



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

*Your file    Votre référence*

*Our file    Notre référence*

## NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

## AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Fragonard and the garden setting:  
the *Progress of Love* at Louveciennes

by

Stephen Donald Borys

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

Department of Art History  
McGill University  
Montréal, Québec  
Canada  
October, 1994

Stephen Donald Borys  
1994©



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

*Your file    Votre référence*

*Our file    Notre référence*

THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN  
IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE  
LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL  
LIBRARY OF CANADA TO  
REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR  
SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY  
ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR  
FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS  
AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED  
PERSONS.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE  
IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE  
PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE  
NATIONALE DU CANADA DE  
REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER  
OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA  
THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET  
SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT  
POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE  
CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES  
PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP  
OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER  
THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR  
SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT  
MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE  
REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER  
PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE  
DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE  
SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES  
EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-  
CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU  
AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON  
AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-612-00079-6

Fragonard's *Progress of Love* and the Garden setting



To my parents,

Donald and Constance Borys

my friend,

John David MacLeod

and in memory of my art teacher,

Gerald Eidse

*Con moltissimo affetto*

## Contents

Acknowledgements .....	i
Abstract .....	iii
Abrégé .....	iv
List of Illustrations .....	v
Introduction .....	1
 I. ....	 8
Fragonard's pre-Italian garden paintings	
 II. ....	 28
The Villa d'Este at Tivoli: the fruition of <i>villeggiatura</i>	
 III. ....	 50
Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and <i>la petite maison</i>	
 IV. ....	 69
The <i>pavillon de musique</i> of Madame du Barry	
 V. ....	 98
The artist and his patron: Fragonard's pre-Louveciennes commissions	
 VI. ....	 111
The evolution of <i>The Progress of Love</i> : Fragonard and Vien at Louveciennes	
 VII. ....	 138
<i>L'Amour et l'Amitié</i> : Pompadour, Du Barry, and the iconography of discernment	
 VIII. ....	 152
Louveciennes and the Villa d'Este: the essence of Tivoli transported	
 Conclusion .....	 173
Bibliography .....	178
Illustrations .....	192

## Acknowledgements

My thesis could not have been produced without the enlightened direction and support of my advisor, Professor Thomas Glen. It was after I presented a seminar paper on Fragonard's *Progress of Love*, that Professor Glen persuaded me to continue my study of the garden setting. I wish to thank my parents, Donald and Constance Borys, and my family, for their love and support throughout my years of study. I am truly grateful to my friend, John MacLeod, for his enthusiasm and favour, and for the many hours he spent convincing me that it was all worth it. I have also benefited from the generous counsel of Professor George Galavaris in the Department of Art History.

I extend a special tribute to Everett Fahy, who first introduced me to the *Progress of Love* during his directorship at the Frick Collection, and has since enabled me to see many wonderful collections in the United States and Europe. I am indebted to Mrs. John Gutfreund, who made it possible for me to visit the *Pavillon de Musique* at Louveciennes, and to Pierre Lemoine, Honorary Inspector General of the Museums of France, who accompanied me through the *petits appartements* of Madame du Barry on one of my first visits to Versailles. My appreciation goes also to Sir John Pope-Hennessy and Mrs. Francis Steegmuller, especially for their interest in the exercise of *villeggiatura*.

To those colleagues and friends who have given unstintingly of their time and counsel, I owe much gratitude: Duncan Campbell, for his proof-reading and moral support; Peggy and Larry Sakow, who offered a garden into which I could escape, and hours of excellent conversation; Ronald Harvie, for his refreshing comments and camaraderie; Beverly Bronfman, for her friendship and wisdom; Serge-Alexandre Filiatrault, who assisted with lengthy translations; Philip Gyorgy, for his keen interest in my studies; and Trevor Chin-Fook, for his good humour and benevolence.

Special thanks must go to Karin Bourgeois, Carol Jackman-Schuller, the faculty and my colleagues in the Department of Art History; and Marilyn Berger, Bozena Latincic and the staff of the Blackader-Lauterman Library, McGill University. I also received valuable help from Pierre Boisvert, Librarian at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal; David Schnabel at the Frick Art Reference Library; Christopher Apostle in the Department of Old Master Paintings, Sotheby's New York; Laura Lingle in the Department of European Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Christophe Leribault, Curator at the Musée Carnavalet, Paris; and the staff of the Spencer Collection, New York Public Library. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to the Canada Council (Social Sciences and Humanities Division) for a doctoral fellowship, and to McGill University for its funding through teaching assistantships and awards.

## Abstract

Fragonard's *Progress of Love* is among the most impressive decorative commissions of the eighteenth century, and this despite its sudden cancellation by Madame du Barry. Called upon to produce a series of panels for her *pavillon* at Louveciennes (designed by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux), Fragonard succeeded in uniting the gardens of the Villa d'Este with the landscape at Louveciennes. Recapturing the essence of *villeggiatura* and the vistas first experienced during his stay in Tivoli, Fragonard initiated an interplay of the real and painted setting. The *Progress of Love* became an escape, enticing Du Barry and her lover with its sensuous verdure. But reality destroyed all illusion, and Fragonard's fortune went the way of Du Barry's romance. Forced to choose between the tell-tale *Progress of Love* and an innocuous though fashionable replacement by Joseph-Marie Vien, Du Barry opted for propriety in her *maison de plaisance*. Years before, when spurned by Louis XV, Madame de Pompadour resorted to the iconography of friendship. Du Barry, facing a more serious predicament, drew upon the same iconography. However, even with *l'amour et l'amitié* ensconced in the last panel of the *Progress of Love*, fate ultimately displaced Fragonard's lovers at Louveciennes.

## Abrégé

*Le progrès de l'amour* de Fragonard est parmi les commandes décoratives les plus impressionnantes du dix-huitième siècle, et ce malgré son annulation subite par Madame du Barry. Appelé à produire une série de panneaux décoratifs pour son pavillon à Louveciennes (dessiné par Claude-Nicolas Ledoux) Fragonard réussit à réunir les jardins de la Villa d'Este avec le paysage à Louveciennes. En recréant l'esprit de la villégiature et les panoramas qu'il a connu pendant son séjour à Tivoli, Fragonard a initié l'interaction entre le véritable jardin tel qu'aménagé à Louveciennes et sa représentation sur toile. *Le progrès de l'amour* devint une évasion qui attirait Du Barry et son amant par sa verdure sensuelle. Par contre, les fortunes de Fragonard ont suivi l'écroulement de l'idylle de Madame du Barry et Louis XV. Forcée à choisir entre *Le progrès de l'amour* révélateur et son remplacement inoffensif mais en vogue de Joseph-Marie Vien, Du Barry a choisi l'œuvre bienséant pour sa maison de plaisance. Antérieurement, quand rejeté par Louis XV, Madame de Pompadour s'est intéressé à une iconographie sur le thème de l'amitié. Du Barry face à la mort de Louis XV, a tenté de s'en inspirer. Cependant, même avec l'amour et l'amitié bien installés dans le dernier panneau du *Progrès de l'amour*, le destin a dispersé les amants de Fragonard à Louveciennes.

## List of Illustrations

### Chapter I.

1. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*Blindman's Buff*, c. 1752  
Oil on canvas, 116.8 x 91.4 cm.  
The Toledo Museum of Art
2. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Seesaw (La Bascule)*, c. 1752  
Oil on canvas, 120 x 94.5 cm.  
The Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid (no. 148)
3. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*Conversation Galante in a Park,*  
*(The Musical Contest)*, c. 1754-55  
Oil on canvas, 72 x 109 cm.  
The Wallace Collection, London (cat. no. 38)
4. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Swing*, c. 1767  
Oil on canvas, 83 x 65 cm.  
The Wallace Collection, London (cat. no. 147)
5. Antoine Watteau  
*The Shepherds*, c. 1716  
Oil on canvas, 56 x 81 cm.  
Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser  
und Gärten, Berlin
6. François Boucher  
*The Shepherd's Idyll*, 1768 (detail)  
Oil on canvas, 240 x 237.5 cm.)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (53.225.1)

### Chapter II.

7. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
Façade (south-west elevation)  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author

8. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
Entrance loggia (south-west elevation)  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author
9. Etienne Dupérac  
*Villa d'Este, Tivoli*, 1573  
Engraving  
(source: David Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*,  
fig. 1; henceforth Coffin, *Tivoli*)
10. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
Garden entrance (lower gate near the Porta Romana)  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author
11. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Alley of the Hundred Fountains*  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author
12. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of the Organ (Water Organ)*  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author
13. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of Rome (Rometta)*  
(with boat and statue of *Roma*)  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author
14. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of Rome (Rometta)*  
(full view with the *Cascade*)  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author
15. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Oval Fountain*  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author



16. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of the Dragon*  
 Photograph, c. 1960  
 (source: Coffin, *Tivoli*, fig. 17)
  
17. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of the Dragon*  
 Photograph, 1991  
 Collection of the author
  
18. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Avenue of the Cypress Trees at the Villa d'Este*, c. 1760  
 Red chalk on paper, with black chalk, 49.5 x 36.5 cm.  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon (Inv. D. 2842)
  
19. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Avenue of the Cypress Trees (with Cypress Circle)*  
 Photograph, c. 1960  
 (source: Coffin, *Tivoli*, fig. 114)
  
20. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Avenue of the Cypress Trees (with Cypress Circle)*  
 Photograph, 1991  
 Collection of the author
  
21. Giovanni Battista Piranesi  
*The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*, c. 1766-75  
 Etching from *Vedute di Roma*, 47 x 70.9 cm.  
 The Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal  
 (DR1985:0272)
  
22. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Avenue of Cypress Trees at the Villa d'Este*, c. 1765-74  
 Bister wash on paper, with black chalk, 46.5 x 34.3 cm.  
 Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, Inv. 12.735
  
23. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*Villa d'Este: L'Escalier de la Gerbe*  
*(Fountain of the Dragon)*, c. 1760  
 Red chalk on paper, 35 x 48.7 cm.  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon, Inv. D. 2844

24. Giovanni Francesco Venturini  
*Fountain of the Dragon, Villa d'Este, 1685*  
Engraving  
(source: Coffin, *Tivoli*, fig. 16)
  
25. Hubert Robert  
*The Oval Staircase at the Villa d'Este, c. 1760*  
Watercolour, with brown wash over black chalk  
48 x 49.5 cm.  
Private Collection  
(source: Cara D. Denison, Myra Nan Rosenfeld, and  
Stephanie Wiles, *Exploring Rome: Piranesi and His  
Contemporaries*, no. 96; henceforth Denison, Rosenfeld,  
Wiles, *Exploring Rome*)
  
26. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Fountain of Pomona and the Avenue of the  
Hundred Fountains at the Villa d'Este, c. 1760*  
Red chalk on paper, 48.8 x 36.1 cm.  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon (Inv. D. 2845)
  
27. Giovanni Francesco Venturini  
*The Avenue of the Hundred Fountains, Villa d'Este, 1685*  
Engraving  
(source: Coffin, *Tivoli*, fig. 29)
  
28. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
Diagonal path above *Alley of the Hundred Fountains*  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author

### Chapter III.

29. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Hôtel d'Hallwyl, Paris, 1766*  
Elevation of rear courtyard with trompe l'oeil  
Engraving published in Daniel Ramée, *L'Architecture de  
C.N. Ledoux* (Paris, 1847) pl. 158; henceforth Ramée, *Ledoux*
  
30. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Maison de M. Tabary, Paris, 1771*  
Elevation of façade  
Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 201

31. Anges-Jacques Gabriel  
*Petit Trianon*, Versailles, 1762-68  
 Garden façade  
 Photograph, 1992  
 Collection of the author
  
32. Anges-Jacques Gabriel  
*Pavillon Français*, Versailles, 1749  
 Garden façade  
 Photograph, 1992  
 Collection of the author
  
33. François-Joseph Belanger  
*Bagatelle*, Paris, 1777  
 Garden façade  
 Photograph, c. 1962  
 (source: Cyril Connolly and Jerome Zerbe, *Les Pavillons*,  
 p. 115; henceforth Connolly and Zerbe, *Pavillons*)
  
34. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Maison de Mlle Guimard*, Paris, 1770  
 Front elevation  
 Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 176
  
35. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Maison de Mlle Guimard*, Paris, 1770  
 Section through second ante-chamber and dining room  
 Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 175
  
36. M. Adolphe Lalauze  
 Illustration for Bastide's *La petite maison*, 1905  
*Pavillon and garden*  
 Watercolour  
 (published in a 1905 edition of Bastide's novel)  
 The Spencer Collection, New York Public Library (French 1905)
  
37. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Pavillon and garden*  
 drawing, n.d. (artist unknown)  
 Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna  
 (source: Connolly and Zerbe, *Pavillons* 135)

38. M. Adolphe Lalauze  
Illustration for Bastide's *La petite maison*, 1905  
*Lovers in the salon ovale*  
Watercolour  
(published in a 1905 edition of Bastide's novel)  
The Spencer Collection, New York Public Library (French 1905)
  
39. *Torchère*  
France, 1775  
Plaster  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York  
(source: Marly, *Du Barry*, 19)
  
40. Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart  
*Projet d'un jardin fruitier, potager et d'agrément pour une cour des Invalides, à Paris*, 1784  
Watercolour, with pen and ink, 30.8 x 26.7 cm.  
Inventaire Brongniart (no. 597)  
(source: Carnavalet, *Brongniart*, no. 351)
  
41. Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart  
*Plusieurs vues du parc de Maupertuis pour être exécutées dans l'hôtel de son S. Excellence M. le Comte de Montesquiou*, c. 1780  
Watercolour, with pen and ink, 21 x 47 cm.  
Musée Carnavalet, Paris (123 B.)
  
42. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Salotto (Room of the Fountain of Tivoli)*  
Photograph, c. 1960  
(source: Coffin, *Tivoli*, fig. 53)
  
43. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Salotto (with detail of Villa d'Este fresco)*  
Photograph, c. 1960  
(source: Coffin, *Tivoli*, fig. 8)
  
44. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Room of Hercules (detail)*  
Photograph, c. 1960  
(source: Coffin, *Tivoli*, fig. 64)

45. Jean-François Chalgrin  
*Pavillon de Musique de Madame*, Versailles, 1784  
 Central salon  
 Photograph, c. 1972  
 (source: Wend Graf Kalnein and Michael Levey, *Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France*, fig. 303).
46. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Palais (Château) de Louveciennes*, 1773  
 Plan  
 Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 268

#### Chapter IV.

47. *Château de Louveciennes*  
 Façade  
 Photograph, c. 1940  
 (source: *Madame du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes*, (exh. cat.)  
 Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, p. 160;  
 henceforth Marly, *Du Barry*)
48. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Pavillon de Louveciennes*, 1770  
 Elevation of garden façade  
 Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 270
49. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
 Garden façade (south elevation)  
 Photograph, 1992  
 Collection of the author
50. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Pavillon* and garden (south elevation)  
 Photograph, 1992  
 Collection of the author
51. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
 Entrance portico with frieze (south elevation)  
 Photograph, 1992  
 Collection of the author

52. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
Entrance portico with frieze (south elevation) (detail)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
53. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salle à manger* (entrance foyer) (west elevation)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
54. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Pavillon de Louveciennes*, 1770  
Floor plan  
Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 270
55. Jean-Bernard Restout  
Ceiling painting for the *Pavillon de Louveciennes*,  
*Salle à manger* (entrance foyer), c. 1772  
(partial view)  
(source: Marly, *Du Barry*, 21)
56. Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune  
*Une fête donnée à Louveciennes en 1771*, 1771  
Watercolour, with pen and ink  
Musée du Louvre, Paris  
(source: Marly, *Du Barry*, 158)
57. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon carré (salon du roi)*  
(north elevation, with view of river)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
58. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon carré (salon du roi)*  
(south elevation, adjacent *salle à manger*)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author

59. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
View of river and valley from the *salon carré*  
(north elevation)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
60. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
Entrance to the *salon ovale* from the *salon carré*  
with view of *bosco*  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
61. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon ovale* (north elevation)  
(with reproductions of the *Progress of Love* panels)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
62. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon ovale* (south elevation)  
(with reproductions of the *Progress of Love* panels)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
63. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
Entrance to the *salon en cul-de-four* from the *salon carré*  
with view of garden  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
64. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon en cul-de-four*  
(north-west elevation, river side)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
65. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon en cul-de-four* (north elevation, with river view)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author

66. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon en cul-de-four* (north-east elevation,  
with river and garden views)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
67. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon en cul-de-four* (south elevation)  
(*cul-de-four* termination of *salon*)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
68. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
View of garden from *pavillon* (south elevation)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
69. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
Ionic columns  
(original columns from the south portico of the *pavillon*)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
70. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
Ionic columns  
(original columns from the north portico of the *pavillon*)  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
71. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
Grotto  
Photograph, 1992  
Collection of the author
72. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of Venus*  
Photograph, 1991  
Collection of the author



73. Testard and Bellet  
*Vue du pavillon de Lucienne, près de Marli,*  
*appartenant à Mme la Comtesse du Barry, c. 1800*  
 Engraving, 11 cm (diameter)  
 Musée-promenade de Marly-Louveciennes  
 (source: Marly, *Du Barry*, 12)
  
74. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
 River façade (north elevation)  
 Photograph, 1992  
 Collection of the author
  
75. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Pavillon de Louveciennes, 1770*  
 Elevation of river façade  
 Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 272
  
76. John Hill  
*Vue du pavillon de Louveciennes sous l'Empire, c. 1800*  
 Engraving (after drawing by J.-Cl. Nates), 40 x 29 cm.  
 Musée-promenade de Marly-Louveciennes  
 (source: Marly, *Du Barry*, 15)
  
77. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
 View of *pavillon* from north-west  
 Photograph, 1988  
 (source: Susan Morris, *Le Pavillon de Musique de la Comtesse du Barry*)
  
78. François-Hubert Drouais  
*Madame du Barry en muse, 1772 (detail)*  
 Oil on canvas, 207 x 142 cm.  
 Chambre de commerce et d'industrie des Yvelines  
 et du Val-d'Oise, Versailles  
 (source: Marly, *Du Barry*, 151)
  
79. Joseph-Marie Vien  
*La famille de Coriolan venant le fléchir*  
*et le détourner d'assiéger Rome, 1779 (detail)*  
 Oil on canvas, 375 x 310 cm.  
 Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence  
 (source: Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand,  
*Joseph-Marie Vien*, henceforth Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*)

80. Claude-Joseph Vernet  
*Le Matin, les baigneuses*, 1772  
 Oil on canvas  
 Musée du Louvre, Paris  
 (source: Florence Ingersoll-Simouse,  
*Joseph Vernet: Peintre de marins, 1714-1789*)
  
81. *L'Enlèvement de Proserpine* (after Joseph-Marie Vien)  
 Gobelins tapestry (central portion), 1773-75  
 Mobilier national, Paris  
 (source: Marly, *Du Barry*, 74)
  
82. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Pavillon de Louveciennes*, 1770  
 Section through *pavillon* (with *salon carré* and *salle à manger*)  
 Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 271

## Chapter V.

83. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Muse Terpsichore* and *A Muse*, c. 1770  
 Drawing  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon  
 (source: Pierre Rosenberg, *Fragonard* (exh. cat.),  
 p. 298; henceforth Rosenberg, *Fragonard*)
  
84. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*L'Amour embrasant l'Univers*, c. 1770  
 Oil on canvas, 116 x 145 cm. (enlarged on all sides)  
 Musée de Toulon (Inv. 5572a)  
 (source: Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, no. 152)
  
85. François-Hubert Drouais  
*Un petit garçon jouant du tambour de basque*, 1772  
 Oil on canvas, diameter 42 cm. (circular format)  
 Private Collection  
 (source: Jean-Pierre Cuzin, *Jean-Honoré Fragonard*,  
 no. 188; henceforth Cuzin, *Fragonard*)

86. François Boucher, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, and Jean-Baptiste Huet  
*Le Salon du Graveur Gilles Demarteau*, 1768-70  
Oil on canvas, lined  
Musée Carnavalet, Paris  
(source: Jacques Wilhelm, "Le Salon du Graveur Gilles Demarteau peint par François Boucher et son atelier avec le concours de Fragonard et de J.-B. Huet." *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet* 1 (1975), p. 4-5; henceforth Wilhelm, *Demarteau*)
87. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*L'Amour Triomphant*, 1768-70  
(panel from *Le Salon du Graveur Gilles Demarteau*)  
Oil on canvas, lined  
Musée Carnavalet, Paris  
(source: Wilhelm, *Demarteau*, 14)

#### Chapter VI.

88. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
Floor plan of *salon en cul-de-four*  
(with arrangement of *The Progress of Love* panels)  
(source: Mary Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism*, 64)
89. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon carré* (with partial view of *salon en cul-de-four*)  
Photograph, c. 1962  
(source: Connolly and Zerbe, *Pavillons*, 141)
90. *Fragonard Room*, The Frick Collection  
(with *Progress of Love Panels*)  
Photograph, c. 1987  
(source: The Frick Collection, New York)
91. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Pursuit* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73  
Oil on canvas, lined, 317.8 x 215.5 cm.  
The Frick Collection, New York (15.1.45)
92. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Meeting* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73  
Oil on canvas, lined, 317.5 x 243.8 cm.  
The Frick Collection, New York (15.1.46)

93. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Lover Crowned* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73  
 Oil on canvas, lined, 317.8 x 243.2 cm.  
 The Frick Collection, New York (15.1.48)
  
94. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*Love Letters* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73  
 Oil on canvas, lined, 317.1 x 216.6 cm.  
 The Frick Collection, New York (15.1.47)
  
95. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
 View of garden from the east terrace door  
 of the *salon en cul-de-four*  
 Photograph, 1992  
 Collection of the author
  
96. *Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
 View of *bosco* from the west window of the *salon ovale*  
 Photograph, 1992  
 Collection of the author
  
97. Joseph-Marie Vien  
*Deux jeunes Grecques faisant serment de ne jamais aimer*  
 from *Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles*,  
 c. 1773  
 Oil on canvas, 270 (original dimension 320) x 230 cm.  
 Préfecture de Chambéry, Savoie  
 (source: Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, no. 229)
  
98. Joseph-Marie Vien  
*Des jeunes Grecques rencontrent l'amour endormi dans un jardin*  
 from *Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles*,  
 1773  
 Oil on canvas, 350 x 230 cm.  
 Musée du Louvre, Paris  
 (source: Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, no. 230)
  
99. Joseph-Marie Vien  
*Amant couronnant sa maîtresse*  
 from *Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles*, 1773  
 Oil on canvas, 350 x 230 cm.  
 Musée du Louvre, Paris  
 (source: Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, no. 231)

100. Joseph-Marie Vien  
*Deux Amants s'unissant à l'autel de l'hymen*  
 from *Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles*,  
 1774  
 Oil on canvas, 270 (original dimension 315) x 240 cm.  
 Préfecture de Chambéry, Savoie  
 (source: Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, no. 232)

## Chapter VII.

101. Jean-Baptiste Pigalle  
*L'Amour et l'Amitié*, 1754-68  
 Sculpture  
 Musée du Louvre, Paris  
 (source: Nancy Mitford, *Madame de Pompadour*, 185)

## Chapter VIII.

102. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Pursuit* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73 (detail)  
 Oil on canvas, lined  
 The Frick Collection, New York
103. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Pursuit* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73 (detail)  
 Oil on canvas, lined  
 The Frick Collection, New York
104. Antoine Watteau  
*The Embarkation for Cythera*, c. 1718 (detail)  
 Oil on canvas, 129 x 194 cm.  
 Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und  
 Gärten Berlin, Berlin  
 (source: Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre  
 Rosenberg, *Watteau, 1684-1721* (exh. cat.), no. 62)
105. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Meeting* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73 (detail)  
 Oil on canvas, lined  
 The Frick Collection, New York

106. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*Le petit parc (Gardens of the Villa d'Este, Tivoli)*, c. 1762  
 Oil on canvas, 37.5 x 46.4 cm.  
 The Wallace Collection, London, P379  
 (source: *The Wallace Collection, Illustrated Catalogue of Pictures*, P379)
  
107. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of the Dragon*  
 Landing above the fountain  
 Photograph, 1991  
 Collection of the author
  
108. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*Le petit parc*, 1763  
 Etching, 10.3 x 14 cm.  
 (source: Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, no. 66)
  
109. Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Avenue of the Cypress Trees*  
 View from the landing above *Fountain of the Dragon*  
 Photograph, 1991  
 Collection of the author
  
110. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*L'Escalade (Sketch for The Meeting)*, c. 1771  
 Oil on canvas, 69 x 38 cm.  
 Private Collection, Paris  
 (source: Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 329)
  
111. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Lover Crowned from The Progress of Love*, 1771-73 (detail)  
 Oil on canvas, lined  
 The Frick Collection, New York
  
112. Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*Le Dessinateur*, c. 1772  
 Black chalk on paper, 34.6 x 24.2 cm.  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1975.1.626)

## Introduction

Two months after Madame du Barry was presented to the court at Versailles in 1769, Louis XV gave his new mistress the château at Louveciennes, located near Bougival, a few miles north of Versailles. The building itself was unimpressive; the setting, however, provided the backdrop for one of the most fascinating architectural and decorative commissions of the eighteenth century. Consisting of four hundred hectares of woods descending to the banks of the Seine, the park at Louveciennes boasted an extraordinary view of the surrounding countryside. A spur of land, situated on the perimeter of the forest and extending onto a ridge above the river, was chosen as the site for Du Barry's *pavillon de musique*.

The two names most prominently identified with Du Barry's *pavillon* are those of Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Jean-Honoré Fragonard, although several artists were involved in the construction and furnishing of the building. As the latest and most fashionable representative of the neoclassical style, Ledoux was the appropriate choice for Madame du Barry's architectural undertaking and her wish to transcend the exemplary patronage and legacy of her predecessor, Madame de Pompadour. Fragonard, on the other hand, was clearly a personal choice of the royal mistress; and as the last exponent of the rococo, he was an

odd complement for Ledoux. Their introduction to Du Barry and Louveciennes proved, however, to be quite different from their parting. For Ledoux it was a success story -- he emerged as the new protégé of the *favorite*. Fragonard was not as fortunate, departing with the very paintings he had created for the *pavillon*, and soon thereafter terminating his pursuit of royal commissions.

At Louveciennes, Ledoux enriched his *pavillon* design, and Fragonard succeeded in restoring the Italian garden in his panels for the *salon*. Perhaps both accomplishments surpassed Du Barry's request for a *maison de plaisance*, but as an ensemble they were not acceptable. For reasons that remain as yet unclear, the *Progress of Love*, installed in the *salon en cul-de-four* of the *pavillon*, was eventually rejected by Madame du Barry. And as much as her initial preference for Fragonard's work reveals something of Du Barry's personal taste, the cancellation of the commission and subsequent engagement of Joseph-Marie Vien as a replacement betrays a great deal more about the predicaments Du Barry faced in her dual role as mistress and connoisseur.

This present study focuses on the *Progress of Love* and its garden setting. Fragonard's landscape actually embodies three gardens: the artist's recollection of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, the park and environs of Louveciennes, and the rich iconography of the garden of love. The entire exercise takes place in a garden. The lovers are introduced there, and they conspire, rejoice, and eventually retire



within its seclusion. The narrative and its iconographic format come to life in this setting with nature emerging as the score for the amorous duet.

Fragonard's panels mirror the landscape beyond the walls of the *salon*, creating the most splendid garden of illusion. Also for Du Barry, Fragonard wanted nothing more than to bring the garden into her private *pavillon*. The visual experience at Louveciennes would thus have been not unlike that created by the garden frescoes in the rooms of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli (where Fragonard spent a summer during his training at the French Academy in Rome). In both the villa and the *pavillon*, there is an opening of the interior space to the surrounding landscape. Here the garden and park function as both a physical environment and a reference point, since they exist as a setting and a vista. The greenery advances beyond the role of a backdrop for the story, and evolves into a garden of illusion. The idea of illusion refers to a merging of two spaces: an interior space created by the arrangement of the four panels and the exterior space that surrounds the painted landscape, initiating an interaction between the imaginary and the real.

Ultimately this study sheds more light on the symbolism and function of the garden setting in Fragonard's work. Important to our discussion are two subjects associated with garden and landscape architecture: the Renaissance theory of *villeggiatura* and its physical manifestation at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli,

and the evolution of the *pavillon* and *maison de plaisance* in eighteenth-century France.

Both a philosophy and an exercise, *villeggiatura* refers to the relationship between urban and rural society. First advocated in 1484 by the Vatican in an attempt to provide summer retreats for church officials, the activity was defined by the seasonal migration to the Italian villa, which was often situated just outside the boundaries of town and city. But the concept of *villeggiatura* advanced beyond the borders of Rome and Italy and encompassed more than a recreational or political programme. In the seventeenth century Rubens embraced this custom, delighting in the physical and spiritual wealth of his garden. Fragonard, knowingly or not, revived the exercise of *villeggiatura* when he escaped from the climatic and academic demands of Rome for a sojourn at the Villa d'Este. Ten years later, he drew on this same experience for his *pavillon* commission at Louveciennes. At Tivoli the villa and gardens were in a state of disrepair, the princely splendour displaced by overgrowth and decay, but this did not prevent Fragonard from enjoying the seasonal benefits of its natural setting. Though more in idea than practice, *villeggiatura* was still within his reach at Tivoli and Louveciennes.

The *maison de plaisance* was embellished by Jean-François Bastide in his novel, *La petite maison* (published in 1753), and championed by Ledoux in his

*pavillon*-designs for Mlle Guimard and Madame du Barry. The setting for Bastide's romance called for a house and a garden, located just above the banks of the Seine. At Louveciennes, Ledoux and Fragonard had the material for both the setting and the characters in Bastide's story. Whether for the lovers in *La petite maison* and the *Progress of Love*, or the suitors of Du Barry and Guimard, the garden *pavillon* offered sanctuary from an unwanted audience and a setting for their personal agendas. When installed in the *salon en cul-de-four* of Ledoux's *pavillon*, Fragonard's panels would have enticed the visitor to look within and beyond the walls of the *salon*. At Louveciennes, the desire to escape into the garden would persist as long as the *Progress of Love* prevailed. But the garden created by Fragonard was short-lived, and even briefer than Du Barry's liaison with the king.

Why did Madame du Barry cancel the Fragonard commission and replace the work with paintings by Vien? There are a number of angles we can adopt in our examination of the evolution and fate of Fragonard's *Progress of Love* series. First we can approach the work through the experience of the artist at the Villa d'Este -- an event highlighted by the historical and natural vestiges of *villeggiatura*. There is also the literary course offered by Bastide and his lovers in *La petite maison*, which sounds a romantic tone later echoed within the garden walls of Du Barry's own *maison de plaisance*. A third perspective is outlined in the architectural vocabulary of Ledoux. Here the *pavillon* design augments the

images developed in Bastide's novel, ultimately furnishing the setting for Bastide, Fragonard and Madame du Barry. A stylistic format introduces the neoclassical and rococo argument, and the suitability of Vien's Olympian narratives over Fragonard's garden romance. Tied in with the matter of competing styles are the issues of taste and connoisseurship, and what was appropriate for the *pavillon* and its occupants at Louveciennes. This brings us to the final and perhaps most critical way in which we can look at Fragonard's work, and that is through the eyes of Madame du Barry and her lover.

What at first seemed like the perfect commission for Du Barry's *maison de plaisance* may have quickly turned into a painful reminder of what was not to be. Fragonard's *Progress of Love* was charged with the hope and passion found in the hearts of young lovers. The timing for the commission was perfect, but from the start, time was not on Du Barry's side. The theme of Fragonard's series quickly became obsolete, and by the time Vien had finished his replacement panels for Louveciennes, Du Barry's relationship with the king was at an end. At this stage, Vien's passionless tale of the *Progress of Love in the hearts of young women* was somehow more fitting for the abandoned *pavillon*. Vien's neoclassicism provided the sort of neutrality of decoration which would appease the demands of Du Barry and Ledoux, while at the same time avoiding all personal references to her romance with the king.

Having turned first to Fragonard and then to Vien to have a *Progress of Love* series created for her *pavillon*, Du Barry virtually paralleled Madame de Pompadour's situation of some twenty-two years earlier when the Marquise revived the iconography of friendship to secure her own place at Versailles. The difference is that at Louveciennes, Madame du Barry included the iconography of both friendship and love. But in the end, neither state was enough to save her relationship with Louis XV. For the aging monarch, the pursuits of the heart and mind were fast becoming secondary to the matters which concerned the state of his soul.

## I. Fragonard's pre-Italian garden paintings

Beyond the careful observation of the foliage, the shimmering light, the rippling water, the rustling wind, and the sultry air, they are a hymn to vegetation -- a luxurious vegetation -- and to trees. The grandiose Nature that Fragonard represents does not deny the existence of Man. It is not meant to be disquieting, but to enchant, and to those who contemplate it, it offers the promise of escape.

Pierre Rosenberg<sup>1</sup>

Fragonard's family name, not unlike his celebrated garden landscapes, betrays an Italian source. Born in the Provençal town of Grasse in 1732, Fragonard spent his first six years just fifty kilometres from the Italian border.<sup>2</sup> Still much closer to the Italian soil are his ancestral roots which can be traced back to a sixteenth-century Milanese family.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the magnificent garden paintings find their inspiration farther south in the heart of Roman *villeggiatura* at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli.

---

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Rosenberg, *Fragonard* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987), 96; henceforth Rosenberg, *Fragonard*.

<sup>2</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Pierre Cuzin, *Jean-Honoré Fragonard, Life and Work* (New York: Harry N. Abram, Inc., Publishers, 1988) 13; henceforth Cuzin, *Fragonard*.

The Italian lineage and the Roman passages associated with Fragonard's life and work coalesced in Rome when, as a young student in 1756, he entered the *Académie de France*. Prior to his arrival in Rome, he had served brief apprenticeships in the studios of Chardin and Boucher, as well as a period of study at the recently founded *École Royale des Elèves Protégés* under the tutelage of Carle Van Loo.<sup>4</sup> Fragonard's enrollment in the *École Royale* came about after he won the *Prix de Rome* in 1752 with his painting entitled *Jeroboam Sacrificing to the Idols*. Perhaps exercising special privileges, Boucher arranged for his pupil to enter the competition which stipulated that only pupils enlisted in the *Académie de France* could participate.<sup>5</sup> Finally, in December, 1756 Fragonard arrived at the Palazzo Mancini on the Corso in Rome with two other *élèves protégés* to begin his four-year stay<sup>6</sup> at the French Academy under the direction of Charles-Joseph Natoire (1700-1777).

---

<sup>4</sup> Upon Boucher's own rejection and subsequent recommendation, Fragonard entered Chardin's studio (around 1749). However, six months later he was accepted into Boucher's studio, where he probably worked until entering the recently founded (1748) *École Royale des Elèves Protégés* in 1753. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 38.

<sup>5</sup> Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 5. Cuzin does, however, question the account given by Fragonard's grandson, Jean-Honoré and recorded by the Goncourt brothers, which states that Fragonard never attended a course at the *Académie de France*.

<sup>6</sup> Fragonard's stay at the Academy was extended in July, 1759 and then again in November, 1760. In April, 1761, Fragonard left the Academy and travelled back to Paris with the Abbé de Saint-Non, arriving in Paris on 26 September, 1761. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 67-70.

As a *pensionnaire* at the Academy in Rome, Fragonard's progress was constantly monitored by the Directorate in Rome and Paris. The correspondence between Charles-Joseph Natoire in Rome and the Marquis de Marigny, the *Surintendant des bâtiments* in Paris, reveals detailed accounts of the output of each student at the Academy. It was also the responsibility of the director in Rome to send the latest work of the academicians to the Royal Academy in Paris. At first, Natoire's reports to Marigny on the progress of the three new pupils<sup>7</sup> were discouraging. Almost two years after their arrival at the Academy, Natoire explained in a letter to Marigny why he had been unable to send any work by the *pensionnaires* to Paris: "*la foiblesse de leurs talents et la cause de tour; ils ne savent s'arrêter à aucun party.*"<sup>8</sup> However, a year later Natoire sent his pupils' copies after the Italian masters to Paris, and in an accompanying letter drew singular attention to Fragonard's talent, assuring Marigny that: "*Il n'y a point [à] appréhender que le Sr. Flagonard (sic) refroidisse le feu qu'il a naturellement pour son talen.*"<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless, it does appear that the decision to extend Fragonard's stay at the Academy -- first in 1759 and then again the following year -- came

---

<sup>7</sup> Fragonard, Charles Monnet, painter, and Brenet, sculptor.

<sup>8</sup> Natoire in a letter to Marigny, 15 March, 1758. *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*. A. de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey, ed., 17 vols. (Paris, 1887-1907), XI, 207, (as cited in Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 67).

<sup>9</sup> Natoire in a letter to Marigny, 7 November, 1759. *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, XI, 318, (as cited in Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 67).



more as a result of the artist's spirited response to the Italian landscape than because of his ability to copy the Italian masters. With Fragonard's increased production of drawings and paintings while in Rome, it became readily apparent that his artistic energy was most effectively challenged when confronting and documenting the surrounding countryside rather than the painted images left by his Italian predecessors.

During his two visits to Italy (the first from 1756-1761 and the second from 1773-1774) Fragonard became well-acquainted with the *Campagna Romana* which, in many instances, could present itself in the guise of the Renaissance garden. The itineraries for his travels with the Abbé de Saint-Non in 1761 and with the financier, Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt in 1773 to 1774, included visits to more than thirty towns and several villas in Italy.<sup>10</sup> There was, however, one extended stay that stands out from all the others. In July, 1760, at the invitation of Jean-Claude Richard, l'abbé de Saint-Non, Fragonard arrived at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, and resided there for the summer with the Abbé.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> The itineraries for Fragonard's two trips to Italy appear in Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 66-71 and 364-370.

<sup>11</sup> According to a letter dated 27 August, 1760 from Natoire to Marigny, Fragonard and Saint-Non occupied the Villa d'Este for approximately six weeks. Natoire wrote: "*M. l'abbé de Saint-Non est depuis un moy et demy (sic) à Tyvoli (sic) avec le pensionnaire Flagonard (sic), peintre.*" *Correspondances des Directeurs de l'Academie de France à Rome*, XI, 354, (as cited in Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 68).

The Abbé de Saint-Non came to Rome in November, 1759 for a two-year sojourn; this enabled him to pursue his own artistic interests (Saint-Non was an amateur painter and engraver) and to extend his patronage at the Academy. Shortly after his arrival, he was introduced to Hubert Robert and Fragonard (the latter probably through the collection of Jacques-Laure Le Tonnelier, the Bailiff of Breteuil and Ambassador of the Order of Malta in Rome), and was immediately taken with the work of two French academicians.<sup>12</sup> Saint-Non lost little time in offering his support to the two painters. In April of the following year he invited Robert to accompany him on a trip to Naples and Herculaneum.<sup>13</sup> Upon his return to Rome, he asked Fragonard to spend the summer with him at the Villa d'Este.<sup>14</sup> It was also through Saint-Non's patronage that Fragonard was

---

However, according to the journal kept by the Abbé de Saint-Non, the visit lasted two or three months: "*la Villa d'Est (sic) est une des plus agréables habitations que je connoisse, et je me ressouviendrai toujours avec plaisir du séjour que j'y ai fait pendant 2 ou 3 mois de suite.*" See Rosenberg and B. Brejon de Lavergnée, *Saint-Non, Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano: Un diario di viaggio ritrovato, 1759-1761* (Rome, 1986), 159-162.

<sup>12</sup> Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 60. It was probably Fragonard's painting entitled *The Stolen Kiss* (1759) (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) originally from the collection of Jacques-Laure Le Tonnelier that the Abbé de Saint-Non saw in Rome. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 82.

<sup>13</sup> While Hubert Robert was a fellow student of Fragonard's at the French Academy in Rome, he was not a *pensionnaire*. Robert was given permission to attend classes at the Academy after the intervention of his patron, Etienne-François de Choiseul, comte de Stainville, and later duc de Choiseul. See Eunice Williams, *Drawings by Fragonard in North American Collections* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1978) 20; henceforth Williams, *Drawings*.

<sup>14</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 67-68.

able to plan the itinerary for his return trip to Paris on which the Abbé accompanied him.

In a letter dated 27 August, 1760, written by Charles-Joseph Natoire to the Marquis de Marigny in Paris, the director of the Academy mentions Fragonard's visit to Tivoli with the Abbé de Saint-Non. In the same letter he comments on the progress of another artist at the Academy, Hubert Robert. Because of this latter reference, some scholars have been led to believe that Robert was at Tivoli with Saint-Non and Fragonard. Robert did visit Tivoli during his stay in Rome, as was the practice with most of the students at the French Academy; however, no record survives to verify a visit to the Villa d'Este in July or August, 1760.<sup>15</sup>

The Abbé de Saint-Non had arranged to lease the Villa d'Este for the summer from its current owner, the Duc de Modena, Francesco III d'Este (1698-

---

<sup>15</sup> As Eunice Williams notes in her catalogue -- after a conversation with Victor Carlson, and as stated in Carlson's *Hubert Robert* catalogue (Washington, 1978) -- there remains no documentary evidence substantiating the "traditional view" that Fragonard and Robert were staying at the Villa d'Este at the same time, during the summer of 1760. Williams's conclusion has most recently been reaffirmed in the 1993 exhibition on Piranesi and his contemporaries in Rome, and in Pierre Rosenberg's 1988 *Fragonard* catalogue. See Cara D. Denison, Myra Nan Rosenfeld, and Stephanie Wiles, *Exploring Rome: Piranesi and His Contemporaries* (Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture; New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1993) 169; Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 94; and Williams, *Drawings*, 25.

1780), the son-in-law of the Duc d'Orléans.<sup>16</sup> Acting on the duke's behalf was Jacques-Laure Le Tonnelier, who as a friend of Saint-Non and a protector to Robert and Fragonard, was most certainly pleased to indulge the pursuits of his new protégés.<sup>17</sup> Although the villa had been for sale since 1743 and was leased out on a number of occasions, it remained in the Este family until it passed to the Hapsburgs of Austria. Dethroned by the French, Duke Ercole III d'Este left the villa to his only child, Maria Beatrice, the Archduchess of Austria, who, on her father's death in 1803, took possession of the property.<sup>18</sup>

Fragonard's association with the garden and the Italian landscape did not begin with his visit to the Villa d'Este, although it is possible to think that his experience with nature was initiated there. The Renaissance gardens of the Villa d'Este do not actually reappear in his *Progress of Love*, though the essence of their sensuous verdure has been recaptured. And while their form has been adjusted by a lingering rococo spirit, the tall cypresses and billowing poplars

---

<sup>16</sup> Dore Ashton, *Fragonard in the Universe of Painting* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988) 65; henceforth Ashton, *Fragonard*.

<sup>17</sup> Georges Bernier, *Hubert Robert - The Pleasure of Ruins* (New York: Wildenstein & Co., Inc., 1988) 7; henceforth Bernier, *Robert*.

<sup>18</sup> David Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960) 122; henceforth Coffin, *Tivoli*.

return to the sky that was, as Dore Ashton notes, "first incited at Tivoli and never forgotten."<sup>19</sup>

Fragonard would return to the Villa d'Este on one other occasion, but under very different circumstances. This second visit came in April, 1774, shortly after the Louveciennes commission was cancelled by Madame du Barry and the work for Mlle Marie-Madeleine Guimard had failed. The trip was probably more of a diversion than an artistic necessity.<sup>20</sup> Travelling with Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt (1715-1785) and his entourage, Fragonard's return to Tivoli was brief and without any pictorial record. Perhaps the second journey lacked the enchantment that had captured the heart of the young *pensionnaire* fourteen years earlier; or maybe Fragonard had come to the realization that the Italian garden simply could not be transported. During this stay in Italy (which consisted of eight of the eleven months of his trip with Bergeret), Fragonard produced a number of drawings of Italian villas and gardens, but none of the Villa d'Este. On their one-day visit to Tivoli, Bergeret

---

<sup>19</sup> Ashton, *Fragonard*, 150.

<sup>20</sup> The history of both commissions -- the Louveciennes commission for Madame du Barry and the Temple of Terpsichore commission for Mlle Guimard -- are discussed below in Chapters Three, Five and Six. It is important to note that Fragonard would have been working on the two commissions at the same time, between 1770 and 1773.

wrote: "On the whole, the gardens have many beauties, but nothing for us to copy; their main virtue is their plentiful water, which we tend to lack in France."<sup>21</sup>

Fragonard was first introduced to garden landscape painting in the studio of François Boucher. His companion works, *Blindman's Buff* and *The Seesaw* (ca. 1751) were probably painted while still a pupil in Boucher's atelier and before he entered the *École Royale des Elèves Protégés* in 1752 (figs. 1 & 2).<sup>22</sup> The inspiration is taken from his master, evident in the plump and nubile figures clothed in the sumptuous tones of red and blue, and set within a harmonious composition highlighted by rococo flourishes of line. Fragonard pushed the eighteenth-century decorative panel to its limits with his spirited characters and elaborate settings, revealing a marked development from his earlier works which feature more statuesque figures cast in silhouette.<sup>23</sup> As Cuzin notes, the two panels announce what is to come in subsequent landscapes as well as documenting the artist's progression from Boucher's studio:

---

<sup>21</sup> Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt, "*Voyage d'Italie*," published by M. A. Tornézy, "*Bergeret et Fragonard: Journal inédit d'un voyage en Italie, 1773-1774*," 1895, and cited in Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 385.

<sup>22</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 50.

<sup>23</sup> The four panels entitled: *The Shepherdess*, *The Harvester*, *Woman Gathering Grapes*, and *The Gardener* (ca. 1751) (now in the Detroit Institute of Arts) were probably painted soon after Fragonard was admitted to Boucher's studio; however, when compared with the style and composition of *The Seesaw* and *Blindman's Buff*, they appear to predate this pair. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 40-45.

Almost the whole of Fragonard's art is present here. The influence of Boucher is still clearly perceptible too, but of a Boucher who has been revitalized by the study of Rubens. Fragonard still lacks energy and poetry...We also see here a style that is still not able to condense various elements and that is slightly dispersed, but which is already fluent and vivacious, a style that carries the onlooker away and delights him.<sup>24</sup>

With these early garden paintings, we are inclined to think more of a stage setting than of an array of real foliage and landscape. There remains a theatrical quality to the compositions with the fore- and middle-grounds merging to create a stage, and the players dominating both the shallow space and surrounding landscape. In *Blindman's Buff*, the blind-folded girl hesitates to take a step in any direction for fear that she will tumble off the tiny set. In fact with her arms spread, she is able to span the entire breadth of the secluded play space. The female participant in *The Seesaw* is situated in the center of the composition as she balances precariously on the wooden plank of the makeshift seesaw. Her feeble efforts to grasp the sapling are rewarded by the gentle flex of the young tree, which in turn forms an arc of flora over the figures. Clothed in simple rustic dress, the youthful couples and putti frolic carelessly in their idyllic world, unaware and uninterested in the presence of spectators or intruders. Fragonard has also presented them at an ambiguous age regarding romance and love. As

---

<sup>24</sup> Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 36.

Pierre Rosenberg notes, they are somewhere between childhood and adolescence, at the awkward age when "*les Amours se mêlent à nos jeux*."<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, Cupid has cast his spell, and Fragonard's tales of love in the garden have begun. However, at this time the more potent and believable forces emanate from the activity of the amorous couple, and not yet from the garden landscape.

There are two elements associated with the garden in these companion pieces that are introduced by Fragonard and that persist throughout the development of his paintings. The first is the state of the garden, and the second, the activity that takes place therein. It is Fragonard's version of love among the ruins. Although there are hardly any ruins to speak of, the garden itself verges on what may only be associated with a sense of abandonment. The garden is for lovers: an escape, and a place of secret rendezvous. Its overgrown state is the perfect setting for the passionate exploits of the young couple. Here, the correspondence between the real and fictive commences, and at times the two spaces merge. In the case of Fragonard's early garden landscapes, the transition from painted sets to garden vistas is not always smooth, with the artist struggling to reconcile the two approaches. However, the fluctuation between the cultivated and the abandoned garden, and the switch from a rehearsed script to bursts of spontaneity become an enchanting part of the garden's appeal in

---

<sup>25</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 50. The caption "*les Amours se mêlent à nos jeux*" is taken from one of the engravings produced after the painting.



Fragonard's work. Marianne Roland Michel's comments on the shift from the theatre of illusion to that of reality, in her study of eighteenth-century scenography and perspective, may be introduced to our study of Fragonard's garden:

The garden is thus conceived as a place of dreams and allusions, but also as the practical realization of those dreams. By its very conception, by the effects created within it, the *fabriques* placed in it, the vistas contrived, it becomes more or less dramatic, more or less charming. Nature is invoked and used according to the required effect.<sup>26</sup>

The activity that takes place within these early Fragonard gardens is akin to a progress of love. In keeping with the pictures' rustic air, Fragonard has reduced the iconography to basic symbols associated with the pursuit of love. The game of blindman's buff refers to the folly of love, and to the idea that love is blind. The game is a pretence, and each participant has a role to play.<sup>27</sup> Aided by her playmate Cupid, and the teasing of her companion, the young woman is certain to win this contest. The allegory of love unfolds with each natural and manmade prop: a freshly broken bough is overcome with hollyhocks;

---

<sup>26</sup> Marianne Roland Michel, "Scenography and Perspective in Eighteenth-Century French Gardens," *The Architecture of Western Gardens*, ed. Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1990), 244; henceforth Roland Michel, *Scenography and Perspective*.

