Cardémio* (Paris, 1720).

Crapet, A.
*Sur Antoine Watteau* (Lille, 1921).

Croft-Murray, E., and Blunt, A.
*Venetian Drawings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle* (London, 1957).

Croft-Murray, E.
"Watteau's Design for a Fan-Leaf," *Apollo* 99, no. 145 (March 1974), 176-181.

Cucuel, G.
"Sources et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Opéra-Comique en France," *L'Année musicale* 3 (1913), 247-282.

Cunningham, C. C.
"'The Peasant Danse' by Antoine Watteau," *The Art Quarterly* 11 (1948), 77-78.

Curtis, A. R.
*Crispin I^er: La vie et l'œuvre de Raymond Poisson, comédien-poète du XVII^e siècle* (Toronto, 1972).

Cuzin, J. P., see exh. Paris 1977 (Musée du Louvre).

Cuzin, J.-P.
"Deux dessins du British Museum: Watteau, ou plutôt La Fosse," *Revue du Louvre* (February 1981), 19-21.

Dacier, E.
"Figures de théâtre, I, de Molière à Voltaire," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 15, no. 85 (April 1904), 263-280.

Dacier, E.
*Le musée de la Comédie-Française, 1680-1905* (Paris, 1905).

Dacier, E.
*Catalogues de ventes et livrets de salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin,* 6 vols. (Paris, 1909-1921).

Dacier, E.
"Les premiers amateurs de Watteau en France," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 228 (July-August 1921), 115-130 (also pp. 43-58 of the special number in honor of the bicentenary of Watteau's death).

Dacier, E.
"Un dessin de Watteau qui rentre en France," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* (April 1922), 327-328.

Dacier, E.
"En étudiant l'œuvre gravé de Watteau: faits nouveaux et documents inédits," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1923), 86-94.

Dacier, E.
"Ce que racontent les œuvres d'art. Devant la prétendue 'Antiope' de Watteau," *Le Figaro Artistique* (22 November 1923), 4-6.

Dacier, E.
"Les scènes et figures théâtrales de Claude Gillot," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 45 (1924), 44-56.

Dacier, E.
"Une légende, Watteau et le concert Crozat du 30 septembre 1720," *Revue de l'Art* 46 (November 1924), 289-298.

Dacier, E.
"Sur deux scènes de la Comédie-Italienne dessinées par Claude Gillot," *Mélanges Bertaux* (1924), 51-57.

Dacier, E.
"Watteau et le concert Crozat du 30 septembre 1720," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* 2 (1924), 353-355.

Dacier, E.
*Antoine Watteau, Dessinateur de figures de différents caractères* (Paris, 1926).

Dacier, E.
"Caylus, graveur de Watteau," *L'Amateur d'estampes* (1926), 161-169; (1927), 1-10, 52-58, 69-77.

Dacier, E.
*Antoine Watteau. Cinquante-deux dessins* (Paris, 1930) *(Dessins de maîtres français,* Vol. 10).

Dacier, E.
"Autour de Watteau—L'île de Cythère avant 'l'Embarquement,'" *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 71 (1937), 247-250.

Dacier, E.
*L'art au XVIII^e siècle en France — Époques Régence — Louis XV, 1715-1760* (Paris, 1951).

Dacier, E.
"Catalogues de ventes et livrets de salons illustrés et annotés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin. 12. Catalogue de la vente Verrier (1776)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 41 (May-June 1953), 297-334.

*Dacier, E., Hérold, J., and Vuaflart, A.
*Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e siècle.*
Vol. 1, Hérold and Vuaflart, *Notices et documents biographiques* (Paris, 1929); Vol. 2, Dacier and Vuaflart, *Historique* (Paris, 1922); Vol. 3, Dacier and Vuaflart, *Catalogue* (Paris, 1922); Vol. 4, Dacier and Vuaflart, *Planches* (Paris, 1921).

Danchet, A.
*Œuvres mêlées* (Paris, 1751).

Dandré-Bardon, M.F.
*Essai sur la sculpture, suivi d'un catalogue des artistes les plus fameux de l'École Française,* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1765).

Daniels, J.
*Sebastiano Ricci* (Hove, 1976).
Daquin, P. L.
*Siècle littéraire de Louis XV ou Lettres sur les hommes célèbres* (Amsterdam, 1745).
Dargenty, G.
*Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1891) (Les artistes célèbres).
Dartois-Lapeyre, F.
*La danse au temps de l'opéra-ballet,* doctoral dissertation (3e cycle), Paris 1 (June 1983).
Daub, P.
"Rebel," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* Vol. 15 (1980), 638-640.
Davis, C. A.
*A Description of the Works of Art Forming the Collection of Alfred de Rothschild* (London, 1884).
Dayot, A.
*L'Image de la Femme* (Paris, 1899).
Dean, W.
"Pacini," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* Vol. 14 (London, 1980), 65-66.
Delacre, M. and Lavallée, P.
*Dessins de maîtres anciens* (Paris, 1927).
Delair
*Traité d'accompagnement pour le théorbe et le clavecin.*
Dellard, P.
*Un amour de Watteau, comédie en un acte, en vers* (Valenciennes, 1884).
Delteil, L.
*Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1910).
Demorianne, H.
"Watteau rediscuté," *Connaissance des Arts* 265 (March 1974), 88-94.
Demorianne, H.
"Le 'Gilles' de Watteau," *Connaissance des Arts* 270 (August 1974), 34-36.
Démoris, R.
"Les fêtes galantes chez Watteau et dans le roman contemporain," *Le Dix-Huitième siècle* 3 (1971), 337-357.
Deprun, J.
*La philosophie de l'inquiétude en France au 18e siècle* (Paris, 1979).
Desboulmiers
*Histoire du Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique* (Paris, 1767).
Descargues, P.
*Le musée de l'Ermitage* (Paris, 1961).
Des Essarts, E.
*Poésies parisiennes* (Paris, 1862).
Deshairs, L.
"Les Arabesques de Watteau" (Mélanges offerts à M. Henri Lemonnier), *Archives de l'Art français* 7 (1913), 287-300.
Desmolets, P.N.
*Continuation des Mémoires de Littérature et d'histoire* (Paris, 1727).
Desparmet, F. X.
*La Chute d'Eau par Antoine Watteau* (Paris, n.d.).
Despois, E.
*Le théâtre français sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1874).
Destrée, J.
"Les peintres des fêtes galantes, Watteau et Pater," *Les arts anciens du Hainaut* (Brussels, 1911), 155-170.
Desvignes, L.
"La parodie à la Foire et au Théâtre Italien d'après les recueils de Lesage et de Fuzelier," *Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 3 (1979), 297-318.
Dezallier d'Argenville, A. J.
*Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres* (vol. 2, 1st ed., 1745; vol. 4, rev. ed., 1762) (see also Champion 1921).
Dezallier d'Argenville, A. N.
*Voyage pittoresque de Paris, ou Indication de tout ce qu'il y a de beau dans cette grande ville en peinture, sculpture et architecture* (1749; 1752; 1757; 1765).
*Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789)* (Grenoble, 1976), under the direction of J. Sgard.
*Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600-1789) Supplements I-III* (Grenoble, 1980-1984), prepared by A.M. Chouillet and F. Moureau.
Diderot, D.
*Œuvres Esthétiques* (Paris, 1968).
Diderot, D., and d'Alembert
*Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1751-1780).
Dilke, E. F. S.
*French Painters of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1899).
Dimier, A., see Réau 1928.
Dinaux, A.
*Notice sur Antoine Watteau de Valenciennes* (Valenciennes, 1834).
Dinaux, A., and Brunet, G.
*Les Sociétés badines, bacchiques, littéraires et chantantes* (Paris, 1867).
Dirion, P.
"Une seconde exposition d'art ancien à la Samaritaine," *La Renaissance de l'art français et des Industries de luxe* (May 1926), pp. 290-293.
Dobroklonsky, M. V.
*Musée de l'Ermitage. Dessins des maîtres anciens. Exposition de 1926* (Leningrad, 1927).
Dobroklonsky, M. V.
"Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), Figure of a Young Woman Seen from Behind," *Old Master Drawings* 5, no. 20 (March 1931), 68-69.
Dobroklonsky, M. V.
*The State Hermitage, Graphika* (Leningrad, 1961).
Dohme, R.
"Zur Literatur über Watteau," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* (1876), 86-93.
Dohme, R.
*Kunst und Künstler bis gegen das Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, Spaniens, Frankreichs und Englands,* Vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1880).
Dohme, R.
*Die Ausstellung von Gemälden älterer Meister in Berliner Privatbesitz: Die Französische Schule des XVIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1883). Also in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlunger,* Vol. 4 (Berlin, 1883), 217-256.
D'Ors, E.
*Trois heures au musée du Prado* (Paris, 1928).
Drescher, H.
"Das Neue Palais in Potsdam und der Spätstil der friderizianischen Architektur," *Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, Preussen. Festschrift für Margaret Kühn* (Munich and Berlin, 1975), 217-236.
Dreyfus, C.
"Collection de Mme. la Marquise de Ganay, née Ridgway," *Les Arts* (December 1909), 1-32.
Dubois, J. B.
*Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (Paris, 1719).
Dubois de Saint-Gelais, L. F.
*Histoire journalière de Paris* (Paris, 1717).
Dubois de Saint-Gelais, L. F.
*Description des tableaux du Palais Royal avec la vie des peintres à la tête de leurs ouvrages* (Paris, 1727).
Dubuisson, M.
"Les musées de Troyes," *Revue Française* (October 1957).
Duchartre, P. L.
*La Commedia dell'arte et ses enfants* (Paris, 1955).
Dumesnil J.
*Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs français: P.-J. Mariette* (Paris, 1856).
Dumont, F.
"Le musée imaginaire de Delacroix," *Connaissance des Arts* 62 (April 1957), 61-64.
Dumont, L.
*Antoine Watteau, conférence publique faite à Valenciennes* (Valenciennes, 1866).
Duplessis, G.
*Histoire de la gravure en France* (Paris, 1861).
Du Noyer, A.
*Lettres historiques et galantes* (London, 1757).
Dupont-Jones, L.
*Pierrot — Watteau — A Nineteenth Century Myth* (1983).
Du Pradel, A.
*Livre commode des adresses de Paris* (Paris, 1692).
Dupuy du Grez, B.
*Traité sur la peinture* (Toulouse, 1699).
Durand, see Bedacier
Duranton, H.
*Correspondance littéraire du Président Bouhier* (Saint-Étienne, 1974).
Duranton, H.
*Journal de la Cour et de Paris depuis le 28 novembre 1732 jusqu'au 30 novembre 1733* (Saint-Étienne, 1981) (ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, f.fr. 25000).
Dussieux, L.
*Les artistes français à l'étranger* (Paris, 1852; 1856; 1876).
Du Tralage, J. N.
*Notes et documents sur l'histoire des théâtres de Paris* (Paris, 1880).
[Dyce]
*Handbook of the Dyce and Forster Collections in the South Kensington Museum* 9 (London [1880]).
Eckardt, G.
"Die Bildergalerie in Sans-Souci. Zur Geschichte des Bauwerks und seiner Sammlungen bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts," unpublished Ph. D. diss. (Halle-Wittenberg, 1974).
Eckhardt, D.
*Antoine Watteau* (Berlin, 1964) (Welt der Kunst).
Eckhardt, D.
*Antoine Watteau* (Berlin, 1975).
Edwards, H.
"Two Drawings by Antoine Watteau," *Museum Studies, The Art Institute of Chicago* 1 (1966), 8-14.
Eggeling, T.
*Studien zum friederizianischen Rokoko — Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff als Entwerfer von Innendekorationen* (Berlin, 1980).
Eggeling, T.
"Ueber das Verhältnis der Ornamententwürfe Watteaus zur Dekoration der Goldenen Galerie" (in exh. Berlin 1983, Charlottenburg).
Eidelberg, M. P.
"A Cycle of Four Seasons by the Young Watteau," *The Art Quarterly* 19, no. 3-4 (1966), 269-276.
Eidelberg, M. P.
"Watteau's 'Le rendez-vous,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 70 (November 1967), 285-294.
Eidelberg, M. P.
"Watteau's Use of Landscape Drawings," *Master Drawings* 5, no. 2 (1967), 173-182.
Eidelberg, M. P.
"Watteau, Lancret, and the Fountains of Oppenort," *The Burlington Magazine* 110, no. 785 (August 1968), 447-456.
Eidelberg, M. P.
"Watteau's 'La Boudeuse,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 111, no. 794 (May 1969), 275-278.
Eidelberg, M. P.
"The Painters of the Grenoble 'Flutist' and Some Other Collaborations," *The Art Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (1969), 282-291.
Eidelberg, M. P.
"P. A. Quillard, an Assistant to Watteau," *The Art Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (1970), 39-70.
Eidelberg, M. P.
"Watteau and Gillot: A Point of Contact," *The Burlington Magazine* 115, no. 841 (April 1973), 232-239.
Eidelberg, M. P.
"Watteau and Gillot: An Additional Point of Contact," *The Burlington Magazine* 117, no. 858 (September 1974), 538-539.
Eidelberg, M. P.
"Watteau Paintings in England in the Early

Eighteenth Century," *The Burlington Magazine* 117, no. 870 (September 1975), 576-582.

*Eidelberg, M. P.
*Watteau's Drawings, Their Use and Significance* (New York and London, 1977) (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts; dissertation submitted to Princeton University in 1965).

Eidelberg, M. P.
"'Le Flûtiste' de Grenoble remis en question," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 1 (1978), 12-19.

Eidelberg, M. P.
"Quillard as Draughtsman," *Master Drawings* 19, no. 1 (1981), 27-39.

Einstein, L.
"Looking at French Eighteenth Century Pictures in Washington," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 169 (May-June 1956), 213-250.

Eisenstadt, M.
*Watteau's fêtes galantes und ihre Ursprünge* (Berlin, 1930).

Eisler, C.
"Two Immortalized Landscapes, Watteau and the Recueil Jullienne," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 25 (1965-1966), 165-176.

Eisler, C.
*Paintings from the Samuel Kress Collection, European Schools Excluding Italian* (London, 1977).

Elling, C.
"Den italienske Nat," *Aestetiske Studier* (1942), 1-71.

Elling, C.
"Tuileriernis Vagt," *Skuepladser Kunst og teater* (1971), 111-118.

Emile-Mâle, G.
"La transposition de la Vierge aux rochers de Léonard de Vinci," in *Raccolta Vinciana* 19 (Milan, 1962), 117-123.

Emile-Mâle, G.
"Étude historique des vernis à tableaux d'après les textes français de 1620 à 1803," *Congrès triennal du Comité de Conservation de I.C.O.M.*, (Venice, 1975).

