

THE CONTINUITY OF THE HUNT THEME IN PALACE DECORATION
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN FRANCE

© Shirley Cull Thomson

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Art History
McGill University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

THE HUNT FOR ME AT VERMONT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ABSTRACT

THE CONTINUITY OF THE HUNT THEME IN PALACE DECORATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN FRANCE

The long tradition in the arts of the Hunt, domestic and exotic, as a surrogate for war in peacetime is reflected in the Amiens Hunting Series (1736-1739) along with influences from the waning years of Louis XIV and early trends in the reign of Louis XV.

Two of François Boucher's lesser known works form part of the Amiens canvases executed for Louis XV's private gallery at Versailles. Carle Van Loo, Charles Parrocel, Jean-François de Troy, Jean-Baptiste Pater and Nicolas Lancret contributed to the Series, but Boucher's work is unique due probably to his study of the hunts of Peter Paul Rubens and his reference to an older heritage represented by Antonio Tempesta who had already interpreted the natural wonders of the world as described by Pliny and others.

The seventeenth-century concept of the "noble huntsman" endures through the pivotal work of Boucher which constitutes the logical link between Rubens's Baroque expression and the Romantic extension of the theme by Eugène Delacroix.

RESUME

LE THEME DE LA VENERIE DANS LE DECOR DES PALAIS EN FRANCE AU XVIII^e SIECLE

La série de tableaux cynégétiques d'Amiens (1736-1739) illustre la longue tradition de la chasse, au pays ou à l'étranger, sous sa guise de substitut d'aventures belliqueuses en temps de paix, et reflète les influences artistiques apparues à la fin du règne de Louis XIV et au début de celui de Louis XV.

Deux des œuvres les moins connues de François Boucher font partie de la série destinée à la "petite galerie du Roy" à Versailles. Carle Van Loo, Charles Parrocel, Jean-François de Troy, Jean-Baptiste Pater et Nicolas Lancret y ont aussi contribué, mais l'œuvre de Boucher est probablement unique: étude des scènes de vénerie de Pierre Paul Rubens et rappel de l'héritage laissé plus tôt par Antonio Tempesta, lequel avait déjà interprété les merveilles naturelles du monde décrites par Pline et ses successeurs.

Le thème du "noble chasseur" qui a prévalu au XVII^e siècle a survécu dans l'œuvre de Boucher, lien logique entre l'expression baroque de ce même thème par Rubens et l'extension romantique qui lui donna Eugène Delacroix.

This thesis is dedicated
to my family
and
to my friends,
especially to Thrippe.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>pg.</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	vi
PREFACE.....	ix
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I	
ARTISTIC TASTE IN FRANCE IN THE DECADE OF 1730: BACKGROUND TO THE AMIENS HUNTING SERIES.....	10
Legacy of Louis XIV.....	11
Developments within the Academy.....	13
Social and Economic Changes under the Regency.....	16
Patrons of the Arts during the Early Decades of the Eighteenth Century.....	17
Representative Paintings in the Early Eighteenth Century.....	20
CHAPTER II	
THE AMIENS HUNTING SERIES AND THE TRADITION OF THE HUNT.....	27
General Description of the Paintings..	27
Tradition of Hunting in Art and Literature.....	28
Generalized Taste for Exoticism: Illustrated Travel Books; Menageries; Interest in the Orient.....	38
Practical Aspects of the Hunt: Hunting Manuals and Hunting Edicts.....	45
CHAPTER III	
VERSAILLES AT THE TIME OF LOUIS XV AND THE AMIENS HUNTING SERIES.....	53
Realistic Paintings of the Hunt during the Reign of Louis XV.....	53

Renovations within the Château of Versailles under Louis XV.....	55
Political Situation in France in 1730's.....	63
The Hunting Paintings by Artists other than François Boucher.....	65
Carle Van Loo.....	66
Jean-François de Troy.....	69
Charles Parrocel.....	71
Jean-Baptiste Pater.....	77
Nicolas Lancret.....	78
History of the Amiens Hunting Series after 1767.....	82

CHAPTER IV

FRANCOIS BOUCHER AND THE AMIENS HUNTING SERIES.....	88
François Boucher's Early Career.....	88
Description of <u>La Chasse au Léopard</u> and <u>La Chasse au Crocodile</u>	94
Artistic Influence upon Boucher's Work: in general that of Peter Paul Rubens...	97
Possible Influence of Rubens's <u>The Raising of the Cross</u>	106
Rubens's Apparent Influence upon Boucher's Hunting Paintings.....	111
Problems of Iconography in Boucher's Hunting Paintings.....	116
The Legacy of Poussin.....	129
Boucher's Hunting Paintings as Social, Historical and Theatrical Commentaries.	131

CHAPTER V

FRANCOIS BOUCHER AND THE TRADITION OF THE EXOTIC HUNT THEME IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	134
Jacques-Louis David, Relative of Boucher, Painter to Napoleon.....	135
The Restoration and Eugène Delacroix...	139
Delacroix and the Hunt Themes of Peter Paul Rubens.....	141
Delacroix and Boucher.....	145
Delacroix, Rubens and Boucher.....	148

CONCLUSION.....	152
NOTES.....	157°
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	214
PLATES.....	257

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to thank the many persons who have offered their encouragement and advice. First of all, I should like to thank my advisor, Dr. Thomas L. Glen, for his pertinent comments and ready help at every stage of this thesis. Not only did Professor Glen put me in touch with his mentor, Professor John Rupert Martin at Princeton University, but also he supported actively my requests for funds that enabled me to undertake research here and abroad. Dr. George Galavaris has encouraged me at every stage of my graduate work: to him and to his colleagues in the Department of Art History at McGill University, I am grateful. My interest in the art of the eighteenth century in France began under the direction of Professors Frank Di Federico and Alain de Leiris at the University of Maryland. This is a belated acknowledgement of their inspiration and guidance.

A Fellowship from the Canada Council enabled me to complete my course work, while a travel grant from the McGill Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research permitted me to clarify my ideas through renewed contact with sources in London, Paris and Munich.

The Reference and Inter-library Loan Section of the McLennan Library worked overtime, or it seemed to me, to collect all the material I needed. It is impossible to name each person, but I wish to thank them most sincerely

for their interest and efficiency. I am also grateful for the opportunity of consulting at will the rare book collection in the Blacker-Wood Library of Zoology and Ornithology at McGill University. A friend and a colleague in the Art History Department, Detlef Stiebeling, generously and competently, reproduced the photographic material I needed. Many thanks to Carolyn Creery, Linda Graif, Peta Sheriff, Inge Ludke, Jacques V. Ryan, John A. Cull and Denis Gauvin who so willingly shared their diversified expertise with me.

Lastly, two additional friends have nurtured my interest in art. My thanks to David Silcox whose "yeux éclairés" have helped to clear mine; and especially to Daniel Sloate whose encouragement has been extremely precious to me.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. François Boucher: La Chasse au Léopard, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
2. François Boucher: La Chasse au Crocodile, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
3. Carle Van Loo: La Chasse à l'Ours, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
4. Carle Van Loo: La Chasse à l'Autruche, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
5. Jean-François de Troy: La Chasse au Lion, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
6. Charles Parrocel: La Chasse à l'Eléphant, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
7. Charles Parrocel: La Chasse au Taureau Sauvage, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
8. Jean-Baptiste Pater: La Chasse au Lion et au Tigre en Chine, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
9. Nicolas Lancret: La Chasse au Tigre, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
10. Jean-François de Troy: Déjeuner d'Huitres, Chantilly, Musée Condé
11. Antonio Tempesta: An "Aurochs" Hunt with a Special Engine. From Collection, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; and W. A. Baillie Grohman, Sport in Art, 165
12. Antonio Tempesta: untitled (auroch hunt). From Tracts 1621-41, British Museum
13. Peter Paul Rubens: The Tiger Hunt, Rennes, Musée des Beaux Arts
14. Peter Paul Rubens: The Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt, Munich, Alte Pinakothek
15. Peter Paul Rubens: The Lion Hunt, Munich, Alte Pinakothek

16. View of the Octogonal Pavilion of the Ménagerie and Courtyard, Versailles, c. 1669, engraving by Boel, B.N.Est. (Jb37). From G. Mabilie, "La Ménagerie de Versailles," G.B.A. 83, 1974, 14
17. Jean-Baptiste Oudry: La Grande Curée, Paris, Louvre
18. Jean-Baptiste Oudry: La Meute Allant au Rendez-vous, detail of a Gobelin's Tapestry, 1734-48. From Manufactures Royales, (nd), 6
19. Johann Elias Ridinger: drawing of a twenty-pointed stag (Handzeichnung eines 20-Endes, im hintergrund Tiergarten mit Einsprung: signed 1737). From Deutsches Jagdmuseum Munchen, 106
20. Plan of the King's private apartments showing the "petite galerie" in 1738. From H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, II, 30
21. Plan of the King's private apartments in 1741. From H. Racinais Un Versailles Inconnu, II, 32.
22. Antonio Tempesta: untitled(Ostrich Hunt). From Tracts 1621-41, British Museum
23. Charles Parrocel: sketch for La Chasse à l'Eléphant, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
24. Nicolas Lancret: detail of La Chasse au Tigre, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
25. Plan of the private apartments of the King and the "petite galerie" as arranged for the Dauphine, Marie-Josèphe de Saxe, in 1766. From H. Racinais Un Versailles Inconnu, II, 85
26. Plan of the private apartments of the King showing the division of the "petite galerie" into two rooms. No date. From H. Racinais Un Versailles Inconnu, II, 90
27. François Boucher: Evilmerodach, Fils et Successeur de Nabuchadonosor, delivrant Joachim des Chaines dans lesquelles son Père le retenait depuis longtemps, Columbia, (S.C.) Art Gallery
28. François Boucher: Renauld et Armide, Paris, Louvre

29. François Boucher: L'Opérateur or La Curiosité from the Tapestries Series, Les Fêtes Italiennes woven c. 1736. From A. Ananoff, François Boucher, I, pl. 128
30. Peter Paul Rubens: The Encounter between Abraham and Melchisedech, The Eucharist Tapestry Series. From Peter Paul Rubens 1577-1640, Katalog I, Rubens in Italien Gemälde, Ölskizzen, Zeichnungen, Triumph der Eucharistie Wandteppiche aus dem Kölner Dom, 370
31. François Boucher: Le Martyre des Trois Jésuites au Japon, Location unknown. From A. Ananoff, François Boucher, I, pl. 119
32. The Raising of the Cross, engraving by Hans Witdoeck after Peter Paul Rubens. From J.R. Martin, The Antwerp Altarpieces, pl. 83
33. Title-page of Maphaeus Barberini Poemata engraved by Cornelius Galle after Peter Paul Rubens. From J.R. Judson, C. Van de Velde; Book Illustrations and Title Pages, pl. 227
34. François Boucher: detail of La Chasse au Léopard, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
35. François Boucher: detail of La Chasse au Léopard, Amiens, Musée de Picardie
36. En Lea..., From Tracts 1621-41, British Museum
37. Antonio Tempesta: untitled (Leopard Hunt). From Tracts 1621-41, British Museum
38. Jean-Baptiste Oudry: La Panterre, engraving by Basan dated 1739. From A. Dent, Animals in Art, pl. 14
39. Antonio Tempesta: untitled (crocodile hunt). From Tracts 1621-41, British Museum
40. Jacques-Louis David: Napoleon Crossing the Alps, Versailles, Musée
41. Eugène Delacroix, The Lion Hunt, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, From F.A. Trapp, The Attainment of Delacroix, Fig. 132
42. Eugène Delacroix, The Lion Hunt, Chicago, The Art Institute. From A. Dent, Animals in Art, pl. 18

PREFACE

François Boucher and five of his contemporaries painted a series of nine canvases, referred to in this thesis as the Amiens Hunting Series, for Louis XV's private gallery in the Château at Versailles between 1736 and 1739. As far as is known, the Series has not been discussed in art historical literature. Yet, the paintings are unique; they draw upon a long tradition of previous descriptions of the hunt from both visual and literary sources.

This thesis deals with several areas: hunting themes in general, the work of Peter Paul Rubens, the influence of the tradition stemming from Versailles, and especially with the hunting paintings in the Series by François Boucher. It is here proposed that the idea of the noble and heroic huntsman defined in the canvases of Rubens is kept alive through the re-interpretation of the motif by Boucher until its re-appearance in the art of Delacroix in the nineteenth century.

Taste, wit, elegance and fantasy are the generalities most usually applied to the art of the 1730's in France. These varied descriptions suggest that there must have been a substantial and profound basis informing the painting of this decade that permitted critics of the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries to isolate these qualities. This thesis is directed towards an examination of the influences operative in a period of hiatus between the strict control of artistic production under Louis XIV, until in 1737, state and institutional controls began once more to exert pressure. The decade of the 1730's is fascinating on many levels: the new king was still very young, and dedicated to the hunt; the exuberance of interior décor reached an apogee during this time; there is a subtle, yet perceptible coalescing of intellectual thought that would lead to Montesquieu's, Diderot's and Buffon's scientific analysis in the domain of law, morality and nature. This ethos produced the Amiens Hunting Series.

Of great help in tracing the rendition of animals in the Amiens Hunting Series was the opportunity of consulting original engravings after Stradanus, Tempesta and Rubens in London and Paris. It is to be hoped that the works of the two former artists will soon appear in The Illustrated Bartsch. The McGill Blacker-Wood Library of Zoology and Ornithology has provided an endless richness of original texts on animal lore. To cite but a few of their treasures germane to my thesis: Edward Topsell's Historie of Four-footed Beastes (1607) and several original editions of Buffon's Histoire naturelle. W.A. Baillie-Grohman's Sport in Art of 1925 provides much useful information, but the author's bias

as a practical man of the hunt blinds him to the iconographic, or even the artistic significance of much of the work he discusses.

Analyses of the life and work of Peter Paul Rubens have been prolific. Those most useful to my study have been the volumes by Svetlana Alpers, John Rupert Martin, J. Richard Judson and Carle Van Der Velde that have appeared in the Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard under the direction of F. Baudouin and R-A. d'Hulst. The research, writings and seminars of Thomas L. Glen on Rubens and the artist's influence on the eighteenth century were most valuable to me. In addition, J.S. Held's discussion of Van Dyck's "Le Roi à la Ciasse" and D. Rosand's study of "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt: Its Sources and Significance" provided the basis for this examination of the Amiens Hunting Series.

The authors on Versailles are numerous and the history of the Château is complex. Alfred and Jeanne Marie's several volumes on the evolution of the building programme must be considered along with the work of Pierre de Nolhac, Pierre Verlet, and Anthony Blunt. Henry Racinais's study of the private quarters of Louis XV and Louis XVI is particularly valuable in helping to unravel the history of the many interior renovations undertaken in the palace.

The sources for the art of the early eighteenth century have become the object of increasing attention on the

part of contemporary scholars. However, Louis Dimier's two-volume study is still useful, whereas Pierre Marcel's critique is essential although his ideas have been refuted to some extent by Antoine Schnapper's more recent studies. Fiske Kimball, Pierre Rosenberg, Wend Graf Kalnein and Michael Levey are responsible for signal studies on the Rococo period in France. An obvious lacuna in the field is a book such as Jean Locquin's work on history painting in the latter part of the eighteenth century. One must work by inference from a variety of sources (most of which are not available in Montreal) in order to achieve some appreciation of the impact of the academic and institutional structures on the arts for the period prior to Locquin's discussion. The simplified view that Rococo art stems directly from the "academic victory" of Rubens and the school of Venetian colourists has been tested by recent scholars. Oliver Banks pleads for an appreciation of the effects of Dutch Baroque art in France, whereas Hal. N. Opperman cites the tradition stemming from the exacting naturalism of the Flemish animal and still life painters.

Previous to Alexandre Ananoff's two-volume study on François Boucher which appeared in 1978, there were limited scholarly works on the artist. Much of the criticism has been influenced by the Goncourt brothers' overly-graceful appreciation of Boucher as the representative of an "airy

moment" in French art that appeared in French XVIII Century Painters. Their simplistic view was corrected by Paul Mantz's book of 1880, André Michel's biography of 1886 and the subsequent edition of Michel in 1906 which included a catalogue by Souillie and Masson. Around this time appeared studies by Pierre de Nolhac and Haldane MacFall. Ananoff writes from the point of view of the connoisseur. Thus, he makes no art historical syntheses of previous traditions nor the relationship of Boucher's work to that of his contemporaries, and is, in some cases, incorrect in his documentation and attributions as has been pointed out by Donald Posner and Regina S. Slatkin. Despite these imperfections, this two-volume edition is a rich visual record of paintings, drawings, prints and tapestries which, when used in conjunction with P. Jean-Richard's recent and masterful L'Oeuvre Gravé de François Boucher, enables the student to reach a better understanding of the subject-matter and iconography of the artist.

It was George Mras who in many ways really began the present-day evaluation of the work of Delacroix. From his study which emphasizes Delacroix's knowledge of classical theories of art, and his sympathy for the tradition of European culture, Delacroix emerges as as much a traditionalist and academic as were previously great painters in France. General

studies on Delacroix such as those by Lee Johnson and Frank Anderson Trapp have become standard reference works, along with, of course, the artist's Journals.

INTRODUCTION

A remarkable series of nine hunting paintings was executed for the "petite galerie" in the private apartments of Louis XV at Versailles between 1736 and 1738.¹ The pictures now hang in the Musée de Picardie in Amiens.² They depict in a grand and expansive manner exotic hunt scenes in far-away lands that reflect both Louis XV's passionate dedication to the hunt and the continuity into the eighteenth century of certain themes drawn from the long and important tradition of hunting. Of even greater interest is the fact that these large canvases are unique in the sense that they do not fit precisely into the mould of conventional history painting, nor do they illustrate realistic scenes of court hunts common at the time. Moreover the Series is not entirely representative of what has come to be known as Rococo art in France.

The very titles of these works suggest their individuality. Such exotic scenes as La Chasse au Léopard (pl.1) and La Chasse au Crocodile (pl.2) by François Boucher, La Chasse à l'Ours (pl.3) and La Chasse à l'Autruche (pl.4) by Carle Van Loo, La Chasse au Lion (pl.5) by Jean-François de Troy, La Chasse à l'Eléphant (pl.6) and La Chasse au Taureau Sauvage (pl.7) by Charles Parrocel are placed next to

equally captivating subjects like La Chasse au Lion et au Tigre en Chine (pl.8) by Jean-Baptiste Pater and La Chasse au Tigre (pl.9) by Nicolas Lancret.

This series, known henceforth as the Amiens Hunting Series, demonstrates vividly the eclectic taste in vogue in France around 1736, the conventional monumentality imposed by the Academy upon the category of history painting and, paradoxically, the temporary relaxing of academic precepts. Carlé Van Loo, Charles Parrocel and Jean-François de Troy remained close to the tradition of history painting in their contributions, while Jean-Baptiste Pater and Nicolas Lancret projected on monumental canvases, their concern with genre. But, of course, the most outstanding master of the series by far was François Boucher.

The two decades before the Amiens Hunting Series was executed were crucial ones in the evolution of the art of painting in France. On the one hand, Louis XIV's preoccupation with foreign wars and his depleted treasury resulted in lax central authority over the arts and little money to bolster the academic structure. Moreover, conditions did not improve under the Regency. On the other hand, the rise of a new and wealthy merchant class during the eighteenth century created a demand for certain types of painting. The trend towards a more graceful subject matter in lighter tonalities, evident towards the end of the reign of Louis

XIV, was crystallised by the election of Roger de Piles as "amateur" to the Academy.³ The fact that the new Parisian bourgeois had money to spend on their private homes and collections meant that the painter had markets other than those created by the grandiose taste of the court of Versailles.

Prior to the period under discussion, paintings of the importance of the Amiens Hunting Series, other than history painting, usually glorified the military and heroic deeds of the reigning monarch. Versailles was never free from the pervasive influence of images perpetuating the Apollonian glory of Louis XIV. Charles de la Fosse, for instance, in the Char de Soleil on the ceiling of the Salon d'Apollon, reinforced the mythological parallel with the temporal power of the Bourbons that Charles Lebrun had consecrated in allegorical form in the Galerie des Glaces.⁴ Louis XIV, it is true, commissioned portraits of his favourite hunting dogs and rare animals for Versailles and Marly,⁵ but these canvases are distinctly earth-bound when compared to the heroic deeds of the Sun King that appeared in the public rooms at Versailles. In contrast, the Amiens Hunting Series with its theme of exotic beasts hunted in foreign lands was an unusual complement to royal décor at this time.

Upon Louis XV's majority in February 1723, Versailles became once again the centre of artistic and political

activity. The King soon showed that he meant to be the custodian of the tradition embodied in the palace, as evidenced by his remark; "Je ne veux rien changer, ni rien innover à ce qui se passe à ma cour."⁶ There followed an attempt on the part of his first ministers to restore the art of painting to the standards once demanded by Louis XIV, and to give new life and authority to the Academy. To this end, the Duc d'Antin, for the first time since 1704, organised a Salon in 1725 and a public competition in 1727 culminating in the re-establishment of Salons on a regular basis in 1737. At the same time as the Amiens Hunting Series was commissioned, François Lemoyne painted his Salon d'Hercule which can be considered as one of the last flowerings in France of monumental decoration so common to the seventeenth century.⁷

If, by 1736, the theme of the hunt had become a popular idiom, one would expect to see a rash of paintings dealing with the subject. On the contrary, there are only the realistic depictions of the hunt by Jean-Baptiste Oudry who followed in the footsteps of François Desportes who, in turn, was the perpetuator of the tradition of Snyder and Fyt. A cursory glance at other works in the 1730's shows some canvases based on religious and mythological themes, portraits and small genre scenes designed to grace the restricted spaces of the new Parisian dwellings. In

addition, to meet the requirements of these newly-built "hôtel particuliers" in Paris, there was a proliferation of overdoor paintings of the seasons, the hours of the day and the four corners of the earth.⁸

The seemingly incongruous appearance, however, at this time, of the subjects treated in the Amiens Hunting Series can be attributed to several solid, historical reasons. The hunt had long been recognised as a substitute for warfare in times of peace. Hunting Treaties from the Antique and Medieval period to the eighteenth century inevitably stressed the benefits, both moral and physical, to be derived from the active pursuit of this pastime. France, at the time that the Amiens Hunting Series was commissioned was enjoying a period of relative tranquillity. The situation at her borders was comparatively calm and the "Entente cordiale" with opposing powers was stable for the moment.⁹ It is probable, then, that the lack of heroic action on the battlefield initiated a longing for noble exploits transferred, in this case, to the canvases of the Series. Had these paintings been commissioned at an earlier period, they surely would have contained more explicit references to specific attributes of kingship and to the Bourbon dynasty. The originality, however, of the Amiens Series lies in its oblique reference to the tradition of the past, actual military events and Louis XV's obsession with the hunt. Contemporary sources

bear witness to the fact that Louis XV was a passionate hunter: his courtiers were dismayed on countless occasions at being forced to join the King under inclement conditions to ride through the vast forests of the royal estates.¹⁰

Whereas Louis XIV commissioned paintings to commemorate his deeds in consolidating the hegemony of France, Louis XV apparently chose to equate his majesty, at least during the early part of his reign, with the glories of the hunt and particularly in the type of monumental and exotic interpretations seen in the Amiens Hunting Series. Insofar as France had now achieved a place of prominence in Europe, Louis XV was under no obligation to magnify further the glory of the nation. While his great-grandfather had engaged in extensive additions to the hunting lodge that was to become the magnificence of Versailles, Louis XV contented himself with confirming the legacy of the past with a restless series of renovations in order to accommodate the needs of his increasing family and the requirements of the royal favourites.¹¹

The three characteristics of the Series: respect for tradition, contemporary military events and the King's royal pleasure, are suffused with elements of fantasy, reverie and even the theatrical. The same qualities can be traced back to the art of Sir Peter Paul Rubens. The theme of the struggle between man and beast, between good and

evil, and by analogy, the good government of the king over his unruly subjects, are the basic elements of the great hunting paintings done by Peter Paul Rubens for the Emperor Maximilian of Austria.¹² This parallel with the work of Rubens can be extended even further: in Rubens's mythological series for the Torre de la Parada, the hunting lodge of Philip IV of Spain, there is good reason to believe that perhaps Rubens's wry and incisive comments on the vagaries of men and myth influenced the imaginations of the painters of the Amiens Series in their deft and expansive use of exotica.¹³ It might be suggested, in fact, that the major painter of the Series, François Boucher, was most strongly influenced by these trends.

The hunting paintings remained in the gallery of Louis XV's private apartments until 1767 when they were removed to the Trianon.¹⁴ There, the canvases remained until 1802. Napoleon had the paintings by François Boucher and Carle Van Loo transferred to the Salle d'Audience in the Hôtel de Ville at Amiens where his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, signed the treaty "La Paix d'Amiens" with England, Holland and Spain.¹⁵ What more appropriate atmosphere than that created by these noble hunting pictures in which to sign a peace treaty designed to end foreign hostilities and to initiate a period of peace and prosperity?

The fact that Napoleon recognised in the work of Boucher and Van Loo a statement of traditional monarchy and the legitimacy of kingship provides an interesting comment on the work of Jacques-Louis David. David was one of the greatest interpreters of both the rigorous idealism of the French State during the Revolution and the glory of Napoleon. Although his work apotheosizing the greatness of Napoleon does not fit into the framework of hunting paintings, there is a relationship between the hero figure by David and the exotic huntsmen by Rubens and Boucher.

After the fall of Napoleon and the re-establishment of the Bourbon monarchy, few exploits occurred to give rise to the heroic vision. The middle class became more prosperous, its interest in painting was focused increasingly upon traditional and readily recognised subjects of the distant past or gentle interpretations of nature rendered with a minimum of passion.¹⁶

The nineteenth-century painter who reacted most strongly against this trend and persisted in portraying the great humanistic themes of the seventeenth century was Eugène Delacroix. He wrote often in his Journal about the heroism and glory of Rubens: he is less than kind to Boucher and Van Loo. Nonetheless, it might be suggested that it was

Boucher, and through Boucher's influence on David, that the great heroic tradition of the exotic animal hunt established by Rubens was kept alive until it re-appeared in the vibrant canvases of Delacroix.

As far as is known, little attention has been paid to the Amiens Hunting Series in art historical literature. And yet, the number of canvases, their size and the fact that several important artists of the 1730's were responsible for their creation, would surely seem to indicate that they are major monuments of the time.

All the paintings are superb tributes to the imagination of the artists and their re-interpretation of the past. Nevertheless, the paintings by Boucher must be singled out for particular comment as it is in Boucher's work that the tradition of Rubens is so dramatically revitalised, and it is in Boucher's pictures that the innovations of Delacroix are foreshadowed.

CHAPTER I

ARTISTIC TASTE IN FRANCE IN THE DECADE OF 1730: BACKGROUND TO THE AMIENS HUNTING SERIES

A brief examination of the forces at work during the early part of the eighteenth century reveals the subtle interplay of factors that gave rise to the wealth of ideas characteristic of the Amiens Hunting Series: heroic, ferocious, fantastic and theatrical. These multiple interpretations of the exotic hunt are unusual within the pictorial tradition of hunting painting in France before the time of Delacroix. The paintings do not participate in the traditional portrayal of royal court hunts in the realistic manner of Velasquez nor in the mythological and heroic vision of the king as Apollo or Alexander after Rubens and Van Dyck. But, they are, in some ways, an outgrowth of previous depictions of royal pleasures and obsessions.

Forasmuch as the paintings were commissioned for the private apartments of Louis XV, the legacy of Versailles at the height of the glory of his predecessor, Louis XIV, has some bearing on the theme and style; of equal importance, however, were the developments at the end of the reign of the Sun King that resulted in the diversification of artistic taste in the early part of the eighteenth century.

LEGACY OF LOUIS XIV

The first years of the reign of Louis XIV coincided with the establishment of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1648 and the rise to prominence of Charles Lebrun as "Premier peintre". Under Lebrun's guidance and with the administrative support of Colbert, the activities of most of the prominent painters became oriented towards the glorification of Louis XIV. The ceiling of the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles (1661) is an appropriate example of those twin ideas of the Academy, "la manière des anciens" and "le bon goût". Louis XIV is depicted as a Roman Emperor surrounded by allegorical virtues according to "la manière des anciens", while the composition is both sober and lucid befitting "le bon goût". Dramatic lighting, exaggerated "di sotto in su" effects and the intense colour combinations typical of Italian Baroque ceilings have been noticeably tempered.

In contrast to this decorative cycle are the works commissioned by Louis XIV for the Trianon de Marbre in the late 1680's. These paintings share two major characteristics: a pronounced use of light and colour, and the predominance of mythological subjects having a subtle and graceful reference to the Sun King. There are several artistic and political reasons for this change. With the death of Colbert

in 1683, the influence of Lebrun, especially with respect to his academic doctrines, was seriously challenged by a group of younger painters headed by Pierre Mignard. Mignard supported the Venetian school of colourists and also the work of Rubens in the notorious and continuing "Poussiniste-Rubeniste" debate within the Academy.¹⁷ Moreover, Louis XIV, as his victories became fewer and fewer, was less inclined to concepts such as the grandiose décor and architecture of Versailles, and encouraged his painters to treat more general themes. Indeed, the smaller scale of the Trianon de Marbre required a more intimate treatment. Be that as it may, Lebrun's supporters and those who favoured Mignard were both commissioned to work at the Trianon.¹⁸ Thus, styles based on the classicising idiom of Poussin manifest in the work of Houasse and Verdier; the sculptural tradition derived from the Bolognese school and reflected in the work of Louis de Boullongne; the richly coloured and energetic forms of Rubens reinterpreted by La Fosse are all juxtaposed in the Trianon. This diversity of influences proclaimed by the artists and accepted by the court prepared the way for the multiplicity of tastes apparent some forty years later. These trends are evident in the Amiens Hunting Series, while the influence of Rubens is predominant in the canvases by Boucher.

DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE ACADEMY

The relative neglect of the work of Rubens and of the great Medici cycle during the first part of the seventeenth century was compensated for, in the latter part of the century, by the well-known Poussiniste-Rubeniste debate within the Academy.¹⁹ The polemics were limited to France since there is evidence to suggest that the difference between the two painters - the colour and spontaneity of Rubens, the sculptural form and imperturbability of Poussin - was recognised by a circle larger than that of the French Academy and one that extended beyond the geographical confines of Paris.²⁰

The culmination of the trend towards a more sympathetic appreciation, at least within the Academy, of the work of Rubens, and of Colourist painters in general, occurred, it might be suggested, in 1699 when Roger de Piles was elected "Conseiller Honoraire Amateur". De Piles had long defended Rubens: as early as 1662, he recommended that young artists should visit the Luxembourg Palace if they wished to learn the art of colouring. In his various publications, for instance, Dialogue sur le Coloris (1677) he placed further emphasis on the colouristic skills of Rubens. Now, within the Academic structure, he had a public platform from which to defend both Rubens and the Venetians. One year before his

death, he published Cours de Peinture par Principe (1708).²¹ Annexed to it is the well-known balance sheet wherein several painters are graded according to their respective skills. As might be expected, Rubens along with Raphael attained the highest general score.

Another reason responsible for the diversity of taste and art in the early part of the eighteenth century was the lack of a strong central control emanating from either the King or the Academy. Appointments to the post of "Premier peintre" were sporadic. Upon the death in 1695 of Pierre Mignard who had succeeded Lebrun in 1690, no appointment was made until Antoine Coypel was named in 1715. Louis Boullogne held the post for an undetermined length of time after the death of Coypel in 1722. Sometime in 1736, François Lemoyne was named in recognition for his ceiling in the Salon d'Hercule at Versailles. He did not live to fill the post and it remained vacant until Charles Coypel was appointed in 1745.²²

Activity within the Academy during the first part of the eighteenth century, other than occasional designations of "prix de Rome" candidates, seems to have focused on analytical and theoretical debates. For the most part, academic sessions consisted of re-reading previous lectures by either Lebrun or Philippe de Champaigne. Attendance was

irregular and debates, when they did occur, were along the familiar "Ut Pictura Poesis" theme with the emphasis on proving the superiority of painting over literature, thereby reinforcing the artistic superiority of the academicians over the mere "practioners" of the Académie Saint-Luc.²³

The members of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture felt particularly threatened by the less august "community" of Saint-Luc since the latter was responsible for the early training of many noteworthy artists such as Pierre Mignard, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, Alexis Grimou, and Jean-Nicolas Servandoni. Jean-Baptiste Oudry was a pupil of the "Communauté" in 1706, yet in 1716, he was "agrée" by the Royal Academy.

With the appointment of Antoine Coypel as "Premier peintre" in 1715, academic debate turned once more to painterly problems. Coypel, in a conference before the Academicians in 1722, attempted to mediate the conflict between the seventeenth-century tradition based on royal commands and conformity to rules and the new dictates of taste promulgated by his friend, Roger de Piles, and the connoisseurs. Coypel's precepts embraced all previous theories: antique art provided the rules, but not all antique art surpassed contemporary art. Perhaps his most

important statement on public interest in the arts was that "un des principaux objets que se proposent les arts est de plaire" and that painting should demonstrate "un grand goût assaisonné de grâces."²⁴ Included in Coypel's assessments were all artists of merit: Flemish painters rivaled those of Italian origin. The Amiens Hunting Series, in the light of Coypel's advice, was designed to meet all his criteria.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES UNDER THE REGENCY

4 The changes in the social and economic situation in France have been well-documented by others, but major events which had some bearing upon the artistic climate that made paintings like those of the Amiens Hunting Series conceivable should be stressed here. One of the most crucial of these events was the financial drain caused by the wars of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) which restricted large-scale artistic commissions and dimmed the brilliance of court life at Versailles. Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, the Regent, forsook the palace altogether and moved his court to the Palais Royal in Paris. Other nobles followed suit. Still another financial offshoot of the wars of the Spanish

Succession had been the intensive building of "hôtel particuliers" in Paris by men who had amassed fortunes by supplying arms to the King.²⁵ These individuals were to become recognised patrons of the arts.

PATRONS OF THE ARTS DURING THE EARLY DECADES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Typical in his eclectic taste was a patron such as Pierre Crozat, a successful banker from Toulouse. In addition to his collection of works by traditional masters, Crozat indicated his interest in contemporary art by inviting to his home on the Rue de Richelieu (now destroyed) many important artists such as Charles de la Fosse, Gilles-Marie Oppenordt, Antoine Watteau as well as visiting Venetians like Rosalba Carriera, her brother-in-law Antonio Pellegrini, and Sebastian Ricci. Crozat's traditional bent might be best illustrated by pointing to the two ceiling paintings executed by La Fosse, La Naissance de Minerve and l'Exaltation des Arts et Sciences for the ceiling of his gallery.²⁶ At the same time, Watteau painted for Crozat's dining room a series of Four Seasons, a subject that was to become increasingly popular. Spring (National Gallery, Washington D.C.) is an isolated example of semi-monumental painting in the work of Watteau.²⁷ The delicate range of colours and the

shimmering play of light and dark on a generously described form betray not only the direct influence of La Fosse, but also the pervasive authority of Rubens. Of interest to the contemporary artistic scene, as well, was the publication in 1729, sponsored by Crozat, of engravings after the Italian school from the royal collection and from his own gallery. This volume under the title Recueil d'Estampes d'après les plus beaux Tableaux was important for both artists and the general public since access to royal collections was difficult. The man responsible for supervising the work was Pierre-Jean Mariette, a widely travelled merchant and publisher of engravings and books. His taste was Italianate and, like Roger de Piles, he also favoured the "colourist" school of painting.²⁸ Mariette assiduously researched the background and technique of every drawing, engraving or book that passed through his hands. Indicative of his interest in the genesis of a work of art and the artist's methods were his visits to the studios of contemporary painters, Boucher and Van Loo among others, and his somewhat exaggerated praise of the work of Rosalba Carriera. It is not surprising to learn that Rubens's drawings occupied a place of importance among those by Italian and Dutch masters in his collection.

A similiary eclectic range of taste and interest in the arts was exhibited by the aristocracy. One of the most

prominent noblemen to take an active interest in the arts was the Comte de Caylus. Through family connections - his aunt was Madame de Montespan, an uncle was Bishop of Auxerre - he was familiar with the standards of the "ancien régime", but his questing spirit and intellectual curiosity, plus a certain financial independence, enabled him to pursue his artistic and archeological interests. His reputation as a connoisseur and savant, especially regarding problems relating to the antique world, was sufficiently solid that in 1731, he too, like Roger de Piles, was elected "Amateur-Honoraire" to the Academy.²⁹ The Comte de Caylus was instrumental in keeping the flame of antiquity burning in a century that was more and more obsessed by popular genre paintings..

In contrast to the predominantly classical interests of Caylus is the fascination with the Dutch and Flemish masters demonstrated by another eminent aristocrat, Dézallier d'Argenville, author and connoisseur. In his Lettre sur le Choix d'un Cabinet curieux of 1727, d'Argenville recommended to prospective collectors that they buy Dutch and Flemish paintings since these were more available than Italian canvases and less subject to forgery.³⁰ The Comtesse de Verrue had already done so. Her collection was formed mainly by Dutch and Flemish paintings including

Anthony Van Dyck's Charles I à la Ciasse (Louvre, Paris),
 Rubens's Rainbow Landscape (Wallace Collection, London) and
 a studio copy of Rubens's Garden of Love.³¹

These patrons from both the aristocracy and the bourgeois class played vital roles in encouraging contemporary artists, yet they also had in their collections magnificent examples of the old masters. The eclecticism of their taste helps to explain how an ensemble as exotic as the Amiens Hunting Series could ever have been commissioned.

REPRESENTATIVE PAINTINGS IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Against this varied background of the influences exerted by the intermittent authority of the court and the Academy and by the connoisseurs, the kind of painting produced at the time is pertinent to our research because of its diversified aspects. In contrast to the popular scenes of modern "fêtes-galantes" painted by Pater and Lancret were the canvases drawn from heroic and mythological subject matter. François Lemoyne, for instance, painted Hercules and Omphale, 1724 (Louvre, Paris), Perseus and Andromache, 1725 (Wallace Collection, London) and the Continence of Scipio, 1727 (Musée, Nancy). This last work, submitted to the public competition organized by the Duc d'Antin in the same year, was selected to share the first prize along with

Diana Reposing (Musée, Nancy) by Jean-François de Troy, an older, more established artist. The graceful dispositions of figures in Lemoyne's canvases hint at the influence of Rubens; De Troy, by contrast, is more earthbound and suggests the influence of Jordaens.³² A further comment on the work of these two artists underlines the range of taste. Lemoyne's ceiling of the Apotheosis of Hercules for the King at Versailles finished in 1736 was the last ceiling in France in which the principles of High Baroque painting were successfully adapted to a French interior. De Troy, in comparison, established a reputation for genre scenes set in elegant interiors; Reading from Molière (private collection, England) is an apt illustration, as is Déjeuner d'Huîtres, 1734 (Musée Condé, Chantilly) (pl.10) painted for the "petits appartements du Roy".

"Rococo" and "genre pittoresque" are two terms used to describe the interiors which de Troy depicted in his genre scenes. The former expression is derived from "rocaille", a shell-shaped form, while the latter phrase became popular after the publication, in 1732, of Antoine Coypel's Discours sur la Peinture. Coypel described the "genre pittoresque" as "un choix piquant et singulier des effets de la nature."³³ Translated into artistic expression, both these terms encompass the work of Pierre Lepautre (1648-1716), his pupils, Gilles-Marie Oppenordt and Louis-Claude Vassé and their followers,

Nicolas Pineau, Jacques de Lajoue and Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier. Meissonnier, in particular, is noted for a high level of fantasy and a pronounced asymmetry in his decorative schemes. In his Livres d'Ornements, published in 1734, he assimilated such disparate elements as rocks, coral, water, fire and architecture.³⁴ Some of the motifs that inspired Meissonnier were undoubtedly related to the contemporary interest in "chinoiserie".