<sup>27</sup> Donald Posner, "The Swinging Women of Watteau and Fragonard," *Art Bulletin*, 64, 1 (March, 1982): 82; henceforth Posner, *Women*.

ivy spreads from the base of the large tree, encompassing the two children; an empty pot or basin is prominently displayed, propped up against what may be a well. In the background is what appears to be a thatched-roofed cottage, just within steps of the blindfolded girl. Finally, the girl's footing is unsure and with her next step she will lose her balance and fall -- unless she is rescued by her friend. In *The Seesaw*, the progress of love follows its natural course. Once again, in the innocent guise of children, Cupid comes to the assistance of the youth who lifts his fair maiden to new heights. The girl grasps the branch of a poplar tree, a sapling overwhelmed by a rich cluster of ivy, symbolic of the new bond that they share. Still, her very balance remains in the hands of her companion and his cohorts. A still-life of ripe fruit and wine -- tokens of love and sensual enjoyment -- awaits the happy couple.<sup>28</sup>

In the painting entitled *Conversation Galante in a Park* (or *The Musical Contest*; c. 1754-55) the garden prevails as the desired setting for both lovers and the painter (fig. 3).<sup>29</sup> Unlike the two earlier pre-Italian pictures, this backdrop of verdure has been cultivated beyond the confines of a simple stage. While the

---

<sup>28</sup> Posner, *Women*, 82.

<sup>29</sup> The painting is also known as *The Lover Crowned*. In the Wallace Collection Catalogue of Pictures it is entitled *The Musical Contest* and dated earlier (1750-52), and was previously attributed to Boucher. See The Wallace Collection, *Summary Illustrated Catalogue of Pictures* (London: The Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1979) 92.

garden still appears as only a backdrop for the advances of the enamoured trio, it has become a more complex and rewarding environment for the pursuit of love for both the players and the audience. Fragonard has taken his progress of love a step further and expanded the cast of characters, the setting, the props, and the iconography. And with the enrichment of the landscape is the embellishment of an already impassioned theme. The young woman is pursued by not one but two male admirers, and there remains in the mind of the spectator some question as to which of the two men she will choose. The adolescent games of blindman's buff and the seesaw have been replaced by a musical contest with a floral crown as the trophy and the young woman as the prize. Accepting the Wallace Collection title for the picture -- *The Musical Contest* -- the concept of a game inspires a whole new meaning. There are new stakes in this encounter. The cherubic infants have been transformed into sculptures, furnished with the wings of Cupid and portrayed riding the dolphin of Venus. Fragonard's pursuit of love has reached mythical proportions.

In *Conversation Galante in a Park*, Fragonard has ventured beyond the stage, positioning his actors within a more natural (or at least more believable) garden setting. Still, the woman and her two admirers come across as actors, on or off the stage -- but even this arrangement may not be unintentional. As Roland Michel notes: "Artists themselves reflect this constant ambiguity, and in their representations of gardens, painters and designers maintain the

topographical enigma, in such a way that it is impossible to tell whether we are in a garden aping a theatre or on a stage in the form of a garden."<sup>30</sup> It would take a trip to Italy for the course of Fragonard's cultivated landscape to change, and for Nature to finally upstage the rococo performer.

More than ten years after painting *Conversation Galante in a Park* (and almost six years after his return from Italy), Fragonard produced one of his most consequential works featuring the garden setting. In his painting entitled *The Swing* (1767), Fragonard has redefined the role of the garden for his audience and for his patron (fig. 4 ). No longer a simple or neutral backdrop, the landscape in *The Swing* empowers the actors, while at the same time overwhelming the audience with an entirely new sense of verdure. Myth gives way to nature, and the activity in the scene is charged with the same abandon that enlivens the vegetation. Revealed here is a new setting for Fragonard's lovers.

Fragonard could not take all the acclaim for the provocative theme celebrated in *The Swing*. The suggestion of the swing came from the individual who had commissioned the work. In October, 1767 the *Receveur du clergé de France*, the Baron Baillet de Saint-Julien, approached the painter Gabriel-François Doyen with a very specific request for a picture of a rather private

---

<sup>30</sup> Roland Michel, *Scenography and Perspective*, 244.

genre. The details of the commission, or at least the particulars of the exchange between Saint-Julien and Doyen were chronicled in the *Mémoires* of Charles Collé (1748-1772), after Doyen had conveyed the incident to the writer.<sup>31</sup> Taken from Collé's journal and according to Doyen, the Baron presented the artist with the following challenge:

'Je désirerois' continua-t-il, 'que vous peignissiez madame (en me montrant sa maîtresse) sur une escarpolette qu'un évêque mettrait en branle. Vous me placerez de façon, moi, que je sois à portée de voir les jambes de cette belle enfant, et mieux même si vous voulez égayer davantage votre tableau, etc.'<sup>32</sup>

Nothing more had to be said. Doyen felt completely unqualified to handle such a commission, and subsequently recommended Fragonard for the task. Incidentally, this was not Fragonard's first order from Saint-Julien nor would it be his last.<sup>33</sup> Looking today at the impressive results of Saint-Julien's request, one can hardly find fault with Doyen's decision. Fragonard obliged the Baron immediately, and revealed in *The Swing*, a sample of the luscious vegetation and passionate romance that would illuminate his gardens in the following decade.

---

<sup>31</sup> Charles Collé, *Journal et mémoires de Charles Collé (1748-1772)*, ed. H. Bonhomme. 3 vols. (Paris, 1868), henceforth Collé, *Mémoires*.

<sup>32</sup> Collé, *Mémoires*, 165-67.

<sup>33</sup> Two works discussed earlier in the chapter, *Blindman's Buff* and *The Seesaw* were in Saint-Julien's collection. Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 46.

And how fortunate that Fragonard should find a client who shared some of the painter's own interests - in this instance, the progress of love set within its most natural environment.

With most of the credit going to Watteau, the theme of the swing was revived in the eighteenth-century after its disappearance in the Renaissance.<sup>34</sup> In his painting entitled *The Shepherds* (1718) Watteau introduced the themes of love and desire, dividing them into three episodes, one of which included the swing (fig. 5).<sup>35</sup> The symbolism of the swing and the swinging woman has not changed in Fragonard's work. Idleness and inconstancy, not to mention the more direct sexual references associated with this recreational activity, are all still there.<sup>36</sup> The only difference is that Fragonard has combined Watteau's three stages of love into one, and all within the most luxurious private garden.

Fragonard's choice of locale for *The Swing* is hardly surprising. What could be a more suitable environment for his subjects and their activity? Lovers' abandon matched only by the state of the garden. On the other hand, we might

---

<sup>34</sup> Posner, *Women*, 75. Posner cites Hans Wentzel's 1964 article entitled "Jean-Honoré Fragonards Schaukel, Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie der Schaukel in der Bildenden Kunst," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVI, 1964, 187-218.

<sup>35</sup> Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, *Watteau 1684-1721* (exhibition catalogue) (Washington: The National Gallery of Art, 1984) 375.

<sup>36</sup> Posner, *Women*, 75.

find the location a rather strange place to be on a swing -- away from wide open space, a secluded shady enclosure covered in underbrush and surrounded by statuary and imposing limbs. However, for Fragonard, it was perfect, and we can be quite certain that he knew, as Donald Posner notes, that "an image of nature's luxuriance and fertility would make an appropriate context for his amorous swinging scene."<sup>37</sup> The scene is alive with every form of vegetation imaginable. Impassioned diagonals, uncontrollable curves, and ornamental flourishes demarcate the glory of the late rococo, but with one exception: nature is no longer the artificial nature of overdoors and ceilings; it is real and believable.

In Fragonard's *The Swing*, the landscape is a garden; almost a *bosco* in its density, but deliberately a garden. The artist has made every provision to create a fitting environment for the Baron and his mistress. Overgrowth is the order of the day, and with the lovers in place, the composition is complete. In his choice of sculpture, Fragonard incorporates Etienne-Maurice Falconet's *Cupid* (1757). The winged figure gestures with a finger to his lips, requesting silence while he witnesses the progress of love. Also included is a sculptural group featuring two cupids riding a dolphin, which Fragonard used in an earlier work, *The Musical Contest* (see fig. 3). Alluding to the dolphin that leads the chariot of Venus, this particular group was also used by his teacher, as can be found in Boucher's *The*

---

<sup>37</sup> Posner, *Women*, 84.

*Shepherd's Idyll* (1768) (fig. 6).<sup>38</sup> Schooled in a rococo atelier, Fragonard had little difficulty finding sculpture to complete his love themes, and while the statuary was not meant to control the picture's iconographic format, it served to enhance the theme, and even to guide the unenlightened.

Fragonard's exploration of the garden setting reaches a new level of symbolism and function in *The Swing*. Concurrent with the advancing state of organic fervour are the heightening overtures of romance and passion. Emerging en masse are the primal urges of both nature and man. In his description of the painting, Rosenberg writes: "a green-and-blue triumph of forest, accented with the pink of a dress and a slipper...*The Swing*, a unique work, combines a pantheistic vision of nature with the love of life of the period."<sup>39</sup> The restless youths once seen frolicing in *Blindman's Buff* and *The Seesaw*, have grown, proceeding to a new realm of play. The games and the setting have changed. They are no longer clumsy actors before a make-shift set, with bodies too large for the space. They have become part of the garden, taking advantage of its fertile and secluded state. The lovers in *The Swing* have escaped to the garden, and they will return for each chapter in their courtship. Nature has become a setting for their escapades as well as an impetus for their romance. In creating

---

<sup>38</sup> Ashton, *Fragonard*, 13-14.

<sup>39</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 226.



the most enticing space thus far in his cultivated landscapes, Fragonard has moved closer to his ideal garden of love.

## II. The Villa d'Este at Tivoli: the fruition of *villeggiatura*

*Dedicatio hortorum Tiburtinorum*

*Nec labor Alciden fregit, nec blanda voluptas  
Unquam animum casti molliti Hippolyti.  
Herculi & Hippolyto dedicat Hippolytus.*

Work did not crush Hercules, nor did seductive  
pleasure  
Ever soften the soul of chaste Hippolytus.  
Kindled with love of both these virtues,  
To Hercules and to Hippolytus,  
Hippolytus dedicates these gardens.

Marc-Antoine Muret<sup>1</sup>

Fragonard's journey to the Villa d'Este and the two-month stay<sup>2</sup> that followed brought the exercise of *villeggiatura* into the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Although the players, the period, and the circumstances were different, the setting

---

<sup>1</sup> Marc-Antoine Muret, *Orationes, epistolae & poemata*, as cited in Coffin, *Tivoli*, 78.

<sup>2</sup> Fragonard's stay at the Villa d'Este lasted between six and twelve weeks.

<sup>3</sup> Three recent studies on the Renaissance villa and garden have proven to be extremely helpful in my study: David Coffin's *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (1991) (which amplifies two of his earlier works, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* and *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*), Claudia Lazzaro's *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (1990), and Maria Brendel's Masters thesis entitled *Rubens and the Humanistic Garden* (McGill University, Montréal, 1990).

and the spirit of this seasonal movement from city to country had changed very little. The escape from the heat of the city to the *Campagna Romana* -- the essence of *villeggiatura* -- remained intact even in Fragonard's experience. While the young painter's initial purpose for spending the summer at Tivoli was academic (to study the gardens of this famous Renaissance villa), the impulse to elude the heat of the Roman capital was undoubtedly a factor.

It was this same preoccupation over climate (not to mention the fear of the plague and internal strife in the Vatican) that originally moved the papal conclave of 1484 to find a solution to these problems of health and welfare. This conclave, convened to elect a successor to Pope Sixtus IV, saw the introduction of a compact that would prove to have a lasting effect on the patterns of villa life and design in Italy. The resolution came in the form of a vacation for every prince of the Church -- a guarantee of an annual retreat to a villa in order to escape the hot summers of Rome. Hence, the promise of *villeggiatura*, was among the pre-election agreements that the new Pope Innocent VIII was expected to carry out. By the end of the sixteenth century, the *vacationes generales* had been extended to four months, beginning with the Feast of Corpus Domini on 13 June or the Feast of St. Peter's on 29 June, and ending with the Feast of All Saints on 1 November.<sup>4</sup> It was this social milieu, David Coffin

---

<sup>4</sup> David Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) 24; henceforth Coffin, *Villa*.

writes, that "encouraged the creation of the numerous great papal and cardinalate villas around Rome in the second half of the (sixteenth) century."<sup>5</sup> Eventually this ecclesiastical movement evolved into a secular vacation, with every citizen of Rome seeking refuge in the countryside, come the summer heat. However, not all could escape to the Villa d'Este at Tivoli. More than two centuries after the erection of Ippolito's villa, Fragonard was invited to Tivoli, and afforded the glorious respite first offered to the Este cardinals.

The convenient locale and refreshing climate of Tivoli lured Romans long before the papal court selected the town as one of its preferred summer havens. The ancient inhabitants of Tivoli were also drawn by the water. Situated twenty miles east of Rome on the lower slopes of the Apennines, the small hill town claimed as main attractions the mineral springs, called the Acque Albule, the spectacular falls of the river Aniene which cascaded into the Roman plain, and the classical ruins of the Villa Adriana.<sup>6</sup> The famous springs provided water for the three largest aqueducts of Rome and inspiration for the writings of Horace, Livy and Ovid, to mention only a few of the ancient authors captivated by the town's beauty.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Coffin, *Villa*, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) 215; henceforth Lazzaro, *Garden*.

<sup>7</sup> Lazzaro, *Garden*, 215.

Perhaps the turning point for the town of Tivoli as a centre for Roman *villeggiatura* was the election of Pope Julius III in 1550, or more precisely the failure of Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este (the son of Alfonso I d'Este, the third duke of Ferrara, and Lucrezia Borgia, the daughter of Pope Alexander VI) to win in the same conclave. Shortly thereafter Cardinal d'Este received the governorship of Tivoli, possibly as a consolatory gesture following his unsuccessful bid for the papal seat. This was not, however, the cardinal's final bid, nor was it his last attempt to ennoble his candidacy for the papacy. From his triumphal entry into Tivoli on 9 September, 1550 until his death in 1572, Ippolito II d'Este lived to create a Renaissance villa without equal. The result of his endeavours brought Roman *villeggiatura* to an epoch and the Este name to the forefront of Renaissance garden design.

At Tivoli, the official residence of the new Tiburtine governor was the Benedictine (and later Franciscan) monastery adjacent to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore (renamed San Francesco under the Franciscans in the thirteenth century). As the Franciscans occupied only a small part of the building, the *Camera Apostolica* reserved a large area of the monastery for the cardinals serving as the governors of Tivoli.<sup>8</sup> Within a month of his official entry into the town in 1550, Ippolito II d'Este, the Cardinal of Ferrara and new governor of Tivoli,

---

<sup>8</sup> David Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960) 6; henceforth Coffin, *Tivoli*.

decided to create a villa that would rival all other villas of the Italian Renaissance.

The plans for Ippolito's villa and gardens were prepared by Pirro Ligorio, the Cardinal's principal architect and archaeologist, who, in turn, was assisted by the architect, Giovanni Alberto Galvani. For the commission at the Villa d'Este, Ligorio could draw on his experience both as architect to the Vatican Palace, and as the Cardinal of Ferrara's court archaeologist, a position that oversaw the excavations of the ancient villa ruins near Tivoli.<sup>9</sup> Marc-Antoine Muret, the Cardinal's court humanist is thought to have assisted Ligorio with the iconographical programme for the gardens. In a collection of Latin poems entitled, *Orationes, epistolae & poemata*, Muret included two dedicatory pieces to the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, both of which link the villa's patron with the two Greek heroes honoured in the garden iconography.<sup>10</sup>

The monastery building which served as the core of the new villa was situated on the crest of a hill overlooking the Valle Gaudente in the area of

---

<sup>9</sup> David Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991) 86; henceforth Coffin, *Gardens*. As Governor of Tivoli, the Cardinal of Ferrara assumed control of the sites of the Roman ruins near Tivoli, which included the ancient villas of Hadrian, Quintilius Varro and Maecenas; and as archaeologist to the Cardinal, Pirro Ligorio would be in charge of these excavations.

<sup>10</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 78.

Tivoli known as Santa Croce. By October 1550, the Cardinal began to acquire the land directly below the monastery, known as the Valle Gaudente, which consisted of gardens and vineyards.<sup>11</sup> The next step was to establish an abundant water supply for the future fountains, pools and grottoes of the villa. This was accomplished through the construction of underground conduits and the utilization of major water sources, including the Cascade of Tivoli and the Monte Sant'Angelo waters.<sup>12</sup> The large basin, or cavity, created by the valley on the southwestern part of the site was filled in and supported by retaining walls, creating a level plain before the slope rising up to villa.

The refurbishing of the monastery was carried out between 1566 and 1570, and the interior decoration was finished in time for the visit of Pope Gregory XIII in September, 1572.<sup>13</sup> The architecture of the Villa d'Este, Coffin writes, "is basically that of a Roman palace, a large simple mass of three superimposed stories marked merely by string moldings and tiers of windows." (fig. 7)<sup>14</sup> The construction of a two-story loggia in 1566, centred on the northwest side of the villa overlooking the gardens did, however, provide an elegant focal point on an

---

<sup>11</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 7.

<sup>12</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 9.

<sup>13</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 10.

otherwise dull façade (fig. 8). From the balcony on the top of this loggia one is presented with a splendid view of the gardens below and the surrounding Roman countryside. In 1569, a second loggia in the style of Vignola was constructed on the west end of the main terrace, providing the Cardinal and his guests with an open-air dining room and augmenting the impressive garden and countryside panorama.

A 1573 engraving of the villa by the French engraver, Etienne Dupérac, provides us with an aerial view of the site (fig. 9). It depicts the garden as it would have appeared if all the Cardinal's projects had been realized. The main entrance to the gardens was in the lower northwest part of the garden, the large flat area situated before the slope leading up to the villa. Visitors entering the town of Tivoli through the Porta della Colle could be left at this gateway to find their way through the garden, while their coaches would continue up the hill, thus accessing the villa from the rear (by the church and cloister of San Francesco) (fig. 10). Once inside the walls of the Villa d'Este, the visitor would encounter one of the richest iconographical programmes ever created for a Renaissance garden and its patron.

Three principal themes shape Pirro Ligorio's iconographical plan for the Cardinal's garden and palace: nature and art; geographical symbolism; and vice and virtue. These themes come to life through the interaction of each image and



concept with the physical landscape of the garden, supported by a collection of antique and contemporary sculpture, frescoes, and fountains.

The relationship between nature and art is celebrated in the two major cross axes of the garden: the fish pools and the Alley of the Hundred Fountains (fig. 11). Nature, symbolized by the series of fish pools, is flanked by the Water Organ or Fountain of Mother Nature (*natura naturans*) at one end (fig. 12), and Neptune's Fountain of the Sea at the other end (although the latter fountain was never executed). The theme of Art, represented by the Alley of the Hundred Fountains, is supported by the Oval Fountain or Fountain of Tivoli at one end, and by the Fountain of Rome (representing the Seven Hills of Ancient Rome) at the other (figs. 13 & 14). Towering over the Oval Fountain is the winged horse Pegasus from Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses, the source of art (fig. 15).<sup>15</sup>

The geographical symbolism honours the Cardinal with references to his patronage of the arts in the cities of Tivoli and Rome. The Alley of the Hundred Fountains is featured along the upper cross axis; here Tivoli is represented by the Tiburtine Sibyl and the Fountain of Rome at either end. The three local rivers which flow near Tivoli -- the Albuneo, the Aniene, and the

---

<sup>15</sup> Coffin, *Gardens*, 88.

Erculaneo -- are also symbolized by the three conduits of the Alley of the Hundred Fountains.<sup>16</sup>

The Garden of the Hesperides provides a moral tone for the third theme, Hercules' choice between vice and virtue. The Fountain of the Dragon, situated on the central axis of the garden, makes reference to Ladon, the hundred-headed dragon, who, as keeper of the Garden of the Hesperides, was slain by Hercules and robbed of the golden apples (figs. 16 & 17). Positioned above the Fountain of the Dragon, and between the grotto of Venus (representing "voluptuous pleasure") and the grotto of Diana and Minerva (representing "virtuous pleasure and chastity"), is Hercules contemplating his choices.<sup>17</sup> Predictably, Hercules chooses the path of virtue, which in the Renaissance mind, Coffin notes, is identified by the virtues of "temperance, prudence, and chastity" -- a path most fitting for a great ecclesiastic such as the Cardinal of Ferrara.<sup>18</sup>

Fragonard's visit to Tivoli in 1760 serves as an important reference point in the painter's artistic development. His arrival at the Palazzo Mancini in Rome in December 1756 marked the beginning of his four-year stay as a *pensionnaire*

---

<sup>16</sup> Coffin, *Gardens*, 89.

<sup>17</sup> Coffin, *Gardens*, 90.

<sup>18</sup> Coffin, *Gardens*, 90.

with the French Academy. It was an artistic and intellectual sojourn that would remain unmatched in his lifetime. The Italian experience, culminating with Fragonard's stay at the Villa d'Este was a revelation for the artist -- an experience that would result in the manifestation of a new nature in his art. The inspiration for Fragonard was a garden, overgrown and neglected, deserted by almost everything except nature itself. This visual experience of organic abandon would never leave his mind. When Fragonard returned to Paris in 1761, he would see Tivoli only once more during his lifetime, but the cypresses, fountains, and the Arcadian skies would appear again and again in the painted landscapes that followed.<sup>19</sup> Fragonard's sojourn at Tivoli, according to David Wakefield, opened "his eyes to the beauty of the Italian landscape" leaving "a permanent trace on the rest of his œuvre."<sup>20</sup>

When he arrived at the Villa d'Este, Fragonard would have found the gardens, as Coffin notes, in a state of "neglect, disarray, and disrepair."<sup>21</sup> At that time the villa was being offered for sale by the Duke of Modena, Francesco III

---

<sup>19</sup> Fragonard returned to Italy in October, 1773 and visited the Villa d'Este in April, 1774 with Pierre-Jacques-Onesyme Bergeret de Grancourt. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 364-370.

<sup>20</sup> David Wakefield, *French Eighteenth-Century Painting* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1984) 139; henceforth Wakefield, *French Painting*.

<sup>21</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 121.

d'Este.<sup>22</sup> Despite the poor condition of the gardens in the eighteenth century, the Villa d'Este remained a popular attraction for travellers and the students and teachers at the French Academy in Rome. Excluded from the volume devoted to Roman villas and gardens in Giuseppe Vasi's 1761 publication entitled, *Delle Magnificenze di Roma Antica e Moderna*, the Villa d'Este appeared to be of more interest to foreign visitors and artists.<sup>23</sup> While it had become increasingly difficult for Ligorio's Renaissance garden to compete with the expense of waterworks and landscaping of Le Nôtre at Versailles, the Villa d'Este did experience something of a revival in the eighteenth century. Charles-François Poerson (1653-1725), director of the Academy in Rome from 1704 to 1721, considered the Villa d'Este to be "the most beautiful palace and the most beautiful waterworks of Italy."<sup>24</sup> During his term as director in Rome (1725-1737), Nicolas Vleughels (1668-1737) began taking his Academy pupils to Tivoli to study "not the Villa...but the antiquities, landscapes (and) fantasy of nature."<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 121-122.

<sup>23</sup> Myra Nan Rosenfeld, "Rome Transformed," *Exploring Rome: Piranesi and His Contemporaries*, ed. Cara D. Denison, Myra Nan Rosenfeld, and Stephanie Wiles (exhibition catalogue), (Montréal: The Canadian Centre for Architecture; New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1993), 96; henceforth Rosenfeld, *Exploring Rome*. Vasi's *Delle Magnificenze di Roma Antica e Moderna* was published in Rome by Niccolò and Marco Pagliarini (1761). Volume X featured the villas and gardens of Rome.

<sup>24</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 129.

<sup>25</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 129.

A few years later in 1749 the engraver, Charles-Nicolas Cochin; the architect, Jacques Germain Soufflot; and the future Director of Royal Buildings for the King, the Marquis de Marigny, visited the Villa d'Este. Cochin's observations on the state of the villa and gardens were recorded in his *Voyage d'Italie* (published in 1751 and 1758): "The garden is very beautiful, although almost abandoned...the whole, nevertheless, has a very picturesque aspect."<sup>26</sup> The director of the Academy during Fragonard's tenure, Charles-Joseph Natoire's (director from 1751 to 1775) visited Tivoli in 1759, the year before the Abbé de Saint-Non and Fragonard took up residence.

During his stay at the Villa d'Este, Fragonard produced a portfolio of red-chalk drawings, depicting the gardens, fountains and architecture of the villa. But unlike two of his contemporaries who also recorded their visits to Tivoli -- Giovanni Battista Piranesi, documenting the villa and gardens with the precision and bias of an architect, and Hubert Robert, searching for architectural fantasies and classical ruins -- Fragonard approached the gardens with what Dore Ashton calls "a lack of posturing rare for the period."<sup>27</sup> His technical prowess and personal style, however, were anything but deficient. Assessing Fragonard's output at Tivoli, Eunice Williams writes:

---

<sup>26</sup> Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie* (Paris, 1758) as cited in Coffin, *Tivoli*, 130.

<sup>27</sup> Ashton, *Fragonard*, 73.

These drawings show that Fragonard had evolved his own linear vocabulary and was now in command of his media and the complex pictorial problems that he set for himself. Using only red chalk and white paper, he depicted a range of values from bright sunlight to dim shadow, described dozens of textures, both natural and man-made, and created, almost effortlessly, subtle and difficult spatial compositions... Fragonard's Tivoli series represents a mature and highly individual response to landscape and natural phenomena.<sup>28</sup>

Ten of the red chalk drawings produced by Fragonard during his visit to Tivoli (and now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Besançon) were commissioned by his patron, the Abbé de Saint-Non.<sup>29</sup> Five of the Besançon drawings represent scenes from the Villa d'Este: *The Large Cypress Trees*, *The Fountain of Pomona*, *The Oval Staircase of the Fountain of the Dragon*, and two views of *The Fountain of the Organ*. In addition to the counterproofs Fragonard made from the chalk drawings (while he was still in Tivoli), etchings and additional counterproofs were produced after he returned to Paris.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Williams, *Drawings*, 20.

<sup>29</sup> Rosenfeld, *Exploring Rome*, 168. Saint-Non eventually returned the ten drawings to Fragonard, who, in turn sold them to Pierre-Adrien Pâris. In 1819, Pâris gave the drawings to the city of Besançon. See Rosenfeld's catalogue entry in *Exploring Rome* 167-169; and Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 95.

<sup>30</sup> Rosenfeld, *Exploring Rome*, 168.

Of all the attractions in the gardens, Fragonard was most drawn to the scenes rampant with vegetation -- fountains and sculpture transformed by overgrowth and decay. Here he could witness the changing roles, with nature once again assuming control over man. The experience among the "ruins" of the Villa d'Este was not one of melancholy or contemplation; rather it was one of exuberance and visual intensity with everything according to Rosenberg, "brought to life by the vegetation."<sup>31</sup> And this was, as Coffin offers, the spirit of Romanticism:

The nature is the free one of Romanticism, climbing to the sky unhampered by the pruning-knife or spreading over the architectural walls and statuary...(This) was a product both of the Estes' neglect...and of eighteenth century Romanticism...(a) Romanticism with nature overwhelming man and his handiwork.<sup>32</sup>

The drawing entitled *The Avenue of Cypress Trees at the Villa d'Este* depicts the view from the lower garden entrance (fig. 18).<sup>33</sup> After passing through the entrance gate (originally covered by a wooden cross-pergola lined with vines, herbs, and fruit trees which extended into the garden from the entrance), the visitor would reach the first principal cross-axis, marked by the fish pools on

---

<sup>31</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 103.

<sup>32</sup> Coffin, *Tivoli*, 131 & 133.

<sup>33</sup> The counterproof of the drawing in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon, is in the Ian Woodner Collection, New York.

either side (see fig. 9).<sup>34</sup> Situated to the left and right, was the Water Organ and the Fountain of Neptune (although the latter was never completed); and directly in front of the visitor, when facing the villa, was the view depicted in Fragonard's drawing (figs. 19 & 20).<sup>35</sup> The cypress and pine trees dominate the composition, overwhelming the villa façade, fountains, and the two figures in the middle-ground.

Fragonard's interest in recording the natural components of the garden is best understood by comparing his drawing of the *Avenue of Cypress Trees* with Piranesi's rendering, documented from almost the same vantage point. The etching by Piranesi, entitled *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*, is dated between 1766 to 1775, and hence was executed at roughly the same time Fragonard visited the villa (fig. 21).<sup>36</sup> The two versions, however, differ greatly. Architecture and sculpture control Piranesi's view, while rich foliage and heavy shadows suppress the man-made elements in Fragonard's work. The artists' objectives were also

---

<sup>34</sup> The prominent circle of cypress trees depicted in Fragonard's drawing, were planted in 1610 to replace the wooden cross-pergola. See Rosenfeld, *Exploring Rome*, 97.

<sup>35</sup> The façade of the villa is partially obscured in a recent photograph taken from the Avenue of Cypress Trees (compare the older photograph by David Coffin, fig. 20, with the more recent photograph, fig. 21).

<sup>36</sup> As Rosenfeld points out in the *Exploring Rome* catalogue, the dates given to the *Villa d'Este* etching by Piranesi, extend from 1766, when the artist was awarded the title of *Cavalier*, to 1773, the date accepted by Arthur Hind in his critical study (1922). See Rosenfeld, *Exploring Rome*, 95.



different. Comparing the two interpretations of the *Avenue of Cypress Trees*,

Rosenfeld writes:

(Piranesi's) purpose is didactic and archaeological. He has stripped away most of the trees that choked the gardens and fountains in the eighteenth century in order to give the spectator an idea of the original sixteenth-century plan...(Fragonard) was most interested in revealing the beauty of the natural environment than in giving an accurate description of the sculpted fountains or architecture of the villa.<sup>37</sup>

Both artists have incorporated staffage in their work, and in both examples the garden surroundings overwhelm the visitors. Although, in Fragonard's composition, what appears to be a discrepancy in size or scale, is in fact, believable -- unlike the figures in Piranesi's etching, which assume a decorative and practical function alongside the fountains and statuary. Inasmuch as Piranesi was interested in featuring the art and architecture of the Villa d'Este, he has succeeded, but in this predilection, he has failed to present anything of the spirit or character of the gardens at the time. Fragonard, on the other hand, has provided the viewer with a sense of place and atmosphere, as well as a contemporary depiction of the Villa d'Este.<sup>38</sup> Fragonard's decision to include additional figures (people and animals) in a second drawing of the Avenue of

---

<sup>37</sup> Rosenfeld, *Exploring Rome*, 97.

<sup>38</sup> As Rosenfeld notes, "Fragonard's views of the Villa d'Este give us a more accurate idea of what the villa and its gardens looked like in the middle of the eighteenth century. See Rosenfeld, *Exploring Rome*, 97.

Cypress Trees reveals further his interest in the relationship between man and nature in the garden setting (fig. 22).<sup>39</sup>

The red chalk drawing entitled *Villa d'Este: L'Escalier de la Gerbe* (fig. 23), depicts the circular stairs and landing surrounding the Fountain of the Dragon (see figs. 16 & 17).<sup>40</sup> Giovanni Francesco Venturini's 1685 engraving of the same fountain, though executed in the century preceding Fragonard's work, displays various pieces of sculpture that, while removed today, were obviously still in place during Fragonard's visit (fig. 24). Venturini has also included figures in his composition, but like Piranesi, they take on a form analogous to the garden sculpture; and again the preference and requirement of a documentary versus an interpretative approach persists. Nonetheless, Fragonard's success in capturing the essence of the natural setting at Tivoli did not prevent him from documenting the architecture and sculpture. In the drawing of *L'Escalier de la Gerbe*, a group of figures -- three women and a child -- can be seen standing along the parapet,

---

<sup>39</sup> The red chalk drawing entitled, *The Avenue of Cypress Trees at the Villa d'Este* is in the Albertina Collection in Vienna. Pierre Rosenberg suggests that given the similarity of the Besançon and Vienna drawings, Fragonard probably produced the Vienna drawing after he had returned to Paris (and after 1765), simply copying his original drawing and adding the figures in the foreground. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 108.

<sup>40</sup> The drawing in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon was probably used as a study for the painting entitled *The Great Staircase at the Villa d'Este* (Private Collection), which Fragonard would have painted after returning to Paris in 1761. See Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 215.

above the Fountain of the Dragon; the one woman actually standing on the parapet, beside the statue of the Este eagle. Their presence in the garden is convincing and refreshing. They do not stand out, nor are they a fixture of their surroundings; but, undoubtedly, they have a role in animating the landscape. Observing the silhouette of the girl poised upon the parapet, the viewer is also given a foretaste of the Louveciennes panels, and the evolution of Fragonard's interest in the garden as a setting for the recreational and amorous adventures of his young subjects.

A watercolour by Hubert Robert entitled *The Oval Staircase at the Villa d'Este* is actually an imaginary view from the Villa d'Este, inspired by one of the oval staircases at either side of the Fountain of the Dragon (fig. 25).<sup>41</sup> Although in essence a *capriccio*, the scene contains authentic architectural and sculptural components. However, a penchant for the arcadian transforms the work into an imaginary garden. There is also a refinement to Robert's composition and style that keeps nature in check, maintaining an idyllic veneer throughout the scene. A sense of order prevails, and despite the presence of overgrowth and decay, the viewer is not overwhelmed by the natural surroundings.

---

<sup>41</sup> As Cara Denison notes in the *Exploring Rome* catalogue, the garden view was originally identified as the entrance to the Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati (outside of Rome), but the staircase was probably taken from the Villa d'Este's Fountain of the Dragon. See Denison, " *Exploring Rome*, 174.

Fragonard's drawing entitled *The Fountain of Pomona and the Avenue of the Hundred Fountains at the Villa d'Este* depicts the termination of the Alley of the Hundred Fountains leading to the Oval Fountain at the northeastern side of the gardens (fig. 26).<sup>42</sup> Central to the drawing's composition is the Fountain of Pomona, set within a vaulted niche. To the left of Pomona are the steps and entrance to the Oval Fountain and the two Fountains of Bacchus. The northwest corner of the Villa d'Este is also visible on the extreme right-hand side of the drawing. An engraving by Venturini entitled *The Avenue of the Hundred Fountains* (1685), depicts the same area of the garden which thus allows the viewer to position Fragonard's sketch within the garden plan (fig. 27). Rosenberg suggests that for this particular drawing, Fragonard has chosen as his subject, "an abandoned part of the garden," where the fountains are hardly recognizable, and "trees grow wild in the midst of what was once one of the most beautifully designed gardens in the Western world."<sup>43</sup> But even with the presence of wild

---

<sup>42</sup> The red chalk drawing is in the collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon. A practically identical chalk drawing (but in reverse) in a Toronto collection, was listed in the 1988 *Fragonard* catalogue (after the attribution by Ananoff) as the counterproof, produced by Hubert Robert. However, more recent scholarship in the *Exploring Rome* catalogue, restores this drawing's attribution to Fragonard, but not as a counterproof of the Besançon drawing. As Rosenfeld points out, while Fragonard may have traced the outlines of the composition from the counterproof of the Besançon drawing, the Toronto drawing contains a number of differences, and does not have the tell-tale hatching lines going in the opposite direction. See Rosenfeld, *Exploring Rome*, 168-69; and Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 109.

<sup>43</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 109.

trees and heavy foliage, one is able to locate easily the spot from which Fragonard sketched this scene in the garden. Even in the eighteenth century, overgrowth and decay could not erase or conceal the natural and architectural splendour of the Villa d'Este.

The only thing that is easy to overlook in Fragonard's drawing of *The Fountain of Pomona* is the presence of two figures running up the incline to the right of the fountain and continuing behind the Avenue of the Hundred Fountains. Within a few steps, the couple would be hidden behind the hedge; but Fragonard has allowed the viewer to catch a glimpse of them. There is a clandestine air to their appearance in an otherwise abandoned garden; and, in the wake of their imminent exit, the viewer is left wondering what is beyond the border of trees that will soon screen their activity (fig. 28). Ten years before Fragonard arrived at Louveciennes, we find him exploring the planted avenues of the Villa d'Este in search of the ideal setting for his *Progress of Love*.

Living at the Villa d'Este, Fragonard would have experienced some of the same natural sensations as Ippolito II and the Este princes who followed. And while some of the cardinal's attempts to emulate pontifical splendour may have been erased by the time Fragonard arrived, the essence of *villeggiatura* could still be felt. In the *Progress of Love*, Fragonard summons the gardens of the Villa d'Este, but not the same Renaissance garden that was enjoyed by Ippolito and his

court. The *Progress of Love* evokes the Villa d'Este of the eighteenth century in its abandoned state, rich with foliage and overgrowth. Towering trees and billowing clouds are countered by decaying branches and vegetation gone wild.

Returning to Paris in 1761, Fragonard possessed a new vision of the garden landscape, and a new setting in which to place his rococo lovers. At Louveciennes he came closest to recreating the experience of the Italian villa. For Madame du Barry he wanted nothing more than to bring the garden into her *pavillon*. Today Fragonard's *Progress of Love* overlooks a garden; unfortunately it is a garden bordering Fifth Avenue in New York City, rather than the banks of the Seine.

There was no attempt to revive the Renaissance exercise of *villeggiatura* at Louveciennes. But arriving there for the first time, Fragonard could have probably drawn a few parallels between the summer retreat of Ippolito II and the *maison de plaisance* of Madame du Barry, or at least between the activities that had initiated the erection of the two edifices. By escaping to the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, the cardinals were not just eluding the Roman sun, they were also leaving behind the civic and religious politics that constantly plagued their elevated stations at the Vatican. At Louveciennes, the king and his mistress enjoyed a similar retreat; and as *villeggiatura* had evolved from a papal exercise into a secular tradition for any Italian who owned a plot of land outside of the city, the

temporal pleasures of Du Barry and her lover might also apply. And who better to foster this seasonal migration but the artist who had been exposed to both the spiritual and worldly demands of his royal patrons. Imbert de Saint-Amand's comments on the last years of Louis XV's life, present an interesting parallel to the exercise of Roman *villeggiatura*:

More and more wearied of the rules of etiquette, the aged Louis XV thought of nothing but living like a private gentleman, loving woman, hunting, and good cheer as long as possible. All that was grand fatigued him. Versailles, too vast, too majestic for him, harassed him like a prison. To the magnificent residence of Louis XIV he greatly preferred the little pavilion he had built in 1771, just beside the château of Luciennes, and which belonged to Madame du Barry...At Luciennes, Louis XV lives like a banker in a small house. The Most Christian King has no longer any majesty...Tired of Versailles, Louis XV breathes the free air on this terrace and endeavours to forget: to forget the mistakes of his official and his secret diplomacy.<sup>44</sup>

It is unlikely that the cardinals shared the same agenda as Louis XV, but there is no question that both prince and king shared the desire to escape from the demands of their respective positions. The cardinal's annual retreat had been sanctioned by the Church in 1484. Du Barry's retreat was sanctioned by the king in 1769 when he presented her with the château at Louveciennes.

---

<sup>44</sup> Imbert de Saint-Amand, *Last Years of Louis XV* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893) 181 & 185.

### III. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and *la petite maison*

*Cette maison unique est sur les bords de la Seine. Une avenue, conduisant à une patte d'oie, amène à la porte d'une jolie avant-cour tapissée de verdure....ces bâtiments sont contenus dans des murs de face d'une décoration simple, qui tiennent plus de la nature, que de l'art, et représentent le caractère pastoral et champêtre. Des percées, ingénieusement ménagées, laissent appercevoir des vergers et des potagers constamment variés, et tous ces objets attirent si singulièrement les regards, qu'on est impatient de les admirer tour à tour.*

Jean-François de Bastide<sup>1</sup>

By the time he received the commission for the *pavillon* at Louveciennes in 1771, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux was certainly not unknown to the great patrons in France. However, his work in the preceding decade still consisted primarily of renovations to various Parisian residences. Following the completion of his studies at the *École des Arts* in 1758, under the tutelage of François Blondel (1705-1774), Ledoux served an apprenticeship in the atelier of Louis-François Trouard (1729-1794), where his efforts were directed toward the refurbishing of *hôtels* and *châteaux*.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Jean-François de Bastide, *La petite maison* (Paris, 1753) (Paris: Librairie Henri Leclerc, 1905, reprint), 3-4; henceforth De Bastide, *Petite Maison*.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Vidler, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux - Architecture and Social Reform at the End of the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1990) 20; henceforth Vidler, *Ledoux*.



Ledoux's first designs for *hôtel* renovations included the *Hôtel d'Hallwyl* (1766) and the *Hôtel d'Uzès* (1768), while one of his first independent commissions was the *Hôtel Montmorency* (1769) for the Montmorency family.<sup>3</sup> The stylistic approach adopted by Ledoux in these first designs betrayed the fresh classicism of the manner *à la grec*. In his analysis of Ledoux's early work, Anthony Vidler describes the approach as "a general rejection of the rococo in favour of a new classicism."<sup>4</sup> Ledoux's teacher, Blondel, however, saw it more as a "restitution of the sober forms of the French classical tradition, judiciously modified to accommodate contemporary needs, that is, the creation of a modern French architecture."<sup>5</sup>

Leading up to Ledoux's work at Louveciennes are four notable commissions which, in their plans, clearly allude to the architect's fascination with the evolution of the *pavillon* and its role in the garden landscape. In his 1766 renovation of the Paris residence of Franz-Joseph d'Hallwyl on rue Michel le Comte, Ledoux incorporated elements of the Italian villa into the urban setting of Paris. He enclosed the inner court-yard with a fourth wall, articulated by rusticated bands and pilasters and augmented with a collection of urns, marble

---

<sup>3</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 26, 28 & 36.

<sup>4</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 25.

<sup>5</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 25.

nymphs, satyrs and a vaulted fountain niche.<sup>6</sup> The *pièce de résistance* of Ledoux's plan for the *Hôtel d'Hallwyl* was the *trompe l'oeil* composition of an imaginary garden landscape situated beyond an illusionistic double colonnade of Doric columns, painted on the exposed wall of the Carmelite monastery located across the street.<sup>7</sup> Ledoux's merging of the real and the fictitious can be seen in the engraving published in Daniel Ramée's edition of *L'Architecture de C.N. Ledoux* (fig. 29).

In the Paris residences designed for Mlle Saint-Germain (next to the *Hôtel Hocquart*) and for Pierre-René de Tabary (on the rue du Faubourg Poissonnière) Ledoux's exploration of the *pavillon* form comes to fruition (fig. 30).<sup>8</sup> Evident in both plans is Ledoux's preference for the block form with a flat roof, and his interest in the *porte cochère* incorporating free-standing and relief sculpture. In these first examples of Ledoux's *pavillon*, the scheme retains a full second story, which was to be modified in Mlle Guimard's *Temple of Terpsichore*, and ultimately eliminated in Madame du Barry's *pavillon de musique*.

---

<sup>6</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 28. See also *L'Architecture de C.N. Le Doux*, ed. Daniel Ramée (Paris, 1847) (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1983, reprint), plate 158; henceforth Ramée, *Ledoux*.

<sup>7</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 28.

<sup>8</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 38 & 40. Ledoux's design for Mlle Saint-Germain house is dated approximately 1770, and M. Tabary's house, 1771.

Outside of Ledoux's œuvre, the evolution of the *pavillon* in French architecture involves the work of Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1698-1782), and to a lesser degree, François-Joseph Bélanger (1744-1818). The *Style Gabriel*, Wend Graf Kalnein writes, "was distinguished by its elegance and was close to the classical architecture of the Augustan age," thus emerging as "the first phase of neo-classicism in France."<sup>9</sup> Towards the end of the 1750's, Gabriel's French classicism entered a second stage, highlighted by Palladianism. Perhaps one of the most important creations from this latter phase was the *Petit Trianon*, built for Madame de Pompadour between 1762 and 1768 (fig. 31).<sup>10</sup> Constructed as a garden house, the novel characteristic of the *Petit Trianon*, Kalnein proposes is "not only in the new concept of the completely isolated building designed symmetrically with a view to variety...but also in the exceptionally elegant articulation, which reaches its zenith on the south side, the one facing the Pavillon Français."<sup>11</sup> Three earlier commissions by Gabriel -- the *Ermitage* at Fontainebleau,<sup>12</sup> the *Pavillon Français* at Versailles (fig. 32) (both for Madame

---

<sup>9</sup> Wend Graf Kalnein and Michael Levey, *Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972) 306; henceforth Kalnein and Levey, *Eighteenth Century in France*.

<sup>10</sup> Kalnein and Levey, *Eighteenth Century in France*, 306-7.

<sup>11</sup> Kalnein and Levey, *Eighteenth Century in France*, 307.

<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to note that, according to Cyril Connolly and Jerome Zerbe, Gabriel also built a small *pavillon* for Madame du Barry at Fontainebleau, which was later dismantled, on the accession of Louis XVI. See Cyril Connolly and Jerome Zerbe, *Les Pavillons* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962)

de Pompadour and dating from 1749) and the *Pavillon du Butard* in the forest of Saint-Cloud (1750) present the first examples of the *pavillon* architecture associated with the court of Louis XV.<sup>13</sup>

The construction of Bélanger's *Bagatelle* (1777), during the reign of Louis XVI, represents the progression of a design developed by Gabriel almost thirty years earlier, and ultimately refined by Ledoux at Louveciennes in 1770 (fig. 33). It is interesting to observe that in 1773, Bélanger designed a house for the opera singer, Sophie Arnould, which Kalnein notes, "as a temple of Euterpe, was to form a counterpart to Ledoux' mansion for the dancer Guimard -- the temple of Terpsichore."<sup>14</sup> In the area of landscape architecture, Bélanger worked with the painter Hubert Robert in designing a group of garden buildings at Méréville.<sup>15</sup>

In 1769, Marie-Madeleine Guimard, a dancer with the Comédie-Français and the Opéra, commissioned Ledoux to design a new house with an adjacent private theatre on the *Chaussée d'Antin* (fig. 34).<sup>16</sup> Ledoux decided to create a

---

98; henceforth Connolly and Zerbe, *Pavillons*.

<sup>13</sup> Kalnein and Levey, *Eighteenth Century in France*, 285.

<sup>14</sup> Kalnein and Levey, *Eighteenth Century in France* 340.

<sup>15</sup> Kalnein and Levey, *Eighteenth Century in France*, 340.

<sup>16</sup> As Dore Ashton notes in her book, Ledoux probably met Mlle Guimard and secured the commission for her house through her lover, M. Delaborde, who was associated with the Opéra orchestra and was thus probably acquainted with

single story pavillon with a theatre directly above the *porte cochère* on the second level (fig. 35).<sup>17</sup> Work began in 1770 and the *Temple of Terpsichore* was officially opened in December, 1772.<sup>18</sup> Assisting Ledoux with the interior decoration were: Jean-Baptiste Feuillet, responsible for the sculptural ornamentation and stucco work; Jean-François Leleu, for the boiserie and cabinets; the sculptor, Félix Lecomte; and the painter, Jean-Honoré Fragonard.<sup>19</sup> The same artists and tradesmen would work with Ledoux at Louveciennes. The young painter, Jacques-Louis David was eventually summoned by Mlle Guimard at a later date to finish the four panels begun by Fragonard.<sup>20</sup> For Guimard, the first mistress of dance, Ledoux had Terpsichore, the Greek muse of dance and lyric poetry, personified everywhere in the painting and sculpture of the new *pavillon*.<sup>21</sup>

Ledoux's plans for the Guimard house preceded the Louveciennes commission by almost a year. Hence, it is possible that his *pavillon* model

---

Ledoux's wife. See Ashton, *Fragonard*, 140.

<sup>17</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 53.

<sup>18</sup> Dore Ashton notes that Ledoux received his building permit on 5 June, 1770, and Anthony Vidler gives December, 1772 as the inauguration date for Guimard's *pavillon*. See Ashton, *Fragonard*, 140; and Vidler, *Ledoux*, 51.

<sup>19</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 53.

<sup>20</sup> Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 138-9. This incident involving Fragonard, David and Guimard is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

<sup>21</sup> Jean-Benjamin de La Borde was a third protector of Marie-Madeleine Guimard. See Vidler, *Ledoux*, 51.

underwent further revision during that period.<sup>22</sup> While the settings and functions of the two buildings were different (only the Guimard edifice was designed as a permanent residence), the character of Ledoux's *pavillon* is consistent in both designs, and the evolution of the architectural form is evident. From Paris to Louveciennes with an interval of one year, we see the consummation of Ledoux's *pavillon* design. Perhaps even more at Louveciennes we sense the embodiment and celebration of Bastide's *petite maison*.<sup>23</sup> In his schemes for Mlle Guimard and Madame du Barry, Ledoux created the archetypal *pavillon*. However, it was at Louveciennes that Bastide's *petite maison* found its ideal setting. For Mlle Guimard, Ledoux was compelled to transcend urban setting and landscape when he built her *maison de compagne* on a narrow lot, facing the *Chaussée d'Antin* in Paris.<sup>24</sup>

The architectural triumph of Ledoux's *Temple of Terpsichore* reached beyond Mlle Guimard's circle of friends and admirers. Its design engendered

---

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that while the Guimard design predated the Louveciennes design by one year, Madame Du Barry's *pavillon* was inaugurated in September, 1771 -- an entire year before the *Temple of Terpsichore* was opened in December, 1772.