Emmerich, C.
"Zu zwei Gemälden Antoine Watteaus," *Dresdener Kunstblatt* 6 (1962), 18-21.

Engel, C. E.
"Le Régent collectionneur," in *La Régence* (Paris, 1970), 58-65.

Engwall, G.
"Antoine Watteau," *Old Master Drawings* 8, no. 29 (June 1933), 7.

Engwall, G.
"Les dessins d'Antoine Watteau au musée national de Stockholm," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 13 (June 1935), 336-346.

Ephrussi, C.
"Les dessins de la collection His de la Salle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (December 1882), 486-496.

Ephrussi, C.
"Exposition d'œuvres de maîtres anciens tirées des collections privées de Berlin en 1883," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 54 (April 1884), 273-280 (1st article); 55 (July 1884), 98-104 (3rd article).

Erne, N.
"Watteau Poet unter Malern," *Jahrbuch des Wiener Goethe Vereins* (1975), 5-26.

Ernst, S.
"L'exposition de peinture française des XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles au musée de l'Ermitage à Petrograd (1922-1925)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 121 (March 1928), 163-182.

Ettesvold, P.
"De Watteau à Watteau de Lille: dessins français du XVIII[e] siècle. La donation Suzanne et Henri Baderou au musée de Rouen," *Études de la Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 1 (1981), 62-66.

Eudel, P.
*L'hôtel et la curiosité en 1883*, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1884).

Eudel, P.
*L'hôtel et la curiosité en 1883-1884*, Vol. 4 (Paris, 1885).

Eudel, P.
*L'hôtel et la curiosité en 1884-1885*, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1886).

Ewert, S.
"Ballett und Pantomime in der Commedia dell'arte erötert aus Beispiel von Gregorio Lambranzi. Neue und curieuse Theatralische Tantzschul," *Mask und Kothurn* 3-4 (1976), 224-237.

Fahy, E.
*The Wrightsman Collection, Volume V, Paintings and Drawings* (Greenwich, 1973) (also includes a section on the Sculptures by Sir Francis Watson).

Farmer, J. D.
"A New Painting by François Boucher," *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* 58, no. 2 (March-April), 16-18.

Félibien, A.
*Des principes de l'architecture, de la sculpture et de la peinture* (Paris, 1676).

Ferraton, C.
"'L'Embarquement pour Cythère' de Watteau," *Jardin des Arts* 149 (July-August 1976), 81-91.

*Ferré, J.
*Watteau* (Madrid, 1972). (Ferré, J., Mathieu, G., Saint-Paulien, J., Watteau, M., Torrecilla, I., and Brié, R., *Critiques*, Vol. 1; *Plates*, Vol. 2; Ferré, J. and Brié, R., *Catalogue*, Vol. 3; Ferré, J., Brié, R. and Lugo, C., *Tables*, Vol. 4).

Ferré, J.
"Watteau, metteur en scène de génie," *Plaisir de France* 415 (December 1973-January 1974), 48-56.

Ferré, J.
*Lettre ouverte à un amateur d'art* (Paris, 1975).

Ferré, J.
*Watteau* (Paris, 1980) (A l'école des grands peintres,) Vol. 2.

Feuillet, M.
"Un musée qui se renouvelle," *Le Figaro artistique* 25 (February 1926), 307-309.

Fevret de Fontette
*Recueil divers, bizarres, du grave et facétieux, du bon et du mauvais selon les temps par Pierre de l'Etoille et autres textes* (manuscript at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, ms. 3137).

Fierens, P.
"Au musée Carnavalet, la deuxième exposition des chefs-d'œuvre des musées de province," *Bulletin des Musées de France* 4 (April 1933), 50-64.

Fillion, M.
"Giovanni Guido Antonio," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 4 (London, 1980).

Finley, G.
"Ars longa, vita brevis: The Watteau Study and Lord Percy by J.M.W. Turner," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1981), 241-247.

Fischel, O.
"Altes und neues vom Schild des Gersaint," *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte* 1, nos. 5-6 (1932), 341-353.

Fischer, C.
*Les Costumes de l'Opéra* (Paris, 1931).

Florisoone, M.
*La peinture française. Le XVIII[e] siècle* (Paris, 1948).

Foerster, C. F.
*Das neue Palais bei Potsdam* (Berlin, 1923).

Foerster, C. F.
"Das gegenstuck zu Watteaus 'Brautzug' in Schloss Sans-Souci," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* (1924), 27-29.

Foerster, C. F.
*Meisterzeichnungen aus der Sammlung Koenigs; Französische Meister des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1930).

Fontaine, A.
*Les collections de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Paris, 1910).

Fontenay, L. A. de Bonafons
*Dictionnaire des artistes ou notice historique et raisonné des architectes, peintres, graveurs* (Paris, 1776).

Fontenay, L. A.
*Galerie du Palais Royal, gravée d'après les tableaux des différentes écoles qui la composent, avec un abrégé de la vie des peintres et une description historique de chaque tableau*, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1808).

Fontenelle
*Œuvres* (Paris, 1742).

Fosca, F.
*Le dix-huitième siècle. De Watteau à Tiepolo* (Geneva, 1952).

Foucart, P. E.
"Antoine Watteau à Valenciennes," *Société des Beaux-Arts des départements* 16 (1892), 520-560.

Foucart, P. E.
*Deuxième Centenaire de la Naissance de Antoine Watteau. L'Homme — Le Monument* (Valenciennes, 1884).

Fouquier, M.
*Paris au XVIII[e] siècle — Ses "Folies"* (Paris, 1912).

Fourcaud, L. de
"Potsdam à Paris," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 8, no. 43 (October 1900), 269-276.

Fourcaud, L. de
"Antoine Watteau," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*. Series of articles publ. bet. 1901-1905: "Vers la joie, Entrée de Watteau dans l'histoire, le génie de Watteau," 9, no. 47 (February 1901), 87-100; "Les maîtres de Watteau," 9, no. 50 (May 1901), 313-329; "L'existence de Watteau," 10, no. 52 (July 1901), 105-121, 10, no. 54 (September 1901), 163-174, and 10, no. 55 (October 1901), 241-258; "L'invention sentimentale, l'effort technique et les pratiques de composition et d'exécution de Watteau," 10, no. 56 (November 1901), 236-349; "Scènes et figures théâtrales," 15, no. 83 (February 1904), 135-150, and 15, no. 84 (March 1904), 193-213; "Scènes et figures galantes," 16, no. 92 (November 1904), 341-356, and 17, no. 95 (February 1905), 105-120.

Fourcaud, L. de
"Antoine Watteau, peintre d'arabesques," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 23, no. 141 (December 1908), 431-440; 25, no. 142 (January 1909), 49-59; and 25, no. 143 (February 1909), 129-140.

Fournier, E.
*Histoire des enseignes de Paris* (Paris, 1884).

Fowles, E.
*Memories of the Duveen Brothers* (New York, 1976).

Fraguier, C. F., see Huet, P. D.

Francastel, P.
*Histoire de la Peinture française*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1971).

Frankfurter, A. M.
"French Masterpieces for the National Gallery," *Art News* 43, no. 10 (August 1944).

Frankfurter, A. M.
*The Kress Collection in the National Gallery* (New York, 1944).

Franklyn, L., and Carritt, D.
*Antoine Watteau, Twenty-six Recently Found Drawings* (London, n.d.).

Frederick the Great
*Works of Frederick the Great*, Vols. 14, 20, 25, 27 (Berlin, 1854). See also Bareuth.

Freillon-Poncein, J. P.
*La Véritable Manière d'apprendre à jouer en perfection du Haut-Bois, de la Flûte et du Flageolet* (Paris, 1700).

Frenzel, K.
*Watteau ein Roman* (Hanover, 1864).

Frerichs, L. C. J.
*Keuze van tekeningen, bewaard ui het Rijksprentenkabinet* (Amsterdam, 1973).

Frerichs, L. C. J.
*Selected Drawings from the Printroom* (Amsterdam, 1965).
Fréville, M. de
"Estimation de tableaux au XVIII[e] siècle," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français* 4 (1888), 62-64.
Friedrich der Grosse, see Bareuth and Frederick.
Führer, D.
*Schloss Sanssouci* (Berlin, 1926).
Furetière, A.
*Dictionnaire universel* (The Hague, 1690).
Fuzelier, L.
"Pièces de théâtre" (manuscript at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, ms. 9545).
Fuzelier, L.
"Théâtre inedit" (manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, f.fr. 9332-9338 [Soleinne]).
*GBA*
*Gazette des Beaux-Arts.*
Gabillot, G.
*Les peintres des fêtes galantes, Antoine Watteau, Jean-Baptiste Pater, Nicolas Lancret* (Paris, 1907).
[Gacon, F.]
*Le Poète sans fard* (Cologne, 1696).
Gallet, M.
*Stately Mansions. Eighteenth-Century Paris Architecture* (New York and Washington, 1972).
Gauffin, A.
"Watteau på Nationalmuseum," in *Antoine Watteau och andra franska sjuttonhundratalsmästare i Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm, 1953). (See Nordenfalk.)
Gault de Saint-Germain, P. M.
*Les trois siècles de la peinture en France.* (Paris, 1808).
Gauthier, M.
*Watteau* (Paris, 1959) *(Les grands peintres).*
Gauthier, T.
"Exposition du Boulevard des Italiens," *Le Moniteur universel* (24 octobre 1860) 1261-1262
Gauthier, T.
"Le musée du Louvre," *Paris-guide,* Vol. 1 (Paris, 1867).
Gedoyn, N.
*Œuvres diverses* (Paris, 1745).
Gesnest, C. C.
*Dissertations sur la poésie pastorale ou De l'Idylle et de l'Eglogue* (Paris, 1707).
Gentil-Bernard, P. J. (called Bernard)
*Œuvres* (London, 1775).
Georgel, see exh. Dijon 1982-1983.
Gersaint, E. F.
"Abrégé de la vie d'Antoine Watteau," *Catalogue raisonné des diverses curiosités du cabinet de Peu M. Quentin de Lorangère* (Paris, 1744). (See also Champion 1921).
Gersaint, E. F.
*Catalogue de la vente Angran de Fonspertuis* (Paris, December 1747-March 1748).
Gherardi, E. (ed.)
*Le Théâtre italien* (Paris, 1700).
Gillet, L.
*L'art flamand et la France* (Paris, 1918).
Gillet, L.
*Un grand maître du XVIII[e] siècle, Watteau* (Paris, 1921).
Gillet, L.
*Watteau, son centenaire à Valenciennes, les cahiers de l'amitié de France et de Flandres* (Paris, 1921).
Gillet, L.
*La peinture au musée du Louvre. École française XVIII[e] siècle,* (Paris, 1929).
Gimpel, R.
*Journal d'un collectionneur, marchand de tableaux* (Paris, 1963).
Girdlestone, C.
*Jean-Philippe Rameau, sa vie, son œuvre* (1962).
Girdlestone, C.
*La tragédie en musique (1673-1750),* (Geneva and Paris, 1972).
Girod de L'Ain, G.
*Les Thélusson, Histoire d'une famille* (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1977).
Girodie, A.
"Les musées de Strasbourg, I, musée de peinture et de sculpture," *La revue de l'Art* 22, no. 126 (September 1907), 173-191.
Girodie, A.
"Jacques Sarazin (1592-1660)" (Blérancourt, 1934).
Godard, L.
"Exposition de peinture—L'école française du dix-huitième siècle au boulevard des Italiens," *Les Beaux-Arts, Revue nouvelle* 1 (1860), 328-337.
Godfrey, F. M.
"L'amor sacro e l'amor profano," *Apollo* 50 (1949), 61-64.
Goldschmidt, E.
*Frankrigs Malerkunst—Dens Farve dens Historie Overgangen til det attente Aarhundrede — Omkring Watteau og Chardin,* Vol. 2 (Copenhagen, 1924).
Goldstein, N.
*One Hundred American and European Drawings* (Englewood Cliffs, 1982).
Goncourt, E., and J. de
"La philosophie de Watteau," *L'Artiste* (7 September 1856), 127-129.
Goncourt, E., and J. de
*Portraits intimes du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1857). (First publication of the *Vie d'Antoine Watteau* written by Comte de Caylus and discovered in 1856 by the Goncourts; see Champion 1921.)
Goncourt, E., and J. de
*L'art du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1860; rev. ed., 1873-1874; 1881).
Goncourt, E., and J. de
*Journal, années 1859 et 1865* (ed. 1888, Vols. 1 and 2).
Goncourt, E. de
*Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint, dessiné et gravé d'Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1875).
Goncourt, E. de
*La maison d'un artiste* (Paris, 1881; rev. ed., 1898, 2 vols.).
Gonse, L.
*Les chefs-d'œuvre des musées de France* (Paris, 1900).
Gonse, L.
*Chefs-d'œuvre des musées de France, II, Sculptures, dessins, objets d'art* (Paris, 1904).
Gower, R.
*The Northbrook Gallery* (London, 1885).
Gozlan, L.
"Antoine Watteau,"*L'Artiste* (1839), 156-162.
Gradmann, E.
*Französische Meisterzeichnungen des 18. Jahrhunderts* (New York, 1949).
Grandval, see Racot de Grandval.
Grasselli, see exh. Washington 1982.
Graul, R.
*Maestri del rococo: Watteau, Boucher, Fragonard* (Bergamo, 1938).
Gregori, M.
*La Fondazione Roberto Longhi a Firenze* (Milan, 1980).
Grigaut, P. L.
"Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century French Graphic Arts in the Philadelphia Museum," *The Art Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1954), 154-156.
Gross, W.
*Antoine Watteau als porträtist* (Solingen-Ohligs, n.d.).
Guédy, T.
*Musées de France et collections particulières* (Paris, 1889).
Guénot, H.
"La Roque," *Dictionnaire des journalistes,* supplement no. 4 (Grenoble) (in press).
Guerman, M.
*Antoine Watteau* (Leningrad, 1980).
Gueullette, T. S.
*Histoire du théâtre Italien, manuscrit écrit vers l'an 1760* (Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris, ms. rés. 635).
Gueullette, T. S.
*Notes et souvenirs sur le théâtre italien au XVIII[e] siècle* (Paris, 1938).
Guiffrey, J., see Marcel, P.
Guiffrey, J.
"Le peintre graveur Pierre-Antoine Quillard," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 122 (February 1929), 61-74.
Guiffrey, M. J., and Courajod, M. L.
"Documents sur la vente de la collection du M[is] de Ménars" (1782), *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français* (1873), 388-404.
Guilcher, J.
*La contredanse et les renouvellements de la danse française* (Paris and The Hague, 1969).
Guillaume, G.
*Antoine Watteau, sa vie, son œuvre et les manuscrits à sa mémoire — Fête du bicentenaire du peintre des Fêtes Galantes* (Lille, 1884).
Guiraud, L.
*Dessins de l'école française du XVIII[e] siècle provenant de la collection H.* (Paris, 1913).
Guyot de Pitaval, F.
*Heures perdues du Chevalier de Rior* (Paris, 1715).
H.B.W.
"The Bequest of Anne D. Thompson," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 19, no. 3 (March 1924), 64.
H.S.F.
"The Romancer, A Drawing by Jean Antoine Watteau," *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin* 16 (December 1929), 179-181 and 28 (January 1941), 104.
Hackenbroch, Y.
"Meissen Porcelain and Copies of the Eighteenth Century," *The Connoisseur* 137, no. 553 (May 1956), 149-154.
Hackenbroch, Y.
"English Porcelain and Enamel," *The Connoisseur* 138, no. 556 (November 1956), 106-111.
Hagstrum, J. H.
*Sex and Sensibility, Ideal and Erotic Love from Milton to Mozart* (Chicago, 1980).
Hannover, E., See Madsen.
Hannover, E.
*"De Galante Festers Maler," Antoine Watteau* (Copenhagen, 1888). Published also in *Zeitschrift fü Bildende Kunst* 24 (1889), 213-219.
Haskell, F.
*Rediscoveries in Art. Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion, and Collecting in England and France* (London, 1976).
Haverkamp-Begemann, E.
*Vijf eeuwen tekenkunst, Tekeningen van Europese meester in het Boymans Museum te Rotterdam* (Rotterdam, 1957).
Haverkamp-Begemann, E., Lawder, S.D., and Talbot, C.W., Jr.
*Drawings from the Clark Art Institute,* 2 vols. (New Haven and London, 1964).
Haverkamp-Begemann, E., and Logan, A.-M.
*European Drawings and Watercolors in the Yale University Art Gallery, 1500-1900,* 2 vols. (New Haven and London, 1970).
Hawes, C. H.
"'La Perspective' by Antoine Watteau," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 22, no. 129 (February 1924), 1-2.
Hazen, A. T.
*A Catalogue of Horace Walpole's Library,* 3 vols. (New Haven and London, 1969).
Head, E.
*Handbook of Painting—The German, Flemish, Dutch, Spanish, and French Schools,* Vol. 2 (London, 1854).
Hébert, M., Pognon., E., and Bruand, Y.
*Inventaire du fonds français—Graveurs du XVIII[e] siècle (Bibliothèque Nationale),* Vol. 10