It was interiors decorated by these artists which were to prompt the criticism of La Font de Saint-Yenne in 1747. Here were examples of the "goût excessif pour l'embellissement dont le succès a été extrêmement nuisible à la peinture."³⁵ Paintings which formerly occupied large areas of wall were replaced by the new vogue for elaborate woodwork and mirrors. Even ceilings formerly devoted to exploits of greatness were now filled with abstract patterns in stucco. When painting did claim a place within a "modern" setting, it was reduced, according to La Font de Saint-Yenne, to "petits sujets mesquins hors de la portée de l'oeil...à des représentations froides, insipides et nullement intéressantes: les quatre Eléments, les Saisons, les Sens, les Muses, et autre communs (où) triomphant du Peintre plagiaire, et ouvrier, qui n'exigent ni génie, ni invention...."³⁶

Although the Amiens Hunting Series was a notable exception to the insipid work criticised by La Font de Saint-Yenne, many of the artists in the Series contributed to the décor for one of the most famous townhouses in Paris. La Font de Saint-Yenne might have been writing about the "salon oval" of the Princesse de Soubise which was added to the existing Hotel de Guise in 1732 and for which Natoire prepared a series of eight panels illustrating the life of Psyche. With its multiplicity of mirrors, windows, stucco décor and elaborately shaped spandrels, this room is often cited as one of the finest examples of the change from seventeenth-century sobriety to eighteenth-century exuberance. Most of the prominent artists prepared overdoor paintings for the rooms adjacent to the salon and for the suite of the prince immediately below. The themes were based on Ovid and formed a complement to the cycle by Natoire; a few examples include Apollo by Jean Restout, the Marriage of Hercules and Hebe by Trémolières, and variations on the Venus theme by Boucher and Carle Van Loo.

At the same time that these artists were working within the confines of a decorative ensemble, they produced other paintings. Jean Restout, in his well-known Death of Saint Scholastica, 1730, (Musée des Beaux Arts, Tours) used a restrained palette which recalls the severity of

French religious paintings of the seventeenth century. Trémolières, in his brief career, painted more religious subjects than mythologies,³⁷ while Boucher was actively engaged in preparing the two remarkably vigorous hunting canvases for the Amiens Series.

Parallel to the mythological and religious painting is the oeuvre of two artists who worked in an entirely different manner. Chardin began working on his genre scenes about this time, and exhibited for the first time in the Salon of 1737 with Le Souffleur (Louvre, Paris). La Gouvernante (National Gallery, Ottawa) followed in 1738. With the work of Maurice Quentin de la Tour, however, there is a sharp contrast between Chardin's careful application of paint and sober subject matter and the brilliant surfaces and sparkling personalities of La Tour's portraits. In his self-portrait, (Musée de Picardie, Amiens) La Tour paints himself, in contrast to the historical accounts of his life, as a personality whose insouciance and irony are best described by such characters as Beaumarchais's Figaro. Yet in his full-length portrait of Gabriel-Bernard de Rieux (Collection Rothschild, Geneva), he combined the majesty of a seventeenth-century presentation with the technical brio and spontaneity of an eighteenth-century master.³⁸

Among these representative works of the early eighteenth century there are few subjects dealing with the

hunt, either in a realistic or exotic mode which were commissioned by the connoisseurs or which the artists themselves chose to paint. True, there is a notable exception in the work of Jean-Baptiste Oudry who produced the cartoons for Les Chasses royales that were woven at the Gobelins manufactory in 1736; and there are a few scenes of military life such as the Escorte d'équipage by Watteau, known to-day through an engraving by Laurent Cars, and Charles Parrocel's Halte de Grénadiers, 1737 (Louvre, Paris). But these few examples do not adequately convey the expansive and imaginative interpretation of the rigours of combat, nor the disciplines associated with the hunt that are described in the Amiens Hunting Series.

From what has been discussed above, it is clear that, around 1736 at the time the Amiens Hunting Series was being painted for the private gallery of Louis XV, the artists engaged in the execution of the commission were the inheritors of an especially rich tradition. Elements derived from the Baroque classical style favoured in the early years of the reign of Louis XIV are discernible in their work as are components originating from the synthesis of Italian and Flemish styles exemplified in the Trianon, a monument reflecting Louis XIV's taste towards the end of his reign.

Another factor that had some bearing on the series was the demand by connoisseurs for cabinet paintings suitable for the new and more intimate interiors. The Academy while not as rigorous or as active as it had been during the seventeenth century, nor as prestigious or influential as it was to become in the eighteenth century, nevertheless exercised influence, at least in form if not in practice.

All the various trends, just described, converge in the Amiens Hunting Series. The paintings by Lancret and Pater for the Series are close in feeling to the subject matter commissioned by wealthy citizens for their intimate interiors. Carle Van Loo, Jean-François de Troy and Charles Parrocel disclose their debt to formal and traditional sources. Boucher's work reflects tradition as well, but there is more than just a lingering Baroque idiom in his two canvases. There is, in particular, a re-affirmation of the Baroque magnificence and colouristic splendour associated with the work of Peter Paul Rubens.³⁹ It is surely indicative of the eclectic taste of the time, and of the king, that in Louis XV's dining room next to the gallery in which the hunting pictures were on display, there were egregious examples of genre painting such as Jean-François de Troy's Déjeuner d'Huitres, 1734 (Musée Condé, Chantilly) and Nicolas Lancret's Souper au Jambon, 1735 (Musée Condé, Chantilly).

CHAPTER II

THE AMIENS HUNTING SERIES AND THE TRADITION OF THE HUNT

The series of nine paintings in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens, raises many interesting problems which are not readily apparent upon a cursory examination. By referring to previous depictions of the hunt, the protocol attendant thereon and by considering the importance attached to the hunt during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and especially during the early years of the reign of Louis XV, the wealth of implications in the Series becomes evident.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTINGS

Each of the paintings in the Series shares similar characteristics and they were obviously created as a set. In all compositions, the action is placed close to the front of the picture plane, and depicted in a landscape that eventually fades into misty distances at the horizon level. There is, in each, a vast sky that transports the observer to distant climes. Although we remain earthbound, aesthetically and spiritually, we become visitors to other lands and other infinities. Every painting portrays the significant moment when man and beast struggle for supremacy, even when there is

little doubt about the outcome of the battle. The beast is vanquished, man remains supreme, since these eighteenth-century artists, like their seventeenth-century predecessors, chose to translate the superiority of man over animals and nature.⁴⁰ In most of the paintings, the activity in the foreground is echoed in the middle and far distances, adding even a greater intensity to the main event.

It is perhaps surprising to note that most of the animals in the Amiens Hunting Series were not the usual quarry of the royal hunt in France which involved primarily the chasing of the stag. The question arises as to why the artists were commissioned to paint these scenes of exotic beasts in landscapes that are definitely not French. Some traditional skills connected with the hunt are, of course, emphasized such as superior horsemanship, the proper use of weapons, the contact with the hounds and the knowledge of the habits and habitats of wild animals, but the essential point is that all these cynegetic observations are of less significance than the exotic aspects.

TRADITION OF HUNTING IN ART AND LITERATURE

The chase has always been a preoccupation of man the hunter ever since the shadowy times of the grottoes of Lascaux. Written in many different languages, epics like

Gilgamesh, the Odyssey and the Old Testament bear witness to man's enduring interest in the hunt.

Closer in time, and more pertinent to this thesis is a discussion of Graeco-Roman prototypes for hunting scenes, since the artists who participated in the Amiens Hunting Series, with the exception of Lancret and Pater, had made the traditional pilgrimage to Rome. Once there, they enrolled at the Académie de France where some of the exercises included drawing from antique sculpture or from plaster casts after the antique.⁴¹

Hunting and battle scenes are familiar subjects on antique sarcophagi, a reflection in Roman times of the popularity of man and beast encounters in the arena. For instance, a representation of the Calydonian Boar Hunt on the Meleager sarcophagus, walled into the Casino at the Villa Medici, portrays hunters in a standing position with slanted spears closing in on a boar.⁴² Another sarcophagus now in the Vatican from the same historical period portrays a battle between Amazons and their foes; the heroines astride their surging mounts dominate the enemy scattered on the ground. There is a distinct possibility that the painters of the Amiens Hunting Series had seen this particular Amazonomachy which had been used as a fountain basis ever since the sixteenth century.⁴³ Another hunting scene is shown on the Alexander Sarcophagus where the principal warrior, mounted

on a rearing horse, attacks a lion. Hunting flourished as well under Caracalla, and perhaps the best-known work from this period is the Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus with its tightly woven composition of humans and animals locked in combat.

In addition to sarcophagi sources, other antique objects from which artists gleaned ideas for both composition and theme were found in mosaics and certain relief sculpture. A typical example is a pebble mosaic from Pella usually dated around 300 B.C.: two warriors, nude except for flying cloaks, attack a lion with drawn swords. Again, in the Barberini mosaic, a boar hunt is shown; other mosaics such as those found at Palestrina depict aspects of aquatic animal life along the Nile River valley.⁴⁴ Further possible influential reliefs include those on the Column of Trajan with its battle scenes, or that of the boar hunt carved during the Trajanic period and incorporated into the Arch of Constantine. Still more sources are the numerous reliefs of Hercules and the Nemean lion, or free-standing statues such as the lion attacking a horse which was placed on the Capitol as early as the sixteenth century.⁴⁵

The "locus classicus" of books on hunting is the Cynegeticus by Xenophon in which he noted for the first time the advantages to be derived from the hunt: hunting helped men to sharpen their wits and to prepare for the fatigue

of military life; it was also beneficial to health and self-discipline.⁴⁶ To some extent, these same advantages are stressed in all later hunting treatises until modern times, when weapons of mass destruction render ineffectual the moral and physical excellence of the individual soldier. In contrast, the medieval hero on horseback was a familiar and readily interpreted symbol for the victory of good over evil.⁴⁷ This moralizing trend continued to be in vogue until at least the time of Rubens. The tradition was perpetuated through books such as the Physiologus, the iconography of the Zodiac and various bestiaries which culminated in the tapestry series, "La Chasse à la Licorne", (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters, New York).⁴⁸

One of the most significant and often cited hunting texts of medieval derivation is Gaston de Foix's Livre de Chasse, written in 1387 and illustrated in one of the most famous versions of circa 1449 (Bibliothèque nationale, mss.616, Paris). It was this manuscript that the Marquis de Vigneau presented to Louis XIV, in a courtier's gesture that betrayed his knowledge of his ruler's passion.⁴⁹ Practical details of the hunt are illustrated here against ornate and densely patterned backgrounds: tufters with coupled hounds, the hunt breakfast at which each tufter shows the droppings of the trapped stag to the Master, the raising and hunting of the stag, and the sounding of the hunting horns.

The lethal stroke had always to be delivered with cold steel, an art requiring great courage and perfect sword and horsemanship.⁵⁰

The ideals and traditions of the medieval huntsman were not lost in the sixteenth century. One of the most important monuments is the series of hunting tapestries, Les Belles Chasses de l'Empereur Maximilian, (Louvre, Paris). Commissioned from Bernard Van Orley around 1528 by the daughter of Maximilian, Margaret, Regent of the Netherlands, the tapestries show various locales in which the Emperor hunted, his different types of dogs, his retainers and always himself, on horseback, directing the proceedings.⁵¹ There is an interesting parallel to the Amiens Hunting Series here in the absence of "fire-tubes" or "fire-guns" which had been forbidden by the Emperor. This absence stresses even more the skill of the hunter, and by extension, the nobility of the quarry.

Other monumental works during the Renaissance depicting the warrior-hero on horseback might be cited: Donatello's statue of Gattamelata, 1445-50 (Piazzo del Santo, Padua) and Verrochio's equestrian monument of Bartolommeo Colleoni, 1481-96 (Campo SS. Giovanni e Paola, Venice).

More relevant, perhaps, are the works of two late Renaissance artists, Johannes Stradanus and Antonio Tempesta, in which the most important proto-Baroque depictions of both real and legendary sport are to be found. Johannes Stradanus whose original name was Johannes Van der Straet (1523-1605) was a Fleming engaged by Cosimo de Medici in Florence to prepare cartoons for the "Arazzia Medicae". According to Vasari, Stradanus became interested in hunting scenes when he was commissioned to do a series of designs "caccia de' daini, delle chamozze" which were completed before 1568.⁵² Subsequently his work became widely known because of his association with such prominent engravers as Hieronymus Cock, Philip and Cornelius Galle, Adrien and Hans Collaert, Henrick Goltzius and the Sadeliers.⁵³ Some of the engravings from the Venationes deal with more prosaic hunting problems such as Rabbiting with the swift English Small dog, Fox and Hare Hunting, or Use of the Stalking Cow⁵⁴ and the art of fishing. Other themes, however, bring us still closer to the concerns of the artists in the Amiens Hunting Series. Exotic subjects like Hare Hunting with the Trained Leopards, Elephant Hunting in Africa and Ostrich Hunting in Africa⁵⁵ in which the action takes place close to the front of the picture plane, and in a limitless terrain, are very close in feeling to the Amiens pictures.

Equally important for this study is the work of one of Stradanus's pupil, Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630) who was

well known for his very popular illustration of Ovid's Metamorphoses.⁵⁶ Tempesta's illustrations for an edition of 1606 in the Bodleian Library show a marked influence of Stradanus in the poses of both the hunter and the hunted as well as in the vast and generalised landscapes.⁵⁷ It is worth discussing a few of these illustrations since they suggest a probable source of inspiration for the painters of the Amiens Hunting Series. In Actas Ferrea, an armed warrior on a prancing steed unseats with a lance his opponent who topples from his rearing mount. In the background, a battle rages on foot. In Graecorum Troianorumque Concursus, a fierce encounter takes place amongst mounted warriors bearing shields and lances who struggle above a battleground littered with fallen men and horses.

While Tempesta's illustrated Ovid suggests a general source for prototypical interpretations of the heroic warrior and huntsman on horseback, it is likely that his Icones Venatum Species Varias Representantes provided a direct source for many of the motifs appearing in the Amiens Hunting Series.⁵⁸ For example, Tempesta's engravings of a wild bull hunt have special relevance for the Chasse au Taureau sauvage by Charles Parrocel (pl. 11 and pl. 12). The same holds true for Boucher's Chasse au Crocodile in which the scene of the hunter astride a crocodile can be traced back to Tempesta's work. It can be suggested, as well, that

Carle Van Loo was aware of a version of an ostrich hunt engraved by Tempesta in his rendition of a similar theme for the Amiens Hunting Series.

This brief historical survey of hunting themes from which the Amiens Hunting Series evolved culminates in the seventeenth century with the art of Peter Paul Rubens. It is in his work that the synthesis of previous traditions stemming from Antique, Medieval and Renaissance sources finds a brilliant fulfillment. One of the most important sources of Rubens's interest in hunting and battle scenes was the Battle of Anghiari by Leonardo da Vinci. Indeed, our knowledge of this lost masterpiece until recent investigations was based on Rubens's drawing of the central section.⁵⁹ Rubens transferred his vigorous re-interpretation of Leonardo's battle scene to the set of four hunting scenes which he painted for the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria around 1615-1616: they are the Wild Boar Hunt (Musée des Beaux Arts, Marseille), the Lion Hunt (destroyed by fire in Bordeaux), the Tiger Hunt (Musée des Beaux Arts, Rennes) (pl. 13) and the Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) (pl. 14).⁶⁰ Another important canvas, the Lion Hunt, 1621, (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) (pl. 15) can be regarded as the synthesis of his artistry in this genre, since he blended both the archetypal medieval hero on horseback with the quint-essential monarch.⁶¹

Rubens, however, was associated with the hunt in yet another way. Towards the end of his career, he prepared a series of sketches for the hunting lodge of Philip IV of Spain, the Torre de la Parada.⁶² Special hunting displays were organised at Philip's court in order to entertain visiting royalty. At such events, the intended parallel between the King's display of bravery in the chase and his heroic action on the battlefield was understood by all observers.⁶³ In contrast to the paintings for the Buen Retiro in celebration of the King's military triumphs, those in the Torre de la Parada were linked to the peaceful substitute for battle, the hunt.⁶⁴ The paintings of domestic animals by Rubens and his workshop for this hunting lodge, the realistic scenes of the hunt, or even the portraits of members of the royal family in hunting costume by Velasquez were, by their nature, appropriate to the atmosphere of the Torre de la Parada. Even Rubens's series based on Ovidian myths fitted into the restful and informal ambience connoted by a pleasure house in the country.⁶⁵ One wonders whether the exotic hunt scenes for the Gallery of Louis XV did not supply the same degree of entertainment and reverie for the Versailles court as did Rubens's interpretation of Ovid for the court of Philip IV.

Since the painters of the Amiens Hunting Series were imbued to a large extent by the content and style of the great hunting canvases of Peter Paul Rubens, his influence is

discussed in Chapters III and IV. It is worth mentioning here, however, two portraits executed by a colleague of Rubens, Anthony Van Dyck, that contributed to the articulation of the image of the king as royal hunter as well as monarch. Charles I on Horseback (after 1632) (National Gallery, London) refers to a subtle interplay of historical events, literary allusions and graphic prototypes. The king has become the personification of the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings as well as Saint George, the holy Christian Knight.⁶⁶ The second portrait, le Roi à la Ciasse, 1635 (Louvre, Paris) was in the collection of various French nobles during the early part of the eighteenth century before Louis XVI finally bought the painting for the state.⁶⁷ The reference to the attributes of kingship - the groom and the horse in reverent stances beneath a baldaquin of leafy foliage, the walking stick and the noble air of the King - are gracefully understated. One wonders whether Louis XV was consciously imitating this more approachable image of royalty since he, at one point, entered Parlement, dressed elegantly, but casually in his hunting costume.⁶⁸ Be that as it may, there is, in the Amiens Hunting Series, both the reference to the heroic knight and the pleasures of the chase.

GENERALIZED TASTE FOR EXOTICISM: ILLUSTRATED TRAVEL BOOKS;
MENAGERIES; INTEREST IN THE ORIENT

Travel Books

One of the most compelling aspects of the Amiens Hunting Series is the generalized description of exotic landscapes in which natives of foreign lands wield their strength against fabled creatures.

Several historical factors are responsible for the European interest in exotica. The search for a route to China led to the establishment of trading posts in various corners of the world in the sixteenth century. These voyages of discovery stimulated the production of books with illustrations of the flora and fauna of the newly discovered lands. One of the most important publishers of travel literature who lavishly illustrated the written accounts was the de Bry family of Frankfurt, Theodor and his son, Johann Theodor.⁶⁹ In the fifth volume of the de Bry's collection devoted to the exploration of the Americas, there is an illustration of How Indians killed Alligators which is relevant to the Amiens Hunting Series. The engraving shows several Indians who force a pole into the mouth of an alligator, much like the technique of using a battering ram against a castle wall. The form of the beast, with its carefully described scales and powerfully curving tail, is important for later interpretations of the species. Rubens, for instance, in the Four Continents,

c. 1615 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) used a crocodile as the symbol for the Nile River.⁷⁰ The reptile is similar to the one in de Bry's illustration except that the pose has been reversed. Around the same time, Rubens painted the Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt, already mentioned, which influenced Boucher in his later interpretation of a crocodile hunt for the Amiens Hunting Series.

Menageries

Reports and illustrations of wondrous animals from foreign lands naturally aroused the curiosity of Europeans to observe these animals at close range. The painters of the Amiens Hunting Series contributed to some extent to the satisfaction of Louis XV in this regard. In addition to the pictorial tradition of hunting and animal themes derived from Antique, Medieval, Renaissance and early seventeenth-century sources, there was a parallel naturalistic interest in exotic animals as evidenced by the establishment of menageries. Menageries had existed in antiquity, but more important to this study are those formed in the sixteenth century and housed, perhaps, in a building such as the one illustrated in the manuscript Antiquitates by I. Marcanova in 1450.⁷¹ The print shows an octagonally-shaped building containing exotic and domestic animals that could be viewed through grilled openings on each side. To stock these menageries, and even royal gardens, costly expeditions were

mounted to foreign lands for the sole purpose of acquiring rare beasts such as lions, tigers, rhinoceroes and bison. At the same time, ambassadors from foreign courts often presented and received in return, selected specimens of prized animals.⁷²

Closer in time to the Amiens Hunting Series is the menagerie that Louis XIV had constructed on the grounds of Versailles in 1663, no doubt in memory of the Serail at the Château de Vincennes where he had likely witnessed combats between wild animals during his youth.⁷³ From the main octagonally-shaped room of the Château de la Ménagerie, the observer could look out upon any one of the seven different courtyards where different species of animals were kept (pl. 16).⁷⁴ The courtyards were separated by iron fences marked by a double-headed term at each division. In what might be interpreted as a subtle parallel to Rubens's adaptation of the Ovidian myths for Philip IV, Le Vau based the configuration of the terms upon the Metamorphoses.⁷⁵

In 1664, Lafontaine in Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon described the view from the "Salon octogonale":

C'est un lieu rempli de plusieurs sortes de volatiles et de quadrupèdes, la plupart très rares et de pays éloignés. Ils admirèrent en combien d'espèces une seule espèce d'oiseaux se multipliait et louèrent l'artifice et les diverses imaginations de la nature, qui se joue dans les animaux comme elle fait dans les fleurs.⁷⁶

The synthesis between the world of animals and that of man was intensified by the paintings of animals in the gallery and in the main salon of the Château. Madame de Scudéry described, in 1669, her impressions:

...du corridor, on voit sept cours différentes, remplies de toutes sortes d'oyseaux et d'animaux rares, leurs peintures sont dans le cabinet, comme pour préparer à ce qu'on va voir ou pour en faire souvenir après l'avoir vu.⁷⁷

Later in his reign, Louis XIV, to comply with the wishes of the young Duchess of Burgundy, re-vamped the existing buildings especially for her.⁷⁸ It was during this period of reconstruction under the direction of Mansart that the animals from the Serail at Vincennes were transferred to Versailles.⁷⁹ In contrast to the ferocious animals now in residence in the courtyards was the décor of the main apartments which was devoted to animal pieces by Desportes, mythological subjects by Boulogne and Blanchard, and grotesques by Claude III Audran.⁸⁰

When Louis XV established his court at Versailles, he had the menagerie and adjacent labyrinth renovated even to the extent of commissioning Desportes to touch up the statues cast in lead which decorated the complex. Louis's queen, Marie Leczinska, often visited the gardens and the zoo "avec ses cours remplies d'animaux rares et ses volières d'oiseaux des Iles."⁸¹ Was it due, perhaps, to the absence of

ferocious combats between wild animals that Louis XV chose to decorate the walls of his private gallery with the particularly exotic and vicious encounters between man and beast represented in the Amiens Hunting Series? If so, then it might be said that the sublimated urge of the heroic warrior was hence transformed into the dream world of art.

Interest in the Orient

The painters of the Amiens Hunting Series, in addition to the depiction of valiant behaviour in the chase and the portrayal of rare and noble beasts, reflected the interest in the Orient prevalent in France. All of the themes in the Series deal with hunts in foreign lands, but it is in Pater's work that we find the most obvious reference to the Orient.

For over a hundred years before the Amiens Hunting Series, the French court had shown a remarkable interest in objects from China. Mazarin, for example had jewels, furniture and precious textiles from China in his collection. The passion intensified in 1680 with the establishment of a French trading post in Siam where goods from China and Japan could be bought.⁸² A few years later, in 1686, a party of eight mandarins accompanied by some twenty servants arrived from Siam at the court of France. There followed a second visit in 1688 of emissaries bearing

porcelain, carpets, laquer-ware, silver and gold objects as well as precious textiles.⁸³ In the words of H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, "La cour fut émerveillée... la légende du grand et magnifique roi du Siam était créée."⁸⁴ A local commerce in engravings of the exotic visitors, as well as books and almanacs about their distant homelands, sprang up in Paris, while in the Provinces, various festivities took on an oriental tone. At Versailles, taste for Chinese objects reached a climax in the construction of the "Trianon de porcelaine" (demolished in 1687 and replaced by one in marble by Mansart).⁸⁵

French fascination with the Orient continued into the eighteenth century. Under the command of the Chevalier de la Roque, the frigate "Amphitrite" set sail from La Rochelle in 1698 to return in 1700 after establishing a commercial base at Canton. A galaxy of rich objects was imported: copper, rich textiles embroidered in gold and silver, objects in porcelain and lacquer, decorated saddles and weapons and some paintings whose value was not appreciated.⁸⁶ During the same period, France tried to participate in the lucrative trading relations then existing between Russia and China and Russia and Persia in order to import Russian furs.⁸⁷ One cannot help but think that Carle Van Loo was influenced by descriptions of the Russian winter in his Chasse à l'Ours for the Amiens Hunting Series.

Once more in Paris, a proliferation of small shops grew up to sell oriental goods; some were authentic objects imported directly from the Orient or via English and Dutch traders, others were manufactured in France in the "style chinois".⁸⁸ The court affected, as it had in the seventeenth century, Chinese customs adapted to French protocol.⁸⁹

Popular as well in the eighteenth century were engravings of foreign ambassadors dressed in their exotic regalia and sometimes placed in a fantastic décor of pagodas, palm trees and elephants.⁹⁰ Boucher himself was responsible for translating this oriental craze into popular images. His Recueil de diverses Figures chinoises du Cabinet de Fr. Boucher Peintre du Roy Dessinées et Gravées par lui-même avec Priv. du Roy consisted of a series of twelve engravings of various occupations interpreted after what he believed to be the Chinese manner. About the same time, in 1740, Boucher designed a trade-card for Gersaint's shop "A la Pagode".⁹¹

By the time Pater painted his Chasse au Lion et au Tigre en Chine for the Amiens Hunting Series, the archetypal Chinese characteristics had been established: small and bizarre men, their hair in pigtails and coiffed by cone-shaped bonnets were placed in settings of pagodas, palm trees and sometimes dragons, the symbols of imperial dignity.⁹²

PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF THE HUNT: HUNTING MANUALS AND HUNTING EDICTS

Until now, this chapter has dealt with historical developments that influenced the Amiens Hunting Series. On a very concrete level, the decrees issued by the monarchy emphasized the aristocratic and exclusive nature of the Hunt. As well, the restrictive nature of this pastime was emphasized in the numerous hunting manuals and guide-books intended for a patrician minority.

The hunting prerogatives of royalty were zealously guarded in Europe. One example from the early seventeenth century should suffice: an edict of 1613 promulgated by Albert and Isabella of the Netherlands forbade the pursuit of the hunt to the lower classes. The hunt was not permitted in the words of the law, "aux personnes d'infâme et trop vile condition comme les écorcheurs de chevaux qui se permettent journellement de chasser...."⁹³ Severe penalties were established for poachers, trespassers upon royal hunting preserves and for those persons who caused injury to dogs belonging to nobles or to the royal household.⁹⁴

The privileges attendant upon the hunt, however, bore concomittant responsibilities. A huntsman had to be both courtier and equestrian. Implicit in these dual activities was the distant memory of knighthood when every gentlemen had to be fit for war or peace.⁹⁵ When not actively

engaged in the former, he should voluntarily prepare for it by participating in various sports such as hunting, fencing, swimming, handling the long bow and riding the "great horse". Of the many skills, horsemanship was held in the highest esteem, and hunting in the greatest consideration.

These concepts are set forth in general publications of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in particular in La Venerie Royale by Robert de Salnove dedicated to Louis XIV in 1655. In his introduction, de Salnove, whose position as page during the hunts of Henry IV and Louis XIII lends credence to his comments, emphasized the parallel between hunting and warfare:

La Chasse est un si noble exercice, qu'il est presque le seul où les Princes s'adonnent, comme à l'apprentissage de la guerre, le plus illustre des Arts, & les plus genereux des emplois, où se trouvent les mesmes ruses & les mesmes fatigues; Si bien que le Chasseur et le Guerrier ont peu de difference. Les Roys mesmes sont egallement jaloux des droicts & des ordres de la Chasse & de la terre; & comme il s'y rencontre de la peine & du plaisir, ils en iugent absolument l'exercice royal.⁹⁶

The preface is studded with references to the King as a hero, to hunting as a noble art, to the role of the page in the hunt which was interchangeable with that of the soldier in war. The moral qualities needed for hunting were the same as for warfare: De Salnove continued:

...de sorte que la Chasse... a esté de tout temps le divertissement des Roys, des Princes & des Gentils-hommes, & a tenu le premier rang des plus nobles exercices;⁹⁷

The author decried, at the same time, that,

...toutes sortes de personnes chassent plutot pour l'utilité, que pour l'action & le plaisir: d'ou i'apprehende que cette Chasse noble, ne devienne roturiere, & que l'excellence de cet Art ne se perde;⁹⁸

According to De Salnove, it was important that the rules of the hunt be observed in strict obedience to tradition especially so that the King, his princes and attendants:

...après les travaux d'une longue guerre, pourront iouir aussi longtemps des douceurs de la Paix; mais non pas sans employ, parce que la Noblesse Françoisé abhorre l'oisiveté, qu'elle ne peut vaincre plus genereusement que par les illustres combats de la Chasse,...⁹⁹

De Salnove's exhortations to protect the strict exclusiveness of the hunt were translated in a very real way into official edicts issued under Louis XIV. In 1669, a series of laws dealing with various aspects of the hunt were enforced and were to remain valid until the French Revolution. Some of the ordonnances prohibited the use of firearms; others preserved the territorial rights of the king and of the noble class. Article 28 demonstrates the generally restrictive nature of the law. It reads:

Faisons défenses aux marchands, artisans bourgeois et habitans des villes, bourgs, paroisses, villages et hameaux, paysans et roturiers, de quelque'état et condition qu'ils soient, non possédant fiefs, seigneurie et haute justice, de chasser en quelque lieu, sorte et manière, et sur quelque gibier de poil ou de plume que ce puisse être, à peine de cent livres d'amende pour la première fois, du double pour la seconde, et pour la troisième d'être attachés trois heures au carcan du lieu de leur résidence, à jour de marché, et bannis durant trois années du ressort de la maîtrise sans que, pour quelque cause que ce soit, les juges puissent remettre ou modérer la peine, à peine d'interdiction.¹⁰⁰

In the eighteenth century, comments similar to those written by de Salnove are to be found in hunting literature while legislation upheld the by-now traditional restraints. A text published in 1720, Amusemens de la Campagne proposed a philosophical structure in which to place the joys and rewards of hunting.¹⁰¹ The editor of this text suggests that hunting was the sole reward for the first man who found that he had to work upon his eviction from Paradise. He wrote:

Il falut de nécessité que la chasse fût son unique consolation et le seul plaisir qu'il put prendre, non seulement pour divertir le tems de son oisiveté, mais encore pour maintenir la superiorité dont il avoit été honoré dans son état d'innocence sur tous les animaux...

...Enfin la chasse est l'image de la guerre; l'on s'y sert des mêmes ruses, & l'on y

apprend à combattre & à vaincre; & le droit en est presque aussi ancien que le monde, & a toujours appartenu à la Noblesse chez toutes les Nations; c'est son plaisir particulier, & le plus innocent & le plus agréable qu'elle puisse prendre.¹⁰²

The emphasis on the prerogatives of the nobility in the realm of the hunt was reaffirmed by legislation shortly before the young Louis XV's formal accession to the throne. The decree issued in October of 1722 merely stressed the general tenor of the seventeenth-century ordonnance previously cited. Hunting was the right of the king and the nobles for these following reasons:

L'un, que la chasse étoit un exercice noble réservé pour le plaisir des rois et de la noblesse, à qui les rois avoient bien voulu la permettre pour en prendre plaisir, et non pour s'en procurer un profit en deniers. L'autre, que les ordonnances maintenues sans interruption défendoient très expressément à tous gens mécaniques, fermiers et roturiers, d'user du port d'armes, ni de chasser en manière quelconque. Qu'ainsi les baux à ferme n'étant convenables qu'aux gens sujets à la taille et destinés pour le labour et la culture des terres, il n'étoit pas possible d'affermir la chasse sans mettre les armes à la main des roturiers, et par une contravention générale aux ordonnances, sans les mettre en possession d'un exercice qui de tout temps leur avoit été défendu comme contraire à la bonne police de L'Etat.¹⁰³

Documents which date from before the Amiens Hunting Series was commissioned reveal, therefore, a synthesis of the traditions of the time. What is even more striking is the fact that not only do we have eye-witness accounts of

the young King's passion for the hunt, but also there are contemporary reports on the legislation in force. Maître Barbier, a lawyer at the Parlement de Paris, singled out for comment throughout his Journal, Louis's enthusiasm for the hunt. "Le Roi ne songe qu'à la chasse," he noted in August of 1724. Later in the same month, Barbier recounted the death of M. le duc de Melun as a result of a kick from a stag.¹⁰⁴ Louis's passion was constant as attested to by other entries in Barbier's Journal during the decade of the thirties. The court was happy when the King did not hunt, "car malgré la gelée, les brouillards et la neige, il court toujours."¹⁰⁵

Another eye-witness, likewise a lawyer at the Parlement of Paris, was Mathieu Marais (1665-1737). One entry of particular interest in his Journal et Mémoires is that of October 1722 concerning the regulation already noted. Under the heading Arrêt pour la Chasse, Marais wrote:

je remarque ici un arrêt célèbre pour la chasse, du 3 octobre, qui fait défense d'affermier la chasse, ni dans les domaines du Roi ni ailleurs, sous peine de 500 liv. d'amende. Dans le vu de l'arrêt il y a plusieurs ordonnances anciennes sur la chasse qui y sont rapportées, et un mémoire qui dit que cette défense est fondée sur deux motifs. L'un, que la chasse est un exercice noble pour les plaisirs des rois et de la Noblesse, à qui les rois ont bien voulu permettre pour en prendre le plaisir et non pas pour s'en procurer profit et deniers. L'autre, que les ordonnances maintenues sans

interruption défendent expressément à tous gens méchaniques, fermiers et roturiers, d'user du port d'armes, ni de la chasse, et que les baux à ferme n'étant convenables qu'aux gens de cet état, ce seroit mettre les armes à la main des roturiers que de leur ouvrir la chasse.¹⁰⁶

Marais does not draw conclusions from this edict, but it is clear from his comments that the exclusive nature of the hunt as well as the danger resulting from subalterns possessing arms was present in the mind of French legislators around the time of Louis XV's accession to the throne. This detail assumes its full importance when one notes the ever-present hero-hunter figure in all of the paintings of the Amiens Hunting Series as well as the total absence of fire-arms.¹⁰⁷

Paintings of the hunt, and even the science of the hunt in the eighteenth century in France were the result of a long evolution of previous practices. The heroism of the huntsman in combat was a familiar motif in antique art. The image of the King as military hero and successful huntsman became a familiar component of Medieval and Renaissance art and literature. Noble, mythological and concrete features of hunting were explored by the Renaissance artists in prints and drawings. The synthesis of these trends culminates in the seventeenth century in the work of Rubens. His influence upon the Amiens Hunting Series is examined in the following

two chapters. Various royal edicts proclaiming the prerogatives of the King and his court and stressing the exalted nature of the sport have some bearing on the genesis of the Amiens Hunting Series. But, more specific influences, perhaps, are the manifest interest of the royal court of France throughout the seventeenth century in the flora and fauna of exotic lands. Illustrated travel books encouraged this curiosity, and the establishment of menageries provided the opportunity for both private delectation and scientific observation. The assumption that the King as hunter equalled the King as victor still prevailed in the eighteenth century. And the King's courtiers still submitted to the exigencies of the hunt in preparation for their role as loyal defenders of the realm in times of war. These influences, trends, and tastes all come together in the Amiens Hunting Series and show it to be a pertinent link in a long and established tradition.

CHAPTER III

VERSAILLES AT THE TIME OF LOUIS XV AND THE AMIENS HUNTING SERIES

REALISTIC PAINTINGS OF THE HUNT DURING THE REIGN OF LOUIS XV

Two trends are apparent in hunting scenes painted during the early years of the reign of Louis XV. In contrast to the series of exotic hunt canvases under discussion, there were the realistic paintings of royal hunts whose origins can be found in hunting painting under Louis XIV. For example, François Desportes (1661-1743), game-painter to Louis XIV, worked in the tradition of game-pieces established by Frans Snyders (1579-1657) and Jan Fyt (1611-1661) in the seventeenth-century Netherlands. Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755) followed in the steps of Desportes.¹⁰⁸

Oudry was one of the favoured artists at the court of Louis XV. He was so highly regarded that on 10 March, 1726, he exhibited, by order of the King, twenty-six canvases in three halls of the Grands Appartements at Versailles.¹⁰⁹ Between 1733 and 1746 when he was associated with the Beauvais and Gobelins Tapestry Manufactories, Oudry prepared sketches and cartoons for a series of nine tapestries, known as the Chasse Royales or Chasses de Louis XV (pl. 17 and pl. 18).¹¹⁰ The King is shown during various phases of the hunt which is

set in the royal forests of Compiègne, and Fontainebleau. Despite the fact that the gently intersecting hills and gracefully waving trees betray an eighteenth-century decorative origin, the actual events connected with the hunt, for example, the baying of the stag, "la Curée", or the sounding of the retreat are described with realistic verve.¹¹¹

It is interesting to note that Oudry was not commissioned to contribute to the Amiens Hunting Series, even though he was "agrée" in the Academy in 1719 as a history painter, and was in charge of this fairly important series of hunting tapestries. Perhaps Oudry's vision of hunting topics was too prosaic to permit his involvement with the exotic sweep of the Amiens paintings.¹¹²

Contemporaneous with Oudry's almost scientific depiction of actual hunts are the engravings in a similar vein done in 1736 by the German artist, Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767). His work is of interest to the development of the pastime of hunting since he illustrated horses from various countries, skills connected with the schooling of horses, as well as diverse scenes taken from stag-hunting (pl.19). In fact, both Ridinger and Oudry were drawing inspiration from actual hunting practices.¹¹³

Related to the obsession of Louis XV with the hunt was his interest in the natural sciences. In 1739, he

established the "Jardin des Plantes" and named Georges-Louis Leclerc (created the Comte de Buffon in 1772) as curator. Oudry, in his later career worked for Buffon, and his scientifically precise drawings of animals were eagerly acquired by contemporary collectors.

One of the most interesting of these connoisseurs was Bonnier de la Mosson, who held the important position of Captain of the Hunt in the royal household. His "cabinet de curiosités ou s'entassaient les merveilles de la nature"¹¹⁴ provides a fascinating insight into the world of the eighteenth-century amateur thanks to the engravings produced by Jacques de Lajoue (1686-1761) in 1734 depicting the natural curiosities in La Mosson's collection.¹¹⁵ Their realism is fascinating since the name of Lajoue is associated with some of the most outrageous and imaginative designs of Rococo art.

RENOVATIONS WITHIN THE CHATEAU OF VERSAILLES UNDER LOUIS XV

Until his majority in 1723, Louis XV had lived either in the Château de Vincennes or in the Tuileries at Paris. Upon his accession to the throne, the centre of court activities was moved to Versailles. It was a natural choice for the new King since he, too, shared the passionate interest of his forebears in the hunt. The history of the Château at

Versailles is vast and complex and has been dealt with at length.¹¹⁶ The origins of the Château are, however, relevant to this discussion. It was originally a "pavillon de chasse" built in 1623 at the order of Louis XIII.¹¹⁷ Some years later, in 1634, Philibert de Roy, the king's architect, designed and supervised the construction of a small château in brick and stone that consisted of a central pavilion with wings on either side surrounding a central courtyard. This château became the core of the majestic and expansive complex of Versailles as we know it to-day. Most of the additions to the original château as well as its accrued importance as the seat of government were the work of Louis XIV and his team of Louis Le Vau (1612-1670), André Le Nôtre (1613-1700) and Charles Lebrun (1619-1690). Yet, in spite of the many changes, the façade of the inner courtyard remained relatively unchanged.¹¹⁸

Although Louis XV did not engage in any extensive additions to the château, he did carry out an almost continual programme of renovations, partly to accomodate his increasing family, and partly to meet the requirements of the royal favourites.¹¹⁹ He took over the North wing of Versailles for his private use. The ground floor was accessible to the general public, whereas the second and third floors were reserved for the exclusive use of the King, his family and his

favourites.¹²⁰ Towards the middle of the 1730's, the first rooms of the "petits appartements du Roi" consisting of a gallery ending in a hemicycle and a dining room known as the "cabinet vert" were built in the attic story (pl. 20).¹²¹

- It was here that the King held his dinner parties after a day of hunting.