<sup>23</sup> Jean-François de Bastide, in his 1753 novel entitled *La petite maison*, describes a freestanding pavillon that, in form and setting, may be compared to Ledoux's *pavillon* designs for Mlle Guimard and Mme du Barry. Vidler, *Ledoux*, 50-53.

<sup>24</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 52.

praise from the architect's associates and friends. In *Les amours rivaux ou l'homme du monde éclairé par les arts*, written by François Blondel and edited by Jean-François de Bastide (1724-1798) in 1774, the comparison is made between Ledoux's *pavillon*-design and the *pavillon* created in Bastide's novel *La petite maison* of 1753.<sup>25</sup> Describing Guimard's *Temple of Terpsichore*, Bastide wrote in *Les amours rivaux*:

The apartments seem to owe their different pleasures to magic; rich without confusion and gallant without decency, they present the interiors of a Palace of Love, embellished by the Graces. The bedroom invites one to rest, the salon to pleasure, the dining room to gaiety.<sup>26</sup>

Bastide envisioned a *pavillon* that was, as Abel Patoux wrote in a later preface to the book, "*un instrument de séduction et de volupté, au charme victorieux, comme celui du palais et des jardins d'Armide.*"<sup>27</sup> Inside the *petite maison* in a layout that anticipated Blondel's theory of distribution, Bastide created individual spaces, rendered distinct by various colours and

---

<sup>25</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 50-53.

<sup>26</sup> Jean-François de Bastide, *Les amours rivaux*, as cited in Vidler, *Ledoux*, 53.

<sup>27</sup> See the 1905 reprinting of Jean-François de Bastide's *La petite maison* (Paris: Librairie Henri Leclerc, 1905) with Abel Patoux's preface.

embellishments.<sup>28</sup> This *pavillon* was a theatre of ambience, each mood brought to the fore by the play of light and decorative form. In the boudoir, mirrored panels enveloped the walls, multiplying the images of artificial trees springing up from the panels' vertical seams thus creating the effect, as noted by Vidler, of one "standing in a natural forest grove lit with the help of art."<sup>29</sup>

In *La petite maison*, Bastide provided the reader with an image of a house which involved a unique decorative scheme and setting. Its programme was directed towards a specific effect -- domestic pleasure and architectural beauty in coexistence. In creating a natural environment for the romance of the Marquis de Trémicour and Méliete, Bastide chose a pastoral setting just above the banks of the Seine. In the opening pages of the novel, Bastide describes the place:

*"Cette maison unique est sur les bords de la Seine....Une avenue, conduisant à une patte d'oie, amène à la porte d'une jolie avant-cour tapissée de verdure."*<sup>30</sup>

In his *Discours sur la peinture et sur l'architecture* (published five years

---

<sup>28</sup> The idea of *distribution* was introduced by François Blondel, and referred to, as clarified by Anthony Vidler: "the art of planning each room and suite of rooms to meet the often conflicting requirements of display and comfort." See Vidler, *Ledoux*, 50.

<sup>29</sup> This description of the boudoir is taken from Anthony Vidler's citation of Bastide's own description in *La petite maison*. See Vidler, *Ledoux*, 51.

<sup>30</sup> De Bastide, *Petite Maison*, 3.



after Bastide's novel), Jacques Davy Duperron included a description of a private space that compliments Bastide's narrative, while at the same time, as Mary Sheriff notes, offers a prelude to the work of Ledoux and Fragonard at Louveciennes. Making the distinction between the private and the public apartment, in terms of the appropriate decorative treatment, Duperron writes:

*S'agit-il de petits Appartements, lieux où se plaît l'Amour? C'est là que le pinceau doit épuiser tout ce que la volupté a d'attrayant; des Mirthes, des Roses, des Boccages, des Champs tapissés de verdure, des Campagnes où brille l'éclat des plus vives couleurs, doivent faire l'ornement de ces sortes de Pièces. Là, peut s'offrir le spectacle agréable & l'aménité d'un Jardin que l'art a pris soin d'orner; ici c'est le Tableau des charmes ingénues & de l'aimable désordre de la Nature.<sup>31</sup>*

Bastide was also the author of little book entitled *Les gradations de l'amour* which was published in 1772 and cited by Frédéric Melchior Grimm in his official critique of the Salon of 1773.<sup>32</sup> Interestingly, the reference to Bastide's *livret*

---

<sup>31</sup> "Is it a question of small apartments, places where Love enjoys himself? It is there that the brush must exhaust all the seductions of sensual pleasures; myrtle, roses, groves, fields carpeted with green, the countryside where the splendor of the most vivid colors shines, these must adorn these sorts of rooms. There, the agreeable spectacle and the pleasure of a garden that art has taken care to decorate can offer itself, here it is the picture of Nature's artless charms and charming disorder." Jacques Davy Duperron, *Discours sur la peinture et sur l'architecture* (1758; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1973), 60-61; as cited in Sheriff, *Fragonard*, 69.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas W. Gaechtgens and Jacques Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien; Peintre du Roi (1716-1809)* (Paris: Arthéna, 1988) 84-85; henceforth Gaechtgens and Lugand, *Vien*.

was found in Grimm's appraisal of the two panels (of the set of four) by Joseph-Marie Vien which were destined for the *pavillon* of Madame du Barry at Louveciennes. Thomas Gaehgtens also notes that Bastide's book was dedicated to: "*une dame qui n'est pas nommée mais il n'est pas exclu qu'il s'agisse de Madame du Barry bien que nous n'en ayons pas la preuve.*"<sup>33</sup>

Besides the preface by Patoux, the 1905 edition of Bastide's *La petite maison* contains sixteen watercolours and engravings by Adolphe Lalauze depicting the *pavillon* and gardens presented in Bastide's novel.<sup>34</sup> Although the illustrations and introduction were produced considerably later, they provide us with an invaluable picture of the setting for the novel, as well as insight into its amorous theme. Addressing the premise of *La petite maison*, Patoux writes:

*La thèse de La petite maison n'était point, chez notre auteur, un simple jeu d'esprit. Il croyait à la toute-puissante influence des arts sur l'intelligence, aussi bien que sur le coeur, comme le prouve ce roman curieux: l'homme du monde éclairé par les arts, qu'il écrivet en collaboration avec Jacques-François Blondel, architecte du roi....Mais surtout, il disserta sur l'amour: la Trentaire de Cythère; le Tribunal de l'amour ou les Causes célèbres de Cythère; les Ressources de l'amour; le Repentir des Amants; Lettres de l'amour; les Désenchantements de l'amour; Variétés littéraires et galantes.*<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Gaehgtens and Lugand, *Vien*, 85.

<sup>34</sup> A copy of the 1905 edition of Bastide's *La Petite Maison* with the sixteen watercolours and engravings can be found in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library.

Comparing Bastide's focus on the pursuit of love with the "celebrated causes of *Cythère*", Patoux's analogy invokes an image of the Island of Cythera, where Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, first stepped ashore. Bastide's own description of the lovers, in the first pages of his novel, sets a romantic and virtuous tone for the story: "*Le Marquis de Trémecour avait envie de l'engager, et s'étoit flatté d'y réussir aisément...Elle lui disoit qu'elle étoit vertueuse, et il répondait qu'il ne croiroit jamais qu'elle le fût.*"<sup>36</sup>

The watercolours by Lalauze give us one artist's conception of the *pavillon* and setting for *La petite maison*. The *pavillon* design appears to have been inspired by François-Joseph Bélanger's *Bagatelle*, built for the Comte d'Artois (Louis XVI's brother) in the *Bois de Boulogne*, Paris (1777).<sup>37</sup> While closer in appearance to the *Bagatelle*, Lalauze's *pavillon* also reflects the character and setting of Madame du Barry's *maison de plaisance* (fig. 36). Lalauze's rendering of a fountain and pool at the end of a garden bordered by two rows of trees

---

<sup>35</sup> Abel Patoux, preface, *La petite maison*, by Jean-François de Bastide, (1753; Paris: Librairie Henri Leclerc, 1905) viii-ix.

<sup>36</sup> De Bastide, *Petite Maison*, 2.

<sup>37</sup> The Comte d'Artois placed a bet with his new sister-in-law, Marie-Antoinette that he could have Bélanger's *pavillon* (or *casin*) built in the space of sixty-four days (the interval between the Court's visit to Fontainebleau and its return to Versailles). The construction began on 23 September, 1777 and was completed on 25 November, 1777. See Kalnein and Levey, *Eighteenth Century in France*, 340; and Connolly and Zerbe, *Pavillons*, 114.

corresponds to the arrangement at Louveciennes (see fig. 50). A drawing in the Albertina, which depicts Ledoux's *pavillon* and the surrounding site, offers another parallel to the illustration by Lalauze (fig. 37).<sup>38</sup>

Bastide's lovers, the Marquis de Trémecour and Mélite, appear in several of the watercolours by Lalauze, including one scene which is set in an oval room, decorated in a late Louis XV style (fig. 38). Illuminated and ornamented by an array of glass chandeliers, wall sconces and marble *porteuse de torchères*, the room and its decor is similar to the elliptical entrance foyer of the *pavillon* at Louveciennes (fig. 39).<sup>39</sup> The presence of large windows in the oval salon (two of which are visible in the watercolour), would suggest that the space opens onto the garden (as seen in Lalauze's portrayal of the *pavillon* and garden) -- an arrangement comparable to the layouts of both Bélanger's *Bagatelle* and Ledoux's *pavillon* at Louveciennes.

The proposed location for Madame du Barry's *pavillon* presented itself as both a challenge and an impetus for the architectural genius of Ledoux. The site at Louveciennes would also have made the perfect setting for Bastide's novel, *La*

---

<sup>38</sup> The drawing is reproduced in Connolly and Zerbe, *Pavillons*, 135.

<sup>39</sup> The plaster *torchère* reproduced in figure 39 would have been similar in style to the one depicted in Lalauze's illustration as well as those in the *pavillon* at Louveciennes.

*petite maison*. The secluded spot discovered by the king himself, was situated on a spur of land in the park of the nearby *Château de Louveciennes* and commanded a view which, as recorded by the Goncourts, "embraced Saint-Germain, the Vésinet, Saint-Denis, the Seine with all its meandering, and in the distance Paris."<sup>40</sup> But perhaps the even greater challenge than the mere exploitation of this piece of land was to satisfy the demands and agenda of its proprietor.

A garden designed by the architect, Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart (1739-1813) offers another venue for Bastide's novel. In his *Projet de jardin pour une cour des Invalides, à Paris* (1784) (fig. 40), Brongniart created a garden landscape reminiscent of Marie-Antoinette's Hamlet at Versailles, built by Mique between 1783 and 1785. However, it is with Brongniart's commission for the Hôtel de Montesquiou on rue Monsieur in Paris (1781) that we are able to appreciate the architect's interest in the garden setting and its relationship to the interior space. Built for Anne-Pierre de Montesquiou-Fezensac, the *hôtel* was located along the boulevard des Invalides, with its garden reaching up to the avenue. The central block of the building is flanked by two adjoining *pavillons* which extend a few feet beyond the main façade, looking onto the garden. A watercolour of one of the *pavillons*, labeled by Brongniart as "*Plusieurs vues du parc de Maupertuis pour être exécutées dans l'hôtel de son S. Excellence M. le Comte*

---

<sup>40</sup> Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *La Du Barry* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1891) 132; henceforth Goncourt, *Du Barry*.

*de Montesquiou*," depicts the interior space along with the view of the garden (fig. 41). Although the Parc de Maupertuis was not the actual vista seen through the terrace door of the *pavillon*, its landscape settings are recreated in the painted panels decorating the *salon* walls. Brongniart's design scheme echoes the example set ten years earlier by Fragonard in his commission for Madame du Barry's *pavillon* at Louveciennes. But unlike the *Progress of Love* panels, the painted landscapes for the Hôtel de Montesquiou fall short of interacting with the natural setting beyond the walls of the *pavillon*. In this way they recall the murals in the *Salotto* (or the *Room of the Fountain of Tivoli*) at the Villa d'Este, which portray antique and contemporary (sixteenth-century) landscapes, the latter sites including various properties of the Cardinal of Ferrara (figs. 42 & 43).<sup>41</sup> And while the Parc de Maupertuis was not a property belonging to the Marquis de Montesquiou, it was probably one of his favourite retreats. Fragonard's panels, on the other hand, respond to both the gardens of the Villa d'Este and Louveciennes, ultimately merging the two settings within the walls of the *salon en cul-de-four* of Du Barry's *pavillon*. The interaction of the real and imaginary, inside and outside the *salon*, can also be linked to the painting tradition in the Villa d'Este. However, in this case, it is the frescoed doors and windows of the *Room of Hercules* that remind us of Fragonard's panels and their setting (fig. 44).

---

<sup>41</sup> Six painters, working under the direction of Girolamo Muziano, produced the frescoes in the *Salotto* and the *Room of Hercules* (between 1565 and 1567). Coffin, *Tivoli*, 52-53.

The interplay of the painted interior and external setting can also be found in the music room of the *Pavillon de Musique de Madame*, designed by Gabriel's pupil, Jean-François Chalgrin in 1784 for Marie-Josephine-Louise de Savoie, and located on the outskirts of Versailles (fig. 45). The circular *salon* is decorated with a garden landscape, surrounded by Ionic columns and a balustrade, all painted in the trompe l'oeil manner. According to Connolly and Zerbe, the garden fresco, complete with arbours and fountains, may have at one time responded to the real setting on the other side of the mural walls.<sup>42</sup> However, like the role of the landscape panels for the Hôtel de Montesquiou, the mural in the *Pavillon de Musique* only mimics the natural setting; it does not merge with it.

The merging of the painted and natural landscape takes on a more significant role in Ledoux's work with Fragonard for Mademoiselle Guimard and Madame du Barry. However, it was only in the latter commission that their alliance came to fruition, and even then, for only a brief period. Ledoux's introduction to Madame du Barry was probably advanced through his work for Mlle Guimard. As a dancer with the Comédie-Française and the Opéra, Guimard attracted an impressive circle of friends and patrons, many of whom would gather for extravagant performances and parties in her house on the

---

<sup>42</sup> Connolly and Zerbe, *Pavillons*, 68.

Chaussée d'Antin. As an esteemed guest at these lavish functions, Ledoux was able to enlarge his own circle of benefactors. Making the acquaintance of the mistress of Louis XV, however, carried the young architect to a new level of patronage. In assessing the impact of the Louveciennes commission, Anthony Vidler writes: "If the Guimard house sealed Ledoux's professional reputation, the pavilion for du Barry consolidated his patronage under the aegis of the court."<sup>43</sup>

The association between Ledoux and Madame du Barry resulted in commissions for five projects, although only three were ever realized. Following the construction of the *pavillon*, Ledoux drew up a design for a new château at Louveciennes which incorporated the existing *pavillon* in the château's left wing (fig. 46). The foundations were laid in 1773, but with the death of Louis XV in 1774, the construction of *le grand Louveciennes* was halted and never recommenced. In 1775 Madame du Barry commissioned Ledoux to renovate the Château de Saint-Vrain near Arpajon, which served as her residence during her exile from Versailles and Louveciennes.<sup>44</sup> After Louis XVI granted Du Barry her freedom in 1776, she sold the château and returned to Louveciennes.

---

<sup>43</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 54.

<sup>44</sup> Just days before the death of Louis XV (10 May, 1774), Madame du Barry was sent away under the protection of the Duc and Duchesse d'Aiguillon at Rueil, and following an imposed eleven-month stay at the Abbey of Pont-aux-Dames at Crecy, Du Barry purchased the Château de Saint-Vrain in April, 1775. In October, 1776, Louis XVI granted Du Barry her freedom, and she returned to Louveciennes after selling the Château de Saint-Vrain.



Ledoux's two final projects for Madame du Barry included a large town house designed (although never built) for a site between the rue d'Artois and the Chaussée d'Antin in Paris, and a carriage house and stables on the Avenue de Paris in the town of Versailles, constructed in 1772.<sup>45</sup>

The working relationship between Ledoux and Fragonard does not appear to have been as volatile as the painter's associations with Guimard and Du Barry. One may even speculate that Ledoux was instrumental in his patrons' selection of painters and paintings for their residences. At first, one wonders why an architect working in the vanguard of the neoclassical style would accept, let alone further, the rococo cause sustained by Fragonard. Their affiliation, however, cannot be overlooked; nor can the grand scale of Fragonard's commissions for the two *pavillons* built by Ledoux. In both cases, Fragonard's panels (four in each case) commanded the decor and space for which they were ordered. And while Ledoux may have had personal, even aesthetic reasons to object to the selection of Fragonard as painter, there was also cause for him to support the choice. In his rise to prominence, the young architect, then thirty-four years old, was not about to ignore the tastes and demands of such influential patronage. Ledoux and his two benefactors were acquainted with the work of Fragonard and the bravado of his rococo charm. For the embellishment of their *pavillons*, Fragonard

---

<sup>45</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 57-59.

appeared to be the ideal candidate. This does not, however, discount the possibility that perhaps all along, Ledoux's true preference for painters for the two projects was Jacques-Louis David and Joseph-Marie Vien. In the end, this unspoken predilection was acknowledged.

#### IV. The *pavillon de musique* of Madame du Barry

*Toutes ces belles choses, tant de richesses, ce mobilier de millions, ces rare objets, ces bagatelles et ces merveilles, demandaient un temple qui fût à leur taille, un nid, un pavillon de fée qui fût dans sa grâce, dans le joli de ses détails, dans la miniature de ses proportions, dans la délicatesse de sa magnificence, la digne petite maison des petits arts, du dix-huitième siècle. Ce temple sera Luciennes, élevé en trois mois, comme au commandement d'une enchantresse, par l'architecte Ledoux, que madame du Barry remerciera en le poussant à l'Académie. Ce sera un palais-boudoir où tout aura le fini et le précieux d'un bijou.*

Edmond et Jules de Goncourt<sup>1</sup>

On the 22nd of April, 1769, the Comtesse du Barry was officially introduced to Louis XV and the royal family at Versailles.<sup>2</sup> Her presentation at court came only eleven months after the king first beheld his future mistress, then

---

<sup>1</sup> Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 128-129. "All these beautiful things, such richness, this property of millions, these rare objects, these trinkets and these marvels, demanded a temple which was fitting, a nest, a pavilion of a fairy which was in her grace, in the beauty of its details, miniature in its proportions, in the delicacy of its magnificence, this dignified little house of the decorative arts of the eighteenth century. This temple would be [Luciennes], constructed in three months, as commissioned by an enchantress, by the architect Ledoux, that Madame Du Barry would thank by pushing him to the academy. This would be a palace boudoir where everything would be finished with the preciousness of a jewel."

<sup>2</sup> Philip M. Laski, *The Trial and Execution of Madame du Barry* (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1969) 5; henceforth Laski, *Du Barry*.

a woman of twenty-five years. In the time between that very first meeting with the king, in May, 1768, and her inauguration a year later, Jeanne Rançon, the only daughter of Anne Bécu procured: a noble lineage; a legitimate father in the person of Nicholas Rançon; a new birth certificate making her three years younger; and an arranged marriage to Guillaume du Barry, the brother of her patron, Jean-Baptiste, Comte du Barry; and all this to satisfy the king and the court genealogist.<sup>3</sup> To appease his new mistress, Louis XV arranged to move Madame du Barry from her ground floor apartment in the North Wing of Versailles to the *petits appartements* on the second floor, situated directly above his bedchamber and joined by a private staircase.<sup>4</sup> But even before the move to the second floor and her exclusive positioning within the palace, Du Barry had been given her very own retreat from Versailles. Only two months after her official introduction to the court, Louis XV presented her with the royal château at Louveciennes, located near Bougival, four miles north of Versailles.<sup>5</sup>

Du Barry's role as a patron of the arts, which was enhanced considerably by the largess of the king, began almost immediately upon her arrival at

---

<sup>3</sup> Laski, *Du Barry*, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Laski, *Du Barry*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Marion Ward, *The Du Barry Inheritance* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968) 3; henceforth Ward, *Du Barry*. Franklin M. Biebel in "Fragonard and Madame Du Barry," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (October 1960): 207, notes that the gift of Louveciennes was recorded in a royal warrant, dated 24 July, 1769.

Versailles. From May, 1768 until September, 1774<sup>6</sup> Madarne du Barry received: an accumulative income of approximately seven million *livres*, which included an annual annuity of 150,000 *livres*; an additional yearly income of 40,000 *livres* from *Les Loges de Nantes*<sup>7</sup>; the life ownership of Louveciennes; her apartments at Versailles; and two private residences in the town of Versailles.<sup>8</sup> The benevolence of the king towards his mistress also included the services of his royal painters and architects.

The château at Louveciennes<sup>9</sup> had been constructed in 1685 at the request of Louis XIV for Arnold de Ville, the engineer responsible for the hydraulic machine at Marly (fig. 47).<sup>10</sup> Situated on a wooded ridge above the Seine, the modest château, with gardens and park, occupied a 400 hectare site.<sup>11</sup> The constant drone of the pumping machines at Marly may have motivated Madame

---

<sup>6</sup> Approximately five months after the death of Louis XV.

<sup>7</sup> *Les Loges de Nantes* were the small boutiques situated on the ramparts of Nantes. See Laski, *Du Barry*, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Laski, *Du Barry*, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Louveciennes was spelled and pronounced *Luciennes* in the eighteenth century. See Ward, *Du Barry*, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Marie-Amynthe Denis, "De Marly à Louveciennes," *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes* (exhibition catalogue) (Paris: Flammarion, 1992) 159; henceforth Denis, *Marly*.

<sup>11</sup> Henri-François de Breteuil, ed. "Le pavillon Du Barry à Louveciennes," *La Demeure Historique* 1 (1986): 15; henceforth Breteuil, *Pavillon*.

du Barry to find a secluded place in the park where she could enjoy both privacy and quiet. Apparently Louis XV shared the same desire. On one of his walks in the park at Louveciennes, he discovered a spur of land that projected out from the wooded ridge for a span of 100 metres, and commanded a magnificent view of Paris and the valley below.<sup>12</sup> On this site, he decided to have a *pavillon* constructed. His mistress would take charge of its conception.

Early in 1770 Madame du Barry called on two young architects, Charles de Wailly (1730-1798) and Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736-1806) to submit plans for a *pavillon* at Louveciennes. In the same year she commissioned Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1698-1782), the Royal Architect, with the assistance of his son, Ange-Antoine Gabriel, to direct the restoration of the old château.<sup>13</sup> Louveciennes was well-known to Gabriel as he had been employed by De Ville to design the two side wings for the existing château, which housed a chapel and an orangery.<sup>14</sup> Gabriel was also acquainted with the patronage of Madame du Barry as a result of his commission in 1770 to redecorate her second floor apartments at

---

<sup>12</sup> Breteuil, *Pavillon*, 15.

<sup>13</sup> Ange-Jacques Gabriel's son, Ange-Antoine, represented his father at Louveciennes and acted as controller of the works for the renovations of the chateau. See: Michel Gallet, "*Madame Du Barry et Ledoux, Histoire d'une amitié*," *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes* (exhibition catalogue) (Paris: Flammarion, 1992) 11; henceforth Gallet, *Du Barry*.

<sup>14</sup> B. Scott, "Madame Du Barry -- A Royal Favourite with Taste," *Apollo* (January 1973): 66; henceforth Scott, *Du Barry*.

Versailles.<sup>15</sup> At seventy-two years of age, Ange-Jacques Gabriel had recently suffered a stroke, and was probably not the most suitable architect.<sup>16</sup> De Wailly, at forty years of age and a protégé of both the Marquis de Marigny, *Surintendant des bâtiments*, and Fontanieu, *Intendant du Garde-Meuble*, was a more plausible choice for the new commission.<sup>17</sup> However, for this important and rather private order, Gabriel, the *Premier Architecte* and De Wailly, *contrôleur survivancier de Versailles* and recipient of the *Prix de Rome*, were passed over for the architect of the day, Ledoux. Madame du Barry's decision, quite independent of the *Surintendant des bâtiments*, set the tone for the character of her patronage at Louveciennes and Versailles. The choice of architect, as Michel Gallet suggests in his essay on Madame Du Barry and Ledoux, was well-planned:

*Dans ces conditions, quand madame Du Barry voulut avoir un pavillon sur les hauteurs de cette propriété, rien ne la disposait à s'adresser aux Bâtiments. Apparemment, ses amis parisiens, et ceux des vieux courtisans de Louis XV qui lui témoignaient leur dévouement -- Richelieu, Soubise -- lui conseillèrent d'engager des artistes indépendants: on la savait déjà femme de goût; il ne lui manquait que d'apparaître en protectrice éclairée des arts.<sup>18</sup>*

---

<sup>15</sup> Scott, *Du Barry*, 61.

<sup>16</sup> Michel Gallet, "Ledoux et Paris," *Cahiers de la Rotonde*, 3 (1979): 11 (Paris: *Rotonde de la Villette*, 2nd edition, 1979); henceforth Gallet, *Ledoux*.

<sup>17</sup> Gallet, *Ledoux*, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Gallet, *Ledoux*, 11.

Construction of the *pavillon de musique* at Louveciennes began in December, 1770, and lasted approximately three months (figs. 48 & 49). The interior decoration and furnishing continued for another six months, while the fulfillment of all Madame du Barry's orders for the *pavillon*, including paintings and sculpture, would extend for years after the completion of the building.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, within ten months of the commission date, Du Barry was in the position to host an inaugural dinner in her new *pavillon*. On 2 September, 1771, at the invitation of Madame du Barry, Louis XV and his close friends dined together in the neoclassical splendour of Ledoux's *maison de plaisance*.

Two years after its inception, the impact of Ledoux's *pavillon* was still talked about. In Bachaumont's *Mémoires secrets*, Pidanset de Mairobert wrote in an entry from November, 1773: "*Le sieur Le Doux, jeune architecte connu par plusieurs ouvrages qui annoncent du goût, de la noblesse, de l'imagination mais auquel il manque quelquefois de la sagesse: le temple de Terpsichore de Mlle Guimard et le pavillon de Mme du Barry à Lucienne.*"<sup>20</sup>

One approaches the *pavillon* from the garden, entering through a semi-

---

<sup>19</sup> A complete list of the artisans hired by Ledoux for the decoration of the *pavillon* is found in Gallet, *Ledoux*.

<sup>20</sup> Pidansat de Mairobert in *Mémoires secrets*, (8 November, 1773 entry) as cited in Gallet, *Ledoux*, 88.



circular portico supported by four Ionic columns, and decorated with both free-standing and relief sculpture (figs. 50 & 51).<sup>21</sup> A bas-relief by Felix Lecomte (1737-1817), depicting a *Bacanal d'enfants* forms a frieze above the recessed entrance, and two sculpture niches flank the doorway (fig. 52).<sup>22</sup> The *salle à manger* adjacent to the garden portico is a large, elliptical room which functioned as both a dining room and reception area (fig. 53). Its east-west orientation is defined by apsidal ends which, by way of adjoining antechambers, allows for a direct view and access to the garden terraces (fig. 54). The decorative treatment of the room reveals white marble walls with Corinthian pilasters with bronze capitals, and mirrored panels ornamented with chandeliers. Alternating bas-reliefs of putti and the Du Barry insignia functioned as overdoors for the mirrored panels and four entrances to the room. Four marble *porteuses de torchères* designed by the sculptors, Augustin Pajou, Martin-Claude Monot and

---

<sup>21</sup> I am deeply indebted to Dr. Everett Fahy and Mrs. John Gutfreund who, through the generosity of Mme Victor Moritz, arranged for my visit to the *pavillon* at Louveciennes during the summer of 1992. After failing to gain admission to the *pavillon* and site through the official routes, I was delighted to find out there were other ways to access Madame du Barry's *maison de plaisance*. My two visits to Louveciennes were also a success thanks to the assistance of Dr. John MacLeod, S. Alexandre Filiatrault, and Dr. Graham Smith.

<sup>22</sup> In Goncourts' *Du Barry*, a reference is made to the commission receipt of 960 *livres* from the accounts of Lecomte and published by M. Paul Mantz in the *Archives de l'art français* (1852), and reads: "*pour le bas-relief faisant le fronton du Pavillon de Louveciennes; un Bacanal d'enfants de vingt-deux pieds de long sur quatre de haut*". See Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 361.

Félix Lecomte augmented the lighting and decor (see fig. 39).<sup>23</sup> Tribunes at each end of the room provided space for musicians to perform during dinners and receptions.<sup>24</sup> Jean-Bernard Restout's (1732-1797) ceiling painting, framed by a classical cornice and coffered semi-circles at each end of the salon, completed the elegant space (fig. 55). A watercolour by Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune (1741-1814) entitled "*Une fête donnée à Louveciennes en 1771*" provides an accurate depiction of the room's decor, in addition to documenting the inaugural dinner of 2 September, 1771 (fig. 56).

The *salon carré du roi* (*salon carré*), situated directly behind the dining room and between the *salon en cul de four* and the *salon ovale*, was highlighted by three large windows on the extreme wall which, by virtue of the *pavillon*'s elevation and precipitous siting on the *éperon*, commanded a panoramic view of

---

<sup>23</sup> The *porteuses de torchères* depicted in the watercolour by Moreau le Jeune are actually *modèles en plâtre*, as the marble sculptures were not finished in time for the 2 September, 1771 inaugural dinner. Jean de Cayeux, in an article in *La Revue de l'art Ancien et Moderne*, notes that the sculptors were occupied with other commissions and pressed for time, and therefore would not have undertaken the execution of such important works in marble in time for the opening of the *pavillon*. Instead, they provided temporary plaster models of their designs, which would have been in place on the night of September 2, 1772. See Jean de Cayeux, "*Le Pavillon de Madame Du Barry à Louveciennes et son Architecte C.-N. Ledoux*", *La Revue de l'art Ancien et Moderne* 68 (June, 1935): 35-48 & 36-7; henceforth Cayeux, *Pavillon*.

<sup>24</sup> Today the tribunes are no longer accessible, and the openings have been replaced with mirrored panels. A modern addition of a second story to the *pavillon* resulted in the filling in of the tribunes.

the countryside (figs. 57 & 58). In their description of the *pavillon* in *La Du Barry*, the Goncourts write: "*la vue des fenêtres embrassait Saint-Germain, le Vésinet, Saint-Denis, la Seine en tous ses méandres, et là-bas Paris*"<sup>25</sup> (fig. 59). The room was ornamented with mirrored panels and elaborate plaster and wood moulding after designs by Ledoux. The bronze work, including the finishings on the two marble fireplaces, was carried out by Pierre Gouthière.<sup>26</sup> *Parcloles* executed by Jean-Baptiste Feuillet and Joseph Métivier, and featuring gilded pairs of nymphs on pedestals supporting vases of flowers, took on the role of pilasters by dividing the windows and wall panels.<sup>27</sup> To the left of the *salon carré* is the *salon ovale*, with mirrored walls and a ceiling by Gabriel Briard depicting the allegory of love in the country (figs. 60-62).<sup>28</sup> To the right is the *salon en cul-de-four*, with its ceiling painted by Restout (figs. 63-67).<sup>29</sup> This last room was the

---

<sup>25</sup> Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 132.

<sup>26</sup> Gouthière's *feu à recouvrement en bronze ciselé et doré d'or mat* for the fireplaces of the *salon carré* (dating from 1771) are now in the *Musée national du château de Compiègne*. See Christian Baulez, "*Le mobilier et les objets d'art de madame Du Barry*," *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992) 175; henceforth Baulez, *Du Barry*.

<sup>27</sup> The *parcloles* from the *salon carré* were acquired at the end of the nineteenth century by the baron Alphonse de Rothschild, and remain in his *hôtel de la rue Saint-Florentin*, which today is the property of the Government of the United States. See Gallet, *Du Barry*, 19.

<sup>28</sup> Imbert de Saint-Amand, *Last Years of Louis XV* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893) 182; henceforth Saint-Amand, *Louis XV*.

<sup>29</sup> The ceiling paintings in both the *salon ovale* and the *salon en cul-de-four* have not survived.

setting for the two *Progress of Love* commissions, the first by Fragonard, and the second, by Vien.

The garden contained five marble sculptures (in addition to a bust and several vases): *Diane* by Antoine Coysevox, *Diane descendant au bain* and *Vénus se baignant* (as a pendant) by Christophe-Gabriel Allegrain, *Minerve assise, appuyée sur son bouclier* and *Vénus dirigeant les traits de l'Amour* by Louis-Claude Vassé.<sup>30</sup> The collection of sculpture in the *pavillon* consisted of: four bronze and five small marble sculptures, three busts, five vases, a medallion, and the four marble *porteuses de torchères*.<sup>31</sup> Among the bronzes were copies (reduced) after the antique sculptures of *La Vénus callipyge* and *Apollon du Belvédère*.<sup>32</sup> The marble pieces included: *L'Amour assis sur les bords de la mer rassemblant les colombes du char de Vénus* and *La Comédie* by Vassé, *L'Amour se disposant à décocher une flèche* and *La Nymphe fuyant les traits de l'Amour* by Simon-Louis Boizot, and *La Baigneuse* by Etienne-Maurice Falconet.<sup>33</sup>

Situated in the park at Louveciennes, the *pavillon* and garden did not

---

<sup>30</sup> Baulez, *Du Barry*, 71 & 85.

<sup>31</sup> Jean-René Gaborit, "Le goût de madame Du Barry pour la sculpture," *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 121; henceforth Gaborit, *Du Barry*.

<sup>32</sup> Gaborit, *Du Barry*, 122.

<sup>33</sup> Gaborit, *Du Barry*, 122-123.

occupy a large area (approximately 10 acres in a park of 400 hectares); and as the *pavillon* was erected on a wooded spur of land directly above the banks of the Seine, it was only the land which lay to the south of the building (and to the immediate east and west, flanking the sides of the *pavillon*) that was cleared and intended as a garden.<sup>34</sup> The afore-mentioned drawing in the Albertina Collection depicts the south (front) elevation of the *pavillon* facing the garden (see fig. 37), and when compared with a recent photograph of the site, there is a striking resemblance between the two images (fig. 68). Of course the alleys have changed over time, their orderly rows now transformed into overgrown walls merging with the surrounding forest. Two semi-circular colonnades of Ionic columns (taken from the front and back porticoes of the *pavillon* after the building was reconstructed in 1929 by Charles Mewès) have also replaced Du Barry's collection of garden sculpture (figs. 69 & 70).<sup>35</sup> A fountain and grotto

---

<sup>34</sup> The setting for the *pavillon* is described in *La Demeure Historique*: "Elle était encaissée dans la forêt, au milieu de ses 400 hectares de terre qui descendaient jusqu'aux berges de la Seine -- à Bougival." See Breteuil, *Pavillon*, 15.

<sup>35</sup> In 1929, the celebrated perfumer, François Coty purchased the *pavillon* at Louveciennes, and subsequently decided to restore the building to its former glory. Between 1929 and 1932, and in accordance with the original plans by Ledoux and under the direction of the architect, Charles E. Mewès, the *pavillon* was dismantled, moved (several metres up from the banks of the Seine) and reconstructed. Although the reconstruction was comprised of mainly new materials, the architect's regard for an accurate representation of the original edifice was carried out to the degree that the Maison Fontaine was commissioned to produce new editions of the original bronze and metal-work by Gouthière and Thibault. See Denis, *Du Barry* 172-73. Unfortunately, Coty also authorized the construction of a second story, which, although set in from the original structure on all four sides, interrupts the line and elevation of Ledoux's *pavillon* form. In

at the south end of the garden continue to serve as a focal point for the *pavillon* visitor, while the putti and dolphin find their counterparts in Fragonard's *Progress of Love* (fig. 71). And perhaps the grotto at Louveciennes brought *villeggiatura* a little closer for Fragonard (fig. 72).

Two other late eighteenth-century depictions of the *pavillon* feature views of the north side of the building from the banks of the Seine. These pictorial sources help confirm the original siting for the *pavillon* as well as verifying the correctness of the building's present orientation (following its move several metres up from the river bank).<sup>36</sup> An engraving by Testard and Bellet entitled *Vue du pavillon de Lucienne, près de Marli, appartenant à Mme la Comtesse du Barry* (sic) depicts the *pavillon* just above the river bank with the terrace steps (which no longer exist) extending almost to the water's edge (figs. 73 & 74). While the treatment of the façade is very similar to Ledoux's rendering of the *pavillon's* north elevation (fig. 75), the location of the building -- only a few metres from the river's edge -- appears slightly exaggerated.<sup>37</sup> There are,

---

1971, Victor Moritz purchased the *pavillon* from the American School in Paris and carried out a second restoration after Ledoux's plans, eighteenth-century inventories, and extant furnishings. See Susan Morris, *Le Pavillon de Musique de la Comtesse du Barry* (New York: Sotheby's Inc., 1988).

<sup>36</sup> See the preceding note (#33) regarding the relocation of the *pavillon* earlier this century.

<sup>37</sup> It does not correspond with the account attributed to Louis XV and his discovery of "un éperon qui dominant toute la vallée de plus de 100 mètres."

however, strong similarities between the garden setting in the Testard print and the Albertina drawing, and in both examples there exists a visual link with the modern landscape at Louveciennes. An aquatint engraving by John Hill (1770-1850) entitled *Vue du pavillon de Louveciennes sous l'Empire*, after a drawing by J.-Claude Nates (1765-1822), shows the *pavillon* from the north side of the river (fig. 76). A recent photograph taken from approximately the same place gives a remarkably similar view of the *pavillon* and its setting atop the *éperon* (fig. 77).

The acquisition of paintings and sculpture by Madame du Barry for the *pavillon* at Louveciennes reveals much about the style and personality of Louis XV's last mistress. In the dual role of royal patron and arbiter of taste, Du Barry experienced her greatest challenge at Louveciennes. Confronted with the impeccable legacy of connoisseurship established by her predecessor, Madame de Pompadour, Du Barry had the opportunity at Louveciennes to advance to the forefront in taste with her selection of architect and artists. At the same time, she was in the unenviable position of having to make the right choice. Surprisingly, according to Emile Molinier, the renowned French critic and author of *Le mobilier royal français au XVII et XVIII siècles*, Madame du Barry failed to make any of the right decisions. He wrote: "She invented nothing, she created nothing, she had nothing created."<sup>38</sup> However, one would have to ignore Breteuil, *Pavillon*, 15.

<sup>38</sup> Emile Molinier, *Le mobilier royal français au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*

completely the *pavillon* at Louveciennes, along with its celebrated list of commissions, in order to accept Molinier's judgement.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the presence of Madame du Barry's *pavillon* was not overlooked at the time of its inception, nor has its place in the study of eighteenth-century art and architecture been neglected today. Du Barry failed to acquire Pompadour's title of minister without portfolio; however, her artful scheme to bring Fragonard into Ledoux's temple can never be overlooked.

At Louveciennes and Versailles, Madame du Barry assembled a collection of paintings, sculptures, and *objets d'art* which defined and celebrated her role as connoisseur.<sup>40</sup> In just over five years, from her presentation at court in 1769 to the king's death in 1774, Du Barry offered her patronage to the arts and, in the process, effected and witnessed a change in the character of French painting and architecture. Appraising Madame du Barry's role in the evolution of French art,

---

(Paris, 1902) Volume 1, 45 (as cited by Franklin M. Biebel, "Fragonard and Madame Du Barry," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (October 1960): 210.

<sup>39</sup> One would also have to ignore an impressive list of books in Madame du Barry's personal library which included, naming only a few: Plutarch's *Lives*, Buffon's *Natural History*, Necker's *Administration des Finances*, Burnet's *History of His Own Time*, la Condamine's *Voyage to Measure the Earth*, Suard's translation of the *Life of Charles V*, the *Encyclopedia*, a two-volume work on the English Constitution, and a collection of recent novels, plays and memoirs. See Ward, *Du Barry*, 9.

<sup>40</sup> In the exhibition catalogue, *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes* Christian Baulez provides a detailed account of the *mobilier et les objets d'art* of Madame du Barry. See Baulez, , *Du Barry*.



Marie-Amynthe Denis in the exhibition catalogue, *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes*, addresses both the significant impact and contribution of Pompadour's successor:

*Les nombreuses commandes de la comtesse témoignent d'un goût sûr et raffiné, sans doute un peu ostentatoire. Beaucoup d'entre ces pièces sont parvenues jusqu'à nous, conservées dans des musées du monde entier et chez quelques particuliers...Elles attestent la part de Jeanne Du Barry dans l'évolution de l'art français, qui effectue alors une transition -- visible dans ses collections -- du style rocaille au néo-classique.<sup>41</sup>*

François-Hubert Drouais' portrait of Du Barry as a muse rivals the image of Pompadour in both style and substance (fig. 78).

The *salon carré* was lavishly ornamented with fine metal, plaster and woodwork as well as choice *objets d'art*. Consequently, the inclusion of paintings and tapestries served to augment rather than to define this space. The sweeping view of the Seine prevailed as the most outstanding feature of the room. Visiting the *pavillon* in 1774 during a study trip for foreign architects (which included Sir William Chambers) the Swedish architect Carl Wilhelm Carlberg noted that only mirrored panels separated by the gold and white *parclores* decorated the walls of

---

<sup>41</sup> Denis, *Marly*, 161.

the *salon carré*.<sup>42</sup> Jean de Cayeux also suggests the possibility of the room's decor -- at least for a period of time -- existing without any paintings or tapestries. Cayeux states: "*La décoration était d'ailleurs assez riche pour que les quatre panneaux pussent au besoin rester vides sans inconvénient.*"<sup>43</sup> There were, however, paintings and tapestries ordered for the *salon carré*, and the history of these commissions has been the subject of considerable dialogue within the scholarship devoted to Louveciennes. Paramount to the discussion is the debate over which works were actually installed in the *salon carré*.

In December, 1771, Madame du Barry had three history paintings by Noël Hallé, Carle Van Loo, and Joseph-Marie Vien, delivered to the *pavillon* at Louveciennes. A fourth painting by Vien was later added to the suite. The three canvases representing the "Generous Actions of Rulers" -- depicting events from the reigns of the emperors, *Marc-Aurèle*, *Auguste*, and *Trajan* -- belonged to a suite of four works that had been commissioned in 1764 by the Marquis de Marigny for the Château de Choisy.<sup>44</sup> François Boucher was to have painted the

---

<sup>42</sup> Gallet, *Du Barry*, 19. Sir William Chambers' trip to Paris in the Spring of 1774 is noted in John Summerson's *Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books Ltd., 1983, seventh edition) 422.

<sup>43</sup> Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 40.

<sup>44</sup> Responding to Marigny's proposal for a suite of pictures for the Château de Choisy, Charles-Nicolas Cochin wrote, on 14 October, 1764, "*J'ay l'honneur de vous proposer d'employer ces quatre précieux espaces à représenter quelques-unes de ces actions qui ont fait la gloire des empereurs Auguste, Trajan, Titus, Marc-Aurèle*",

fourth canvas but declined due to prior commitments, and the work was carried out by Hallé (although this second piece by Hallé did not become part of the Louveciennes suite).<sup>45</sup> Evidently the somber actions depicted in the four paintings had displeased the king, and after hanging in the gallery of Choisy for less than three months they were removed and transported to the *Surintendance de Versailles*, and then sent to the Gobelins manufactory.<sup>46</sup> On 6 December, 1771, by order of the Marquise de Marigny, three of the Choisy paintings were transported to the *pavillon* at Louveciennes, where Du Barry had them placed in the *salon carré*.<sup>47</sup> A second painting by Vien entitled *La Famille de Coriolan*

---

(as cited in) Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien, Peintre du Roi (1716-1804)* (Paris: Arthéna, 1988) 175; henceforth Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*.

<sup>45</sup> Alastair Laing, *François Boucher, 1703-1770* (exhibition catalogue) (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986) 34. Laing notes that after the king rejected the four paintings depicting the "Generous Actions of Rulers," Boucher was commissioned to produce four replacements. This latter order, however, was never carried out by the artist.

<sup>46</sup> The titles of the four paintings were: Vien, *Marc-Aurèle faisant distribuer au peuple des aliments et des médicaments dans un temple de peste et de famine* (Amiens, Musée de Picardie); Van Loo, *Auguste fermant les portes du temple de Janus* (Amiens, Musée de Picardie); Hallé, *Trajan rendant la Justice* (Marseille, Musée Longchamp); and (as proposed to) Boucher, *Titus après la prise de Jérusalem libérant les prisonniers*. See Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 176.

<sup>47</sup> Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 176.

*Venant le Fléchir et le Détourner d'Assiéger Rome* (1779), was eventually substituted for the work that Hallé executed in lieu of Boucher's commission (fig. 79).<sup>48</sup>

Near the end of 1771, Madame du Barry ordered another suite of four paintings by Joseph Vernet (1714-1789), depicting the *Parties du jour*, and had them placed in the *salon carré* of the *pavillon*. Vernet had already painted three other versions of this theme, including a set for the library of the Dauphin at Versailles and for the Château de Choisy.<sup>49</sup> The pictures (each measuring approximately 1,0 x 1,6 metres) for Madame du Barry arrived in separate installments, beginning in the fall of 1771. *La Nuit; un port de mer au clair de lune* was delivered in October 1771; *La Soir; coucher de soleil, retour de la pêche* arrived before January, 1772; and the remaining two, *Le Matin; les baigneuses* and *Le Midi*, were delivered in May and November of that year (fig. 80).<sup>50</sup> An entry dated 28 January, 1772 by Pidansat de Mairobert in Bachaumont's *Mémoires secrets* mentions: "*les talents précieux de M. Vernet...qui a décore le joli pavillon de*

---

<sup>48</sup> Gaetgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 197. It would appear that the second picture by Hallé, ordered to replace the work by Boucher, never arrived at Louveciennes. However, as the above authors note: "*quatre tableaux furent retrouvés à Louveciennes par les «Commissaires artistes» le 22 pluviôse an II (10 février 1794): «deux de Vien, un de Hallé et le 4e de Vanloo, de dix pieds carrés»*." Vien's painting of *Coriolan* is now located in Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet.

<sup>49</sup> Marie-Catherine Sahut, "Notice," *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992) 177; henceforth Sahut, *Du Barry*.

<sup>50</sup> Sahut, *Du Barry (Notice)*, 177.

*Lucienne de morceaux assortis de sa façon,"* and this would include at least two of Vernet's paintings.<sup>51</sup>

The task of determining the exact location of the Vernet and Choisy pictures at Louveciennes is compounded by the presence of three of four Gobelins tapestries (of approximately the same size as the Choisy paintings) commissioned by the countess for the *pavillon*. On 30 October, 1772, Madame du Barry visited the Gobelins manufactory with the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, and ordered four tapestries on the theme of the *Loves of the Gods*. Woven after designs by Carle van Loo (*Neptune et Amimonne*), Jean-Baptiste Pierre (*l'Enlèvement d'Europe*), François Boucher (*Vénus et Vulcain*), and Joseph-Marie Vien (*Pluton et Proserpine*) (fig. 81), they were to be installed in the *salon carré*.<sup>52</sup>

A statement dated 1 November, 1772 from the personal records of Madame du Barry, confirms the commission of four tapestries from the Gobelins manufactory to be executed by Cozette and Audran, according to the

---

<sup>51</sup> Pidanset de Mairobert in M. de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la République des Lettres en France depuis 1762 jusqu'à nos jours* (London: John Adamson, 1780) vol. 29: 184.

<sup>52</sup> Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 37.

measurements given by Ledoux.<sup>53</sup> However, an invoice dated 29 May, 1774, from Cozette, *entrepreneur de la manufacture royale des Gobelins*, includes the costs for only three tapestries, while a second notation from 10 June, 1775, specifies the labour costs for three tapestries.<sup>54</sup> Absent from the list is the tapestry commissioned after the painting by Carle van Loo, entitled *Neptune et Aminonne*. This discrepancy, however, can be explained by a correspondence between Cozette and Madame du Barry, cited in an article by Jean de Cayeux. Cayeux notes that on 20 May, 1774, Cozette informed Du Barry that the tapestry after the painting by Carle van Loo was not finished.<sup>55</sup> This communication, coming only ten days after the death of the king, led to the cancellation of the order for the fourth tapestry, and the subsequent decision to move the three completed panels to another location at Louveciennes.<sup>56</sup>

The apparent confusion over the placement at Louveciennes of the pictures from Choisy and those by Vernet together with the Gobelins tapestries may be clarified if we consider the following details: the commission and

---

<sup>53</sup> The commission record is found in the *appendice* of Goncourts' *Du Barry*, 345.

<sup>54</sup> The invoice records from May 29, 1774 and June 10, 1775 appear in the *appendice* in Goncourt *Du Barry*, 346.

<sup>55</sup> Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 38.

<sup>56</sup> Cayeux refers to *Bibliothèque nationale, Mss. franç. 8158, fo. 3-7*, in Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 38.

completion dates of the works, their dimensions, and the suitability of the subject-matter of the works for the *salon carré*. The pictures from the Château de Choisy arrived at Louveciennes by default -- the king having been displeased with their "*décor moralisateur et triste*,"<sup>57</sup> had rejected them five years earlier. Upon their arrival at Louveciennes in December, 1771, the three canvases were initially placed in the *salon carré*, a space which Gaehtgens and Lugand note, "*en attendant une décoration définitive*."<sup>58</sup> These pictures were then removed from this room after May, 1772 and placed in the *antichambre des buffets*, at which time the countess had the *Parties du jour* by Vernet installed in the *salon carré*.<sup>59</sup> Vien's painting of *Coriolan*, commissioned at a later date, was eventually placed on the remaining empty wall of the *antichambre*. Inventory records dating from March, 1793, confirm that the *antichambre des buffets* became the final location for the Choisy pictures at Louveciennes.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 176.