(Paris, 1968).
Hébert, M., and Sjöberg, Y.
*Inventaire du fonds français—Graveurs du XVIII^e siècle (Bibliothèque Nationale)*, Vol. 12 (Paris, 1973).
Hébert, M.
*Dictionnaire pittoresque*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1766).
Hécart, G. A. J.
*Recherches historiques, bibliographiques, critiques et littéraires, sur le théâtre de Valenciennes* (Paris, 1816).
Hécart, G. A. J.
*Biographies valenciennoises, recueil de notices extraites de la "Feuille de Valenciennes," de 1821 à 1826* (Valenciennes, 1826).
Hédouin, P.
"Watteau," *L'Artiste* (16 November 1845), 45-48; (23 November 1845), 59-61; (30 November 1845), 78-80. Reprinted in *Mosaïque* [Paris, 1856].)
Heinecken, C. h. von
*Nachrichten von Künstlern und Kunstsachen* (Leipzig, 1768).
Hénault, C.
*Mémoires* (Paris, 1911).
Hendy, P.
"Watteau and Rubens," *The Burlington Magazine* 49, no. 282 (September 1926), 137-138.
Hennet, L.
*Le Régiment de la Calotte* (Paris, 1886).
Hennus, M. F.
"Frits Lugt, kunstvorser, kunstkeurder, kunstgaarder," *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 26 (1950), 77-140.
Henric, J.
*La peinture et le mal* (Paris, 1983).
Henriet, M.
"Le Tellier, auteur dramatique forain," *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique de Château-Thierry* (1903), 179-207.
Henriot, G.
"La collection David-Weill," *L'Amour de l'Art* (January 1925), 1-23.
Henriot, G.
*Collection David-Weill, I, Peintures* (Paris, 1926).
Henriot, G.
*Collection David-Weill, III, Dessins* (Paris, 1928).
Hercenberg, B.
*Nicolas Vleughels* (Paris, 1975).
Hérold, J., see Dacier 1929.
Hervez, J.
*Les Sociétés d'amour au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1906).
Hervez, J.
*La Régence galante* (Paris, 1909).
Heseltine, J. P.
*Drawings by François Boucher, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, and Antoine Watteau in the Collection J. P. H.* (London, 1900).
Heseltine, J. P.
*Some Original Drawings by Ancient and Modern Artists of Various Schools Remaining in the Collection of J. P. H.* (London, 1917).
Heulhard, A.
*La Foire Saint-Laurent* (Paris, 1878).
Hevesy, A. de
"Ein 'Amico di Watteau,'" *Pantheon* 5 (December 1929), 539-542.
Hildebrandt, E.
*Antoine Watteau* (Berlin, 1922).
Hilles, F. W.
"Sir Joshua at the Hôtel de Thiers," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 74 (October 1969), 201-209.
Hind, C. L.
*Watteau Illustrated* (London, 1910).
Hirschfeld, P.
"Watteaus Ladenschild für Gersaint als Darstellung des Alltags der Gesellschaft," *Figura* (1972), 765-766.
Hitzing, F.
*"Watteau als Cythère oder Cerigo. Zu motiven in der Französischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts"* (Dissertation, Kiel, 1973).
Hoet, G.
*Catalogus of naamlyst van Schildereyen, met derzelver pryzen*, Vol. 2 (The Hague, 1752).
Hoetink, H. R.
"Three Centuries of French Art," *Apollo* 86, no. 65 (July 1967), 50-55.
Hoetink, H. R.
"Jean-Antoine Watteau, Avondlanschap met Spinsler," *Openbaar Kunstbezit* 16 (1972), 31-31b.
Hotteterre, J. (called Le Romain)
*Principes de la flûte traversière ou flûte d'Allemagne... De la flûte à bec, ou flûte douce et du haut-bois, divisez par traitéz* (Paris, 1707).
Hourticq, L.
*La vie des images* (Paris, 1927).
Hourticq, L.
*XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, album d'images commentées* (Paris, 1927).
Houssaye, A.
*Galerie du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1858).
Houtart, A.
"Les chiens de Rubens dans la tradition française," *La Revue d'Art* 46, no. 4 (April 1929), 120-132.
Hubard, F.
*Le clavecin, Trois siècles de facture* (Paris, 1981).
Huber, M., and Rost, C. C.
*Manuel des curieux et des amateurs de l'art*, Vol. 8 (Zurich, 1804).
Hübner, P. G.
*Schloss Sanssouci* (Berlin, 1926).
Huet, P. D., and Fraguier, C. F.
*Carmina* (Paris, 1729).
Hulton, P., see exh. London 1980 (British Museum).
Hurtret, A.
*Watteau, Nogent, les Gobelins* (Paris, 1950).
Huyghe, R.
*L'univers de Watteau* (Paris) (preface to Adhémar 1950).
Huyghe, R.
"Le nettoyage et la restauration des peintures anciennes: position du problème," *Alumni* 19 (1950), 17.
Huyghe, R.
"Watteau, l'espace et le temps," *Le peintre* 14 (1950), 17.
Huyghe, R.
"Vers une psychologie de l'art," *Revue des Arts* 3 (September 1951, 131-142 and December 1951), 229-242.
Huyghe, R.
*Watteau* (New York, 1968 and London, 1970).
Ingamells, J. A. S.
"Watteau: Le Défilé," *Preview* 50 (1960), 480-486.
Ingamells, J., and Raines, R.
"A Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, and Etchings of Philip Mercier," *The Walpole Society* 46 (1976-1978), 1-70.
Ingamells, J., and Lank, H.
"The Cleaning of Watteau's 'Les charmes de la vie,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 125, no. 969 (December 1983), 733-738.
Ingersoll-Smouse, F.
*Pater* (Paris, 1928).
Jal, A.
*Dictionnaire critique de biographie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1872, 2nd ed.).
Jamieson, I.
*Charles-Antoine Coypel. Premier peintre de Louis XV et auteur dramatique (1694-1752)* (Paris, 1930).
Jamot, P.
"La collection Camondo au Musée du Louvre," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (May 1914), 387-404.
Jamot, P.
"Watteau portraitiste," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (November 1921), 257-278.
Jamot, P.
"Gillot and Watteau: A Study of a New Acquisition of the Louvre," *The Burlington Magazine* 43, no. 246 (September 1923), 130-136.
Jamot, P.
*Antoine Watteau*, "L'Embarquement pour Cythère" (Brussels and Paris, 1937).
Jaucourt, L. Chevalier de
"Ecole," in *L'Encyclopédie*, Vol. 5 (Paris, 1755).
Jean-Richard, P.
*Inventaire général des gravures. École française. I. L'œuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la collection Edmond de Rothschild* (Paris, 1978).
Joachim, H.
"Trois siècles de portraits dessinés à l'Art Institute de Chicago," *L'Œil* 255 (October 1976), 2-9.
Jonas, E.
*Collections Léguées à la Ville de Paris par Ernest Cognacq* (Paris, 1930).
Jones, S.
"Vues sur Cythère... Watteau et la critique romantique du XIX^e siècle," *Revue des Sciences humaines* 157 (1975), 5-21.
Josz, V.
*Watteau, Mœurs du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1903).
J[oubin], A.
"Un catalogue de vente illustré par Jules Boilly," *Beaux-Arts* (15 December 1925), 336-337.
Jouin, H.
*Exposition universelle de Paris—Notice historique et analytique des peintures, sculptures, tapisseries, miniatures, émaux, dessins, etc..., exposés dans les galeries des portraits nationaux, au Palais du Trocadéro* (Paris, 1879).
Joullain, C. F.
*Réflexions sur la peinture et la gravure* (Paris, 1786).
Julien, A.
"Une visite récente aux musées de Moscou et de Petrograd," *L'illustration* (27 August 1921), 185-186.
*Jullienne, J. de
"Abrégé de la vie d'Antoine Watteau," préface to *Figures de différents caractères, de Paysages et d'Études dessinés d'après Nature par Antoine Watteau* (Paris, [1726]). (See also Champion 1921.)
Jullienne, J. de
Manuscript catalogue of the collection of Jean de Jullienne, [c. 1756, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York].
Junecke, H.
*Montmorency, Der Landsitz Charles Le Brun's. Geschichte, Gestalt und die* "Ile Enchantée" (Berlin, 1960).
Junecke, H.
"Meisterwerke aus den Schlössen Friedrichs des Grossen im Schloss Charlottenburg," *Kunstchronik* 15, no. 3 (March 1962), 66-73.
Junquera, P.
"Nuevas salas en el palacio de Oriente," *Goya* 9, nos. 50-51 (September-December 1962), 111-115.
Juynboll, W. R.
"Le grande collezioni, III, La raccolta Franz Koenigs ad Haarlem," *Emporium* 87 (July 1938), 17-28.
Kamenskaya, T. D.
*Un dessin inédit d'après Rubens au musée de l'Ermitage* (Brussels, 1949).
Kamenskaya, see Zolotov 1973.
Kettering, A. McNeil.
"Rembrandt's Flute Player: A Unique Treatment of Pastoral," *Simiolus* 9, no. 1 (1977), 19-44.
Kirkness, W. J.
*Le Français du Théâtre Italien d'après le Recueil de Gherardi 1681-1687* (Genève, 1971).
Knopp, N.
*Watteau, neue Bildform* (Munich, 1968).
Koch, P.
"Les dernières années de Mezzetin: vérité et légences," *Le Dix-Huitième siècle* 11 (1979), 307-319.
Kojina, E. F.
"Antoine Watteau, for His 275th Birthday,"