The Amiens hunting paintings were placed in the "petite galerie du Roi" which gave access to the dining room. The original paintings of the series consisted of the Chasse au Lion (J.-F. de Troy), Chasse au Tigre (F. Boucher), Chasse à l'Eléphant (C. Parrocel), Chasse à l'Ours (C. Van Loo), Chasse étrangère au Léopard (Lancret) and the Chasse Chinoise (Pater). Records show payment to each artist of 1,200 "livres" in January, 1737, and a similar amount again in March of the same year.¹²² A request for additional hunting scenes was made in 1738 to Boucher for Chasse au Crocodile, to Parrocel for Chasse au Taureau sauvage and to Carle Van Loo for Chasse à l'Autruche.¹²³

Discovery of additional contemporary documents might reveal an answer to the two questions that come immediately to mind: the person who chose the subjects of the Hunting Series; the exact location of each painting in the "petite galerie"? For the moment, only hypothetical suggestions are possible.

At the time when the hunting paintings were commissioned, circa 1736, Philibert Orry, Comte de Vignory, and a "confidant" of the Abbé Fleury, was in charge of the Bâtiments du Roi. Given Louis XV's insistence upon the inviolability of tradition at his court - he is reputed to have remarked: "Je ne veux rien changer ni rien innover à ce qui se pratique à ma cour"¹²⁴ - it seems likely that Orry would be intent upon rivalling the greatness of past moments. He did, in fact, re-establish the Salon in 1737.¹²⁵

Another indication of Orry's preoccupation with the heroic and patriotic themes which were to become familiar subjects for Salon painters in the latter part of the century is his commission from Charles Natoire (1700-1777), sometime before 1737, for a series on the History of Clovis (Musée de Troyes).¹²⁶ The fact that as early as 1737, a court official was considering a theme which dealt with the deeds of one of France's distant heroes suggests that Orry might have had a hand in deciding the subject matter of the Amiens Hunting Series.

There is, however, another echelon in the royal positions which may have influenced the choice of subject for the Amiens Hunting Series. Appearing in the account in "les registres des magasins du Service d'architecture du

Château de Versailles" for 1728 and 1729, is the following notation:

13 octobre 1728. -Donné de l'ordre de M. Gabriel, architecte, trois glaces au tain, de chacune 24 po sur 19 po, pour les croisées du laboratoire du Roy.

21 janvier 1729. -Donné de l'ordre de M. Gabriel, six carreaux de glace blanche de 14 po sur 19 po, pour vitres de la lanterne éclairant l'escalier de la bibliothèque du Roy.¹²⁷

Is the "architect" mentionned here Jacques Gabriel (1667-1742) or his son, Ange-Jacques (1698-1782)? Both candidacies can be defended. Jacques Gabriel, nephew of J.H. Mansart, exercised considerable power during the last years of Robert de Cotte and assumed the responsibility for the Bâtiments upon the latter's death in 1735.¹²⁸ During the early years of the reign of Louis XV, he was responsible for grafting onto the severe line of "ancien régime" architecture a certain degree of suppleness and luxuriance hitherto unknown¹²⁹ - qualities that aptly describe the surface vibrancy of the Amiens Hunting Series. During the same period, however, his son, Ange-Jacques Gabriel, enjoyed the favour of the King. At the age of thirty, he was appointed Contrôleur Général des Bâtiments du Roi, and four years later, in 1734, he was named Contrôleur du Château de Versailles. Upon the death of his father in 1742, Ange-Jacques Gabriel was appointed Premier Architecte du Roi.¹³⁰ Although he is

known for the sobriety in architectural line introduced later under Madame de Pompadour, he was responsible for the richly carved and exuberant décor of the Cabinet de la Pendule designed in 1738 and executed in the same year by Jacques Verberckt.¹³¹

A similar mystery informs the exact location of the nine paintings in the Amiens Hunting Series within the "petite galerie du Roi". The drawings of 1738 (pl.20) and 1741 (pl.21) for the "petits appartements du Roy" provide for a "galerie", a long rectangular room overlooking the Cour de Marbre with seven windows if the "cabinet d'angle" is included.¹³² If this room is excluded, the wall of the gallery has only five windows. Between the deeply recessed dormers are flat areas of wall which would be suitable for paintings: seven in the first case, six in the second. On the opposite side of the room which overlooks the "Cour des Cerfs" are corresponding spaces. In the plan of 1738, this wall could have accommodated four paintings while in the design of 1741, there was room for five pictures. Whichever of the two plans is considered, it appears that there was ample space at the time to accommodate all of the nine paintings of the Amiens Series.¹³³

Some help in picturing the ambience of this hunting gallery in the King's private apartments can be obtained by looking at previous models for royal galleries on a

comparatively intimate scale. One such model is the "galerie doré" in the Hôtel de Toulouse (now the Banque de France, Paris) decorated for the son of Louis XIV by Vassé between 1716-1718. To accomodate some of the Count's paintings by Pietro da Cortona, Veronese and Maratta, Vassé designed richly carved frames placed at intervals between windows or mirrors along either side of the "galerie doré". A comparison between these frames and the original frames surrounding the hunting paintings by Boucher and Carle Van Loo shows several similarities.¹³⁴ The top part of the frames in both cases is gently modified at the angles whereas the lower border is animated by an oval line culminating in a central medallion. The sculptural programme in the gallery of the Comte de Toulouse contained references to his roles as "grand veneur de France" and as Admiral of the Fleet. Was there a similar intention in the private quarters of Louis XV? Vassé, it should be noted was employed at Versailles, in the Salon d'Hercules, until 1735 when he was replaced by A.-J. Gabriel and J. Verberckt.¹³⁵ Moreover, it was at about this time that these two artists were engaged in decorative schemes for Louis XV.

Next to the King's "petite galerie" was the dining room in which were placed the Déjeuner d'Huitres (1738) by J.-F. de Troy and the Déjeuner de Jambon (1738) by Lancret, both of which are now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly. Each

artist received 2,400 "livres", the same price paid for the hunting scenes.¹³⁶ Both the Déjeuner d'Huitres and the Déjeuner de Jambon reflect to a certain extent the habits of the King and his court. In both works, elegantly gowned ladies and handsomely attired gentlemen indulge in superb wines and fine cuisine in settings that suggest only refined pleasure. The paintings on the walls reflect the purpose of the room.

The Amiens Hunting Series, then, was designed to grace the private gallery of Louis XV in the Château at Versailles. Orry, in his role as Directeur des Bâtiments might have been influential in determining the subject matter,¹³⁷ or his colleagues, the Gabriels, who were more intimately involved in the execution of decorative schemes, might have had the final say. Another strong possibility is that Louis XV himself selected the individual scenes for the Amiens Hunting Series.¹³⁸ Again, the commission may have resulted from the confluence of all three elements.

Although it is apparent that the gallery was designed to contain the Amiens Hunting Series, the exact location of the pictures within the gallery cannot be pinpointed. Nor are we able to do anything more than to imagine the mood of reverie created in the minds of the King's guests as they were confronted by these wondrous exploits.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN FRANCE IN THE 1730's

Historical events at the time that the hunting paintings were commissioned are pertinent to the series.

Stanislaus, King of Poland and father to Queen Marie Leczinska, was forced into exile in 1733 upon the invasion of his territory by the Russians. As a result, France declared war on Russia and her ally, Austria. The French army marched into Lorraine, crossed the Rhine at Kehl and defeated, at least temporarily, both the Russian and Austrian forces. At the head of the army were the nobles in their traditional role as military heroes.¹³⁹

Hostilities ceased with the signing of the peace treaty in 1737. Lorraine became part of French territory with the installation of Stanislaus at Lunéville. Louis XV and his advisors reaffirmed in the peace treaty one of the nationalistic goals of France since the time of Richelieu: the establishment of the natural borders of the country along the Rhine to the East.¹⁴⁰

The historical parallel in the visual arts to commemorate a prior yet similar conquest is the semi-allegorical, semi-realistic interpretation of Louis XIV Crossing the Rhine by Charles Lebrun in 1678 for the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles. A plaster cast of the same subject by Cosyevox is in situ in the Salle de Guerre as well. It is tempting to

think that Louis XV, in commissioning the series of hunting paintings for his private gallery, was, in fact, thinking of his very real military victories. He was indeed to achieve a modicum of fame as a military hero just a few years later when France waged war on three fronts: Flanders, the Leuze and the Rhine. During the battle of Fontenay in 1745, Louis, because of his personal courage, became known as the "bien-aimé".¹⁴¹ It is interesting to speculate that the court and populace of France felt at this moment the same tremors of pride as had their ancestors upon learning of the defeat of the Spanish forces at Rocroi, under the Prince de Condé after the death of Louis XIII.¹⁴²

The series of nine hunting paintings was commissioned, then, during a period of relative peace and prosperity in France. While in the Salons of Paris, there appeared a marked tendency to challenge the bulwarks of tradition including the tenets of religious belief, in the corridors of Versailles, the ideals of the "ancien régime" still held sway. The ceremonies established by Louis XIV were observed, although somewhat less rigourously by Louis XV. The careful delineation between royal and bourgeois privilege was maintained. Despite the friction between the Jesuits and the Jansenists within the Church, the Catholic religion remained supreme. Thus, it is perhaps not at all unusual to see re-affirmed in the series of hunting paintings at Amiens, the classical and Renaissance

conceits of the hunt, the monumental tradition of Rubens and even a reflection of the images painted for the court at Versailles in the seventeenth century: in other words, traditional elements in the hunting series are coupled with deft and subtle references to contemporary events of the eighteenth century.

THE HUNTING PAINTINGS BY ARTISTS OTHER THAN FRANCOIS BOUCHER

It is difficult to determine which artist of the hunting series found the most favour with Louis XV. De Troy and Lancret shared similar prestige since they had painted as well genre scenes for Louis's dining room. Yet, Carle Van Loo, Parrocel and Boucher were commissioned two years after the original request to paint additional canvases for the King's gallery. Pater who died in 1736, reached perhaps in La Chasse au Lion et au Tigre en Chine the apogee of his talent.

Probably the most consistent recurrence in all of the paintings is the motif of the hero-hunter on a rearing steed with dilated eyes and flaming mane. The archetypal reference, and one most immediately available to an eighteenth-century artist may be found in engravings after Peter Paul Rubens's pictures. Several reproductions come to mind:

A. Bolswert's engravings after Rubens's Conversion of Saint Paul and the Lion Hunt; P. Soutman's engraving after The Defeat of Sennacherib; L. Vorstermann's rendering after Rubens's Battle of the Amazons. Other motifs such as wild animals attacking man and man's eventual superiority over them can be traced to Rubens.

At the same time, the influence of drawings after Stradanus and Tempesta as well as visual interpretations of new and exotic lands such as those found in contemporary travel books cannot be neglected.

At this point, it might be expedient to deal with the artists of the commission other than François Boucher whose contribution will be discussed separately in Chapter IV. The intention behind the brief biographical sketches of each of these artists is simply to underline the unique quality of the paintings that they too contributed to the programme.

CARLE VAN LOO

Carle Van Loo (1705-1765) is regarded as the quintessential representative of the first half of the eighteenth century in France.¹⁴³ He studied in Rome on two occasions: the first time under the direction of his brother, Jean-Baptiste, and the second time after winning the first

prize from the Academy which enabled him to travel there in 1727. Van Loo spent some time from 1732-1734 in Turin working for the Duke of Saxony before being accepted at the Academy in Paris in 1734 upon his submission of Apollo Flaying Marsyas, a subject which he was allowed to choose.¹⁴⁴ About the same time that he painted the two canvases for the hunting series, La Chasse à l'Ours and La Chasse à l'Autruche, he painted a genre scene in the manner of J.-F. de Troy; Grand Turk giving a Concert, 1737 (Wallace Collection, London) and an overdoor for the Hôtel de Soubise, Venus at her Toilet (in situ). His most monumental works are Saint Peter Curing a Lame Man (Eglise Saint-Louis, Paris) and Condemnation of Saint Denis (Musée, Dijon) in 1742. He received many honours during his life, and taught many of the artists who became famous in the latter part of the century; Lepicié, the Lagrenée brothers, F.G. Doyen and Fragonard. Two of his contemporaries, the Comte de Caylus and Dandré-Bardon in eulogies read at the Academy in 1765 praised his capabilities as a draughtsman, as a teacher, as a colourist and as the perpetuator of the tradition of Guido Reni, Correggio, Castiglione, Salvator Rosa and Snyders. The only mention of the hunting paintings occurs in the list of Van Loo's works attached to each of the eulogies.¹⁴⁵

His first painting for the series, La Chasse à l'Ours, is set in an hostile landscape in the grips of winter.

Encircling two seemingly fierce, yet surprisingly defenceless bears in the foreground, is a group of warriors, some mounted and others on foot, who jab the animals with long-tined forks and toggled spears. Dressed in short dolmans, and fur-lined coats or pelisses, the hunters are aided by stalwart dogs bred for hunting big game. Is there a reference here to the campaign fought against Russia in the winter of 1733?¹⁴⁶ Or was Van Loo simply portraying a hunt for bears based on actual accounts? In the Dictionnaire théorique et pratique de Chasse et de Pesche, the editor remarked that:

... (l'ours) brun... se trouvent communément dans dans les Alpes... attaque le troupeau, foule et dévore les bêtes comme le loup, et quelquefois vient attaquer affrontement les chasseurs armés. Ces derniers étaient communs chez les Grecs; et chez les Romains en faisaient venir de Libye.¹⁴⁷

La Chasse à l'Autruche, the second painting by Van Loo for the series, is the more successful composition. The central group of protagonists and beast are described in vigorous terms close to the front of the picture plane. Weapons similar to those in the bear hunt are used to attack the ostrich at the edge of a pool. Van Loo may have been familiar with the drawing by Stradanus on the subject or an engraving after Tempesta's version of an Ostrich hunt (pl. 22).¹⁴⁸ Here too, Van Loo may have synthesized two traditional ways of hunting the ostrich. In North Africa, Arabs pursued the bird on horseback until it was tired; or

lay in wait for the bird to appear at the edge of pools or springs.¹⁴⁹ The hero on horseback is of negroid extraction, while his colleagues resemble Arabs. The dogs, however, appear as if they could well have belonged to Louis XV's own pack.

JEAN-FRANCOIS DE TROY

La Chasse au Lion par les Turcs by Jean-François de Troy is close in feeling to the canvases by Van Loo. J. -F. de Troy (1679-1752) was the son of François de Troy who achieved some fame as a portraitist at the court of Louis XIV. His early training under his father was further refined by a prolonged period of study in Italy. He was admitted to the Academy (reçu et agréé) as a history painter in 1708 with the submission of Niobe et ses Enfants percés de Flêches par Diane et Apollon (Musée, Montpellier).¹⁵⁰ In 1727, he participated in the famous competition organised by the Duc d'Antin when his Bain de Diane was as highly regarded as the Contenance of Scipio by François Lemoyne. Before replacing Nicholas Wleughels as director of the French Academy in Rome in 1738, Jean-François de Troy worked on the decoration of various churches and "hôtels particuliers" in Paris. At the same time, he painted genre scenes. The luncheon piece already mentioned is a case in point; other

examples are Reading from Molière (Collection, Marchioness of Cholmondely), or Le Jeu du Pied de Boeuf (Collection J. Seligmann). The Comte de Caylus regarded de Troy's suite of Esther and Assuerius (1736-1742) as "le plus beau et le plus complet de ceux qu'il nous a laissé" whereas Mariette preferred his "tableaux de mode" to his history painting.¹⁵¹ Caffiéri, who knew de Troy in Rome said that de Troy privately acknowledged his debt to both Rubens and Veronese.¹⁵²

In the Chasse au Lion par les Turcs, two mounted protagonists with poised lances and aided by dogs close in on two lions. To the left, is the partial profile of another warrior, to the right, a swarthy Turk jabs his lance into the mouth of another lion. The action takes place beneath an out-cropping of rocks upon which grow densely leaved oak trees. The idea for the central theme may have been inspired by the famous Capitoline group of Lion Attacking a Horse, or -it may be a more gentle interpretation of Rubens's central motif in the Munich Lion Hunt. In Rubens's painting, a lion violently mauls an unseated Moor. The motif in de Troy's work of the warrior at the right who turns in his saddle to thrust his spear into the jaws of the lion, is a conflation of motifs from Rubens's Lion Hunt in Dresden and his Tiger Hunt in Rennes. Even the foreshortened dog in the foreground between the legs of the rampant lion calls to mind the position of the slain wolves of Rubens's Wolf and Fox Hunt in New York.

In terms of references to eighteenth-century historical events in this painting, it should be noted that France relied upon her Turkish allies in Constantinople for support both in the establishment of trading posts in the East and as a base for marine operations against pirate vessels which were launched from the coasts of the "barbaresque" powers: to-day, the countries of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.¹⁵³ Visiting Turkish ambassadors and members of their retinue always incited curious glances and comments upon their appearance at court or in the streets of Paris.¹⁵⁴ There may be, therefore, in de Troy's contribution to the hunting series, a subtle recognition of French dependancy upon the Turkish Sultanate.

CHARLES PARROCEL

Two canvases in the hunting series, La Chasse à l'Eléphant and La Chasse au Taureau sauvage were painted by Charles Parrocel (1688-1757). Charles Parrocel, son of Joseph, significantly, a painter of battle-pieces under Louis XIV, enrolled in the cavalry in 1705 where he learned to handle horses, to observe and to understand their anatomy and their behaviour and to become familiar with various aspects connected with military life in general.¹⁵⁵ He studied in Rome and

was received by the Academy in 1721 with the submission of a painting illustrating a cavalry and infantry battle. The same year, he was commissioned by the Duc d'Antin to portray the "Entrée" into Paris of the Turkish ambassador. The picture, twenty-two feet in length, depicting a magnificent display of mounted riders in oriental splendour, was hung opposite Le Pont Neuf by Van der Meulen in Versailles.¹⁵⁶ Parrocel was elected councillor to the Academy in 1735, but was not rewarded with the post of professor. Lancret was the victor, although Parrocel did become professor in 1745.¹⁵⁷

Most of Parrocel's work was devoted to battle and hunting scenes. He collected engravings by Rubens and Van Dyck and, as his nineteenth-century descendant wrote, "on voit encore quelques traits de l'histoire de Charles I, roi d'Angleterre."¹⁵⁸ There is, therefore, a distinct possibility that Parrocel was familiar with engravings after either the Duke of Lerma (1603) or George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1627) both by Rubens, or that he knew the print of Louis XIII à la Chasse which certainly must have been based upon Rubens's equestrian portrait of Buckingham.¹⁵⁹ Lastly, it should be noted that Charles I à la Ciasse by Van Dyck was at that time in the collection of the Countess de Verrue in Paris.

Two other elements concerning the work of Parrocel have relevance to his hunting paintings. At the same time that he prepared the two works for the Amiens Series, he

painted for the King's pleasure, two overdoors; one representing the regiment of the King, the other a "conseil de guerre à cheval".¹⁶⁰ Some years after the Versailles commission was completed, Parrocel made a drawing representing Europe allegorized by a boar hunt and a companion piece in which Africa was allegorized by a lion hunt.¹⁶¹ Thus, as late as 1745 when these sketches were made, there was still an emblematic significance in hunting themes.

Parrocel's oil sketch for La Chasse à l'Eléphant (pl. 23) captures some of the majesty and spontaneity of Rubens's art. The actual painting is, to my mind, less successful. In the centre, a huge and cumbersome beast plunges toward his captors and overturns one hapless rider. To the left, a mounted warrior takes aim with a bow and arrow; to the right, a host of turbaned soldiers, mounted and on foot, attempt to contain the massive hulk. There is in the stance and movement of the principal warrior in the group to the right, a nice parallel with the many examples of the transformation of sculptural motifs into living flesh exacted by Rubens.¹⁶² The warrior's pose closely resembles that of the Borghese Warrior in reverse. Or was Parrocel thinking of Bernini's David?

To my knowledge, Rubens's only depiction of elephants occurs in a Triumph of Caesar after Mantegna (National Gallery, London). There were, however, many other prototypes

for the portrayal of this animal. In the gallery of François I at Fontainebleau, a richly decorated elephant occupies almost the entirety of one panel. Stradanus drew a scene of mounted warriors surrounding a raging elephant.¹⁶³ Charles Lebrun in the Bataille d'Arbelles illustrated a ferocious encounter with elephants. In fact, the elevated trunk, open mouth and wrinkled brow in Parrocel's interpretation is very close to the sketches made by Lebrun.¹⁶⁴

Moreover, two sets of tapestries Teintures des Indes, 1690 (Gobelins) and The Reception of the Prince, 1720 (Beauvais) might very well have been influential. In the latter series an elephant emerges from behind the fantastic throne of the Grand Moghul. Here, too, there could be a contemporary reference to France's interest in India.

The second work prepared by Parrocel for the hunting series, La Chasse au Taureau sauvage is the more successful canvas due to his increased exactitude in the description of each element: the wild bull beset by dogs in the centre; the hunters on foot to the right; the mounted huntsman who directs the capture; and the auxiliary hunter in the lower left whose medieval-type machine has obviously frightened the animal. There is little doubt that Parrocel in this painting was directly inspired by two engravings by Tempesta. Amongst the various interpretations of exotic hunts included in Icones Venatum Species Varias Representantes are two bull

hunts. The subject found favour with Northern artists since in a collection of engravings entitled simply Tracts 1621-41 (B.M. C.175 M.32) there is a version of the bull hunt executed by Visscher and another by de Bruijn. William Baillie-Grohman in Sport in Art published one version under the title Auroch's Hunt with Special Engine (pl. 11).¹⁶⁵ In this engraving, mounted hunters wielding lances and aided by stalwart dogs close in on the wild bull. In order to assure the beast's demise, an auxiliary hunter bears down on him with a medieval-type machine on wheels from whose axles sprout a series of rotating spear-like prongs. Related to this print is another by Tempesta which appears in the series of engravings already mentioned, Tracts 1621-41 (B.M. C.175 M.32) (pl. 12). Inserted into the section entitled "Animalum Quadrupedem varies Generis Effigies tyrannorum praecipue tamen auri laborum gratiam, tabellus aenis incisa, per Nicolaum de Bruin" is a portrayal of a series of bullfights that, in contrast to the Auroch's Hunt with Special Engine, all take place in an enclosure. The matadors, some mounted, some on foot, employ a variety of means to tackle the bull. They range from the prosaic such as a barrel used as an impediment, to the marvelous such as the wondrous machine on wheels in the form of a Boschian monster whose orifices emit smoke and brimstone. The detail relevant to this study appears in the middle distance where a hunter is using once again the "special engine" either to provoke the bull or to kill him. Charles Parrocel

has adapted in general terms Tempesta's basic composition from the first print cited, and has literally transcribed the motif of the hunter and his marvelous machine in his Chasse au Taureau sauvage. The artist has merely reversed the position of the arms of Tempesta's warrior and lowered the angle of his sword.

There is yet another element in La Chasse au Taureau sauvage that merits comment. Parrocel's use of Spanish costumes for the huntsmen is of compelling interest; compelling because the element of fantasy is heightened due to the juxtaposition of almost contemporary dress with an instrument of battle reminiscent of medieval sieges. The physiognomy of Parrocel's warriors resembles that of the courtiers in Velasquez's Surrender of Breda, (Prado, Madrid). The use of lassoes to capture the bull is somewhat parallel to the elaborate paraphernalia common to Spanish court hunts as depicted in such paintings as La Tele Reale, (National Gallery, London) by Martinez del Mazo.

There are several good reasons to suppose that Parrocel was indeed making a bow to the Spanish court. Despite the sometimes hostile relations between the French and the Spanish Bourbons, at the time the hunting pictures were commissioned, Philip, the uncle of Louis XV, was on the Spanish throne and maintained a cordial rapport with his nephew. In addition, in 1739, the court at Versailles

celebrated the engagement of Louise-Elisabeth, Madame la Première, to the Infante Philippe, third son of Philip V.¹⁶⁶

The last two paintings in the series, La Chasse au Lion et au Tigre en Chine by Pater and La Chasse au Tigre by Lancret might well have been classed in the category of "exotic genre" had such a division existed within the Academic hierarchy.

JEAN-BAPTISTE PATER

Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695-1736) usually receives short shrift in art historical literature as but a mere practitioner in the style of Watteau.¹⁶⁷ It is true that he owed a great deal to Watteau. He was born in the same village of Valenciennes, and studied with the master. The Comte de Caylus, who knew Watteau well in Paris published Gersaint's statement to the effect that Pater told him: "Il m'a avoué depuis qu'il devait tout ce qu'il savait à ce peu de temps qu'il avait mis à profit."¹⁶⁸ Pater was referring to the last two years of Watteau's life when the two artists worked together. Most of Pater's work is based on "fête galante"

themes, yet painted with an immediacy and verisimilitude approaching the genre subjects of Jean-François de Troy.

Pater excelled in the La Chasse au Lion et au Tigre en Chine. Nothing is omitted on the vast scale of activity. Everything is there; the royal prince delivering - perhaps - the "coup de grâce" from his position on the lower step of the throne, the lion attacking a startled courtier, and finally the distant landscape delineated by one tall pagoda and several hipped roofs. There is an element of the ferocious, but it is soon dissipated by all the activity. Hunters on foot and in conical caps rival hunters on horseback. They all wear striped trousers, a sartorial custom which amused the French at the time of the first Embassy to France from Siam in the seventeenth century. There are, in this painting, many contemporary references to current taste in France. The decade of the thirties was renowned for the proliferation of exotic detail in interior decoration. Pater has, then, transcribed onto a monumental canvas, the popular interest in exotica couched in a form pleasing to his royal patron.

NICOLAS LANCRET

The last work in the series by artists other than Boucher is La Chasse au Tigre by Lancret. Nicolas Lancret

(1690-1743) received his early training under Pierre du Lin or Dulin, a history painter, and Claude Gillot. He was an early imitator of Watteau, and was accepted by the Academy in 1718 with a "fête galante" only one year after Watteau had submitted Le Pèlerinage à l'Isle de Cythère (Louvre, Paris). In 1735, Lancret became a councillor of the Academy and Professor. Most of his paintings deal with pastoral subjects, Italian and French comedians, and serial subjects such as the four seasons, the hours of the day, the four parts of the world, the five senses and the twelve months of the year. He was popular with the court as witnessed by the luncheon piece commissioned by Louis XV. In the last years of his life, he painted a series of overdoors based on the fables of Lafontaine for the apartment of Madame de Châteauroux at Versailles.¹⁶⁹ In this series one finds his usual subject matter: gallant ladies and gentlemen at play in parklands graced by Baroque monuments and fountains.

Two of his contemporaries closely involved with artistic matters, Gersaint and Mariette passed judgment on his work. Gersaint, in comparing Lancret to Watteau wrote:

Il n'a pas eu cependant la même finesse du pinceau, ni la même délicatesse de dessin, quoi qu'il ait fait plusieurs choses agréables et d'une composition riante.... Lancret avait aussi beaucoup de goût pour les ornements historiés, et il y réussissoit à merveille. ¹⁷⁰

Mariette found too much repetition in Lancret's work: it was the work of a mere practioner. Lancret's success was due, according to Mariette, to "les sujets gracieux."¹⁷¹ A third friend and Lancret's legal advisor, Ballot de Sovot, wrote the eulogy delivered at the Academy after the death of Lancret in 1743. As was to be expected, the writer described his friend's skills in positive terms and suggested that he had the talents to interpret historical themes. Part of his comments are worth reproducing here:

Son tableau de chasse étrangère, qui est dans la Galerie des petits appartemens de Versailles, avoit fait assez connoître le talent qu'il auroit eu pour l'Histoire si c'eût été l'objet de ses Etudes. Un tableau qui représente une Chasse sanglante de Léopard attaqué par des hommes presque nudes, la force et l'expression qu'on y voit feront juger si on peut le confondre avec des représentations de Fêtes Galantes, et si l'Auteur ne méritoit pas bien tous les applaudissemens que lui valut cet ouvrage lorsqu'il fut placé.¹⁷²

Lancret's La Chasse au Tigre is similar to Pater's work in the multiplicity of figures. Yet, Lancret introduces elements not previously explored by other painters of the series and which suggest different sources. True, the circle of semi-nude warriors on foot and on horseback closing in on the prey can be traced to the monumental hunting themes of Rubens. In the rendering of the sinuous and tense quality of the tiger, Lancret appears to follow the precedent set by François Desportes, designated "Peintre de la Vénérerie" by

Louis XIV. Desportes drew from animals in the Royal Menagerie.¹⁷³

Lancret's contemporaries tell how he, too, followed a similar method:

...Il ne voyait des modèles dans ses promenades: et il lui arrivait souvent de quitter ses amis, et aller d'un point de vue dessiner et prendre l'ensemble de tel groupe ou de telle figure que lui avait plu.¹⁷⁴

Surely then, Lancret's tiger, like that of Desportes, was drawn from life.

In none of the other paintings is the locale of the hunt described in such detail as it is in Lancret's work. In the other paintings of the series, the landscapes are always rocky and barren with outcroppings of trees: palm trees if the hunt takes place in the East; otherwise a type of spindly deciduous European tree is depicted. In contrast, Lancret has apparently painted a moralised landscape: lush trees on the right; sterile branches and stumps clinging to a rocky tunnel on the left. Even more amazing is the careful description of at least three different kinds of plants on the lower right which act as visual repoussoir elements in the immediate foreground of the picture (pl. 24).

Was Lancret providing interesting plant studies after nature, or was he painting here a tribute to late Medieval symbolism as revised by Peter Paul Rubens? As has been suggested in the discussion of the previous paintings in the

series, there are always elements stemming from both tradition and from observation.

For the moment, it has been possible to identify only one of the varieties of vegetation that appears in the right foreground of the painting. The largest of the plants with broad, spade-shaped leaves whose stems form a small trunk probably belongs to the tropical members of the "araceae" or "arum" family.¹⁷⁵ It was believed that one of the uses for the roots of a species of the "arum" family from India, the "arum montanum", was to poison tigers.¹⁷⁶ Lancret may well have been aware of this specific property of the plant since he has placed a dead tiger - bristling with arrows, to be sure - to the right immediately beside a species of the "arum" family.¹⁷⁷ The fact that the warriors are coiffed with turbans lends credence to the fact that the hunt might have taken place in India.

HISTORY OF THE AMIENS HUNTING SERIES AFTER 1767

In 1764, Piganiol de la Force described the dining room and the "petite galerie du Roi" in these terms:

Un autre de ces cabinets sert de salle à manger, où le Roy fait quelquefois ses retours de chasse avec les seigneurs qui

ont l'honneur de l'y accompagner. Les peintures de cette salle conviennent à l'usage auquel elle est destinée. Dans un de ses tableaux, de Troy y a représenté un repas d'huîtres; et dans l'autre on voit une collation servie dans un jardin, ce tableau est de Lancret. Cette salle est éclairée par des fenêtres garnies de glaces. Les peintures sont encadrées dans une magnifique boiserie sculptée, vernie en couleur vert clair et accompagnée de tous les attributs de la chasse. Les tables et les cheminées sont de marbre d'Egypte, artistement travaillées et ciselées.

On passe ensuite dans une galerie dont les fenêtres sont aussi garnies de glaces et dont les tableaux représentent différentes sortes de chasses qui se font dans les pays étrangers. Ces tableaux ont chacun cinq pieds dix pouces de hauteur sur trois pieds onze pouces de largeur. L'un représente une chasse d'ours, et a été peint par Charles Van Loo. Un autre représente une chasse aux lions, par de Troy; le troisième une chasse aux léopards, par Lancret; le quatrième une chasse chinoise, par Pater; le cinquième une chasse aux tigres, par Boucher et le sixième une chasse aux éléphants, par Parrocel. Tous les chasseurs y sont habillés selon les modes du pays où ces chasses sont en usage, et les paysages des lieux où elles se font ont été dessinés d'après nature. La boiserie et la sculpture de cette salle sont vernies en couleur d'or.¹⁷⁸

Despite the many changes in the other rooms of the King's private apartments, the gallery seems to have been preserved, at least until 1764 when Piganiol de la Force wrote the above description, in the form decided upon by the King and his advisors some thirty years earlier. Significant changes did occur, however, in 1765 upon the death of the Dauphin. His widow, Marie-Josèphe de Saxe was no longer entitled to the courtly privileges due to her position as the

Dauphine. Nonetheless, Louis XV did not wish to emphasize her changed role and allotted to her, temporarily, rooms previously occupied by Madame de Pompadour on the ground floor until September 1766. Shortly thereafter, the widowed Dauphine took over most of the King's suite on the third floor comprising the "petite galerie" and the dining room. To meet her needs, one of the former dining rooms became an "antichambre", the "petite galerie" was transformed into a "grand cabinet de compagnie" and the "salle à manger d'hiver" became her bedroom (pl.25).¹⁷⁹

Marie-Josèphe de Saxe did not live long in the intimate surroundings of Louis XV. She died in March 1767. The King returned to his former rooms and effected yet another series of renovations. At some point, presumably shortly after his return to his favourite quarters, the "petite galerie" was divided into two rooms (pl.26).¹⁸⁰ The plans for the transformation are not dated, but given the proclivity of the King to move with rapidity, other events in his life may have determined the new use for his private domain.

In the spring of 1768, Comte Jean du Barry arranged a meeting between Jeanne Bécu who was then but one jewel amongst others in his collection, and Louis XV. By December of the year, Jeanne who had acquired the title of Comtesse du Barry through a quick marriage in September to Guillaume, brother of Jean, was installed at Versailles.¹⁸¹ She was

presented at court the following spring. Gabriel's plans for the renovated "petite galerie" were approved by Louis in 1770. The extravagant and graceful woodwork painted in "verniss martin" that had been designed by Verberckt was replaced by the severely classical motifs covered in gold favoured by Gabriel. By the autumn of 1770, upon the return of the court from Fontainebleau, the suite of rooms prepared for the new favourite was ready for occupation.

The hunting paintings were removed from the "petite galerie" to the Trianon sometime in 1768. It is tempting to think that Madame du Barry might have influenced the King in his plans for the renovation of his private apartments. Or, did the King, with his conservative taste, temper the desires of his new mistress? There are reasons to suppose that both hypotheses are valid. If one assumes that Madame du Barry rejected Fragonard's series of the Progress of Love in 1773 for her Pavilion at Louveciennes because they were not only a reminder of her predecessor's desire for royal "friendship", but also because of the fact that the series represented as well the outmoded Rococo taste, then there is good reason to assume that the series of hunting paintings with their concentration of Baroque splendour and detailed exoticism surely would not have appealed to her.¹⁸² If, on the other hand, Louis XV, in his restless renovation at Versailles was simply tired of exotic hunting themes, or had transferred his hunting suppers to the Trianon, then the influence of Madame

du Barry is significantly weaker.¹⁸³

There is one contemporary account which suggests that the King might have become bored with paintings based on the heroic ideals of the past. According to this source which dates from 1770, the King, after a day's hunting, visited the Château of the Duc de Noailles in Saint-Germain. He was received in the picture gallery of the château decorated by a series of history paintings depicting the story of Tobias painted by Pierre Parrocel, first cousin to Charles. The King is purported to have remarked, "savez-vous Monsieur le Duc...que vous avez là des tableaux fort peu réjouissants...."¹⁸⁴ The Duc de Noailles lost no time in replacing the pictures which had been so offensive to the King.

The Trianon, to where the Amiens hunting paintings were removed in 1768, reverted at this time to the purpose intended by Louis XIV who retired often to the Grand Trianon to escape the royal and political pressures of Versailles.¹⁸⁵ We know that Louis XV used the Trianon for the same purpose as did Louis XIV, even though he had numerous hunting lodges in the Ile de France area. Certainly, the hunting paintings were admirably suited to the elegant décor of the Trianon.¹⁸⁶

The examination of seven of the nine hunting paintings for the "petite galerie du Roy" at Versailles has shown that the subject matter was dependent upon traditional interpretations of hunting themes. In every instance, each artist has attempted to transcribe an element of "grandeur" in the heroic encounter between man and beast. Some of the artists, Carle Van Loo, Jean-François de Troy and Charles Parrocel, due to their academic training and their study in Rome, inevitably revealed this influence in their works. Pater and Lancret, meanwhile, who had not had the benefit of study in Rome, achieved in their way a sense of heroism. In addition to their debt to tradition, it seems likely that all the painters may have been referring to contemporary diplomatic events in France. By their representation of exotic landscapes in which colourfully garbed protagonists pit their strength against alien animals, they all project a mood of reverie and fantasy.

CHAPTER IV.

FRANCOIS BOUCHER AND THE AMIENS HUNTING SERIES

The two outstanding canvases of the Amiens Hunting Series are La Chasse au Léopard¹⁸⁷ and La Chasse au Crocodile both by François Boucher (1703-1770). Boucher's paintings are singled out for special study because they can be regarded as paradigms reflecting the classical past and at the same time illustrating the eclectic brilliance of the decade of the 1730's. It is important, therefore, to review briefly Boucher's career in the context of this period and to ascertain further the diversity of his interests that show why his hunting paintings remain unique.

FRANCOIS BOUCHER'S EARLY CAREER

François Boucher studied under his father, a "dessinateur des broderies",¹⁸⁸ before entering the workshop of François Lemoyne whose influence is difficult to assess if the comments of Mariette are to be believed. Mariette stated that Boucher had told him in 1767 that he had worked

in Lemoyne's studio where the master, "prévoit for peu soin de ses élèves et chez lequel il n'avait pas demeuré for longtemps."¹⁸⁹ Some writers are inclined to take this comment at face value, while others discount it, opting for a strong influence from Lemoyne.¹⁹⁰ Proof of the latter hypothesis can be adduced by examining closely two of Lemoyne's early canvases, Persée et Andromède, 1723 (Wallace Collection, London) and Baigneuse et sa Suivante, 1724 (Musée des Beaux Arts, Tours). Boucher, in turn, was to repeat the same type of graceful nymph in wooded or aquatic settings throughout his life. Indeed, in 1734, he collaborated with Pierre Aveline to produce an "eau-forte" after Persée et Andromède.

Imbued by his desire to become a history painter, Boucher, at the age of seventeen, entered the studio of Jean-François Cars, an engraver and "éditeur de thèse". His apprenticeship there introduced him to the complicated allegories rampant on the title pages of theses as well as traditional symbols used in the illustration of a variety of texts including devotional books and almanacs. Boucher's skills as an engraver were to continue throughout his life. From 1721 to 1722, he prepared drawings to accompany the Histoire de France by Père Daniel. These illustrations were once attributed to P.-J. Cazes, who was the master of Chardin,¹⁹¹ but in 1964, John Ruch correctly assigned them to Boucher while pointing out the difficulty in identifying either the

vigour of the drawings or the subject matter with the work of Cazes. Although the drawings are small (7 x 13.4 cm), the subjects are treated in monumental terms and indicate Boucher's interest in historical subjects and battle scenes. In Guillaume, Duc d'Aquitaine, vient saluer Raoul, Roy de France, or Querelle entre le Comte de Valois et Enguerant de Marigny, noble kings mounted on fiery steeds and with obedient attendants on foot participate in formal ceremonies set in vast landscapes with incidents of skirmishes in the far distance. The regal setting of Entrevue du Roy Robert et de d'Empereur Henry, Roy de Germanie with the throne backed by voluminous drapery and majestic columns is also used by Boucher in his award-winning submission to the Academy in 1723: Evilmerodach, fils et successeur de Nabuchodonosor, délivrant Joachim des Chaines dans lesquelles son père le retenait depuis longtemps (Art Gallery, Columbia, South Carolina) (pl. 27).