<sup>58</sup> Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 176.

<sup>59</sup> as cited in Baulez, *Du Barry*, 84.

<sup>60</sup> *Inventaire et description des meubles et effets appartenant à la citoyenne du Barry présumée émigrée* dated 6 March, 1793 (the day after Madame Du Barry returned from London for the last time) lists "4 grands tableaux d'histoire" in the *Antichambre servant de buffet à gauche dudit pavillon*. These four works were identified as "two by Vien, one by Hallé and the fourth by Van Loo". See Baulez, *Du Barry*, 70 & 84.

The installation of the three Gobelins tapestries in the *pavillon* rests precariously on an account given by Mme Claude Saint-André, cited by Jean de Cayeux, although ultimately not supported by him.<sup>61</sup> In a description of the *salon carré*, Saint-André makes reference to only three hangings, and, in front of the fourth blank wall panel, an "antique" altar of white marble and gilded bronze and silver by Gouthière, Feuillet and Métivier.<sup>62</sup> Saint-André's statement would explain why it was unnecessary for Madame Du Barry to find a fourth hanging for the room. However, the tapestries were not delivered until the end of 1774,<sup>63</sup> and would have replaced the four Vernet paintings, and not the Choisy pictures in the *salon carré*. It is also important to note that the commission records for the tapestries, published in the Goncourt journals, do not specify the exact location for the finished tapestries. They state only that the measurements were provided by Ledoux.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the tapestries may eventually have been installed in the more spacious setting of the (old) château at Louveciennes.

---

<sup>61</sup> Jean de Cayeux writes: "*Selon nous, ces panneaux n'ont jamais été placés sur les murs auxquels ils étaient destinés.*" See Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 38.

<sup>62</sup> Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 36.

<sup>63</sup> Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 38.

<sup>64</sup> Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 345-346.



Nevertheless, when we consider the dimensions of the paintings and tapestries -- the Choisy canvases measuring approximately 3,0 x 3,0 metres each; the Gobelins tapestries approximately 4,0 x 3,0 metres; and the Vernet canvases approximately 1,0 x 1,5 metres -- along with the available wall space in the *salon carré* -- the widest panel measuring 2,80 metres -- there is really only one feasible hanging scheme at Louveciennes (fig. 82).<sup>65</sup> Vernet's suite of the *Parties du jour* are the only canvases that would have fit into the four empty wall panels in the room. The Choisy and Gobelins works were too wide for these panel openings, and only with considerable alteration could they have been installed in the *salon carré*. Indeed, if they were placed in this space, it could only have been as a temporary arrangement.

Interestingly, the Gobelins tapestries were ordered at approximately the same time as Du Barry commissioned Joseph-Marie Vien to produce the four panels to replace Fragonard's *Progress of Love*.<sup>66</sup> One might propose that, given the size of the tapestries (approximately 4,0 x 3,0 metres) and their commission

---

<sup>65</sup> A drawing by Ledoux for the elevations of the *salon carré* shows the wall panels suitable for paintings or tapestries -- the twin panels on each side of the doorways to the *salon ovale* and the *salon en cul-de-four*, and the spaces over the two fireplaces, (although records reveal that mirrors were installed here). On-site measurements taken by the author with the assistance of Dr. John MacLeod confirm the width of each of the four wall panels to be approximately 2,80 metres.

<sup>66</sup> This is assuming a late 1772 or early 1773 commission date for the Vien panels. See the discussion in Chapter VI regarding Vien's *Progress of Love*.

date (November, 1772), they may have also been ordered as a replacement for Fragonard's panels, depending of course, on which works arrived first.<sup>67</sup> The subject of the tapestry after Vien's painting -- *L'Enlèvement de Proserpine* -- brings the viewer closer to the tone and style of his painted panels for the *salon en cul-de-four*, and it is conceivable that either would stand as suitable cover for the empty walls created by Fragonard's cancellation. In any case, the tapestries were not delivered to Louveciennes until late in 1774; and arriving after the death of the King, they would have been installed in a vacant *pavillon* (at least vacated by Du Barry).<sup>68</sup> The discrepancy in the size of the tapestries and the wall space (see note #67) presents again some difficulties, leaving this hanging scheme as only a remote possibility.

The suitability of the subject matter of the paintings (the Choisy and Vernet works) and tapestries lends additional support to the hanging arrangement suggested earlier, while raising as well an important issue concerning the private and public taste of Madame du Barry. The *pavillon* was designed as an exclusive retreat for the mistress of the King in which she could

---

<sup>67</sup> As would have been the case with the installation of the tapestries in the *salon carré* (and discussed on page 91), the *salon en cul-de-four* setting posed the same problems with alterations.

<sup>68</sup> Madame du Barry would not return to Louveciennes until October, 1774, following Louis XVI's decision to grant her freedom (along with her income and properties).

entertain the King and close friends. The selection of art would reflect both the function and setting of this *pavillon*. However, as the King's mistress -- a titled position within the court -- Du Barry's privacy was limited, and her performance was in constant check. The suggestion by Mary Sheriff that at Louveciennes, there was a shift from a "public to a private exhibition space", is only partly true.<sup>69</sup> The eyes of the court were ever watchful, while the pens of the critics were always poised, ready to chronicle her words and actions. At Louveciennes, Madame du Barry's views on art and design scarcely went unnoticed. Her temple of love -- or "*sanctuaire de la volupté*"<sup>70</sup> -- would also serve as a temple of art, and in order to sustain this latter distinction, she was compelled to enlist the talents of the most celebrated artists of her day. Facing Du Barry at Louveciennes were the demands of connoisseurship that tested her role as both mistress of the king and patron of the arts.

The three paintings from the Château de Choisy were not commissioned by Madame du Barry and, as mentioned earlier, were only made accessible to her by the Marquis de Marigny having been rejected by the king. It would appear doubtful that the glorious actions of three Roman emperors would find a more

---

<sup>69</sup> Sheriff, *Fragonard*, 58. Sheriff makes the comparison between Fragonard's *Coresus* and the *Progress of Love*, stating that "we move from a public to a private exhibition space and from academic to decorative painting."

<sup>70</sup> So aptly put in Bachaumont's, *Memoires secrets*, 184.

suitable venue in Du Barry's *pavillon* at Louveciennes than at Choisy! Moreover, their presence at Louveciennes may have had more to do with Ledoux's prerogative than that of his patron. But even then, the stylistic guard eventually gave way to Du Barry's personal agenda. The paintings' final placement in the *antichambre des buffets*, possibly in storage and likely hidden from the view of Du Barry's guests and suitors, is, therefore, not surprising. On the other hand, the Gobelins series of the *Loves of the Gods*, commissioned by Du Barry, celebrates a theme more conducive to the environment at Louveciennes, as do the four paintings by Vernet representing the *Parties du jour*. Furthermore, the selection of the Gobelins tapestries and Vernet paintings came as a result of Madame du Barry's personal visits to the manufactory and to the artist's studio, thus confirming her direction over the individual commissions for Louveciennes.<sup>71</sup> Vernet's land and seascapes seemed well-placed in the *salon carré* -- an architectural setting highlighted by panorama and verdure. And hanging in the château or the *pavillon*, the *Loves of the Gods* offered a theme more sympathetic to the mistress of the king than would the virtuous deeds of the Roman emperors. In short, these last four works seem out of place at Louveciennes.

---

<sup>71</sup> "Notices," *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 75 & 177.

Whether installed in the *salon carré* or *antichambre de buffet* of the *pavillon*, in a *salon* of the château, or rolled up in a *cabinet de garde-robe*, the paintings from Choisy, by Vernet, and the tapestries from Gobelins, arrived at Louveciennes by Madame du Barry's command. Their final placement would also have been directed by Du Barry. The history of these works at Louveciennes provides us with a sketch of Madame du Barry as connoisseur and patron. These orders also reveal something about the complex task of decorating the *pavillon* -- the task of satisfying the king and his mistress, as well as meeting the demands of the artist and architect, not to mention the critic. At the same time, we are introduced to the patron who at first sought out Fragonard to embellish her private retreat, and then spurned the advances of his capricious and unforgiving brush.

By examining the various commissions and acquisitions for Du Barry's *pavillon* we establish a historical and thematic framework in which to approach the most prominent order at Louveciennes, Fragonard's *Progress of Love*. A great deal of attention has been placed on the issues surrounding the cancellation of the *Progress of Love*, while there remains little discussion about the other cancelled or revised commissions and purchases for Madame du Barry. In this context it is important to consider Fragonard's work in the *pavillon*. As we have already seen, cancelled orders and altered installation schemes were very much a part of the programme at Louveciennes. When Du Barry decided to remove

Fragonard's panels from the *salon en cul-de-four* it was not the first time she had changed her mind and it would not be the last. The storage closets of the *pavillon* were filled with rolled-up canvases, either replaced by other works or simply rejected. And while the fate of these different pictures does not really alter our understanding of Fragonard's *Progress of Love*, we can better appreciate Du Barry's predilection to change her mind when it came to the furnishing of her *maison de plaisance*.

Reflecting on the transformation of the decor at Louveciennes, Sheriff suggests that: "the constant changing of the decorations at Louveciennes seems to indicate that there was no predetermined program for either the entire building or for any one room within it. All the decorations, moreover, can be considered as appropriate to the function of the pavilion."<sup>72</sup> However, while these shifts in decoration may point to a rather complicated collecting and hanging strategy, they also reveal the presence of factors other than design and taste influencing the course of work at Louveciennes. Often overlooked is the evolving relationship between Du Barry and Louis XV and its impact on the furnishing of the *pavillon*. The progression from the triumphs of *Marc-Aurèle*, *Auguste*, and *Trajan*, to the *Parties du jour*, followed by the *Loves of the Gods*, provides a fascinating commentary on this relationship. Finally, in the midst of

---

<sup>72</sup> Sheriff, *Fragonard*, 227.

all the historical and mythological imagery there is the appearance of Fragonard's *Progress of Love*, and in a final act, Vien's Grecian women. Obviously Du Barry was following some kind of plan. Or at least she was guided by forces, that at times, were beyond her control; and in all likelihood they related directly to her romance with the king.

The ordering, repositioning, and cancelling of art works at Louveciennes was not without direction or purpose. It was however, not always dictated by style or taste. For a moment, during the first days of her relationship with the King, the introduction of the Choisy paintings may have seemed like the correct choice for Madame du Barry. And for an equally brief moment at the end of her romance, Du Barry returned to this tenor of virtue and restraint in her selection of Vien to fill the void left by Fragonard in the *salon en cul-de-four*.

V. The artist and his patron:  
Fragonard's pre-Louveciennes commissions

Fragonard's experience with royal commissions was far from exemplary, and his work for Madame du Barry would suffer a fate not unlike that of his earlier projects for the king. It would appear that all of the royal orders involving Fragonard -- with the exception of the completed paintings purchased outright -- remained unfinished. The precise cause of each abandonment or cessation of work is not known, although a wealth of hypotheses has been offered. Eunice Williams' remark concerning an earlier commission left unfinished by Fragonard is, despite its inexactness, still revealing: "Mystery surrounds it and the reasons for its failure, just as Fragonard's reasons for abandoning official painting as a career, also remain obscure."<sup>1</sup>

Fragonard received his first royal order in 1765 when the Marquis de Marigny, *Surintendant des bâtiments*, upon the advice of Charles-Nicolas Cochin, the secretary of the *Académie Royale*, ordered a painting -- "*le sujet était à son choix*" -- as a pendant for the artist's *morceau d'agrément* for the Salon of 1765, *Le Grand Prêtre Corézus qui se sacrifie pour sauver Callirhoé* which had been

---

<sup>1</sup> Williams, *Drawings*, 66. Williams' comment is directed towards Fragonard's drawing, *Sacrifice to the Minotaur*, of which the finished work was to hang as a pendant to his *Corézus et Callirhoé*.



purchased earlier in the same year for the collection of Louis XV.<sup>2</sup> Both pictures were then to be sent to the *Manufacture Royale des Gobelins* to be reproduced as tapestries. Fragonard never completed the pendant for *Corézus et Callirhoé*, and the tapestry order for the latter work was eventually cancelled.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy, as Pierre Rosenberg points out, that the reason for the rejection of Fragonard's painting by the *jury des arts* at Gobelins was simply that the subject of *Corézus et Callirhoé* "ne rappelant que des idées superstitieuses."<sup>4</sup>

Fragonard secured his second royal commission in 1767 for two overdoor paintings representing "*le Jour et la Nuit*" for the Château de Bellevue. However, like the commission of 1765, it appears that these works were never executed.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Fernand Engerand, *Inventaire des Tableaux commandés et achetés par La Direction des Bâtiments du Roi (1709-1792)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1900) 195. The complete entry reads: "En 1765, Fragonard recevait des Bâtiments la commande d'un autre tableau pour les Gobelins; le sujet était à son choix, les dimensions semblables à celles de "Callirhoé", mais le prix en était porté à 4,500 livres." Pierre Rosenberg, in the *Fragonard* catalogue also discusses in detail the commission and purchase by Marigny. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 210-212.

<sup>3</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard* 210. Recently, scholars have agreed that the pendant planned for *Corézus et Callirhoé* was *The Sacrifice to the Minotaur*; this proposal is supported by a drawing and two oil sketches (c. 1765) of that subject. See Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 89; and Williams, *Drawings*, 66.

<sup>4</sup> Jules Guiffrey, "*Les Modèles des Gobelins devant le jury des arts en septembre 1794*," as cited in Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 210.

<sup>5</sup> Fernand Engerand, *Inventaire des Tableaux* (Paris, 1900) 195. The two works are listed as "lost paintings" and numbered, L22 and L23 in Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 344.

The year before, Fragonard was selected along with Louis Durameau to complete two of the ceilings left unfinished by Charles Le Brun for the *Galerie d'Apollon* of the Louvre. But again, this commission was not completed by Fragonard, thereby depriving him of an official admittance and exhibition privileges to the Salon.<sup>6</sup> A third royal order in 1770 by Marigny -- the third consecutive unrealized project -- was for two paintings for the *salle à manger des petits appartements de Versailles*.<sup>7</sup> The paintings (two overdoors) were to represent *Africa* and *America* and were to be installed with Jean-Baptiste Huet's *Europe* and *Asia*.<sup>8</sup>

Fragonard's association with Ledoux predates their work at Louveciennes, and probably took place as a result of a project for Mlle Guimard in 1769.<sup>9</sup> Earlier in the same year, Guimard had commissioned Ledoux to build her new residence in Paris and Fragonard to paint four large panels on the theme of the muse, *Terpsichore*, for the grand *salon* of the new house.<sup>10</sup> As discussed earlier, Ledoux's design for Mlle Guimard's *Temple of Terpsichore* was the precursor, in style and form, of the *pavillon* at Louveciennes, even though the Paris building

---

<sup>6</sup> Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 92.

<sup>7</sup> Engerand, *Inventaire des Tableaux* (1900), 195.

<sup>8</sup> Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 344. Cuzin lists these "lost paintings" as numbers L24 and L25.

<sup>9</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 297.

<sup>10</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 297.

was not officially opened until December, 1772, a year after the inauguration of Madame Du Barry's *pavillon de musique*.<sup>11</sup> One may deduce from these dates that the crowning of Du Barry's jewel at Louveciennes was not to be upstaged, or simply that for Ledoux, the royal undertaking took priority. Unforeseen, however, was the fate of Fragonard's work for Guimard and Du Barry. Both of these orders remained unfinished at the inaugurations of the two *pavillons*, and both were ultimately cancelled.

The controversy over the panels for Mlle Guimard appears to centre on Fragonard's fee for the project. According to a letter from Jean-Baptiste Pierre to Ledoux, dated 15 November, 1773, Fragonard, halfway through the commission, more than tripled his fee from 6,000 to 20,000 *livres*. As a result, Guimard promptly terminated the contract.<sup>12</sup> The young painter, Jacques-Louis David, was then engaged to complete Fragonard's unfinished panels.<sup>13</sup> Another account dated March, 1773 by Jacques-Henri Meister in Frédéric Melchior Grimm's newsletter, *Correspondance littéraire*, mentions a quarrel between Mlle Guimard and Fragonard, which resulted in the artist's dismissal and his

---

<sup>11</sup> Vidler, *Ledoux*, 51.

<sup>12</sup> The letter cited by Pierre Rosenberg in the *Fragonard* catalogue was first published by Régis Michel in 1981 (*David e Roma*, Rome, 1981). A complete translation of the letter can be found in Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 365.

<sup>13</sup> The four paintings finished by David were sold in 1846, and are now lost. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 297-298.

subsequent revenge. Returning to the scene after his discharge, Fragonard found a brush and some paint, and with a few quick strokes, he replaced *Terpsichore's* smile with a frown.<sup>14</sup> In 1773, with Fragonard's panels since finished by David, Meister published the following statement after visiting the *pavillon* in Paris: "The *hôtel* of Mlle Guimard is almost finished; if it was paid for by Amour, it was designed by Volupté, and this divinity never had a temple in Greece more worthy of her cult; Mlle Guimard is represented as Terpsichore, with all of the attributes that could characterize her in the most appealing way."<sup>15</sup> Four drawings of Muses by Fragonard (now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon), have recently been presented as possible studies (or at least related works) for the Terpsichore panels (fig. 83).<sup>16</sup>

It matters little whether the dispute between Mlle Guimard and Fragonard preceded or followed a similar scene at Louveciennes with Madame du Barry, since the two incidents probably took place within a few months of each other in

---

<sup>14</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 297. Rosenberg gives a complete translation of Meister's account.

<sup>15</sup> Jacques-Henri Meister, *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique, et critique par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, Meister, etc...* (Edited by M. Tourneux, 16 volumes, Paris, 1877-82) (March, 1773, X, 210), as cited in Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 297.

<sup>16</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 298.

1773.<sup>17</sup> The Guimard controversy does, however, expose the blacker side of Fragonard's character and reputation, along with his uneven completion record. Whether he simply enjoyed controversy or shunned confrontation, Fragonard was not the most accommodating when it came to pressure or criticism regarding his work. By 5 October, 1773, he was on his way to Italy for a second time, and his place at the *pavillons* in Paris and Louveciennes was taken over respectively by Jacques-Louis David and Joseph-Marie Vien.<sup>18</sup>

Fragonard's introduction to Madame du Barry and Louveciennes marked his fourth royal commission, and is likely to have come about as a result of a transaction between Du Barry and the painter, François-Hubert Drouais, involving four paintings by Fragonard. It is also possible that the architect, Ledoux, and the countess' former protector, Jean du Barry, played a role in Fragonard's recommendation to Madame du Barry, although the Drouais introduction appears more likely.<sup>19</sup> On 24 June, 1770, four overdoors by

---

<sup>17</sup> George Wildenstein gives March (1773) as the month in which the Guimard commission was cancelled. See Wildenstein, *The Paintings of Fragonard* (New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1960) 52; henceforth Wildenstein, *Fragonard*.

<sup>18</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 364.

<sup>19</sup> Pierre Rosenberg in the *Fragonard* catalogue offers all three names -- Drouais, Ledoux and Jean du Barry -- as possibilities for Fragonard's introduction. The countess' "brother-in-law", Jean du Barry (1723-1794), was a collector of Fragonard's work. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 323.

Fragonard, "l'un représentant les Graces, l'autre l'Amour qui embrase l'Univers, l'autre Vénus et l'Amour, et l'autre la Nuit" were delivered to "l'ancien pavillon de Louvecienne", purchased by Madame du Barry through Drouais for 1,200 livres (fig. 84).<sup>20</sup> Three of these overdoors were subsequently transferred to larger canvases and repainted, so that they could be installed into the existing frames in the château (l'ancien pavillon) at Louveciennes.<sup>21</sup> The curious iconographic arrangement (or lack thereof) consisting of *Night* with *Venus*, *Love*, and the *Graces* may be explained by the timing of Madame du Barry's purchase and her desire to have the renovations of the château finished as soon as possible. Pierre Rosenberg suggests that the suite of four panels may have been put together with works from other unfinished commissions, "remnants -- diverted, completed, and artificially assembled".<sup>22</sup>

There is some question as to the final placement of these overdoors by Fragonard with the alternative to the château setting being the *pavillon* at Louveciennes. A contemporary account by J.A. Dulaure in the *Nouvelle*

---

<sup>20</sup> The transaction from the *Mémoire des ouvrages de peinture commandés par Madame la comtesse du Barry à Drouais* is published in Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 364-365.

<sup>21</sup> These alterations are discussed by Pierre Rosenberg in the *Fragonard* exhibition catalogue, 326-328; and published in Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 365.

<sup>22</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 328. Rosenberg's suggestion of different dates and sources for the four panels is also supported by Jean-Pierre Cuzin in his catalogue raisonné of the paintings by Fragonard. See Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 135-137.

*Description des environs de Paris* (1786) describes the *grand salon* in the *pavillon* as "décoré très-richement, a des Dessus-de-portes, peints par M. Fragonard."<sup>23</sup> Later the Goncourts mention in their description of the *salon carré*, "les dessus de porte montraient les plus gais libertinages de lumière du pinceau de Fragonard, cédés par Drouais à madame du Barry."<sup>24</sup> Georges Wildenstein, in his *catalogue raisonné*, also suggests that the overdoors -- in this case, three of the four panels -- ended up in the *salon carré*, with the fourth remaining in the *salle à manger* of the château.<sup>25</sup> Wildenstein's explanation for the installation of only three panels in the room is based on the fact that there were only three entrances to the room, and thus only three suitable spaces for overdoors.<sup>26</sup> Recently Marie-Catherine Sahut refuted the accounts of Dulaure (and the Goncourts), claiming that the authors confused the château with the *pavillon* at Louveciennes.<sup>27</sup> Sahut supports

---

<sup>23</sup> The account by Dulaure is cited by Marie-Catherine Sahut in "*Le Goût de Madame du Barry pour la Peinture*," *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes*, 113; henceforth Sahut, *Du Barry*.

<sup>24</sup> Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 132.

<sup>25</sup> Wildenstein, *Fragonard*, 17.

<sup>26</sup> Wildenstein, *Fragonard*, 17. The three overdoors would have been installed in the *salon carré* above the entrances to the *salon ovale*, *salon en cul-de-four*, and the entrance hall (foyer). Wildenstein's theory receives further support from an account by Mme Claude Saint-Andre, cited by Jean de Cayeux. Saint-Andre's account, based on a report by Boizot on 26 December, 1793, refers only to the one painting by Fragonard, representing *La Nuit*, in the *salle à manger* of the château, placed over the door leading to the *salon*. See also Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 42.

<sup>27</sup> Sahut, *Du Barry*, 113.

her claim by referring to the *Inventaire et description des meubles et effets appartenant à la citoyenne du Barry*, dated 6 March, 1793, which lists "4 tableaux dessus-de-porte représentant différents sujets," in the *salle à manger* of the château. Still, we cannot rule out the possibility that, for a period, the three overdoors by Fragonard may have been installed in the *salon carré* of the *pavillon*. The *Inventaire* of 1793 confirms only that at the end of Du Barry's residency at Louveciennes, there were four unidentified overdoors located in the dining room of the château.

In the month after the four overdoors were delivered to Louveciennes (August, 1770), Drouais had two of his own overdoor panels, representing "*le portrait de mademoiselle Betzi, l'autre un enfant tenant un nid d'oiseaux*" delivered to the "*ancien pavillon de Louvecienne*."<sup>28</sup> Drouais' overdoors and the four by Fragonard are not to be mistaken with another group of four panels painted by Drouais for the *salon en cul-de-four* of the *pavillon neuf* at Louveciennes, and delivered on 1 August, 1772.<sup>29</sup> The pieces by Drouais were circular in format,

---

<sup>28</sup> The transaction from the *Mémoire des ouvrages de peinture commandés par Madame la comtesse Du Barry à Drouais*, is published in Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 366.

<sup>29</sup> Goncourts *Du Barry*, 366. Jean-Pierre Cuzin notes that these four overdoors appear to be lost, although a recently discovered painting by Drouais, circular in format, and entitled "A Small Boy Playing a Basque Drum" is perhaps one of the four overdoors intended for the *salon en cul-de-four*. See Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 152.



and depicted: "*Mademoiselle Betzi jouant du triangle, un petit garçon s'enfuyant avec des raisins, mademoiselle Laroque présentant des roses, et un petit garçon jouant du tambour de basque*,"<sup>30</sup> (fig. 85). They would have been installed with Fragonard's *Progress of Love* panels in the *salon en cul-de-four*. The theme of music-making depicted in two of the panels -- in this case with a triangle and tambourine -- would also have augmented the tenor of Fragonard's series.

One final project which immediately preceded Fragonard's work for Madame du Barry remains, in its setting and design, as a precursor to the Louveciennes panels. Between 1768 and 1770, François Boucher, Jean-Baptiste Huet, and Fragonard were involved in the decoration of a small *salon* in the house of the engraver, Gilles Demarteau, on the Rue de la Pelleterie in the Ile de la Cité, in Paris.<sup>31</sup> The decorative panels covering the walls and doors of the *salon* depicted an assortment of garden, hunting and wildlife scenes (fig. 86). Fragonard was apparently responsible for one of the four door panels, *Love Triumphant*, featuring a putto holding an arrow and a crown of flowers (fig. 87).<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 366.

<sup>31</sup> Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 137-8. The decorative panels are now reassembled in a reconstruction of the Demarteau *salon* in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

<sup>32</sup> In 1975, Jacques Wilhelm published a complete study of the decorative panels in the Demarteau *salon*. See: Jacques Wilhelm, "*Le Salon du Graveur Gilles Demarteau peint par François Boucher et son atelier avec le concours de Fragonard et de J.-B. Huet*," *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet* 1 (1975): 6-20; henceforth Wilhelm, *Demarteau*.

In his study of the Demarteau room, Jacques Wilhelm suggests that Fragonard also painted the flowers found in some of the other panels; and he supports his view by noting similar stylistic elements with the Louveciennes panels.<sup>33</sup> He makes a convincing argument, comparing the overturned vase of flowers in the large panel by Huet with the group of red flowers spilling over the terrace step in the lower left-hand corner of Fragonard's *The Lover Crowned*. More importantly, we can safely assume that the creation of the Demarteau room was the result of the combined efforts of a number of painters, Boucher, Huet and Fragonard being first among them. The abundance of flowering plants in the panels appears, however, to be largely the work of Fragonard, and are clearly a overture to the explosion of vegetation in the *Progress of Love*.

In reference to the Demarteau panels, Wilhelm also discusses "*une tradition fort ancienne*" (in this instance he mentions the Italian school of painting) of using "*treillages en trompe-l'oeil*" in an attempt to bring the garden landscape into the house:

---

<sup>33</sup> Wilhelm, *Demarteau*, 16. Wilhelm writes: "*Les fleurs qui égaiant si brillamment ces panneaux ne sont pas parenté avec celles du salon Demarteau, sans qu'on puisse pour autant affirmer que ces dernières soient de la main de Fragonard.*"

*Mais beaucoup de grandes toiles décoratives, telles celles peintes par Fragonard pour Mme Du Barry, censées représenter les "Amours des bergers," ou la suite des bergeries d J.-B. Huet, mêlaient des figures aux paysages et aux cadres rustiques. Quant à l'emploi des treillages en trompe-l'oeil, qui répond à l'idée de prolonger le jardin jusque dans la maison, il se rattache à une tradition fort ancienne. Déjà le Corrège en ornait, à Parme, la Camera di San Paolo. Gian Domenico Tiepolo en fait le principal motif décoratif d'une des chambres de la Foresteria de la villa Valmarana, près de Vicence.<sup>34</sup>*

Featuring this decorative technique, Wilhelm adds, is the wall and ceiling treatment of the dining room in the *petits appartements* of Louis XVI in the Palais Bourbon, "*décorée de paysages, sur lesquels est peint un treillage rehaussé d'or; sur les côtés de cette piece sont des berceaux de verdure et de fleurs.*"<sup>35</sup> The painted *salons* at Rue de la Pelleterie and Louveciennes follow the same tradition. However, in the latter example, the imaginary landscape is juxtaposed with the natural setting beyond the windows of the *pavillon*.

In their present installation in the Musée Carnavalet, the Demarteau panels pervade a windowless room; but one wonders if their original setting in the house on the Ile de la Cité, included openings to the outside. Exploring the role

---

<sup>34</sup> Wilhelm, *Demarteau*, 17. The *suite des bergeries* by J.-B. Huet is in the Musée Nissim de Camondo.

<sup>35</sup> Wilhelm, *Demarteau*, 17.

of scenography and perspective in eighteenth century garden design, Marianne Roland Michel draws a fascinating parallel between Vivant Denon's description of the lovers' boudoir in *Point de Lendemain* and the Demarteau garden panels. Roland Michel selects a passage from Denon that captures the essence of the Demarteau panels, while at the same time, evokes the setting for Du Barry's *maison de plaisance* at Louveciennes:

I saw only an airy grove, quite enclosed, which seemed to float supported by nothing. The side by which we entered was composed of trellis-work porticoes decked with flowers, with bowers in every alcove; on another side could be seen the statue of Love distributing garlands. In front of this statue was an altar on which gleamed a flame,...a graceful temple competed the decoration on this side; opposite was a shady grotto watched over by the god of mystery at the entrance; the floor, covered with a velvety carpet, looked like turf.<sup>36</sup>

Moving from the Demarteau panels to Fragonard's garden setting, Roland Michel concludes: "In spite of the wild nature of the site, we are indeed in a garden."<sup>37</sup> Still, there may have been those moments at Louveciennes, when one would have had difficulty discerning the real from the imaginary.

---

<sup>36</sup> Vivant D. Denon, from *Pointe de Lendemain*, as cited by Marianne Roland Michel, *Scenography and Perspective*, 247.

<sup>37</sup> Roland Michel, *Scenography and Perspective*, 247.

**VI. The evolution of the *Progress of Love*:  
Fragonard and Vien at Louveciennes**

At the beginning of 1771, during the construction of the *pavillon* at Louveciennes, Madame du Barry commissioned Fragonard to paint four large panels for the *salon en cul-de-four* (see figs. 91-94). It would appear, according to the records of payment by Du Barry, that Fragonard began work at Louveciennes early in 1771. There were two payments of 1,200 *livres* each, in June and September of 1771, recorded in Madame Du Barry's personal accounts that can be attached to the *Progress of Love* order.<sup>1</sup> The correspondence between Marigny and Pierre in December, 1771, also confirms that Fragonard's delay in completing his work at Versailles was tolerated by the king, given the "significant" reason for the postponement.<sup>2</sup> The failure to exhibit in the Salon of that year may also reflect on Fragonard's obligations at Louveciennes and the deadline

---

<sup>1</sup> Edgar Munhall in the *Frick Collection* catalogue, first linked the two payments to the *Progress of Love* commission, and more recently, this connection has been supported by Pierre Rosenberg (1988) and Jean-Pierre Cuzin (1988). See: Edgar Munhall and Bernice Davidson, *The Frick Collection, an Illustrated Catalogue* (New York: The Frick Collection, 1968), 102; henceforth Munhall and Davidson, *Frick*.

<sup>2</sup> Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 42. An excerpt of Marigny's letter to Pierre, dated 23 December, 1771, taken from Furcy-Raynaud's *Correspondance de Marigny* (vol. II, 257) reads: "*Quant aux tableaux ordonnés pour les petits appartements, quoique Sa Majesté ne m'ait témoigné aucune impatience, étant informé que la cause de leur retard était l'emploi que Mme la comtesse du Barry faisait des artistes destinés à y travailler.*"

established by his new patron, which, however, he did not meet.<sup>3</sup> When the *pavillon* at Louveciennes was inaugurated on 2 September, 1771, the *Progress of Love* remained unfinished; and approximately a year and a half later, when the project was cancelled, Fragonard was apparently still at work (and continuing to use the Louveciennes commission as an excuse for other unfinished work).<sup>4</sup> A report, dated 29 March, 1773, on the work in progress for the Château de Bellevue, gives Fragonard's commitment to Madame du Barry at Louveciennes as the reason for the delay at Bellevue:

*M. Fragonard a eu l'honneur de passer chez M. de Montucla pour l'assurer de ses civilités et lui rendre réponse à la lettre qu'il a reçu touchant les tableaux qu'il y à faire pour le Roi; jusqu'à présent, il n'a pu y travailler ayant été occupé des tableaux dont il était chargé pour Madame du Barry. Présentement, il assure qu'il va y travaillé avec tout le zèle et l'assiduité.*<sup>5</sup>

The report provides a commentary on Fragonard's tardiness with respect to his

---

<sup>3</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 300.

<sup>4</sup> P. de Nolhac, *J.-H. Fragonard, 1732-1806* (with a Catalogue of Paintings sold at auction from 1770 to 1905) (Paris, 1906), 62; henceforth Nolhac, *Fragonard*. Nolhac notes, that as late as March, 1773, Fragonard was still citing the Du Barry commission as a reason for not attending to other projects.

<sup>5</sup> Recorded in the *Archives nationales*, O<sup>1</sup> 1531, and published by Fernand Engerand, *Inventaire des Tableaux Commandés et Achetés par le Direction du Bâtiments du Roi (1709-1792)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 1900) 196; henceforth Engerand, *Inventaire*.

royal commissions, but more importantly, and for our interests, it confirms the artist's presence at Louveciennes at least until March, 1773.

Apart from being a critical undertaking by Madame du Barry, the commission for Louveciennes was one of significant proportions for Fragonard. The mere size of the four panels -- each measuring more than three metres in height and two metres in width -- would envelop the walls of the intimate *salon* space. The advantage of working *in situ* became a necessity, and half-way through his tenure at Louveciennes, the artist's progress was chronicled in Bachaumont's *Mémoires secrets*. Bachaumont's entry for 20 July, 1772, which featured the *pavillon* at Louveciennes, also drew critical attention to Fragonard's work in the *salon en cul-de-four*:

*Les curieux vont en foule voir le pavillon de Luciennes de Madame la comtesse du Barri; mais n'y entre pas qui veut, et ce n'est que par une faveur spéciale qu'on pénètre dans ce sanctuaire de volupté...Les artistes les plus renommés se sont efforcés d'enrichir de leurs productions un séjour aussi délicieux. Le plafond d'un des salons de côté est du Sieur Briard; la devise en est ruris amor et représente les plaisirs de campagne. De l'autre côté, c'est un ciel vague, et quatre grands tableaux du Sieur Fragonard, qui roulent sur les amours des bergers et semblent allégoriques aux aventures de la maîtresse du lieu; ils ne sont pas encore finis.<sup>6</sup>*

---

<sup>6</sup> L. Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la République des Lettres en France depuis 1762 jusqu'à nos jours* (London: Chez John Adamson, 1784), vol. 24, 184-186. "Curiosity seekers are going in droves to see the pavilion of Madame la Comtesse du Barry at Lucienne [sic]; but not everyone gets in who wants to, and it is only through special favors that one may

One year after the pictures were ordered by Du Barry, they remained unfinished. By August, 1772, the decoration of the *salon en cul-de-four* was complete -- except for Fragonard's *Progress of Love*. This included Jean-Bernard Restout's ceiling painting of a sky with clouds and François-Hubert Drouais' four overdoors of children.<sup>7</sup> There were also two marble sculptures in the *salon* by Louis-Claude Vassé representing *Comédie* and *L'Amour assis sur le bord de la mer rassemblant les colombes du char de Vénus*.<sup>8</sup>

A considerable amount of scholarship has been devoted to the four panels painted by Fragonard for the *pavillon* at Louveciennes, and much of this work deals with two issues -- the order of the panels in the *salon en cul-de-four* and the eventual cancellation of the project. The most recent publications reveal that,

---

penetrate this sanctuary of voluptuousness...The most famous artists have outdone themselves in ornamenting such a delicious pleasure house with their works. The ceiling of one of the side Salons is by Briard; the motto of it is: *ruris amor*, and it represents pleasures of the countryside. On the other side, the ceiling represents an open sky and there are four paintings by Fragonard dealing with loves of shepherds which seem to be allegorical references to the adventures of the mistress of the house; they are not yet finished." (a complete translation is provided in Munhall and Davidson, *Frick*, 104.

<sup>7</sup> According to Edgar Munhall, who cites Vatel's *Histoire de Madame du Barry* (Versailles, 1883), the Restout ceiling was finished by 14 May, 1772. The Drouais overdoors, as discussed earlier, were delivered to the *pavillon* on 1 August, 1772. See Goncourt, *Du Barry*, 366; and Munhall and Davidson, *Frick*, 106.

<sup>8</sup> Baulez, *Du Barry*, 69. Further identification is provided in Gaborit, *Du Barry*, 122.



among other things, the debate over the pictures' sequence and their rejection has not ceased.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, with the exception of a few inventory records and contemporaneous accounts furnished by critics and visitors to the *pavillon*, there are no extant personal observations recorded by Du Barry or Fragonard concerning the work. The paintings, however, and the room for which they were ordered still exist, and this makes the question and resolve regarding their placement somewhat less complicated. The issue over the abrupt conclusion of the project, however, is not as straightforward. In this case, we are faced with an array of factors which influenced the fate of the commission, including those of connoisseurship, personal and public taste, royal obligation, not to mention the clash of egos between the last mistress of Louis XV and the last rococo painter of France.

Prior to Willibald Sauerländer's critical study of 1968, the majority of the scholarship on the *Progress of Love* treated the thematic order of the four canvases quite separately from their physical arrangement in the *salon en cul-de-four*.<sup>10</sup> Returning to the *pavillon* at Louveciennes, Sauerländer attempted to

---

<sup>9</sup> See Ashton, *Fragonard*; Rosenberg, *Fragonard*; Cuzin, *Fragonard*; Mary Sheriff, *Fragonard - Art and Eroticism* (1990); Peter Henry Pawlowicz, *J.-H. Fragonard and the Urban Pastoral* (1988); and the exhibition catalogue, *Madame du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes* (1992).

<sup>10</sup> Willibald Sauerländer, "Über die Ursprüngliche Reihenfolge von Fragonards Amours des Bergers," *Munchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* XIX (1968): 127-155; henceforth Sauerländer, *Fragonard*.

reunite in the mind of the viewer, the four panels and their original setting, and in the process, examine the relationship between the order of the paintings and their physical placement in the *salon* at Louveciennes. However, while Sauerländer's proposed arrangement of the four canvases within the *salon en cul-de-four* has been accepted by most scholars, the clock-wise sequence of the paintings which follows this installation is still questioned (fig. 88). The debate has been carried to the point where a revised order for the paintings has been suggested in response to Sauerländer's plan.<sup>11</sup> It is the opinion of the present writer, however, that both Sauerländer's thematic order for the paintings and their arrangement in the *salon* is the correct programme.

If priority is given to a few historical and architectural details surrounding the project there should be less confusion over the exact placement of the four panels in the *salon en cul-de-four* and more insight into the prescribed sequence for the pictures. When considered together, these points support a specific order for the *Progress of Love*, from both a thematic and a physical organization; and the resulting arrangement is subscribed to by the present author. At this stage, there are a number of details to consider: 1) a 1772 inventory record from

---

<sup>11</sup> This revised order is supported by Donald Posner. Posner accepts the physical arrangement proposed by Sauerländer, however, disagreeing with Sauerländer's thematic order for the panels, he adopts a counter-clockwise progression. See Donald Posner, "The True Path of Fragonard's *Progress of Love*" *Burlington Magazine* 833 (Aug. 1972): 526-534; henceforth Posner, *Fragonard*.

Louveciennes listing the Fragonard commission; 2) the chief carpenter's record of the frames constructed for the four canvases; 3) the physical layout and dimensions of the *salon en cul-de-four*; 4) the juxtaposition and orientation of the *salon* with the exterior setting; and 5) the composition and order of the four paintings by Joseph-Marie Vien, which replaced Fragonard's works.

The first detail is taken directly from an inventory at Louveciennes, dated 1 May, 1772, in which the record of Fragonard's commission appears and the paintings are identified as "*les quatre âges de l'amour*".<sup>12</sup> Despite the various ways in which the word "ages" may be interpreted, a reference to a progression or sequence is not an unlikely one to make. As Cuzin notes, "it would be difficult not to take into account the designation in the inventory of 1772 -- *the four ages of love* -- which implies an order in which the works are to be read."<sup>13</sup> The evolution of the title from the inventory description of "*the four ages of love*" to the present name of "*the progress of love*" also suggests that the concept of a progress has remained intact. As recently as 1900 when the panels were exhibited

---

<sup>12</sup> Sahut notes: "*Un inventaire de Louveciennes daté du 1er mai 1772 les décrit ainsi Quatre grands tableaux lieu de tenture, représentans les quatre âges de l'amour, peints par Fragonard, dans leur daces dorés.*" See Sahut, *Du Barry*, 113.

<sup>13</sup> Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 152. It should also be noted that in her 1990 publication, *Fragonard, Art and Eroticism* (published two years after the Cuzin work), Mary Sheriff states that "outside of the paintings no documentary evidence implies that the *Progress* is a sequential narrative." (Sheriff, *Fragonard*, 68). Sahut and Cuzin, however, have proven otherwise.

in the London gallery of Thomas Agnew and Sons, the series was entitled: "*Roman d'amour de la Jeunesse*,"<sup>14</sup> once again alluding to a story. With only a descriptive entry in the 1772 listing and no surviving record of a title by the artist, it is not surprising that the name for the panels has been altered several times. However, with each historical and modern interpretation of Fragonard's panels, there appears to be more support for a specific order and placement.

A second historical detail is taken from the *mémoires* of Ledoux's master carpenter and cabinetmaker, Carbilliet. In his records, dated 30 September, 1772, and included in the "*ouvrages faits dans le courant des six premiers mois de l'année 1771, sous l'ordre et conduite de monsieur Le Doux architecte*,"<sup>15</sup> Carbilliet makes reference to two straight (flat) and two curved stretchers (under-frames) for Fragonard's paintings, with the latter two being wider. Only four canvases are mentioned by Carbilliet, and they were to be installed, "*deux à deux de part et d'autre de la porte et de la fenêtre qui lui fait face*."<sup>16</sup> The four *châsses* correspond

---

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Agnew and Sons, "*Roman d'amour de la Jeunesse*" - a series of pictures by Honoré Fragonard painted for Mme. du Barry (exhibition catalogue) London, 1900.

<sup>15</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 299-300.

<sup>16</sup> Cayeux, *Pavillon*, 44-45. The excerpt from the construction accounts of Ledoux reads: "*Plus fait et fourni quatre grands châssis pour les tableaux de M. Fragonard, lesdits de 9 pieds 10 po. Sur 6 pieds 8 po. dont deux de Cintré en pland. Vallent pour les droits 12" et les Cintrés 20" pies se font les 4 ensemble 64"0.0.*". The written report is located in the *Bibliothèque nationale*, Mss. franç. 8160, fo. 145a.

in size to the four canvases by Fragonard, and the reference to the two "curved" stretchers accounts for the curve of the *cul-de-four* at the one end of the *salon*. This brings us to a third detail which concerns the layout of the *salon en cul-de-four* and its suitability for the two different frame dimensions.

When we regard the configuration of the *salon* space with its flat and curved walls, and the two separate dimensions of the four canvases (two being approximately 3,17 x 2,15 metres, and two approximately 3,17 x 2,43 metres), the hanging options for the panels are limited. Taking into consideration the details from Carbilliet's account, we arrive at the following installation scheme: the rounded walls of the *cul-de-four* end of the *salon* would feature the two wider panels on their curved stretchers (see fig. 67), while the two narrower panels would be installed on the side walls, facing each other, at the other end of the *salon* (fig. 65). With the exception of switching the two wider and the two narrower panels, there is really no other workable hanging scheme. A photograph taken by Cyril Connolly shows the articulation of the wall panels in the *salon carré* and the *salon en cul-de-four* (visible through the doorway on the extreme left of the photograph) prior to the removal of the wainscoting and upper moulding in the *salon en cul-de-four* (fig. 89 ).<sup>17</sup> The vertical division of

---

<sup>17</sup> The present treatment of the wall space in the *salon en cul-de-four* (see the author's photographs) includes only Ledoux's cornice design and window and door treatment, leaving the walls stripped of all other original (or reproduced) moulding.

the panels and moulding revealed in Connolly's photograph corresponds with the arrangement depicted by Ledoux in his engraving of the side elevation of the *salon carré* and *salle à manger*, and thus gives us a better idea as to the positioning of Fragonard's panels on the walls (see fig. 82). The present installation of the *Progress of Love* in the Frick Collection, while not following any thematic order, reveals a wall treatment that is similar (or at least sensitive) to the original design at Louveciennes (fig. 90).

The different thematic programs assigned to Fragonard's *Progress of Love* by art historians over the last century can all be accommodated by the same physical arrangement of the panels in the *salon en cul-de-four*.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, we can use this plan in our discussion of the various orders for the panels. Within this installation arrangement there are four possible sequences or courses for the *Progress of Love*: clockwise, counter-clockwise, and two "z" courses. The scholarship can be conveniently organized into three groups reflecting the three different orders for the series (incidentally, the fourth possibility has not been considered by any scholar): 1) *The Pursuit, The Meeting, The Lover Crowned, Love Letters*; 2) *The Meeting, The Pursuit, Love Letters, The Lover Crowned*; and, 3) *The*

---

<sup>18</sup> On the east wall (garden side) of the *salon en cul-de-four* *The Pursuit* and *The Meeting* would be installed to the left and right (respectively) of the French doors leading to the garden. On the west wall (adjacent the *salon carré*) *The Lover Crowned* and *Love Letters* would hang to the left and to the right (respectively) of the doorway leading to the *salon carré*.

*Pursuit, The Meeting, Love Letters, The Lover Crowned*.<sup>19</sup> In addition to being the order accepted by the present author, this first order -- *The Pursuit, The Meeting, The Lover Crowned, Love Letters* -- has also been subscribed to in the most recent scholarship since Sauerländer's publication (figs. 91-94).<sup>20</sup>

Adopting the first order for the *Progress of Love*, one follows a clock-wise orientation in viewing the panels (see figs. 64-67). Upon entering the *salon en cul-de-four* from the *salon carré* the visitor would face the first two panels, positioned on each side of a pair of french doors which open onto a terrace,

---

<sup>19</sup> The various orders proposed over the last century:

Portalis	1885	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Nolhac	1905	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Clément-J.	1922	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Réau	1956	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Wildenstein	1960	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Biebel	1960	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Sauerländer	1968	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Crowned</i>	<i>Letters</i>
Gordon	1968	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Munhall	1971	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Posner	1972	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Rosenberg	1988	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Letters</i>	<i>Crowned</i>
Cuzin	1988	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Crowned</i>	<i>Letters</i>
Pawlowicz	1988	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Crowned</i>	<i>Letters</i>
Sheriff	1990	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Crowned</i>	<i>Letters</i>
Sahut	1992	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Crowned</i>	<i>Letters</i>
Borys	1994	<i>Pursuit</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Crowned</i>	<i>Letters</i>

<sup>20</sup> The most recent scholarship includes: Cuzin, *Fragonard*; Peter Henry Pawlowicz, *Jean-Honoré Fragonard and the urban pastoral*. Ph.D. Diss. (Ann Arbor: U.M.I., 1989); Mary D. Sheriff, *Fragonard; Art and Eroticism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990); Sahut, *Du Barry*.

revealing an actual garden vista (see fig. 63). To the left of the first panel, a window offers a magnificent view of the Seine and Paris. To the right of the second panel, a fire-place is centred on the *cul-de-four* end of the room. Dominating the east wall or garden side of the *salon*, the first two scenes from the *Progress of Love* create a landscape setting that is both imaginary and real. Separated by the terrace doorway, *The Pursuit* (to the left) and *The Meeting* (to the right) initiated a decorative scheme that merged the interior space with the natural expanse beyond the walls of the *pavillon*. The wider canvas of *The Meeting* was installed on a curved stretcher so that it could follow the turn of the room's apsidal end. Continuing to the right of the fire-place on the *cul-de-four* (also on a curved stretcher) was the third painting, entitled *The Lover Crowned*. With the same measurements as *The Meeting*, this third canvas completed the rounding of the wall and balanced the apsidal termination of the *cul-de-four*. Following the course of Fragonard's *Progress of Love*, the viewer would now be turned around, facing the entrance to the *salon carré* with the panel of *The Lover Crowned* on the left. To the right of the *salon carré* doorway was the final scene of the series, entitled *Love Letters*. This fourth panel was positioned in the north-west corner of the room, directly opposite the first painting in the series, *The Pursuit*. *Love Letters* and *The Pursuit* also share the same measurements, slightly narrower than the two curved panels, *The Meeting* and *The Lover Crowned*.

A fourth detail which concerns the orientation of the *salon* with regards



to the external vistas and light sources, provides additional evidence of a preordained installation scheme and order for Fragonard's panels.<sup>21</sup> Surveying the layout of the *salon en cul-de-four* and its relationship to the exterior setting, the visitor is made aware immediately of the importance of the play of natural light in this interior space. What also becomes apparent is the critical role these external elements would have played in illuminating and interacting with Fragonard's *Progress of Love* panels. The principal sources of light in the *salon en cul-de-four* originate from the north and east sides of the *salon* through the window opening on the river side and the terrace entrance on the (east) garden side. Given the north-east orientation of the *salon*, the earliest and most direct light source would come in through the windows on the river side; and over the course of the morning, the light would pass through the doors on the garden (east) wall of the *salon*. Photographs of the *salon en cul-de-four* taken by the author during the morning, reveal the paths of the sunlight through the terrace and window openings, which fall on the west wall (the wall adjoining the *salon carré*). (see figs. 64-67).