*Isskoustvo* 1 (1960), 62-69 (in Russian).
Kojina, E. F.
*Art in France in the Eighteenth Century* (Leningrad, 1971) (in Russian).
Kuchta, R. A.
*Drawings, The Collection of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art* (Santa Barbara, 1970).
Kühn, M.
*Schloss Charlottenburg* (Berlin, 1937).
Kulakov, V. A.
"On the Conception of Time in the Works of Antoine Watteau," *Khoudojestvennaïa Koultoura XVIII veka* (1974), 108-125 (in Russian).
Kunstler, C.
*Watteau, L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (Paris, 1943).
Kunstler, C.
"L'Embarquement pour Cythère," *Jardin des Arts* 10, no. 111 (February 1964), 44-54.
Kunstler, C.
*Watteau L'Enchanteur* (Paris, 1936).
Kuznetsova, I., see Zolotov 1973.
Kuznetsova, I., and Georgievskaïa, E.
*French Painting at the Pushkin Museum* (Leningrad, 1980) (in Russian).
Laban, F.
"Bemerkungen zum Hauptbilde Watteaus: 'L'Enseigne de Gersaint,'" *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1900), 54-59.
La Curne de Sainte Palaye, J. B.
*Catalogue des tableaux du cabinet de M. Crozat, Baron de Thiers* (Paris, 1755).
Lacroix, P.
"Musée du palais de l'Ermitage sous le règne de Catherine II," *Revue universelle des Arts* 13 (1861), 164-179, 244-258; 14 (1862), 212-225; 15 (1862), 47-53, 107-123.
Lafenestre, G.
"La peinture ancienne à l'exposition universelle de 1900," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 24 (December 1900), 537-562.
Lafenestre, G.
*Cinquante dessins de Watteau, recueil de dessins reproduits d'après les originaux conservés dans les Musées de Chantilly, Londres, Paris, Vienne* (Paris [1907]).
La Gorce, J. de
"L'Académie Royale de Musique en 1704, d'après des documents inédits conservés dans les archives notariales," *Revue de Musicologie* 2 (1979), 160-191.
La Gorce, J. de
"Un peintre du XVIII[e] siècle au service de l'Opéra de Paris: Jacques Vigoureux Duplessis," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, année 1981* (1983), 71-80.
La Gorce, J. de
"L'Opéra et son public au temps de Louis XIV," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France, année 1981* (1982), 27-46.
Lagrave, H.
*Le théâtre et le Public à Paris de 1715 à 1750* (Paris, 1972).
La Hire, P. de
*Traité de la pratique de la Peinture*, Vol. 9 (Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, 1666-1699).
Lainez, A.
*Poésies* (The Hague, 1753).
Lalaing, E. de
*Watteau et Greuze, histoire de ces deux grands artistes* (Paris, 1888).
La Laurencie
"Une dynastie de musiciens aux XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles: les Rebel," *Bulletin de la Société Internationale de Musique* (January 1906), 259-307.
Laloire, E.
"Une quittance signée Watteau—Document publié par Édouard Laloire," *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 1 (January 1922), 116-118.
La Marre, Abbé de
*L'Ennuy d'un quart-d'heure* (Paris, 1736).
La Marre, Abbé de
*Le Je ne scay quoi de vingt minutes* (Paris, 1739).
La Marre, Abbé de
*Œuvres diverses* (Paris, 1763).
La Monnoye, B. de
*Poésies nouvelles* (The Hague, 1745).
La Motte, A. Houdar de
*Odes* (Paris, 1707).
La Motte, A. Houdar de
*Fables* (Paris, 1719).
Lancaster, H. C.
*A History of Parisian Drama in the Last Years of Louis XIV, 1701-1715* (Baltimore and London, 1945).
Langwill, L. G.
*The Bassoon and Contrabassoon* (London, 1965).
Lank, H., see Ingamells 1983.
Lanoux, A.
"Watteau et les Goncourt," *Club français de la médaille* 58 (1978), 20-26.
Lapauze, H.
*Le palais des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1909).
Laplace, R.
"Des théâtres d'enfants au XVIII[e] siècle," *Revue d'Histoire du théâtre* (1980-1981), 21-23.
Laroche, M. A.
*Lueurs sur Watteau. Sa vie secrète. Notes et Réflexions en marge des "Vies de Watteau" Anciennes et Modernes* (Paris, 1949).
La Roque, A. de
"Les Beaux-Arts," *Le Mercure* (August 1721), 81-83.
Larroumet, G.
*Marivaux, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1894).
Larroumet, G.
*Études de littérature et d'art* (Paris, 1895).
La Trau, O. de
*Le Pelerin d'Amour divisé en quatre journées* (Bergerac, 1609).
Lauts, J.
*Karoline Luise von Baden* (Karlsruhe, 1980).
Lavallée, P.
"Un dessin de Watteau au musée de Quimper," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1924), 117-119.
Lavallée, P.
"Notes sur l'œuvre dessiné de Watteau," *Le Figaro artistique* (3 July 1924), 5; (10 July 1924), 2-4.
Lavallée, P.
*Antoine Watteau. Quatorze dessins du Louvre* (Paris, 1939).
Lavallée, P.
"Sur quelques dessins français du XVII[e] et XVIII[e] siècles conservés au Musée de Dijon," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1941-1944), 114-118.
Lavallée, P.
*Le dessin français* (Paris, 1948).
Leavitt, T.
"The Santa Barbara Museum of Art," *Artforum* 2, no. 12 (Summer 1964), 28.
Lebel, E.
*Catalogue des ouvrages de peinture, dessin, sculpture et architecture, précédé d'une notice historique sur la formation du Musée* (Rouen, 1890).
Lebel, G.
"A propos de deux esquisses d'enseignes du XVIII[e] siècle," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1921), 55-61.
Lecarpentier, C. F.
"Notice sur Watteau et sur ces ouvrages," *Magazin encyclopédique* 4 (1815), 83-95. Reprinted in *Galerie des peintres célèbres* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1821).
Leclerc, J.
"Antoine Watteau," in *Grand dictionnaire de Moreri*, Vol. 6 (Paris, 1725), 178.
Le Coat, G.
"'Le Pèlerinage à l'isle de Cythère': un sujet 'aussi galant qu'allégorique,'" *Racar* 2, no. 2 (1975), 9-23.
Le Coat, G.
"Modern Enchantment and Traditional Didacticism in Watteau's 'Enseigne de Gersaint,' and Couperin's 'Folies françaises,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 91 (November 1978), 169-172.
Le Coat, G.
"French Art and the Discovery of the Unconscious," *American Society of the Legion of Honor* 50, no. 1 (1979), 43-56.
Lee, T. P.
"Recently Acquired French Paintings: Reflections on the Past," *Apollo* 111, no. 217 (March 1980), 212-223.
Lefrançois, T.
*Charles Coypel, Peintre du roi, 1694-1752*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1983).
Lefrancq, A.
*Catalogue illustré et annoté des œuvres exposées au Palais des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Valenciennes* (Valenciennes, 1931).
Le Gentil, G.
*Notice sur les tableaux des églises d'Arras* (Arras, 1871).
Legrand, L.
*Louis Lacaze, discours prononcé le 15 janvier 1902* (Paris, 1902).
Legrand, M. A.
*La Foire Saint-Laurent* (Paris, 1709).
Legrand, M.A.
*Œuvres* (Paris, 1770).
Lejeune, T.
*Guide pratique de l'amateur de tableaux*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1864); Vol. 2 (1865).
Leloir, M.
*Histoire du costume de l'Antiquité à 1914*, Vol. 10, *Époque Louis XIV* (Paris, 1935); Vol. 11, *Époque Louis XV 1725-1774* (Paris, 1938).
Leluc, L.
*Watteau, le départ pour les Iles, pièce en un acte en vers* (Paris, 1937).
Le Moel, M.
"Un foyer d'italianisme à la fin du XVII[e] siècle," *Recherches* 3 (1963), 43-48.
Leporini, H.
"Watteau and His Circle," *The Burlington Magazine* 66, no. 384 (1935), 137-138. (French edition: "Watteau et ses amis," *Beaux-Arts* 105 [1935], 1-4.)
Leppert, R. D.
*Arcadia at Versailles. Noble Amateur Musicians and their Musettes and Hurdy-gurdies at the French Court (1660-1789)* (Amsterdam, 1978).
Leris, G. de
*La comtesse de Verrue et la cour de Victor-Amédée II de Savoie, étude historique* (Paris, 1881).
Lerol, P.
"M. Jules Burat," *L'Art* 38, 1st trimester (1885), 168.
Lerolle, V.
*A. Watteau, J. Lafague, K. Mansfield* (Angers, 1945).
Leroy, A.
*La vie intime des artistes français au XVIII[e] siècle de Watteau à David* (Paris, 1949).
Lesage, A. R.
"Théâtre inédit de la Foire de 1712 à 1738" (manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, f.fr. 9314).
Lesage, A. R., and d'Ornévald
*Le Théâtre de la Foire ou l'Opéra comique* (Paris, 1721-1737).
Lescure, M. de
*Journal et Mémoires de Mathieu Marais*, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1864).
Lesko, D.
"From Genre to Allegory in Gustave Courbet's 'Les Demoiselles de Village,'" *Art Journal* 38, no. 3 (1979), 171-177.
Leslie, C. R.
*Memoirs of the Life of John Constable* (London, 1938).
Le Tellier, J. F.
*Les Pèlerins de Cythère ou les Aventures d'Arlequin à Cythère* (Marseille, 1717).

Lévèque, J. J.
*Fragonard* (Paris, 1983).
Levey, M.
"French and Italian Pictures at Waddesdon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 54 (July-August 1959), 57-65.
Levey, M.
"The Real Theme of Watteau's 'Embarkation for Cythera,'" The Burlington Magazine 103, no. 698 (May 1961), 180-185.
Levey, M.
"A Watteau Rediscovered: 'Le Printemps' for Crozat," *The Burlington Magazine* 106, no. 731 (February 1964), 53-58.
Levey, M.
"The Pose of Pigalle's 'Mercury,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 106, no. 739 (October 1964), 462-463.
Levey, M.
*Rococo to Revolution* (London, New York, and Washington, 1966).
Levey, M.
*Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France* (Baltimore, 1972).
Levy, J.
"Une vie inconnue d'Antoine Watteau," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, année 1957* (1958), 175-203.
Levy, J.
"Antoine Watteau et François Le Moyne," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 52 (December 1958), 347-354.
Lewinson-Lessing, V.
*Meisterwerke aus der Eremitage. Malerei des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Prague, 1963).
Leymarie, L. de
*L'Œuvre de Gilles Demarteau* (Paris, 1896).
Lilar, F.
"'L'enseigne de Gersaint' ou la poésie du réel," *Étude du 18e siècle belge* 1 (1974), 195-199.
Limojon de Saint-Didier, I. F.
*Le Voyage du Parnasse* (Rotterdam, 1716).
Lindblom, A. A. F.
*Antoine Watteau* (Stockholm, 1948).
Lippman, F., and Grote, G.
*Zeichnungen alter Meister im Kupferstichkabinett der Kunst Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1910).
Loche, R.
*Jean-Étienne Liotard, peintre et collectionneur-marchand. A propos de quelques documents inédits* (Geneva, 1980).
Locquin, J.
"Contribution à l'étude des sources d'inspiration d'Antoine Watteau," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, années 1947-1948* (1949), 49-52.
Lombard, A.
*L'abbé du Bos. Un initiateur de la pensée moderne (1670-1742)* (Paris, 1913).
Lopez, Sancho, L.
"Redescubrimiento de Antoine Watteau, un alarde de nueva critica, orgullo editorial español," *Revista Villa Magna* (1973), 34-40.
Lossky, B.
*Inventaire des collections publiques françaises. Tours — Peintures du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1962).
Lossky, B.
*Watteau* (Paris, 1966) *(Chefs-d'œuvre de l'art. Grands peintres,* no. 23.)
Lossky, B., see Nemilova.
Lough, J.
*Paris. Theatre Audiences in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London and Oxford, 1965).
Lugt, F.
*Les Marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes* (Amsterdam, 1921); *Supplément* (L'Aja, 1956).
Lumet, L., and Romberson
*Dessins par les Grands maîtres* (Paris, 1911).
Lyonnet, H.
*Dictionnaire des comédiens* (Paris, 1904).
Mabilleau, L.
"La peinture française au musée de Madrid," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 76 (May 1895), 411-420.
Macchia, G., see Camesasca 1968.
Macchia, G.
*I fantasmi dell'opera* (Rome, 1971).
Macchia, G.
"Watteau, Antoine," in *Encyclopedia Britannica,* Vol. 19 (1974), 663-665.
Madsen, K., and Hannover, E.
"Antoine Watteau," *Kunstbladet Nordisk Tidsskrift* (1888), 263-273.
Magnin, J.
*Un cabinet d'amateur parisien en 1922, collection Maurice Magnin* (Paris, 1922).
Magnin, J.
*Le paysage français des enlumineurs à Corot* (Paris, 1928).
Malafaire
"Vie du Peintre Santerre," *Le Nouveau Mercure* (September 1718), 69-75.
Mirimonde, A. P. de
*L'iconographie musicale sous les rois Bourbons. La musique dans les arts plastiques, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1977).
Mirimonde, A. P. de
"Le prétendue 'Antiope' d'Antoine Allegri dit 'Le Corrège,' ou les enseignements d'une erreur de deux siècles et demi," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 95 (March 1980), 107-118.
Moir, A. (ed.)
*European Drawings in the Collection of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art* (Santa Barbara [1976]).
Mollett, J. W.
*Watteau* (London, 1883) *(The Great Artists Collection).*
Mongan, A.
*One Hundred Master Drawings* (Cambridge, 1949).
Mongan, A.
"Musée de l'Orangerie: dessins français des collections américaines," *Revue des Arts* 8 (September 1958), 237-240.
Mongan, A.
*Great Drawings of All Time, III, French Thirteenth Century to 1919* (New York, 1962) (I. Moscowitz, ed.).
Mongan, A. and Sachs, P.
*Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1943).
Mongrédien, G.
*Dictionnaire biographique des comédiens français du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1961).
Monod, F., and Einstein, L.
"Le musée de la société historique de New York," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 99 (September 1906), 235-255.
Monod, F.
"L'exposition nationale de maîtres anciens à Londres," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 106 (March 1910), 242-261.
Malipiero, G.
*Maschere della Commedia dell'Arte* (Bologna, 1980).
Mallebay du Cluseau d'Echerac, A. A.
*Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1891) *(Les artistes célèbres).*
Mallett, D.
*The Greatest Collector: Lord Hertford and the Founding of the Wallace Collection* (London, 1979).
Malpel, A.
"Contribution à l'histoire de la restauration des peintures de chevalet en France de 1750 à nos jours" (Mémoire IFROA, 25 November 1983).
Malraux, A.
*L'Intemporel* (Paris, 1977).
Mantz, P.
"L'école française sous la Régence, Antoine Watteau," *Revue française* 16 (February-April 1859), 263-272, 345-353.
Mantz, P.
"La collection La Caze au musée du Louvre," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 4 (July 1870), 5-25.
Mantz, P.
"'Exposition universelle' — Les portraits historiques au Trocadéro," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 43 (December 1878), 857-882.
Mantz, P.
"Watteau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 64 (January, March, June 1889), 5-28, 177-195, 454-472; 66 (January, February, March 1890), 5-29, 129-147, 222-238. Republished as *Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1892).
Mantz, P.
*Cent dessins de Watteau gravés par Boucher* (Paris, 1892).
Marcel, P.
"Une œuvre de Watteau au musée de Dijon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 94 (May 1904), 372-378.
Marcel, P.
*La Peinture Française. De la Mort de Le Brun à la Mort de Watteau (1690-1721)* (Paris, 1906).
Marcel, P.
*Inventaires des papiers manuscrits du cabinet de Robert de Cotte (1656-1735) et de Jules-Robert de Cotte (1683-1767) conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1906).
Marcel, P.
*L'art et les mœurs en France du dix-septième au dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris, 1928).
Marcel, P., and Guiffrey, J.
*Inventaire général des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles. École française,* 12 vols. (Paris, 1907).
Mariette, P. J.
"'Abecedario' et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les Arts et les Artistes. Ouvrage publié et annoté par Chennevières et Montaiglon," *Archives de l'Art français,* Vol. 6 (1862).
Mariette, P. J.
"Notes manuscrites sur les peintres et graveurs," Vol. 9 (manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1740-1770).
Marmottan, P.
*Jacques-Albert Gérin, peintre valenciennois du XVIIe siècle, Réponse à M. Paul Foucart* (Paris and Valenciennes, 1893).
Marri, G.
"La place de Watteau dans l'histoire de l'art français," *Le mois littéraire et pittoresque* (December 1910), 665-681.
Martínez Rivas, C.
"Watteau y su siglo en Ruben Dario," *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos* 212-213 (1967), 445-452.
Mathey, J.
"Quelques confusions entre les dessins de Watteau et ceux de son école," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 70 (July 1936), 3-18.
Mathey, J.
"Watteau, Boucher et le modèle," *L'Art et les Artistes* 34, no. 181 (November 1937), 37-40.
Mathey, J.
"Aspects divers de Watteau dessinateur dans la collection Groult," *L'Amour de l'Art* (December 1938), 371-376.
Mathey, J.
"A propos d'un catalogue des dessins de Watteau, Nouvelles identifications," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1938), 158-165.
Mathey, J.
"Remarques sur la Chronologie des peintures et dessins d'Antoine Watteau," *Bulletin de la Société de L'Histoire de l'Art français* (1939), 150-160.
Mathey, J.
"A Landscape by Watteau," *The Burlington Magazine* 89 (October 1947), 272-274.
Mathey, J.
"Quelques peintures de Gillot et Watteau," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, années 1945-1946* (1948), 46-50.
Mathey, J.
"Une peinture de jeunesse d'Antoine Watteau au Musée Carnavalet à Paris," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (July-August 1955), 29-32.