It was not until 1727, however, that Boucher took up his Academy prize to go to Italy. In the meantime, he had been engaged by Monsieur de Juillienne to prepare plates for the Figures de Différents Caractères and the Oeuvre Gravé based on the paintings and drawings of Watteau. Boucher captured with admirable veracity the shimmering qualities of Watteau's palette.

Eventually, in 1727, in the company of Carle, François and Louis Van Loo, Boucher set out for Italy where he remained until 1731. Most of his time was spent in Rome.¹⁹² His major painting immediately after his return from Rome Vénus commandant à Vulcain des Armes pour Enée, 1732 (Louvre, Paris) is not only in the style of Lemoyne but more importantly, also shows something of Boucher's recent experience in Italy.¹⁹³ With the submission of Renaud et Armide (Louvre, Paris) (pl. 28) to the Academy in 1734, Boucher was accepted into the highest category of the Academy, that of a "peintre d'histoire".

From the time that Boucher was recognized by the Academy until he received the commission to paint the two hunting canvases for the Amiens Series, he was involved in a variety of different projects. Some of his work, (such as his Recueil, engraved after the work of Bloemart in 1735) was directly dependent upon Northern influences. Other works like La Halte à la Fontaine, 1732 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), Landscape with Ruins, 1734 (Private Collection, U.S.A.) or L'Enlèvement d'Europa, 1735 (Wallace Collection, London) suggests that he was reflecting upon his Italian experience since there are echoes in these three canvases of Castiglione, Claude Lorraine and Titian.¹⁹⁴

But present in all the large canvases by Boucher are elements of the theatrical as well as of the heroic. A series of tapestry cartoons, Les Fêtes Italiennes,¹⁹⁵

prepared in 1736, shows a judicious amalgamation of both Northern and Southern sources (pl. 29). Elegant villagers clad in velvets and silks and placed in tightly knit groups engage in amusing pastimes against a vast background of ruins set amidst large trees and shrubbery. It was perhaps work of this nature which caused Boucher's contemporaries to remark on the "heureux mélange des vues de Rome et de Tivoli avec celles de Sceaux et d'Arcueil."¹⁹⁶ This last comment, cited by Pierre de Nolhac, although he does not give his source, was applied to Boucher's décor for the stage. In fact, it is likely that about this time, Boucher was in the orbit of Servandoni, the master of those illusionistic spectacles which were produced in the "Vieille salle" of the Palais Royal and the "Salle des Machines" of the Tuileries for the delight of the Parisian public. Only a few years later, in 1742, Boucher took over from Servandoni.¹⁹⁷ Although no mention of Boucher's actual involvement with the theatre occurs before 1737, we do know that he was a member of a "société chantante" called "le Caveau" founded in 1733.¹⁹⁸ Other eminent members were Jean-Philippe Rameau, André Campra, Louis Nicolas Clérambault and Michel Pinolet de Montéclair, all of whom composed elegant and witty songs for the gatherings of this early example of cabaret-style entertainment. Boucher was to design the sets for a production of Rameau's Les Indes Galantes in 1743.¹⁹⁹ His early association with Rameau and his interest in set design would inevitably have led him to examine engravings interspersed in scores for

such operas as Roland and Persée by Quinault and Lully, published in one edition as late as 1710 in Paris.²⁰⁰ All the conventions of Baroque theatrical décor are present; endless vistas, mysterious forests, enchanted castles, and magical islands graced by air-borne deities.

Boucher's drawings for the works of Molière that appeared in 1734, are further proof of his interest in the stage. In both temperament and training, he was admirably suited to transform into drawing the quick wit and incisive comment on the foibles of mankind which Molière excelled in portraying.

The ten years after Boucher's return from Italy are particularly critical ones in his career since they coincide with his attempt to fuse the tradition of the classical past, reaffirmed in the North by the persuasive presence of the work of Peter Paul Rubens, with popular taste influenced by the paintings of the "Little Masters". In effect, during most of his career, Boucher painted either mostly cabinet pictures based on the more graceful subjects derived from Ovid or genre scenes of contemporary life. He supplied, as well, overdoors for the royal establishments which again are elegant and reductive allegorical compositions. There are two exceptions; the heroic interpretations of The Rising of the Sun and The Setting of the Sun of 1753 which in their scope and brilliance have become emblems for the eighteenth century in France; and the series of four paintings

of 1760 based on Amintha by Tasso for the Duc de Penthièvre which in the rich and sculptural quality of paint attains the surface vibrancy of the late works of Monet. It is not at all surprising, therefore, to encounter such particularly vigorous interpretations on a monumental scale in the work of Boucher as early as 1736 when he was painting the exotic hunts for Louis XV.

DESCRIPTION OF LA CHASSE AU LEOPARD AND LA CHASSE AU CROCODILE

The focal point in La Chasse au Léopard is a Turkish rider on his white steed who rears back in alarm from the attack of a leopard. In the left foreground is a fallen huntsman beset upon by another leopard, while in the immediate foreground, a third leopard, which has been pierced by a lance, glances back at the battle. The composition of the foreground is especially vigorous and complex. It can be read as a series of interlocking triangles; the major triangle formed by the head of the rearing horse to the right, the fallen warrior to the left and the eager huntsman to the far right; a secondary triangle is formed by the fallen warrior to the left, the attacking leopard to the right and the wounded leopard in the centre foreground; and still another triangular form is obvious in the grouping of the three leopards in the centre front. These leopards form an almost heraldic device that is stressed by the snake-like tails of the animals which

seem to link the hunted to the hunter.

The spatial composition is tightly organised with the principal group of three hunters and three leopards placed against a craggy mountain. The same indurate stone acts as the background for the skirmish of two turbaned warriors in the middle distance. At the point where the diagonal of the mountain meets the winding path of the valley, a fourth huntsman pursues his quarry into the distance. The outcropping of converging rocks to his left is a dramatic amplification of his flight. At this point, nature takes over in a mass of impregnable rocks sweeping down on both sides of the valley to the winding path leading to the horizon. Finally, the swirling dark clouds suggest the paroxysm of the animistic stones which almost seem human in their sympathy for the hunter's dilemma. Nature is violent, but it has been tamed by Boucher's organisation of landscape elements into a concentration of geometrical shapes. Thus, the tension created by the juxtaposition and repetition of the triangular form lends a sense of excitement to the already turbulent subject matter of La Chasse au Léopard.

A similar surface vibrancy of composition and subject matter informs the second painting by Boucher for the Series, La Chasse au Crocodile, completed in 1738. Four vigorous warriors armed with cudgels and lances struggle to help the chief protagonist quell a ferocious crocodile. The hero, draped in leopard skins with a quiver slung over his

shoulder, sits astride the reptile and tries to master it by prying open its jaws with a stick. The action is placed close to the front of the picture plane and again occurs on the floor of a rocky valley, perhaps at the mouth of a mountain stream. The composition is firmly anchored by the V-shape of the open jaw of the crocodile from which radiate other formal elements of the painting. The arms of the central hero reflect this V-shape; the cudgels of his assistants form another triangle. A trio of mastiffs, the powerful "veltres" usually associated with the boar hunt in Europe, protected by spiked collars, is wedged between the central group and the herculean hero to the right whose arms form yet another triangle with his jagged lance. A deft and amusing reference to the traditional "chasse à courre" is added at the far left of the painting in the figure of the bugler who looks out at the viewer. As in an Albertian paraph, we too are invited to observe closely.

Further spatial unity is achieved by the repetition of the swaying zig-zags of the central group in the landscape details. In the centre distance, tamarind and pine trees, with their roots imbedded precariously within the striations of a limestone butte, sweep towards the rocky base of the valley. The undulating and sweeping curve of their branches is reflected in the smaller outcropping of rocks to the right. At the intersection of the diagonal lines formed by the contrapuntal position of the rocks is a

shallow stream beyond which a quiet plateau stretches towards the horizon. In apposition to the ferocity depicted in the foreground, classical ruins provide a serene link between the drama of the hunt and the peaceful clouds on the far horizon.

In these two canvases, Boucher painted powerful figures struggling with at least nominally powerful adversaries. The turbulence of the encounter between man and beast is enhanced by placing the figures close to the front of the picture plane as well as by subjecting every compositional element to the recurrent motif of the triangle. Finally, the sense of reverie and the theatrical is affirmed by the majestic and exotic landscape.

ARTISTIC INFLUENCES UPON BOUCHER'S WORK: IN GENERAL THAT OF PETER PAUL RUBENS

Diderot, in his critique of the Salon of 1763 was hostile to Boucher. He seemed, however, to have appreciated the qualities of Boucher's earlier work, as is indicated by the following:

Cet homme, lorsqu'il était nouvellement revenu d'Italie, faisait de très belles choses; il avait une couleur forte et vraie; sa conception était sage, quoique pleine de chaleur; son faire, large et

grand. Je connais quelque-uns de ses premiers morceaux, qu'il appelle aujourd'hui des croûtes et qu'il rachèterait volontiers pour les brûler.²⁰¹

This comment by Diderot, quoted often in the literature on Boucher, is cited in order to emphasize the overpowering importance of Italian art in France. True, at the time when Diderot was writing, French intellectuals were reminded of the noble and austere past by the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum, begun respectively in 1738 and 1748. A similar reverence for the tradition of Italy is voiced by the eulogists at the time of Boucher's death in 1770. Without exception, they noted his dependence on his Italian forerunners and his re-interpretation of their themes.²⁰²

One of the results of Diderot's influence and that of Boucher's eulogists has been, it seems to me, that subsequent art critics and historians have assumed that the authority stemming from the Italian tradition could be the only source for monumental paintings inspired by noble ideals. It can be shown, however, that the dynamism of Peter Paul Rubens transmitted through his paintings and prints was of equal, if not of greater importance, for the eighteenth century and for Boucher in particular.

In his analysis of some of the reasons for the appeal of the work of Peter Paul Rubens to French intellectuals in the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth

century, André Fontaine in his book, Les Doctrines d'Art en France published in 1921, noted:

On aura beau opposer Rubens à Raphaël et à Poussin: on n'empêchera pas que Rubens soit le plus italianisant des Flamands, et n'ait exercé un attrait considérable en France que parce qu'il traitait les diverses parties de la peinture, telles que l'ordonnance ou l'expression des passions, à la façon italienne. Si Rubens n'eût pas été un ami de l'antique, un partisan du grand art, s'il n'eût pas excellé dans la composition, le mouvement, l'expression, il n'eût pas été mieux traité que Rembrandt estimé seulement de quelques amateurs. L'admiration même des adversaires de Le Brun pour Rubens témoigne du triomphe universel de ce qui caractérise avant tout l'art italien du XVII^e siècle: la grande manière, la recherche du procédé, la prétention de peindre non plus le moral par le physique, mais le moral avant le physique, et le culte de l'antique.²⁰³

Before discussing the probable influences of Rubens's hunting themes on Boucher, it is reasonable to conjecture that Rubens's work in general was a prime source of inspiration for Boucher. The most accessible monument for a young artist in Paris was, of course, the life of Marie de Medici painted by Rubens between 1621-1625 and in situ in the Gallery of the Luxembourg Palace. As early as 1684, during the time of the Academic debate on the relative merits of Rubens and Poussin, Germain Brice noted the quality of the Medici cycle and urged young artists to visit the gallery. In Description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquables

dans la ville de Paris par M.B.***, he wrote:

L'on ne peut rien désirer de plus exactement dessiné et de mieux entendu: mais ce que l'on doit admirer, est le beau coloris dont ce fameux Maître se servoit, et en quoi il a surpassé tous les autres. Souvent les jeunes Peintres vont étudier dans cette Galerie: et comme elle est toute de sa manière, ils peuvent y prendre aisément des idées de la belle Peinture.²⁰⁴

Interest in the Medici Gallery in the early eighteenth century was far from negligible since Louis XIV, sometime before 1710, accepted in person from Mansart the first drawings after the paintings prepared by Jean-Marc Nattier.²⁰⁵ A few years later, in 1713, a new edition of Brice's description of "remarkable works" in Paris appeared, and in this version, young artists were still exhorted to study the cycle:

Ces belles peintures sont si estimées que les jeunes élèves viennent souvent étudier dans cette galerie: & comme elle est toute de sa manière, ils peuvent y prendre aisément de belles idées, pour se rendre habiles & pour se former un goût exquis, en imitant ce grand peintre dans les heureuses parties où il a excellé; mais aussi doivent-ils prendre soigneusement garde à faire un choix très-exact des beautés de ces pièces, & ne pas les confondre avec quelques parties que les délicats & les judicieux connoisseurs y trouvent moins fortes.²⁰⁶

Watteau's frequent examination of the Medici cycle during the curatorship of Claude Audran is well-known. It is highly likely that Boucher, as well, would have studied at first hand the greatest monument by Rubens in France.

By 1720, when Boucher was preparing the illustrations for the Histoire de France, there are some reasons to believe that he might have been aware of Rubens's legacy. For instance, Boucher's frequent use of twisted columns and billowing drapery to enhance regal chambers as well as his use of arched openings to extend the perspective are elements which he could have adapted from the Medici cycle. The vigorous gestures of strongly muscled nudes used by Rubens to convey many of the allegorical meanings are repeated by Boucher in his drawings of battles and assassinations. It is interesting, however, to note that in these youthful drawings, Boucher rarely employed the more static poses of Rubens's attendants at court ceremonies:

Reflections from these drawings appear in his prize-winning Evilmerodach... of 1723. The throne, backed by swaths of drapery and the rich carpeting covering the steps to the left, the arched opening and the twisted pillars to the right might be traced to the Medici series. In addition, Boucher could well have had in mind two other works by Rubens; The Encounter between Abraham and Melchisedech (pl.30) from the Eucharist Tapestry series in Cologne²⁰⁷ and Tomyris with the Head of Cyrus (Private Collection).²⁰⁸ From the first composition, Boucher may have been influenced by the figure of the richly garbed king leaning forward on his throne. From the second painting, which Boucher could have known

through the engraving by Paul Pontius, he has seemingly transposed, it might be suggested, both the group of courtiers who surround the throne and the feeling of oriental splendour so brilliantly depicted by Rubens. Many of the above motifs adapted perhaps from Rubens's oeuvre that can be found in Boucher's earliest academic exercise recur in Renaud et Armide, Boucher's "morceau de réception" of 1734. Therein, the noble pillars through which drift swaths of luxurious silk, the richness of the accoutrements, and even the putti abetting the seduction are almost direct quotations from The Birth of Marie de Medici.

Still other works by Peter Paul Rubens seem to have interested the young Boucher. Two years after his reception into the Academy, in 1736, Boucher's Premier Livre de Fontaines was published, followed by a second edition in 1738. A drawing by Boucher in the collection of Dr. Gerbhardt²⁰⁹ raises the possibility that the artist may have seen the engraving by T. Van Thulden of The Stage of Welcome designed by Rubens in 1634 to welcome the Prince-Cardinal Ferdinand to the city of Antwerp.²¹⁰ From The Voyage of the Prince (popularly known as Quos Ego) which graced the left part of the stage, Boucher appears to have been especially impressed by the dynamic figure of Neptune, and appropriately, transformed the conceit into a proposal for a fountain. The theatricality of both the engraving and the décor for the

city of Antwerp would have had particular appeal for Boucher at this time since he had now begun to design sets for the opera, and was to continue to work in the theatre for the rest of his life.

Boucher borrowed, as it were, Rubens's stormy seas, tamed them, and formalised them which almost seems to suggest that he felt that the metamorphosis of his human models into deities could only occur against the background of water so transformed. For instance, the sea and the atmosphere provide the structural basis in The Rising of the Sun and The Setting of the Sun (Wallace Collection, London) of 1753. Superimposed upon this fluid backdrop are the figures of Apollo, Thetis and their attendants. They are placed along a vigorous Baroque diagonal similar to the compositional device adopted by Rubens in the Reception of the Queen at the Port of Marseilles. Boucher might also have been aware of Rubens's sketches for the Torre de la Parada since there is in his work a conceptual approach to the lives of the gods and goddesses akin to that proposed by Rubens for the hunting lodge of Philip IV. True, Boucher never portrayed the more anguishing moments of Apollo's pursuits, although he was able to convey a never-never land of magic; a decorative declamation of Rubens's spark of life transformed into formalized reverie. Svetlana Alpers notes that Rubens, "...far from being constrained to continually reassure himself and his viewers about the status of the gods,

his art exudes confidence that he and his audience simply accept it as a matter of common culture."²¹¹ A similar comment might be applied to Boucher's paintings of 1753, except that the common "culture" shared by both Rubens and Boucher was currently under severe attack by the Rationalists and Encyclopaedists. It is little wonder, then, that Apollo becomes but a "signifier", devoid of anything "signified".

Boucher's work as an engraver from as early as 1722 and his production of drawings for use by other engravers would make him especially susceptible to the excellence of the engravings from the workshop of Peter Paul Rubens. Rubens placed great emphasis on the meticulous transference of the painterly and plastic qualities of his canvases to the linear medium of engraving. It is, therefore, highly conceivable that not only might the subject matter and compositional format of Rubens have influenced Boucher, but also the brilliant technique of his brushwork, even given the supposition that Boucher saw only engravings after the master. In much of Boucher's work, the paint attains a rich and almost sculptural quality. The surface sparkles with touches of saturated colour. His brushwork is almost as vibrant as that of Rubens.

Drawings by Rubens and prints after his work were already popular in France in the seventeenth century.²¹² Due to the brisk trade in prints in both the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, it is likely that prints after Rubens's work engraved by Cornelius Galle, Pieter Soutman, the Bolswert brothers, and others would have been accessible to Boucher either through commercial outlets or through private collections. In Everhard Jabach's collection which eventually formed the basis for the print collection of the "Cabinet du Roi" and ultimately that of the Bibliothèque nationale, there was a drawing by Rubens of an armed knight on horseback and a copy of his Chasse au Lion.²¹³ A drawing of The Defeat of Sennacherib was bought by P.-J. Mariette from Crozat's collection in 1741.²¹⁴ Although at present there is no record available of engravings after Rubens in Boucher's collection sold in 1771, we do know that there were fourteen drawings and one "esquisse" after Rubens.²¹⁵

The question now arises as to whether Boucher, the "peintre des grâces" of Diderot's ambivalent admiration did, in fact, consciously strive to achieve for the eighteenth-century patron, a similar height of noble endeavour and poetic image as did Rubens, the "god of painters"²¹⁶ for the seventeenth-century connoisseur? There are some valid reasons to believe so. It must be kept in mind that Boucher was accepted into the highest category of the Academy as a history painter, and that during his early career, he concentrated upon achieving the standards of traditional monumental painting both in meaning and in form. His artistic inclination would naturally lead him to look at Rubens.

POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF RUBENS'S THE RAISING OF THE CROSS

Although we are dealing with only circumstantial evidence in suggesting Boucher's debt to Rubens, there is at least one early example in Boucher's oeuvre which substantially justifies our supposition that he was indeed trying to emulate the great seventeenth-century master. The work in question is an early religious painting by Boucher, Le Martyre des Trois Jésuites au Japon (pl. 31). The whereabouts of the painting are unknown, but there is an engraving after it by Laurent Cars.²¹⁷ In his article on "François Boucher's Early Development", Hermann Voss comments as follows:

The first painting with a religious subject which may be safely placed in Boucher's early period is the Martyrdom of three Jésuits in Japan, a medium-sized painting - 0.73m long - which is almost monochrome in treatment; in 1927 it was exhibited in Berlin as in private ownership, without a definite attribution... This is, without any doubt, the original of Laurent Cars's engraving Jésuites martyrs en Japon... A. Michel, who based his judgment solely on the engraving, remarked that the "metteur en scène de cette crucifixion des trois jésuites" let himself be inspired by the "grandes machines d'un Pietro da Cortona, d'un Benedetto Castiglione ou d'un Lanfranco." And indeed, Italian influences can be traced in this composition which dates from soon after Boucher's return from Italy. On the other hand, there is too obvious a similarity with Lebrun's monumental Erection de la Croix in the Louvre to admit any doubt that the young artist was here carrying on the tradition of French monumental art under Louis XIV, even if in his own manner.²¹⁸

Certainly, the prototype may have been Lebrun's work, but the case for Rubens's magnificent triptych, The Raising of the Cross which was completed in 1611 for the Church of Saint Walburga in Antwerp can be pleaded as strongly.²¹⁹ Although the only record of any direct contact which Boucher might have had with the painting dates from 1766 when he travelled to Flanders in the company of the Receveur Général des Finances, Randon de Boisset, his own mastery of the art of print-making would have made him familiar with the engraving after The Raising of the Cross by Hans Witdoeck in 1638 (pl. 32).²²⁰ In fact, it is highly probable that Boucher did examine the print with care since there are a great many striking similarities between Witdoeck's engraving after Rubens and Laurent Cars's engraving after Boucher.

In the engraving by Witdoeck, the three parts of the triptych have been united into one smoothly flowing composition backed by a continuous landscape. The focal point remains the group of eight executioners (nine in the painting) who struggle vigorously to raise the cross from a diagonal to an upright position. To the left, a group of Roman centurions on excited mounts direct the task; to the right, a group of women seated upon the ground observe the event while Mary and John stand in the middle distance. In addition, Rubens approved the inclusion in the engraving of

such picturesque elements as the group of three men who cling to a gnarled tree growing atop a jagged cliff, the procession of townsfolk who climb in the middle distance towards the mount of Calvary, and the domes of the city of Jerusalem in the far distance.

Broadly speaking, there is an analogous sense of energy and vitality in Boucher's work. Like Rubens, he has used a tripartite division and has united the three scenes of martyrdom with a continuous landscape. The central space is dominated by the raised cross of the most important martyr: to the left, soldiers on horseback encircle the crucifixion of a second missionary at whose feet is a peaceful group of female observers; to the right, a third martyr, surrounded by executioners, kneels in submission to his fate. Despite the fact that the title on the engraving states explicitly that the martyrdom takes place in Japan, Boucher's executioners are of European stock - a curious anomaly, but one that suggests further that he may have been influenced by Rubens. Since the taste for "chinoiserie" was at its height, Boucher could well have acknowledged the oriental locale in this painting as he would do in other works. Some of his own respect for traditional religious themes is evident in that he has chosen to represent the martyrdom of only three Jesuits; surely this is a parallel to the Biblical account of the crucifixion as well as a reference to the Trinity.

There are some dissimilarities between the engraving after Rubens and the painting by Boucher and the subsequent engraving by Laurent Cars. Rather than describe the crucifixion and attendant events in a receding landscape as did Witdoeck, Boucher has placed the three martyrs close to the front of the picture plane. Such details as the city of Jerusalem in the distance, the observers clinging to the rock and the multiplicity of foreground witnesses are not repeated by Boucher. Instead, he has simplified the scene and concentrated upon the actual martyrdoms, reducing the landscape to distant crags and waving trees. In this miniaturized respect, the engraving after Boucher is more "muscular", more dynamic than that by Witdoeck after Rubens.

In other aspects, Boucher has continued to simplify, while adopting certain motifs directly dependent upon Rubens. Only three strong executioners raise the cross in the Martyre des Trois Jésuites au Japon. The figure at the lower end of the cross in Witdoeck's engraving is used by Boucher in the entirety of the conceit, except that Boucher has reversed the pose. Rubens's executioner extends his arm towards the apex of the cross, whereas Boucher's points his arm towards the ground. In both cases, the men are faceless. Rubens's evil old man in a turban along the shaft of the cross is repeated by Boucher except that he has exchanged the turban and beard for a tuft of unkempt hair and a

satyr-like face: an interesting transformation of Counter-Reformatory ideology into a proto-Enlightenment substitution of a myth for a man.

Other pictorial elements which seem to derive from Rubens can be recognized in Boucher: the faithful dog in Rubens has been detached from his duty and included with the group of executioners in Boucher's work. The taut rope used to elevate the cross in Rubens's altarpiece is transformed into a catenary curve linking the central scene to the secondary group to the left in Cars's engraving. The reactions of awe and fascination expressed by the group of women of varying ages to the left in Rubens's painting have been divided by Boucher between a hermit-type figure gazing towards the central cross and the three seated women who gesture towards the same scene. The centurions on the right in Witdoeck's engraving appear directly behind the central cross in Boucher's scene of martyrdom. The artist is almost subdued in this passage. There is only one fluttering standard compared to the waving colours and multiplicity of lances in the work of Rubens. In short, Boucher appears to have selected the main elements from Rubens's triptych and composed them somewhat differently upon his personal stage.

In addition to the influences already noted, Boucher followed, or imitated Rubens in the recognition of the excellence of academic practice established by the Carracci. Although there are but a few of Boucher's drawings

after the antique that survive, Boucher, like Rubens, made drawings after the Column of Trajan.²²¹ Rubens's procedure of drawing from the live model is well-known. Boucher, in some of his drawings for his mythological scenes and in his "académies" likely followed the same process. He achieved an as equally heroic and vigorous interpretation of the nude as did Rubens. Like Rubens, Boucher repeatedly used a vocabulary of motifs. For instance, the energetic warriors from Le Martyre des Trois Jésuites au Japon appear again in his hunting scenes, while they are transformed into water-gods or attendants at the forge of Vulcan in still other paintings.

RUBENS'S APPARENT INFLUENCE UPON BOUCHER'S HUNTING PAINTINGS

The hunting paintings by Rubens would logically seem to have provided the most direct prototypes for Boucher's work. Rubens painted a series of four canvases for the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, probably around 1615-1616: the Wild Boar Hunt now in Marseille, the Tiger Hunt in Rennes and the Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt in Munich. The Lion Hunt is known only through a copy in the Spencer-Churchill collection in Northwick Park, since the original was destroyed by fire in Bordeaux in 1870.²²² In addition, other hunting

scenes by Rubens likely influenced Boucher: the Lion Hunt in Munich, the Lion Hunt in Dresden and the Wolf and Fox Hunt in New York.

Boucher's interest in drawing and engraving would provide enough reason for him to be aware of the engravings after Rubens's hunts either in public commerce or in private collections at that time. The Munich Lion Hunt was engraved by Schelte a Bolswert. A copy after this painting was in the collection of the Cardinal Richelieu and subsequently in the collection of the Duc de Richelieu. Pieter Soutman engraved the Marseille Wild Boar Hunt, the Munich Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt and a version of a Wolf and Fox Hunt. The latter was treated as well by J. Troyen and W. de Leeuw, while the Dresden Lion Hunt was engraved by J. Snyderhoef.²²³

David Rosand in "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt: its Sources and Significance" comments on Rubens's purpose:

Dedicated to the classical tradition, Rubens was a highly self-conscious heir to the humanistic heritage of the Italian Renaissance, and neither genre scenes as such nor mere fascination with exotica alone could have inspired his creations. In comparison with the hunts of his predecessors, his reveal a new, heroic approach to a stock theme and a fundamentally different attitude.²²⁴

Boucher's own approach to the exotic hunt theme was as heroic as that of Rubens, but his task was made easier by Rubens's prior definition of the theme. The motif of the

white horse with flowing mane and glistening eye in La Chasse au Léopard may have been based on the central horseman from the Tiger Hunt (Rennes) which Rubens used again in the Lion Hunt in Dresden. Another possible source in Rubens's oeuvre for the motif of a rearing horse was available perhaps to Boucher in Pieter Soutman's engraving after The Defeat of Sennacherib. Moreover, Boucher may have derived the pose of the startled hunter rearing back in fear from either of the above mentioned engravings. Rubens's warrior reversed in defeat to the left in the Munich Lion Hunt is another possible prototype for the huntsman placed in a similar position in La Chasse au Léopard. Yet, in Rubens's work, man is aggressive, although partially defeated, while in Boucher's there is an almost symbiotic relationship between the victor and the vanquished. In this respect, it is noteworthy that Boucher's hero-hunter appears to be unarmed: he signifies in an almost abstract manner the general alarm, while his subalterns rush in for the kill.

The three leopards which are the object of the hunt are described in three different poses, as if Boucher were as much painting portraits of the beasts as describing their slaughter. In Rubens's hunt scenes, the animals are usually ferocious as they writhe in the throes of death. In comparison, Boucher's leopards are almost inquisitive and philosophical. But there is a precedent in the work

of Rubens. Gracing the lower part of the canvas of The Leopards (Museum of Fine Arts, Montréal) are three such animals which fondle grapes and play with putti at the feet of a nymph and a satyr. Although the pose and the purpose of the animals are different in Rubens's canvases, Boucher captures in his work the same feline suavity. Here too, Boucher may have been familiar with the engraving by Wenzel Hollar after the lower part of Rubens's canvas The Leopards.²²⁵

In La Chasse au Crocodile, commissioned two years after the La Chasse au Léopard, naked men aided by cudgels, spears and arrows are pitted against a truculent reptile. Boucher may have been inspired by the nude warriors with their naked torsos and jabbing lances in Rubens's Boar Hunt at Marseille. The ultimate lineage is, of course, the strongmen lifting the cross in Rubens's The Raising of the Cross, a source, as noted above that Boucher may have used before.

The herculean action of the central hero who pries open the jaws of the crocodile may have been derived from the title-page of Maphaeus Barberini designed by Rubens (pl. 33). Since Boucher, too, engraved title-pages, the page engraved by Cornelius Galle after Rubens may have come to his attention. In Rubens's interpretation of the phenomenal strength of the Biblical hero, Samson forces the lion down upon a rusticated arch whilst rending his jaws with sheer physical force. The pose of Boucher's warrior is similar, and one might posit the success of the outcome.

A highly probable borrowing from Rubens in La Chasse au Crocodile is the reptile which is a replica of the older master's creature in The Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt, now in Munich and engraved by Soutman. Boucher has used the same configuration, the same position, and has only exaggerated the jagged maw of the saurian. The crocodile in Rubens's painting is, however, secondary to the violent surge of the hippopotamus bursting through the centre of the composition. The muscular concatenation of man and foe sounds a fearful note. In contrast, Boucher's heroes concentrating upon their unique enemy seem assured of victory.

As was his habit, Boucher seems to have adopted motifs from Rubens and placed them at will upon his personal stage. It is as if he were tearing apart the cataclysmic encounter of natural forces such as Rubens had portrayed in the Munich Lion Hunt, and selected only those elements complementary to his theatrical vision. For example, Boucher has employed Rubens's diagonal compositional device reinforced by thrusting lances but the overall effect is somewhat diluted.

The brutality and the vigour of the conflict between man and beast of the Munich Lion Hunt, where, in the words of D. Rosand, "The animals... (are) nearly human in the physiognomic expression of their dramatic participation"

are not present in the hunting paintings by Boucher. This may be due to the fact that the landscape absorbs and projects the magnificence of the ferocity of the encounter between man and beast. It is as if the terror were attenuated in part by the long, ordered vista of the inverted triangle of the granite cliffs.

PROBLEMS OF ICONOGRAPHY IN BOUCHER'S HUNTING PAINTINGS

There are additional details in both La Chasse au Léopard and La Chasse au Crocodile that merit examination.

In La Chasse au Léopard, the central huntsman is mounted on a white horse, his colleagues in the distance ride brown horses. Does the difference in colour between the horses have any significance? In traditional interpretations of the hero on horseback, the horse is always white. Another distinction: the costumes worn by the mounted riders, fur-lined coats and turbans graced by aigrettes, are in deliberate contrast to the semi-nude warrior to the left and the sub-altern to the right garbed in a short tunic. Boucher was obviously making a distinction between the élite class and their servants as had Rubens in both his exotic and domestic hunting scenes.²²⁶ In Rubens's The Wolf and Fox Hunt, for instance, the nobles, distinguished by their refined features

and impassive glances, wait to deliver the "coup de grâce". In contrast, however, every participant in Boucher's painting shows either fear or alarm. There is a further point of affinity between Rubens's work and that of Boucher. Neither painter has equipped his hunters with fire-arms, although they were in common use at both times. Hunting manuals emphasized the skill required to manoeuvre a horse in the fray of the hunt (and, by extension, in the pitch of battle).²²⁷ Likewise, to kill an animal using only cold steel was considered to be the most noble and heroic method. Boucher's assailants are armed only with arrows and daggers as they pit their skills against nature.

There is one element of gripping interest in Boucher's La Chasse au Léopard. Centered at the base of the painting, a somewhat startled leopard glances quizzically over his shoulder to his companions in battle. Resting against his hind leg, and seemingly protected by the animal is a globe along with several discarded arrows (pl. 34 and pl. 35). These three details, animal, weapons, and globe are placed on top of a stone slab that calls to mind the stone of unction in Caravaggio's Deposition of Christ (Vatican, Rome) and Rubens's version, The Entombment, in the National Gallery, Ottawa. Each component is described with care, and when isolated from the rest of the painting, becomes compellingly emblematic. The object, be it crystal or golden, is too carefully rendered

in tones of red, orange and green with flicks of white impasto on the uppermost curve to be a mere uncalculated factor in the décor. In the middle distance to the left, placed just behind a hillock is another ball.

Hypothetical explanations for these elements may be advanced on three levels: naturalistic, heraldic and mythological. The term naturalistic is used in the acception of the early eighteenth century, i.e., various animals and plants placed in so-called realistic settings which in fact were actually highly imaginary. Linnaeus (1707-1778) had not yet begun his classification of plant species, and Buffon (1707-1788) was still to publish his first volume of Histoire naturelle.

On a naturalistic level the juxtaposition of the sphere and the leopard can only be explained satisfactorily if the confusion surrounding the identity of the animal is taken into account. The painting currently designated as La Chasse au Léopard was known in contemporary documents as both La Chasse au Lion and La Chasse au Tigre.²²⁸ The confusion between these three animals may have stemmed from a passage in Pliny's Natural History. In Book VIII, he wrote:

The lion is especially high-spirited at the time when its neck and shoulders are clothed with mane - for this occurs at maturity in the case of those sired by a lion, though those begotten by leopards always lack this characteristic; and the females likewise.

Sexual passion is strong in this species with its consequence of quarrelsomeness in the males; this is most observed in Africa, where the shortage of water makes the animals flock to the few rivers. There are consequently many varieties of hybrids in that country, either violence or lust mating the males with the females of each species indiscriminately.²²⁹

Should Boucher have been thinking about a lion when setting out to portray this exotic hunt, he may have come across an engraving such as that appearing in Tracts 1621-41.²³⁰ Inserted in third place after a title page bearing the inscription "Diversa Animalia Quadrepedia ad vinum Delineata a Jacopo Cupie atque aeri inscripta a R. Persyn Iam vero in lucem edita per Nicolaum Ionnis Visscherum anno 1641" is an engraving of several lions in various naturalistic poses (pl. 36). In the foreground, on either side of a recumbent lioness is, to the left, an aggressive male in profile, and to the right, a subdued female in a slightly three-quarter pose. The latter beast places her right paw upon a globe. The link between the lion and the orb, symbol of kingship, is indeed striking in this "naturalistic" setting.

If the other title under which Boucher's painting was known in the eighteenth century, La Chasse au Tigre, is analysed, a comment entered under "Tigre" in Dictionnaire théorique et pratique de Chasse et de Pesche may

provide a clue to the function of the golden or crystal ball.

The editor remarked:

le tigre craint & respecte les hommes
blancs, quand ils sont nud: on a prétendu
que quand il poursuivoit les ravisseurs
de ses petits, il suffisoit de lui présen-
ter des miroirs, & qu'il étoit retenu pas
sa propre image.²³¹

In the aforementioned Tracts 1621-41, there is an engraving after Tempesta in which leopards, or at least spotted creatures, are lured into captivity by the device of mirrors, square in this instance, propped either against a net or inside a rectangular trap (pl.37). Obviously, Tempesta and this eighteenth-century lexicographer used the same source to describe how the animal might be hypnotised and captured.

Although it is impossible to equate the square mirror in Tempesta's engraving to the sphere in Boucher's painting, another literary source from the early seventeenth century provides both a poetic and "naturalistic" amalgam for the interpretation of the reflective sphere in La Chasse au Léopard. Edward Topsell in The Historie of Foure-footed Beastes, published in 1607, based his work on the writings of Conrad Gesner (1516-1565) as well as on antique authors. In his discourse on the Tiger, he cited the following method

for attracting the beast:

The hunter seeing her at hand, casteth downe one of her Welpes: the distressed angry beast knowing that shee can carry but one at once, first taketh up that in her mouth...returneth with it to her lodging; having layd it up safe, backe againe she returned like the wind to pursue the hunter for the residue, who must likewise set her downe another if hee have not got into his ship.....(the passage continues with a description of the rage of the tiger and the danger for the hunter unless he provides himself with appropriate means of deception)... For this occasion, the hunters do devise certaine round spheares of glasse; wherein they picture their young ones very apparant to be seene by the damme, one of these they cast downe before her at her approch, she looking upon it, is deluded, and thinketh that her young ones are enclosed therein, and the rather, because through the roundnesse thereof it is apt to rowle and stir at every touch, this she driveth along backwards to her den and there breaketh it with her feete and nailes, and so seeing that she is deceived, returneth back againe after the hunter for her true Whelps.²³²

It is possible to interpret the sphere in La Chasse au Léopard as one of these "round spheares of glasse" whose powers of reflection (the same as those of Tempesta's mirror and the same as in the eighteenth-century lexicographer's comments) may have enabled Boucher's hunter to subdue his foe.

The identity of the foe, however, is still open to question. Was Boucher, in fact, painting a panther? There is a remarkable similarity between the leopard in La Chasse au Léopard and La Panterre, an engraving executed in

*my italics

1739 by Pierre François Basan (1723-1797) after a canvas by Jean-Baptiste Oudry (pl.38).²³³ The title on the print reads "La panterre; Peint d'après Nature à la Ménagerie du Roi; à Paris chés Basan Graveur rue St. Jacques." Oudry's canvas, now known as Leopard in a Cage, signed and dated 1739, was exhibited in the Salon of the same year and later acquired for the King of Sweden.²³⁴

In his masterful study of the life and work of Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Hal N. Opperman notes that the inception of Oudry's final period was marked by a series of large canvases portraying wild animals, including the one under discussion, that were intended for the King's botanical garden. The project came to naught since La Peyronie, the director of the garden and the King's chief physician, died in 1747. Had the plans come to fruition, "...it would have created a well-presented botanical garden as a pendant to the menagerie located at the opposite end of the transverse arm of the Grand Canal, where Oudry drew and painted some of the animals in the Series."²³⁵

There is little room to doubt that Boucher's leopard and Oudry's "panterre" or leopard are one and the same beast. The position of both animals is the same (reversed, of course, in the engraving), the markings of the fur, the cast shadows, and even the alert and quizzical pose of the animal's head are mirror images. The question arises

as to the direction of influences. On the one hand, Oudry was the older and more established artist, renowned for his animal still-lives. Since Boucher was associated with Oudry as early as 1734 in the production of cartoons for the Beauvais Tapestry manufactory,²³⁶ he may have had ample opportunity to become familiar with Oudry's animal sketches. On the other hand, Boucher's La Chasse au Léopard was completed in 1736, whereas Oudry's canvas was not shown until 1739. Might Oudry have been influenced by the imaginative brush of his younger colleague in his interpretation of a wild animal? Whatever the case may be, Boucher's rendering of a tiger, or a lion, or a leopard, or a panther in proximity with a reflective sphere provides an absorbing glimpse of certain naturalistic transcriptions of the early eighteenth century and of man's attempt to codify nature.

While there is no evidence at hand such as a list of books in Boucher's library which enables us to prove conclusively that Boucher was aware of the commentaries of antique authors, we do know that he was living in an age when heraldry and mythology had still some significance. Hence, it is possible to put forth two interesting, albeit minor, arguments that suggest other interpretations of this aspect of La Chasse au Léopard.