Entering the *salon en cul-de-four* from the *salon carré* during the morning hours, the visitor would be confronted with a burst of sunlight and natural

---

<sup>21</sup> My sincere thanks to Dr. John MacLeod for his insightful comments on the role of natural light in the *pavillon* at Louveciennes; and to my advisor, Professor Thomas Glen, for encouraging me to pursue this avenue of study.

vegetation, emanating from the terrace doorway. Bathed in a similar light, the flanking panels of *The Pursuit* and *The Meeting*, fused with the exterior landscape, would create a triptych of the real and imaginary garden (fig. 95 & 96).<sup>22</sup> Deprived of the direct sunlight in their eastern alignment in the *salon*, the first two paintings in the *Progress of Love* are redressed with their own source of brilliant light, furnished by the artist. Hence, the startling brightness of the Louveciennes sun which welcomes the early caller, is masterfully duplicated in the effusion of colour and foliage in Fragonard's painted vistas. Examining the first two episodes of the *Progress of Love*, we find an evenness to the light, its warmth enveloping the action and the setting. Shadows emerge, but they remain for the most part unobtrusive and on the periphery. Even in their desired seclusion, the garden sites in *The Pursuit* and *The Meeting* are washed in the light of late morning and early afternoon.

Standing within the *salon en cul-de-four* and facing the doorway to the *salon carré*, the viewer encounters the last two pictures of Fragonard's series. This western perimeter of the *salon* receives the most illumination as it is directly in line with the paths of sunlight radiating from the other sides. Separated by the doorway, *The Lover Crowned* and *Love Letters*, stand on their

---

<sup>22</sup> Figure 95 shows the present view of the garden and *bosco* (woods) from the east terrace door of the *salon en cul-de-four*. Figure 96 shows the corresponding view from the west window of the *salon ovale*.

own across from the garden, but each with its own natural spotlight. By closing the doors to the *salon*, however, a panel of mirrors is introduced, linking the two paintings, and at the same time, extending the seal of the imaginary and real by reflecting the scene directly across the *salon* -- the garden landscape. But, when compared with the first two episodes, the lighting in the *Lover Crowned* and *Love Letters* is not as uniform, or, in a measure, more dramatic. Not unlike the effects created by the two streams of sunlight hitting the west wall of the *salon*, the couple is illuminated by a natural spotlight. Advancing from morning to noon, and in the last panel, to late afternoon, the path of the sun follows the progress of the young lovers, amplifying each mood and gesture, while at the same time defining the course of the day.

Visiting the *salon en cul-de-four* today, one cannot help but notice how much and how quickly the natural light is soaked up by the barren walls and dark corners of the once exuberant space. The views of the garden and river appear isolated, framed rather than fused with the adjoining walls. The streams of sunlight continue to penetrate the room, but they dissipate upon impact, denied any illuminative function. And what remains clear in the mind of the visitor, is the complete absence of the interplay of imaginary and real space, first initiated by the painted and the natural landscape, and long since obliterated by a clash of styles and personality.

Clearly the layout of the *salon en cul-de-four* and its relation to the rest of the *pavillon* and the exterior surroundings influenced Fragonard's work. Entering into the life of the pictures is the play of light charged by a constant exchange of vistas, real and invented. Undoubtedly the natural environment commanded and inspired the genius of both painter and architect at Louveciennes. Returning to the *pavillon* of Madame du Barry, and standing in the *salon* in which Fragonard created the *Progress of Love*, we acquire a much better sense of the need for an order in theme and setting.

The fifth and last detail that sheds light on the original installation and order of Fragonard's *Progress of Love* panels in the *pavillon* are the four paintings by Joseph-Marie Vien which replaced Fragonard's work. Vien's *Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles*<sup>23</sup> was the result of a request by Madame du Barry that was initiated out of the necessity to fill the bare walls in the *salon en cul-de-four* after Fragonard's panels were rejected and subsequently removed from the *pavillon*. In this respect, the subject, composition and style of Vien's paintings tell us something about Fragonard's work at Louveciennes.

---

<sup>23</sup> *The Progress of Love in the hearts of young women* has been accepted as the title of the series since the eighteenth century. Citing A. Dezallier d'Argenville and J.-A. Delaure, Thomas Gahtgens and Jacques Lugand, in their monograph on Vien write: "*Comme thème général les critiques du XVIIIe siècle sont d'accord pour appeler la série: Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles.*" See Gahtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 83.

The precise dates for the cancellation and removal of Fragonard's panels, and the ordering and installation of Vien's work are not known, although there are a few records that may be used as rough parameters. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Fragonard was apparently still working on the *Progress of Love* as late as March, 1773 (or at least he continued to use the Louveciennes panels as an excuse for other overdue work) and, thus, we have one possible cut-off date.<sup>24</sup> It has also been established that two of the four works by Vien destined for Louveciennes, were exhibited in the *Salon* of 1773, held in August of that year, (which would place them at Louveciennes sometime during the fall of 1773, and perhaps after Fragonard's departure for Italy with Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret on 5 October, 1773).<sup>25</sup> Gaehtgens and Lugand, in their study on Vien,

---

<sup>24</sup> See note #6 regarding Fragonard's work for the Château de Bellevue. The date of this letter from Fragonard to the *Bâtiments du Roi* -- 29 March 1773 -- confirming the painter's ongoing work for Madame du Barry, appears at first to conflict with the record of Du Barry's first payments to Vien for his panels for Louveciennes, which are given as 7 February, 1773 and May, 1773 (See Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien* 190). It is possible, however, that while Vien may have received his commission in late 1772 or early 1773, Fragonard continued to work on his own panels *in situ* at Louveciennes until they were removed sometime between April and October, 1773.

<sup>25</sup> The two pictures -- *Deux jeunes Grecques faisant serment de ne jamais aimer* and *Des jeunes grecques rencontrent l'amour endormi dans un jardin* -- were listed in the *Livret du Salon de 1773*, no. 3. However, as they also point out, at the opening in the *Salon* on 26 August, "l'artiste avait donc terminé un seul panneau, puisqu'il fut obligé d'attendre que le second soit sec pour l'exposer." The last two paintings -- *Amant couronnant sa maîtresse* and *Deux amants s'unissant à l'autel de l'hymen* -- were finished at the end of 1773 and the beginning of 1774, respectively. See Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 83, 190.

give 1772 as the year in which Du Barry commissioned the replacement panels for her *pavillon*.<sup>26</sup> Further support for the 1772 commission date may be found in a reference to Fragonard's panels in the inventory record from Louveciennes, dated 1 May, 1772 (and cited earlier in the chapter): "*Quatre grands tableaux tenans lieu de tenture, représentant les quatre âges de l'amour, peints par Fragonard, dans leurs cadres dorés.*"<sup>27</sup> If, according to this record, approximately a year after they were ordered, the pictures by Fragonard remained in portable frames -- in lieu of a proper hanging -- then perhaps as early as May, 1772, Madame du Barry after considering a replacement, had decided against a permanent installation. Finally, a record of at least two payments -- in the amounts of 3,500 and 3,000 *livres* -- received by Vien between February and May, 1773 for the Louveciennes panels, adds more credence to a 1772 commission date for the Vien panels.<sup>28</sup>

The historical account which extends Fragonard's commitment at Louveciennes to March, 1773 does not confute the 1772 date assigned to the start of Vien's work for Du Barry. On the contrary, the two dates strengthen the

---

<sup>26</sup> Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien* 189.

<sup>27</sup> As cited in Sahut, *Du Barry*, 113.

<sup>28</sup> According to Gaehtgens and Lugand, Vien received a total of 16,000 *livres* for his work. A first payment of 3,500 *livres* was approved by Du Barry on 7 February, 1773, and a payment of 3,000 *livres* was made to the artist in May, 1773. The remaining installments were to follow later in the year and through to 1774. See Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 190.

hypothesis that Madame du Barry was unhappy about Fragonard's work long before the panels were removed in 1773. And in order to avoid a lengthy interval between the removal of the old and installation of the new panels, it would have been necessary for Du Barry (and Ledoux) to plan well in advance, and in this instance, up to a year before the exchange was carried out in the *salon en cul-de-four*. Certainly this arrangement would have saved Du Barry from having to deal with the embarrassing predicament of a *salon* with empty walls -- not an insignificant matter for the mistress of Louis XV. Even with this foresight, only two of Vien's panels were finished by August, 1773 (in time for the Salon), and even then, the second panel was submitted late as it was not dry in time for the inauguration.<sup>29</sup> Fragonard had spent almost two years working on the *Progress of Love*, and thus, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that Vien would have required a similar amount of time to execute his panels for Louveciennes.

Vien's *Progrès de l'amour* was a response to both the demands of his patron and the iconographic precedent established by his predecessor in the *salon en cul-de-four* at Louveciennes. But in addition to his accountability to Du Barry and Fragonard, Vien was also under the watchful eye of Du Barry's protégé, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. It is also possible that, given the analogous

---

<sup>29</sup> According to Gaehtgens and Lugand, when the Salon opened on 26 August, 1773, Vien had only finished the one panel, and was obliged to exhibit the second panel at a later date given its unready state. See Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 190.

elements of style, Vien may have been Ledoux's personal choice for the Louveciennes commission all along; and after the architect's dealings with Fragonard in the house of Mlle Guimard, he emerged as a suitable replacement. However, it seems unlikely that, at fifty-six years of age, Vien would have been Ledoux's first choice for the Louveciennes commission. The young and promising painter, Jacques-Louis David, would have probably been a more fashionable choice.

If one finds the transition from Fragonard to Vien to be a difficult one, we can only begin to imagine the scenario at Louveciennes, and the multitude of factors both personal and professional, that accompanied the incident involving the patron and artist. In their examination of the course of events, Gaehtgens and Lugand offer the following summary:

*Il est difficilement compréhensible aujourd'hui que ces peintures de Fragonard d'une qualité éblouissante soient remplacées à Louveciennes par des panneaux que nous apprécions moins et qui nous semblent être froids et secs. Pourtant, les peintures de Vien devaient apparaître à Madame du Barry comme l'expression du goût le plus moderne... Vien aurait donc été appelé à remplacer Fragonard parce qu'il était dans le sens du goût à la mode, créé pour une bonne part par lui-même. Les jeux rustiques d'un couple habillé plutôt en costumes de l'époque de Madame de Pompadour peints par Fragonard devaient être transformés en une histoire à l'antique au goût du jour.<sup>30</sup>*

---

<sup>30</sup> Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 86.



Vien's series begins with *Deux jeunes Grecques faisant serment de ne jamais aimer* (also known as *The Oath of Feminine Friendship*) where two women, standing before the altar of *Friendship*, take a vow never to fall in love (fig. 97). Father Time is depicted as an old man, sleeping at the side of the altar, while Cupid can be seen lighting his torch from the same altar. In the background, partially hidden behind a balustrade, a young man watches the ceremony, awaiting the consequences of their oaths. In the second panel entitled *Deux jeunes Grecques reconstrant l'amour endormi dans un jardin*, the two women accompanied by a group of maidens, prepare to adorn a sleeping infant with a garland of flowers, all the while unaware that the object of their affection is Cupid, the God of Love (fig. 98). Vien's *Progrès de l'amour* continues with *Amant couronnant sa maîtresse*, in which we find the young man crowning his lover, while the woman's friend extends a matching floral crown with which her confidante will, in turn, crown her lover (fig. 99). The last panel entitled *Deux amants s'unissant à l'autel de l'hymen* depicts the lovers before the altar at the Temple of Hymen, exchanging the vows of marriage (fig. 100). Two cupids prepare to decorate the couple with floral wreaths and a garland, while a third one lights his torch from the altar. Behind the couple, a young man frees a pair of doves, symbolizing the love and hope between the newly betrothed.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> After Madame du Barry's estate was liquidated in 1794 (the year following her execution) the Vien panels were sent to Versailles where the series was divided, the panels being sent to two different locations. Today, the four panels remain in two separate locations. *Deux jeunes Grecques faisant serment de*

The startling differences between the Vien and Fragonard panels offer first a basic clarification of two diverging styles. However, beyond this comparison of neoclassical versus rococo sensibilities, there emerges a number of compositional and iconic elements that point to a common theme and order in the two series. Vien was called upon to produce replacement panels for Fragonard's "failed" commission. But in addition to filling the four gaps left in the walls of the *salon en cul-de-four*, Vien was responsible, evidently, for sustaining the *Progress of Love* theme; and as can be seen in the resulting work, he paid more than lip-service to Fragonard's precedent. Commenting on Vien's approach as well as his restrictions with the Louveciennes commission, Gaehtgens and Lugand write:

*La comtesse aurait donc laissé à Vien toute liberté pour le choix du sujet, exception faite de l'Histoire et de la Fable. Il est pourtant certain que Vien a suivi, ou a dû suivre, Fragonard. Tous les auteurs ont insisté avec raison sur la correspondance des deux séries qui par leur histoire sont parfaitement en accord avec le "thème général" de ce "temple d'amour" que fut le Pavillon de Louveciennes. Le thème général chez les deux peintres est le "progrès de l'amour ce qui permet encore de supposer que la commande passée successivement aux artistes fut assez comparable, Vien remplaçant Fragonard."<sup>32</sup>*

---

*ne jamais aimer* and *Deux amants s'unissant à l'autel de l'hymen* (the first and fourth panels) are in the Préfecture at Chambéry, while the second and third panels, *Deux jeunes Grecques reconstruant l'amour endormi* and *Amant couronnant sa maîtresse* are in the Musée du Louvre. See Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 190-1.

<sup>32</sup> Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 84.

Du Barry's apparent stipulation over Vien's choice of subjects -- in particular her disapproval of *history* and *fable* subjects -- was noted in an account by A. Dezallier d'Argenville, who saw the panels during a visit to the *pavillon* in 1779.<sup>33</sup>

It would seem that Vien's primary task was to redress and relocate the lovers in Fragonard's *Progress of Love*. Vien, who as Franklin Biebel suggests "enjoyed considerable fame in the second half of the 18th century as the leader in introducing neo-classic themes, styles and costumes into French painting,"<sup>34</sup> was well-prepared for the transition of styles. After replacing their rococo costumes with classical drapery, Vien took the lovers out of Fragonard's garden of love and set them in an Olympian park, furnished with temples, altars, and Greek maidens. But the pervasion of the style "*à la Grecque*" went beyond the lovers' apparel and their new surroundings. Along the way the story underwent revision, and amendments to the moral content of the work introduced new material regarded as chaste and virtuous. The original progress of love had not been supplanted, but simply fortified with a new moral code, and with what Vien and his patron believed to be a loftier and more acceptable theme: "*Un couple s'est formé et*

---

<sup>33</sup> Dezallier d'Argenville wrote: "*Les sujets de l'Histoire et de la Fable ayant été interdits à M. Vien, il a été obligé d'imaginer ces quatres sujets allégoriques; et pour les anoblir, il les a traités dans le style Grec.*" Excerpt from *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie* by Dezallier d'Argenville, (VII, 1779, p. 179s) and cited in Gaetgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 84.

<sup>34</sup> Franklin M. Biebel, "Fragonard and Madame du Barry," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (Oct. 1960): 214, henceforth Biebel, *Fragonard*.

*s'engage à vie à l'autel de l'Hymen. Dans le langage antique, avec les déités et les personifications du Temps, de l'Amour et de l'Hymen, la force de l'amour est représentée triomphant des serments innocents des jeunes filles.*"<sup>35</sup>

In the opening scene of Vien's series two young women take the oath of feminine friendship (see fig. 97). The setting in which Vien has placed the Greek maidens is reminiscent of Fragonard's first panel. The balustrade and landing reappear, and behind them water cascades from a fountain. The putti riding the dolphin in *The Pursuit* are replaced by a lone cupid who lights his torch from the altar, but their roles remain fulfilled in the Vien picture. The male suitor in Vien's panel has yet to make his presence or intentions known (at least with the two women), although his timing is very close to his counterpart's plan in *The Pursuit*, (which has just been put into motion). Father Time is shown sleeping beside his broken scythe, indicating that time is arrested while the women take their vow of friendship. Fragonard has also inserted a reference to time -- or more precisely, time at a standstill -- with the still-life of fruit and nuts in the foreground.

Absent from Vien's painting, and from all four of his panels, is any sense of natural verdure. The garden exists, but it does not pervade, overwhelm or

---

<sup>35</sup> Gaehtgens and Lugand, *Vien*, 85.

animate the scenes. In each of the four episodes the garden reverts to a backdrop, decorative and void of symbolism and function (beyond the obvious role as a stage set). Vien clearly did not have the same interest nor the experience with the garden landscape as his predecessor. Vien was also not working *in situ*. When it came to creating or transporting a natural setting for the Louveciennes panels, Fragonard was at an advantage. While the large clumps of trees in Vien's panels are passable, the hedges, undergrowth and flowering plants betray a strong, artificial flavour. The attempts to introduce clusters of flowers -- loose, in garlands, and baskets -- only serve to emphasize the direct link to the studio.

Vien's second panel entitled *Deux jeunes Grecques rencontrant l'amour endormi* depicts the same two women preparing to adorn a sleeping cupid with a garland of flowers, which unbeknownst to them, sets love's progress in motion (see fig. 98). Cupid remains asleep and the maidens' presence succeeds in overwhelming only the picture's shallow composition. Vien's handling of the trees, however, -- in particular the large clump to the right of the picture's centre -- recalls the corresponding episode by Fragonard, reconfirming his attempt to maintain a specific format and sense of order initiated by Fragonard.

*L'amant couronnant sa maîtresse*, the third panel in Vien's series, follows the subject of Fragonard's *Lover Crowned*, also the third in the sequence (see

fig. 99). Vien portrays the young man crowning his lover, a ritual about to be enacted by the woman. In *The Lover Crowned*, it is the woman, herself already decorated with a garland of flowers, who crowns her lover. Perhaps it is simply the difference between a single and double ring ceremony. Fragonard's sleeping cupid reappears, in this instance fully awake, but he too retired from his duties as the messenger of love (with quiver and bow at his side). The woman's bosom friend becomes a witness to the union, as did the young artist in *The Lover Crowned*.

The final episode entitled *Deux amants s'unissant à l'autel de l'hymen* finds the lovers at the altar which stands before the temple of Hymen (see fig. 100). Although filled with figures on the ground and in the air, Vien's composition is similar to the organization of Fragonard's *Love Letters*. The central pedestal in *Love Letters* has been replaced by the altar, while the space occupied by the statue of *Amitié* is echoed in the outline of the temple of Hymen. The arrangement of the trees and treatment of foliage also responds to the natural setting of *Love Letters*. The sky has been crowded out by the encroaching trees, leaving only a patch of light that is reminiscent of the assortment of clouds framed within *Love Letters*.

Obtaining the second commission for the *salon en cul-de-four* at Louveciennes, Vien was in a very different position from what Fragonard had

faced a couple years before. The subject for the series -- the progress of love -- had been determined long before he arrived. It is also likely that some of the details surrounding Du Barry's objection to Fragonard's work would have surfaced in time for Vien to take note. Standing before Fragonard's panels with his new patron, Vien would have had the chance to figure out for himself, exactly what Du Barry liked and disliked. On the one hand, he could exploit (or at least try to copy) Fragonard's utilization and mastery of the interior and exterior setting at Louveciennes in his *Progress of Love* panels (something that the studio space would not allow). And on the other hand, he could present a noble storyline, replacing frivolity with reason, and passion with sobriety. Vien was in the enviable position of having the chance to succeed where Fragonard had failed -- at least in the eyes of Madame du Barry.

VII. *L'Amour et l'Amitié* in Fragonard's *Love Letters*:  
Pompadour, Du Barry, and the iconography of discernment

Was Madame du Barry more immoral than Madame de Pompadour? I do not believe it. Was she more detrimental to France? I do not believe that either. Were the beginnings of the Marquise's favor more noble than those of the Countess? Was the first more truly in love, more disinterested, than the second? For my part, I do not see much difference. Nevertheless, I am tempted to find Madame de Pompadour more culpable than Madame du Barry...In the gallery of the women of Versailles I shall place Madame du Barry unhesitatingly above Madame de Pompadour, because the Countess is credited by all her contemporaries with a quality that was lacking to the Marquise, a quality which expiates many faults, many shames, many vices, and without which no woman whatever can awaken sympathy, that of good nature.

Imbert de Saint-Amand<sup>1</sup>

It was in the best interests of Madame de Pompadour and Madame du Barry to pursue an iconography of friendship with the king, and both did. Shortly after her love affair ended with Louis XV, Pompadour revived the doctrine of friendship over love, selecting sculpture and painting as the vehicles for her crusade. Du Barry, however, did not wait until her liaison with the king had declined, and made the bid for friendship in the last panel of Fragonard's *Progress*

---

<sup>1</sup> Saint-Amand, *Louis XV*, 186-7.



of Love. Perhaps the pursuit of love was never a *fait accompli* for Pompadour and Du Barry, but the necessity of friendship was fast becoming *de rigueur*.

Prior to Sauerländer's 1968 study of the *Progress of Love* (in which he placed *Love Letters* last in the series), scholars consistently put *Love Letters* third in the sequence with *The Lover Crowned* as the concluding picture. Sauerländer, however, had the advantage of visiting the *pavillon* and site at Louveciennes, and examining the orientation and dimensions of the *salon en cul-de-four*.<sup>2</sup> Afforded a fresh (and more accurate) look at the interior and exterior setting for Fragonard's commission, he was able to propose the first (modern) verified installation scheme for the panels, and as a result, offer an amended order for *The Progress of Love*.<sup>3</sup>

Sauerländer's sequence for the panels is based on the layout and orientation of the *salon en cul-de-four*, and the symbolic structure of the pictures. According to Sauerländer, it is the symbols and setting used by Fragonard that

---

<sup>2</sup> My course of study and perspective on Fragonard's *Progress of Love* was altered considerably after my visit to the *pavillon* at Louveciennes in 1992. And while it remains rather difficult to access the *pavillon* and site today, a trip to Louveciennes is clearly a prerequisite for any in-depth study of the commission, as the existing photographs tell only part of the story.

<sup>3</sup> At the time of his study in 1968, Sauerländer appears to have been the only modern scholar to have visited the *pavillon* and taken measurements of the *salon en cul-de-four*.

ultimately elevate *The Progress of Love* from the purely ornamental into the sphere of great art.<sup>4</sup> Appraising this systematic approach to the commission, Posner points out that, "Sauerländer is the first scholar to have recognized that Fragonard possessed and used a learned vocabulary of iconographic motifs, and in his study of the Frick paintings he demonstrated that each is dense with details -- statues, flowers, still-life elements -- that carry symbolic meaning and clarify the themes of the individual scenes."<sup>5</sup> As mentioned in the preceding chapter, Sauerländer's installation programme and order for the series is accepted by the present writer; however, his analysis and utilization of the pictures' inherent symbolism and iconography is at times more aggressive than Fragonard himself probably intended.

Key to our understanding of the theme of *Love Letters* and its position as the last panel in *The Progress of Love* is the sculpture introduced by Fragonard (see fig. 94). The two figures can be identified as *L'Amour et l'Amitié*, and are easily distinguished from the sculpture of Cupid and Venus found in the second panel, *The Meeting*. The iconography of friendship, or more specifically, the *Amitié* figure can be traced back to a fifth-century text by Fulgenzio Metaforalis, although the iconographic format was developed much later by Cesare Ripa in

---

<sup>4</sup> Sauerländer, *Fragonard*, 129 & 132.

<sup>5</sup> Posner, *Fragonard*, 526.

his *Iconologia* at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The theme of love and friendship was revived again in the mid-eighteenth century by Madame de Pompadour and her sculptors, Jean-Baptiste Pigalle and Étienne-Maurice Falconet.

Five years into Pompadour's relationship with the king, someone lost interest, and the love affair collapsed. Reasons for the cessation of their sexual alliance range from Pompadour's fragile health to Louis's wandering eye, but what remains clear was that if Pompadour expected to remain at Versailles as *dame du palais de la reine*, she would have to seek other means to legitimize her position in the eyes of the king and the court. She rose to the challenge, and between the time of the Comte d'Argenson's (*Chancelier d'Orleans* and *Secrétaire d'État à la Guerre*) pronouncement in 1750 -- "*Il n'existe presque plus aucun plaisir d'amour entre elle et son royal amant*" -- and the court's (and public) awareness of the predicament (a period of four years), the iconography of friendship was resurrected, and sculpture and painting commissions followed immediately.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Katherine K. Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship," *Art Bulletin* 50 (Sept. 1968) 253; henceforth Gordon, *Pompadour*. Gordon's article was originally written as a Master's thesis under the direction of Donald Posner at New York University, and was published in the same year (but just before) Sauerländer's article on *The Progress of Love* (with whom she had discussed the order of the panels and the identification of the sculpture in the series).

<sup>7</sup> Gordon, *Pompadour*, 154.

Pigalle's sculpture of *L'Amour et l'Amitié* (1754-58) embodies Pompadour's desire to allow friendship to coexist with love, and possibly even to supersede it (fig. 101). Clothed in modest drapery (although her left breast remains exposed) Friendship embraces Cupid, and in her nakedness, she offers her heart. According to Gordon, it is a symbolic offering -- "the heart as the abode of love is more successfully displayed by poetic suggestion than by graphic exactitude."<sup>8</sup> Pigalle's sculpture, however, does more than represent his patron's iconographic agenda, *Amitié* is Madame de Pompadour personified. In a second work by Pigalle for the Château de Bellevue, Pompadour is portrayed as *Amitié*, and as a pendant, Pigalle created a portrait of Louis XV to be positioned directly across from the statue of the Marquise. Assuming "not a guise of goddess or virtue but of a sentiment"<sup>9</sup> Pompadour offers her friendship to the king, and resounding in this lofty gesture is the phrase often ascribed to her: "*L'Amour est un plaisir pour un temps, mais l'amitié est un de toutes les saisons.*"<sup>10</sup> The strategy worked evidently, because the Marquise de Pompadour remained Louis's mistress until her death in 1764, concluding a relationship that lasted almost twenty years.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Gordon, *Pompadour*, 256.

<sup>9</sup> Gordon, *Pompadour*, 257.

<sup>10</sup> As cited in Posner, *Fragonard*, 526.

<sup>11</sup> An interesting anecdote regarding Pompadour's iconography of friendship is retold by Jacques Levron in his study on the Marquise. Levron writes: "It is quite true that she (Pompadour) had ordered Pigalle to make a marble to replace a statue of more passionate significance. Some time later, it

Returning to *Love Letters*, there remains some question as to the iconographic design of the picture, both from the perspective of the artist and patron. It is clear that the sculpture portrays Love and Friendship, but to what extent Fragonard and Du Barry endorsed this thematic endeavour is uncertain. Gordon, who is supported by Posner, rejects the idea that the female figure is Friendship, and suggests instead that this is merely "a frivolous and scarcely disguised erotic symbol of an indecisive maiden about to succumb to the pleasures of love."<sup>12</sup> And while the sculpture may have "Pompadouresque" roots, it is not the *Amitié* who "offers her heart in a spirit of pure and unadulterated generosity and friendship."<sup>13</sup> Gordon concludes her argument by stating, "It seems questionable to me that Madame du Barry, successor to Madame de Pompadour and apparently quite successful in her amorous relationship with the King, would choose *Amitié*, the loser's theme, as the subject for paintings for her apartments."<sup>14</sup>

---

was said, Marie-Leczinska visited Bellevue and its park. Of a gardener who was there she asked: 'What is the name of this grove?' 'It was once called the Grove of Love, Madam,' he answered. 'It is now the Grove of Friendship.'" Jacques Levron, *Pompadour*, trans. Claire Eliane Engel (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963) 125.

<sup>12</sup> Gordon, *Pompadour*, 260.

<sup>13</sup> Gordon, *Pompadour*, 260.

<sup>14</sup> Gordon, *Pompadour*, 261. In any case, Fragonard's panels were not commissioned for Du Barry's "apartments", but for her *maison de plaisance*.

But what could be a more appropriate choice for Madame du Barry? It took Pompadour five years to realize her love affair with the King would not last forever, and another five years before her iconography of friendship was in full swing. Du Barry did not have the same luxury of time or influence. She was able, however, to learn from Pompadour's mistakes and her triumphs. Madame de Mailly, Louis XV's first mistress, was introduced to the king when he was twenty-two years of age; Madame de Pompadour met the king when he was thirty-five; and when Madame du Barry was presented to the court, Louis was fifty-nine years old. If anyone was cognizant of the fact that a sexual relationship with the king might be short-lived, it was Du Barry. The theme of *l'amour et l'amitié* was not a losing theme for Pompadour or Du Barry, although for Pompadour her livelihood was resting on the success of this renewed iconography. For Du Barry, she had the foresight, and now the programme, to deal most effectively with the matters of the heart and the mind.

Posner follows Gordon's argument, but his thesis is weakened considerably by a rather arbitrary ordering of the four panels, based on his objection to Sauerländer's theory. Accepting Sauerländer's installation scheme, but rejecting his order for the panels, Posner suggests that by placing *Love Letters* last in the series, the "gay story of a youthful romance" is replaced by a "moral tale" where

the "flush of love will pass, but friendship will remain."<sup>15</sup> Posner goes on to describe the theme of love and friendship as a "rather sad, disenchanting conclusion to the story and a message that is oddly out of character with the joyful, untroubled spirit of the paintings," not to mention an anticlimax to a "buoyant drama of love."<sup>16</sup> Finally, in an attempt to accommodate Sauerländer's hanging programme but avoid the series ending with *Love Letters*, Posner switches the first two panels, and returns to the order first established by Portalis in 1885: *The Meeting, The Pursuit, Love Letter, The Lover Crowned*.<sup>17</sup>

In support of his "subjective reaction" to the theme of love and friendship, Posner reiterates Gordon's contention that Du Barry's situation cannot be compared to Pompadour's relationship with the king, at least from a sexual perspective. Posner expresses his doubts that the "robust and amorous Madame du Barry...would have chosen for her pavilion a theme that could only recall and

---

<sup>15</sup> Posner, *Fragonard*, 526.

<sup>16</sup> Posner, *Fragonard*, 529.

<sup>17</sup> Portalis saw the panels in 1885 in Grasse, a century after they were installed there by Fragonard in the house of the painter's cousin, Alexandre Maubert (who had purchased the series, since expanded to fourteen canvases, from Fragonard in March, 1791). Received by Malvilan, the grandson of Maubert, Portalis saw all fourteen panels and placed a new panel entitled *L'Abandon* in sequence after *The Lover Crowned*, extending the *Progress* to five episodes. See Baron Roger Portalis, "Les Peintures décoratives des Fragonard et les panneaux de Grasse," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 32 (Dec. 1885): 481-93; and Rosenberg, *Fragonard*. See note #19 for a description of the ten additional canvases.

advertise the virtues of her predecessor."<sup>18</sup> Louis XV, however, was not quite as robust as his lover, and even though Fragonard's *Progress of Love* scarcely promotes the virtues of Pompadour, Madame du Barry would have been most prudent in allowing the sentiments of both love and friendship to guide the final scene.

Central to Posner's endorsement of the order recorded by Portalis is his assumption that this account and the proposed arrangement is "based on an oral tradition going back to Fragonard's stay at Grasse in 1790-91."<sup>19</sup> Posner, however, fails to mention another first-hand description of the panels which predated Portalis' visit by almost twenty years. In 1867, the art critic, Léon-Marius Lagrange, visited Grasse and viewed the expanded series in the house of Malvilan. Lagrange established an order that followed the hanging programme at Grasse: *The Pursuit, Love Letters, The Meeting, Abandoned* (the fifth panel),

---

<sup>18</sup> Posner, *Fragonard*, 529.

<sup>19</sup> Posner, *Fragonard*, 529.



and *The Lover Crowned*.<sup>20</sup> Certainly the oral tradition offered to Portalis would not have bypassed Lagrange.

Fragonard's series was not a tale about Du Barry and the king; and it is doubtful whether the couple (or couples) in the panels was meant to represent Louis XV and Madame du Barry.<sup>21</sup> Fragonard's patrons could, however, use their imagination in viewing the panels. The escape was there. Du Barry needed only to lure the king from the real to the painted garden and back again. The king was not required to scale a parapet; but perhaps just the thought of this amorous endeavor might heighten his senses. And this was probably all Du Barry wanted, at least in terms of the king's happiness. While Madame de Pompadour spent years trying to save her platonic relationship with the king, Du

---

<sup>20</sup> Sheriff, *Fragonard*, 59. Sheriff includes Lagrange's complete description of *The Progress of Love* series. The ten additional canvases -- two large works entitled *Love Triumphant* and *Reverie*, four overdoors entitled *Love the Sentinel*, *Love the Jester*, *Love Pursuing a Dove*, *Love the Avenger*, and four narrow vertical panels depicting hollyhocks -- were produced after Fragonard left Louveciennes and possibly as late as 1790 when he was residing in Grasse. It does appear however that these canvases were designed specifically for the house of his cousin Alexandre Maubert in Grasse (who eventually purchased all fourteen works from Fragonard) where Fragonard and his family stayed upon their arrival from Paris in 1790. All fourteen works are in the Frick Collection.

<sup>21</sup> In his 1960 article on the *Progress of Love* panels, Franklin Biebel (the former director of the Frick Collection) discusses the possibility that the hero and heroine of Fragonard's *Progress* closely resemble the portraits of Louis XV and Madame du Barry. See Biebel, *Fragonard*, 212.

Barry had the chance to work on both sides of her romance, and Fragonard's *Progress of Love* commission highlights her royal agenda.

Madame de Pompadour was not alone in her quest to improve her status at Versailles. And after seeing how far Pompadour could go, it is unlikely that Madame du Barry would not have desired the very same privileges. Both women wanted respect and legitimacy, and not only in the king's bedchambers. Despite the king's advanced age and failing health, Du Barry was not fooled into thinking she was the only woman in his life (or at least not the only distraction).<sup>22</sup> She was, however, the royal mistress, and this title she was able to protect. Du Barry had her own agenda when it came to sustaining her relationship with Louis XV, and at Louveciennes she had the opportunity to set it in motion. For an aging Louis XV and his mistress, the *maison de plaisance* was the perfect escape, and the *Progress of Love*, the ideal vehicle.

---

<sup>22</sup> Shortly after her presentation to the court, Madame du Barry became aware of her own limitations in satisfying the needs of her lover. Commenting on Du Barry's response to the strange habits of the king, Andrew Haggard writes, "In the dreadful school in which she had been brought up infidelities of this kind passed for nothing," (this coming after Du Barry had offered her niece, Mademoiselles de Tournon, to the King). See Andrew Haggard, *The Real Louis the Fifteenth* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1907) 606-7; henceforth Haggard, *Louis XV*.

Despite all their efforts, Pompadour and Du Barry were dealing with a man whose ultimate fear was to die without a confession.<sup>23</sup> And regardless of what measures they took to redeem themselves and their reputations, in the end, the king's preoccupation with the last sacrament ultimately prevented the iconography of love and friendship from penetrating his private confession. As early as 1750, Pompadour, "proclaiming the purity of her present relationship with the King," asked to be pardoned for her sins.<sup>24</sup> In 1772, Du Barry secured a legal separation from her husband, Guillaume du Barry, with the hope that the marriage could be annulled, so that she could marry the king, albeit in secret.<sup>25</sup> The king was not to be persuaded, refusing to join Pompadour in church, and eventually banishing Du Barry from Versailles in order to obtain the extreme unction.

First revived by Madame de Pompadour to safeguard her platonic relationship with the king, the iconography of *l'amour et l'amitié* reappears in the *Progress of Love*. In *Love Letters*, Fragonard made an appeal for love and

---

<sup>23</sup> As Jacques Levron adds: "It must not be forgotten that the King was fundamentally a believer. He knew he was living in sin, and he preferred to abstain from the sacraments rather than profane them." See Jacques Levron, *Pompadour*, trans. Claire Eliane Engel (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.) 126-7; henceforth Levron, *Pompadour*.

<sup>24</sup> Gordon, *Pompadour*, 249.

<sup>25</sup> Laski, *Du Barry*, 9-10.

friendship, and this on behalf of his patron. The circumstances, though, were different. While Pompadour had a great deal to lose if her pursuit of a higher, more virtuous ground failed to evolve, Du Barry was in a position to gain from the sentiments of both love and friendship. But over twenty years after the ascendancy of Pompadour, and with a lover more than twice her age, she could no longer take anything for granted.

At Louveciennes, Madame du Barry called upon nature and art to entice and satisfy her lover. Inside her *maison de plaisance*, references to all facets of their relationship existed to please the eye and elevate the senses. But the same images became painful allusions when Du Barry's romance failed. No longer was it even a question of love and friendship. Ironically, Madame du Barry did not have the option that Pompadour had so cleverly reinvented -- friendship was not even a bargaining tool. When she was unable to save her relationship with the king, Du Barry decided to save her reputation, and one of her first decisions was to replace Fragonard's *Progress of Love* with the politically correct narratives by Vien. After viewing Vien's Greek maidens, Diderot is said to have remarked that they induced "no desire to be their lover, only their father or brother."<sup>26</sup> Du Barry had obviously made the right choice. All references to her romance, her *maison de plaisance*, and the wonderful gardens had been eliminated, replaced

---

<sup>26</sup> As cited in Peter and Linda Murray's *The Penguin Dictionary of Art and Artists* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1959) 467.

by a group of pictures that, while perfectly suited for Ledoux's neoclassical *pavillon*, was completely void of any true progress of love.

VIII. Louveciennes and the Villa d'Este:  
the essence of Tivoli transported

As part of its ability to play with the human senses, the Renaissance garden is an intriguing conceptual system. The code of interpreting it is complex and highly ambiguous. The garden is a place of pleasure, the *locus amoenus*, filled with joy, but it resounds in love laments of poets; it is a refuge for private meditation; it is a place for feasts, entertainment of friends, a place, according to Boccaccio, of sexual and intellectual freedom, a setting for philosophical discussions, and a restorative for both the body and the soul. It is a measured and well-ordered model of the universe, an experiment in immortality, a never-ending apparition of spring.

Eugenio Battisti<sup>1</sup>

Fragonard's entire *Progress of Love* takes place in the garden. It is a cycle set within a garden. The narrative and its iconographic format come to life in the garden landscape. Fragonard's selection of setting was deliberate, for in the garden he was able to find everything necessary to introduce and to develop his theme. Nature herself becomes the score for this amorous duet, and like the setting, the type of garden was deliberate. It takes after the Italian landscape garden; it is the essence of Tivoli transported.

---

<sup>1</sup> Eugenio Battisti, "*Natura Artificiosa to Natura Artificialis*," *The Italian Garden*, ed. David Coffin (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1972), 4-5.

The *Progress of Love* commences with *The Pursuit* in which the heroine is pleasantly startled by the sudden appearance of a young man who offers her a rose. Cupid's spell has already been cast in the second panel entitled *The Meeting*, where the hero has scaled a stone parapet to be with his friend. In *The Lover Crowned* music-making is suspended while the girl crowns her lover with a wreath of flowers. In the final scene entitled *Love Letters*, the two lovers tenderly embrace while reading each other's notes of love and devotion.

A flurry of motion and an abundance of symbols from within the heart of the garden mark each chapter of Fragonard's tale of romance and love. Nature, art, and the first advances of young lovers provide the ideal atmosphere for this impassioned narrative; and the garden of love offers the perfect setting. At first glance the precise location of this garden is not recognizable, and subsequent probes yield nothing more concerning the site. Nonetheless, the source and inspiration for the garden landscape in Fragonard's *Progress of Love* is easily identified. The territory is marked out by the tall cypresses and spirited fountains of the Villa d'Este. Altered only by overgrowth and a sense of abandon, the Renaissance verdure of Tivoli has been carried to Louveciennes. Fragonard's sojourn at the Villa d'Este is revived in his panels of the *Progress of Love*.

Although the grand alleys and axes of Pirro Ligorio's garden do not fit into

the Frick panels, nor is there any room for the magnificent vistas that are celebrated with each step that one takes in the villa gardens, it requires little effort for one to place the scenes from the *Progress of Love* within the walls of the Villa d'Este. Indeed, it is easy to imagine Fragonard's lovers seeking refuge in this Renaissance garden. Nevertheless, the precision of Fragonard's visual records at the Villa d'Este was guided more by his imagination than by any preoccupation with topography or architecture; and the production of drawings celebrates this highly personal and interpretive approach. In commenting on Fragonard's "interpretations" at Tivoli, Pierre Rosenberg writes:

Fragonard approached his subjects more as a poet than as a surveyor, and that he chose views that fired his imagination, that magnified, or "monumentalized" nature...His interpretations were so free that, today, it is often very difficult to locate the precise spot at the Villa d'Este where Fragonard sat down to draw...(he) did not describe; he idealized, transformed, re-created, imagined.<sup>2</sup>

Fragonard's drawings from the Villa d'Este were not, however, completely imaginary or invented compositions, and it is possible to locate almost every site from which he sketched in the garden. The red chalk drawings at Besançon present accurate, contemporary depictions of the villa and gardens; and while they do not share the architectonic preference expressed by Venturini or Piranesi, they furnish the viewer with a rich synopsis of the plan and character of the Villa

---

<sup>2</sup> Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 96.



d'Este in the eighteenth century. At the same time, we are introduced to the setting for the Louveciennes panels.

The first panel of the *Progress of Love -- The Pursuit* -- depicts the initial meeting between the young woman and her male admirer (see fig. 91). The surprise encounter takes place in the garden under the late morning sun. The shadows are short and the trees and flowers receive the full benefit of the brilliant light. On their first meeting the couple is not alone. The young woman is accompanied by two friends, who, upon the sudden appearance of the youth, rush to the support of their startled but clearly enraptured friend (fig. 102). Emerging from behind a rose-covered pedestal, the handsome suitor has entered a secluded terrace to surprise the three women. As he advances into the space enclosed by a stone parapet and green lattice fence, he penetrates a scene of adolescent innocence surrounded by unmolested vegetation. The rite of passage is the presentation of a pink rose which he offers to the object of his affection. The offering of the rose is a declaration, signifying the beginning of the pursuit of love.<sup>3</sup> Struggling to maintain her balance and composure, the young woman extends her arms while remaining delicately poised on just one leg. Nothing

---

<sup>3</sup> Depictions of the offering of a rose as a declaration of love can be found in art and literature dating back to the Middle Ages. In his article on *The Progress of Love*, Sauerländer gives examples of the rose iconography ranging from depictions in fifteenth-century French tapestries to Goethe's *Laune des Verliebten* in the eighteenth century. See Sauerländer, *Fragonard*, 135.

appears to be rehearsed and nothing has been arrested in this fertile garden setting. In their private space, the group is sheltered by an almost impenetrable wall of foliage, highlighted by an abundance of flowering plants which include roses, poppies, lilacs, and geraniums.

The cries of nervous laughter from the handmaidens are overpowered by the sounds of cascading water and are muffled by the unbroken backdrop of foliage. Controlling the fountain above are two putti riding a dolphin representing "love and the rising tide of passion."<sup>4</sup> While the fountains play, the hero's entrance is perfectly timed. From a repertoire of rococo sculpture, Fragonard selected an appropriate piece for this first episode (fig. 103). Although similar to the sculpture in Boucher's *Vertumnus and Pomona* (1749) Fragonard's arrangement seems to be closer to the sculpture group in *The Shepherd's Idyll*, painted by Boucher in 1768 (see fig. 6). The playful mood in the scene, free of weighty emotion and contemplation, is echoed by the activity of the putti above. Although the task of the dolphin -- to pull the chariot of Venus, the goddess of love -- cannot be overlooked.

The sculpture group in *The Pursuit* is perhaps the one element that brings Fragonard's painting closer to the rococo sphere of Boucher's atelier, and away

---

<sup>4</sup> Posner, *Women*, 85.

from the gardens of Tivoli. Resting precariously on what appears to be a platform of rose bushes, the putti appear out of nowhere, altering the Italianate skyline of poplars and cypresses with an effusion of elaborate curves and sculpted flourishes. While their allegorical poise is effective, the arrangement appears more suited to the eighteenth-century mythology of Boucher rather than to the Herculean precepts ensconced at the Villa d'Este. However, while the sculpture may seem out of place in the Renaissance garden, its surroundings in the gardens of Fragonard's *Progress of Love* are undoubtedly the substance and spirit of Tivoli.

Dominating the skyline and the overall composition of *The Pursuit*, a group of trees fortified by an array of shrubbery and flowering plants defines the foreground and blends with the lush foliage of the trees beneath the fountain sculpture. In this celebration of nature's verdure, the allusions to the Villa d'Este are intact. Indeed the setting for this first interlude of Fragonard's *Progress of Love* -- a private terrace overlooking a fountain -- may be successively positioned within the gardens of the Villa d'Este: it is reminiscent of the landing overlooking the Fountain of the Dragon at Tivoli (see fig. 16 & 17). From this particular spot in the Italian garden, the visitors would see the powerful jets of the Fountain of the Dragon shooting up from below them, the spray reaching above the stone parapet. Behind them, the Alley of the Hundred Fountains would offer a new axis, and enveloping them from all angles, the towering cypresses and hedges marked each vista. It is also possible to imagine

Fragonard's young lovers meeting on the large terrace which borders the Fountain of Rome in the Villa d'Este (see fig. 14). In this part of the garden their attention would be easily diverted by the spectacular views and the displays of water and sculpture among the flora.

A last reference to the romance that is about to unfold in the following passages of the *Progress of Love* is the still-life of fruit displayed on the pedestal in the lower right corner of the panel. The fruit of the garden -- apples, grapes and nuts -- are arranged on a white cloth and placed on top of a pedestal situated outside of the lattice fence and extending into the extreme foreground of the picture. Symbolically, the still-life is beyond the reach of the lovers and thus the fruit remains at the moment untouched, to be enjoyed at a later time.

Overseeing the activity in the second panel entitled *The Meeting* (also known as *The Rendezvous* and *Storming the Citadel*) are Venus and Cupid (see fig. 92). Their imposing position between the young woman and man appears deliberate, as does the choice of plants signalling the arrival of the goddess of love. To the right of the sculpture's pedestal, an aged bough casts a twisted angle into the sky, while on the left, a lone sapling bends in the opposite direction, balancing the triad. Still, towering over this ensemble of sculpture and branches is an enormous cluster of mature trees which fills the afternoon sky with an explosion of greenery. Maintaining the overwhelming presence first witnessed in

*The Pursuit*, nature in the form of the garden landscape continues to control and adorn the setting for the *Progress of Love*.

Cupid struggles for the quiver of arrows but Venus resists, fueling the myth and prolonging the lovers' pursuit below. A sculpture similar to Fragonard's Venus and Cupid in *The Meeting*, may be found in Watteau's *The Embarkation for Cythera* (1718) (Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Berlin) (fig. 104) where pilgrims are apparently preparing for their journey to the Island of Love.<sup>5</sup> Although the number of Cupids is expanded considerably in the Watteau picture, they still encounter the same dilemma in their quest for love because Venus withholds the quiver of arrows. If we accept Claude Ferraton's hypothesis (see note #5) that Watteau's picture depicts the departure from the island of Cythera rather than to the island (while another version of the picture in Paris portrays the departure to Cythera), the role of the sculpture of Venus in *The Meeting* also may take on a greater symbolism. Ferraton notes that the Paris picture entitled *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera* (1717) (Musée du Louvre)

---

<sup>5</sup> Claude Ferraton, as cited in the *Watteau* catalogue, suggests that the Louvre version entitled *Le pèlerinage à l'isle de Cithère* (or *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera*) is a departure for Cythera and the Berlin version entitled *L'Embarquement pour Cythère* (or *The Embarkation for Cythera*) depicts a scene which takes place on the Island of Love. Thus, while the Paris picture represents the "ideal" state of love, the Berlin version represents "love consummated". See Margaret Morgan Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, *Watteau 1684-1721* (Washington, D.C.: The National Gallery of Art, 1984) 408; henceforth Grasselli and Rosenberg, *Watteau*.

"represents love in the future, ideal love, dreamed love," while the Berlin picture "represents love consummated, after which there is nothing more but to go home."<sup>6</sup> In the Paris version of the *Cythera* picture the sculpture of Venus is confined to a bust placed on a pedestal. However, in the Berlin version, the bust of Venus has evolved into a full-length version of the goddess of love, and her company of putti has also been increased. According to Rosenberg, Watteau borrowed from Rubens the idea of creating a "living statue"; and the transformation of Venus in the two *Cythera* versions confirms Watteau's interest in this humanistic exercise.<sup>7</sup> Coming back to Fragonard's *The Meeting*, we are faced with some ambiguity regarding the stage of love that is represented in this second panel. Has Fragonard depicted "love consummated" or simply "love dreamed"? The gestures and facial expressions of the youths betray a love yet to be fulfilled, and Cupid's ongoing struggle with Venus would seem to point to the same conclusion.

In *The Meeting*, the couple has reached a new level of familiarity since their first encounter together in another part of Fragonard's garden. The hero's arrival is unannounced but clearly not a surprise to his friend. The girl puts aside a letter she has been reading, and with her left arm extended, she motions for

---

<sup>6</sup> Claude Ferraton as cited in Grasselli and Rosenberg, *Watteau*, 408.