Mathey, J.
"The Early Paintings of Watteau," *The Art Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1956), 16-28.
Mathey, J.
"Une feuille d'études pour le 'Gilles' et le 'Mezzetin à la guitare' de Watteau," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 7 (1956), 211-216.
Mathey, J.
"Le rôle décisif des dessins dans l'œuvre de Watteau," *Connaissance des Arts* 86 (April 1959), 40-49.
Mathey, J.
*Antoine Watteau, Peintures réapparues, inconnues, ou négligées par les historiens; identification par les dessins; chronologie* (Paris, 1959).
Mathey, J.
"'La comédienne,' an unpublished Watteau," *The Connoisseur* 165, no. 664 (June 1967), 90-93.
Mathey, J.
"Drawings by Watteau and Gillot," *The Burlington Magazine* 102 (August 1960), 354-359.
Mathey, J., and Nordenfalk, C.
"Watteau and Oppenort," *The Burlington Magazine* 97, no. 626 (May 1955), 132-139.
Mathey, see Parker 1957.
Matthes, H.G.
"Watteau en het onderwerp," *Opstellen von H. van de Waal* (1970), 115-124 (English summary).
Maty
"Éloge du docteur Richard Mead," *Journal britannique* (July-August 1754), 215-248.
Mauclair, C.
*De Watteau à Whistler* (Paris, 1905).
Mauclair, C.
*Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1920).
Mauclair, C.
"La maladie de Watteau," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 228 (July-August 1921), 100-108 (also pp. 28-36 of the special issue in honor of the bicentenary of Watteau's death).
Mauclair, C.
*Watteau-Anniversaire* (Paris, 1934).
Mauclair, C.
*Le Secret de Watteau* (Paris, 1942).
Maugham, W. S.
*A Writer's Notebook* (New York, 1949).
Maurel, A.
*L'Enseigne de Gersaint* (Paris, 1913).
Maurel, A.
"Les collections d'art français de Guillaume II," *La Renaissance de l'Art français et des Industries de luxe* 2, no. 1 (January 1919), 22-27.
Maurel, A., see Alfassa.
Maxon, J.
"Some Recent Acquisitions," *Apollo* 84, no. 55 (September 1966), 216-221.
Maxon, J.
*The Art Institute of Chicago* (New York, 1970).
Mayor, W.
*A Brief Chronological Description of a Collection of Original Drawings and Sketches by the Most Celebrated Masters...* (London, 1871) (rpr. and expanded in 1875, shortly after Mayor's death).
McCorquodale, C.
"The Burlington International Fine Arts Fair," *Art International* 22 (January 1978), 26-35.
McCullagh, S. F.
"A Study for 'La Fête d'Amour' by Antoine Watteau, 1684-1721," *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* 70, no. 1 (January-February 1976), 14-16.
Meder, J.
*Handzerchnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina und aus Privatbesitz* (Vienna, 1922).
Medley, R.
"Watteau's Les plaisirs du Bal," *The Listener* (13 February 1964), 273-274.
Meier-Graefe, J.
"Correspondance d'Allemagne. L'exposition d'art français du XVIII[e] siècle à Berlin," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 3 (March 1910), 262-272.
Mélese, P.
*Le Théâtre et le Public à Paris sous Louis XIV, 1659-1715* (Paris, 1934).
Mélese, P.
*Répertoire analytique* (Paris, 1935).
Mellaart, J. H. J.
"Unedited Drawings: Wendland Collection," *International Studio* (May 1931), 23-25, 84.
Merland, F.
Documents biographiques inédits sur le peintre François Octavien," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1910), 60-65.
Mersenne, M.
*L'harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636; rpr. 1964).
Merten, G.
*Antoine Watteau* (Ramerding, 1977).
Meyer, J.
*La vie quotidienne au temps de la Régence* (Paris, 1979).
Michel, A.
"A propos du second centenaire de la mort d'Antoine Watteau," *Feuilleton du journal des débats* (19 July 1921).
Michel, A.
*Histoire de l'Art — L'Art en Europe au XVIII[e] siècle*, see Réau.
Michel, E.
"Frédéric II et les Arts à la cour de Prusse," *Revue des deux monde* 53 (April 1883), 880-924.
Michel, E.
"La collection Dutuit, Tableaux et dessins," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (March 1903), 228-244.
Michel, E., Aulanier, R., and Vallée, H. de [Adhémar]
*Watteau*, "L'Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère," Vol. 2. *Monographies des peintures du Musée du Louvre* (Tours, 1939).
Michelet, J.
*Histoire de France au dix-huitième siècle, la Régence*, Vol. 15 (Paris, 1863).
Michiels, A.
*Histoire de la peinture flamande*, Vol. 9 (Paris, 1874).
Migeon, G.
*La collection Isaac de Camondo au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1914; 2nd ed. 1922).
Miller, A.
"Louis Moreri's 'Grand Dictionnaire historique,' Notable Encyclopedias of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 194 (1981), 13-52.
Miller, V.
"The Borrowings of Watteau," *The Burlington Magazine* 51, no. 292 (July 1927), 37-45.
Miller, V.
"Autour de Watteau. Un maître inconnu: P.A. Quillard," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 57 (February 1930), 133-152.
Minet, E.
*Catalogue des ouvrages de peintures, dessin, sculpture et d'architecture* (Rouen, 1911).
Mirimonde, A. P. de
"Statues et emblèmes dans l'œuvre de Watteau," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 1 (1962, 11-20.
Mirimonde, A. P. de
"Les instruments de musique chez Antoine Watteau," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, année 1962* (1963), 47-53.
Mirimonde, A. P. de
"Musiciens isolés et portraits de l'École français du XVIII[e] siècle dans les collections nationales. I—Fin Louis XIV, Régence, Louis XV," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 3 (1966), 141-156.
Mirimonde, A. P. de
"Scènes de genre musicales de l'École française du XVIII[e] siècle dans les collections nationales," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 1 (1968), 13-26.
*Mirimonde, A. P. de
"Les sujets de musique chez Jacob Jordaens," *Jaarboek van het koninklijk Museum voor schone kunsten Antwerpen* (1969), 201-246.
Mirimonde, A. P. de
*L'iconographie musicale sous les rois Bourbons. La musique dans les arts plastiques, XVII[e]-XVIII[e] siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1977).
Mirimonde, A. P. de
"Le prétendue 'Antiope' d'Antoine Allegri dit 'Le Corrège,' ou les enseignements d'une erreur de deux siècles et demi," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 95 (March 1980), 107-118.
Moir, A. (ed.)
*European Drawings in the Collection of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art* (Santa Barbara [1976]).
Mollett, J. W.
*Watteau* (London, 1883) *(The Great Artists Collection)*.
Mongan, A.
*One Hundred Master Drawings* (Cambridge, 1949).
Mongan, A.
"Musée de l'Orangerie: dessins français des collections américaines," *Revue des Arts* 8 (September 1958), 237-240.
Mongan, A.
*Great Drawings of All Time, III, French Thirteenth Century to 1919* (New York, 1962) (I. Moscowitz, ed.).
Mongan, A. and Sachs, P.
*Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1943).
Mongrédien, G.
*Dictionnaire biographique des comédiens français du XVII[e] siècle* (Paris, 1961).
Monod, F., and Einstein, L.
"Le musée de la société historique de New York," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 99 (September 1906), 235-255.
Monod, F.
"L'exposition nationale de maîtres anciens à Londres," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 106 (March 1910), 242-261.
Monod, L.
*Le prix des Estampes anciennes et modernes*, Vol. 8 (Paris, 1928).
Montabert, P. de
*Traité complet de la peinture*, Vol. 9 (Paris and Bossange, 1829).
Montaiglon, A. de
*Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments, publiés d'après les manuscrits des Archives nationales*, IV, 1711-1716 (Paris, 1893).
Montaiglon, A. de, see Mariette.
Montéclair, M. (Pignolet de)
*Méthode facile pour apprendre à jouer du violon* (Paris, c. 1711).
Morand, P.
*New York*, (Paris, 1950).
Moreau de Brasey, J.N.
*Mémoires politiques amusants et satiriques* (Veritopolie, 1716).
Morel d'Arleux
*Inventaire manuscrit des dessins du Louvre, établi par Morel d'Arleux, conservateur du Cabinet des Dessins du Louvre de 1797 à 1827* (9 vols.) (unique copy in the Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris).
Moreri, see Leclerc 1725.
Morgan, M. [Grasselli]
"Autour de Watteau. Nouvelles attributions à Peter et à Quillard," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 2 (1975), 91-94.
Morgan Grasselli, see exh. Washington 1982.
Morse, J.D.
*Old Master Paintings in North America* (New York, 1979).
Mosby, D.F.
"Claude Gillot's 'Embarkation for the Isle of Cythera' and Its Relationship to Watteau," *Master Drawings* 12, no. 1 (1974) 49-56.
Moureau, F.
"Fiction narrative, nouvelles et faits divers au début du XVIII[e] siècle," in *Cahiers de l'UER Froissard*, no. 3 (Valenciennes, 1978), 126-134.

Moureau, F.
"Les Comédiens-Italiens et la Cour de France (1664-1697)," *Dix-Septième siècle* 130 (January-March, 1981), 63-81.

Moureau, F.
*Dufresny auteur dramatique (1657-1724)* (Paris, 1979).

Moureau, F.
*'Le Mercure galant' de Dufresny (1710-1714) ou le journalisme à la mode* (Oxford, 1982).

Moureau, F.
"Du côté Cour: la Princesse Palatine et le théâtre," *Revue d'Histoire du théâtre* (1983-3), 275-286.

Moureau, F.
"L'Amour à l'Ancien Théâtre Italien," in *Visages de l'amour au XVII^e siècle* (Toulouse, 1984).

Moussali, U.
"Les sources flamandes de A. Watteau," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 24 (1955), 75-80.

Moussali, U.
"L'Enchantement d'Antoine Watteau," *Jardin des Arts* 46 (August 1958), 645-652.

Munhall, E.
"Savoyards in French Eighteenth-Century Art," *Apollo* 87, no. 72 (February 1968), 86-94.

Murray, C.F.
*J. Pierpont Morgan Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters Formed by C. Fairfax Murray*, 4 vols. (London, 1905-1912).

Nakayama, K.
*Watteau* (Tokyo, 1979) (in Japanese).

Neimetz, J.C.
*Le séjour de Paris* (Leyden, 1727).

Nemilova, I.S.
*Antoine Watteau* (Leningrad, 1961) (in Russian).

Nemilova, I.S.
*Watteau and His Works in the Hermitage* (Leningrad, 1964) (in Russian, with French summary).

Nemilova, I.S.
"Essays on the Oeuvre of Jean Antoine Watteau. I—Determining the Date of Execution of the Painting 'The Savoyard,' conserved in the Hermitage Museum, and the Problem of Periodization of Watteau's genre painting," *Troudy gosoudarstvennogo Ermitaja* 7 (1964), 85-98 (in Russian, with French summary).

Nemilova, I.S.
"Watteau," *Encyclopedia Universalis*, Vol. 16 (1968), 970-972.

Nemilova, I.S.
"Watteau's painting, 'Actors of the Comédie-Française' and the Problem of Portraits in the Artist's Oeuvre" *Zapadnoevropeïskoïe iskusstvo* (1970), 145-158 (in Russian).

Nemilova, I.S.
"On the Question of Watteau's Creative Process," *Iskousstva Zapada* (1971), 181-195 (in Russian).

Nemilova, I.S., see exh. Leningrad 1972 (in Russian).

Nemilova, I.S.
*The Engimas of Old Paintings* (Moscow, 1973) (in Russian). (Reviewed by B. Lossky in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 82 [December 1973], 38-39 *[Chronique]*.

Nemilova, I.S., see Zolotov 1973.

Nemilova, I.S.
"Contemporary French Art in Eighteenth-Century Russia," *Apollo* 101, no. 160 (June 1975), 428-442.

Nemilova, I.S.
*French Painting of the Eighteenth Century in the Hermitage Scientific Catalogue* (Leningrad, 1982) (in Russian).

Neveux, P.
"L'exposition d'art français à Londres," *L'Illustration* 4638 (23 January 1932), 10.

Niçaise, A.
*L'école française au XVIII^e siècle — Watteau, Boucher, Greuze, Fragonard* (Châlons-sur-Marne, 1883).

Nicolaï, C.F.
*Description des villes de Berlin et de Potsdam et de tout ce qu'elles contiennent de plus remarquables* (Berlin, 1769).

Nicolaï, C.F.
*Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam und aller daselbst besindlichen Merkwürdigkeiten* (Berlin, 1779).

Nicolaï, C.F.
*Nachricht von den Baumeistern, Bildhauern, Kupferstechern, Malern, Stukkaturern und andern Künstlern, welche vom dreyzehnten Jahrhunderte bis jetzt in und um Berlin sich aufgehalten haben* (Berlin and Stettin, 1786).

Nicolle, A.
*The World of Harlequin* (Cambridge, 1963).

Nicolle, M.
*Le musée de Rouen. Peintures* (Paris, 1920).

Nicolle, M.
"Watteau dans les musées de Province," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 228 (July-August 1921), 131-138 (also pp. 59-66 of the special edition for the bicentenary of Watteau's death).

Nicolle, M.
"Watteau dans les musées d'Espagne," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 228 (July-August 1921), 147-150. (also pp. 75-78 of the special edition for the bicentenary of Watteau's death).

Nicolle, M.
"Les Trésors d'art de la France. Le musée de Rouen," *L'Art et les Artistes* (May 1924), 293-301.

Nicolle, M.
*La peinture française au musée du Prado*, (Paris, 1925).

Nicolle, M.
"Chefs-d'œuvre des musées de province. École française, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (August 1931), 98-127.

Niderst, A.
"Le Miscellanea de Goulley de Boisrobert," *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* (March-April 1982), 270-285.

Nordenfalk, C.
*Antoine Watteau och andra franska sjuttonhundratalsmästare i Nationalmuseum* (Stockholm, 1953).