On the heraldic level, is the ball but an obvious reference to Kingship - the orb of the Sun King, and by

extension, that of his descendant, Louis XV? This heliocentric conceit was established under Richelieu and inherited by Fleury. Richelieu was imbued with the writings of Plotinus and concerned, as Gérard remarks with "...les rythmes de rotation de multiples sphères et l'harmonie de leurs rapports" avec une planète-mère."²³⁷ In the Versailles of Louis XIV, seven rooms of the King's apartments were named after the planets. The suite of rooms culminated in the Salle d'Apollon which contained the throne of the King. In this room, the attributes of the king, described in fables and allegories, alluded to the greatness of the kings of the past.²³⁸ The hypothesis might be advanced that Boucher intended by the use of the sphere to make a comment on the continuity of the monarchy. Or, is the sphere but an indication of the harmony implied by Plotinus, and by extension, of the assumed unity between hostile nature and ferocious men driven into natural conflict represented by the hunt?

On the mythological level, and because Boucher was inspired by myths throughout his career, a solution based on mythological inferences might be advanced. The god Apollo, according to Xenophon, invented the hunt. He was also the sun god, and a golden disk, his symbol. Louis XIV was often represented as Apollo "terrassant un dragon qu'il perce de ses flèches."²³⁹ It is also possible that the sphere might allude to the golden ball of "Fortuna". Inasmuch as

the nature of fate was symbolized by the precarious position of Fortuna balancing on a ball, so the dangerous and unknown outcome of the hunt might be compared to the instability of the inhabitants of a nation, the collective potential to rebellion. Order is restored by a warrior-king on horseback. If these two mythological references are conflated, then the globe and arrows placed upon the slab can be read as symbols of royal authority. By extension, Louis XV's passion for the hunt is subtly legitimated as well as his role as defender of the realm.²⁴⁰

Equally fascinating are the problems raised by a careful examination of La Chasse au Crocodile. Although there is not in this painting an object of compelling interest such as the golden/crystal sphere present in La Chasse au Léopard, there are references to antiquity that render it as profound as its companion piece.

An engraving after Tempesta found in the Tracts 1621-41, already mentioned, provides the first hint of the painting's ancestry (pl.39). In an aquatic setting of a series of bays, hunters dressed in short, belted tunics and

wearing a type of modified turban strike out with cudgels at crocodiles. In the foreground, two of their number sit astride the reptiles and master the beasts by means of a stick used as a bit between the jaws. Boucher must have been aware of this engraving when he set out to portray the crocodile hunt for Louis XV. In this respect, it is interesting to note that Rubens's respect for primordial forces never permitted such a symbiotic association between man and wild creature.

The second piece of evidence, and one that again conjures up the "naturalistic" fantasies of the eighteenth century, is to be found in Pliny's Natural History. In Book VIII, a source that has already been useful in suggesting a solution to the historical misnomer of La Chasse au Léopard, is the following entry under the discussion of the enemies of the crocodile:

But the crocodile constituted too great a plague for nature to be content with a single enemy for it. (Here follows a description of how dolphins defeat the crocodiles)... Moreover there is also a tribe of human beings right on the Nile, named after the Island of Tentyrus on which it dwells, that is hostile to this monster. They are of small stature but have a readiness of mind in this employment that is remarkable. The creature in question is terrible against those who run away but runs away from those who pursue it. But these men alone dare to go against them; they actually dive into the river and mounting on their back as if

riding a horse, when they yawn with the head thrown backward to bite, insert a staff into the mouth, and holding the staff at both ends with their right and left hands, drive their prisoners to the land as if with bridles...²⁴¹

In Boucher's La Chasse au Crocodile, there is a conflation of sources: from Rubens is the energetic depiction of the monster; from Tempesta, the portrayal of the unusual manner in which to capture the reptile; and ultimately, it seems, there is Pliny's description of the natural wonders of the world.

Boucher's vivid characterization of the locale of the hunt, graced by pyramids and other antique ruins and placed at the mouth of a stream, calls to mind the description under the entry "crocodile" in the contemporary reference, Dictionnaire théorique et pratique de Chasse et de Pesche, which has already been useful in the discussion of La Chasse au Léopard. The author remarks that the Egyptians regarded the crocodile as a god.²⁴² There is here a tenuous link between the formidable adversary of Boucher's nude and heroic heroes in La Chasse au Crocodile and the possible reference to kingship summarily adumbrated by the golden-crystal ball in La Chasse au Léopard. In yet another liaison between crocodiles and legitimate monarchy,

the editor continues:

Sur la côte des Esclaves, il y a un roi qui fait consister les prérogatives de sa couronne à avoir deux étangs remplis de crocodiles.²⁴³

It must be admitted that the hunt of the crocodile has a sufficiently distinguished ancestry to merit its inclusion among subjects worthy of a king's contemplation.

The same Dictionnaire théorique... provides an imaginative method to capture the reptile, one that comes close to Pliny's account, and at the same time, corresponds to the "naturalistic" setting in Boucher's canvas. One way to kill a crocodile, the author recounts, is the method employed by certain black races:

...les Nègres osent lutter contre ce fléau des rivières; ils tâchent de le surprendre dans un endroit où il ne puisse se soutenir sans nager, & ils vont hardiment à lui avec un cuir de boeuf entorillé au bras gauche & une bayonnette dans la main droite: ils lui mettent le bras garni de cuire dans la gueule pour la tenir ouverte, & comme sa langue est fort petite, elle se remplit d'eau, & le monstre se noye: pour hâter sa mort, ils lui crevent les yeux à coups de bayonnetes.²⁴⁴

Boucher has placed his battle at the mouth of a stream; the warriors are in direct contact with the crocodile, and perhaps the hunter to the right of the canvas is trying to blind the creature.

These, then, are the proposed explanations to the iconographical problems raised by La Chasse au Léopard and La Chasse au Crocodile. Against this background, and adding still another dimension to the work of Boucher, is the whole legacy of Poussin which cannot be ignored.

THE LEGACY OF POUSSIN

The art of Poussin, the distinguished protagonist of Rubens, at least on the academic and painterly level, may have influenced, it seems to me, parts of Boucher's hunting compositions. Directly related to La Chasse au Crocodile is a recently discovered sheet of drawings by Poussin, where in the lower left-hand corner, there is a small sketch of a man riding a crocodile.²⁴⁵ He appears to master the reptile by means of a stick used as a bit between its jaws. Anthony Blunt, who published the drawing, now in a private collection in Paris, points out that Poussin was illustrating a passage from Pliny. However, he does not mention that Tempesta had already illustrated Pliny in his series of engravings concerning exotic hunts.

With respect to Boucher's paintings, two conclusions are possible. On the one hand, Boucher may have been aware of this drawing by Poussin which might have

triggered further research on his part, or, in all likelihood, he may have seen Tempesta's series of engravings. On the other hand, the many reflections of Poussin in Boucher's work, in general, suggest that he, like his famous countryman, and like the equally renowned Peter Paul Rubens, might have prepared himself by a procedure long recommended by the Academy: a prolonged and detailed examination of antique authors and their focus upon the immutable laws of nature.

In many works by Poussin, the landscape plays as important a role as does the human or mythological subject.²⁴⁶ Indeed, the philosophical assimilation of Stoic thought discernible in Poussin's landscape seems to me to be present in both La Chasse au Léopard and La Chasse au Crocodile. Two canvases in particular which Poussin painted for his friend Pointel, The Finding of Moses, 1647 (Louvre, Paris) and Landscape with Polyphemus, 1649 (Hermitage, Leningrad) may have influenced Boucher. In the former, the drama in the foreground is modified by a series of pyramids set against a background of hills (Boucher, in La Chasse au Crocodile). In the latter, the towering mountain on which the cyclop sits is as central to the meaning of the canvas as are the other mythological components in the foreground (Boucher, in La Chasse au Léopard).

Very rarely did Rubens elaborate upon the landscape in his hunting paintings where his concern was to emphasize the moral struggle, or in the mythological sketches for the Torre de la Parada where he stressed the human reactions of the gods. Now, in both the hunting paintings by Boucher, the landscape is as vividly delineated as the principal action. It is as if Boucher were affecting a marriage of Rubenesque and Poussinesque influences: powerful forces struggling in historic prospects. When Boucher's work is compared with the hunt themes of Rubens, the implications of the struggle between man and beast, and by analogy, between good and evil are diminished. Yet, when the two hunting themes by Boucher are compared to the work of Poussin, one realizes that nature is as powerful and as impartial as Stoic thought implied.²⁴⁷

BOUCHER'S HUNTING PAINTINGS AS SOCIAL, HISTORICAL AND THEATRICAL COMMENTARIES

The majestic description of the locale in Boucher's hunting themes may have satisfied the curiosity of the King and court about exotic lands. In the 1730's the enthusiastic revival of interest in far-away shores is

revealed by the multiplicity of oriental motifs in interior décor. In literature as well, prominent authors such as Voltaire and Montesquieu delighted in transposing their acerbic comments on contemporary society to foreign settings. One wonders if this was due to the fact that France, at this time, was engaged only in brief and limited wars. Hence, in a period of "diplomatic sobriety and material progress",²⁴⁸ the vast landscapes in which the figures of Boucher act out the hunting drama may be recognized as substitutes for the glories of foreign conquest. By the same token, the hunts of the leopard and the crocodile would thus become surrogates for the excitement of war.

We know that Louis XV, between 1736 and 1739 was not actively engaged on the battle field. The hunting paintings, then, formed a backdrop for his passionate interest in the hunt, in the theatre, and in the protection and expansion of the shores of "La France". A fascinating theatrical parallel to the hunting scenes in terms of passion and reverie can be found in the chorus of hunters from Hippolyte et Aricie, a major opera by Jean-Philippe Rameau, performed for the first time in 1733, and repeated often before the King.²⁴⁹ In conflicting accents, the chorus chants the beauties of bucolic bliss and the glories of the hunt in a mythological version of the best of all possible worlds.

A la chasse, à la chasse, armez-vous
 Courons tous à la chasse, à la chasse, à la chasse
 Armons-nous, armons-nous

Dieu des coeurs, cédez la place
 non, non, ne régnerez jamais
 Que Diane préside! Que Diane nous guide!
 Dans le fond des forêts
 Sous ses bois nous vivons en paix
 Nos asiles sont tranquilles
 Non, non, rien n'a plus d'attraits
 Les plaisirs sont parfaits
 Aucun soin n'embarasse
 On y rit des amours
 On y passe les plus beaux jours

A la Chasse, à la chasse, armez-vous.²⁵⁰

CHAPTER V

FRANCOIS BOUCHER AND THE TRADITION OF THE EXOTIC HUNT THEME IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Throughout the complex interaction of art and politics during the early part of the nineteenth century, there runs the leitmotif of the ruler as hero, and by inference to the past, the ruler as majestic huntsman. The theme, brilliantly articulated by Peter Paul Rubens in his series of hunting canvases for the Emperor Maximilian of Austria, influenced several painters in the early part of the eighteenth century, and, it seems, François Boucher in particular. At the turn of the century, Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) returned to the conceit of the heroic horseman in his interpretation of Napoleon crossing the Alps. Later, Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) witnessed during his lifetime a series of political events that belied the tradition of noble behaviour on the part of national leaders. Nevertheless, Delacroix was so imbued with the great tradition of monumental art that he too transmitted to his age the concept of the noble huntsman and the magnificence and glory of the struggle between man and beast. There is in the work of Delacroix including his hunting canvases, a brilliance of technique

and a nobility of theme that can be traced back to François Boucher and ultimately back to Peter Paul Rubens.

JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID, RELATIVE OF BOUCHER, PAINTER TO NAPOLEON

With the transference of the Amiens Hunting Series from the King's apartments to the Trianon in 1768, the paintings were condemned to relative obscurity. While they may have continued to delight the King in his private moments, the Series was not subject to the critical gaze of the court and public during the latter part of Louis XV's life nor during the subsequent reign of Louis XVI. The most obvious reason for the banishment of these exotic hunting pictures is, of course, the change in taste. The trend to a more moralizing subject matter related in some cases clearly to antique prototypes has been well-documented.²⁵¹ The fact that France was in the throes of a national assessment of both past and future meant that paintings projecting in clear terms the obsession with patriotic and virtuous behaviour found favour more readily than those extolling the legitimacy of kingship. It is primarily in the work of Jacques-Louis David that these two national ideals can be said to be embodied.

Jacques-Louis David was one of the most profound expositors of both the rigorous idealism of the French Revolution and the glorious triumphs of the early career of Napoleon. As a young student, David was sent for instruction to his relative on his mother's side, the ageing François Boucher.²⁵² Boucher, however, referred David to Vien, perhaps because his ill health precluded the acceptance of a new and spirited pupil. He may also have felt himself inadequate before the revival of literary learning based upon the classics that was then being proposed by the Academy. Boucher is purported to have said: "Je ne sais conseiller que le pinceau à la main."²⁵³

One of the most significant links in a pictorial sense between Boucher and David is the latter's first history painting, The Death of Seneca, 1773 (Petit Palais, Paris) which shows compositional similarities with Boucher's Evilmerodach... of 1723. In both paintings, the main character is enthroned at the left of the canvas and surrounded by fine draperies and columns. In both canvases, the emotional state of the attendants at the scene - awe in the first painting, gratitude in the second - is expressed with appropriate gestures that are further highlighted by the fluttering garments. The state of exaltation is enlivened

in both canvases by the vivid touches of colour and the rhythmic groupings of light and dark.

By 1781, David's more subdued manner is apparent in Belisarius (Musée des Beaux Arts, Lille), a painting that won approval from Diderot since in his review of the Salon for that year, he wrote: "Ce jeune homme...a de l'âme."²⁵⁴ The Oath of the Horatii, (Louvre, Paris) shown in Paris some four years later is an even more austere representation of nobility, patriotism and virtue. Then, in 1800, David painted Napoleon Crossing the Alps (Musée, Versailles) (pl. 40) wherein he has used the subject of the heroic huntsman as monarch derived ultimately, of course, from Rubens's hunting themes, especially the Munich Lion Hunt. In this respect, too, it is interesting to compare David's Napoleon on horseback with the Turkish huntsman in Boucher's La Chasse au Léopard. The stance of the horse is the same in both canvases as is the hostile and windswept background. The difference between the two pictures can be attributed to the artistic climate that determined their creation. David painted an abstraction of the hero, reinforced by the names of Hannibal and Charlemagne chiseled below the name of Bonaparte on the rocks beneath the horse's hooves. Boucher, on the other hand, was under no compulsion to portray a rigidly abstract hero. His Turkish huntsman, every inch a horseman, reels back in alarm from the stylized carnage at

his feet.

Jacques-Louis David was undoubtedly familiar with engravings after Rubens's hunts. There is a strong possibility, as well, that he may have been familiar with Jean-Jacques Flipart's engraving after Boucher's La Chasse au Léopard presented to the Salon of 1773.²⁵⁵ Although Boucher's horseman might conceivably be regarded as an "anti-hero" when compared with the Napoleon, David, nevertheless, returned to the tradition of the heroic huntsman when called upon to portray the majesty and power of the First Consul.

The First Consul was not unaware of his responsibility to bolster the glory of France. During the same year that David painted his signal version of the new leader of the French nation, Napoleon's armies transported to France the four hunting canvases by Peter Paul Rubens from the Castle at Schliessheim.²⁵⁶ The paintings were destined to enrich the collections of various provincial museums, but more than this can be adduced from the First Consul's interest in the work of Rubens. Napoleon was, in fact, acutely cognizant of his role as the new ruler of France. To this end, he revived the hunting establishment in the traditional form associated with the Bourbon monarchy, which had been disrupted during the early years of the revolution.²⁵⁷ Ernest Jullien commented

upon the First Consul's intention:

Les rois de France avaient été, pour la plupart, des véneurs renommés. Les chasses, la splendeur des équipages et le nombreux personnel chargé de les diriger rehaussaient encore l'éclat de l'ancienne cour... un Souverain non chasseur eût paru une véritable anomalie.²⁵⁸

Napoleon visited the Trianon frequently where he would have seen the paintings in the Amiens Hunting Series.²⁵⁹ In 1802, La Chasse au Léopard and La Chasse au Crocodile by François Boucher and La Chasse à l'Ours and La Chasse à l'Autruche by Carle Van Loo were transferred to the "salle d'audience" in the Hôtel de Ville at Amiens. In this room, Joseph Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon, signed the Peace Treaty with England, Holland and Spain.²⁶⁰ It can be suggested, then, that Napoleon considered that the works of Boucher and Van Loo were of sufficient national and emblematic significance to decorate the room in which was signed a treaty aimed at restoring peace and prosperity to the French nation.

THE RESTORATION AND EUGENE DELACROIX

After the Battle of Waterloo and the restoration of the Bourbons, there were precious few occasions for heroic action on a national scale. Louis-Philippe, the "bourgeois-

king", established a policy of moderation designed to encourage frugality and uniformity amongst his subjects, in whom "heroic action became possible only in the imagination."²⁶¹ A measure of the imaginative leap required by Louis XVIII's subjects is better appreciated when it is learned that the successor to the Emperor was too corpulent to mount a horse: he followed the hunt in a carriage.²⁶²

Eugène Delacroix, however, refused to be bound by the prosaic attitude of his contemporaries. He first achieved public recognition with his paintings of Dante and Virgil, The Massacre of Scio, and The Death of Sardanapoulos of 1822, 1824 and 1827 respectively. (All the paintings are in the Louvre, Paris.) These early works already reflect Delacroix's interest in celebrated themes. As the actions of his political contemporaries did not provide material sufficiently exalted to stimulate his imagination, Delacroix was constantly in search of a modern hero. In a diary entry for May 9th, 1824, he wrote, somewhat plaintively: "Je me suis senti un désir de peinture du siècle. La vie de Napoléon fourmille de motifs."²⁶³ A subsequent entry, later in the same year, illustrates his continuing preoccupation with a cause larger than that which his times provided: "La vie de Napoléon est l'épopée de notre siècle pour tous les arts."²⁶⁴ In this context, it may be suggested that David's heroic vision of Napoleon Crossing the Alps became the

fulcrum between the monumental tradition of the heroic monarch as huntsman and horseman (established, as has been documented, by Rubens and perpetuated by Boucher) and the vibrant and passionate renditions of the theme by Delacroix.

Delacroix's fascination for exotica was fulfilled in 1832 when he had the chance to visit Morocco in the company of the Duke of Mornay. He returned to France saturated and satiated by his first and only contact with an exotic civilisation in situ. His diary and sketchbooks from this trip show the depth of this impact: noble men described in timeless light and limpid colour; heroic warriors on swift Arabian horses testing their skills against each other and against wild beasts.²⁶⁵

DELACROIX AND THE HUNT THEMES OF PETER PAUL RUBENS

Delacroix's painterly and philosophical interests, as manifested in his earlier canvases, and ruminations upon the great art of the past, inevitably drew him to the work of Peter Paul Rubens. The Medici cycle, at the time still in the Luxembourg Palace, claimed his attention as did the

engravings after Rubens's hunts by Soutman. In a comment in his diary for January 25th, 1847, he described a lion hunt. It appears from his description that the engraving in question is after the Bordeaux Lion Hunt of which only the lower portion remains following the fire of 1870. In the course of his analysis of the ferocious components of the scene, Delacroix remarked: "Tout cela est fait pour frapper l'imagination." He felt, nonetheless, that Rubens's depiction was overly turbulent. In the same passage, he continued: "...l'art n'y a pas assez présidé, pour augmenter par une prudente distribution ou par des sacrifices l'effet de tant d'inventions de génie."²⁶⁶

In contrast to his reaction against the dispersed elements of the Lion Hunt, Delacroix felt that Rubens's Chasse à l'Hippopotame was the more successful. This was due, he wrote, to, "...la manière dont les groupes sont disposés, ou plutôt du seul et unique groupe qui forme le tableau tout entière, l'imagination reçoit un choc, qui se renouvelle toutes les fois qu'on y jette les yeux...." For him, the tightly-knit compositional lines and the judicious balance between light and dark passages to which all the narrative elements of the composition were subjected achieved "une unité incomparable(s)."²⁶⁷

The period during which Delacroix was examining closely Rubens's hunting themes coincided with his study of animals, both alive and mounted, at the Jardin des Plantes, an institution whose first guiding spirit was Louis XV some one hundred years earlier. One notable extract from Delacroix's diary early in 1847 divulges the depth of his amazement when confronted by the view of the captive animals:

...Eléphants, rhinocéros, hippopotames, animaux étranges! Rubens l'a rendu à merveille. J'ai été, en entrant dans cette collection, d'un sentiment de bonheur. A mesure que j'avais, ce sentiment s'augmentait; il me semblait que mon être s'élevait au-dessus des vulgarités ou des petites idées, ou des petites inquiétudes du moment. Quelle variété prodigieuse d'animaux, et quelle variété d'espèces, de formes, de destination!²⁶⁸

Delacroix's exhilaration, recorded on this day after his visit to the Jardin des Plantes, might be equated to a similar state induced in the courtiers of Louis XV upon the contemplation of the Amiens Hunting Series. Whereas Louis XV projected his majesty in scenes of struggle between man and exotic beast, Delacroix used these very motifs to stimulate the private sphere of his imagination. It was, indeed, the vision of exotic animals that helped him to overcome the boredom of his everyday preoccupations. He wrote:

De ce que je suis sorti de mes idées
de tous les jours qui sont tout mon monde,
de ma rue qui est mon univers. Combien
il est nécessaire de se secouer de temps
en temps, de mettre la tête dehors, de

chercher à lire dans la création, qui n'a rien de commun avec nos villes et avec les ouvrages des hommes! Certes, cette vue rend meilleur et plus tranquille.²⁶⁹

The analysis of three paintings by Delacroix:

The Tiger Hunt, 1854 (Louvre, Paris) the Lion Hunt, 1858 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) (pl. 41) and the Lion Hunt, 1861 (The Art Institute, Chicago) (pl. 42) serves to illustrate his debt to the great hunting themes of the past and to suggest that the work of Boucher was pivotal in Delacroix's re-creation of the majestic theme of the hero locked in combat for survival with an exotic beast.

In these paintings, Delacroix has isolated certain motifs derived from Rubens and transformed them into the central element of each of his canvases. In all three works, the heroic huntsman mounted upon a rearing steed, reflects the pictorial authority of Rubens. The parry and thrust of an entire army thus becomes focused on the isolated action of a single warrior in the case of the Louvre painting; then upon the action of the several warriors in the case of the other two paintings which are in contrast to the tightly woven concatenation of man and beast in Rubens's interpretations. It should be noted that Delacroix, like Rubens, has excluded the use of fire-arms in his work.

DELACROIX AND BOUCHER

At this point, it is instructive to compare François Boucher's La Chasse au Léopard with the hunting themes by Rubens and Delacroix that have just been discussed. Boucher's work provides a pictorial balance, a link between the vision of the seventeenth-century master and that of his nineteenth-century follower.

There is no proof, however, that Delacroix admired Boucher wholeheartedly, but there is sufficient evidence to suggest that he was consciously trying to avoid the more facile subject matter of the paintings associated with this artist and with the "ancien régime". He may have been strengthened in his prejudice by the popularity of the sensual and intimate works painted by his contemporaries such as Achille Devéria, Eugène Lami, Gavarni, Louis-Léopold Boilly, Carle Vernet and Constantin Guys.²⁷⁰ Be that as it may, Delacroix seems to have condemned all eighteenth-century masters, and in particular, Carle Van Loo and François Boucher, if only on the basis of their subject matter, or at least, the subject matter that had been consecrated by popular taste. One need only cite this entry in his diary, later in the same year in which Delacroix recorded his excitement after his visit to the Jardin des Plantes. In

discussing the sad future of the "French school", Delacroix wrote:

Ce que j'ai vu hier chez lui (le marchand Aubry) est fort triste pour l'avenir de notre école. Le Boucher et le Vanloo sont les grands hommes sur lesquels elle a les yeux, pour suivre leurs traces. Mais il y avait chez ces hommes un véritable savoir mêlé à leur mauvais goût.²⁷¹

And a few years later, during the time he was painting his exotic hunt scenes, he noted in his diary, somewhat tersely after ruminating upon the impact of colour upon the imagination "Que les Boucher et les Vanloo fassent des tons légers et charmants à l'oeil...."²⁷²

The fact that Delacroix chose to isolate these two painters suggests that he may well have absorbed more of their influence than he was prepared to admit. It is conceivable that in his attempt to render legible the turbulence of Rubens's hunt themes that he may have sensed, in general terms, the calm abstraction of La Chasse au Léopard by Boucher. In more specific terms, the pose of the rearing horse, supported in sculptural fashion by the upright leopard in Boucher's painting, was repeated by Delacroix in the stance of the tiger attacking the mounted horseman in the Louvre Tiger Hunt of 1854. Another parallel is evident in the comparison between Delacroix's later and more complex interpretation of the man and beast

encounter, the Boston Lion Hunt of 1858, and Boucher's signal work. In the former, the huntsman on his rearing horse acts as a repoussoir element as he does in Boucher's work. He leans forward in his saddle in order to deliver the fatal blow, whereas Boucher's hero rears backwards in alarm. In both paintings, the wild animals crouch over fallen warriors whose protection against the aggressor is equally ineffectual. The difference between these two paintings by Delacroix and Boucher can be attributed to the passive interaction between wild beast and tamed mount in Boucher's painting and the aggressive contact between the two in Delacroix's version. Again, the contrast between the clutter in Delacroix's composition and the sparseness of Boucher's structure cannot be overlooked.

Perhaps the most successful of Delacroix's hunting themes is the Chicago Lion Hunt of 1861 wherein the mêlée of battle takes place upon a vast and rocky plain. One lone hunter on his mount at the apogee of the elliptical composition plays the same constraining role upon the other elements as does Boucher's Turkish huntsman in La Chasse au Léopard. As in Boucher's painting, foot soldiers on the right rush in to deliver the fatal blow, while in the centre, a warrior defends himself with a sword in a gesture similar to the one already explored by Delacroix in the Boston Lion Hunt, and whose resemblance to Boucher's recumbent figure has already been noted.

DELACROIX, RUBENS AND BOUCHER

In this attempt to arrive at an understanding of the suspected influence of François Boucher upon a painter whose very name conjures up the word "Romanticism" and all that the term implies, it seems fitting to stress still further the influence on both painters of their great seventeenth-century precursor, Peter Paul Rubens.

In 1848, shortly after the establishment of the Second Republic, Delacroix was commissioned to paint The Triumph of Apollo in the central panel of the Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre.²⁷³ Before completing this work, he visited Belgium where he saw Rubens's The Raising of the Cross.²⁷⁴ It is appropriate that he should have been inspired by one of the great triptychs of the seventeenth century before completing the decorative scheme in a major room of the Louvre that had been designed and partially completed by Charles Lebrun, First Painter to Louis XIV.

The possible effect that Rubens's triptych had upon an early work by Boucher has already been suggested in Chapter IV. It should be stressed, however, that there is a persistent memory of Rubens in all of Boucher's work (The Rising of the Sun and The Setting of the Sun for example). It was perhaps Boucher's decorative cycles that caused Delacroix to criticize the painter for his shallow colours, yet both painters drew

inspiration from the same source. Just as Boucher, in 1753, had painted the Chariot of the Sun for the ceiling of the King's Council Chamber at Fontainebleau,²⁷⁵ so Delacroix, some one-hundred years later, completed during the first year of the reign of Louis-Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon I, his own ode to the "triumph of art and light."²⁷⁶

Boucher's rendition of the Sun god is painted in pearly tones of grey and rose with flickerings of yellow across the canvas; Delacroix has used resonant earth tones of red and brown to define the victory of the sun. The major difference between the two works is similar to that already noted in the interpretations of each artist in their respective hunting themes. Boucher's god drifts passively behind the fiery mounts pulling his chariot; Delacroix's Apollo rises vigorously from his chariot to slay the python. In both cases, the heavenly steeds that pull the quadriga of Apollo through the turbulence of the aqueous ambient reveal the debt of each master to the celestial and earthly horses of Peter Paul Rubens.

Since Delacroix admired Rubens's La Chasse à l'Hippopotame, it seems appropriate to use this painting as a basis for some concluding comments on the compositional similarities and differences between Rubens and Delacroix and on the role Boucher played in keeping alive the theme of the monumental and exotic hunt. In Rubens's work, the power

emanates from the tightly-knit centripetal force of the composition whirling in upon the massive beast that almost tears his way out of the centre of the canvas. In Boucher's painting, the more subdued visual intricacy stems from the series of interlocking triangles of varying sizes and positions to which the hunter and hunted are subjected. In Delacroix's interpretation, the febrile activity of man and beast is controlled by the elliptical basis of the composition crystallised in an abstract way by the form of the oval shield borne by the foot-soldier to the right. In Rubens, the larger-than-life subjects project immense energy; in Boucher, man and beast are placed in a stylized relationship to each other. Delacroix's subjects, despite the ferocious nature of the engagement, seem transfixed as they move in choreographic fashion along the line determined by the ellipse. The term "Rococo" is a strangely apt description for the ornamental lion in the immediate foreground.

Landscape elements in the work of these three artists differ. For Rubens, the setting is secondary to the struggle. He includes but a deft reference to the locale. Boucher is more articulate than Rubens about place. The rocky valley where the action occurs is echoed in the hills and clouds as the battle is carried off to the never-never land of the infinite horizon. Delacroix is more expansive than both these painters, yet less precise in

describing the actual field of battle. His Lion Hunt could be happening in any hilly area in any land.

Each of the masters has used a brilliant palette: deep sonorous tones in Rubens, an harmonious mixture of blues, pinks and yellows in Boucher and the typical green-blues and turquoise enlivened by touches of red in Delacroix.

CONCLUSION

The nine canvases in the Amiens Hunting Series; La Chasse à l'Ours and La Chasse à l'Autruche by Carle Van Loo; La Chasse au Lion by Jean-François de Troy; La Chasse à l'Éléphant and La Chasse au Taureau sauvage by Charles Parrocel; La Chasse au Lion et au Tigre en Chine by Jean-Baptiste Pater; La Chasse au Tigre by Nicolas Lancret, and especially the two paintings by François Boucher, La Chasse au Léopard and La Chasse au Crocodile reflect a long tradition of cynegetic themes. On the one hand, the canvases are a recognition of the time-honoured convention wherein the hunt was regarded in times of peace as a means of maintaining mental and physical prowess in preparation for war. On the other hand, exotic hunting paintings, the Amiens Series in particular, satisfied residual longings amongst the élite for the glory and mystery of heroic combat in far-away lands.

The decade during which the Amiens Hunting Series was painted is an important one in the development of French painting, coinciding with the zenith of Rococo brilliance. Each of the artists who contributed to the Series excelled

in his personal interpretation of the man and beast encounter, but the work of François Boucher must be singled out because he did more than merely conjure up a vision of exotic hunts. In his canvases for the Amiens Hunting Series, he re-states and embellishes traditional and historical renditions of the subject. Although the hunt has always been a preoccupation of Man, it is in the work of Peter Paul Rubens that references of the conceits of the Antique world, to the moral implications of the Medieval macrocosm, and to the humanistic principles of the Renaissance, arrive at both a synthesis and an apogee. The series of canvases that Rubens painted for the Emperor Maximilian of Austria, along with the New York Wolf and Fox Hunt, bear witness to the depth of his learning and to the brilliance of his depiction of the enlightened monarch qua hero, victorious over the violence of natural forces.

François Boucher surely drew inspiration from Rubens's paintings. True, Boucher's hunting pictures appear miniaturized variants in juxtaposition to Rubens's versions for Maximilian of Austria, but they are as many-faceted and as mesmerizing as their probable prototypes. Although Boucher is not as important an artist as Rubens within the context of Art History, he is much more than a mere decorator and painter of overdoors. There is a special pleasure in the study of Boucher's hunting canvases once the depth and

variety of sources informing his work have been realised. In addition to the likely influence of Peter Paul Rubens, there is a reflection of the discipline emanating from the abstract organisation of Poussin's landscapes. Boucher took both these sources and welded them to the imaginative interpretations of exotic hunts found in the engravings after Tempesta which, in turn, were partly inspired by Pliny's descriptions (and those of his successors) of the natural wonders of the world. Thus, in his fusion of various components from both visual and literary traditions, Boucher created in his hunting canvases new and distinctive masterpieces.

During the cataclysmic years of the latter part of the eighteenth century in France, the sensuous qualities and the religious declamations of great Baroque painting came under fire. The theme of the noble and semi-divine hero, however, re-emerged in the canvases of Jacques-Louis David. Without projecting the passion of either Rubens or Boucher, David's Napoleon Crossing the Alps is an abstraction of the hereditary monarch become "modern" hero. One of his sources, it might be posited, lay in the heroic warriors in Rubens's hunting canvases and, perhaps, in a lingering admission of his debt to his distinguished relative, François Boucher.

In the early nineteenth century, an age without glorious heroes and munificent kings, Eugène Delacroix consciously sought a paragon who would fulfill his passionate search for excellence. He found satisfaction in the canvases of Rubens, less so in those by Boucher. Indeed, it is possible to argue that Delacroix's work would have existed without any reference to Boucher, but as has been suggested in this thesis, Boucher was as much an academic and a traditionalist as Rubens. Delacroix shared Boucher's respect for the past, and even though his appreciation of Boucher is couched in negative terms, it nonetheless reveals his profound appreciation of the skills and vision of this early eighteenth-century master. Boucher's role is pivotal in the re-statement by Delacroix of the magnificence of traditional hunt themes.

The hunting paintings by Rubens, Boucher and Delacroix can be viewed in the light of the philosophical ethos that exerted an influence upon their authors. The work of Rubens arose from his unquestioning faith in the tenets of the "church triumphant" coupled with his profound understanding of the classics.

François Boucher was painting in an age, and for a nation, which almost compulsively questioned the inheritance from the past. Nevertheless, Boucher's contribution to the Amiens Hunting Series reveals his dependence

upon the noble tradition synthesized by Peter Paul Rubens as well as his recognition of classical sources, and pictorial references from the world of theatre.

Delacroix was as intellectual in his pursuit of artistic excellence as was Rubens, but his anguished questioning found no satisfactory answers in his contemporary ambience. He, like Rubens and Boucher, sought fulfillment in the quintessential dreams of the encounter between the rational and the fantastic.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

¹ H. Racinais, Un Versailles inconnu, Les Petits Appartements des Roys Louis XV et Louis XVI au Château de Versailles, Paris, 1950, I, 39.

² A. Ananoff, François Boucher, Lausanne-Paris, 1976, I, 251.

A. Boinet, Le Musée d'Amiens, Musée de Picardie, Paris, 1928, 14. The two hunting paintings by Boucher and the two by Van Loo remained in Amiens after their transfer to the Hôtel de Ville by Napoleon (see Chapter V). The other five paintings in the Series were sent to the Musée de Picardie in 1923.

³ A. Fontaine, Les Doctrines d'Art en France. Geneva, 1970, 120f.

⁴ M. Stuffman, "Charles de la Fosse et sa position dans la peinture française à la fin du 17^e siècle," G.B.A., 64, 1964, 72f.

⁵ A. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700, Baltimore, 1953, 244.

⁶ J. Levron, Louis le Bien-Aimé, Paris, 1965, 120.

⁷ W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, Baltimore, 1972, 28f.

⁸ La Font de Saint-Yenne, Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la Peinture en France avec un examen des principaux ouvrages exposés au Louvre le mois d'août, 1745, The Hague, 1747, 13.

⁹ H.A.L. Fisher, A History of Europe, London, 1936, 740.

¹⁰ E.J.F. Barbier, Journal Historique et Anecdotique du Règne de Louis XV, Paris, 1847, I, 211.

¹¹ P. Verlet, Versailles, Paris, 1961, 506.

¹² D. Rosand, "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt: Its sources and Significance," A.B., 4, 1969, 29.

¹³ S. Alpers, The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada, (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard Part IX), London, 1971, 93f.

¹⁴ H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 39.

¹⁵ A. Boinet, Le Musée d'Amiens, 6.

Notes distributed by the Hôtel de Ville, Amiens.

¹⁶ C. Duncan, The Pursuit of Pleasure: The Rococo Revival in French Romantic Art, New York, 1976, 56-61.

CHAPTER I: NOTES

¹⁷ A. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700, 212 f.

¹⁸ A. Schnapper, Tableaux pour le Trianon de Marbre, 1688-1714, Paris, 1967, 35f. See also: C. Goldstein, review of "Tableaux pour le Trianon de Marbre by Antoine Schnapper," A.B., LII, 1970, 453-455.

In his review, Goldstein suggests that the "Poussiniste-Rubeniste" debate did, in fact, have some influence upon the artists commissioned to work at the Trianon. Those "academic-classicist" artists, Verdier and Houasse, produced canvases that were more severe in form than any work produced by Lebrun.

Some flower pieces and architectural landscapes were prepared for the small palace, but the majority of paintings were based on scenes from Ovid's Metamorphoses. In Morpheus and Iris (Trianon, Versailles) by Houasse, or Juno and IO (Trianon, Versailles) by Verdier, the frontal presentation of the figures, the gestures of the hands and the shallow background show the influence of Lebrun and academic theory, whereas the large swaths of blue and orange recall the later work of Poussin. At the same time, paintings showing a different inspiration were incorporated into the decorative context of the Trianon. The canvases prepared

by Noel Coypel, Apollo Crowned by Victory (Trianon, Versailles) for example, or Apollon couronné par la Victoire après la Défaite du Serpent Python (Trianon, Versailles) suggest influence stemming from Domenichino, and especially in the latter work, that of the late Roman Baroque, Baccicio in particular. Influence from the Bolognese school is apparent, as well, in the work of Louis de Boullonge, especially in his description of the god Apollo in Apollon et la Sibylle fille de Glaucue (Trianon, Versailles). Nor was the Venetian school of colourists represented by artists such as Veronese and Correggio ignored. Some suggestion of the air-born qualities of these two painters is evident in the works by Charles de la Fosse, but the dominant influence is that of Peter Paul Rubens. Apollo et Thétys (Trianon, Versailles) by La Fosse is directly related to the Medici cycle, whereas the generous description of forms, the light-filled atmosphere and shimmering drapery in Clytie changée en Tournesol (Trianon, Versailles) can be traced to any number of Rubens's interpretations of mythology.

¹⁹ E. Panofsky, Idea, Berlin, 1960, 105-111.

A. Félibien, Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres anciens et modernes; avec la Vie des Architectes, Paris, 1725, VI, 54-56.

A. Fontaine, Les Doctrines, 152.

The roots of the debate originated in the doctrines of art expounded by various theorists in Italy. On the one hand, theorists proclaimed the superior concept of beauty as exhibited in both the art and the literature of the antique world. On the other hand, they revered modern masters such as Michelangelo, Leonardo Da Vinci, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Mantegna, Raphael and Titian. In relation to the latter point, debate revolved around the relative superiority of "disegno" as represented in the work of Michelangelo, and "colore" as found in the paintings of Titian.

The "disegno" concept, appealing primarily to the mind and to reason was solidly favored by the Academy in France until Gabriel Blanchard's pertinent challenge, in 1671, to the priority placed on Poussin to the detriment of the Venetian school of colourists, of the Lombards and especially of Rubens.

²⁰ J.R. Martin, "Portraits of Poussin and Rubens in works by David Seghers," Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie, 11, 1961, 67f. Professor Martin examines two flower-pieces which have as central effigies, a portrait of Poussin, and a portrait of Rubens. He proposes a date between 1650-1661, some twenty years before the Poussiniste-Rubeniste debate occurred in the Academy.

²¹ F. Kimball, The Creation of the Rococo, New York, 1943, 59f.

²² Official appointments from 1699 to 1747 are difficult to determine since there is no basic study in this area. The information must be adduced from general comments in general texts.