<sup>7</sup> Grasselli and Rosenberg, *Watteau*, 408.

him to proceed with caution, or maybe to direct his attention towards the view that has caught her eye. On her bodice she wears a lilac spray and in her hair a pink rose, reminding us of the rose presented by her admirer in *The Pursuit*. The girl's white silken dress is almost identical to the dress she wears in *The Pursuit* with the exception of her accessories -- in this instance blue bows at her waist and on her shoes. Could she have simply changed her shoes and sash and planned a secret rendezvous with her friend later in the day? The letter she holds is probably from her admirer, and she makes no attempt to hide or discard the evidence as her ardent correspondent mounts the stone parapet. Bearing the familiar red seal that appears on all his letters, the note will likely be saved by the girl and reread, as we see in the final episode of the *Progress of Love*. The letter plays a vital role in this narrative; and the theme of the love letter maintains a similar place in Fragonard's oeuvre. A number of paintings depict young women reading or writing letters, often with the same romantic mood communicated in the *Progress of Love* panels.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> *Young girl leaning, holding a letter* (called *The Letter*) (c. 1763; C91); *Sultana Resting on an Ottoman* (c. 1772; C266); *Young woman writing a letter* (called *The Letter*) (c. 1775; C290); *The Reader* (called *The Letter*) (c. 1775; C306); *The Billet-Doux* (or *The Love Letter*) (c. 1778; C335); *The Bad News* (c. 1780; C338); *The Present* (c. 1786; C413; Fragonard and Marguerite Gérard); *Young couple reading letters* (called *I Reread Them with Pleasure*) (c. 1788; C415; Fragonard with Marguerite Gérard). The catalogue number preceded by the letter "C" refers to the catalogue raisonné of oil paintings produced by Jean-Pierre Cuzin in 1988. See Cuzin, *Fragonard*.

The afternoon tryst depicted in *The Meeting* has been planned in advance, though there is an element of surprise in the scene.<sup>7</sup> It is precipitated, however, by something other than the young man's unusual entrance via the ladder (fig. 105). Rather than appearing startled, the youths both seem to be mesmerized by an object or a spectacle to their right, but outside of the picture plane and beyond our range of vision. One hypothesis is that they are being watched, and aware of the spectator, the girl warns her friend with a quick gesture. In his brilliant red doublet and blue and orange cloak, the youth would be easily spotted. Another possibility is that it is a garden vista and not the presence of a hidden onlooker that has seized the attention of the couple. But whether it is a bystander or a compelling view (or both) that distracts the eye, Fragonard has succeeded in making the viewer guess. In solving the mystery of what lies beyond the picture plane, it is worth positioning, or at least envisioning the setting of *The Meeting* within the garden of the Villa d'Este. Perhaps this visual exercise was utilized by the painter himself.

The hero's daring approach by means of a ladder provides an important detail as to where *The Meeting* may have been situated in the garden. The terrace on which the action takes place is elevated, as can be seen from the level of the surrounding trees and the requirement of a ladder to gain access. The painting entitled *Le Petit Parc* (c. 1762), produced shortly after Fragonard's return to Paris from Italy and based on his drawing of the Fountain of the Dragon in the Villa



d'Este, reveals a wooden (or perhaps rope) ladder leaning against the rear wall of the fountain (fig. 106).<sup>9</sup> While the very top of the ladder is obscured, we may assume that it rested on the stone balustrade or parapet above the Fountain of the Dragon (fig. 107). Incidentally, the ladder, which appears in the Wallace Collection picture as well as in a gouache in the Collection of Eugene Victor and Clare Thaw, New York, is not found in the related drawings or the etching produced after the drawings (fig. 108). If the Fountain of the Dragon is situated below the parapet on which the ladder is perched in *The Meeting*, the scene that has caught their attention would be a view of the actual villa, preceded by a tiered progression of statues and fountains leading up to the villa at each cross axis -- the first two being statues of Hercules, followed by the Fountain of Pandora, and the Fountain of Leda, located in front of the stairs to the villa.<sup>10</sup> The engraving of the Villa d'Este by Etienne Dupérac gives us a sense of the

---

<sup>9</sup> *Le Petit Parc* (also called *The Gardens of the Villa d'Este, Tivoli*) in the Wallace Collection, London, is generally considered to have been executed around 1762, after Fragonard returned to Paris. However, an examination of the canvas fibers points to an Italian canvas, and thus the work may have been produced while the artist was still in Italy (up until September, 1761). An etching entitled *Le Petit Parc* after the related drawings and gouache (the latter in the Collection of Eugene Victor and Clare Thaw, New York), and perhaps the painting, has been given a date of 1763. See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 153-154.

<sup>10</sup> Dupérac's engraving enables the viewer to see the location of the statues and fountains in question, along with both the dramatic slope of the gardens leading up to the villa from the Alley of the Hundred Fountains and the unobstructed view of the villa from the Fountain of the Dragon. Contemporary photographs also provide a sense of the spectacular perspective from the Fountain of the Dragon.

topography of the upper garden revealing the dramatic slope which rises to the villa from the Alley of the Hundred Fountains (see fig. 9). A contemporary photograph of the garden clarifies the orientation of Dupérac's plan, and reveals the spectacular view from the vantage of the landing above the Fountain of the Dragon (fig. 109).

The placement of the ladder in *The Meeting* has also received attention in an article by Edgar Munhall which examines the studies for *The Progress of Love*.<sup>11</sup> Munhall points out that X-ray photographs of *The Meeting* reveal a different and less conspicuous position for the youth and the ladder; a position very similar to the arrangement in a oil sketch study for the panel (fig. 110 ).<sup>12</sup> In the final version, the young man has a much more prominent place; in fact, he has already ascended onto the parapet from the ladder.

Further details in *Le Petit Parc* from the Wallace Collection unite the Fountain of the Dragon with the setting for *The Meeting*. The sculpture of Venus and Cupid in *The Meeting* is matched by two sculptures flanking the opening of the space above the fountain in *Le Petit Parc*. Between the two over life-size

---

<sup>11</sup> Edgar Munhall, "Fragonard's Studies for *The Progress of Love*," *Apollo* (May 1971): 404; henceforth Munhall, *Studies*.

<sup>12</sup> The study for *The Meeting* (c.1771) is in the Watel-Dehaynin Collection, Paris.

sculptures are the silhouettes of two figures standing at the edge of the balustrade which overlooks the Fountain of the Dragon. It would appear that Fragonard found the ideal setting for the second chapter of his *Progress of Love* just above the powerful water jets of the Fountain of the Dragon in the Villa d'Este.

Another location in the garden that may have inspired Fragonard in his choice of setting for *The Meeting* is the view of the Fountain of Rome from the large terrace above the Fountain of the Emperors (see fig. 14). However, unlike the more secluded terrace above the Fountain of the Dragon, the landing before the Fountain of Rome is expansive by comparison, and lacks the heavy foliage cover. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that Fragonard's drawings and paintings from the Villa d'Este offer his own interpretations of the gardens and these are often embellished, incorporating natural and architectural components that were not part of the actual garden. Commenting on Fragonard's interpretive and exploitive skills at the Villa d'Este, Michael Levey writes:

Fragonard's revolution is in brief this: he dethrones subject matter and sets up a fresh concept of a work of art as a piece of the artist's style. Any competent topographer could have produced an accurate view of the gardens of the Villa d'Este; that is, in effect, merely the starting point for Fragonard's vision, where the villa recedes and the trees like fountains foam higher and higher....It is no exaggeration to say that the gardens of the Villa d'Este haunt all Fragonard's later landscapes -- at least the freedom of interpretation is still there.<sup>13</sup>

In the third panel entitled *The Lover Crowned* the activity centres on what may be considered the consummation of the relationship (see fig. 93). The young man kneels at the feet of his lover as she, already adorned with a garland of blue and pink flowers, crowns him with a wreath of small pink roses (fig. 111). The radiant colours of their garments reflect the rapture of the moment, also revealed through their tender expressions and gestures. The youth is cloaked in an orange and rose-coloured outfit while the girl is resplendent in shades of yellow and white. With hands clasped and gazes fixed on imaginary vistas, the lovers bask in the late afternoon sun. The shadows have begun to lengthen and parts of the garden have taken on darkened tones, but the lovers have still managed to find the most luminous spot in this rapidly changing landscape. They have temporarily abandoned their music making; a tambourine and a lute rest at their side, while an album of music remains open to the song just played. Geraniums, peonies,

---

<sup>13</sup> Kalnein and Levey, *Eighteenth Century in France* 180.

roses and phlox bloom in abundance as if in response to the flowering of love. Caught in the same sunlight that bathes the young couple, an orange tree introduces new foliage and a new fruit into the *Progress of Love*. A second orange tree on the terrace stands void of fruit and beyond the reach of the afternoon sun.

Behind the lovers, and beyond the lattice fence and stone parapet, Fragonard has placed a sculpture of a sleeping cupid. At his side is the quiver of arrows which he has finally procured from Venus. The placement of the sculpture -- in the background and slightly distanced from the action -- is similar to the arrangement in *The Pursuit*. In the first episode of the *Progress of Love*, the cupids are set apart from the lovers, capable at first only of observing as they chart the course of love. Consequently, in this third panel, the cupid has resumed his role as a bystander; and with his work successfully completed, he rests. *The Lover Crowned* is love consummate. The young man crowned with a wreath of flowers by his lover is symbolic of both a physical and an emotional union.<sup>14</sup>

There is, however, an eyewitness in *The Lover Crowned*. Sitting in a chair on the same terrace, an artist sketches the scene before him. In the process of

---

<sup>14</sup> In the eighteenth century, the depiction of the crowning of lovers with floral wreaths, relates directly to the notion of sexual consummation and the sacrament of marriage. See Sheriff, *Fragonard*, 77.

this documentation, his presence gives credence to the private ritual unfolding before him, and he immediately assumes the role of attestant. Edgar Munhall has linked a black chalk drawing entitled *Le Dessinateur* (in the Robert Lehman Collection, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) which also depicts an artist documenting a garden scene, to *The Lover Crowned* (fig. 112).<sup>15</sup> Referring to the "profusion of plants and flowering trees in wooden tubs, the rich vegetation, the distant balustrade and garden sculpture" represented in *Le Dessinateur*, Munhall insists the two works must be related.<sup>16</sup> However, while the pose of the artist is similar, and both scenes feature an array of wild and cultivated plants, the theme, setting, and composition of the drawing is markedly different from that of *The Lover Crowned*. Eunice Williams also refutes Munhall's claim, but draws an illuminating comparison between the two works:

The Louvecienne (sic) panels are united as an ensemble by the untamed, overgrown garden or park in which each episode is set. The spatial grandeur, vertical as well as horizontal, seems to overwhelm the figures. When seen as an ensemble, the continuity of landscape from panel to panel is strong. This effect is radically different from the closed perspective of the Lehman drawing, where the composition is complete unto itself and restricts the freedom of the viewer to a predetermined vantage point.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Munhall, *Studies*, 406.

<sup>16</sup> Munhall, *Studies*, 406.

<sup>17</sup> Williams, *Drawings*, 70. Williams' opinion is also shared by Rosenberg, who, in the *Fragonard* catalogue, suggests the relationship between the two works is "fortuitous". See Rosenberg, *Fragonard*, 318.

As Fragonard's *Progress of Love* unfolds, it becomes more difficult to place the scenes within specific settings reminiscent of the Villa d'Este. While the lovers remain in the same garden, the landscape that surrounds them has changed. In *The Lover Crowned* and in the final panel entitled *Love Letters*, they have escaped to the most secluded and least recognizable part of the garden (this being most evident in the fourth panel). In response, Fragonard has recreated the more natural and less cultivated spirit of the Italian garden -- a state such as he would have found the gardens at Tivoli. Assuming the couple is eager to withdraw to a private space, the presence of the artist in *The Lover Crowned* may at first seem puzzling; but his dual role as an unofficial notary and chronicler of this union enables the *Progress of Love* to continue. Jean-Pierre Cuzin writes:

*The Lover Crowned* is the most passionate of the paintings in this series; it portrays a love that has been declared, a shared ecstasy, a union that is publicly recognized. It is a truly nuptial picture, which even includes orange trees in boxes; there is something of the "wedding photograph" about the way in which the young couple pose before the artist.<sup>18</sup>

The appearance of the artist in their midst fails to embarrass or disturb the lovers. They acknowledge his part in their alliance and employ his services.<sup>19</sup> In

---

<sup>18</sup> Cuzin, *Fragonard*, 152.

<sup>19</sup> Not unlike Jan van Eyck in *The Arnolfini Marriage* (1434).

*The Lover Crowned*, Fragonard accompanies the young couple to a new level of intimacy and friendship, and leads them towards the very heart of the garden. With the putto asleep and their union now confirmed, the lovers carry themselves to another echelon.

In the final scene entitled *Love Letters*, the garden is completely transformed, perhaps to match the condition of love (see fig. 94). In *The Lover Crowned*, the garden still maintains a cultivated state and a semblance of order. In the *Love Letters* the landscape has reverted to its most natural form -- at least in the context of the garden setting in the *Progress of Love*. We seem to move from garden to park. Absent from the scene is any reference to fostered or manicured growth. The shrubbery and orange trees are gone, along with any trace of saplings or solitary limbs. Replacing them is a backdrop of trees which dominates the sky and overshadows the scene below. Creating a wall of lush foliage, the clusters of trees envelop the couple who have come upon a clearing in this wooded area. Before the natural expanse of greenery, the arrangement of the hollyhocks, roses, and geraniums appears contrived, as if placed there to decorate the space. In the absence of a balustrade or lattice fence, the flowering plants cling to the only two structures in the garden -- a large pedestal which serves as both an altar and seat for the lovers, and a sculpture of Cupid clinging to the modestly draped female figure of Friendship.



The lovers have found the most secluded part of the garden, and under the light of the late afternoon sun they read of their progress of love. Dressed in a pink dress with a white underskirt, the girl sits on the stone pedestal, while her lover stands at her side with his head on her shoulder and hands resting on her lap. His cream-coloured outfit is highlighted by a blue sash and blue ribbons on his stockings and shoes, revealing an exchange of the familiar colours presented in earlier meetings. A pile of letters by the girl's side, each with the familiar red seal (now broken), provides the entertainment for the remainder of the afternoon. A cocker spaniel rests at their feet with a look of contentment, his symbolic namesake confirmed. The girl's pink parasol remains open, but with its handle secured in the ivy plant attached to the large pedestal, its presence appears more symbolic than functional. All emblems of unity and friendship, the umbrella, dog and the ivy which surrounds them both, correspond to Fragonard's strongest allegorical reference in his *Progress of Love* -- the presence of love and Friendship.<sup>20</sup>

Towering over the couple and rising to the height of the treetops are the figures of *Amour* and *Amitié*.<sup>21</sup> Cupid reaches up with an outstretched hand to

---

<sup>20</sup> Peter Pawlowicz points out in his thesis that the umbrella, ivy, and dog are all symbols of amity. See: Peter Henry Pawlowicz, *J.-H. Fragonard and the urban pastoral*, diss., (Ann Arbor: U.M.I., 1989) 163; henceforth Pawlowicz, *Fragonard*.

<sup>21</sup> Love and Friendship.

the figure of Friendship, who clutches close to her breast, an exposed heart -- the object of Cupid's desire. From an impressive vantage point atop a large columnar pedestal, the two figures perform their symbolic duties, while below, the lovers carry out their own romantic agenda. Positioned respectively on altar and pedestal, the young couple and their sculpted guardians share the same luminous light from the afternoon sun. The composition is balanced on one side by an opening in the wooded backdrop and on the other by the figures of Love and Friendship, creating a natural setting for the lover's impromptu performance. In his consummate effort at Louveciennes, Fragonard creates no division in theme or composition. At this moment Love and Friendship coexist, thereby imparting the absolute wish of Madame du Barry.

Allegory comes to fruition in *Love Letters* as does the garden in which the *Progress of Love* concludes. Reading over their correspondence, the couple recalls different passages from their romance, and overseeing this contemporary ritual are the very symbols that define their union. *Love Letters* is the last in Fragonard's series -- the last in the installation scheme at Louveciennes, and the last in the thematic order initiated by the artist. It follows in the progression of love pursued, encountered, and consummated. And the lovers, their letters, and the setting of this episode, introduce an air of finality which takes the viewer beyond the crowning.

## Conclusion

Today when one visits the *pavillon de musique* at Louveciennes there are certain elements of the building and its setting that have remained constant since the ascendancy of Madame du Barry. There is also evidence of change. Ledoux's *pavillon* has been dismantled, moved, and reassembled several metres from its original site, this as a result of the meandering Seine and the deterioration of its banks. A second story has been added, converting the *maison de plaisance* into a modern, permanent residence. Practically all the furnishings have been removed and the ornamentation replaced with copies. In the garden the sculptures are gone, and the natural landscape has been modified by the encroaching village and woods.

Still, there are those things at Louveciennes that have remained largely unaltered. The *salons* maintain their commanding views of the river and valley, forest and garden. The splendid panorama of the Seine and its winding course is offered to the visitor standing in the *salon carré*. In the distance there is the outline of Paris, though it now appears much closer. From the adjacent *salons* the immediate presence of the gardens and *bosco* persists, while the rich verdure heightens the transition from the interior to the natural landscape. Outside, the seclusion and intimacy of the *pavillon* setting have been preserved,

and it is only after the final approach that the fortuitous caller encounters the magnificent vista first discovered by Louis XV. Accompanying each visit to the *pavillon* at Louveciennes is the wonderful feeling of escape, of solitude, and perhaps even abandon, and all within the confines of a garden landscape.

Returning to the *pavillon* there remains one last reminder of Du Barry's romance with the king. Embellishing the walls of the *salon ovale* are the four episodes from Fragonard's *Progress of Love*. Unfortunately, the paintings are modern copies of the original panels, reduced in size and installed without regard to a specific order. Their location in the *salon ovale* (as opposed to their original setting in the *salon en cul-de-four*) is also incorrect. But despite all these inaccuracies, there remains something oddly authentic about this contemporary arrangement. Fragonard's lovers have finally returned to Louveciennes, restoring Du Barry's initial choice, and rekindling some of the rococo spirit that was so hastily checked by Vien's stoic maidens. And while the copies fail to convey the vitality and grace of Fragonard's brush, and appear slightly out of place in the *salon ovale*, they still manage to respond to the setting created by Ledoux, and perpetuated in Bastide's *La petite maison*. Madame du Barry's temple of love set above the banks of the Seine continues to evoke images of the garden landscape first celebrated in the *Progress of Love*.

After all is said and done, is it not reasonable to ask why the episodes by Fragonard's *Progress of Love*, and not those by Vien, have been reinstalled in the *pavillon* at Louveciennes? Perhaps it is a moot point, especially if François Coty simply preferred Fragonard to Vien. However, after going to such lengths to restore Du Barry's *pavillon* to its former beauty and authenticity, it is unlikely that the selection of the four panels after Fragonard would have met with any less consideration. Nonetheless, it takes only one visit to Louveciennes to realize which pictures are more appropriate. The history of protocol might very well tell us what was the correct choice for Madame du Barry (before and after her romance), but even then Fragonard's works do not lose any ground. One need merely stand before the entrance to the *salon en cul-de-four*, as Du Barry and her lover would have done many times, to decide between Fragonard and Vien. Although in this light, we can also begin to understand why Du Barry's initial preference eventually became a rather uncomfortable choice to live with.

Fragonard had a considerable advantage over Vien in his work for Madame du Barry. He knew the gardens well -- the gardens of Louveciennes and the gardens of the Villa d'Este. When he painted the *Progress of Love*, he could lose himself in the natural setting around him, while at the same time summoning the rich imagery of *villeggiatura*. Years before he had followed the seasonal route taken by every Este cardinal, abandoning Rome for the refreshing waters and shade of Tivoli. At Louveciennes, however, it was his patron that

needed to escape, and Fragonard's task to facilitate (or at least reward) that desire. The united front of artist and patron, however, was quickly weakened by the one thing Du Barry could not control -- the romantic and physical disposition of the king. The *Progress of Love* and its setting at Louveciennes quickly ceased to be an escape for lovers.

In their present setting in the Frick Collection, it is difficult for the viewer to appreciate the role played by the *Progress of Love* panels at Louveciennes. The *salon* overlooking Fifth Avenue reveals nothing of the landscape and ambience of Louveciennes. In a way, Vien was in a similar predicament, producing his pictures for Du Barry in a studio, completely removed from the *pavillon*. And the results are telling. Absent from the *Fragonard Room* at the Frick and from Vien's *Progrès de l'amour* are the historical and emotional elements reflected in Du Barry's original request, and championed in Fragonard's series. Fragonard's *Progress of Love* was made to order -- for the patron, the building, and the landscape. The art of appropriation was very much alive at Louveciennes. Madame du Barry acquired from Pompadour the iconography of love and friendship, securing two different versions of the score. Ledoux sought out the ideal *pavillon* in his desire to create an escape for Du Barry and her lover. And Fragonard garnered from the Villa d'Este the essence of *villeggiatura* in his embellishment of the *maison de plaisance*.

Fragonard was the ideal choice for the Louveciennes commission. As author and surveyor of the garden setting, he was capable of documenting as well as celebrating the progress of love within the natural landscape. However, the demand for such skills was short-lived, abruptly replaced by the services of a painter who managed remarkably well to remove all traces of the pursuit of love and friendship once enjoyed in the *pavillon* of Madame du Barry.

### Bibliography

- Agnew Galleries. *"Roman d'amour de la Jeunesse"; a series of pictures by Honoré Fragonard painted for Mme du Barry.* Exhibition catalogue. London, 1900.
- Ananoff, A. *L'Oeuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard.* 4 vols. Paris, 1961-1970.
- Ashton, Dore. *Fragonard in the Universe of Painting.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.
- Bailey, Colin B. "Fantasies about Fragonard." Review of *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism*, by Mary D. Sheriff. *Apollo* 135 (Mar. 1992): 197-98.
- Bachaumont, Louis Petit de. *Lettres sur les Peintures, Sculptures, et Gravures de Mrs. de L'Académie Royale exposées du Salon du Louvre depuis MDCCLXVII jusqu'en MDCCLXXIX* (Commencées par M. de Bachaumont). London: Chez John Adamson, 1780.
- . *Memoires secrets pour servir a l'histoire de la République des Lettres en France, depuis MDCCLXII jusqu'à nos jours; ou Journal d'un Observateur (Tome Tresieme).* London: Chez John Adamson, 1784.
- Bailey, Colin B. *The Loves of the Gods: Mythological Painting From Watteau to David.* Exhibition catalogue. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1992.
- Barbery, B. "Les Fragonard de Grasse à New York." *Mercure de France* (1949): 21-46.
- Bastide, Jean-François de. *La petite maison.* Paris, 1753. Paris: Librairie Henri Leclerc, 1905.
- É de Beaumont. "Deux Mobiliers d'autrefois." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* V (1872): 132.
- Bergeret de Grancourt, Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme. *Voyage d'Italie, 1773-1774.* Abridged ed. Paris, 1948.



- Bernier, Georges. *Hubert Robert - The Pleasure of Ruins*. Exhibition catalogue. New York: Wildenstein & Co., Ltd., 1988.
- Besançon. Musée de Besançon. *Catalogue des peintures, dessins, et antiquités*, by A. Castan. 7th ed. Besançon: Musée de Besançon, 1886.
- . *Les Dessins de Honoré Fragonard et de Hubert Robert des Bibliothèques et Musée de Besançon*. Paris, 1926.
- . *Jean-Honoré Fragonard - Peintures et Dessins*. Exhibition catalogue. Besançon: Musée de Besançon, 1956.
- Biebel, F. M. "Fragonard's 'Progress of Love': A Study in Artistic Taste." *Actes du XIX Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art*. Paris, 1959.
- . "Fragonard and Madame du Barry." *Gazette des Beaux-arts* (Oct. 1960): 207-24.
- Boime, Albert. *Art in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1800*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Bon, S. "La Danse et les peintres des fêtes galantes au XVIII siècle." *Jardin des arts* 35 (Sept. 1957): 643-50.
- Bordeaux. Galerie des Beaux-Arts. *Les Arts du Théâtre de Watteau à Fragonard*. Exhibition catalogue. Bordeaux, 1990.
- Boulot, Catherine, Jean-Pierre Cuzin, and Pierre Rosenberg. *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma*. Exhibition catalogue. Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1990.
- Bouvy, E. "L'Abbé de Saint-Non." *L'Amateur d'estampes* (1928): 65-72.
- Bremont, A. *The Laughlin Collection: Catalogue Raisonné de Cent Quarante et un Dessins de Fragonard d'après Fresques et Tableaux en Italie, 1760-61; also d'un Recueil de dessins et d'esquisser par Honoré Fragonard d'après des peintres...en Italie, 1773-1774*.
- Brendel, Maria Lydia. "Rubens and the Humanistic Garden." M.A. Thesis. McGill University, 1990.
- Breteuil, Henri-François de., ed. "Le pavillon Du Barry à Louveciennes." *La Demeure Historique* 1 (1986): 15-22.

Brookner, Anita. Rev. of *The Paintings of Fragonard*, by Georges Wildenstein. *Burlington Magazine* 696 (Mar. 1961): 111-12.

---. *Jacques-Louis David*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1980.

Brosses, Charles de. *Lettres familières sur l'Italie*. Ed. Y. Bézard. 2 vols. Paris, 1931.

Brouwer, J.-W. "Jean-Honoré Fragonard." *Tableau* (Feb. 1982): 341-45.

Brunon-Guardia, G. "L'Exposition Fragonard." *Beaux-Arts* 5 (1931): 9.

Bryson, Norman. *Word and Image; French Painting of the Ancient Regime*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Cabanne, Pierre. *Fragonard*. Paris: Somogy, 1987.

Cain, G. "La Maison de Fragonard à Grasse." *Figaro* 10 May 1914.

Castries, Duc de. *Madame Du Barry*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1967.

Cavina, Anna Ottani. Rev. of *Saint-Non, Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano; Un diario di viaggio ritrovata*, ed. Pierre Rosenberg and Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée. *Burlington Magazine* 129 (Sept. 1987): 605.

Cayeux, J. de [J. Caillieux, pseud.] "Le Pavillon de Madame du Barry à Louveciennes et son architecte C.-N. Ledoux." *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 67 (June 1935): 35-48.

---. "Introduction au catalogue critique des Griffonis de Saint-Non et Catalogue des Griffonis de Saint-Non." *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* 1963 (1964): 297-384.

Chatfield, Judith. *A Tour of Italian Gardens*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1988.

Clapp, F.M. "The Du Barry Fragonards in the Frick Collection." *Actes du XIII Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art* (1933): 182-83.

Clément-Janin, N. "Les Fragonard de Grasse et leur graveurs." *La Renaissance de l'art français* 3 (Mar. 1922): 136-40.

- Cochin, Charles-Nicolas. *Voyage d'Italie; ou, Recueil de notes*. 3 vols. Paris, 1758. Geneva, 1972.
- Coffin, David. *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- , ed. *The Italian Garden*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, 1972.
- . *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- . *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Conisbee, Philip. "London and Paris: French Artists at Home and Abroad." *Burlington Magazine* 1000 (July 1986): 532-34.
- Connolly, Cyril and Jerome Zerbe. *Les Pavillons*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962.
- Coombes, Pamela M. "The Medici Gardens of Boboli and Luxembourg: thoughts on their relationship and development." M.A. Thesis. McGill University, 1992.
- Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les Surintendants des Bâtiments (1688-1806)*. Ed. Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey. 18 vols. Paris, 1887-1907.
- Crow, Thomas E. *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Cuzin, Jean-Pierre. "Fragonard; multiple et cohérent." *Connaissance des Arts* (1987): 3-18.
- . *Jean-Honoré Fragonard; Life and Work*. Trans. Anthony Zielonka and Kim-Mai Mooney. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988. Trans. of *Fragonard: Vie et Oeuvre*. Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1988.
- Dal Maso, Leonardo B. *The Villa of Ippolito II d'Este at Tivoli*. Florence: Bonechi, 1978.
- Dami, Luigi. *The Italian Garden*. New York: Bretanos, Inc., n.d.

- Denison, Cara D., Myra Nan Rosenfeld, and Stephanie Wiles. *Exploring Rome: Piranesi and His Contemporaries*. Montréal: The Canadian Centre for Architecture; New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library,, 1993.
- Du Barry, Marie-Jeanne Vaubernier, comtesse. *Mémoires de la Comtesse Du Barri*. Ed. Etienne-Léon de Lamoignon-Langon, 5 vols. Paris: Jean de Bonnot, 1967.
- Duncan, Carol. *The Pursuit of Pleasure: The Rococo Revival in French Romantic Art*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1976.
- Engerand, Fernand. *Inventaires des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des Bâtiments du Roi (1709-1792)*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1900.
- Fregnac, Claude., ed. *Les châteaux de l'Île de France*. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Société d'études et de publications économiques, 1963.
- Fried, Michael. *Absorption and Theatricality; Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Furcy-Raynaud, Marc. "Correspondance de M. de Marigny avec Coypel, Lépicié et Cochin." *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. Paris, 1904.
- Gaehetgens, Thomas W. and Jacques Lugand. *Joseph-Marie Vien; Peintre du Roi (1716-1809)*. Paris: Arthema, 1988.
- Gallet, Michel. *Ledoux et Paris*. 2nd ed. Paris: Rotonde de la Villette, 1979.
- . *Ledoux*. Paris, 1980.
- Goncourt, Edmond de and Jules de Goncourt. *L'Art du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris, 1873. 3rd ed. Paris, 1882.
- . *La Femme au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1887.
- . *La Du Barry*. Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1891.
- . *Fragonard*. Paris, 1864. Geneva: Editions La Palatine, 1946.
- Gordon, Katherine K. "Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship." *Art Bulletin* 50 (Sept. 1968): 249-62.

- Grappe, G.H. *Fragonard; Peintre de l'amour au XVIIIe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris, 1913.
- . *La Vie de Jean-Honoré Fragonard*. Paris: Les Éditions G. Cris et Cie, 1923.
- . *La Vie et l'oeuvre de Fragonard*. Paris: Les Éditions Pittoresque, 1929.
- Grasse, Musée Fragonard. *Oeuvres de Fragonard*. Exhibition catalogue. Grasse, 1957.
- Grasselli, Margaret Morgan and Pierre Rosenberg. *Watteau 1684-1721*. Exhibition catalogue. Washington: The National Gallery of Art, 1984.
- Guimbaud, L. *Saint-Non et Fragonard d'après des documents inédits*. Paris, 1928.
- . *Fragonard*. Paris, 1947.
- . "Fragonard: Le Peintre des Grâces." *Jardin des arts* 159 (Feb. 1968): 74-85.
- Haggard, Andrew C. P. *The Real Louis the Fifteenth*. 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1907.
- Ingamells, John. "Taraval, Jollain and Fragonard." *Burlington Magazine* 129 (Aug. 1987): 518-519.
- Ingersoll-Smouse, Florence. *Joseph Vernet; Peintre de marins, 1714-1789*. 2 vols. Paris: Étienne Bignou, Editeur, 1926.
- Jaffé, Michael. *Rubens and Italy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Josz, V. "Le Prix de Rome de Fragonard." *Mercure de France* (Oct. 1900): 95-125.
- . "Fragonard, de la Pompadour à la du Barry." *Mercure de France* (Feb. 1901): 299-354.
- Kahn, G. "Fragonard." *L'Art et le beau*. Paris, (n.d.).
- Kalnein, Wend Graf and Michael Levey. *Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972.

- Kirby, L. "Fragonard's The Pursuit of Love." *Rutgers Art Review* (1982): 58-79.
- Laing, Alastair, J. Patrice Marandel, and Pierre Rosenberg. *François Boucher 1703-1770*. Exhibition catalogue. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986.
- Lamb, C. *Die Villa d'Este in Tivoli: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gartenkunst*. Munich, 1966.
- Lamothe-Langon, Etienne-Léon de., ed. *Memoirs of the Comtesse Du Barry (written by herself)*. Paris, 1829. London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1928.
- Laski, Philip M. *The Trial and Execution of Madame Du Barry*. London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1969.
- Latham, Charles. *The Gardens of Italy*. 2 vols. London: Country Life Ltd., 1905.
- Lazzaro, Claudia. *The Italian Renaissance Garden*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Ledoux, Claude-Nicolas. *Architecture de C.N. Ledoux*. 2 vols. D. Ramée. Introduction. Paris, 1847. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1983.
- Lee, R.W. *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting*. 1940. New York, 1967.
- Leith, James A. *The Idea of Art as Propaganda in France 1750-1799*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Levallet-Haug, Geneviève. *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux 1736-1806*. Paris: Librairie Istra, 1934.
- Levey, Michael. Rev. of *Fragonard in the Universe of Painting*, by Dore Ashton. *Burlington Magazine* 130 (Oct. 1988): 779-80.
- Levron, Jacques. *Pompadour*. Trans. Claire Eliane Engel. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963.
- Lough, John. *An Introduction to Eighteenth-Century France*. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1960.

- MacDougall, Elisabeth B. and F. Hamilton Hazlehurst, ed. *The French Formal Garden*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974.
- Mancini, Gioacchino. *Hadrian's Villa and Villa d'Este*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1976.
- Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes, Musée-promenade de. *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes*. Exhibition catalogue. Paris: Flammarion, 1992.
- Massengale, Jean Montague. "Fragonard Élève: Sketching in the Studio of Boucher." *Apollo* (Dec. 1980): 392-97.
- . Rev. of *Drawings by Fragonard in North American Collections*, by Eunice Williams. *Burlington Magazine* 913 (Apr. 1979): 270-72.
- Mathey, Jacques. "Fantasy in Boucher's Landscapes and Fragonard's Figures." *Connoisseur* 594 (June 1961): 302-05.
- McEwen, John. "Fragonard: Rococo or Romantic?" *Art in America* 76 (Feb. 1988): 85-94.
- Mejanes, J.-F. "A Spontaneous Feeling for Nature: French Eighteenth-Century Landscape Drawings." *Apollo* (Nov. 1976): 396-404.
- Mitford, Nancy. *Madame de Pompadour*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1954.
- Morris, Susan. *Le Pavillon de Musique de la Comtesse du Barry at Louveciennes, Paris*. New York: Sotheby's International Realty, Inc., 1987.
- Mosser, Monique and Georges Teyssot, eds. *The Architecture of Western Gardens: A Design History from the Renaissance to the Present Day*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1990.
- Munhall, Edgar and Bernice Davidson. *The Frick Collection, An Illustrated Catalogue: French, Italian and Spanish Paintings*. Vol. 2. New York: The Frick Collection, 1968. 2 vols.
- Munhall, Edgar. "Fragonard's Studies for the *Progress of Love*." *Apollo* (May 1971): 400-07.

- Munhall, Edgar. "The Fragonard Fracas." *Vanity Fair* (Mar. 1988): 146-49, 201-03.
- Neveu, B. "Le Voyage de l'abbé Saint-Non dan l'Italie du Sud." *Journal des savants* (Oct.-Dec. 1973): 295-300.
- Nevill, R. "Jean-Honoré Fragonard." *Burlington Magazine* III (1903): 289.
- Nolhac, Pierre de. *J.-H. Fragonard 1732-1806*. Paris, 1906.
- . "Deux Questions sur Fragonard." *La Revue de l'Art* (July 1907): 24.
- . *Fragonard*. Paris, 1918. 2nd ed. Paris, 1931.
- Nolhac, Pierre de. "L'Abbé de Saint-Non et Fragonard." *La Renaissance* (Jan. 1932): 35-38.
- . *Peintres Français en Italie*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1934.
- Ogee, Frederic. Rev. of *Fragonard in the Universe of Painting*, by Dore Ashton. *Art International* 4 (Autumn 1988): 102-03.
- Palmer, Rodney. "A helpful confrontation: Hubert Robert and Fragonard in Rome." Rev. of *Hubert Robert and Fragonard in Rome*, by Pierre Rosenberg, Jean-Pierre Cuzin and Catherine Boulot. *Apollo* 133 (Feb. 1991): 126-128.
- Pawlowicz, Peter Henry. *J.-H. Fragonard and the urban pastoral*. PhD. Diss. Ann Arbor: U.M.I., 1989.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, ed. *The Picturesque Garden and its Influence outside the British Isles*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974.
- Phillips, C. *Fragonard's Roman d'amour de la jeunesse*. London, 1898.
- Phillips, E. March. *The Gardens of Italy*. London: Country Life Ltd., 1919.
- Pichon, M. ed Baron Jérôme. *Notes prises sur l'inventaire du mobilier de Madame la Comtesse du Barry sous la terreur*. Paris: Auguste Aubry, Éditeur, 1872.
- Portalis, Roger, Baron. "Les Peintures décoratives des Fragonard et les panneaux de Grasse." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 32 (Dec. 1885): 481-93.



- Portalis, Roger, Baron. *Honoré Fragonard: sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: J. Rothschild, Éditeur, 1889.
- . *Scènes de la vie champêtre: Panneaux décoratifs de Fragonard*. Paris, 1902.
- Posner, Donald. "The True Path of Fragonard's *Progress of Love*." *Burlington Magazine* 833 (Aug. 1972): 526-534.
- . "The Swinging Women of Watteau and Fragonard." *Art Bulletin* 64.1 (Mar. 1982): 75-88.
- Ravel, Marcel. *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, 1736-1806*. Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1945.
- Réau, L. "Un Type d'art Pompadour: L'Offrande du coeur." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* V (1922): 213-18.
- . *Fragonard, sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: Elsevier, 1956.
- Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. *Three Masters of Landscape: Fragonard, Robert, and Boucher*. Exhibition catalogue. Richmond, 1981.
- Roland-Michel, M. "The Themes of the Artist and of Inspiration as revealed by some of Fragonard's Drawings." *Burlington Magazine* 704 (Nov. 1961): i-iii.
- . "Sous le signe de l'abbé de Saint-Non." *Études de la Revue du Louvre* 1 (1980): 88-93.
- . "Fragonard illustrateur de l'amour." *Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art*. 1979. Clermont-Ferrand, 1980.
- . "Fragonard et le Dessin." *Connaissance des Arts* (1987): 28-38.
- . *Aspects de Fragonard; Peintures, Dessins, Estampes*. Paris: Galerie Cailleux, 1987.
- . "Light and Ruins: Fragonard and Robert in Rome." Rev. of *J.H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma*, by Catherine Boulot, Jean-Pierre Cuzin, and Pierre Rosenberg. *Master Drawings* 29 (Winter 1991): 430-35.

- Rosenberg, Pierre and Antoine Schnapper. Exhibition catalogue. *Jean Restout, 1692-1768*. Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1970.
- Rosenberg, Pierre and B. Brejon de Lavergnée. *Saint-Non, Fragonard, Panopticon Italiano: Un Diario di viaggi ritrovato, 1759-1761*. Rome, 1986.
- Rosenberg, Pierre. *Fragonard*. Exhibition catalogue. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux., 1987. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988.
- . "Les Panneaux de Louvcciennes." *Connaissance des Arts* (1987): 19-27.
- . *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Fragonard*. Paris: Flammarion, 1989.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Paris, 1761. Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères, 1960.
- . *Julie or the New Eloise*. Trans. Judith H. McDowell. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968. Trans. of *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*. 1761.
- Sahut, Marie-Catherine. *Diderot et l'Art de Boucher à David*. Paris, 1985.
- Saint-Amand, Imbert de. *The Court of Louis XV*. Trans. Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893.
- . *Last Years of Louis XV*. Trans. Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893.
- Sauerländer, Willibald. "Über Die Ursprungliche Reihenfolge von Fragonards Amours des Bergers." *Munchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* XIX (1968): 127-155.
- Schlumberger, Eveline. "Le Role Exact de Madame Du Barry." *Connaissance des arts* 137 (July 1963): 46-55.
- Scott, B. "Madame du Barry: A Royal Favourite with Taste." *Apollo* (Jan. 1973): 60-71.
- Senior, E. "Drawings made in Italy by Fragonard." *British Museum Quarterly* 11.1 (1936): 5-9.

- Sheriff, Mary D. *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Stewart, Philip. "Representations of Love in the French Eighteenth Century." *Studies in Iconography* IV (1977-78): 125-48.
- Sutton, Denys. "Jean-Honoré Fragonard: The World of Illusion." *Apollo* (Feb. 1987): 102-113.
- . "Frivolity and Reason." *Apollo* (Feb. 1987): 80-91.
- Thomson, D.C. "The Fragonards of Grasse." *International Studio* (May 1915): 155.
- Thuillier, Jacques. *Fragonard*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1987.
- Tornézy, Albert. "Bergeret et Fragonard, journal inédit d'un voyage en Italie, 1773-1774." *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* XVII (1894): 1-431.
- Turner, A. Richard. *The Vision of Landscape in Renaissance Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Vacquier, J. *Les Anciens Châteaux de France*. Paris, 1913.
- Vatel, C. *Histoire de Madame du Barry*. Versailles, 1883.
- Vergara, Lisa. *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Vidler, Anthony. *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1990.
- Ward, Marion. *The Du Barry Inheritance*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968.
- Watelet, Claude-Henri. *Essai sur les jardins*. Paris, 1774.
- Watson, Francis J.B. "Fragonard: the Definitive Book." *Connoisseur* 591 (Mar. 1961): 38-39.

- Watson, Francis J.B. and G. Dardel. "Fragonard dans son musée à Grasse." *Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'art: Grands peintres*. 1967.
- Watson, Francis J.B.. "Fragonard: Painterly and Non-Painterly in the France of Louis XVI." *Art News Annual* 37 (1971): 75-88.
- Weinshenker, A.B. "The Lover Crowned in Eighteenth-Century French Art." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 16 (1986): 271-94.
- Wildenstein, D. and G. Mandel. *L'Opera completa di Fragonard*. Milan, 1972.
- Wildenstein, D. *Fragonard, aquafortiste: Études et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'art français du dix-huitième siècle*. Paris, 1956.
- . "L'Abbé de Saint-Non: Artiste de mécène." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (Nov. 1959): 225-44.
- Wildenstein, Georges. *The Paintings of Fragonard*. New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1960.
- , ed. *Exposition d'oeuvres de J.-H. Fragonard*. Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Paris, 1921.
- Wilhelm, Jacques. "Fragonard as a Painter of Realistic Landscapes." *Art Quarterly* (Feb. 1948): 297-304.
- . "Deux Dessus de portes de Fragonard provenant du château de Louveciennes." *La Revue des arts* 4 (1956): 215-222.
- . "Le Salon du Graveur Gilles Demarteaud peint par François Boucher et son atelier avec le concours de Fragonard et de J.-B. Huet." *Bulletin du Musée Carnavalet* 1 (1975): 4-20.
- Williams, Eunice. *Drawings by Fragonard in North American Collections*. Washington: The National Gallery of Art, 1978.
- . "Rescuing Fragonard from a kind of limbo." *Art News* 5 (May 5 1979): 74-78.
- Williams, H. Noel. *Madame Du Barry*. London: Harper & Brothers, 1909.

Wintermute, Alan. "Collected in herself: the art of Du Barry." Rev. of *Madame Du Barry de Versailles à Louveciennes*, organized by the Musée-promenade de Marly-le-Roi-Louveciennes. *Apollo* 136.365 (July 1992): 58-59.