Nordenfalk, C., see Mathey 1955.

Nordenfalk, C.
"The Stockholm Watteaus and Their Secret," *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* 3 (1979), 105-139 (Upr. in *Thought and Form: Studies in 18th-Century Art to Bengt Dahlbäck* [Stockholm, 1980]).

Nordenfalk, C.
"An Addendum to Watteau's 'La Sérénade italienne," *Nationalmuseum Bulletin* 7, no. 1 (1983), 36-41.

Nordenfalk, C., and Parker, K.T.
"Watteau and Oppenort'" *The Burlington Magazine* 111, no. 791 (February 1969), 91-92.

Ochse, M.
"Antoine Watteau, l'instant qui s'éternise," *Jardin des Arts* 21, no. 210 (May 1972), 34-39.

Oesterreich, N.
*Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergallerie und des Kabinetts in Sans-Souci. Zweyte vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe* (Potsdam, 1770). (French ed., *Description des tableaux de la galerie royale et du cabinet de Sans-Souci* [Potsdam, 1771]).

Oesterreich, N.
*Description de tout l'intérieur des deux palais de Sans-Souci, de ceux de Potsdam et de Charlottenbourg* (Potsdam, 1773).

Oldenbourg, R.
*P.P. Rubens. Des Meisters Gemälde* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921).

Opperman, H.N.
"Peace, Love and Harmony: Watteau and the Nascent Mood," read at the eighth meeting of The American Society for Eighteenth—Century Studies (7 May 1977), University of Victoria (unpublished).

O'Reilly, R.
"Sur la restauration des vieux tableaux," *Annales des arts et manufactures*, 7 (30 frimaire, An X [1802]).

Origny, A. d'
*Annales du Théâtre Italien depuis son origine jusqu'à ce jour* (Paris, 1788).

Orlandi, P.A.
*Abecedario Pittorico* (Bologna, 1719).

Ors, E. d'
*Trois heures au musée du Prado* (Paris, 1928).

Orsin-Déon, S.
*De la conservation et de la restauration des tableaux* (Paris, 1851).

Osborn, M.
*Die Kunst des Rokoko* (Berlin, 1929).

Ostrowski, J.K.
"Malarz poeta," *Biblioteka Warszauska* (May 1914), 341-366.

Ostrowski, J.K.
"'Pellegrinaggio a Citera,' 'fête galante,' o 'danse macabre,'" *Paragone* 331 (1977), 9-22. First pub. as "Z badàn nad Watteau: 'Embarquement pour Cythère,' 'fête galante czy danse macabre,'" *Spraw* 19, no. 1 (1975).

P.G.
"Catalogue des tableaux de Mr de Jullienne," *Connaissance des Arts* 50 (April 1956), 64-69.

Pahin de La Blancherie, M.C.
*Essai d'un tableau historique des peintres de l'école française, depuis Jean Cousin, en 1500, jusqu'en 1783 inclusivement (avec le catalogue du Salon de la Correspondance)* (Paris, 1783).

Panofsky, D.
"Gilles or Pierrot?" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 162 (May-June 1952), 319-340.

Panofsky, E.
"'Et in Arcadia ergo' Philosophy and History", in *Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer* (Oxford, 1938).

Papetti, V.
*Arlecchino a Londra, la pantomina inglese, 1700-1729* (Naples, 1977).

Papillon de la Ferté, D.P.J.
*Extraits des différents ouvrages publiés sur la vie des Peintres*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1776).

Parfaict, C. and F.
*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des spectacles de la Foire* (Paris, 1743).

Parfaict, C. and F.
*Histoire de l'Ancien Théâtre Italien depuis son origine en France jusqu'à sa suppression en l'année 1697* (Paris, 1753).

Parfaict, C. and F.
*Dictionnaire des théâtres*, Vol. 6 (Paris, 1756-1762).

Parfaict, F.
"Histoire de l'Académie royale de Musique depuis son établissement jusqu'à présent (1645-1741)" (manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, f.fr. 6532).

Parker, K.T.
"Antoine Watteau (1684-1721)—Half-length Figure of a Young Man in Oriental Costume seated facing to right...," *Old Master Drawings* 4, no. 14 (September 1929), 27.

Parker, K.T.
"Critical Catalogue, with Illustrations, of the Drawings of Watteau in the British Museum," *Old Master Drawings* 5 (June 1930), 2-28.

Parker, K.T.
*The Drawings of Antoine Watteau* (London, 1931).

Parker, K.T.
"Bernard Picart (1673-1733)," *Old Master Drawings 7 no. 25 (June 1932), 6-9.*

Parker, K.T.
*"Mercier, Angélis and De Bar," Old Master Drawings* 7, no. 27 (December 1932), 36-40.

Parker, K.T.
"Pietro Testa (?1611-1650)," *Old Master Drawings* 8, no. 31 (December 1933), 37-40.

Parker, K.T.
"An Etching and a Drawing by Antoine Watteau," *British Museum Quaterly* 8 (1933-1934), 1-3.
Parker, K.T.
"Sidelights on Watteau," *Old Master Drawings* 10, no. 37 (June 1935), 3-9.
Parker, K.T.
*Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1938).
Parker, K.T., see Nordenfalk and Parker
*Parker, K.T., and Mathey, J,
*Antoine Watteau—Catalogue complet de son œuvre dessiné*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1957).
Pater, W.
*Imaginary Portraits*, Vol. 3 (London, 1925-1928).
Pater, W.
*Ein Maler der galanten Zeit, J.A. Watteau* (Munich, 1956).
Paulson, R.
*Emblem and Expression—Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1975).
Peppiatt, M.
"Lucian Freud. A l'intérieur d'une œuvre," *Connaissance des Arts* 385 (March 1984), 44-51.
Perez, M.F.
"Collectionneurs et amateurs d'art à Lyon au XVIII[e] siècle," *Revue de l'Art* 47 (1980), 43-52.
Perignon, A.N.
*Catalogue des objets d'art qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le Baron V. Denon* (Paris, 1826).
Pernety, A.J. Dom
*Dictionnaire portatif de la peinture* (Paris, 1757).
Perrin, O.
"Comédie-Française," *Médecine de France* 111 (1960), 17-32.
Perrucci, A.
*Dell' Arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all' improvviso* (Naples, 1699). Rpr. Florence, 1961.
Philipot, P.
"La notion de patine," *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du patrimoine artistique* 6 (1966), 89-93.
Phillips, C.
*Antoine Watteau* (London, 1895).
Phillips, C.
"Rubens and Watteau," *The Burlington Magazine* 12 (1907), 250.
Phillips, C.
*Les chefs-d'œuvre de Watteau* (Paris, 1913).
Pichon, J.
*Vie de Charles-Henry comte de Hoym, ambassadeur de Saxe-Pologne en France et célèbre amateur de livres (1694-1736)* (Paris, 1880).
Pignatti, T.
"Entre Baroque et Rococo," *L'Œil* 174-175 (June-July 1969), 3-9.
Piles, R. de
*Les premiers éléments de la peinture pratique* (Paris, 1684).
Pillsbury, E.
"Recent Painting Acquisitions: The Kimbell Art Museum," *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 946 (supplement) (January 1982), i-viii.
Pilon, E.
*Le Dernier Jour de Watteau* (Paris, 1907).
Pilon, E.
"La danse dans l'œuvre de Poussin, de Watteau, et de Corot," *Revue Bleue* (1911), 78.
Pilon, E.
*Watteau et son école* (Paris, 1912). Rev. ed. 1924.
Pilon, E.
"Les origines de 'L'embarquement pour l'isle de Cythère,'" *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 228 (July-August 1921), 83-94 (also pp. 11-22 of the special edition in honor of the bicentenary of Watteau's death).
Pincherle, M.
*La technique du violon chez les premiers sonatistes français (1695-1723)* (Paris, 1911).
Planchenault, R.
"La collection du marquis de Livois," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 132, second semester (1933), 14-30, 220-237.
Pluchart, H.
*État des accroissements du musée Wicar depuis 1879* (Lille, 1887).
Pluchart, H.
*Musée Wicar. Notice des dessins, cartons, pastels, miniatures, et grisailles...* (Lille, 1889).
Pognon, E., and Bruand, Y.
*Inventaire du fonds français—Graveurs du XVIII[e] siècle Bibliothèque Nationale*, Vol. 9 (Paris, 1962).
Poley, H.J.
*Claude Gillot—Leben und Werk, 1673-1722. Ein Beitrag zur französischen Kunstgeschichte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts* (Wurzburg-Aumühle, 1938).
Poncheville, A. de
"Watteau à Valenciennes," *Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne* 40, no. 228 (July-August 1921), 75-82 (also pp. 3-10 of the special issue in honor of the bicentenary of Watteau's death).
Ponz, A.
*Viage de España*, Vol. 10 (Madrid, 1781).
Populus, B.
*Claude Gillot (1673-1722)—Catalogue de l'œuvre gravé* (Paris, 1930).
Portalis, see Béraldi.
Posner, D.
"Watteau's 'Reclining Nude' and the 'Remedy' Theme," *The Art Bulletin* 54, no. 4 (December 1972), 383-389.
Posner, D.
*Watteau, A Lady at Her Toilet* (London, 1973).
Posner, D.
"Watteau mélancolique: la formation d'un mythe," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, année 1973* (1974), 345-361.
Posner, D.
"Review of 'Watteau' by Jean Ferré," *The Art Bulletin* 57 (June 1975), 293.
Posner, D.
"An Aspect of Watteau 'peintre de réalité,'" in *Études d'art français offertes à Charles Sterling, réunies et publiées par A. Châtelet et N. Reynaud* (Paris, 1975), 279-286.
Posner, D.
"Un chef-d'œuvre de Watteau au Louvre, 'le Portrait de Gentilhomme,'" *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 2 (1977), 81-85.
Posner, D.
"In Detail: Watteau's Shopsign for Gersaint," *Portfolio* 1, no. 3 (August-September 1979), 29-33.
Posner, D.
"The Swinging Women of Watteau and Fragonard," *The Art Bulletin* 64, no. 1 (March 1982), 75-88.
Posner, D.
"Another Look at Watteau's 'Gilles,'" *Apollo* 117 (1983), 97-99.
*Posner, D.
*Antoine Watteau* (London and Ithaca, 1984).
Pouillon, C.
*Watteau* (Paris, 1969).
Préaud, M.
*Inventaire du fonds français—graveurs du XVII[e] siècle (Bibliothèque Nationale). Sébastien Leclerc*, Vols. 8-9 (Paris, 1980).
Proust, M.
*Essais et articles* (Paris, 1971) (Gallimard ed., La Pléiade).
Pujol, M. de
"Antoine Watteau," *Galerie Universelle* (Paris, 1786).
Pujol, G.
"De l'influence de la psychonévrose tuberculeuse dans l'œuvre de Watteau et de Chopin", (thesis in medicine Bordeaux, 1922).
Quarré, P.
"French Drawings from the Musée de Dijon," *Preview, City of York Art Gallery Bulletin* 31, no. 119 (May 1978), 1051-1059.
Quentin-Bouchard, E.
*Les Femmes bibliophiles en France*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1886).
Racot de Grandval, N.
*Essai sur le bon goût en musique* (Paris, 1732).
Raguenet, E.
*Parallèle des Italiens et des François en ce qui regarde la Musique et les Opéras* (Paris, 1702).
Rahir, E.
*Watteau, peintre d'arabesques* (Paris).
Raines, R.
"Watteaus and 'Watteaus' in England before 1760," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 89 (February 1977), 51-64.
Rambaud, M.
*Documents du Minutier Central concernant l'histoire de l'art 1700-1750*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1964); Vol. 2 (Paris, 1971).
Rat, M.
*Les Femmes de la Régence* (Paris, 1961).
Rave, P.O.
*Antoine Watteau, Das Ladenschild des kunsthändlers Gersaint* (Stuttgart, 1967).
Réau, L.
"La galerie de tableaux de l'Ermitage et la collection Semenov (1[er] article)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 8 (November 1912), 379-395.
Réau, L.
"L'Art français au musée de l'Ermitage," *Beaux-Arts* 10 (1 June 1923), 157-158.
Réau, L.
*L'Art en Europe au XVIII[e] siècle*, in Michel, A., *Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 7 (Paris, 1924).
Réau, L.
*Histoire de la peinture française au XVIII[e] siècle*, Vol. 1 (Paris and Brussels, 1925).
Réau, L.
*L'Art français aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1926).
Réau, L.
"Deux Watteau inconnus au musée du Louvre," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 15 (April 1927), 193-198.
*Réau, L.
*Watteau*, in A. Dimier, *Peintres français du XVIII[e] siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1928).
Réau, L.
"Catalogue de l'art français dans les musées russes," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1928), 167-314.
Réau, L.
*Histoire de l'expansion de l'Art français—Pays Scandinaves—Angleterre, Amérique du Nord* (Paris, 1931).
Réau, L.
"Le premier état de 'L'Enseigne de Gersaint,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 127 (July 1931), 58-61.
Réau, L.
"A propos de 'L'Enseigne de Gersaint,'" *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1931), 59-62.
Réau, L.
"Documents sur Watteau et Fragonard," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français, année 1947-1948* (1949), 113-114.
*Recueil Jullienne*, see Jullienne; Dacier.
Reff, T.
"Degas: A Master among Masters," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 34, no. 4 (Spring 1977), 2-48.
Reiset, F.
*Notice des dessins, cartons, pastels, miniatures et émaux, 2[e] partie, École française* (Paris, 1869).
Rey, R.
*Quelques satellites de Watteau* (Paris, 1931).
Rheims, M.
*Musées de France* (Paris, 1973).
Ricci, S. de
*Musée Cognacq-Jay* (Paris, 1929).
Ricci, S. de
*Les dessins français: Les chefs-d'œuvre de l'art français à l'Exposition Internationale de 1937* (Paris, 1938).

Riccoboni, L.
*Histoire du Théâtre Italien,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1731).

Ripa, C.
*Iconologia* (Rome, 1593; French ed., Paris, 1637) (first part).

Robert, C. [Montaignon]
"Exposition annuelle de l'Association des Artistes peintres," *Moniteur des Arts* 48 (27 December 1846), 156-157.

Robert-Dumesnil, A.P.F.
*Le peintre-graveur français ou catalogue raisonné des Estampes gravées par les peintres et les dessinateurs français de l'École Française,* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1836); 11 (1871), 18.

Roberts, W.
"Hedonism in Eighteenth-Century French Literature and Painting," *Symposium* 30, no. 1 (Spring 1976), 42-60.

Robinson, J.C.
*Descriptive Catalogue of Drawings by the Old Master, forming the Collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch, Esq.* (London, 1876).