The lack of strong central authority is reflected as well in appointments to the post of "surintendant des bâtiments". Jules Hardouin Mansart became "premier architecte" and "surintendant des bâtiments" until his death in 1708. At this time, Robert de Cotte was named "premier architecte" only; the post of "surintendant des bâtiments" was not filled until the Duc d'Antin assumed responsibility from 1716 to 1727 when the post was temporarily abolished. During his tenure, the Duc d'Antin was responsible for organizing the isolated Salon of 1725 and the public competition of 1727. Sometime in the mid-thirties, Orry assumed responsibility but his interest was centred upon fiscal reform as advocated by the Abbé Fleury, as much as it was on artistic development. He did, however, re-establish, in 1737, the official Salon which had been in abeyance since 1704.

²³ A. Fontaine, Les Doctrines, 160.

J.J. Guiffrey, Histoire de l'Académie de Saint-Luc, Paris, 1915, Appendix, B,C.

The interaction between the Academy of Saint-Luc and the Royal Academy during this period is an area which needs refinement. Guiffrey publishes documents relating to the former but does not discuss parallel developments in the latter. The strength and vigour of the Academy Saint-Luc, however, explains to some extent why the Royal Academy was on the defensive. The members of the Academy Saint-Luc were determined to protect their rights and prestige. The fact that Pierre Mignard, who was a member of this Community of Masters, was elevated to the position of "Premier peintre" in 1695 may have contributed to their aggressive confidence. Or, was it due to the precarious financial situation of Louis XIV that in 1705 he granted the right to the masters of the craftsmen of Saint-Luc to open a school and to charge admission? From the admission fees, the member guilds were able to pay the heavy taxes demanded by the king. In effect, it would seem that the lowly craftsmen were achieving a certain public success.

²⁴ A. Fontaine, Les Doctrines, 168.

²⁵ F. Kimball, The Creation of the Rococo, 3, 113.

²⁶ M. Stuffman, "Historique et destinée d'un ensemble célèbre établi en partant de l'inventaire après décès inédit du collectionneur, 30 mai-18 juin 1740," G.B.A., LXII, 1968, 18.

²⁷ M. Levey, "A ~~Matteau~~ Rediscovered," B.M., CVI, 1964, 53-58.

²⁸ R. Bacou and others, Le Cabinet d'un grand Amateur, P.-J. Mariette, Paris, 1967, 26.

W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 107.

Other connoisseurs were influential: Jean de Juillienne, like Crozat and P.-J. Mariette was also a businessman. His wealth came from the family textile business, and he employed his riches in collecting the works of Watteau. Soon after Watteau's death, de Juillienne hired young artists, Boucher amongst them, to engrave Watteau's entire oeuvre. Boucher commenced work in 1722, and contributed to the series over a period of years until the entire Oeuvre Gravé of Watteau appeared in a four-volume set in 1739.

²⁹ A.C.P. de Caylus, Vie des Artistes du XVIII Siècle, Paris, 1910, xx.

C.-N. Cochin, Mémoires inédits de Charles-Nicolas Cochin sur le Comte de Caylus, Bouchardon, les Slodtz, Paris, 1880, 66.

³⁰ B. Scott, "The Duc de Choiseul, A Minister in the Grand Manner," Apollo, XCVII, 1973, 46.

³¹ B. Scott, "The Comtesse de Verrue, A Lover of Dutch and Flemish Art," Apollo, XCVII, 23.

³² W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 9.

33 F. Kimball, The Creation of the Rococo, 153.

34 F. Kimball, The Creation of the Rococo, 168.

D. Nyberg, Meissonnier an Eighteenth Century Maverick, New York, 1969, fol. 28, 35.

Several interiors from this time illustrate the manner in which these ideas were applied. The decoration of the Hotel de Rouillé or the Hotel de Villars, by Pineau, indicates the style which Boffrand was to develop in the Palais de Soubise. In these rooms, the rectangular shape is disguised by an interrupted cornice which bears stucco decoration. Mirrors were placed within asymmetrical frames and in some cases, paintings framed in elaborate C-shaped scrolls, occupy the apex. Nowhere is a straight line evident, nor any symmetrical balancing of motifs.

35 La Font de Saint-Yenne, Réflexions, 13.

36 La Font de Saint-Yenne, Réflexions, 17.

37 P. Rosenberg, P.C. Trémolières, Paris, 1973, 18.

38 Less intellectual or perhaps less perceptive in his penetration of the human character, but more in tune with traditional portraiture, is the work of Jean-Marc Nattier. In the allegorical props surrounding his portrait of Madame Geoffrin en Sibylle (Louvre, Paris), he shows his lingering attachment to the style of the seventeenth century, which in

his later portraits of the royal princesses was to incite the ironic comments of Cochin. Nevertheless, in his portrait of Madame Geoffrin's daughter, La Marquise de la Ferté, painted in 1740 (private collection, Paris), Nattier is close to La Tour while at the same time he still retains the fluttering drapery and noble column proper to the aristocratic tradition of the seventeenth century.

³⁹ Artists other than Rubens influenced French art in the early eighteenth century. Sigisbert-Lambert Adam who won the "premier prix" for sculpture in the same year as Boucher, received the commission for the Neptune Fountain from the Duc d'Antin sometime before 1735. The prototype is the work of Bernini. Boucher's Birth of Venus of 1740 is almost a painterly transposition of the fountain.

CHAPTER II: NOTES

⁴⁰ J.-B.-C.I. Delisle de Sales, Dictionnaire théorique et pratique de Chasse et Pesche, Paris, 1769, I, xxv. The author explains the evolution of nature from lowly beast to man to God. It is man's role to conquer.

⁴¹ A. de Montaiglon, Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les Surintendants des Bâtiments, Paris, 1887, VI, 44f. Paintings, sculptures and casts copied by the students are listed. Most of the well-known antique sculptures were available.

⁴² P. Pray Bober, Drawings after Antiquity by A. Aspertini, London, 1957, 60.

⁴³ P. Pray Bober, Drawings after Antiquity by A. Aspertini, 74.

⁴⁴ F. Klingender, Animals in Art and Thought to the end of the Middle Ages, Cambridge, (Mass.), 1971, 74.

H. Whitehouse, "The Dal Pozzo Copies of the Palestrina Mosaic," B.A.R. Supplementary Series, 12, 1976, IIf.

⁴⁵ H.A. Groenewegen - Frankfort and B. Ashmole, Art of the Ancient World, New York, (nd), 640.

R.S. Slatkin, François Boucher in North American Collections: 100 Drawings, Washington, D.C., 1974, 24, 25. Illustrated are drawings by Boucher after heads of Roman soldiers on the Column of Trajan which were engraved by Hutin with the title Recueil de différents têtes tirés de la colonne Trajane.

⁴⁶ J.K. Anderson, Xenophon, London, 1974, 5, 183.

⁴⁷ J. Bialostocki, "Les Bêtes et les Humains de Roelant Savery," Bulletin, Musées Royaux des Beaux arts de Belgique, 7, 1958, 79f. Bialostocki notes an interesting conclusion drawn by C. Nordenfalk on the scientific function of the hunt: "In fact, the hunting path can be recognized as one of the ways along which the medieval man forced his way to a more modern conception of life, based upon observation and experience."

⁴⁸ J.B. Thomas, Hounds and Hunting Through the Ages, New York, 1929, 5. In writing about the medieval passion for the hunt, Thomas notes that the first crusaders travelled throughout Europe with packs of hounds and their falcons always at the ready to indulge in their favourite pastimes between battles and church services.

⁴⁹ W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, New York, 1925, 103f.

J.B. Thomas, Hounds and Hunting, 39. The author notes that Gaston de Foix was known as Gaston Phoebus because of his physical perfection and flaxen hair, thus, an early reference to the hunter Apollo. The manuscript passed from François I to Bernard of Cles, Bishop of Trent, who presented it to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. Following Turenne's victories in the Netherlands, the mss. somehow fell into the hands of the Marquis de Vigneau.

⁵⁰ J.S. Held, "Le Roi à la Classe," A.B., 40, 1958, 145. The book appeared in England under the title of The Noble Art of Venerie by Tuberville c. 1575. In a second edition, c. 1611, the woodcut showing Queen Elizabeth "taking assay" has been changed to accomodate the person of the new monarch, James I. The prerogatives of royalty, thus, remained the same: to the King goes the honour of delivering the ceremonial "coup de grâce" and the "taking assay". By cutting a gash along the brisket of the dead beast, the thickness of fat, hence the importance of the kill was determined.

⁵¹ W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 80, Several copies were made from these tapestries, a set as late as 1705 by Leblond, now in Chantilly, and in 1741-47 by Oudry and Montmerque, now in La Muette.

H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, New York, 1977, I, 93. Opperman gives additional information. A set of

these tapestries was copied for the Duc d'Antin in 1720, for the Comte de Toulouse in 1723 and for Louis XV in 1723-29. The author also argues that Oudry's Chasses Royales became "modern replacements" for the Van Orley series.

⁵² W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 138, 397.

⁵³ W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 116, 398-400.

The author discusses various editions of the Venationes that have come to his attention.

⁵⁴ W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 123, 138, 129.

⁵⁵ W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 129, 130, 133.

⁵⁶ A. Tempesta, Metamorphoseon Ovidianorum, New York, 1976.

⁵⁷ S. Alpers, Torre de la Parada, 89. Alpers notes that Tempesta, in comparison to previously illustrated editions of Ovid, tended to simplify the settings while increasing the size of the actors. At the same time, the artist portrayed more of the moral complexities of any given situation. Alpers feels that Rubens's innovations at the Torre de la Parada were closely related to Tempesta's work.

⁵⁸ A. Bartsch, Le Peintre Graveur, Vienna, 1818, II, XVII, 160f. Bartsch simply lists the hunts engraved by Tempesta. To my knowledge, these works have not yet appeared in The Illustrated Bartsch.

The closest I have been able to come to an original source is in Tracts 1621-41 (British Museum, C.175 M.32), a series of original engravings after Tempesta and other artists which had been bound together by 1785 and subsequently re-bound by the British Museum upon acquisition. Many of the engravings are without attribution. The head librarian of the rare books room suggested that this type of tract was likely used in artists' workshops.

W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 164f. The author is more interested in the practical aspects of the hunt than in the literary or artistic traditions behind it, a fact that is borne out by his titles to the illustrations. With respect to Tempesta's "Auroch" hunt, Mr. Baillie-Grohman writes at great length about the distinction between the "auroch", the original wild bull of Europe, and the bison, a somewhat less majestic and less ferocious descendant.

⁵⁹ J.M. Hofstede, "An Early Rubens Conversion of St. Paul. The Beginning of his Preoccupation with Leonardo's Battle of Anghiari," B.M., CVI, 1964, 98. See also H.R. Lottman, "Digging for the Lost Leonardo," Art News, 74, 1975, 66-68.

⁶⁰ D. Rosand, "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt," 29.

⁶¹ D. Rosand, "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt," 19.

⁶² S. Alpers, Torre de la Parada, 146.

A.L. Galesloot, La Maison de Chasse des Ducs de Brabant et l'Ancienne Cour de Bruxelles, Brussels, 1854, 39. Hunting lodges were familiar adjuncts to the buildings of the royal households in all the European countries. The Dukes of Brabant built lodges in the forests surrounding Brussels. Charles V housed his court in a long gallery attached to the "Het Heeren Huys" near the Château de Boisfort which the Emperor Maximilian had used as a hunting retreat. When Albert and Isabella became regents of the Netherlands, Boisfort was once again the centre of hunting activity for the court.

⁶³ S. Alpers, Torre de la Parada, 103.

⁶⁴ E. du Gué Trapier, "Martinez del Mazo as a Landscapist," G.B.A., 61, 1963, 293f. Hunting scenes such as the Stag Hunt of the Tabladillo (Prado, Madrid) or Philip IV Hunting Wild Boar (National Gallery, London) painted by Martinez del Mazo were likely done after detailed instructions concerning the elements to be included.

⁶⁵ S. Alpers, Torre de la Parada, 105, 114. Alpers discusses the Venaria Reale of the Duke of Savoy based on the account of Count Amedeo di Castellamonte. Here, a definite programme relating to Diana was established, as well as references to the practical aspects of the hunt and to

the noble House of Savoy. Baillie-Grohman dismisses the series as frivolous.

66 R. Strong, Van Dyck, Charles I on Horseback, New York, 1972, 61f.

J.S. Held. "Le Roi à la Ciasse," 146.

67 B. Scott, "The Comtesse de Verrue," 20f. Scott suggests that the ties between the House of Savoy (the Countess was Dame d'honneur in the court of Victor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy and great-grandson of Charles I) and the House of Stuart prompted her to buy the painting.

J.S. Held, "Le Roi à la Ciasse," 139.

68 J.B. Thomas, Hounds and Hunting, 190.

The king was certainly aware of the implications of Van Dyck's interpretation since in a formal military portrait painted by Carle Van Loo in 1748 (Musée de Versailles), there is an almost literal transference from Van Dyck's work in the pose of the deferential groom and horse.

69 H. Honour, The European Discovery of America, Cleveland, 1975, 83f.

70 J.R. Martin, Baroque, New York, 1977, 122, 328.

71 J. Bialostocki, "Les Bêtes et les Humains de Roelant Savery," 88.

⁷² W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 184, 194, 195.

Some of the more exotic animals were used for arena combats. Stradanus portrayed such a combat between an auroch and lion with bears and wolves as ancillary participants. In England, during the early seventeenth century, bear-baiting was popular. In Germany, at the court of John George I in Dresden, arena combats between wild animals (white bears from Russia, reindeer, lions and tigers) were staged in honour of the visits of various dignitaries. Wild sheep from Barbary, dromedaries from the East and exotic birds from India were imported into Europe for the pleasure of the courts. In some instances, popular histories mentioned the heroism of the rulers. For example, Philip IV delivered the "coup de grâce" to a bull by a shot from his rifle after the majestic and brave beast had killed several bears and a lion.

⁷³ A. Marie, Naissance de Versailles, Paris, 1968, I, 42.

⁷⁴ P. de Nolhac, La Création de Versailles, Versailles, 1901, 80f.

⁷⁵ G. Mabile, "La Ménagerie de Versailles," G.B.A., 83, 1974, 20. The author refers to the notes taken by Duprez at the time of the restoration of the terms in 1786. Only three myths from the Metamorphoses are mentioned; that of

Acteon, Io and Narcissus or Iancynthe. To-day, all that remains are two stag-headed terms actually in the Pavillon de la Lanterne, Versailles.

Piganiol de la Force, Nouvelle Description des Chasteaux et Parcs de Versailles et de Marly, Paris, 1713, 189. He wrote: "Les sept cours ne sont fermés que par des grilles de fer jointes par des termes de pierre qui représentent quelque sujet de la Métamorphose".

⁷⁶ P. de Nolhac, La Création de Versailles, 218.

⁷⁷ G. Mabilie, "La Ménagerie de Versailles," 16.

Most of the paintings appear to have been executed by Nicasius Bernaerts (1620-1687) a pupil of Snyders and teacher to Desportes. Mabilie discusses mention of these paintings in the inventory established by Bailly in 1709, that of Durameau in 1785, one compiled in the nineteenth century by Villot, and the most recent list by Engerand in 1967. He concludes that there are some badly damaged paintings in the Louvre that correspond to Bailly's description and that these are likely the original canvases by Nicasius.

⁷⁸ A. and J. Marie, Marly, Paris, 1947, 7. There was also a menagerie at Marly which was nothing more than a "salon permettant de voir de haut et commodément des animaux exotiques ou rares."

F. Kimball, "Le Décor du Château la Ménagerie à Versailles," G.B.A., 16, 1936, 245f. According to contemporary

accounts, the king asked the young duchess to select one of the many houses in the park. Since none was suitable, Dangeau noted: "Le Roi a pris sa première résolution là-dessus, qui est de lui donner la véritable ménagerie. On prendra pour faire des jardins quelques-unes des cours où il y a des bêtes présentement, et on lui accomodera et meublera la maison elle la désira."

79 G. Mabilie, "La Ménagerie de Versailles," 31.

80 G. Mabilie, "La Ménagerie de Versailles," 26f.

81 P. de Nolhac, Louis XV et Marie Leczinska, Paris, 1902, 94.

82 H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, Le Goût Chinois en France au Temps de Louis XV, Geneva, 1970, 20.

83 H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, Le Goût Chinois, 45, 220f.

84 H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, Le Goût Chinois, 46, 144f.

85 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 330.

F. Kimball, "Le Décor du Château de la Ménagerie," 254f.

P. de Nolhac, La Création de Versailles, 187. The idea for the construction came from the Ambassade de la Compagnie Orientale des Provinces-Unies vers l'Empereur de

la Chine ou grand Cam de Tartarie, 1655-1657, a book illustrated with a number of engravings among which was one of the famous tower of Nanking. This tower of porcelain, with nine stories articulated by curving eaves, terminated in an object in the shape of a pine cone. The "Trianon de porcelaine" had only one floor. The proliferation of decoration might have been related to that of a chinese pagoda but the use of faience and stucco decorated with the inevitable Italian grotesque motifs, and mixed with some elements derived from Chinese styles resulted in a pastiche.

⁸⁶ H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, Le Goût Chinois, 49, 178.

⁸⁷ H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, Le Goût Chinois, 75.

⁸⁸ H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, Le Goût Chinois, 197-204.

The growth of the French porcelain industry was largely due to the popularity of Chinese objects among the general public. "Chinoiserie" were so sought after that severe fines were imposed upon imports in order to protect French interests.

⁸⁹ H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, Le Goût Chinois, 171.

In the Mercure Galant for the early months of 1700 a variety of festivities with China as the theme are described: a "divertissement" at Marly entitled "Le Roy de Chine"; a ball at Versailles with décor à la Chinoise when the servants and musicians masqueraded "en pagode".

90 H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, Le Goût Chinois, 215f.

91 P. Jean-Richard, François Boucher, gravures et dessins provenant du Cabinet des Dessins et de la Collection Edmond de Rothschild, Paris, 1971, 39.

92 E. Lavissee, Histoire de France illustrée depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution, Paris, 1921, VIII, 193f.

The interest in the Orient was not limited solely to the artists and merchants working for the court. Voltaire derived extensive topoi from the Orient in such works as Zaïre, while Montesquieu, known for his philosophical comments on the devolution of legal treatises, used oriental characters in his Lettres Persanes (1721) for his acerbic criticism of contemporary mores in France. The book was illustrated later by Chardin and Bernard Picard.

93 A.L. Galesloot, La Maison de Chasse, 110.

94 A.L. Galesloot, La Maison de Chasse, 216. The successor to Albert and Isabella, Don Ferdinand, the only brother of Philip IV, increased the hunting establishment at the royal court which attracted foreign nobility such as the Duc de Condé, the Duc d'Enghien, Gaston d'Orléans, Charles IV and the son of Charles I, the future Charles II. The wars of Louis XIV against the Netherlands soon reduced the wealth and size of the royal hunt despite attempts to force the French troops to obey "les lettres de sauvegarde".

Boisfort was sacked by French troops in 1695. Although Maximilian-Emmanuel tried to re-establish the prestige of former times, the Château never regained its past splendour.

⁹⁵ R. Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century, Gloucester, 1964, 49. To prove her point, Kelso also cites a passage from A Short Treatise on Hunting by Sir Thomas Cockaine, 157. "Hunters by their continuall travaile, painfull labour, often watching and enduring of hunger, of hate, of cold, are much enabled above others to the service of their Prince and Countrey in the warres...."

⁹⁶ R. de Salnove, Les Maîtres de la Vénerie, IV, La Vénerie Royale, Paris, 1929, Intro.xxi.

W.H. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 100. Fore-runners to hunting treatises in France might be cited: La Vénerie by Jacques du Fouilloux, published in 1561 and La Chasse au Loup by Jean de Clamorgan, published in 1566. Both texts were often re-edited.

⁹⁷ R. de Salnove, Les Maîtres de la Vénerie, XXIV.

⁹⁸ R. de Salnove, Les Maîtres de la Vénerie, XXIV.

⁹⁹ R. de Salnove, Les Maîtres de la Vénerie, XXIV. In his introduction to the life of Robert de Salnove, the Commandant de Moralles traces the history of the family in

their various positions as masters of the hunt or as military men. He discusses various editions of La Venerie Royale from 1655 to the present edition of 1929, including a book called Art de la Chasse by the Chevalier de Mailly, published in 1715, and based on de Salnove's comments. In addition to the emphasis upon the moral qualities to be derived from the hunt, the book deals with different types of hunting: stag, hare, deer, wolf, bear and fox.

Literary sources from England in the seventeenth century emphasized, as well, the importance of hunting skills. In the introduction to The Gentleman's Recreations, 1697, dedicated to James, Earl of Avingdon, Nicolas Cox remarked that "Hunting is a Game and Recreation commendable not only for king, Princes and the Nobility, but likewise for private gentlemen: and it is a Noble and Healthy Pastime, so it is a thing which hath been highly prized in all ages." He continued to stress that hunting has many advantages to both men and horses: for men, hunting preserves health, increases strength and activity; for horses, the sport develops courage, strength of body and corrects two vices, "Salvageness and Restiveness." These qualities were particularly valued in time of war for "Has our Prince or Country occasion for our Service in the field; on what Horse can we venture our lives more securely than on the Hunter."

Cox recommended Arabian horses for breeding since the Arabs were as careful in establishing the genealogies

of the horses "as Princes in keeping their pedygree." He favoured Spanish horses for any purpose since they were the noblest horse, while Turkish horses were not at all dependable.

100 E. Jullien, La Chasse, Son Histoire, et Sa Législation, Paris, 1867, 270. One good reason for limiting the right to hunt to a restricted group was simple: should the peasants and labourers spend their time in such pursuits, the tax base of the kingdom would be seriously eroded.

101 L. Liger, Amusemens de la Campagne ou Nouvelles ruses innocentes, Paris, 1734, introduction, 2.

102 L. Liger, Amusemens de la Campagne, 3. At the same time, the pleasures of the chase resulted in a life simplified in contrast to that of the cities - perhaps he was thinking of the court life at Versailles. In this bucolic state, man was aided by his dogs, not only in the hunt, but also in war. More importantly, however, dogs were prized for their fidelity to their master under any conditions.

See also: Healthful Amusements and Ingenious Exercises: or the Nobleman's Pocket Companion in Sports and Recreations, London, c.1720, Intro. The recommendations contained in this text are along the same lines as in the above book. "Hunting being a recreation that challenges the sublime Epithets of Royal, Manly and warlike, for its

"Sateliness, Cunning and Indurance, claims above all other sports the Precedancy." The author then discusses the rules to be observed at all times, the types of hounds, the species of quarry, and above all, he places emphasis on riding skills: "to ride well the great Horse for the wars of service; and the Horse for pleasure."

103 E. Jullien, La Chasse, Son Histoire et Sa Législation, 311-312.

104 E.J.F. Barbier, Journal Historique, I, 211.

105 E.J.F. Barbier, Journal Historique, II, 183-213.

Despite his growing family, Louis looked elsewhere for pleasure especially in the company of Madame la Comtesse de Mailly. Barbier approved since the King became more moderate in his habits: "Le roi commence à prendre goût aux plaisirs ordinaires. Il n'y a pas grand mal qu'il se défasse peu à peu de la fureur qu'il avait pour la chasse qui, répétée tous les jours, en tout temps, et en toute saison ne pouvait qu'altérer son tempérament et lui rendre l'esprit sombre et sauvage."

106 M. Marais, Journal et Mémoires de Mathieu Marais, Geneva, II, 366. Throughout the Mémoires of the Duc de Luynes, a circumspect and loyal member of the court, there are numerous references to Louis XV's passion for hunting. He was inevitably surrounded by a few select noblemen who excelled in horsemanship and by the required number of valets

needed for the hunt. The link between military life and the pursuit of the hunt is still apparent.

¹⁰⁷ F. Bluche, La Vie Quotidienne de la Noblesse française au XVIII^e Siècle, Paris, 1973, 189. Most nobles required to attend court ceremonies at Versailles had neither the time nor the money to maintain extensive hunting establishments on their own lands. Those who did, however, provided for the participants all the elements of a royal hunt. The event began with a hunt supper on the eve of the chase. The next morning, splendidly dressed hunters in blue coats and white trousers garnished with silver braids and wearing knife sheathes of red velvet assembled on the terrace of the Château along with the "piqueurs" (outriders) and packs of dogs. The hunting horns sounded "le départ" and the group set forth. Once the stag was sighted, the dogs set upon it until the beast was brought to bay amidst the excitement of the sound of hunting horns and galloping horses. The hunting party was acclaimed by the peasants along the return route to the château.

CHAPTER III: NOTES

108 H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, I, 51. It is true that Desportes was painting animal pieces at the same time as Oudry and the painters of the Amiens Hunting Series, but he remained faithful to the tradition of the exacting naturalism of the great seventeenth-century "animaliers". Opperman analyses the differences between the canvases of Desportes and Oudry and sees in the work of the latter many innovative elements that led to the Rococo style of painting. I feel that it is a question of the degree of complexity in the basic compositional structure adopted by the two artists. In the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Hôtel Guénégonde, Paris, there are many water-colours of landscapes, animals and exotic birds by Desportes as well as paintings by Oudry.

109 H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, I, 44.

P. de Nolhac, Louis XV et Marie Leczinska, Paris, 1902, 256. De Nolhac says that Oudry was painting master to the Queen. See M. Jallut, "Marie Leczinska et la Peinture," G.B.A., LXXIII, 1969, 316f. who disproves this assertion.

110 J. Adhémar and S. Lifar and others, Louis XV, Un Moment de Perfection de l'Art Français, Paris, 1974, 270-271.

H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, I, 85f.

111 C. Maumené and L. d'Harcourt, Iconographie des Rois de France, Paris, 1931, XVI, 380f. The titles of the nine tapestries are: La Chasse au cerf dans la rivière Oïse, en vue de Compiègne; Le Rendez-vous du Puits-du-Roi; Prise d'un cerf dans l'étang de Saint-Jean-Aux-Bois; La Chasse au cerfs dans les rochers de Franchard; Le Limier ou Louis XV faisant le bois; Le Relais à la Patte-d'Oie; La Meute conduite par les piquers au rendez-vous; La Curée; Le Fort Hu ou petite curée.

See also H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, I, 91. The author suggests that this series really ought to be regarded as true "history" paintings.

112 Oudry's early education was under Nicolas de Largillierre (1656-1746), a portrait painter, and member of the Académie Saint-Luc as well as of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture.

H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, I, 89. The author writes; "It is curious that Oudry, directly on receiving the Chasses royales commission for the Gobelins in 1733, stopped designing the history and figure pieces he had been doing for Beauvais-- for him atypical and more difficult."

113 W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 329. One reason for the emphasis placed on stag-hunting by Ridinger was the pervasive influence of the French Court in Germany.

F. Bluche, La Vie Quotidienne de la Noblesse française au XVIII Siècle, 121-188. The King's hunting establishment was naturally the finest in the land, At one point, his kennels cost 120,000 pounds, and each of his English dogs was worth 1,000 pounds. In 1740, the stables of the King consisted of the following: thirty-five horses for his personal use; sixty horses for his "piquers"; fifty-five for his "équippages"; twenty-five for wolf-hunting and one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty for his guests. Reserved for the "Mesdames de France" were twenty-five horses, mostly of English stock. The total cost for the hunts in 1740 amounted to 250,000 pounds.

J.B.H.R. Capefrique, Louis XV et la Société du XVIII Siècle, Brussels, 1843, 64. Capefrique publishes the financial statement for the King's revenues and expenditures for 1726. For example, expenses for "vénerie et fauconnerie" amounted to 650,000 pounds, for "musique et chapelle" to 500,000 pounds, for "bâtiments ordinaires des maisons royales, jardiniers et fontaines" to 1,950,000 pounds.

C. Hallo, De la Cape à la Botte, Paris, 1951, 73. The author notes that the most prized horses came from England: Louis XV rode Courtaults imported from Suffolk because they were both majestic and swift. The King also imported hunters from Yorkshire.

H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, I, 85. In 1728, Oudry was ordered to follow the hunt in order to

prepare a large painting of the members of royalty who participated in a stag hunt near Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

114 R. Bacou and others, Le Cabinet d'un Grand Amateur, P.-J. Mariette, 1694-1774, 141.

L. Courajod, Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux 1748-1758, Paris, 1965, I, cclix.

115 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 294.

116 A. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France 1500-1600, 201f.

P. de Nolhac, La Création de Versailles,

A. Marie, Naissance de Versailles,

See also, A. and J. Marie, Mansart à Versailles, Paris, 1972. and Versailles au Temps de Louis XIV, Paris, 1976.

117 P. de Nolhac, La Création de Versailles, 10.

118 A. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700, 202. Plate 156A is an illustration of the garden front after Le Vau engraved by Louis Silvestre. On page 25 in P. de Nolhac, La Création de Versailles, is a reproduction of the engraving, again by Louis Silvestre, of "le Château de Louis XIII."

119 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 284.

P. de Nolhac, Louis XV et Marie Leczinska, 114.

In 1725, Louis XV married Marie Leczinska, daughter of Stanislaus, King of Poland. In 1737, some twelve years later, Louis XV had become father to ten legitimate children. He remained faithful to the Queen until 1733 when his dalliance with a number of distinguished ladies began. The first was Madame du Mailly, replaced successively by her sisters, the Countess de Vintimille and the Duchess de Châteauroux. Madame de Pompadour exerted influence upon the King from 1745 until her death in 1764. Madame du Barry came to the King's attention in 1767.

120 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 296.

P. Verlet, Versailles, Paris, 1961, 506f.

121 F. Kimball, The Creation of the Rococo, 175.

P. Verlet, Versailles, 547.

122 H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 39.

123 H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 38.

124 J. Levron, Louis le Bien-Aimé, 120.

125 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 363(fn 103). Orry was dismissed in 1745, a date which corresponds to the rise to power of Madame de Pompadour, and her uncle, Lenormement, de Tournehem.

126 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 119.

127 H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 28.

128 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 265.

129 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 272.

130 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 284, 387(fn60).

131 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 296.

132 H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, II, Figs.16, 30, 32.

133 P. Verlet, Versailles, 550. Some indication concerning the difficulties in locating the exact position of each of the paintings is suggested by the author. At some point, the "antichambre" between the "petite galerie" and the King's library was transformed into a "salle à manger d'hiver", where for a time La Chasse au Crocodile, La Chasse au Taureau Sauvage and La Chasse à l'Autruche were hung.

134 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 261f.

135 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 284f.

136 H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 38.

137 H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 36f.

Although there is no proof that Orry followed closely the re-organization of the King's private apartments, there is evidence that Orry's successor, Lenormement de Tournehem, did take an active interest in all details concerning the King's residences. It might be suggested that the latter was merely following a well-established pattern.

138 L. Courajod, Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux 1748-1755, I, clxxii.

139 J.B.H.R. Capefigure, Louis XV et la Société, 112f.

The author writes in the following manner about the noble class in France: "Leurs pères étaient Lieutenants ou Maréchaux sous la tente; eux apprenaient le métier des armes, le seul et unique état pour la noblesse: ils étaient pages de cour, gentilhommes de la chambre toujours l'épée au poing, prêts à défendre et sacrifier leur vie pour leur souverain... La vie courageuse et agitée sous la tente, aux sièges: gagner le cordon rouge, devenir chevalier des ordres du Roi était

la plus grande ambition, et les colonels de vingt ans servaient à la tête des mousquetaires, des chevaux légers ou des gardes française avec l'intrépidité des vieux soldats."

140 H.A.L. Fisher, A History of Europe, London, 1936, 265.

141 J. Levron, Louis le Bien-Aimé, 197.

142 V. Scully, Lecture on Versailles, Alcan Series, McGill University, 1977.

143 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 107.

144 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 118. Permitting artists to chose their Academy reception piece seems to have become common practice since the time of Watteau.

145 A.C.P. de Caylus and M.F. Dandré-Bardon, Vie d'Edme Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roi, Vie de Carle Van Loo. Geneva, 1973, 58, 196.

146 J.B.H.R. Capefrique, Louis XV et la Société, 161.

147 J.-B.-C.I. Delisle de Sales, Dictionnaire théorique et pratique, II, 226.

148 Tracts 1621-1641, B.M. C.175 M.32, part 10, 9.

W.G. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 133.

149 J. Greenwood, Wild Sports of the World, London, 1862, 334f.

150 L. Dimier, Les Peintres français du XVIII Siècle, Paris and Brussels, 1928, II, 4.

151 A.C.P. Caylus, Vie d'Artistes du XVIII Siècle, Paris, 1910, 30.

152 Mémoires inédits sur la Vie et les Ouvrages des membres de l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, Paris, 1854, II, 282. There is an interesting connection between de Troy and Boucher. De Troy's Naissance de Vénus (Charlottenbourg, Berlin) was engraved by Fessard in 1731 (one copy in the Jean-Louis and Renée Baudoin Collection, Montreal). In Boucher's painting of 1740 of the same subject, he followed almost exactly the composition of de Troy.

153 J.B.H.R. Capefrique, Louis XV et la Société, 14f.

154 M. Marais, Journal et Mémoires de Mathieu Marais, Geneva, 1967, II, 360.

A.C.P. de Caylus, Voyage en Italie 1714-1715, Paris, 1914, 239. See the amusing incident when he narrowly escaped capture by Turkish pirates off the coast of Malta.

155 E. Parrocel, Monographie des Parrocel, Marseille, 1861, 47.

156 E. Parrocel, Monographie des Parrocel, 55.

157 E. Parrocel, Monographie des Parrocel, 60, Parrocel cites Charles Blanc, who wrote: "...qu'un aussi habile peintre de chevaux que M. Charles Parrocel aurait dû avoir succès dans le grand monde, où l'amour des chevaux est une manière de distinction et d'élégance...." Yet, Parrocel was often unemployed, whereas Lancrét, with his "conversations galantes et ses gentilleses faisait les délices de la haute bourgeoisie et de la cour."

158 E. Parrocel, Monographie des Parrocel, 58.

159 P. de Nolhac, La Création de Versailles, 20..

160 E. Parrocel, Monographie des Parrocel, 55.

161 L. Courajod, Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux 1748-1755, I, clxxxiii. An illustration of Parrocel's concern for exact detail is the notation in Duvaux's journal to the effect that the artist borrowed the uniforms worn by the King and the Dauphin during the siege of Fontenay, Lawfeldt, Fribourg and Tournay.

E. Parrocel, Monographie des Parrocel, 67.

162 J.R. Martin, Baroque, New York, 1977, Appendix A, 271f.

163 W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 130.

164 J. Thuillier and others, Charles Le Brun 1619-1690 Peintre et Dessinateur, Paris, 1963, 291.

165 W.A. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 165.

166 J.B.H.R. Capefrique, Louis XV et la Société, 115.

Perhaps the popularity of plays based on the Spanish court dramas had some influence. Gil Blas de Santillane by Lesage, published in 1715 and 1724 is an example.

It might be suggested that other sources informed the artist's imagination. Surely the violently-splayed dog tossed across the back of the bull is an acknowledgement of the spirited game-pieces painted by Frans Snyders.

167 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture in the Eighteenth Century in France, 24.

168 A.C.P. de Caylus, Vies d'Artistes du XVIII Siècle, 70.

169 B. Lossky, Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Peintures du XVIII Siècle, Paris, 1962, 55, 58, 59, 60.

F. Watson, Wallace Collection Catalogues, Paintings and drawings, London, 1970, I, 163f.

170 J.J. Guiffrey, Nicolas Lancret, Sa Vie et Son Oeuvre, Paris, (nd), 34.

171 P.-J. Mariette, Abecedario, Paris, 1851-1853, III, 55.

172 J.J. Guiffrey, Nicolas Lancret, Sa Vie et Son Oeuvre, 32.

173 M. Sérullaz, Great Drawings of the Louvre Museum, The French Drawings, New York, 1968, 34.

174 J.J. Guiffrey, Nicolas Lancret, Sa Vie et Son Oeuvre, 27.

175 I am grateful to Dr. R. Sattler, Department of Biology, McGill University, who identified the family of plants for me, and to Dr. A. Muhammed, who gave me a guided tour of the greenhouse in the Stewart Biology Building.

176 R. Le Strange, A History of Herbal Plants, New York, 1977, 43.

177 L. Hourticq, "L'Atelier de François Desportes," G.B.A., 2, 1920, 129. In his comments about the artist's custom to draw after life, the author writes that Desportes did not neglect rare plants: "Les plantes rares ne sont pas oubliées, et bon nombre de ses esquisses semblent des projets d'illustration pour quelque somptueux traité de botanique..."

comme La Fontaine avait écrit un poème "sur le quinquina, il peignit de grand "plantes des Indes", du manioc, du tabac et "un grand arbre dont le fruit est la caffè".

178 H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 92.

179 H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 106.

180 H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 107, II, plan 90.

181 B. Scott, "Madame du Barry, A Royal Favourite with Taste," Apollo, XCVII, 1973, 61.

182 D. Posner, "The True Path of Fragonard's Progress of Love," B.M., 114, 1972, 533.

183 B. Scott, "Madame du Barry, A Royal Favourite with Taste," 67. The pavilion designed by C.N. Ledoux on the grounds of the Château at Louvciennes was, despite the severity of the neo-classical design, decorated with statues of goddesses by Pajou and Lecomte, and by a series of tapestries based on cartoons by Boucher, Pierre, Carle Van Loo and Vien. In her collection were the Toilet of Venus and Bacchus and Adriane by Vouet, and Van Dyck's portrait of Charles I. Her taste was not as severely neo-classical as implied by Posner.

184 E. Parrocel, Monographie des Parrocel, 121f.

A. Ananoff, François Boucher, II, 26.

¹⁸⁵ P. de Nolhac, La Création de Versailles, 188.

F. Kimball, "Le Décor du Château de la Ménagerie à Versailles," G.B.A., 16, 1936, 256. A view of the Grand Trianon painted in the seventeenth century by Pierre-Denis Martin shows a group of horsemen close to the picture plane in the centre front. Perhaps it is Louis XIV himself on the white charger in the middle of the group. In the courtyard directly in front of the Trianon, another group of horsemen are parading in a circular formation: they appear to be practising "curvettes" or "caprioles".

¹⁸⁶ F. Kimball, "La transformation des Appartements de Trianon sous Louis XIV", G.B.A., 19, 1938, 110.

P. Verlet, Versailles, 572f.

CHAPTER IV: NOTES

¹⁸⁷ There is some confusion about the original title of the painting referred to as La Chasse au Léopard. In 1736, mention is made of a Chasse au Lion by Boucher for the "petits appartements du Roi" at Versailles. The painting was also known under the title of La Chasse au Tigre, and is so named in the accounts for the "Bâtiments de Roi" and in the 1764 description of the King's gallery by Piganiol de la Force. It should be noted as well that Lancret's La Chasse au Tigre was called La Chasse aux Léopards by the same author in 1764. P. Jean-Richard, Boucher, Gravures, Dessins, Paris, 1970, 13, and L'Oeuvre Gravé de François Boucher, Paris 1978, 252, refers to both a Chasse au Lion and a Chasse au Tigre. The following authors use only Chasse au Tigre: A. Michel, François Boucher, Paris, 1906, 30; H. Racinais, Un Versailles Inconnu, I, 38; A. Ananoff, François Boucher, I, 125; and L. Dimier, Les Peintres français du XVIIIe Siècle, II, 17. La Chasse au Léopard seems to be a twentieth-century appellation. The beast in question appears to be a leopard, and is so named in the photographs supplied by Giraudon, Paris, and in the two catalogues from Amiens: A. Boinet, Le Musée d'Amiens, Musée de Picardie, 30, and R. Richard, Le Musée de Picardie, Amiens, 1970, 19. Peter Paul Rubens, however, did not confuse the leopard species with any other member of the feline family, as witnessed by his letter to

Sir Dudley Carleton a propos the large canvas, The Leopards, now in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. See. R.S. Magurn, The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens, Cambridge, (Mass.) 1955, 61.

188 P. Jean-Richard, Boucher, Gravures, Dessins, II.

A. Sensier, Journal de Rosalba Carriera, Paris, 1865. It is interesting to note that Boucher's background was similar to that of Rosalba Carriera who achieved fame in Paris in the early 1720's.