**Figure 1**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*Blindman's Buff*, c. 1752

Oil on canvas

Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio



**Figure 2**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*The Seesaw*, c. 1752

Oil on canvas

The Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid



**Figure 3**

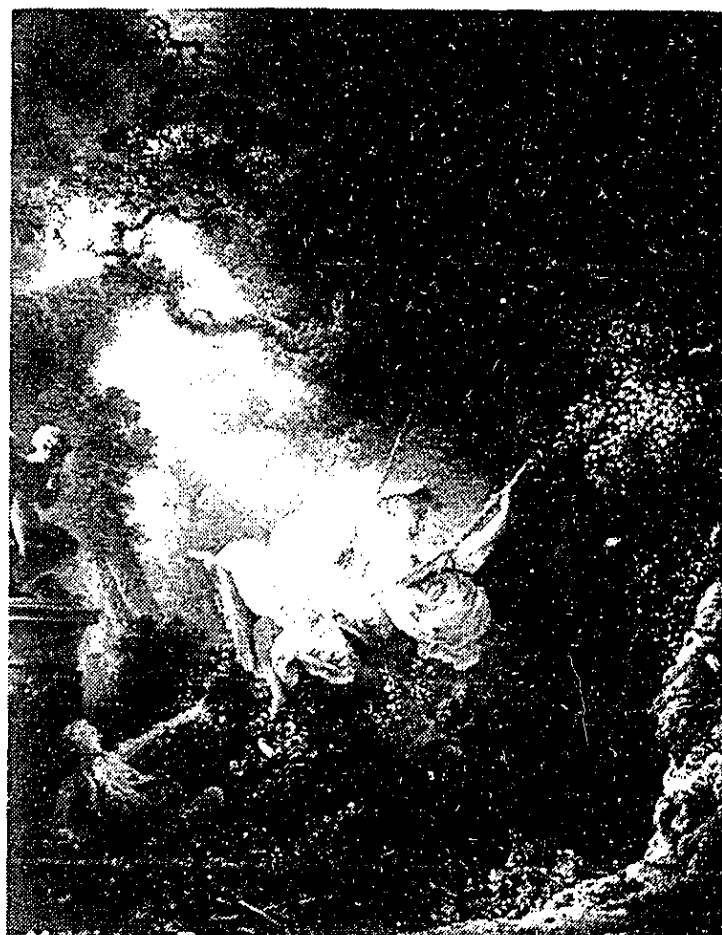
Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*Conversation Galante in a Park (or The Musical Contest)*, c. 1752

Oil on canvas

The Wallace Collection, London





**Figure 4**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Swing*, c. 1767  
Oil on canvas  
The Wallace Collection, London



**Figure 5**

Antoine Watteau

*The Shepherds*, c. 1716

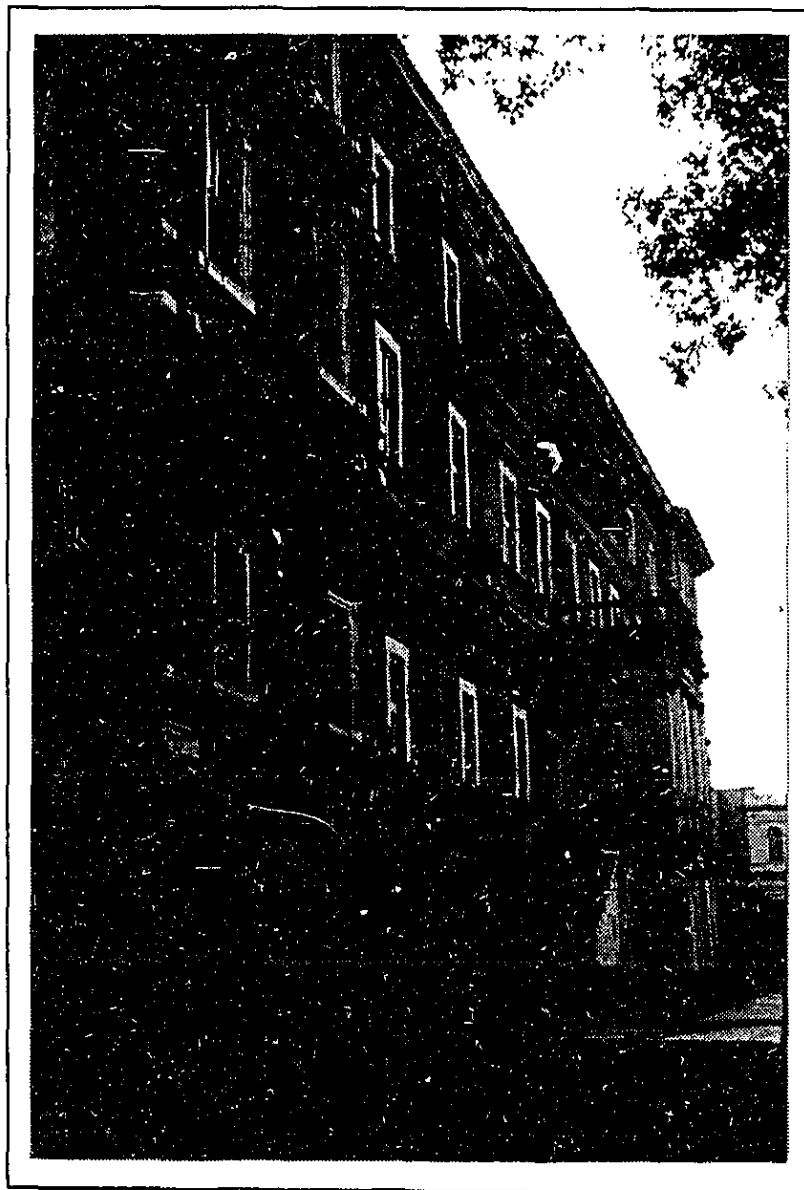
Oil on canvas

Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin



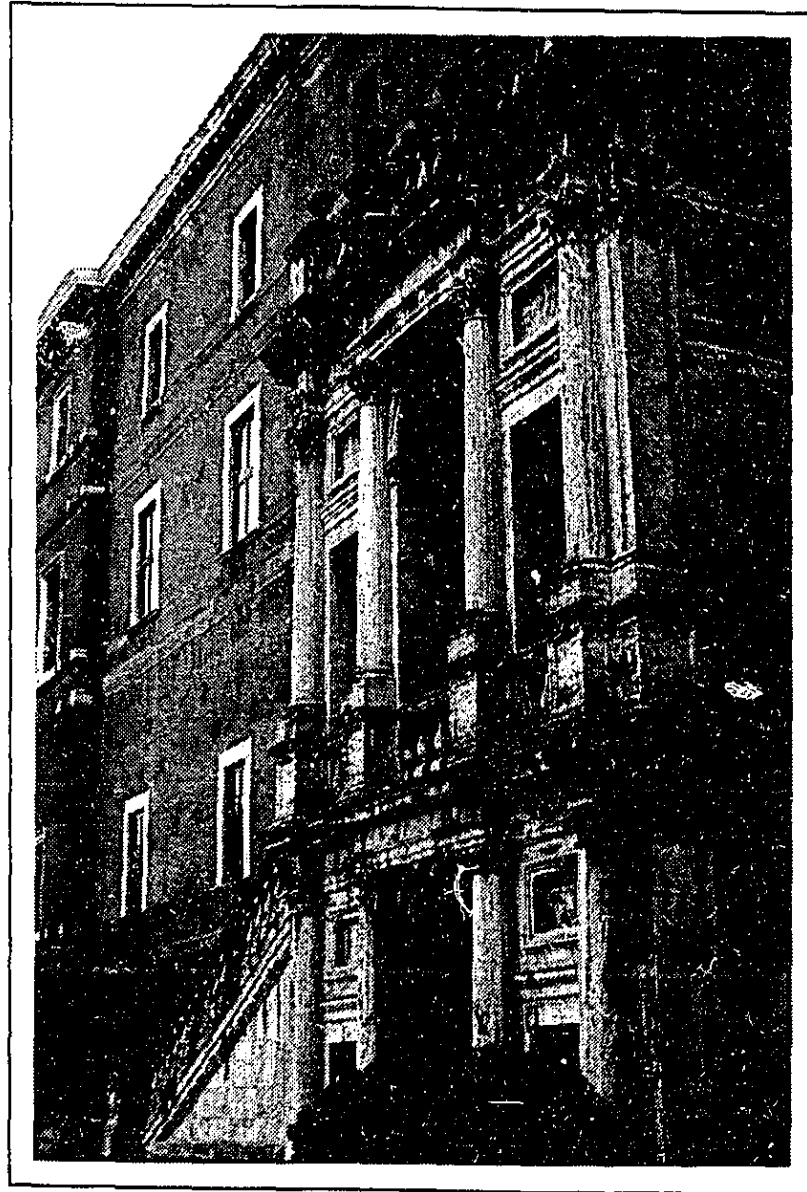
**Figure 6**

François Boucher  
*The Shepherd's Idyll*, 1768 (detail)  
Oil on canvas  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



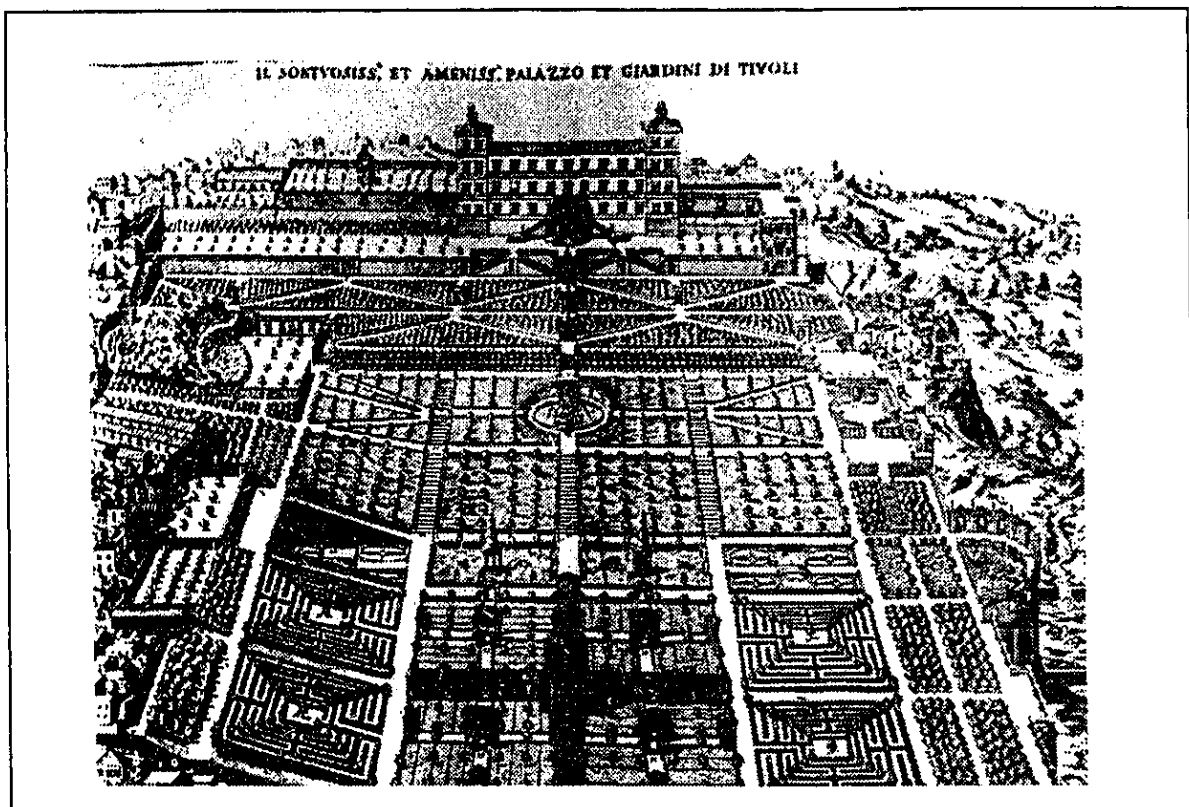
**Figure 7**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
Façade (south-west elevation)  
Photograph, 1991



**Figure 8**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
Entrance loggia (south-west elevation)  
Photograph, 1991



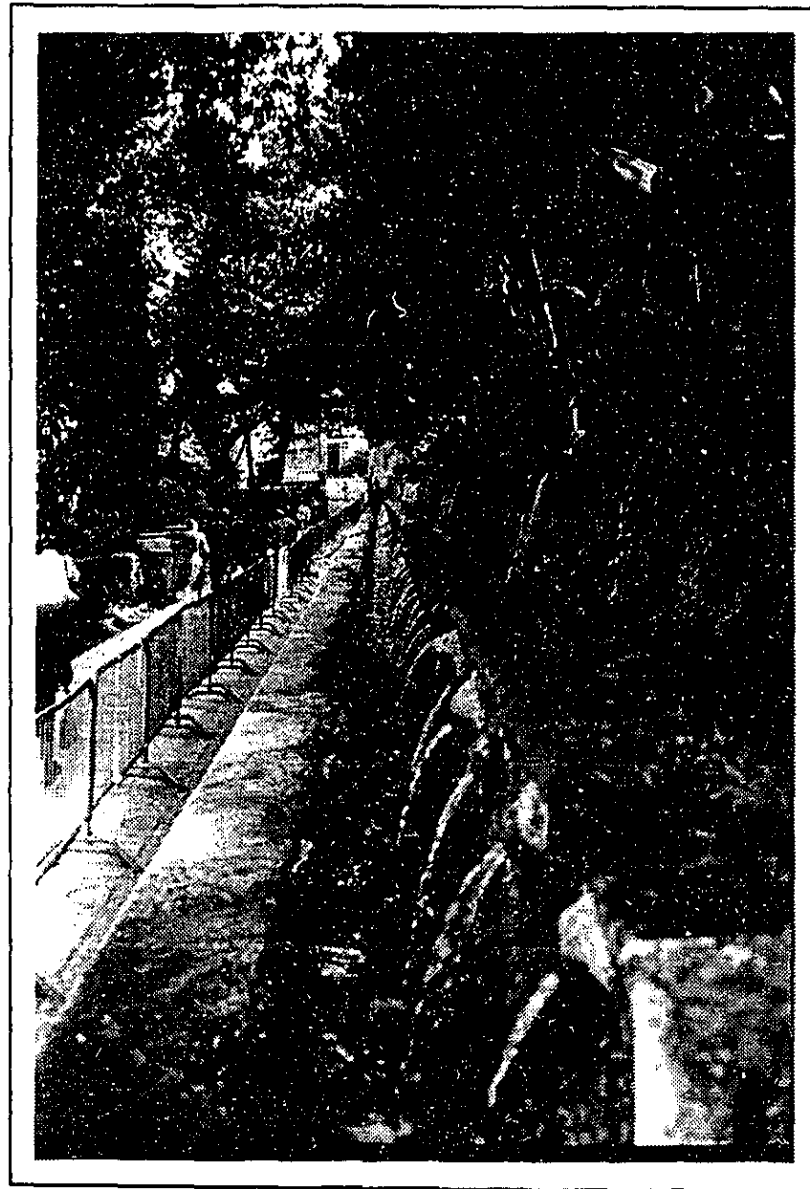
**Figure 9**

Etienne Dupérac  
*Villa d'Este, Tivoli, 1573*  
Engraving



**Figure 10**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
Garden entrance (lower gate near the Porto Romana)  
Photograph, 1991



**Figure 11**

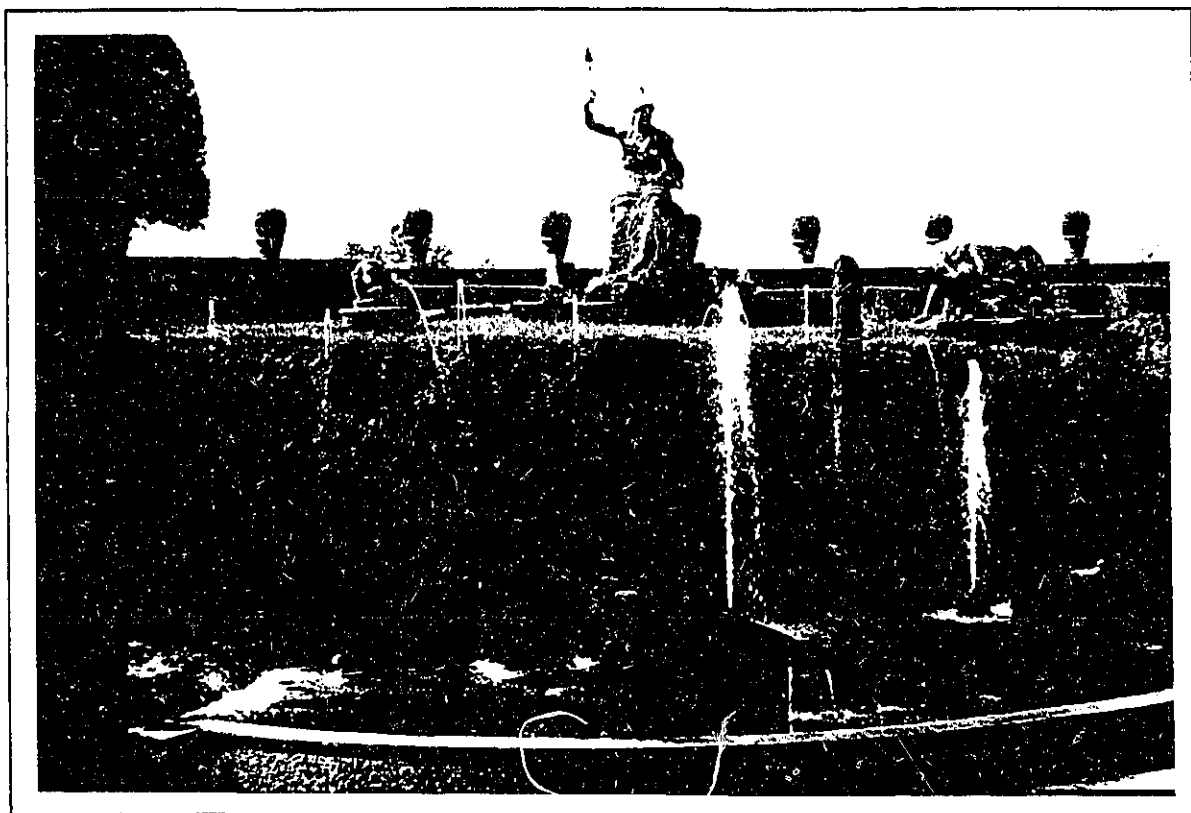
Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Alley of the Hundred Fountains*  
Photograph, 1991





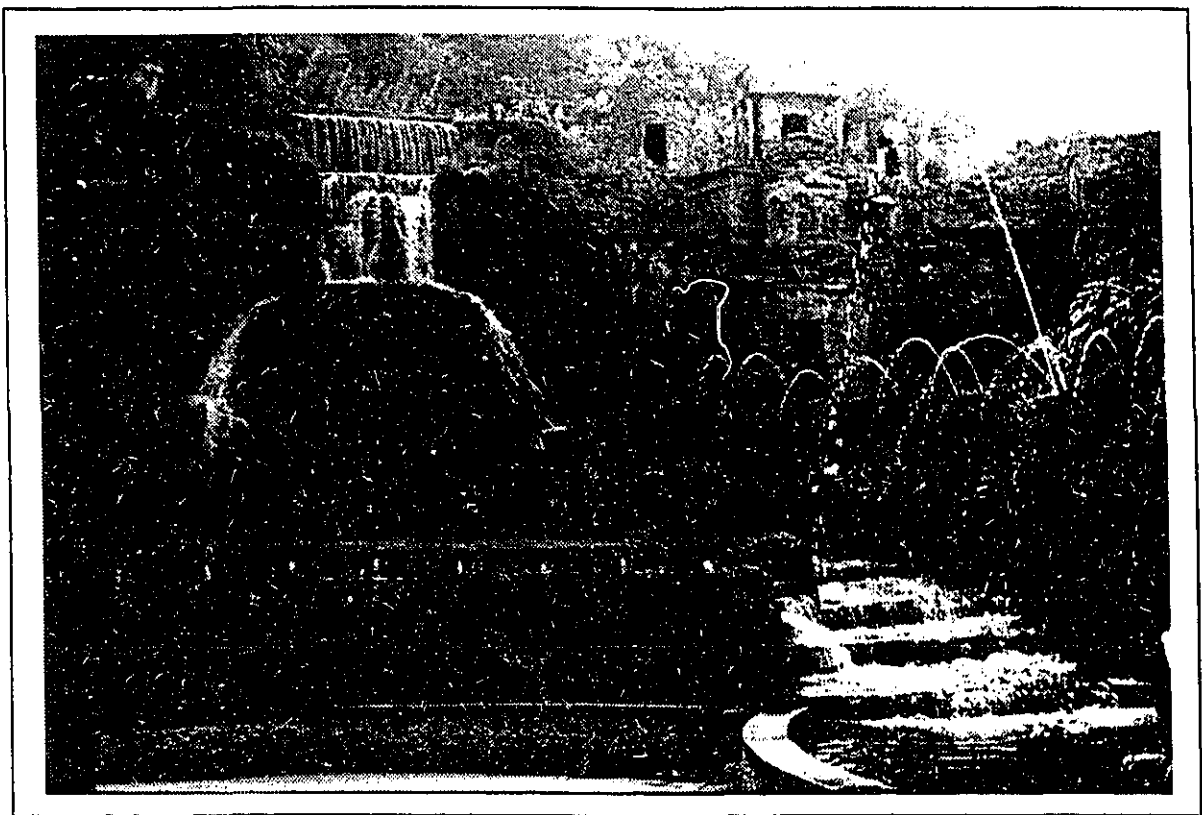
**Figure 12**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of the Organ (Water Organ)*  
Photograph, 1991



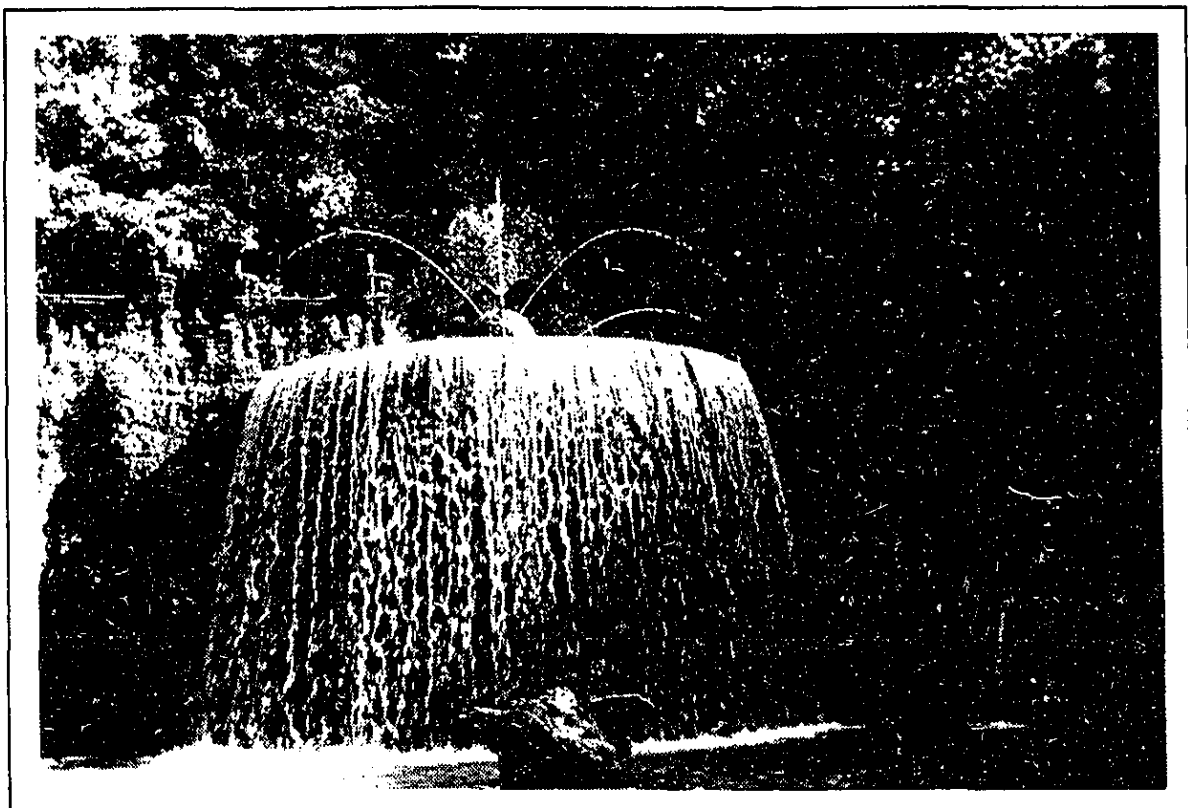
**Figure 13**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of Rome (Rometta)*  
(with boat and statue of *Roma*)  
Photograph, 1991



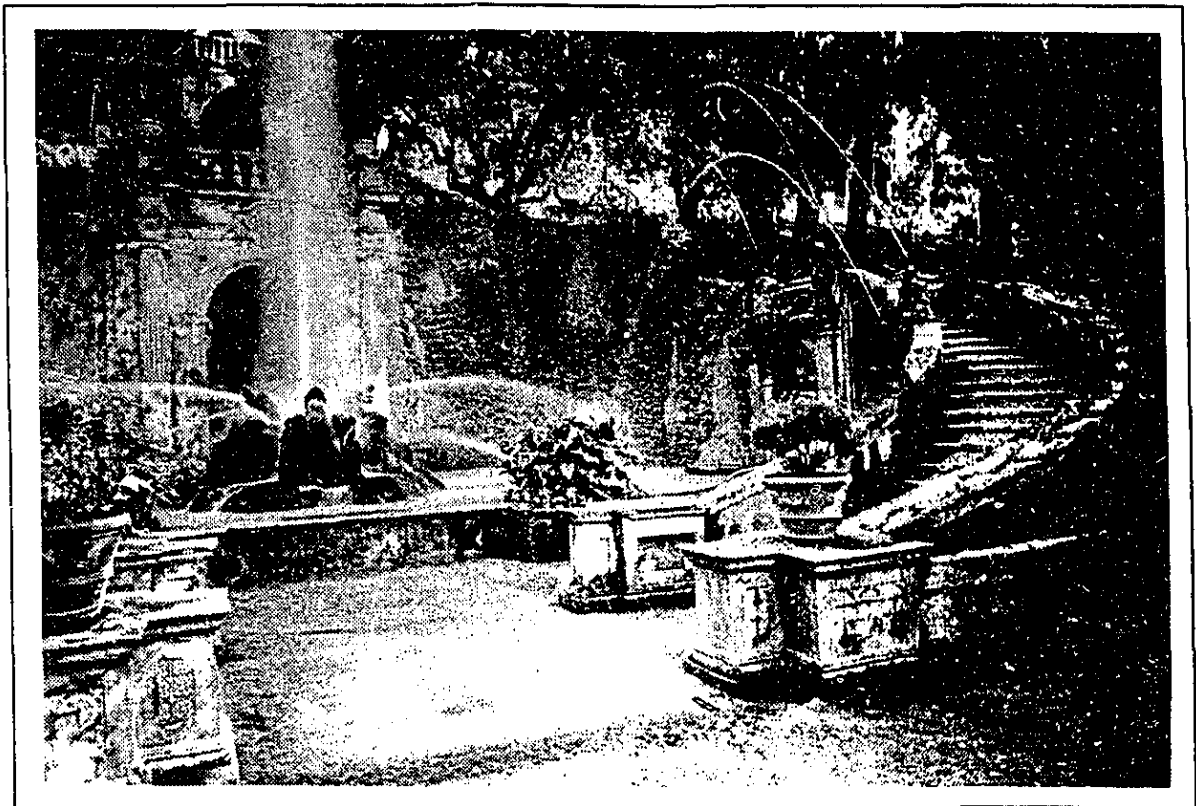
**Figure 14**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of Rome (Rometta)*  
(full view with the *Cascade*)  
Photograph, 1991



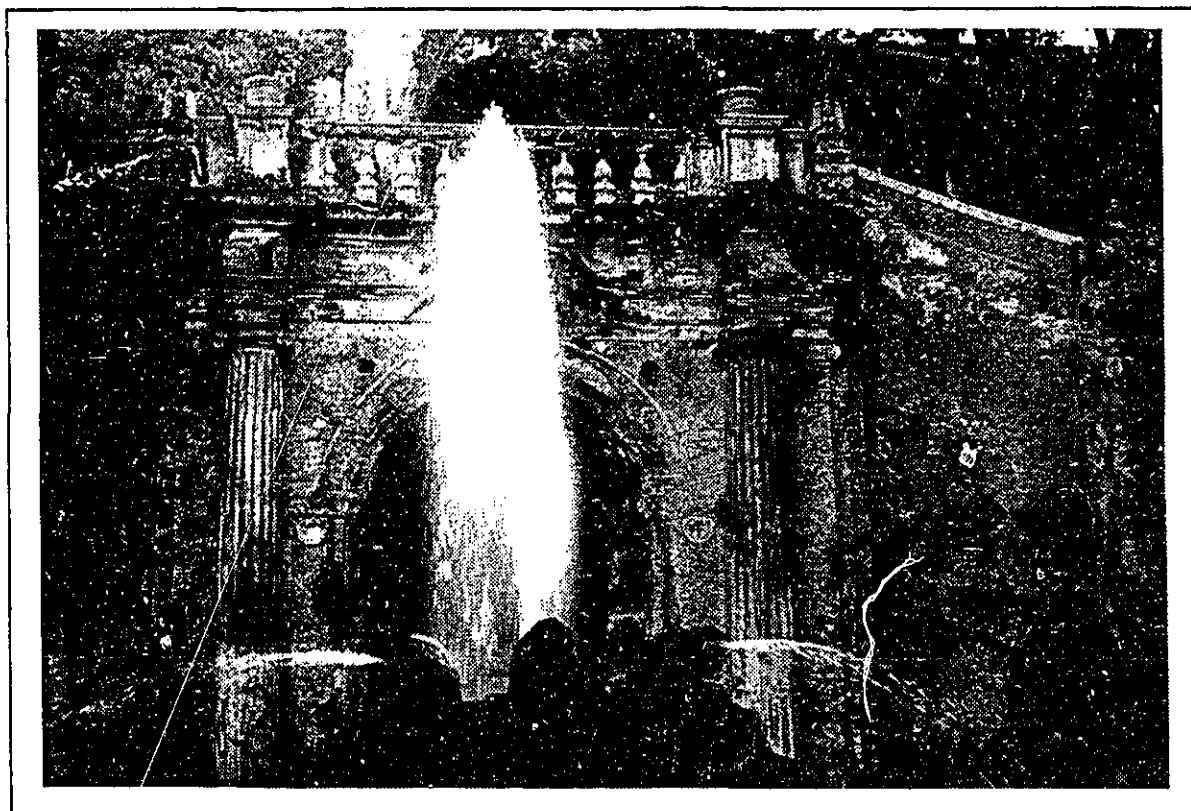
**Figure 15**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Oval Fountain*  
Photograph, 1991



**Figure 16**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of the Dragon*  
Photograph, c. 1960



**Figure 17**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of the Dragon*  
Photograph, 1991

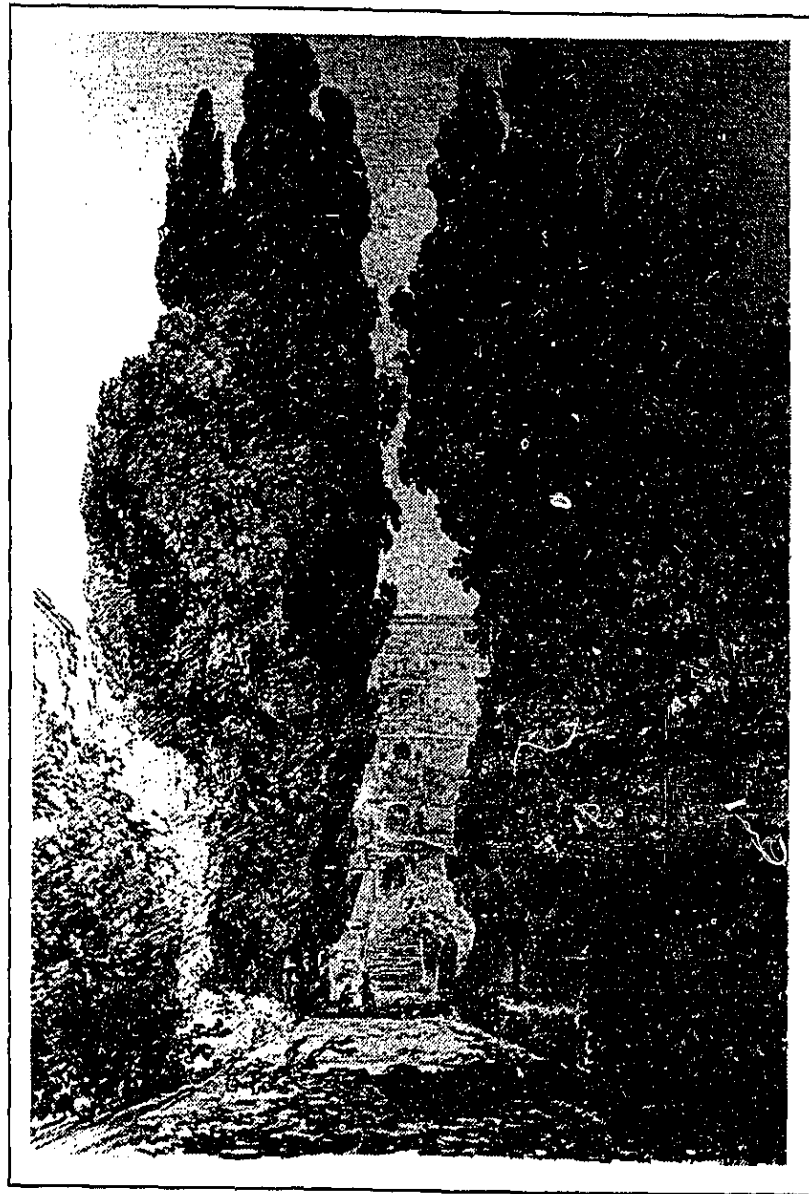


Figure 18

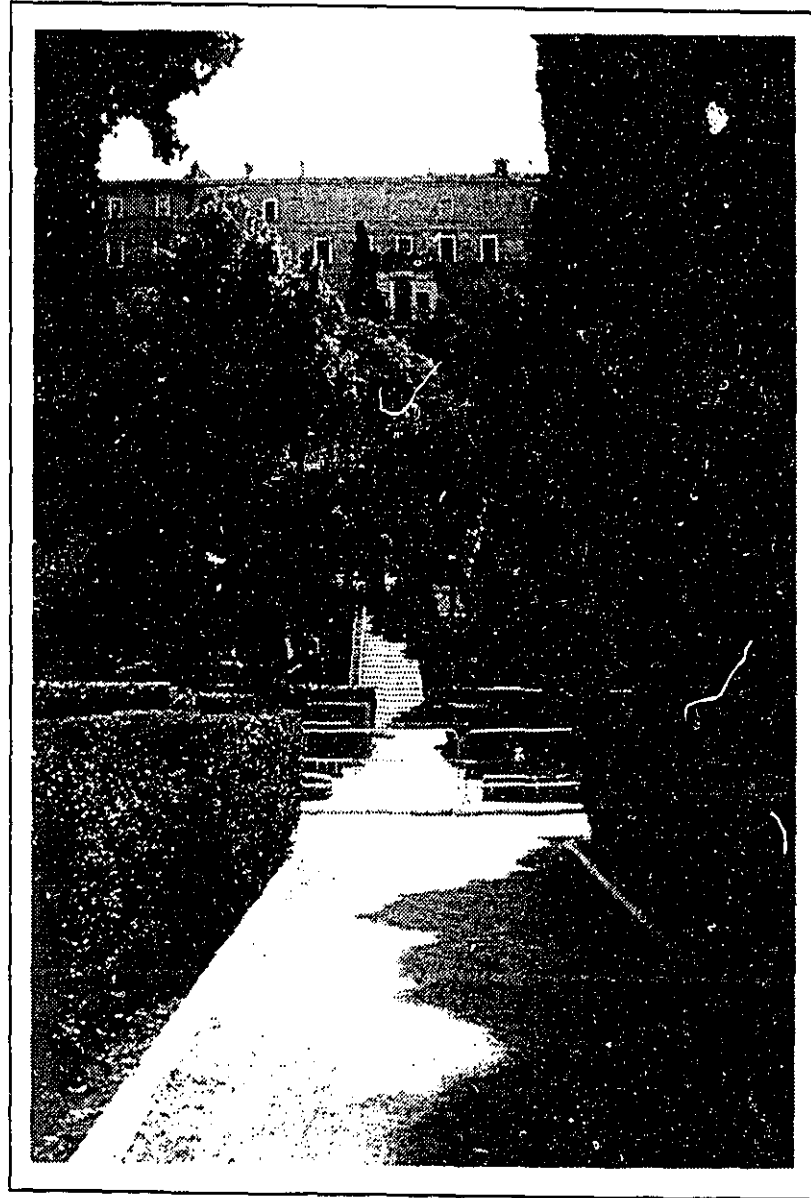
Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Avenue of the Cypress Trees at the Villa d'Este*, c. 1760  
Red and black chalk on paper  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon



**Figure 19**

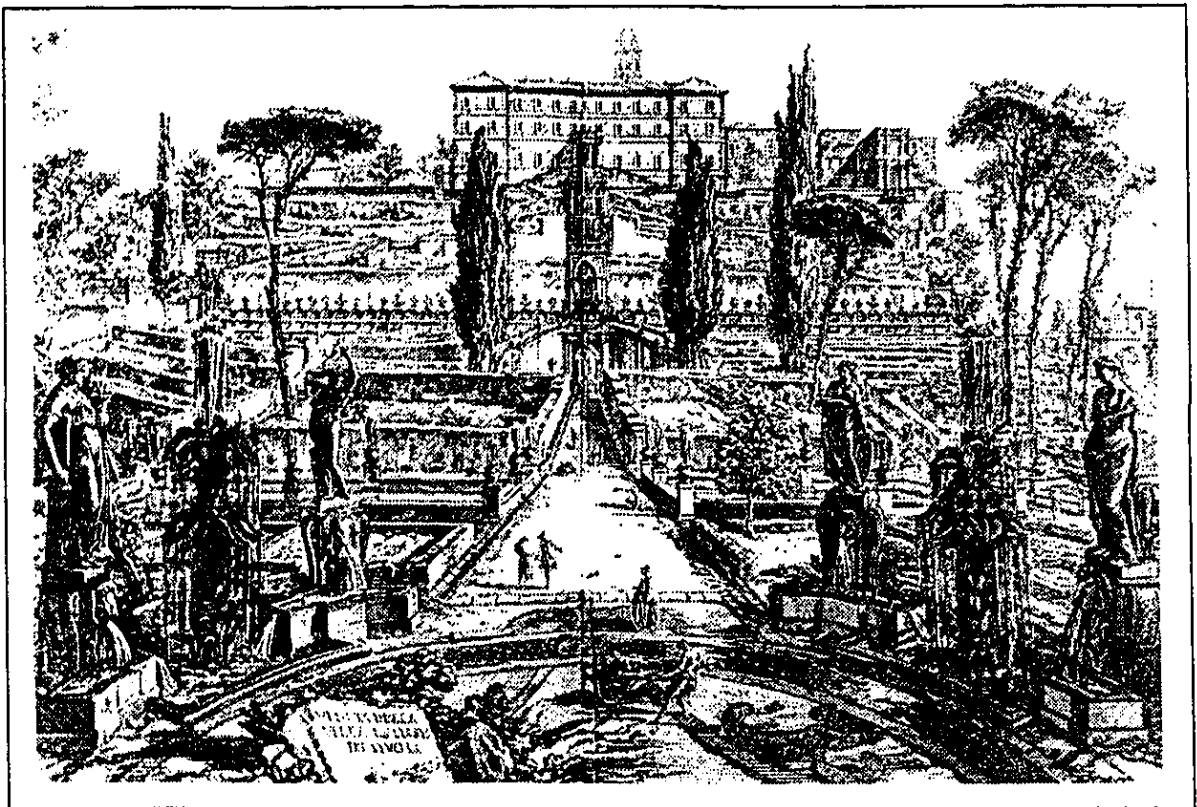
Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Avenue of the Cypress Trees*  
(with the Cypress Circle)  
Photograph, c. 1960





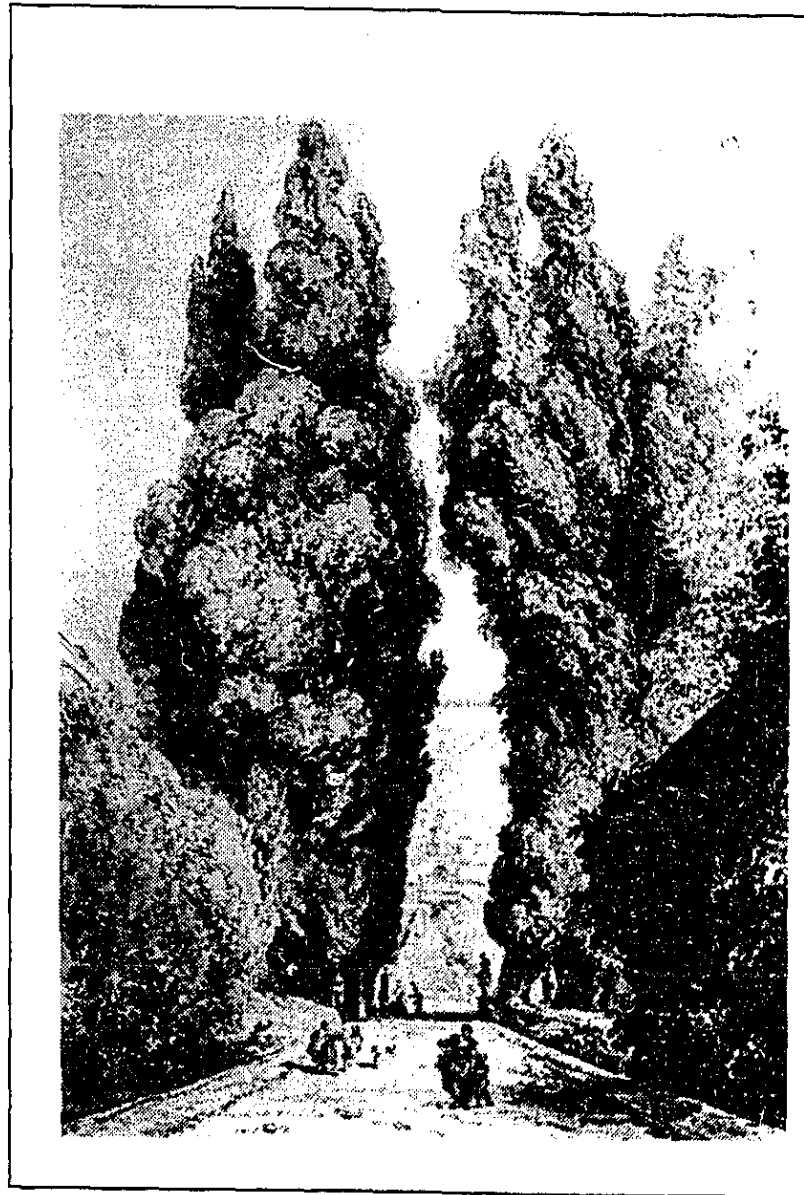
**Figure 20**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Avenue of the Cypress Trees*  
(with the Cypress Circle)  
Photograph, 1991



**Figure 21**

Giovanni Battisti Piranesi  
*The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*, c. 1766-75  
Etching from *Vedute di Roma*  
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal



**Figure 22**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*The Avenue of the Cypress Trees at the Villa d'Este*

c. 1765-74

Bister wash with black chalk on paper

Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna



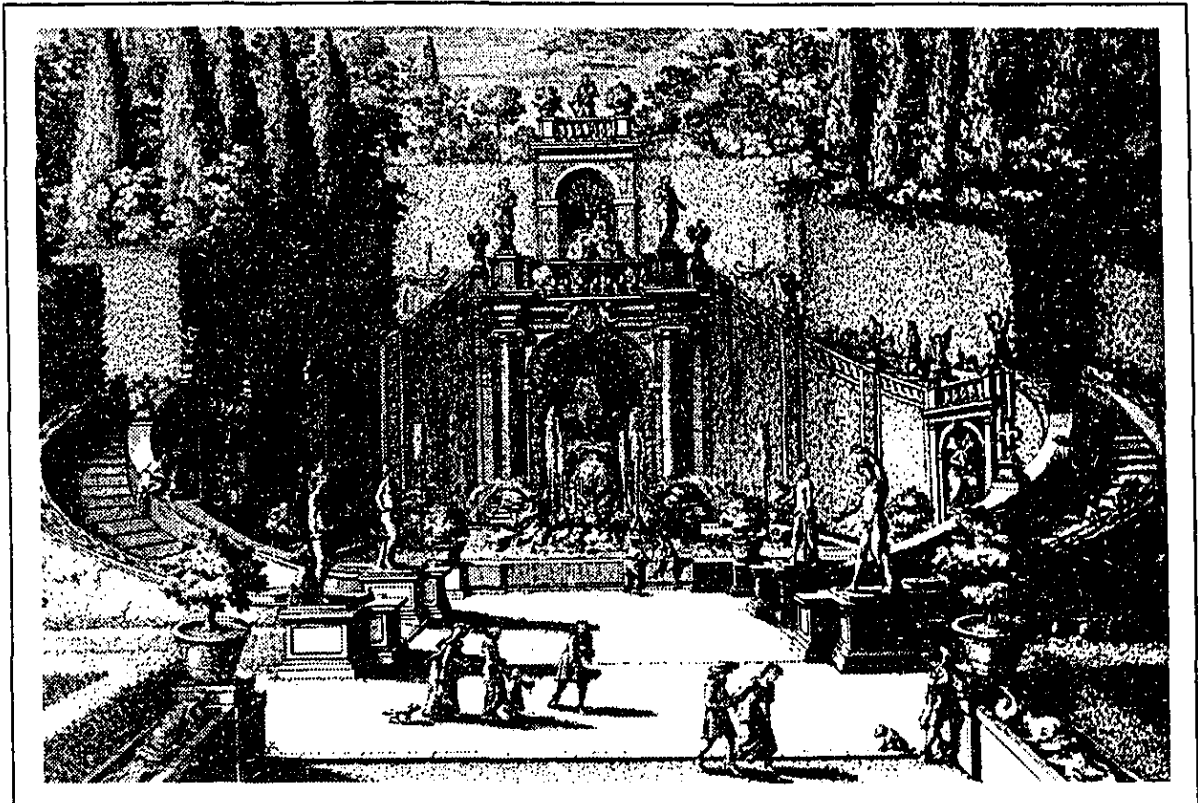
**Figure 23**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*Villa d'Este: L'Escalier de la Gerbe (Fountain of the Dragon)*, c. 1760

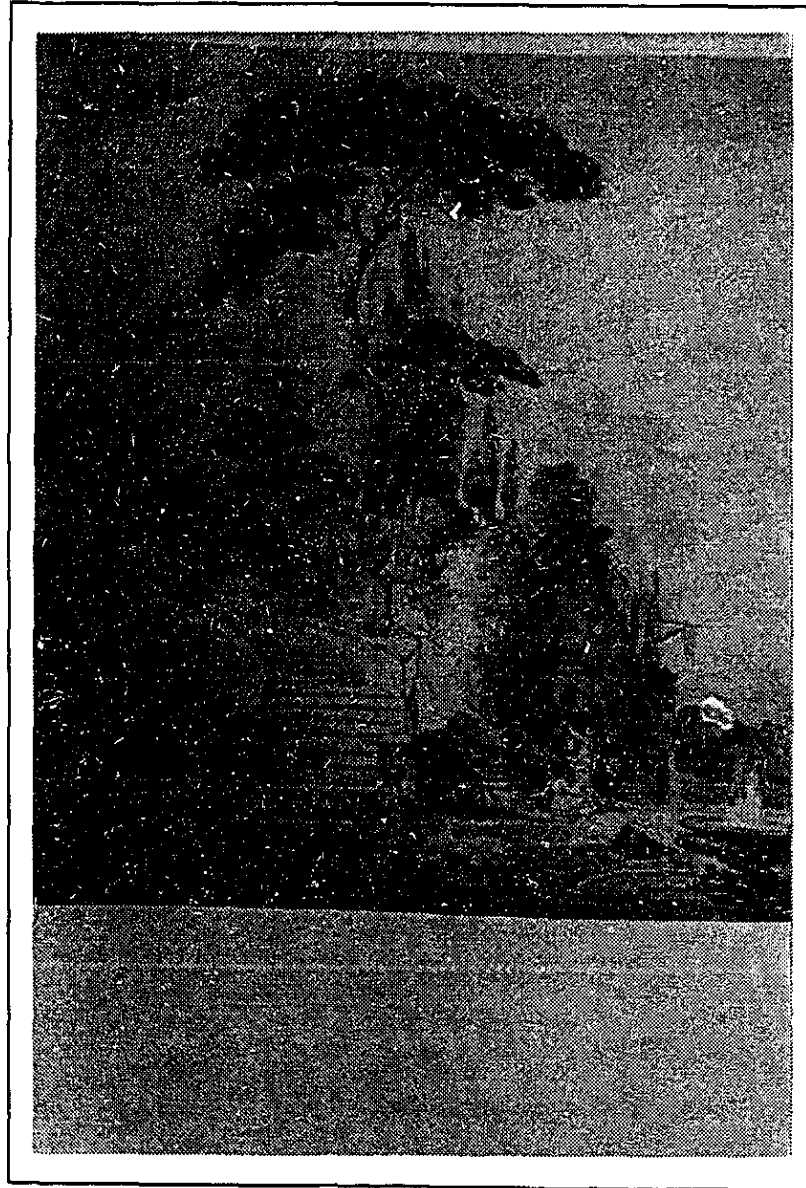
Red chalk on paper

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon



**Figure 24**

Giovanni Francesco Venturini  
*Fountain of the Dragon, Villa d'Este, 1685*  
Engraving



**Figure 25**

**Hubert Robert**

*The Oval Staircase at the Villa d'Este, c. 1760*

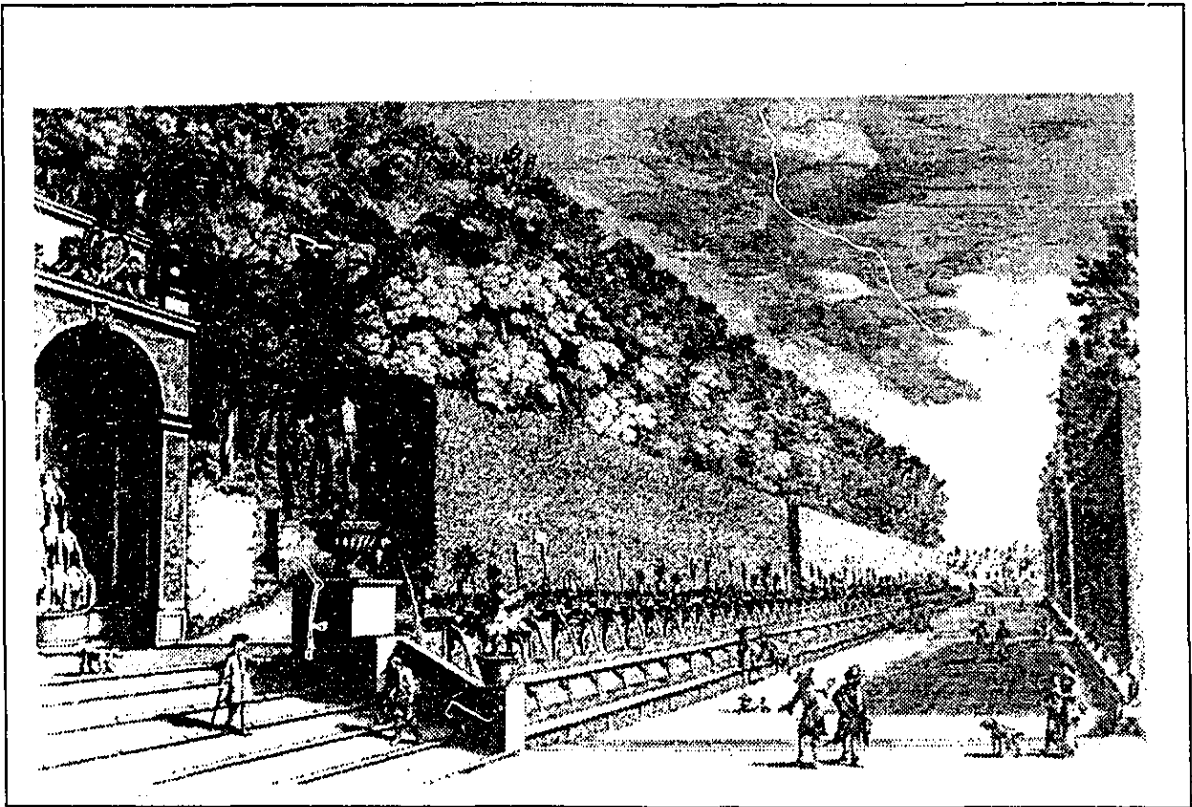
Watercolour with brown wash and chalk on paper

Private Collection



**Figure 26**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Fountain of Pomona and the Avenue  
of the Hundred Fountains at the Villa d'Este, c. 1760*  
Red chalk on paper  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon



**Figure 27**

Giovanni Francesco Venturini  
*The Avenue of the Hundred Fountains, Villa d'Este, 1685*  
Engraving