Robiquet, J.
*La collection Dutuit* (Asnières, 1905).

Rocheblave, S.
*Essai sur le comte de Caylus* (Paris, 1889).

Rodin, A.
*L'Art—Entretiens réunis par Paul Gsell* (Paris, 1911).

Rodney, N.B.
"The Judgment of Paris," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 11 (October 1952), 57-67.

Roland, H.
"An Early Watteau," *Phoebus* 1 (1946), 173-174.

Roland Michel, M., see exh. Paris 1968 (Galerie Cailleux).

Roland Michel, M.
"Eighteenth-Century Decorative Painting: Some False Assumptions," *The British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1979), 1-36.

Roland Michel, M., see exh. Paris-Geneva 1980-1981 (Galerie Cailleux).

*Roland Michel, M.
*Tout Watteau* (Paris, 1982; Italien ed., Milan, 1981; German ed., Ullstein, 1980).

Roland Michel, M.
"French Eighteenth-Century Drawings," *Apollo* 117 (June 1983), 469-475.

Roland-Michel, M.
"La Fête de Watteau," *Revue de l'Art* 62 (1983), 71-74.

Roland Michel, M.
*Lajoüe et l'art Rocaille,* Paris, 1984.

*Roland Michel, M.
*Watteau. Gloire et mystère d'un artiste du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris and London, 1984).

Rosenberg, A.
"Die Ausstellung von Werken älteren Meister in Berlin," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* (1883), 346-362.

Rosenberg, A.
*Watteau* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1896) *(Künstler Monographien).*

Rosenberg, J.
*Great Draughtsmen from Pisanello to Picasso* (Cambridge, 1959).

Rosenberg, J.
*On Quality in Art, Criteria of Excellence Past and Present* (Princeton, 1967).

Rosenberg, P., see exh. Florence 1968, 1977; Camesasca; exh. Toronto 1972-1973.

Rosenberg, P.
"Watteau and Oppenort," *The Burlington Magazine* 112, no. 804 (March 1970), 168-169.

Rosenberg, P.
"S. Ricci et la France: à propos de quelques textes anciens," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi su Sebastiano Ricci e il suo tempo* (Udine, 1975), 122-125.

Rosenberg, P.
"Dieu as a Draughtsman," *Master Drawings* 17, no. 2 (1979), 161-169.

Rosenberg, P.
"Watteau à Francfort—A propos de l'exposition 'Jean-Antoine Watteau, Einschiffung nach Cythera. L'île de Cythère,'" *Kunstchronik* 36 (January 1983), 5-10.

Rosenberg, P.
"Tableaux français du XVII^e siècle," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 5-6 (1983), 350-357.

Rosenberg, P.
*Tout l'œuvre peint de Chardin* (Paris, 1983).

Rosenberg, P., and Bergot, F., see exh. USA 1981-1982.

Rotrou
*Angélique ou la Pèlerine amoureuse* (Paris [1637]).

Rouchès, G.
"Nouvelles acquisitions," *Bulletin des Musées de France* 3 (March 1937), 37-38.

Roujon, H.
*Watteau* (Paris n.d.) *(Les peintres illustres).*

Roux, M.
*Inventaire du fonds français—Graveurs du XVIII^e siècle (Bibliothèque Nationale),* Vols. 1-8 (Paris, 1931-1955).

Roy, P.C.
*Œuvres diverses* (Paris, 1727).

Rubin, E.
"On the Possible Re-dating of Caylus' Biography of Watteau," *Marsyas* 14 (1968-1969), 59-66.

Rubin, W.
"From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso: The Burried Allegory in 'Bread and Fruitdish on a Table' and the Role of 'Les Demoiselles d'Avignon'," *The Art Bulletin,* 65, no. 4 (December 1983), 615-649.

Rumpf, J.D.
*Beschreibung der äussern und inneren Merkwürdigkeiten der Königlichen Schlösser in Berlin, Charlottenburg, Schönhausen in und bey Potsdam* (Berlin, 1794).

Rustaing de Saint Jory, L. de
*Œuvres Mêlées* (Amsterdam, 1735).

Rydbeck-Zuhr, I.
"Eh unikt tillfälle," *Konstrevy* 6 (1952), 258-261.

*S.R.D.M., Société des Reproductions des Dessins des Maîtres,* 6 vols. (Paris, 1909-1914).

Sachs, P.
*Great Drawings* (New York, 1961).

Saint-Denis
"Antoine Watteau," *Bulletin des Beaux-Arts* 2 (1884-1885), 98-110.

Saint-Girons, S.
*L'hôtel de Poulpry, maison des Polytechniciens* (Paris, 1963).

Saint-Jory, see Rustaing de Saint-Jory.

Saint-Paulien, J.
"Les Beaux-Arts et la tradition des faux," *Revue ITEM "La Tradition"* (September-October 1976), 53-56.

Saint-Paulien, J.
"Sur les dessins de Watteau: les écritures secrètes," *Nouvelle revue des deux Mondes* (April 1972), 68-77.

Saint-Paulien, J., see Ferré 1972.

Salinger, M.
*Watteau and His age* (New York, 1956).

Sallenyre, A.H. de
*Pièces échapées du feu* (Plaisance, 1717). Republished in 1721 as *Recueil de pièces sérieuses, comiques et burlesques* (wrongly attributed to Caylus).

Samoyault-Verlet, B.
*Les facteurs de clavecins parisiens. Notices biographiques et documents (1550-1793)* (Paris, 1966).

Sanchez Canton, F.J.
*Trésors de la peinture au Prado* (Paris, 1959).

Saxl, F.
*A Heritage of Images* (London, 1970).

Schaeffer, E.
*Van Dyck* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909) *(Klassiker der Kunst).*

Schasler, M.
*Berlin, Kunstschätze—Die Oeffentlichen und Privat-Kunstsammlungen, Kunstinstitute und Ateliers der Kunstler und Kunstindustriellen* (Berlin, 1856).

Schéfer, G.
"Les portraits dans l'œuvre de Watteau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 79 (September 1896), 177-189.

Schefer, J.L.
"Visible et thématique chez Watteau," *Médiations* 5 (1962), 37-56.

Schnapper, A.
"A propos de deux nouvelles acquisitions: 'Le chef-d'œuvre d'un muet' ou 'la tentative de Charles Coypel,'" *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 4-5 (1968), 253-264.

Schneider, P.
*The World of Watteau, 1684-1721* (New York, 1967).

Schniewind, C.
"Mrs. Tiffany Blake, Patron of the Arts," *Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (15 September 1954), 42-44.

Schwarz, H.S.
"Jacques Autreau, a Forgotten Dramatist," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 46 (June 1931), 498-532.

Schönbrunner, J., and Meder, J.
*Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen,* 12 vols. (Vienna, 1896-1908).

Scholten, H.J.
*Catalogue of the Teylers Museum* (Haarlem, 1904).

Scott, B.
"Pierre Crozat, a Maecenas of the Régence," *Apollo* 97, no. 131 (January 1973), 11-19.

Scott, B.
"The Marquis de Marigny, a Dispenser of Royal Patronage," *Apollo* 97, no. 131 (January 1973), 25-35.

Séailles, G.
"Antoine Watteau, peintre militaire," *L'Art et les Artistes* (September 1906), 237-241.

Séailles, G.
*Les grands hommes de France* (Paris, 1923).

Séailles, G.
*Les grands artistes, leur vie, leur œuvre—Watteau* (Paris, 1927).

Seerveld, C.
"Telltale Statues in Watteau's Painting," *Eighteenth—Century Studies* 14, no. 2 (1980-1981), 151-180.

Seidel, P.
"Friedrich der Grosse, als Sammler von Gemälden und Sculpturen," *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 13 (1892), 183-212; 15 (1894), 48-57.

*Seidel, P.
*Französische Kunstwerke des 18. Jahrhunderts im Besitz Seiner Majestät des Deutschen Kaisers* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1900); French ed., *Les Collections d'Art français du XVIII^e siècle appartenant à sa Majesté l'empereur d'Allemagne, roi de Prusse* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1900).

Seidel, P.
"Das Firmenschild des Gersaint von Antoine Watteau," *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 31, no. 7 (April 1910), 174-186.

Seidel, P.
*Friedrich der Grosse und die bildende Kunst* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922).

Seidel, P.
*Das Stadtschloss in Potsdam* (Berlin, 1922).

Seilern, A.
*Paintings and Drawings of Continental Schools Other than Flemish and Italian at 56 Princes Gate,* Vol. 3 (London, 1961).

Sensier, A.
*Journal de Rosalba Carriera pendant son séjour à Paris, en 1720 et 1721. Publié en italien par Vianelli* (Paris, 1865).

Séré de
"Poème sur la galerie de Monsieur de Jullienne" (manuscript at the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, Paris, 1764, ms. 103).
Serre de Rieux, J. de
*La musique* (The Hague, 1737).
Sérullaz, M.
*Dessins du Louvre, École française* (Paris, 1968), with L. Duclaux and G. Monnier.
Sérullaz, M.
"Dessins français de l'Art Institute de Chicago de Watteau à Picasso," *Revue du Louvre* 26, no. 4 (1976), 303-305.
Sérullaz, M.
"Deux dessins de Watteau," *Revue du Louvre* 31, no. 1 (1981), 29-32.
Seymour, C.
*Art Treasures for America. An Anthology of Paintings, Sculptures in the Samuel H. Kress Collection* (London, 1961).
Sgard, J.
"Style rococo et style régence," in *La Régence* (Paris, 1970), 11-20.
Sgard, J., see *Dictionnaire des journalistes.*
Shimanoto, K.
"'L'enseigne de Gersaint' d'Antoine Watteau," *Bigaku* 32, no. 2 (September 1981), 39-54 (in Japanese).
Shoolman, R., and Slatkin, C.E.
*The Enjoyment of Art in America* (New York, 1942).
Shoolman, R., and Slatkin, C.E.
*Six Centuries of French Master Drawings in America* (New York, 1950).
Sitwell, S.
*Masters of Painting—Antoine Watteau* (London, 1925).
Sitwell, S.
"The Pleasures of the Senses," *Apollo* 87, no. 72 (February 1968), 129-139.
Sizeranne, R. de la
"Les préfigurations chez Watteau," *Revue des deux mondes* (15 July 1921), 425-451.
Sjöberg, Y., and Gardey, F.
*Inventaire du fonds français—Graveurs du XVIII^e siècle (Bibliothèque Nationale),* Vol. 13 (Paris, 1974); Vol. 14 (1977).
Slatkin, R.S.
"Abraham Bloemaert and François Boucher: Affinity and Relationship," *Master Drawings* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1976), 247-260.
Smith, R.C.
"French Models for Portuguese Tiles," *Apollo* 97, no. 134 (April 1973), 396-407.
Souchal, F.
*Les Slodtz, sculpteurs et décorateurs du Roi* (Paris, 1967).
Souffrin-Le Breton, E.
"Bonville et la poétique du décor," in *French Nineteenth—Century Painting and Literature* (Manchester, 1972).
Sparre, F.
Manuscript catalogue of the Tessin collection while it was in the Swedish Royal Library (1790). (Original in the Swedish National Archives; copy in the Nationalmuseum.)
Spaziani, M.
*Il Théâtre Italien di Gherardi* (Rome, 1966).
Sperlich, M., and Börsch-Supan, H.
"Der Verkauf des Berliner 'Embarquement pour Cythère' von Watteau, eine Bewährungsprobe," *Kunstchronik* 36 (January 1983), 1-3.
Staley, E.
*Watteau and His School. Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture* (London, 1902).
Staley, E.
"Rubens and Watteau," *The Burlington Magazine* 12 (1907), 164.
Stein, H.
"La Société des Beaux-Arts de Montpellier (1779-1787)" *(Mélanges offerts à M. Henry Lemonnier), Archives de l'Art français* 7 (1913), 365-403.
Sterling, C.
*The Metropolitan Museum of Art—A Catalogue of French Paintings—XV-XVIIIth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1955).
Sterling, C.
*Musée de l'Ermitage. La peinture française de Poussin à nos jours* (Paris, 1957).
*Stift und Feder*
*Zeichnungen von Künstlern aller Zeiten und Länder in Nachbildungen, herausgegeben von R. Schrey* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1926-1931), 17 fasc.; 1926-1927, 4 fasc.; 1928-1930, 12 fasc.; 1931, 1 fasc.
Storey, R.F.
*Pierrot, A Critical History of a Mask* (Princeton, 1978).
Stryienski, C.
*La galerie du Régent Philippe, duc d'Orléans* (Paris, 1913).
Stuffmann, M.
"Charles de La Fosse et sa position dans la peinture française à la fin du XVIII^e siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 64 (July 1964), 1-121.
Stuffmann, M.
"Les tableaux de la collection de Pierre Crozat—Historique et destinée d'un ensemble célèbre établis en partant d'un inventaire après décès inédit du 30 mai 1740," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 72 (July-September 1968), 11-144.
Stuffmann, M. see exh. Frankfurt 1982.
Stuffmann, M.
"Watteau: *L'île de Cythère,*" see exh. Berlin 1983 (Charlottenburg).
Sunderland, J., see Camesasca
Sutton, D.
*Antoine Watteau—"Les charmes de la vie"* (London, 1946).
Sutton, D.
"The Age of Sir Robert Walpole," *Apollo* 116, no. 237 (November 1981), 328-339.
Taillasson
"Watteau," *Journal des Arts, des Sciences et de Littérature* 177 (15 nivôse, an 10 [1802]), 49-53. Rpr. in *Observations sur quelques grands peintres avec un précis de leur vie* (Paris, 1807).
Taine, H.
*Philosophie de l'Art ou Voyage en Italie,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1876).
Tardieu, C.
"Les grandes collections étrangères, II, M. John W. Wilson," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 9 (January 1874), 41-51.
Tatlock, R.R.
"Two Watteau Drawings," *The Burlington Magazine* 38 (April 1921), 156-157.
Taviani, F., and Schino, M.
*Il segreto della Commedia dell'Arte. La memoria delle compagnie italiane del XVI-XVII-XVIII secolo* (Florence, 1982).
Tchedodaev, A.D.
*Antoine Watteau* (Moscow, 1963) (in Russian).
Terey, G. von
"Die Neue Städtische Gemäldegalerie zu Strassburg," *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* (1893), 169-178.
Terrasson, A.
*Dissertation historique sur la vielle* (Paris, 1741).
Tessin, C.G.
*Manuscript List* (items that Tessin brought back from his stay in Paris, 1739-1742) (Kongliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, Ms. S.12).
Tessin, C.G.
*Manuscript Catalogue* 1749) (unique copy in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).
Tessin, U.
Antoine Watteau, in Portraits des Hommes Illustres avec un abrégé Historique de leurs Vies, Vol. 2 (manuscript at the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1762).
Thoinan, E.
*Les Hotteterre et les Chédeville, célèbres joueurs et facteurs de flûtes, hautbois, bassons et musettes des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1894).
Thoré, see Bürger.
Thornton, P.
*Baroque and Rococo Silks* (London, 1965).
Thuillier, J., and Châtelet, A.
*La peinture française de Le Nain à Fragonard* (Geneva, 1964).
Tietze, H.
*European Master Drawings in the United States* (New York, 1947).
Tolnay, C. de
"'L'Embarquement pour Cythère' de Watteau au Louvre," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 46 (July 1955), 91-102.
*Tomlinson, R.
*La fête galante: Watteau et Marivaux* (Geneva, 1981).
Tourneux, M.
"Diderot et le musée de l'Ermitage," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 82 (April 1898), 333-343.
Tourneux, M.
"La collection de M. Jacques Doucet," *Les Arts* 36 (December 1904), 2-28.
Tourneux, M.
"Un dessin inédit de Watteau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 39 (February 1908), 140-141.
Treter, M.
"Antoine Watteau," *Tygodnik illustrowany* 2 (1922), 22-24.
Trichet, P.
*Traité des instruments de Musique* (c. 1640; rev. ed., Geneva, 1978).
Tunley, D.
"An Embarkment for Cythera. Social and Literary Aspects of the Eighteenth—Century Cantata," *Recherches sur la Musique Classique Française* 17 (1972), 103-104.
Uzanne, O.
*Drawings of Watteau* (London, 1908).
Uzanne, O.
"Antoine Watteau," *Les marches de l'Est* (April-September 1911), 419-445.
Valabrègue, A.
*Un maître fantaisiste du XVIII^e siècle. Claude Gillot* (Paris, 1883).
Valentiner, W.R.
*Chefs-d'œuvre inconnus conservés dans les collections particulières et publiques* (Paris and Brussels, 1930).
Vallée, H. de [Adhémar]
"Sources de l'art de Watteau—Claude Simpol," *Prométhée* (April 1939), 67-74.
Valotaire, M.
"Le concert champêtre de Watteau," *La Renaissance de l'Art français et des Industries de luxe* 5, no. 11 (November 1922), 603-608.
Valotaire, M.
"La recrue allant joindre le régiment," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 15 (December 1919), 401-406.
Van Gelder
"Episoden uit het leven van Francesco Lopez de Liz, naar bessheiden uit de archiven," *Die Haghe Jaarbock* (1914-1915), 163-225.
Van Heule, L.
'L'Enseigne de Gersaint,' *Annales de la Fédération historique et archéologique de Belgique* (1955), 601-622.
Van Puyvelde-Lassalle, G.
*Watteau et Rubens* (Brussels and Paris, 1943).
Varenne, G.
*Le monument Watteau et le fronton de l'hôtel de ville de Valenciennes, d'après les lettres inédites de Carpeaux* (Paris, 1907).
Varenne, J. de
*Mémoires du Chevalier de Ravanne* (Liège, 1740).
*Vasari*
*The Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings by Old Masters,* 26 vols. (Oxford, 1904-1935). First series, 1905-1916, 10 vols.; second series, 1920-1935, 16 vols.
Vaudoyer, J.L.
"Exposition d'œuvres de l'art français au XVIII^e siècle à Berlin," *Les Arts* 103 (July 1910), 1-30.
Vaudoyer, J.L.
*Watteau* (Geneva, 1948) *(Les trésors de la peinture française XVIII^e siècle).*