189 P.-J. Mariette, Abecédario, I, 165.

190 H. Voss, "François Boucher's Early Development," B.M., XCV, 1953, 81f.

J.E. Ruch, "An Album of Early Drawings by François Boucher," B.M., CVI, 1964, 499.

191 J.E. Ruch, "An Album," 499. In the revised curriculum for the Ecole royale des Elèves protégés founded by de Tournehem in 1747, the Histoire de France was a recommended text.

192 A. Michel, François Boucher, 10.

193 J.E. Ruch, "An Album," 500. Ruch discusses, in particular, the dependency of Boucher upon Lemoyne.

194 H. Voss, "François Boucher's Early Development," 80f.

195 A. Ananoff, François Boucher, I, 256f. This two-volume edition is particularly useful for illustrations of the work of Boucher, but only with reference to those which are signed and dated.

196 P. de Nolhac, Boucher, Premier Peintre du Roi, Paris, 1925, 29f.

197 A. Ananoff, François Boucher, I, 12.

W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 288, 387(fn72).

A. Michel, Les Artistes Célèbres, F. Boucher, Paris, 1886, 49.

198 J. Tiersot, Histoire de la Chanson Populaire en France, Paris, 1889, 216f.

199 A. Ananoff, François Boucher, I, 25.

P. Jean-Richard, Boucher, Gravures, Dessins, 14.

200 H.C. Wolff, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, I. Oper, Szene und Darstellung von 1600 bis 1900, Leipzig, 1968, 48f.

201 D. Diderot, ed., by J. Seznec and J. Adhémar, Salons, Oxford, 1957, II, 238f.

202 A. Ananoff, François Boucher, II, 127f. The author has conveniently collected together all this material.

203 A. Fontaine, Les Doctrines, 40.

204 J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, Rubens La Galerie Medicis au Palais du Luxembourg, 137.

205 J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, Rubens La Galerie Medicis au Palais du Luxembourg, 139.

206 J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, Rubens La Galerie Medicis au Palais du Luxembourg, 139.

207 C. Scribner III, "Sacred Architecture: Rubens's Eucharist Tapestries," A.B., 57, 1975, 519-528.

N. de Poorter, The Eucharist Tapestry Series (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part II), London-Philadelphia, 1978.

208 R.A. Ingrams, "Rubens and Persia," B.M., 116, 1974, 190-197. Illus. no. 35.

209 A. Ananoff, François Boucher, I, 14.

210 J.R. Martin, The Decoration for the Pompa Introita Ferdinandi (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part II), New York, 1971, 48f, plate 2.

211 S. Alpers, Torre de la Parada, 169.

212 L. de Pauw-de Veen, "Rubens and the Graphic Arts," The Connoisseur, 195, 1977, 249.

213 J. Bouchot-Saupique, La Peinture Flamande du XVII Siècle du Musée du Louvre, Brussels, 1974, 4.

M. Sérullaz, Rubens, Ses Maîtres, Ses Elèves, Paris, 1978, 107.

214 L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, Rubens' Drawings, Brussels, 1963, 90.

215 A. Michel, François Boucher, 105. The author wrote: "quatorze dessins et une esquisse" but we do not know if the "esquisse" was in oils. He lists as well one-hundred and thirty-seven engravings by Tiepolo, one-hundred and thirty-five drawings by Carlo Maratta, paintings by Jordaens, Teniers, Ruysdael, Berghem, and Pietro da Cortona.

R.S. Slatkin, "Portraits of François Boucher", Apollo, XCIV, 1971, 291(fnl6). Slatkin refers to the "catalogue raisonné" of the artist's effects established at the time of his death - a document that I have been unable to consult.

L. Courajod, Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux 1748-1755, I, cclx. Since Duvaux was more interested in rare objects such as shells and minerals, he does not list the drawings and prints in Boucher's collection.

216 T.L. Glen, Rubens and the Counter Reformation, New York, 1977, 9.

²¹⁷ A. Ananoff, François Boucher, I, fig.440.

P. de Nolhac, Boucher, Premier Peintre du Roi,

31.. In commenting upon Boucher's dependency upon Italian masters such as Guido Reni, Lanfranco, Albani and Pietro da Cortona, de Nolhac wrote:

....on ne connaît ces toiles que par quelques gravures de Cars et de Daullé: elles suffisent à indiquer les hésitations d'un art qui se cherche et n'a pas encore trouvé sa voie. Si les gestes sont déclamatoires et les draperies trop agitées, la composition sait harmonieusement s'équilibrer; les personnages se disposent en groupes habiles et pittoresques; on devine même d'heureux effets de clair-obscur, dans ces tableaux oubliés qu'on ne retrouverait pas sans intérêt. Un critique, qui les avait vus, loua, après la mort du peintre, des oeuvres où se révélaient, sous l'influence toute fraîche des maîtres italiens, "des beautés mâles et vigoureuses"; il parut regretter que l'auteur, arraché trop vite à ces modèles, eût bon marché de la virilité et de la vigueur.

²¹⁸ H. Voss, "François Boucher's Early Development," 86.

Voss mentions that he saw the painting in Berlin in 1927.

It is a small work done in monochrome.

219 J. R. Martin, The Antwerp Altarpieces, New York, 1969, 39f.

T.L. Glen, Rubens and the Counter Reformation, 38.

220 J.R. Martin, The Antwerp Altarpieces, plate 33.

221 R.S. Slatkin, François Boucher in North American Collections: 100 Drawings, 24.

222 D. Rosand, "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt," 29f.

223 M. Rooses, L'Oeuvre de P.P. Rubens, Antwerp, 1886, IV, 329f.

224 D. Rosand, "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt," 35.

W.G. Baillie-Grohman, Sport in Art, 195. A measure of the difficulty involved in using this book as an art historical text can be gleaned from the author's comment to the effect that "there is nothing very illuminative in the vast canvases of Rubens' various wild-boar, lion and tiger hunts distributed all over Europe's principal galleries." He does make an exception, however, for the Boar Hunt in the Dresden Gallery.

225 J.S. Held, "Rubens' Leopards-A Milestone in the Portrayal of Wild Animals." M 27, 7, 1975, 5f. A more satisfactory and encompassing explanation of the painting was developed during Professor T. Glen's seminar on the art of Rubens and Poussin in 1976 at McGill University. Professor

Glen presented his comments subsequently in a talk at Columbia University during the Fall of 1977 under the title "Thoughts on Rubens's The Leopards in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts."

226 D. Rosand, "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt," 36.

227 R. Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman, 154f.

228 See discussion under Note I to this chapter.

In a recent discussion, Professor D. T. Sloate, Dept. de Linguistique, Université de Montréal, noted that the confusion in the identity of lions, tigers and leopards was widespread in the literature of Post-Renaissance Europe.

229 Pliny the Elder, Natural History (translated by H. Rackham), Cambridge, (Mass.) 1938, III, 33.

230 Tracts 1621-41, B.M. C.175 M.32.

231 J.-B.-C.I. Delisle de Sales, Dictionnaire théorique et pratique, II, 398.

232 E. Topsell, The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes, London, 1607, 709. In the margin, Topsell cited Philostratus as his source. I have been unable to find such a reference in the works of either Philostratus the Elder or the Younger. It is interesting to note, however, that in hunting literature,

there is a persistent reference to the fact that tigers and leopards can be hunted by using their cubs as decoys. See T. Landseer and J.H. Barrow, Characteristic Sketches of Animals, London, 1832, under Leopard (no pagination) and J. Greenwood, Wild Sports of the World, 202, who includes an engraving of a leopard attracted to a trap with a mirror as the bait. The last two sources cited were written in the nineteenth century.

233 A. Dent, Animals in Art, New York, 1976, 14.

J. Vergnet-Ruiz in L. Dimier, Les Peintres Français du XVIII Siècle, II, 165.

H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, I, 271.

234 H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, I, 484.

235 H.N. Opperman, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, I, 113.

236 P. Jean-Richard, L'Oeuvre Gravé de François Boucher, 16.

237 J. Gérard, Louis XV le Mal Connû, Paris, 1968, 74.

238 A. Blunt, Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700, 203.

239 C. Maumené and L. d'Harcourt, Iconographie des Rois de France, XIV, 195.

240 Other possibilities based on mythology might be suggested. For instance, Hippomenes preserved his integrity

by deflecting Atalanta in the famous foot-race by throwing golden apples in her path. In a turn-of-the-century interpretation by Bon de Boullongue of the subject which is now in the Hermitage, Leningrad, the event is no longer interpreted by a breathless pursuit of victor and victim:

Hippomenes is crowned by the ubiquitous laurel wreath; at the feet of Atalanta is the golden apple of her defeat which, as far as one can tell, could be a golden ball. Is Boucher, in his painting, simply grafting upon the hunt scene a symbol which, by 1736, had lost its original significance? Again, in one of his later paintings, Venus and Cupid with Doves, 1745 (Wallace Collection, London), Cupid presents to Venus the golden apple awarded to her by Paris. The globe in his hunting painting is similar to the apple of Venus. The relation, if there is one, remains obscure.

Another thought comes to mind. Bacchus, is associated with leopards, with wine and with the regeneration of life. Venus, too, is connected with life-giving forces, but can one presume that Boucher would make such a casuistical reference in a hunting scene designed to grace the King's private gallery, unless, of course, it is a comment on the King's feats and feasts? Is the globe meant to symbolize the affairs of state: a sardonic gloss upon the King's preference for the hunt to the problems of the nation? I think not since Boucher's successful career would soon have been terminated.

241 Pliny the Elder, Natural History, VIII, 67f.

242 J.-B.-C.I. Delisle de Sales, Dictionnaire théorique et pratique, I, 274.

243 J.-B.-C.I. Delisle de Sales, Dictionnaire théorique et pratique, I, 274.

244 J.-B.-C.I. Delisle de Sales, Dictionnaire théorique et pratique, I, 275.

245 A. Blunt, "Further Newly Identified Drawings by Poussin and his Followers," Master Drawings, XVII, 1979, illus. 12.

246 A. Blunt, Nicolas Poussin, New York, 1967, I, 160f.

247 Other canvases by Boucher suggest that he was influenced by Poussin. Almost all of Boucher's gods and goddesses are painted with the same mask-like features as the figures in Poussin's history paintings. A recognised academic source for the expression of the passions was, of course, Lebrun's Traité des Passions, derived partly from Poussin, partly from Descartes. Critical comment rarely denigrates Poussin's abstract interpretation of philosophical texts, yet Boucher is often the target for hostile criticism based on his lack of "vérité". He may simply have tried to follow in the steps of one of the national heroes of France.

248 H.A.L. Fisher, A History of Europe, 740.

249 P. Patte, Monuments Erigées en France à la Gloire de Louis XV, Paris, 1765, 21.

250 J.-P. Rameau, Oeuvres Complètes, New York, 1968, VI, 301f.

CHAPTER V: NOTES

251 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 192f.

A. Brookner, Greuze, the Rise and Fall of an Eighteenth-century Phenomenon, Greenwich, (Conn.), 1972, 50f.

J. Locquin, La Peinture d'Histoire en France entre 1747 à 1785, Paris, 1912, 71f.

252 W.G. Kalnein and M. Levey, Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France, 191.

253 A. Ananoff, François Boucher, I, 136.

254 D. Diderot, ed., by J. Seznec and J. Adhémar
Salons, IV, 377.

255 P. Jean-Richard, L'Oeuvre Gravé de Boucher, 75f.

256 D. Rosand, "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt," 29.

L. Eitner, Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1750-1850, Englewood Cliffs, (N.J.), 1970, II, 4f.

257 E. Jullien, La Chasse, Son Histoire et Sa Législation, 345. It is interesting to read the decrees published in 1789 which counteracted the previous prerogatives of the king and nobles. Everyone had the right to hunt which led to a good deal of abuse. Robespierre's remark is illuminating with respect to the excesses perpetuated in the name of the

Rights of Man: "Je soutiens que la chasse n'est point une faculté qui dérive de la propriété... La chasse doit être libre à tout citoyen indistinctement... Je réclame donc la liberté illimitée de la chasse...."

258 E. Jullien, La Chasse, Son Histoire et Sa Législation, 359.

259 P. de Nolhac, La Création de Versailles, 12.

260 A. Boiret, Le Musée d'Amiens, Musée de Picardie, 6.
R. Marquery, L'Hôtel de Ville d'Amiens (Notes distributed by the Hôtel de Ville) (nd).

261 G.H. Hamilton, 19th and 20th Century Art Painting Sculpture Architecture, New York, (nd), 56.

262 E. Jullien, La Chasse, Son Histoire et Sa Législation, 367f. Although the re-instated members of the Bourbon family and the nobility lost no time in re-establishing their former privileges, the traditional hunt did not regain its former splendour until Napoleon III and the Second Empire.

263 E. Delacroix, Journal de Eugène Delacroix, Paris, 1932, I, 97.

264 E. Delacroix, Journal, I, 99.

265 F.A. Trapp, The Attainment of Delacroix, Baltimore, 1971, 113f.

M. Sérullaz, Delacroix, Watercolours of Morocco, Paris, 1951.

266 E. Delacroix, Journal, I, 168.

G.P. Mras, Eugène Delacroix's Theory of Art, Princeton, 1966, 69f.

267 E. Delacroix, Journal, I, 169.

268 E. Delacroix, Journal, I, 161f.

269 E. Delacroix, Journal, I, 162f.

270 C. Duncan, The Pursuit of Pleasure; The Rococo Revival in French Romantic Art, 87.

271 E. Delacroix, Journal, I, 222f.

272 E. Delacroix, Journal, II, I.

273 F.A. Trapp, The Attainment of Delacroix, 284f.

274 M. Sérullaz, Les Peintures Murales de Delacroix, Paris, 1963, 114. See also J.R. Martin, The Antwerp Altarpieces, 75.

275 B. Lossky, "Le Plafond de François Boucher au Cabinet du Conseil du Château de Fontainebleau," Revue du Louvre, 1967, 257f.

B. Lossky, The National Museum of the Château de Fontainebleau, Paris, 1971, 134.

276 F.A. Trapp, The Attainment of Delacroix, 288.

J. Thorval, Les Grandes Etapes de la Civilization Française, Paris, 1967, 911. Louis-Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon I, stepped in to quell the strife between the socialist and radical factions late in 1848. He was Emperor in all but name according to H.A.L. Fisher.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Accademia di Francia a Roma, Nicolas Poussin 1594-1665,
Rome, 1977.

Adhémar, J. La Gravure Originale au 18e Siècle, Paris, 1963.

Adhémar, J. and Lifar, S. and others. Louis XV Un Moment de
Perfection de l'art Français, Paris, 1974.

Age of Elegance: The Rococo and Its Effects, Baltimore, 1959.

Alaux, J.-P. Académie de France à Rome, Ses Directeurs, Ses
Pensionnaires, Paris, 1933.

Aldrovandi, U. Collected Works, thirteen volumes, Bologna,
1638-63.

Alexandre, A. Histoire de la Peinture Militaire en France,
Paris, (nd).

Alfoss, P. "Les tapisseries des 'Chasses de Maximilien',"
G.B.A., I, 1920, 127-140.

Allan, W. "A Princely Pastime," The Connoisseur, 196, 1977, 240-243.

Alpers, S. The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada
(Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part IX),
London and New York, 1971.

Alpers, S. "Manner and Meaning in some Rubens mythologies,"

J.W.C.I., 30, 1967, 272-295.

Ananoff, A. François Boucher, two volumes, Lausanne-Paris,
1976.

_____. L'Oeuvre dessiné de Boucher (1703-1770), Paris,
1966.

_____. "Un Oudry perdu et retrouvé," L'Oeil, 276-281,
1978, 18-19.

Anderson, J.K. Xenophon, London, 1974.

Avermaete, R. Rubens et son temps, Brussels, 1977.

Anthony, J.R. French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to
Rameau, London, 1973.

Appelbaum, S. The Triumph of Maximilian I, 137 woodcuts by
Hans Burgkmair and others, New York, 1964.

Appuhn, H. Die Jagd als Sinnbild in Der Norddeutschen Kunst
des Mittelalters, Hamburg, 1964.

The Arabian Nights' Entertainments translated by E.W. Lane,
Boston, 1853.

Argenvillier, A.J.D. d'. Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux
peintres, two volumes, Paris, 1745.

Arquié-Bruley, F. "Les Graveurs Amateurs Français du XVIII^e Siècle," Nouvelles de l'estampe, 50, 1980, 5-14.

Ashton, M. "Allegory, Fact and Meaning in Giannbattista Tiepolo's Four Continents in Wurzburg," A.B., 60, 1978, 109-125.

Aubertin, C. L'esprit public au XVIII^e Siècle, Geneva, 1968.

Babelon, J. Histoire et Description des Bâtiments des Archives Nationales, Paris, 1969.

Bacou, R. and others. Le Cabinet d'un Grand Amateur, P.-J. Mariette, 1694-1774, Paris, 1967.

Baillie-Grohman, W.A. Sport in Art, New York and London, 1925.

Banier, A. The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients Explain'd from History London 1739-40, four volumes, New York, 1976.

Banks, O.T. Watteau and the North, Studies in the Dutch and Flemish Baroque Influence on French Rococo Painting, New York, 1977.

Barbier, E.J.F. Journal Historique et Anecdotique du Règne de Louis XV. Four volumes, Paris, 1847.

Bartsch, A. Le Peintre graveur, Volume 11, XVII, Vienna, 1818.

Basan, F. Dictionnaire des Graveurs anciens et modernes depuis l'origine de la gravure, two volumes, Paris 1789.

Baudelaire, C. Eugène Delacroix, Paris, 1927.

Baudoin, J. Recueil d'Emblèmes Divers, Hildesheim and New York, 1977.

Baudouin, F. Rubens et son Siècle, Paris and Antwerp, 1972.

Baverel, P.J. Notices sur les graveurs, Besançon, 1808.

Bazin, G. Baroque and Rococo Art, New York, 1964.

Belevitch-Stankevitch, H. Le Goût Chinois en France au Temps de Louis XIV, Geneva, 1970.

Bénézit, E. Dictionnaire critique et documentaires des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs, volumes III, IV, VI, VIII, X, Paris, 1976.

Benoit, M. Musiques de Cour, Chapelle, Chambre, Ecurie 1661-1733, Paris, 1971.

Berton, C. and others. Les Spectacles à Travers les Ages, Paris, 1932.

Bialostocki, J. "Les Bêtes et les Humains de Roelant Savery," Bulletin, Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts de Belgique, 7, 1958, 69-89.

Blanchard, E. Les Poissons des Eaux douces de la France, Paris, 1800.

Bluche, F. La Vie Quotidienne de la Noblesse française au XVIIIe Siècle, Paris, 1973.

Blum, A. Abraham Bosse et la Société française au Dix-Septième Siècle, Paris, 1924.

Blunt, A. Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700, Baltimore, 1970.

_____. Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600, London, 1968.

Blunt, A. and Lockspeiser, E. French Art and Music since 1500, London 1972.

Blunt, A. The French Drawings in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle, London, 1945.

_____. "Further Newly Identified Drawings by Poussin and His Followers," Master Drawings, XXII, 1979, 119-146.

_____. Nicolas Poussin, two volumes, New York, 1967.

Böhme, M. Die Grossen Reisesammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung, Amsterdam, 1952.

Boinet, A. Le Musée d'Amiens, Musée de Picardie, Paris, 1928.

Bouche, J. "Servandoni (1695-1766)," G.B.A., IV, 1910, 121-146.

Bouchot-Saupique, J. La Peinture flamande du XVIIe Siècle au Musée du Louvre, Brussels, 1947.

Boudard, J.B. Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs, volume I, Vienna, 1766.

Bret. "Eloge historique de M. Boucher Paris 1776, extraits du "Nécrologie des hommes célèbres de France, 1767-1787", " Revue Universelle des Arts, XII, 1860-1861, 193-200.

Brice, G. Nouvelle Description de Paris, Amsterdam, 1718.

Brookner, A. "Art Historians and Art Criticas-VII: Charles Beaudelaire," B.M., 106, 1964, 269-279.

_____. Greuze, The rise and fall of an eighteenth-century Phenomenon. Greenwich, (Conn.), 1972.

_____. Watteau, Paris, 1969.

Bruand, Y. "Un Grand Collectionneur, Marchand et Graveur du XVIIIe Siècle Gabriel Huquier," G.B.A., 37A, 1950, 99-114.

Buffon, Leclerc, G.L. comte de, Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière avec Description du Cabinet du Roi, forty-four volumes, Paris, 1749-1804.

Burchard, L. "On a Rubens Drawing after Mantegna," B.M., XCVIII, 1956, 415.

Burchard, L. and d'Hulst, R.-A. Rubens' Drawings, Brussels, 1963.

Cabanne, P. Rubens, London, 1967.

Cailleux, J. "L'Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle," B.M., 119, 1967, i-iii.

_____. "L'Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle, Invalids, Huntsmen, and Squires," B.M., 106, 1964, i-iii.

_____. "L'Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle, Watteau and His Generation," B.M., 110, 1968, i-vii.

Cain, J. and Sköld, O. Dessins du Nationalmuseum de Stockholm, Collections Tessin et Cronstedt, two volumes, Paris, 1950.

Campbell, M. review of "Baroque by John Rupert Martin," A.B., LXII, 1980, 490-492.

Capefrique, J.B.H.R. Louis XV et la Société du XVIIIe Siècle, Brussels, 1843.

Caylus, A.C.P. comte de. Vie d'Artistes du XVIIIe Siècle Discours sur la Peinture et la Sculpture, Salon de 1751, et de 1753 lettre à Lagrenée, Paris, 1910.

Caylus, A.C.P. comte de and Dandré-Bardon, M.F. Vie d'Edme Bouchardon, Sculpteur du Roi, Vie de Carle Vanloo, Geneva, 1973.

Caylus, A.C.P. comte de. Voyage d'Italie 1714-1715, Paris, 1914.

Cederlöf, U. "Paintings and Tapestries of The Hunt in Swedish Royal Collections," The Connoisseur, 196, 1977, 254-261.

Chappeville, P.C. de. Nouveau traité de Vénérerie contenant la chasse au cerf, celles du chevreuil, du Sanglier, du Loup, du Lièvre et de la Renard, Paris, 1742.

Cochin, C.-N. Mémoires inédits de Charles-Nicolas Cochin sur le Comte de Caylus, Bouchardon, Les Slodtz, Paris, 1880.

_____. Recueil de Quelques Pièces concernant les Arts, Paris, 1757.

Coombs, D. "The Englishman's Art Sport and the Countryside in English Painting," The Connoisseur, 196, 1977, 284-289.

Courajod, L. Livre-journal de Lazare Duvaux marchand - bijoutier ordinaire du Roy 1748-1758, two volumes, Paris, 1965.

Courbain, F. Histoire Illustrée de la Gravure en France, Volume II, Paris, 1923.

Cox, N. The Gentleman's Recreation in four parts viz Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Fishing, London, 1697.

Cummings, F.J. and Rosenberg, P. and Rosenblum, R. French Painting 1774-1830 The Age of Revolution, Detroit, 1975.

Curtius, E.R. European Literature and The Latin Middle Ages New York, 1953.

Dacier, E. "La-Curiosité au XVIIIe Siècle Choiseul Collectionneur," G.B.A., XXXVI, 1949, 47-84.

Delacroix, E., edited by A. Joubin, Journal d'Eugène Delacroix, three volumes, Paris, 1932.

Delaborde, H. Marc-Antoine Raimondi Etude Historique et critique suivie d'un catalogue raisonné des oeuvres du maître, Paris, (nd).

Delen, A.J.J. Histoire de la Gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les Provinces Belges des origines jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe Siècle, Paris, 1935.

Delisle de Sales, J.-B.-C.I. Dictionnaire théorique et pratique de Chasse et de Pesche, two volumes, Paris, 1769.

Deloffre, F. Marivaux et le Marivaüdage, Paris, 1958.

Demuth, N. French Opera Its Development to the Revolution, Sussex, 1963.

Dent, A. Animals in Art, New York, 1976.

Dickens, A.G. ed. The Courts of Europe Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800, London, 1977.

Diderot, D. edited by J. Seznec and J. Adhémar, Salons, four volumes, Oxford, 1957.

Dilke, L. French Painters of the XVIIIth Century, London, 1899.

Dimier, L. ed. Les Peintres Français du XVIIIe Siècle, two volumes, Paris and Brussels, 1928.

Dufourcq, N. ed. La Musique à la Cour de Louis XIV et de Louis XV d'après les mémoires de Sourches et Luynes 1681-1758, Paris, 1970.

Dumesnil, M.J. Histoire des plus célèbres Amateurs français et leurs Relations avec les Artistes, two volumes, Paris, 1865.

_____. Voyageurs français en Italie depuis le seizième siècle jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, 1865.

Duncan, C. The Pursuit of Pleasure: The Rococo Revival in French Romantic Art, New York, 1976.

Egg, E. Jagd und Kunst, Innsbruck, 1978.

Eichenberg, F. The Art of the Print, New York, 1976.

Eitner, L. Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1750-1850, two volumes, Englewood Cliffs, (N.J.), 1970.

Elbern, V.H. "Die Rubensteppiche des Kölner Domes, ihres Geschichte und ihre Stellung im Zyklus, "Triumph der Eucharistie", "Jahrbuch des Zentraldombavariens, 1955, 43-88.

Ergert, B. and others, Deutsches Jagdmuseum München, Braunschweig, 1979.

Evers, H.G. Peter Paul Rubens, Munich, 1942.

Faniel, S. ed. French Art of the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1957.

Félibien, A. Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres anciens et modernes; avec la vie des Architectes, six volumes, Paris, 1725.

Ferrière, H. de la, comte de. Les Chasses de François I racontées par Louis de Rezé précédées de la Chasse sous Les Valois, Paris, 1869.

Fisher, H.A.L. A History of Europe, London, 1936.

Florisoone, M. Le Dix-Huitième Siècle, Paris, 1948.

Fontaine, A. Les Doctrines d'Art en France, Geneva, 1970.

Fontanai, Abbe de. Dictionnaire des Artistes, ou nature historique et raisonnée des architectes, peintres graveurs, sculpteurs, musiciens, acteurs et danseurs, imprimeurs, horlogers et mécaniciens, Volume I, Paris, 1776.

Foucart, J. and others. Le Siècle de Rubens dans les Collections publiques françaises, Paris, 1977.

Friedrich, C.J. The Age of the Baroque 1610-1660, New York, 1952.

Galesloot, A.L. La Maison de Chasse des Ducs de Brabant et de l'ancienne cour de Bruxelles, Brussels and Leipzig, 1854.

Gaxotte, P., translated by J.L. May. Louis The Fifteenth and His Times, London, 1934.

Gazier, A. François Boucher et le Bréviaire de 1736, Paris, 1911.

Gérard, J. Louis XV Le Mal-Connu, Paris, 1968.

Gerson, H. and ter Kuile, E.H. Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600 to 1800, Baltimore, 1960.

Gesneri, C. Historiae animalium de Quadrupedibus viuiparis, five volumes, Frankfurt, 1620.

Glen, T.L. Rubens and the Counter Reformation, Studies in His Religious Paintings between 1609 and 1620, New York, 1977.

Goldstein, C. Review of "Tableaux pour le Trianon de Marbre 1688-1714, by Antoine Schnapper," A.B., LII, 1970, 453-456.

Goncourt, J. and E. de. L'Art au XVIIIe Siècle, Paris, 1880-1882. English version, French XVIII Century Painters, trans. and intro. by Robin Ironsides, London, 1948.

_____. Portraits intimes du dix-huitième Siècle, Paris, 1928.

Gordon, K.R. "Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship," A.B., L, 1968, 249-263.

Goulemot, J.M. and Launoy, M. Le Siècle des Lumières, Paris, 1968.

Greenwood, J. Wild Sports of the World, London, 1862.

Groenewegen-Frankfort, H.A. and Ashmole, B. Art of the Ancient World, New York, (nd).

Guiffrey, J.J. Histoire de l'Académie de Saint-Luc, Paris, 1915.

Guiffrey, J.J. Inventaire général illustré des dessins du Musée du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles, five volumes, Paris, 1907.

_____. Liste des Pensionnaires de l'Académie de France, à Rome de 1663 à 1907, Paris, 1908.

_____. Nicolas Lancret, Sa Vie et son oeuvre (1690-1743) (Eloge de Lancret par Ballot de Sovot, accompagné du catalogue de ses tableaux et de ses estampes, de notes et de pièces inédits), Paris, (nd).

Haag, S. Versailles, Musée de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1970.

Hallo, C.J. De la Cape à la Botte Historique des Tenues Françaises de Vénérie, Paris, 1951.

Hamilton, G.H. 19th and 20th Century Art Painting Sculpture Architecture. New York, (nd).

_____. "The Origin of Barye's Tiger Hunt," A.B., XVIII, 1936, 249-257.

Hartt, F. History of the Italian Renaissance, New York, (nd).

Haskell, F. Patrons and Painters Art and Society in Baroque Italy, New York, 1971.

Hautecoeur, L. Au Temps de Louis XIV, Paris, 1967.

_____. "Delacroix et L'Académie des Beaux-Arts,"
G.B.A., 62, 1963, 348-364.

Healthful Amusements and Ingenious Exercises; of the Noble-
man's Pocket Companion in Sports and Recreations,
London, 1720.

Heikamp, D. "Arozzi a Soggetto profano su Cartoni de
Alessandro Alori," Rivista D'Arte, XXXI, 1956,
105-155.

Held, J.S. "Jordaens and the Equestrian Astrology," in
Miscellanea Leo Puyvelde, Brussels, 1949, 153-156.

_____. "Le Roi à la Ciasse," A.B., 40, 1958, 139-149.

_____. "Notes on Jacob Jordaens," Oud Holland, 50, 1965,
112-122.

_____. Peter Paul Rubens, New York, 1953.

_____. P.P. Rubens, The Leopards "Originale de Mia Mano,"
Privately printed, 1970.

_____. Rubens and the Book Title Pages by Peter Paul
Rubens, Williamstown, (Mass.), 1977.

_____. "Rubens' Leopards -A Milestone in the Portrayal
of Wild Animals," M27, 7, 1975, 5-11.

Held, J.S. Rubens Selected Drawings, two volumes, New York, 1959.

Held, J.S. and Posner, D. 17th and 18th Century Art Baroque Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, New York, (nd).

Héritage de France French Painting, Montréal, 1961.

Hildebrandt, E. Malerei und Plastik des 18. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich, Wildpark-Potsdam, 1924.

Hofstede, J.M. "An Early Rubens Conversion of St. Paul.
The Beginning of his Preoccupation with Leonardo's
Battle of Anghiari," B.M., CVI, 1964, 95-106.

_____. "Rubens' St. Georg und Seine Frühen
Reiterbildnisse," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,
28-29, 1965, 60-112.

Honour, H. Chinoiserie The Vision of Cathay, London, 1961.

_____. The European Vision of America, Cleveland, 1975.

_____. Neo-classicism, Baltimore, 1968.

Hourticq, L. "L'Atelier de François Desportes," G.B.A., 2,
1920, 115-136.

Hourticq, L. and others, Le Paysage Français de Poussin à
Corot, Paris, 1926.

Hulst, R.A. d'. "Jordaens and His Early Activities in the Field of Tapestry," A.Q., XIX, 1956, 236-254.

Ingrams, R.A. "Rubens and Persia," B.M., 116, 1974, 190-197.

Isermeyer, C.A. Peter Paul Rubens Die Jagd in der Kunst, Hamburg and Berlin, 1965.

Jaffé, M. Jacques Jordaens 1593-1678, Ottawa, 1968.

_____. "Rubens and Giulio Romano at Mantua," A.B., 40, 1958, 325-329.

_____. Rubens and Italy, Ithaca, 1977.

Jallut, M. "Marie Leczinska et la Peinture," G.B.A., 73, 1969, 305-322.

Jarry, M. "Eighteenth-Century French Tapestry A Re-Assessment," Apollo, 89, 1969, 424-429.

Jean-Richard, P. François Boucher gravures et dessins provenant du Cabinet des Dessins et de la Collection Edmond de Rothschild au Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1971.

_____. L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher, Paris, 1978.

Johnson, L. Delacroix, London, 1963.

Johnson, L. "Delacroix, Barye and 'The Tower Menagerie':
An English Influence on French Romantic Animal
Pictures," B.M., 106, 1964, 416-419.

_____. "Delacroix's Rencontres de Cavaliers Maures,"
B.M., 103, 1961, 417-423.

Jonstonus, J. Historiae Naturalis de Quadrupedibus, Amsterdam,
1657.

Judson, J.R. and Velde, C. van de, Book Illustrations and
Title Pages, (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,
Part XXI) two volumes, London and Philadelphia,
1978.

Jullien, E. La Chasse, Son Histoire et Sa Législation,
Paris, 1867.

Kahan, G. Jacques Callot Artist of the Theatre, Athens,
(Ga.), 1976.

Kalnein, W.G. and Levey, M. Art and Architecture of the
Eighteenth Century in France, Baltimore, 1972.

Kelder, D.M. Aspects of 'official' Painting and Philosophic
Art 1789-1799, New York, 1976.

Keller-Dorian, G. Antoine Coysevox, Catalogue raisonné de
son oeuvre, two volumes, Paris, 1920.

Kelso, R. The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century, Gloucester, (Mass.), 1964.

Kimball, F. The Creation of the Rococo, New York, 1943.

_____. "Le Décor du Château de la Ménagerie à Versailles, G.B.A., 16, 1936, 245-256.

_____. "La Transformation des Appartements de Trianon sous Louis XIV," G.B.A., 19, 1938, 87-110.

King, D. "The Devonshire Hunts Art and Sport in the fifteenth century," The Connoisseur, 196, 1977, 246-254.

Kinsky, G. A History of Music in Pictures, New York, 1961.

Klingender, F. Animals in art and Thought to the end of the Middle ages, Cambridge, (Mass.), 1971.

Lafontaine, J. de. Les Fables inventé par J.B. Oudry, terminé au burin par N. Dupuis, gravé à l'eau forte par C.N. Cochin le fils qui, d'après les originaux, a fait tous les traits, conduit et dirigé tout l'ouvrage, three volumes, Paris (nd).

La Font de Saint-Yenne. Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la peinture en France avec un examen des principaux ouvrages exposés au Louvre le mois d'août 1746, The Hague, 1747.

- Landseer, T. and Barrow, J.H. Characteristic Sketches of Animals, London, 1832.
- Lastic, G. de. "Desportes et Oudry Peintres des Chasses royales," The Connoisseur, 196, 1977, 290-299.
- Lavallière, L.-C. Ballets, Opéra et autres ouvrages lyriques, par ordre chronologique depuis leur origine; avec une table alphabétique des ouvrages et des auteurs, Paris, 1760.
- Lavissee, E. Histoire de France illustrée Depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution, volume VIII, Paris, 1921.
- Lecoy de la Marche, A. "L'Académie de France à Rome d'après la correspondance de ses Directeurs (1666-1797)," G.B.A., 2, 1869, 62-89.
- Lenaghan, R.T., ed. Caxton's Aesop, Cambridge, (Mass.), 1967.
- Lesure, F. Deux Siècles d'Opéra Français, Paris, 1972.
- _____. L'opéra classique français XVII et XVIII Siècles, Geneva, 1972.
- Lee, R.W. Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting, New York, 1967.
- Levenson, J.A., Oberhuber, K., Sheehan, J.L. Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1973.

Levey, M. The Later Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen, London, 1964.

_____. Painting at Court, New York, 1971.

• _____. Rococo to Revolution Major Trends in Eighteenth-Century Painting, New York, 1966.

_____. "A Watteau Rediscovered," B.M., CVI, 1964, 53-58.

Levron, J. Louis Le Bien-Aimé, Paris, 1965.

Lewis, A. and Fortune, N., eds. Opera and Church Music 1630-1750, London, 1975.

Liger, L. Amusemens de la Campagne, ou nouvelles ruses innocentes, Paris, 1734.

Locquin, J. La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785, Paris, 1912.

Long, P.H. and Bettmann, O. A Pictorial History of Music, New York, 1960.

Lossky, B. The National Museum of the Château de Fontainebleau, Paris, 1971.

_____. "Le Plafond de François Boucher au Cabinet du Conseil du Château de Fontainebleau," Revue du Louvre, 4-5, 1967, 257-264.

Lossky, B. Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts Peintures du XVIIIe Siècle, Paris, 1962.

Lottman, H.R. "Digging for the Lost Leonardo," Art News, 74, 1975, 66-68.

Louis XV Rocaille, Paris, 1950.

Luynes, C. Ph. d'A. Duc de. Mémoires du Duc de Luynes sur la Cour de Louis XV 1735-1758, seventeen volumes, Paris, 1860-1867.

Lydekker, R. The New National History, Volume V, New York (nd).

Mabille, G. "La Ménagerie de Versailles," G.B.A., 83, 1974, 5-36.

MacFall, H. Boucher, the Man, His times, His Art and His significance 1703-1770, London, 1908.

Maclaren, N. The Spanish School, London, 1952.

MacMullen, R. "Some Pictures in Ammianus Marcellinus," A.B., 46, 1964, 435-455.

Magurn, R.S. The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens, Cambridge, (Mass.), 1955.

Mantz, P. François Boucher, Lemoyne et Natoire, Paris, 1880.

Les Manufactures Royales, Paris, (nd).

Marais, M. Journal et Mémoires de Mathieu Marais, four volumes, Geneva, 1967.

Marcel, P. La Peinture française de la Mort de Le Brun à la Mort de Watteau, Paris, 1906.

Marguery, R. L'Hotel de Ville D'Amiens, (notes distributed by the Hôtel de Ville d'Amiens), (nd).

Marie, A. and J. Mansart à Versailles, two volumes, Paris, 1972.

_____. Marly, Paris, 1947.

Marie, A. Naissance de Versailles, two volumes, Paris 1968.

Marie, A. and J. Versailles au Temps de Louix XIV, Paris, 1976.

Mariette, P.-J., annotés par Ph. de Chenevrières et A. de Montaiglon. Abecedario et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes, six volumes, Paris, 1851-1853.

Martin, J.R. Baroque, New York, 1977.

_____. The Decoration for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part XVI), London and New York, 1972.

Martin, J.R. "Portraits of Poussin and Rubens in Works by Daniel Seghers," Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie, II, 1961, 67-74.

_____. Rubens: The Antwerp Altarpieces, New York, 1969.

Martin, J.R. ed. Rubens before 1620, Princeton, 1972.

Maser, E.A. ed. Cesare Ripa Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery the 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's Iconologia with 200 engraved Illustrations, New York, 1971.

Mateos, J. Origen y Dignidad de la Caza, Madrid, 1928.

Mathey, F. Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris, 1973.

Mauméné, Ch. and Harcourt, L. d'. Iconographie des Rois de France, volume XVI, Paris, 1931.

Mayne, J. "Delacroix's Orient," Apollo, 78, 1963, 203-207.

McInnes, I. Painter, King and Pompadour François Boucher at the Court of Louis XV, London, 1965.

Mémoires inédits sur la Vie et les Ouvrages des Membres de l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, publiée par L. Dussieux, L. Soulié, Ph. de Chenevrières, P. Mantz, A. de Montaiglon, two volumes, Paris, 1854.

Meyrac, A. Louis XIV, Sa Cour, Ses Maitresses, Paris, (nd).

Michel, A. Les Artistes célèbres F. Boucher, Paris, 1886.

_____. François Boucher, suivi d'un Catalogue raisonné de l'Oeuvre peint et dessiné, établi par L. Soulié avec la collaboration de Ch. Masson, Paris, 1906.

Michel, P.H. The Massacre of Chios, London, 1947.

Miesel, V.H. "Rubens' study drawings after Ancient Sculpture," G.B.A., 61, 1963, 311-326.

Montaiglon, A. de. Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les Surintendants des Bâtiments, Paris, 1887.

Morenas, H.J. de. Grand Amorial de France, Volume I, Paris 1975.

Mortomprey, R. de. Drames de Chasse et D'Amour Sous Louis XV-, Sous La Terreur, Paris, 1929.

Moss, A. Baudelaire et Delacroix, Paris, 1973.

Mras, G.P. Eugène Delacroix's Theory of Art, Princeton, 1966.

The Natural History of Animals containing the Anatomical . Description of several Creatures Dissected by the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, London, 1702.

Noirmont, D. de. Histoire de la Chasse en France depuis les
temps les plus Reculés jusqu'à la Révolution, three
volumes, Paris, 1868.

Nolhac, P. de. Boucher, Premier peintre du Roi, Paris, 1925.

_____. La Création de Versailles, Versailles, 1901.

_____. Exposition François Boucher, Paris, 1932.

_____. Louis XV et Marie Leczinska, Paris, 1902.

_____. Le Siècle de Louis XIV, Paris, 1927.

_____. Versailles au XVIIIe Siècle, Paris, 1926.

Nyberg, D. Meissonnier, An Eighteenth-Century Maverick, New
York, 1969.

Oberheide, A. Der Einfluss Marcantonio Raimondis auf die
nordische Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts, Hamburg, 1933.

Ogg, D. Louis XIV, London, 1967.

Ogilby, J. The Fables of Aesop paraphras'd in Verse 1668,
Introduction by E. Miner, Los Angeles, 1965.

Oppianus. translated by A.W. Mair. Oppian, Colluthus,
Tryphiodorus, London, 1928.

Opperman, H.N. Jean-Baptiste Oudry, two volumes, New York,
1977.

Opperman, H.N. "Observations on the Tapestry Designs of
J.-B. Oudry for Beauvais (1726-1736)," Allen
Memorial Art Museum Bulletin, XXVI, 1969, 49-72.

Oudry, J.-B. Oeuvre de J.-B. Oudry Pièces divers d'après
Oudry. Paris, (nd).

Ovid, P.N. translated by F.J. Miller. Metamorphoses, three
volumes, Cambridge, (Mass.), 1951.

Ozanam, D. and Michel, A. Correspondance secrète du Comte
de Broglie avec Louis XV, two volumes, Paris, 1956.

Parker, K.T. and Mathey, J. Antoine Watteau, catalogue
complet de son oeuvre dessiné, two volumes, Paris,
1957.

Panofsky, E. IDEA, Berlin, 1960.

_____. Studies in Iconology Humanistic Themes in the
Art of the Renaissance, New York, 1939.

Parrocel, E. Monographie des Parrocel, Marseille, 1861.

Patte, P. Monuments Erigés en France à la Gloire de Louis XV,
Paris, 1765.

Paulson, R. Emblem and Expression Meaning in English Art of
the Eighteenth Century, Cambridge, (Mass.), 1975.

Pauw-De Veen, L. de. "Rubens and the Graphic Arts," The Connoisseur, 195, 1977, 243-251.

Petiveri, J. Opera Historiam Naturalem Spectantia, London, 1764.

Philostratus the Elder. translated by A. Fairbanks. Imagines, London, 1931.

Philostratus the Younger. translated by A. Fairbanks. Imagines, London, 1931.

Piganiol de la Force. Nouvelle Description des Chasteaux et Parcs de Versailles et de Marly, Paris, 1713.

Pliny the Elder. translated by H. Rackham. Natural History, ten volumes, Cambridge, (Mass.), 1938.

Ponnau, D. "Marais, Musée vivant d'humanité abolie," Plaisir de France, 418, 1974, 1-15.

Pool, P. Delacroix, London, 1969.

Poorter, N. de. The Eucharist Series (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part II), two volumes, London and Philadelphia, 1978.

Portalis, R. and Beraldi, H. Les Graveurs du Dix-Huitième Siècle, three volumes, Paris, 1880.

Posner, D. "The True Path of Fragonard's 'Progress of Love',"

B.M., 114, 1972, 526-534.

_____. Watteau: A Lady at her Toilet, New York, 1973.

_____. review of "François Boucher, by A. Ananoff in collaboration with D. Wildenstein," A.B., LX, 1978.

560-562.

_____. review of "L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans La Collection de Edmond de Rothschild au Musée du Louvre, by P. Jean-Richard," A.B., LXII, 1980, 663-665.

Pray Bober, P. Drawings after the Antique by Amico Aspertini, London, 1957.

Praz, M. Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery, Rome, 1975.

Puis, A. En Marge de l'Histoire Essai sur les moeurs, les goûts et les modes au XVIIIe Siècle, Paris, 1914.

Puyvelde, L.V. Peter Paul Rubens The Battle of the Amazons, New York, 1950.

_____. The Sketches of Rubens, London 1947.

Racinais, H. Un Versailles inconnu Les Petits Appartements des Roys Louis XV et Louis XVI au Château de Versailles, two volumes, Paris, 1950.

Raimondi, E. Le Caccie delle Fierie armati e disarmati, e degl'animali Quadrepedi, Volatili, et acquatici, Venice, 1785.

Rameau, J.-P. Oeuvres Complètes, Tome VI, Hippolyte et Ari-cie, New York, 1968.

Réau, L. L'Art au XVIIIème Siècle en France Style Louis XVI, Paris, 1952.

_____. Histoire de la Peinture Française au XVIIIe Siècle, Volume I, Paris and Brussels, 1925.

Recueil de Descriptions de Peintures et d'autre Ouvrages faits pour le Roy, Paris, 1689.

Recueil de Divers Animaux de Chasse Tiré du Cabinet de Monsieur le Comte de Tessin Dessiné d'après nature par M. Oudri peintre du Roy gravé à l'eau forte par J.E.R. et terminé au Burin par J.P. Le Bas, Paris, (nd).

Reinach, S. Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains, two volumes, Paris, 1909.

Richard, R. Le Musée de Picardie, Amiens, 1970.

Rietstap, J.B. Armorial général Dictionnaire des Termes du Blason, volumes, II, IV, VI, VII, VIII, Gouda, 1887.

Robaut, A. L'oeuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix, Paris,
1885.

Rocheblave, S. L'Art et le Goût en France, Paris, 1923.

Rocquain, F. L'esprit Révolutionnaire Avant la Révolution,
Geneva, 1971.

Roose, M. L'Oeuvre de P.P. Rubens, five volumes, Antwerp,
1886-92.

Rosand, D. "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt: Its Sources and Si-
gnificance," A.E., 4, 1969, 29-40.

Rosenberg, P. Rouen, Musée des Beaux Arts, Tableaux français
du XVII^e Siècle et Italiens des XVII^e et XVIII^e
Siècles, Paris, 1966.

_____. Le Siècle de Louis XV, Ottawa, 1976.

Rosenberg, P. and others. P.C. Trémolières, Paris, 1973.

Rosenblum, R. Transformations in late Eighteenth Century Art,
Princeton, 1967.

Rubens in Der Grafik, Göttingen, 1977.

Rubens and Humanism, Birmingham, 1978.

Rubens et le Livre dans les bibliothèques du Nord et de Picar-
die, Abbeville, 1978.

Rubin, J.H. and others. Eighteenth-Century French Life-Drawings, Princeton, 1977.

Rubin, J.H. "Painting and Politics, II: J.-L. David's Patriotism, or the Conspiracy of Gracchus Babeuf and the Legacy of Tapino Lebrun," A.B., LVIII, 1976, 547-568.

Ruch, J.E. "An Album of Early Drawings by François Boucher," B.M., CVI, 1964, 496-500.

Rudrauf, L. "De la Bête à l'Ange Les Etapes de la lutte vitale dans la pensée et l'art d'Eugène Delacroix," Acta Historiae Artium, IX, 1963, 295-341.

Salnove, R. de. Les Maîtres de la Vénérerie, La Vénérerie Royale, Paris, 1929.

Salon de 1755 Collection des Livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800, Paris 1869.

Salzle, K. Schätze des Deutschen Jagdmuseum München, Munich, (nd).

Schnapper, A. Tableaux pour le Trianon de Marbre 1688-1714, Paris and The Hague, 1967.

_____. "Two Unknown Ceiling Paintings by Mignard for Louis XIV," A.B., LVI, 1974, 82-100.

Schneevoogt, C.G.V. Catalogue des Estampes gravées d'après
P.P. Rubens, Harlem, 1873.

Schreiber, W.L. Handbuch des Holz-und Metallschritte des XV.
Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart, 1976.

Schwab, H.W. Musikgeschichte in Bildern Konzert, Öffentliche
Musikdarbietung vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts, Volume
2, Leipzig, 1971.

Scott, B. "Pierre Crozat, A Maecenas of the Régence," Apollo,
XCVII, 1973, 11-19.

_____. "The Comtesse de Verrue, a Lover of Dutch and Fle-
mish Art," Apollo, XCVII, 1973, 20-24.

_____. "The Marquis de Marigny, A Dispenser of Royal Pa-
tronage," Apollo, XCVII, 1973, 23-35.

_____. "Pierre-Jean Mariette, Scholar and Connoisseur,"
Apollo, XCVII, 1973, 54-59.

_____. "Madame du Barry, A Royal Favourite with Taste,"
Apollo, XCVII, 1973, 60-71.

_____. "The Comte D'Angiviller, the last Directeur-Géné-
ral des Bâtiments," Apollo, XCVII, 1973, 78-85.

Scribner III, C. "Sacred Architecture: Rubens's Eucharist
Tapestries," A.B., 57, 1975, 519-528.

Sedlmayr, H. and Bauer, H. "Rococo," Encyclopedia of World Art,
Volume XII, New York, 1966, 230-274.

Sensier, A. Journal de Rosalba Carriera, pendant son séjour
à Paris en 1720 et 1721, Paris, 1865.

Sérullaz, M. Delacroix, Watercolours of Morocco, Paris, 1951.

_____. Great Drawings of the Louvre Museum The French
Drawings, New York, 1968.

_____. Les Peintures Murales de Delacroix, Paris, 1963.

_____. Rubens, Ses Maîtres, Ses Elèves, Paris, 1978.

Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection, London 1979.

Shaw, J.B. Old Master Drawings from Christ Church Oxford,
1972.

Shaw, T. Travels or Observations Relating to Several Parts
of Barbary and the Levant, 1738.

Slatkin, R.S. François Boucher in North American Collections:
100 Drawings, Washington D.C., 1974.

_____. "The New Boucher Catalogue," B.M., 121, 1979,
117-123.

_____. "Some Boucher Drawings and Related Prints,"
Master Drawings, X, 1972, 264-283.

Slatkin, R.S. "Portraits of François Boucher," Apollo, 94, 1971, 280-291.

_____. "Two Early Drawings by François Boucher," Master Drawings, IX, 1971, 398-404.

Spike, J.T. Italian Baroque Paintings from New York Private Collections, Princeton, 1980.

Stechow, W. Rubens and the Classical Tradition, Cambridge, (Mass.), 1968.

Strabo. translated by H.L. Jones. The Geography of Strabo, eight volumes, London, 1917-33.

Stradanus, J. America Retectio Iohannes Stradan, iven, Adrianis Collaert sculp, Phls Galle excudit.

_____. Equile Ioannis Austriaci Caroli V. Imp. F. in quo Omnis generis generossimorum equorum ex variis orbis partibus in Signes delectio.

_____. Mediceae Familiae rerum Felicites Gestorum Victoriae et Triumpho Elegantissimis iconibus a Iohanne Stradano Flandro, artificio gissime pencillo delineata, a Philippo Gallaeo in aer incesa, et edita.

Stradanus, J. Passio, Mars, et Resurrectio de Nostri Iesu Christi Ex Ioannis Stradano Brugensis delinatione Philippi Gallaei cura in aes incisa, et edita.

_____. Schema sev speculum principiam Optimio Iustiso Pio Maximio Princep Carolo Emanueli Sabandia, Paedemontis, en, Duci Serenis ac Catherinae Austriae Hisp. Infant.

_____. Septem Planetae Celeberrimo a pictore Ioannis Stradano depictae et a cornelio Kiliano Dusslaeo verissisbus illustratae, Ionnaes Collardus Sculpebat et Phillippus Gallaeus edibat.

Strange, R. le. A History of Herbal Plants, New York, 1977.

Strauss, W.L. ed. The Illustrated Bartsch, volumes I, V, VII, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXXIX, New York, 1978.

Strong, R. Van Dyck, Charles I on Horseback, New York, 1972.

Stryiensi, C. translated by H.N. Dickinson. The Eighteenth Century, London, 1916.

Stuffman, M. "Charles de la Fosse et sa position dans la Peinture française à la fin du 17^e Siècle," G.B.A., 64, 1964, 3-121.

_____. "Les Tableaux de la Collection de Pierre Crozat établi en partant de l'inventaire après décès inédit du collectionneur, 30 mai-18 juin 1740," G.B.A., 72, 1968, II-56.

Sunderland, J. Camesasca, E. The Complete Paintings of Watteau, New York, 1968.

Taylor, B. "George Stubbs: 'The Lion and Horse' Theme," B.M., 107, 1965, 81-86.

Tempesta, A. Icones Venatum Species varias Representantes Adumbratione nova recens inventae per Antonium Tempestium Egbert Ianss sculp. Venalis, Bourge, 1663.

..... Metamorphoseon sine transformatiorum Ovidianorum Libry QuinDecim Aeneis Formis, Antwerp, 1606.

..... Sacra Bella Sanctae veterum Bibliorum Historiae Ordine Temporis Digesta, Antwerp, (nd).

..... De SS Martyrium cruciatibur Antonii Gallonii Tom. Congregationes Oratorii Presbyteri liber cum figuris Romae, Paris, 1660.

..... System Orbis Admirandi ex Antiquitatis Monumentis collecta, et publicae in aereas Tabulas, Rome, 1608.

..... La Vie de l'Empereur Charles V en très-belles tailles-douces, gravées sur les desseins du célèbre A. Tempeste par ceux des plus habiles maîtres J. de Gein, C. Bael, Leyden, (nd).

..... Venationes, Ferarum, avium piscium pugnae bestiarum es mutae bestiarum, Rome, 1605.

Tervarent, G. de. Attributs et Symboles dans l'art profane 1450-1600, two volumes, Geneva, 1958.

Teyssèdre, B. "Une Collection Française de Rubens au XVII^e Siècle: Le Cabinet du Duc de Richelieu décrit par Roger de Piles (1676-1681)," G.B.A., 62, 1963, 241-299.

Thiébaud, J. Bibliographie des Ouvrages Français sur la Chasse, Paris, 1934.

Thieme, U. and Becker, F. Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur gegenwart, volumes IV, XXII, XXXII, XXXIII, Leipzig, 1938.

Thomas, J.B. Hounds and Hunting through the Ages, New York, 1929.

Thomé, J.R. Du Baroque au François Boucher, Paris, 1947.

Thoraval, J. and others, Les Grandes Etapes de la Civilisation Française, Paris, 1967.

Thuillier, J. and others, Charles Le Brun, 1619-1690 Peintre et Dessinateur, Paris, 1963.

Thuillier, J. and Châtelet, A. La Peinture Française de Le Nain à Fragonard, Geneva, 1964.

Thuillier, J. and Foucart, J. Rubens La Galerie Medicis au Palais du Luxembourg, Paris, 1969.

Tiersot, J. Histoire de la Chanson Populaire en France,
Paris, 1889.

Tilander, G. ed. Gaston Phébus, Livre de Chasse, Karlshamn,
1971.

Topsell, E. The Historie of Four-footed Beastes collected
out of the Writings of Conradus Gesner and other
Authors, London, 1607.

Tracts 1621-41. B.M. C.175 M.32.

_____. Animalum Quadrupedum Variis generis effigies
tyranorum praecipe tamen auri fabrorum gratiam,
tabellis aeneis incisa per Nicolaum de Bruin,
Amsterdam, 1621.

_____. Diversa animalia quadrepedia ad vinum
delineata a Jacobo Cupio atque aeri insculpta a
R. Persyn Iam vero in lucem edita per Nicolaum
Joannis Visscherum, 1641.

_____. Iachtboeck gheteykent door Antoni Tempest
ende Gedruckt by Claes Ianss. Visscher. 1642.

_____. Natus Dei Saluis ad Seruruitium Cunctis
Homo, per hunc creatis Temperest, Valentibus
Promisque; ut huic Puessuso Blande. Bloemaert
Inven: B.A. Bosswerd: sculpt. Visscher execudebat.
1632.

Tracts 1621-41. Venationes ferarum Avium Piscium pugnae
bestiarum delineatae ab Antonio Tempesta, Amsterdam,
 1627.

Trapier, E. du G. "Martinez del Mazo as a Landscapist,"
G.B.A., 61, 1963, 292-310.

Trapp, F.A. The Attainment of Delacroix, Baltimore and London,
 1971.

Trévoux. Journal de Trévoux ou Mémoires pour Servir à
l'Histoire des Sciences et des Arts. Volume XXXIV,
 Paris, 1734.

Van Buren, A.H. and Edmunds, S. "Playing Cards and Manuscripts,
 Some Widely Disseminated Fifteenth-Century Model
 Sheets," A.B., LVI, 1974, 12-30.

Vaux, Baron de. Les Grands Fusils de France, Paris, 1898.

Veen, O.V. Amorum Emblemata Figuris Aeneis Incisa,
 Hildesheim, 1970.

_____. Quinti Horati Flacci Emblemata, Hildesheim and
 New York, 1972.

Verdier, P. "Delacroix's 'Grandes Machines'," The Connoisseur,
 157, 1964, 9-15.

✓ Vergnet-Ruiz, J. and Laclotte, M. Petits et grands Musées de France, Paris, 1962.

Verlet, P. La Maison Française du XVIII^e Siècle en France, Paris, 1966.

_____. Versailles, Paris, 1961.

Vergy, de. translated by M. le Marquis de Santa Cruz de Marzevado. Réflexions Militaires et Politiques, Paris, 1738.

Villa, N. Le XVII^e Siècle vu par Abraham Bosse, Paris, 1967.

Virville, Ad. D, de. Histoire de la Botanique en France, Paris, 1954.

Voss, H. "François Boucher's Early Development," B.M., XCV, 1953, 81-92.

_____. "Boucher's Early Development - Addenda," B.M., XCVI, 1954, 206-10.

Wallace, R.W. "The Genius of Salvator Rosa," A.B., 47, 1965, 471-480.

Waterhouse, E. Italian Baroque Painting, London, 1962.

Watson, F.J.B. "Beckford, Mme de Pompadour, The Duc de Bouillon and the taste for Japanese Lacquer in Eighteenth Century France," G.B.A., 61, 1963, 101-113.

Watson, F.J.B. Wallace Collection Catalogues: Pictures and Drawings, two volumes, London, 1970.

Weber, E. ed. L'interprétation de la Musique française aux XVII et XVIII Siècles, Paris, 1974.

Wedgwood, C.V. The World of Rubens 1577-1640, New York, 1967.

Weigel, J.C. Musicolisches Theatrum, Basel and London and New York, 1964.

Wescher, P. "Les Maîtres français du XVIII^e Siècle au Cabinet des Dessins de Berlin," G.B.A., VII, 1934, 351-369.

Whitehouse, H. "The Dal Pozzo Copies of the Palestrina Mosaic," B.A.R. Supplementary Series, 12, 1976, 1-97.

Wildenstein, D. Documents inédits sur les artistes français du XVIII^e Siècle, Paris, 1966.

_____. French XVIIIth Century Paintings, New York, 1948.

Wildenstein, G. "Le Goût pour la Peinture dans le Cercle de la Bourgeoisie Parisienne autour de 1700," G.B.A., I, 1956, 113-138.

Willey, B. The Seventeenth Century Background, New York, 1934.

Wise, S. ed. Selected Works of 18th Century French Art in the Collections of the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, 1976.

Wittkower, R. and Jaffe, I.B. Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution, New York, 1972.

Wittkower, R. "The role of classical models in Bernini's and Poussin's preparatory work," Studies in Western Art, Volume III, Princeton, 1963, 41-50.

Wolff, H.C. Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Oper, Szene und Darstellung, von 1600 bis 1900, Volume I, Leipzig, 1968.

Xenophon. translated by E. Delebecq. L'Art de la Chasse, Paris, 1970.

_____. translated by E.C. Marchant, Scripta Minora, Volume VII, London, 1919-1925.

Zigrosser, C. Six Centuries of Fine Prints, New York, 1937.

_____. Prints and Their Creators, New York, 1937.

Zmijewska, H. "La critique des Salons en France avant Diderot," G.B.A., 76, 1970, 1-144.

PLATES







Plate 3









Plate 7













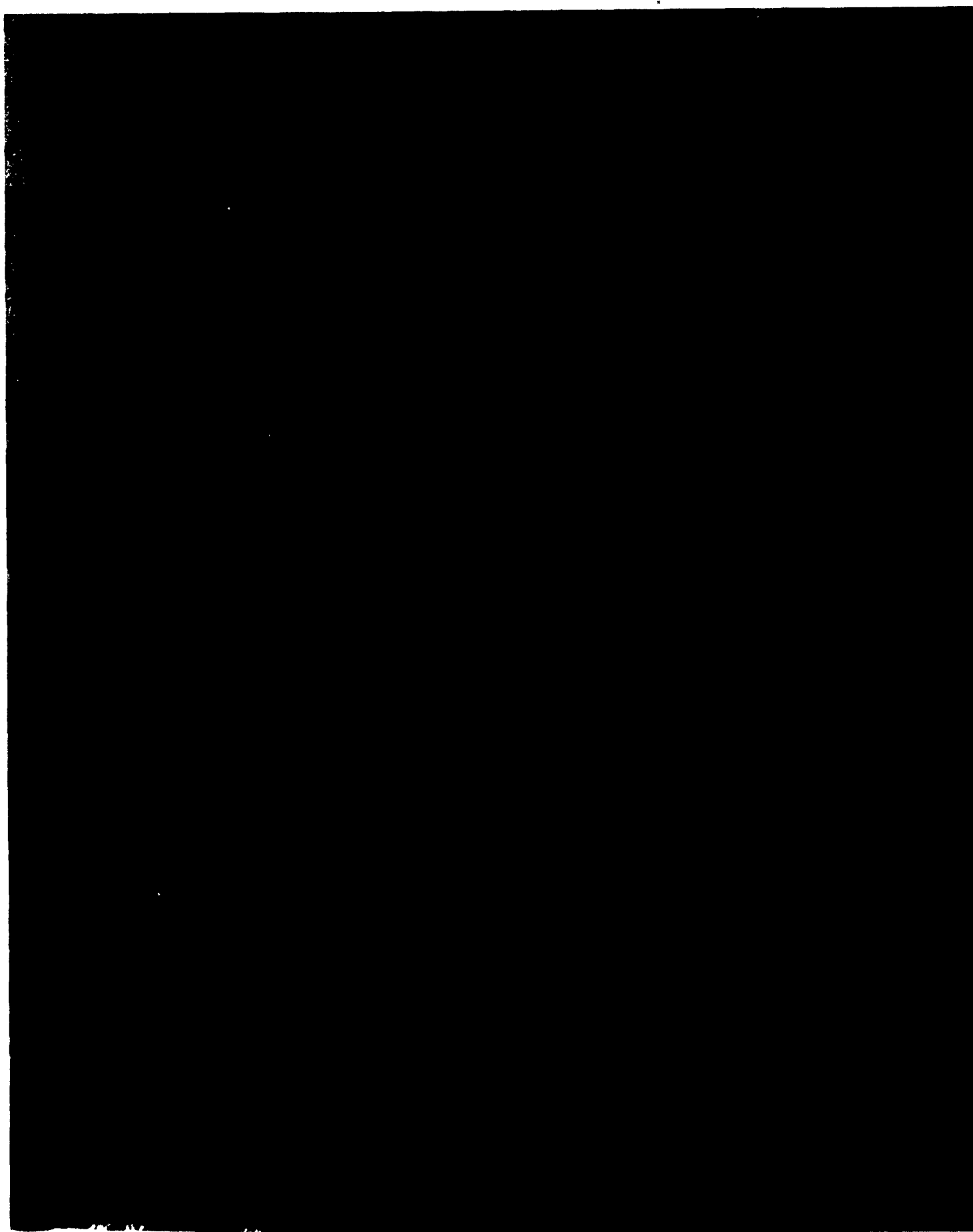




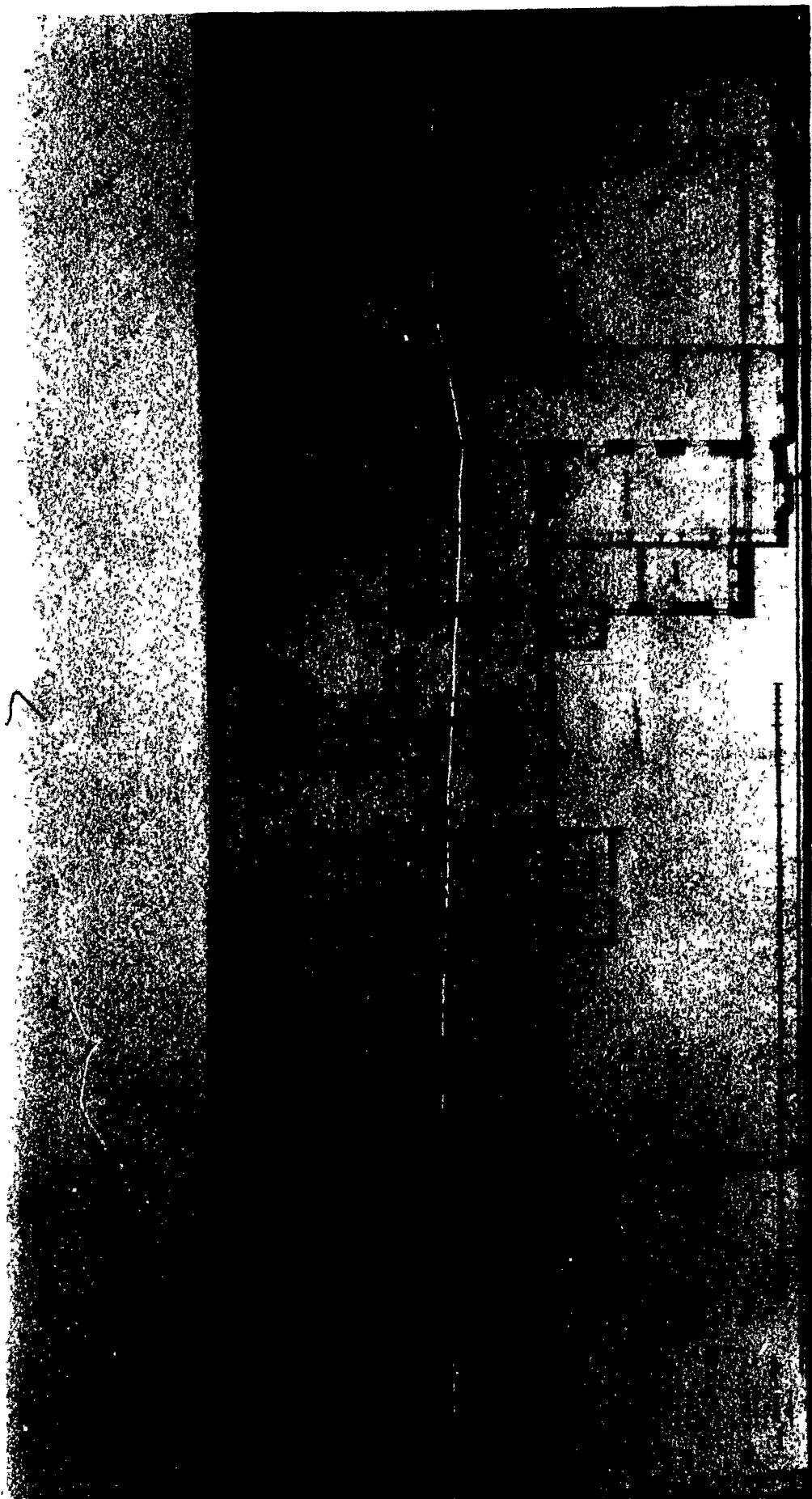
1. *Canis miquelii* 2. *Danovillei* 3. *Oryzomys* 4. *Oryzomys* 5. *Pouilles de Turquie* 6. *des Oiseaux*









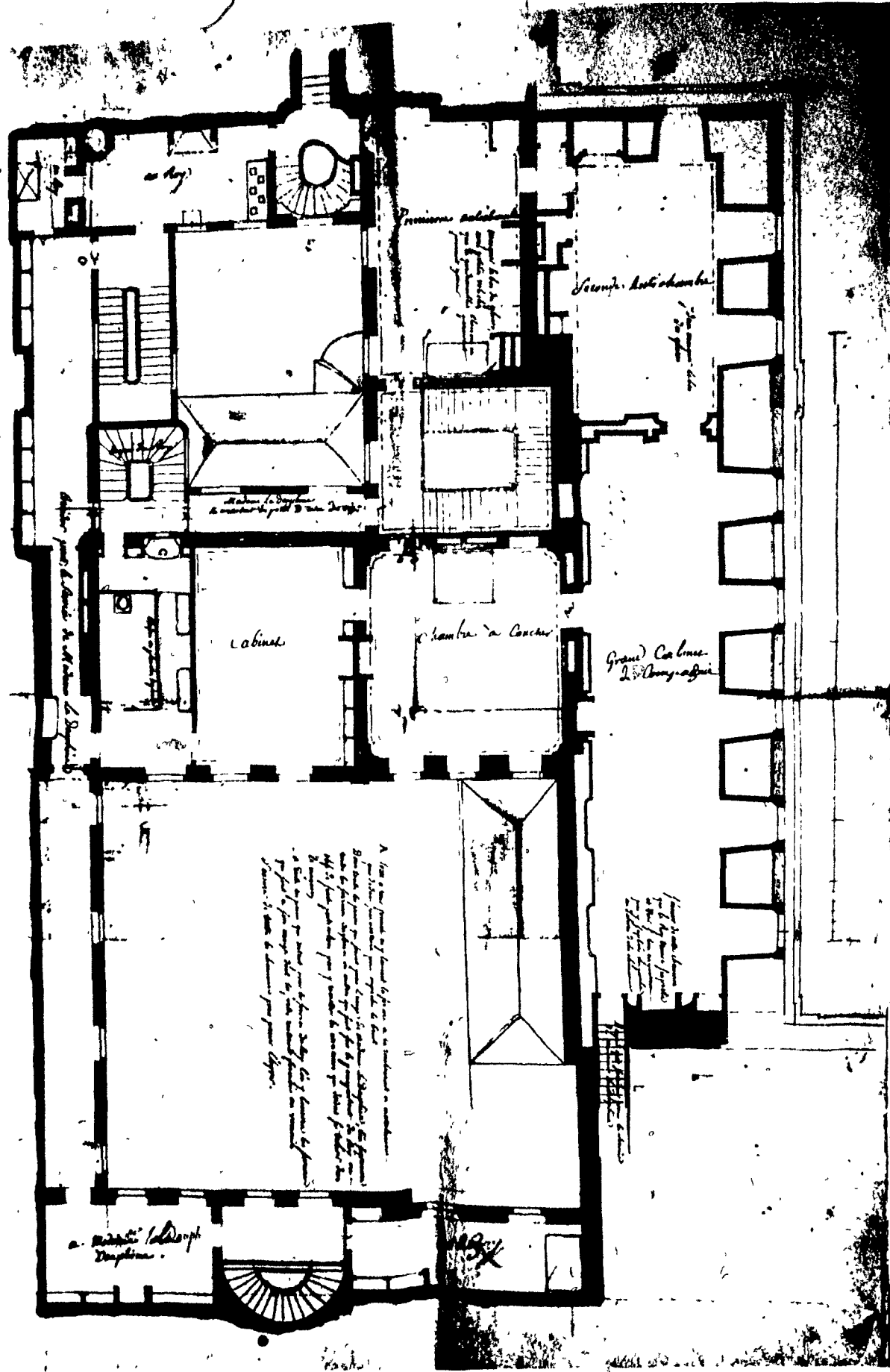












Plan de l'édifice de la Cour de la Ville
 édifié par le Roi en 1766
 par M. de la Roche
 1766

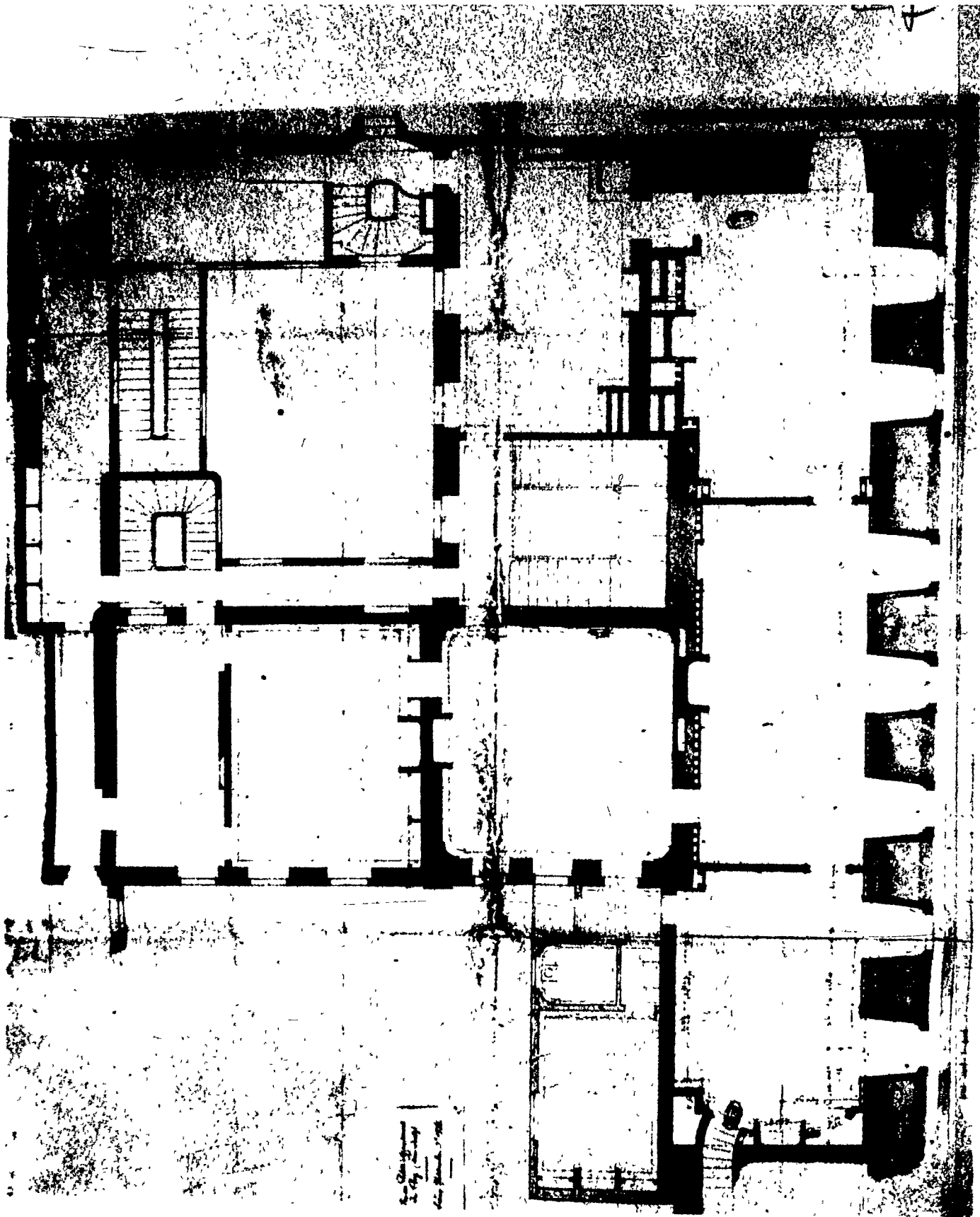




Plate 27



Plate 28



150



Plate 30



33. Hans Witdoeck after Rubens: *The Raising of the Cross*. Engraving



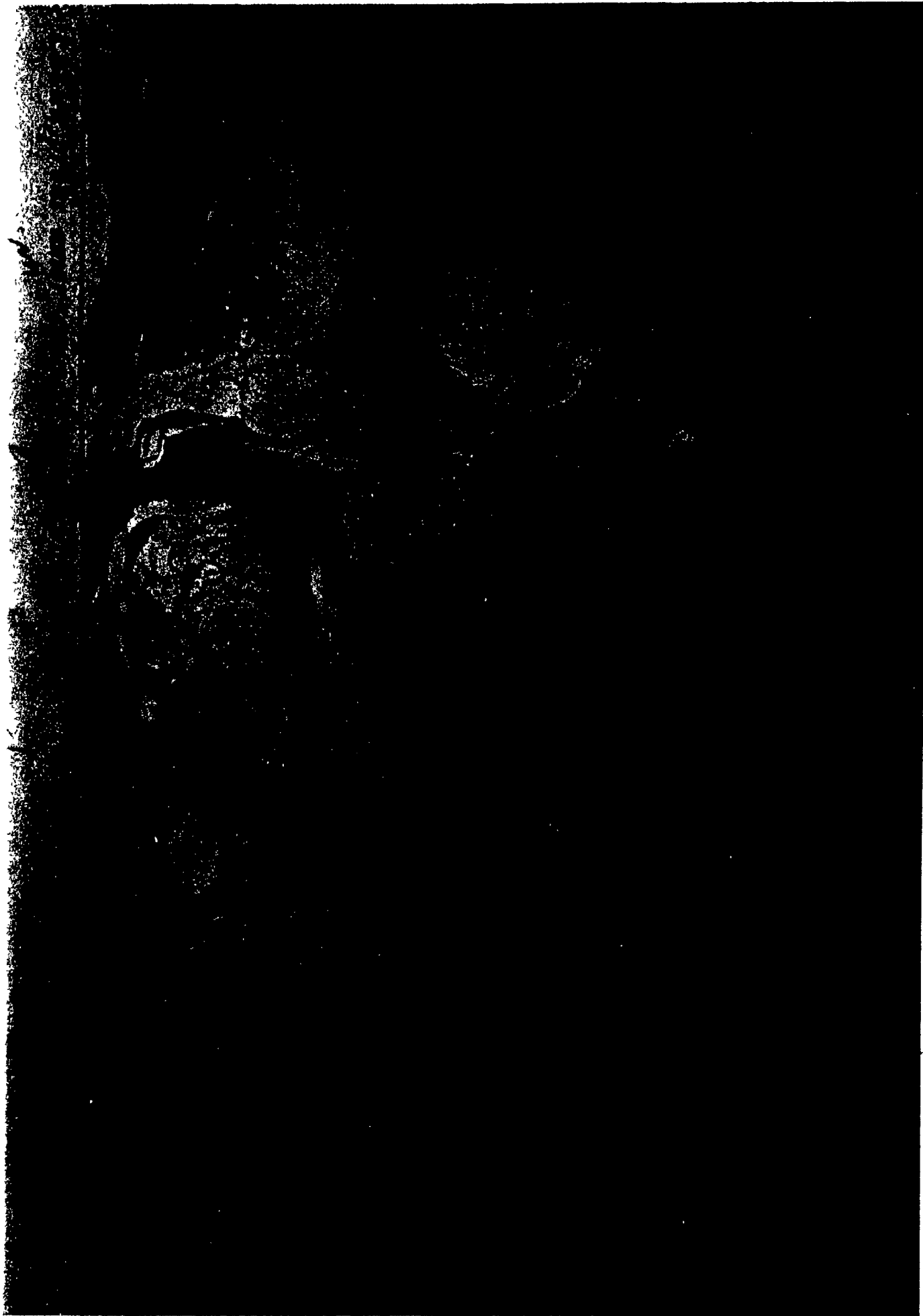


ANTVERPIÆ, EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA
BALTHASARIS MORETI. M. DC. XXXIV.



Plate 34











13



Plate 40



Plate 41