Vauxcelles, L.
"'L'Enseigne de Gersaint,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (March 1909), 209-218.
Vauxcelles, L.
"A propos de 'L'Enseigne de Gersaint,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (April 1909), 307-308.
Vaux de Foletier, F. de
"Iconographie des 'Égyptiens,' Précisions sur le costume ancien des Tsiganes," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 68 (July-December 1966), 165-172.
Vergnet-Ruiz, J., and Laclotte, M.
*Petits et grands musées de France* (Paris, 1962).
Vertue, G.
"Notebooks," *The Walpole Society* 22 (1933-1934).
Vèze, C. de
"Antoine Watteau. Quatre lettres communiquées et anotées par M. le baron Ch. de Vèze," *Archives de l'Art français* (1852-1853), 208-213.
Viardot, L.
*Les musées d'Allemagne et de Russie—Guide et memento* (Paris, 1844).
Viatte, F.
"Caricatures d'Anton Maria Zanetti," *Revue de l'Art* 9 (1970), 92-93.
Virch, C.
"The Walter C. Baker Collection of Master Drawings," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (June 1960), 309-317.
Virch, C.
*Master Drawings in the Collection of Walter C. Baker* ([New York] 1962).
Volbehr, T.
*Antoine Watteau, ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1885).
Vollmer, H.
"Watteau," in Thieme U., and Becker, F., *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler,* Vol. 35 (Leipzig, 1942), 190-196.
Volskaya, M.V.
*Antoine Watteau* (Moscow, 1933) (in Russian).
Voltaire
*Le Temple du Goût,* (Rouen, 1733).
Voltaire
*Le siècle de Louis XIV* (Leipzig, 1751).
Voltaire., see Besterman.
Vuaflart, A., see Dacier, 1921-1929.
Waagen, G.F.
*Verzeichniss der Gemäldessammlung des Königliche Museums zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1830).
Waagen, G.F.
*Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris,* Vol. 1 (Berlin, 1837).
Waagen, G.F.
*Works of Art and Artists in England,* Vol. 1 (London, 1838).
Waagen, G.F.
*Treasures of Art in Great Britain,* Vols. 2-3 (London, 1854).
Waagen, G.F.
*Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain,* 4 vols (London, 1857).
Waagen, G.F.
*Die Gemäldesammlung in der Kaiserlichen Ermitage zu Sankt Petersburg* (Munich, 1864).
Wachmeier, G.
*Dekoration und Ornament bei Watteau* (Salzburg, 1974).
Walpole, H.
*A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole, Youngest Son of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford at Strawberry-Hill, near Twickenham* (Strawberry-Hill, 1774).
Walpole, H.
*Anecdotes of Painting in England,* Vol. 3 (London, 1798).
Waterhouse, W.
*The Proud Bassoon* (Edinburgh, 1983).
Watin
*L'art du peintre, doreur, vernisseur* (Paris, 1776).
Watrous, J.
*The Craft of Old Master Drawings* (Madison, 1957).
Watson, F.J.B.
"New Light on Watteau's 'Les plaisirs du Bal,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 95, no. 604 (July 1953), 240-242.
Watson, F.J.B.
"Watteau, Peintre inconnu," *The Burlington Magazine* 104, no. 708 (March 1962), 125-126.
Wehle, H.B.
"'Le Mezzetin' by Antoine Watteau,' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 30 (January 1935), 12-18.
Weil, F.
"La diffusion en France avant 1750 d'éditions de textes dits clandestins," Bloch in 1982.
Weiner, P.P. de
"Exposition de portraits anciens à Saint-Pétersbourg," *L'Art et les Artistes* 8 (March 1909), 243-256.
Wescher, P.
"Ausstellung meisterwerke der französischen Kunst im Palais National des Arts, Paris," *Pantheon* 20 (September 1937), 278-282.
White, C.J.
"The Dublin Drawings in London," *Master Drawings* 5 (1967), 411-412.
Whitley, W.T.
*Art in England, 1800-1820* (Cambridge, 1928).
Whitley, W.T.
*Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700-1799* (London and Boston, 1928).
Whittingham, S.
"From the Régence to the Regency: Watteau's 'L'ile Enchantée,'" *in Watteau and Turner* (in press).
Whittingham, S.
*Watteau and Turner,* (in press).
Wild, N.
"Aspects de la musique sous la Régence. Les Foires: Naissance de l'Opéra Comique," *Recherches* 5 (1965), 129-141.
Wildenstein, G.
"L'inventaire après décès de Claude Gillot," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1923), 114-120.
Wildenstein, G.
*Lancret* (Paris, 1924).
Wildenstein, G.
"L'exposition de l'Art français à Londres, le XVIII[e] siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 7 (January 1932), 54-76.
Wildenstein, G.
"'Le portrait de Frère Blaise' par Watteau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 16 (November 1936), 149-155.
Wildenstein, G.
"Le goût pour la peinture dans le cercle de la bourgeoisie parisienne autour de 1700," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 48 (September 1956), 113-195.
Wilenski, R.H.
*French Painting* (New York, 1931). Rpr. 1949, 1979.
Wilhelm, J.
"François Le Moyne and Antoine Watteau," *The Art Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1951), 216-230.
Wilhelm, J.
"Le portrait de Watteau par Rosalba Carriera," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 164 (November 1953), 235-246.
Williams, H.W., Jr.
"Some French Drawings of the Biron Collection," *The Art Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (Winter, 1939), 48-56.
Willoughby, L.
"Lord Llangattock's Monmouth Seat, The Hendre and Its Art Treasures," *The Connoisseur* 17, no. 67 (March 1907), 149-158; 18, no. 69 (May 1907), 8-19.
Winter, C.
*The Fitzwilliam Museum, an Illustrated Survey* (Paris, 1958).
Winternitz, E.
"Bagpipes and Hurdy-Gurdies in Their Social Settings," in *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art. Studies in Musical Iconology* (New Haven, 1979).
Yakimovitch, A.K.
"L'art d'Antoine Watteau et le début du siècle des lumières," *Iskusstvo* 6 (1978), 51-61 (in Russian).
*Zimmermann, E.H.
*Watteau* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1912) *(Klassiker der Kunst).* Also published in French (Paris, 1912).
Zimmermann, R. von
*Fragments über Friedrich den Grossen zur Geschichte seines Lebens, seiner Regierung und seines Charakters,* Vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1790).
Zolotov, Y.K.
*Modern Subjects in the Oeuvre of Antoine Watteau, Material for the Theory and the History of Art* (Moscow, 1956) (in Russian).
Zolotov, Y.K.
*Antoine Watteau—Old Texts* (Moscow, 1971) (in Russian).
*Zolotov, Y.K., Nemilova, I.S., Kuznetsova, I., Kamenskaya, T.D., and Alexeyva, V.A.
*Antoine Watteau* (Leningrad, 1973).

# Index of Works Exhibited by Location


Amsterdam
D. 78, 96, 100, 103, 118, 128

Angers
P. 45

Baltimore, Private Collection
D. 24, 143

Berlin, Charlottenburg
P. 10, 11, 40, 48, 53, 62, 66, 73

Berlin, Dahlem
P. 38, 63, 65, 72
D. 33, 55, 72, 75, 119

Besançon
D. 69, 139

Boston
P. 25

Brodick Castle, Isle of Arran
P. 19, 20

Cambridge, England
D. 113

Cambridge, Massachusetts
D. 21, 26

Chicago
P. 26
D. 13, 52, 98, 107, 141

Cleveland
D. 75a

Darmstadt
D. 12

Dijon
D. 18

Dublin
D. 23

England, Private Collections
D. 5, 6, 94

Fort Worth
P. 50

France, Private Collection
P. 24, 37

Frankfurt-am-Main
P. 9
D. 22, 91, 112

Great Britain, Private Collection
P. 12

Haarlem
D. 29, 46, 99

Kansas City
D. 17

Leningrad
P. 15, 16, 29, 30, 32, 33, 39, 46
D. 40, 41, 76

Lille
D. 57, 116

Lisbon
P. 68

London, British Museum
D. 10, 16, 25, 28, 42, 109, 120, 130

London, Dulwich
P. 51

London, Victoria and Albert Museum
D. 47

Los Angeles, Private Collection
D. 79, 129

Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection
P. 5, 13

Madrid, Palacio Real
P. 43, 44

Madrid, Prado
P. 21, 22

Massachusetts, Private Collection
D. 131

Minneapolis
D. 121

Moscow
P. 6

Nantes
P. 1

New Haven
D. 37

New York, Metropolitan Museum
P. 49, 70
D. 30, 51, 64, 86 (Lehman), 110, 140

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
D. 15, 61, 71, 89, 132

New York, Private Collections
D. 48, 54, 68, 85, 92, 95, 101, 134

Orléans
D. 90

Oxford, Ashmolean
P. 27
D. 2, 31, 93, 123

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
E. 1, 2, 3, 3a, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8

Paris, Cognacq-Jay
D. 63, 84, 108, 124, 126, 137

Paris, Institut Néerlandais
D. 49, 114

Paris, Jacquemart-André
D. 102

Paris, Louvre
P. 28, 34, 36, 41, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 64, 67, 69
D. 1, 7, 27, 45, 56, 59, 60, 62, 65, 81, 87, 97, 105, 115, 127

Paris, Petit Palais
D. 50, 73, 77

Paris, Private Collections
P. 2, 3, 47, 52
D. 20, 82, 83, 88, 142

Quimper
D. 4

Rotterdam
P. 31
D. 11, 34, 39, 53, 58, 122, 135

Rouen
D. 80

San Francisco
P. 8, 14

Santa Barbara
D. 111

Stockholm
P. 42, 55
D. 8, 9, 14, 43, 44, 125, 136

Strasbourg
P. 7

Switzerland, Private Collection
P. 54, 60
D. 32, 38, 67, 74, 133, 138

Toledo
P. 23

Troyes
P. 17, 18

United States, Private Collection
D. 19

Valenciennes
D. 3, 35, 106

Vienna
D. 66

Washington
P. 35, 71
D. 36, 70, 104

Williamstown
D. 117

York
P. 4

Photographic Credits

*Drawings*

Maurice Aeschimann, Onex/Geneva
67, 74
Jörg P. Anders, Berlin
33, 72, 75, 119
Bulloz, Paris
50, 63, 84, 90, 108, 137
Ursula Edelmann, Frankfurt
22, 91, 112
Roy M. Elkind, Jackson Heights, N.Y.
54, 134
Ellebé, Rouen
80
Fréquin-Photos, Voorburg (Neth.)
11, 34, 39, 53, 58, 122, 135
Studio Gérondal, Lomme-Lille
57
Giraudon, Paris
3, 35, 53, 73, 80, 106
Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris
1, 4, 7, 20, 27, 45, 59, 60, 62, 81, 87, 105, 115, 127
Taylor & Dull, Inc., New York
92

*Paintings*

Ursula Edelmann, Frankfurt
9
Bruce C. Jones
60
James Linders, Rotterdam
31
Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris
1-3, 7, 17-18, 24, 28, 36-37, 41, 45, 47, 52, 56-59, 61, 64, 67, 69
Schöpplein Studio, San Francisco
14
Walter Steinkopf, Berlin-Dahlem
38