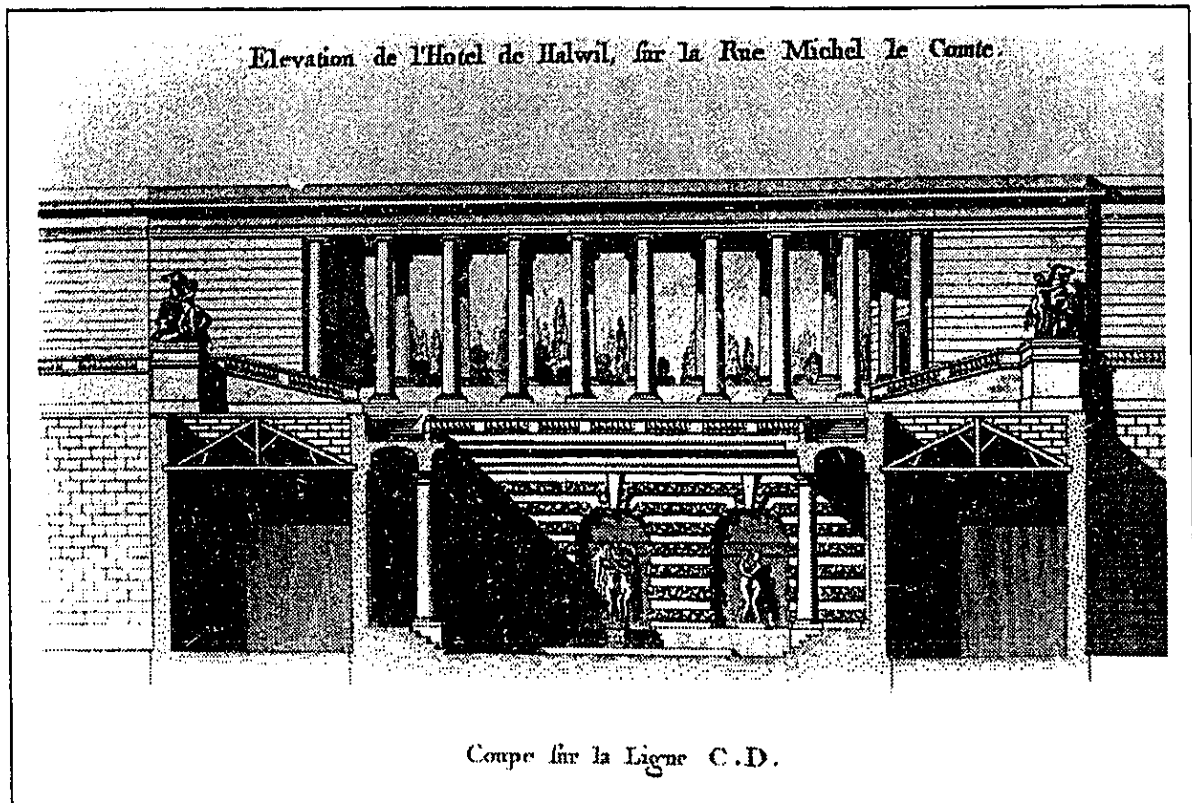


**Figure 28**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli

Diagonal path above the *Alley of the Hundred Fountains*

Photograph, 1991



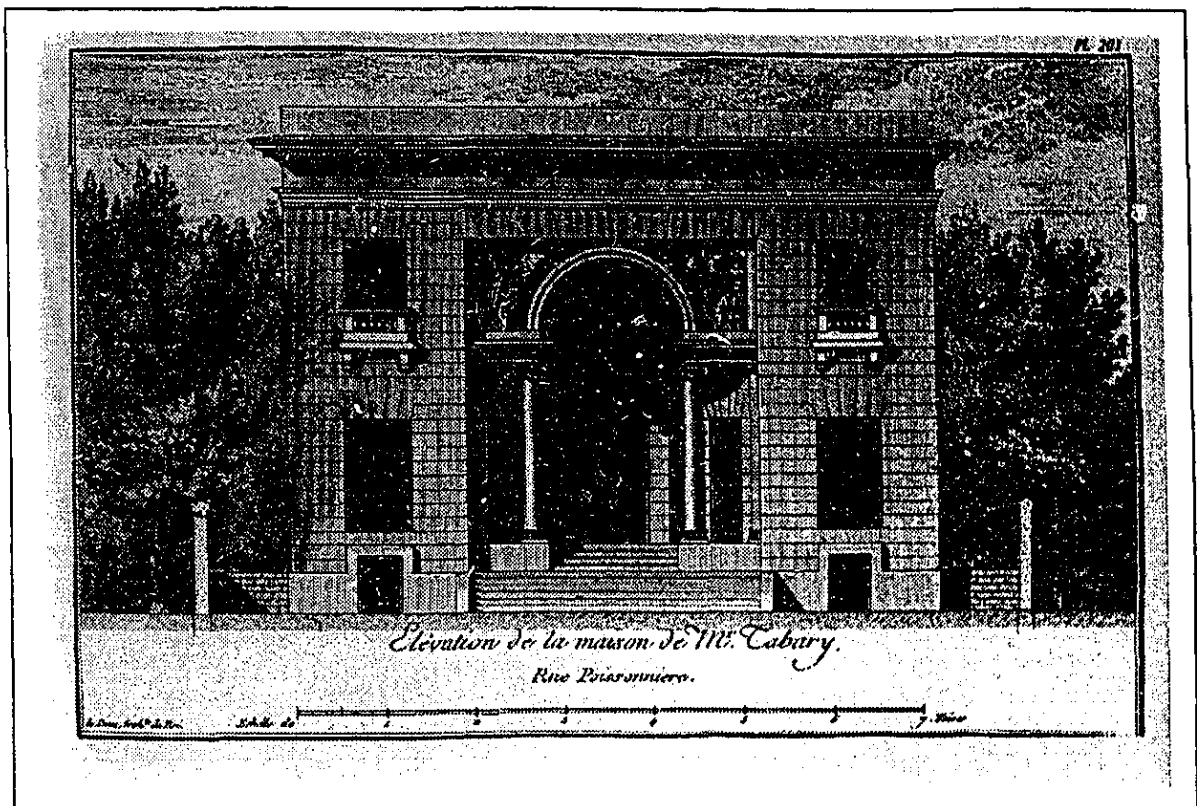
**Figure 29**

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux

*Hôtel d'Hallwyl*, Paris, 1766

Elevation of rear courtyard with trompe l'oeil

Engraving published in Ramée, *L'Architecture de C. N. Ledoux*



**Figure 30**

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux

*Maison de M. Tabary, Paris, 1771*

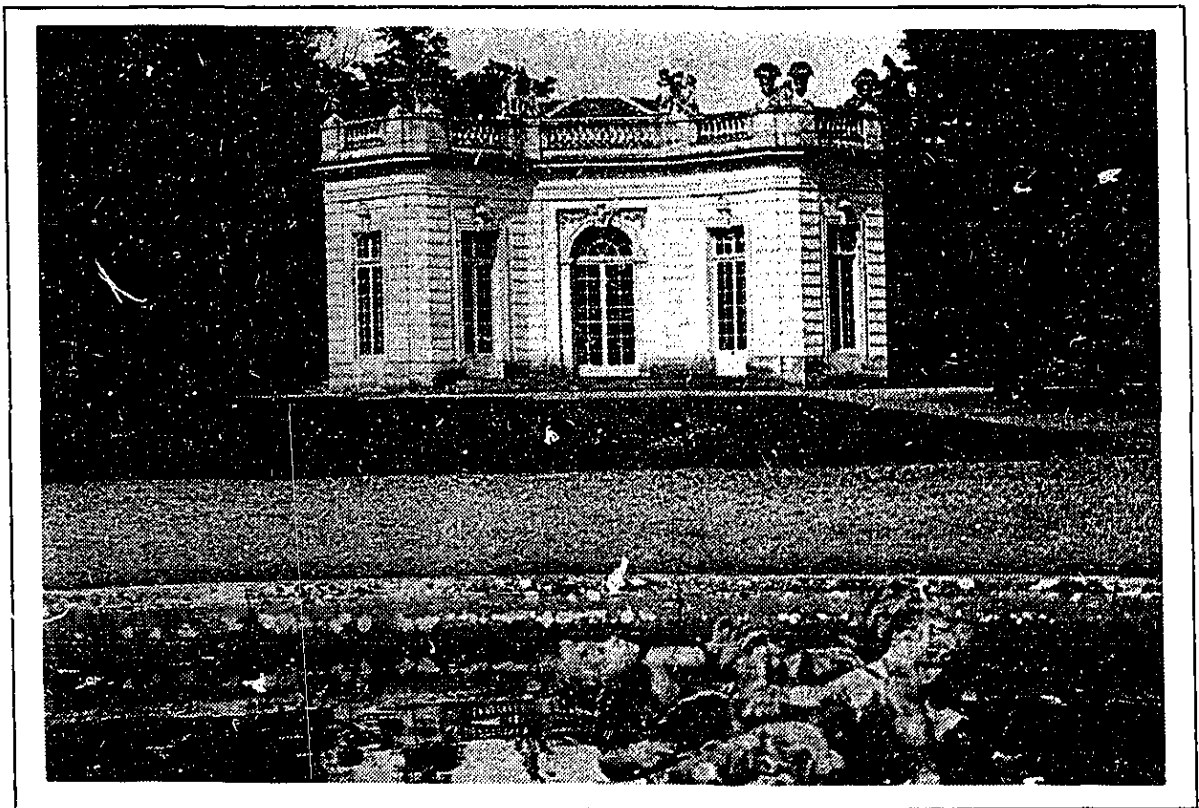
Elevation of façade

Engraving published in Ramée, *L'Architecture de C. N. Ledoux*



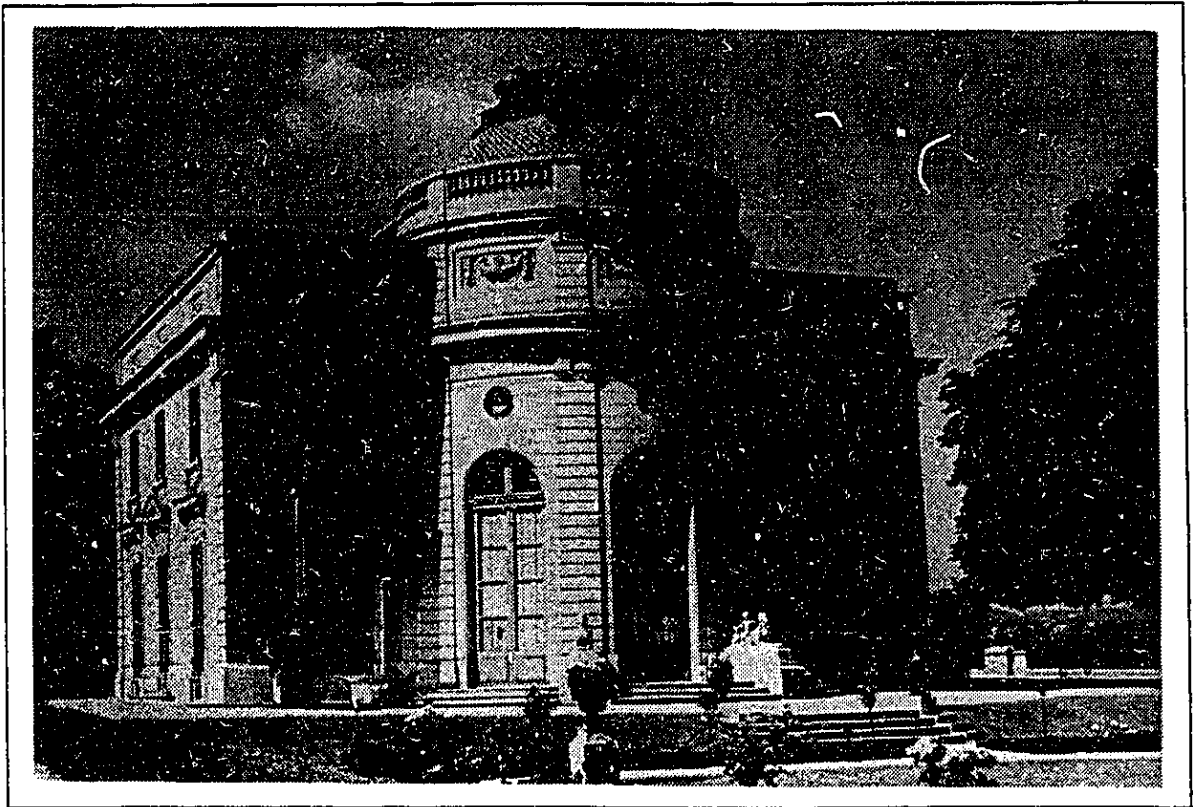
**Figure 31**

Anges-Jacques Gabriel  
*Petit Trianon*, Versailles, 1762-68  
Garden façade  
Photograph, 1992



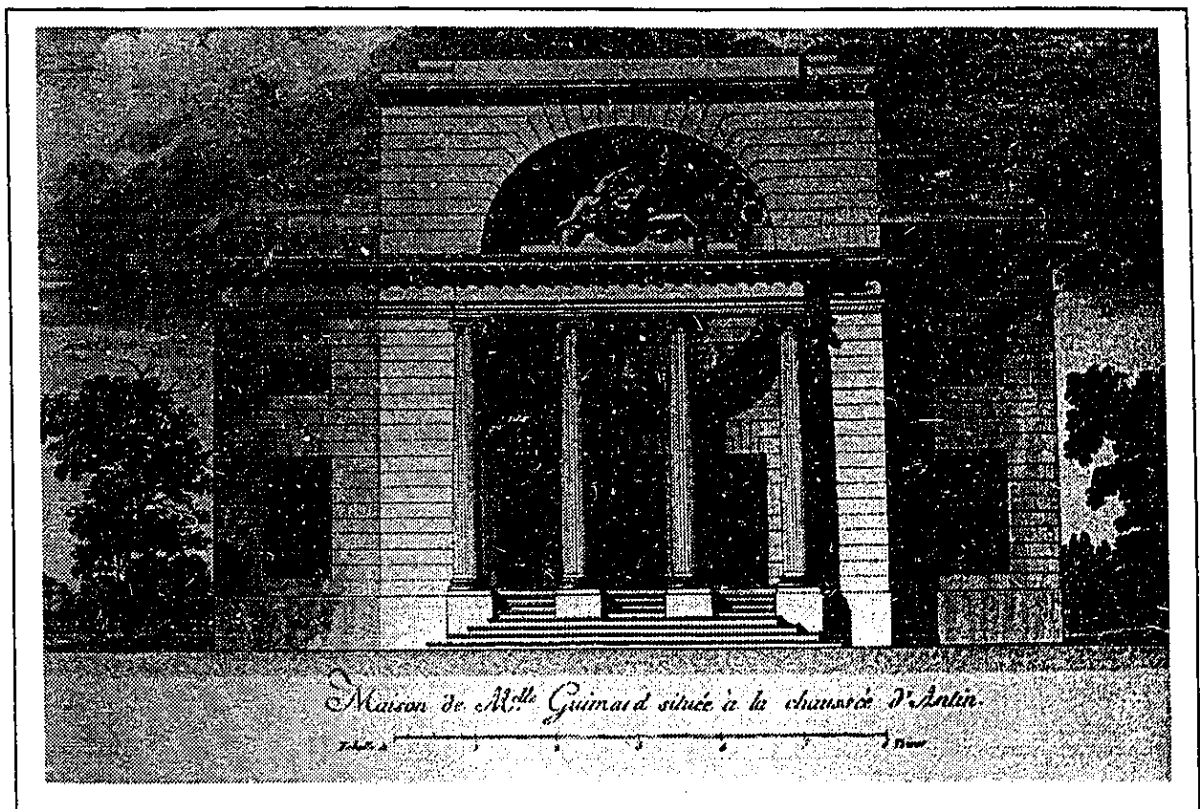
**Figure 32**

Anges-Jacques Gabriel  
*Pavillon Français*, Versailles, 1749  
Garden façade  
Photograph, 1992



**Figure 33**

François-Joseph Belanger  
*Bagatelle*, Paris, 1777  
Garden façade  
Photograph, c. 1962



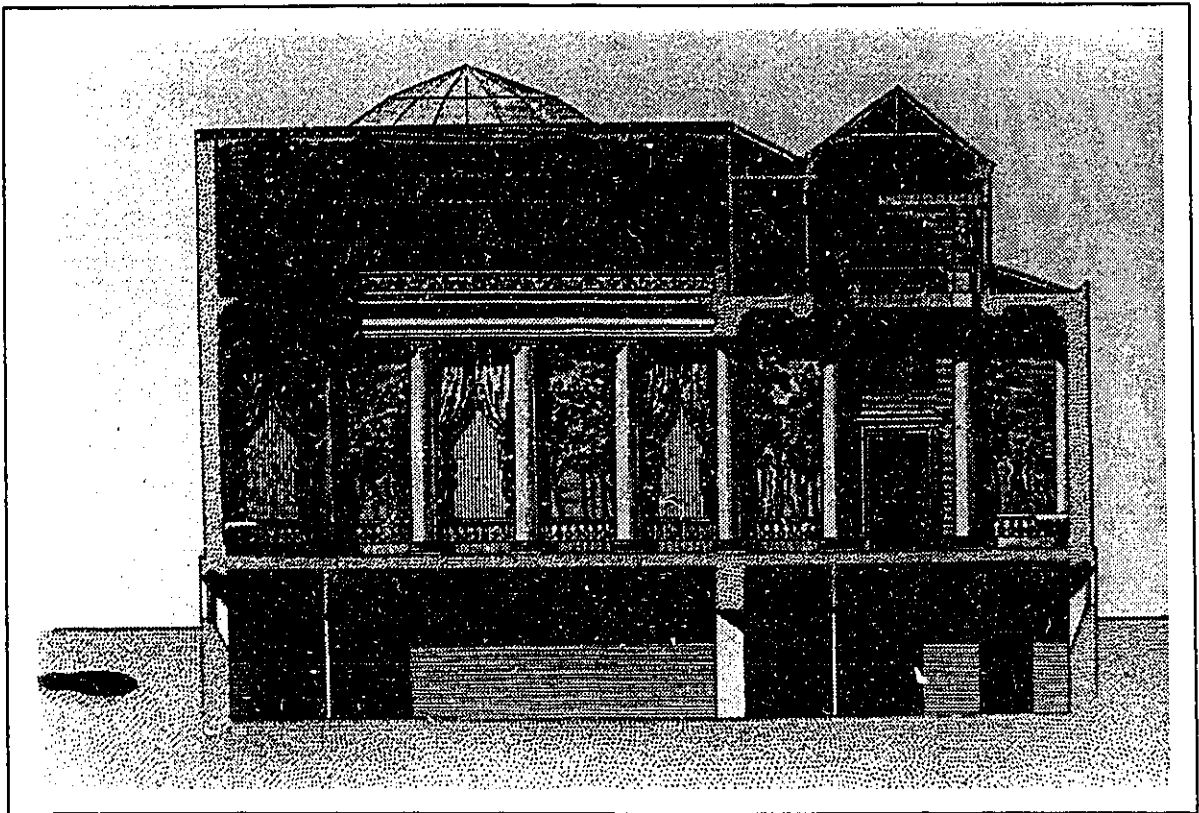
**Figure 34**

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux

*Maison de Mlle Guimard, Paris, 1770*

Front elevation

Engraving published in Ramée, *L'Architecture de C. N. Ledoux*



**Figure 35**

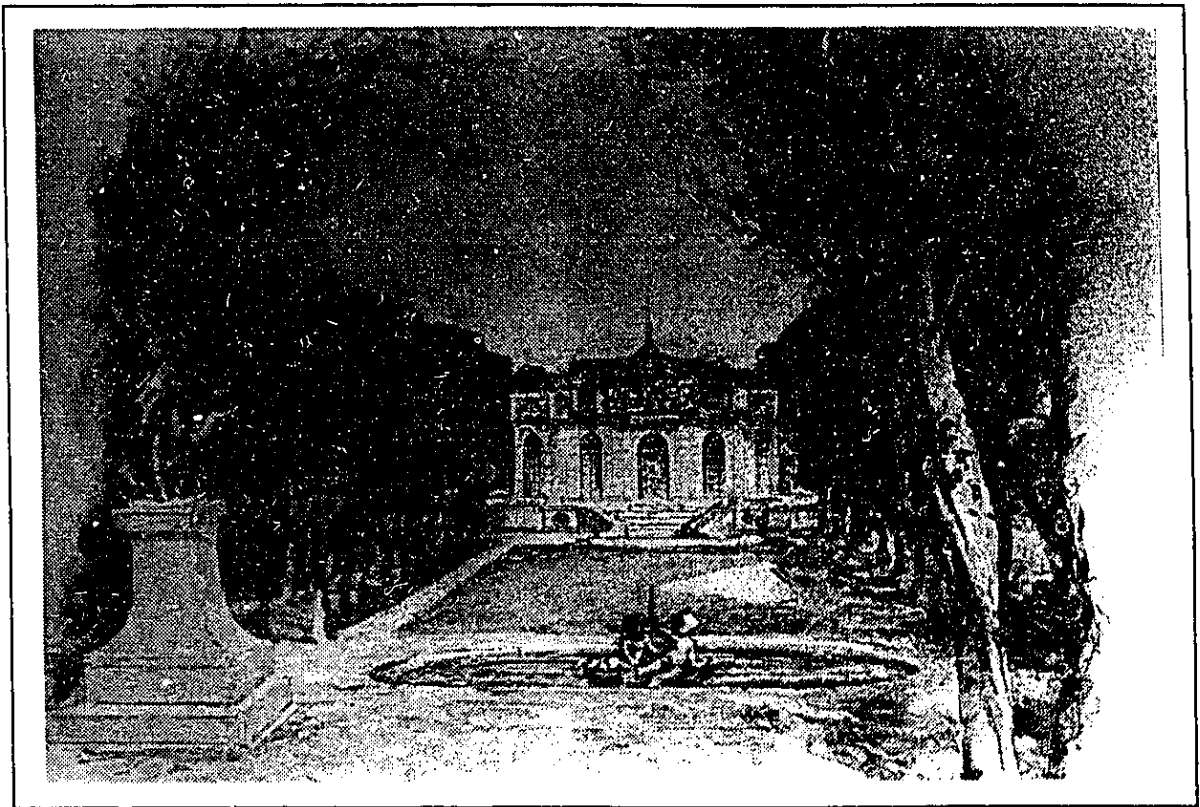
Claude-Nicolas Ledoux

*Maison de Mlle Guimard*, Paris, 1770

Section through second ante-chamber and dining room

Engraving published in Ramée, *L'Architecture de C. N. Ledoux*





**Figure 36**

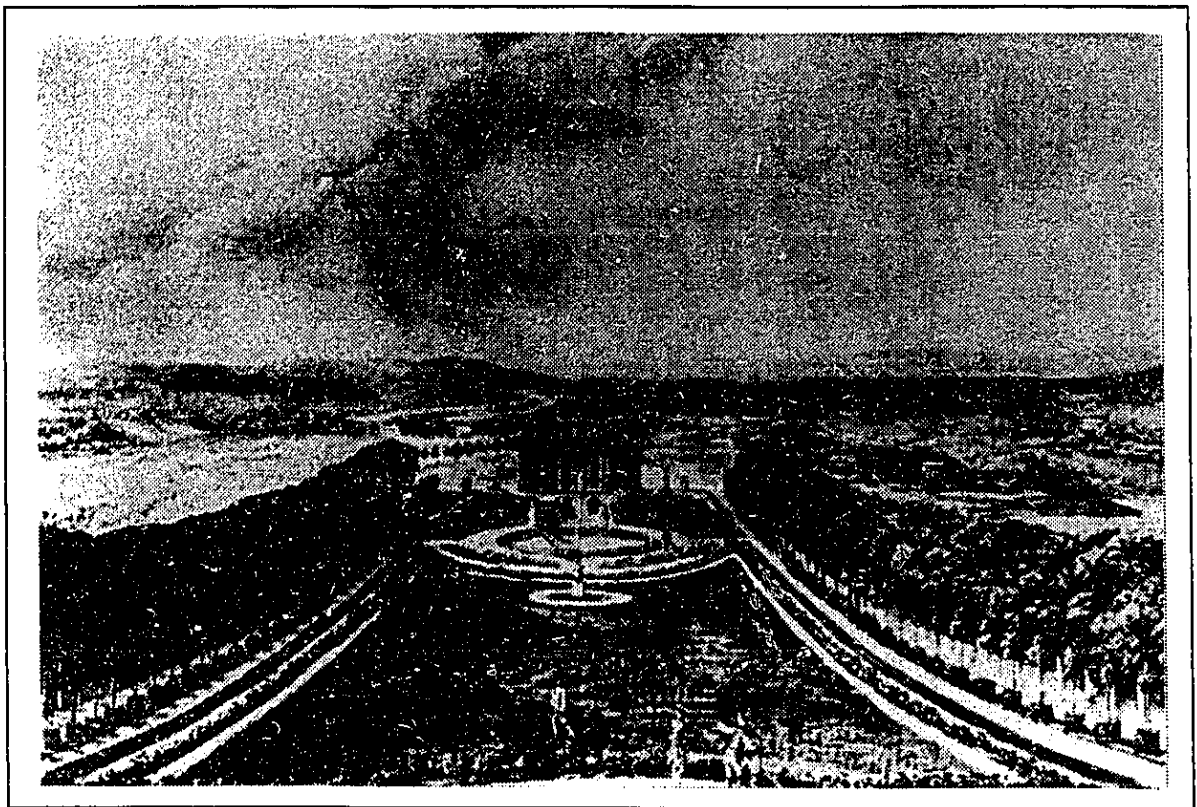
M. Adolphe Lalauze

Illustration for Bastide's *La petite maison*, 1905

*Pavillon and garden*

Watercolour

The Spencer Collection, New York Public Library



**Figure 37**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes* (artist unknown)

*Pavillon and garden*, c. 1800

Drawing

Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna



**Figure 38**

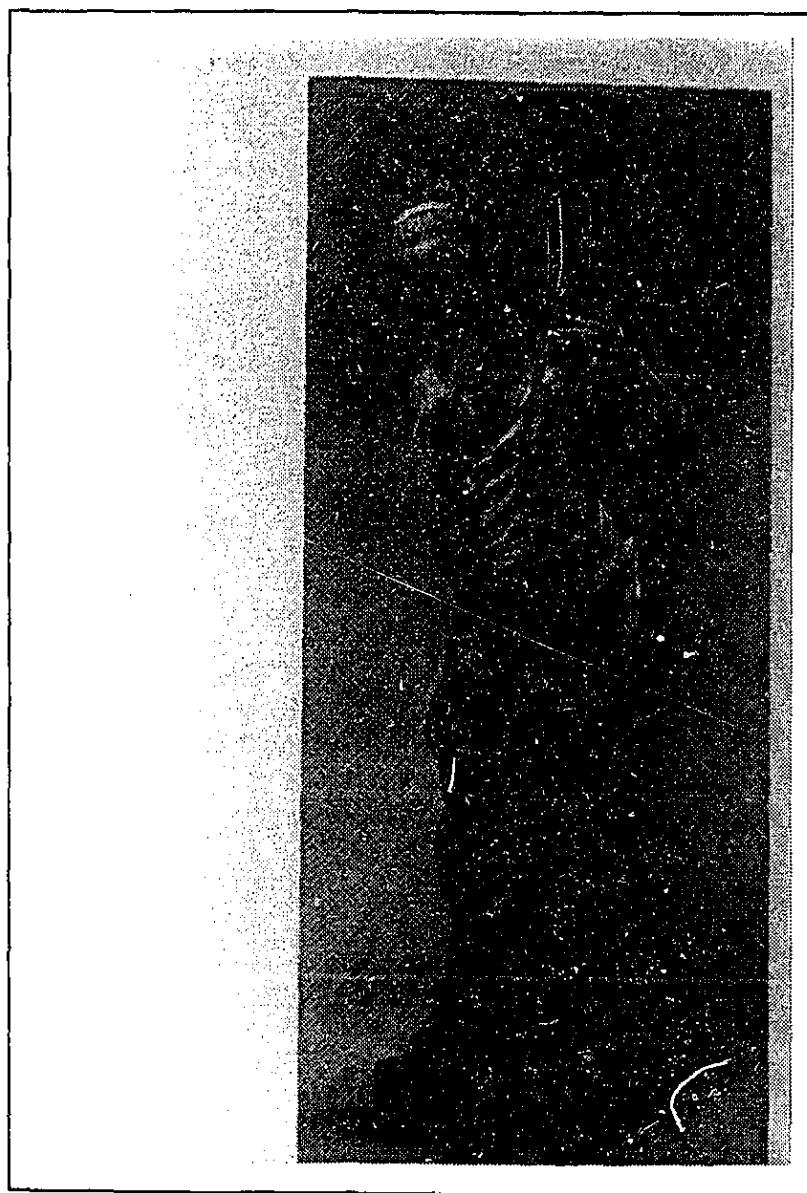
M. Adolphe Lalauze

Illustration for Bastide's *La petite maison*, 1905

*Lovers in the salon ovale*

Watercolour

The Spencer Collection, New York Public Library



**Figure 39**

*Torchère*

Plaster

France, 1775

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

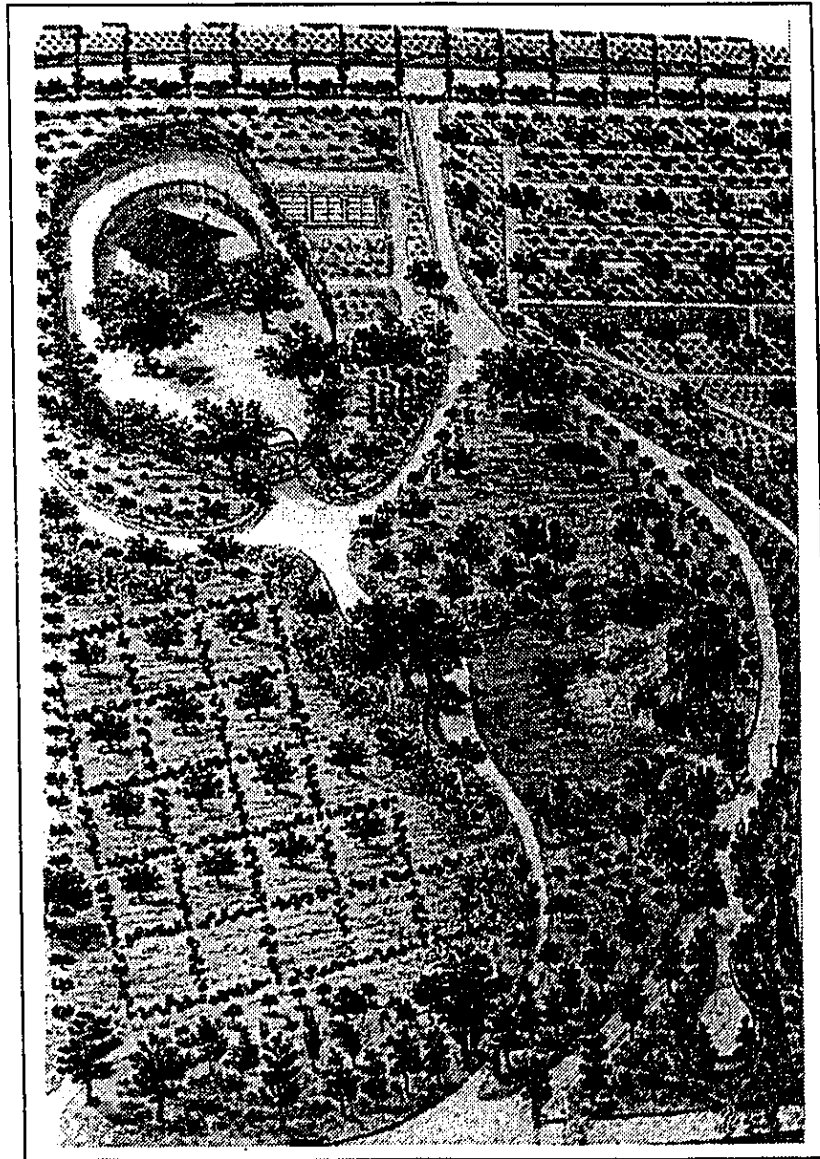
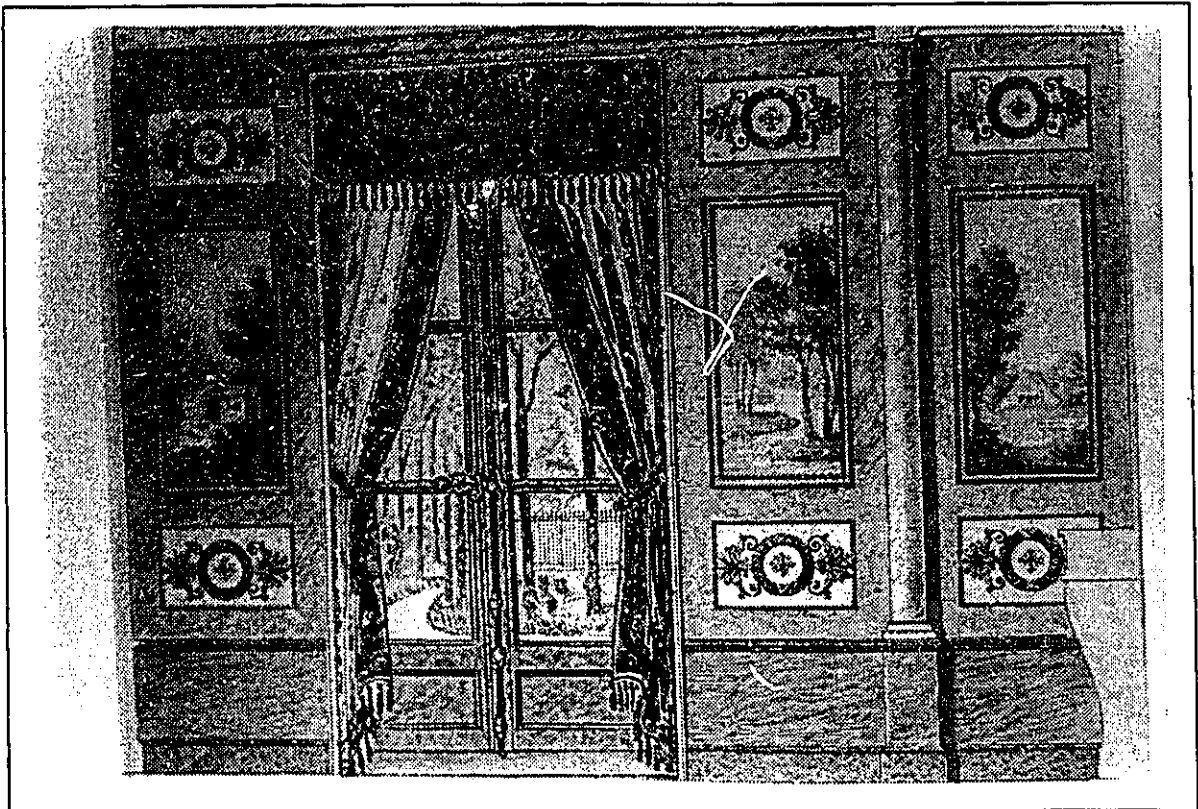


Figure 40

Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart  
*Projet d'un jardin fruitier, potager et d'agrément pour  
une cour des Invalides, à Paris, 1784*  
Watercolour, with pen and ink  
Inventaire Brongniart



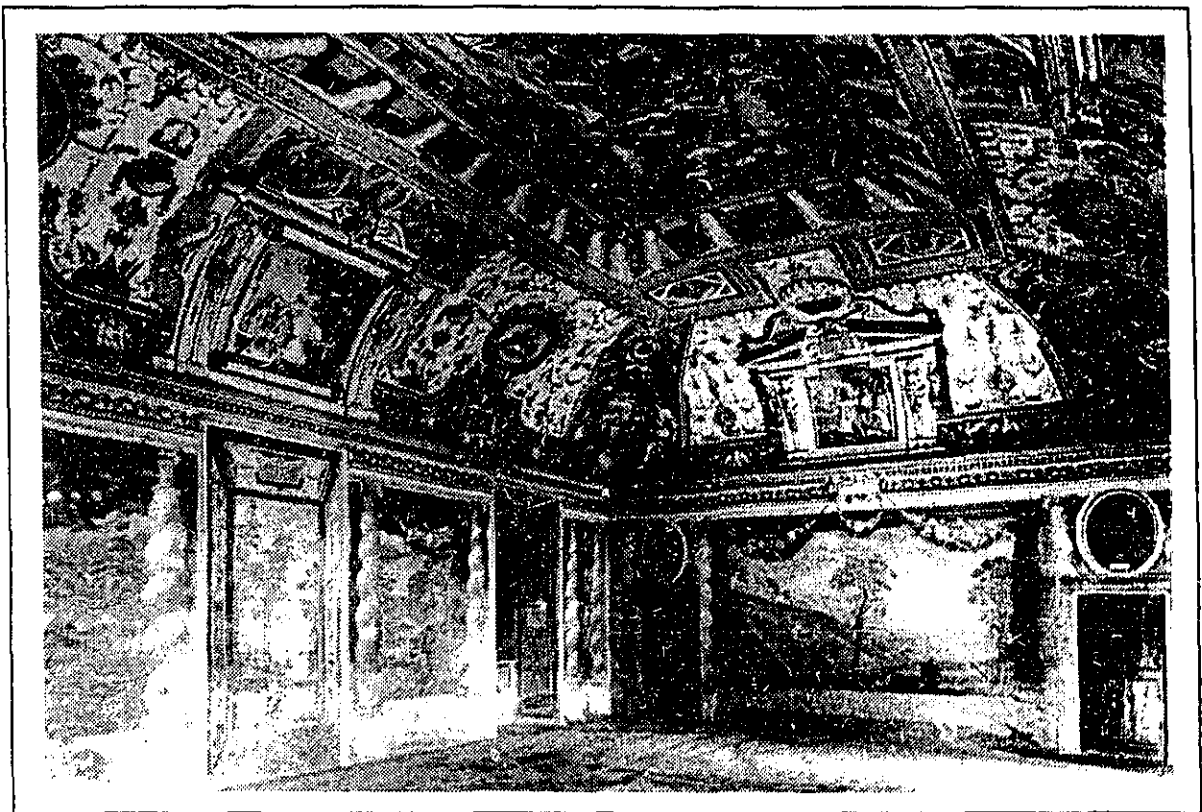
**Figure 41**

Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart

*Plusieurs vues du parc de Maupertuis pour être exécutées dans  
l'hôtel de son S. Excellence M. le Comte de Montesquiou, c. 1780*

Watercolour, with pen and ink

Musée Carnavalet, Paris



**Figure 42**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Salotto (Room of the Fountain of Tivoli)*  
Photograph, c. 1960



**Figure 43**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Salotto* (with detail of *Villa d'Este* fresco)  
Photograph, c. 1960





**Figure 44**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Room of Hercules* (detail)  
Photograph, c. 1960

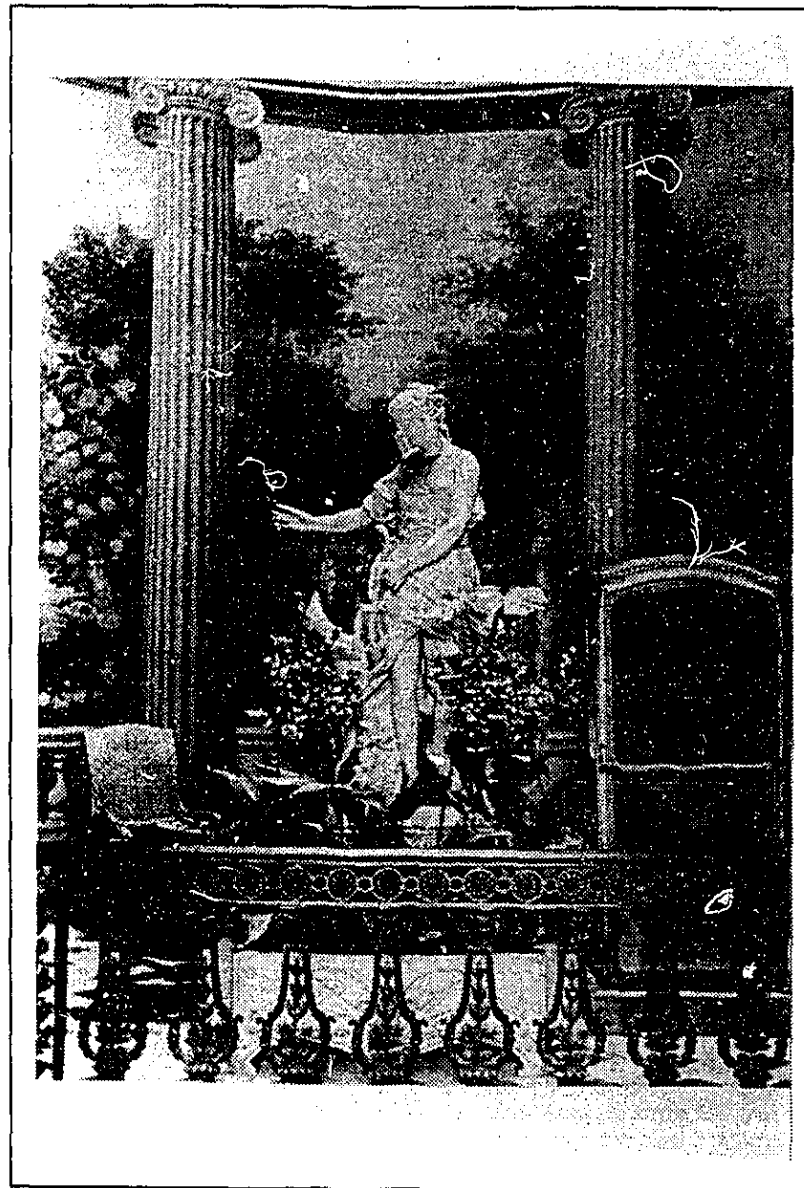


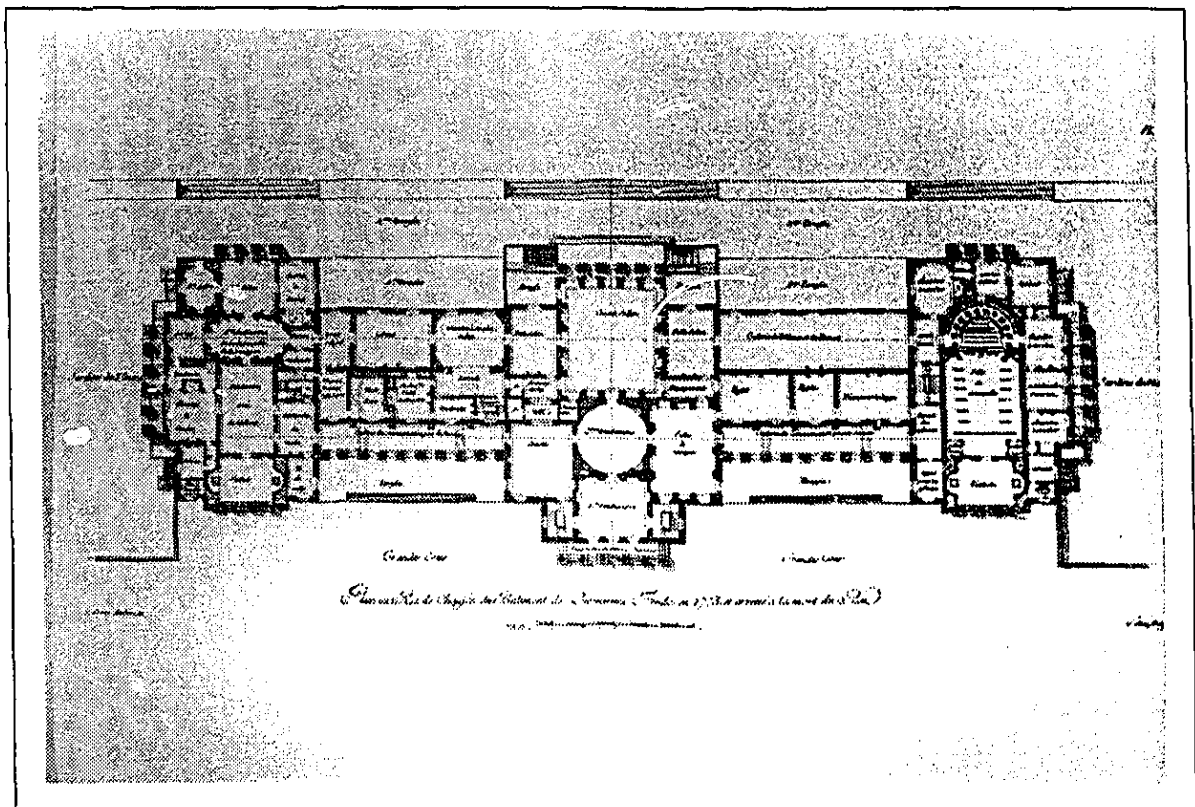
Figure 45

Jean-François Chalgrin

*Pavillon de Musique de Madame*, Versailles, 1784

Central salon

Photograph, c. 1972



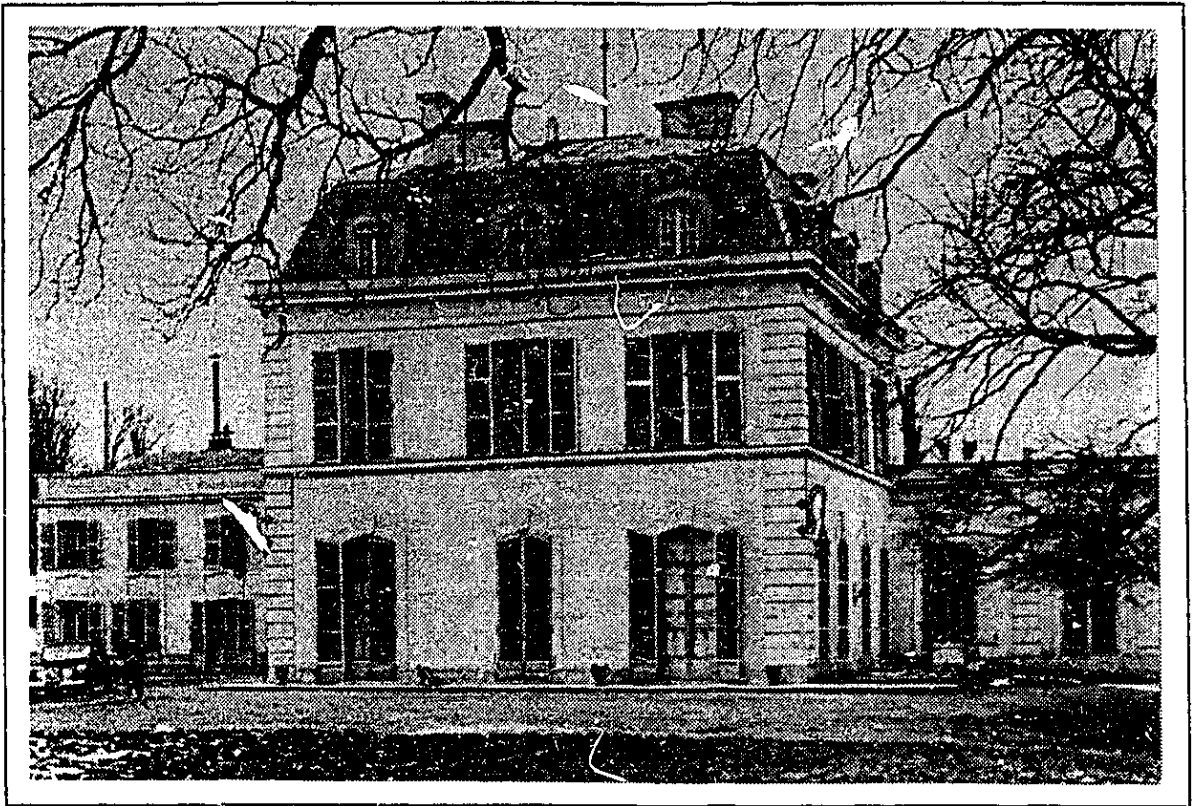
**Figure 46**

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux

*Palais (Château) de Louveciennes, 1773*

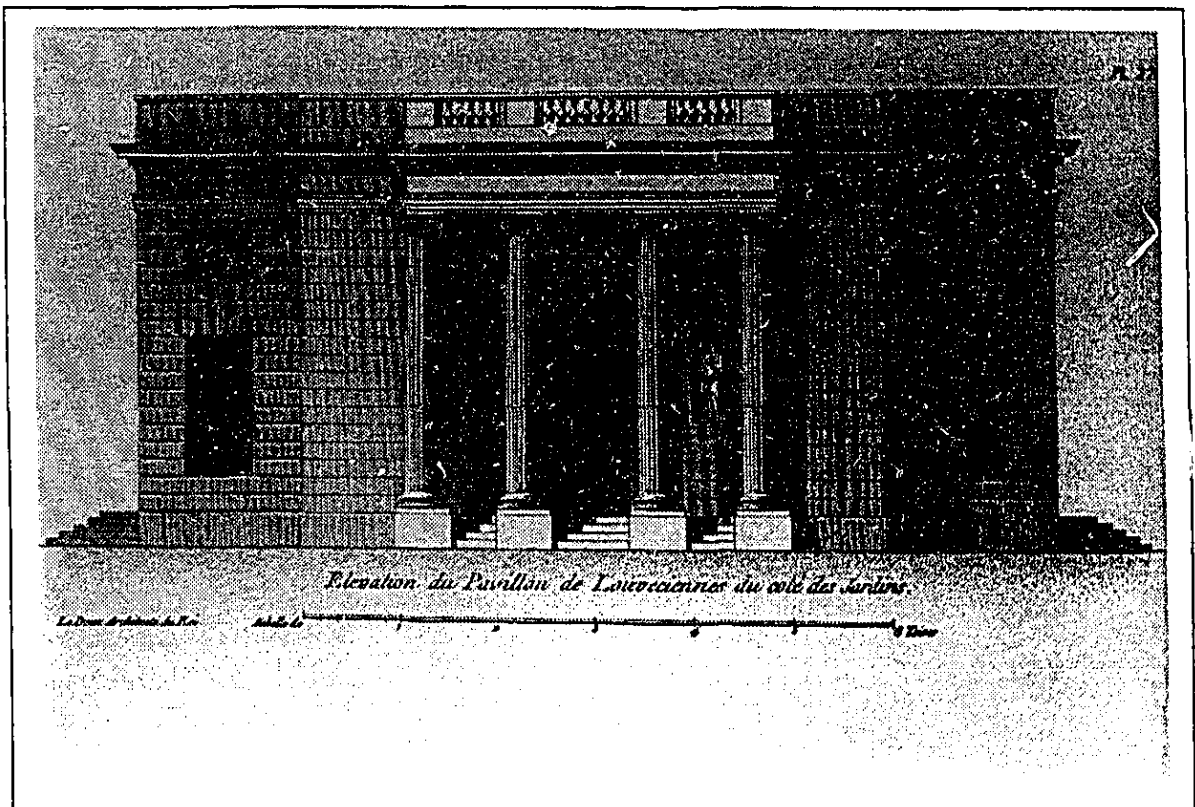
Plan

Engraving published in Ramée, *L'Architecture of C. N. Ledoux*



**Figure 47**

*Château de Louveciennes*  
Façade  
Photograph, c. 1940



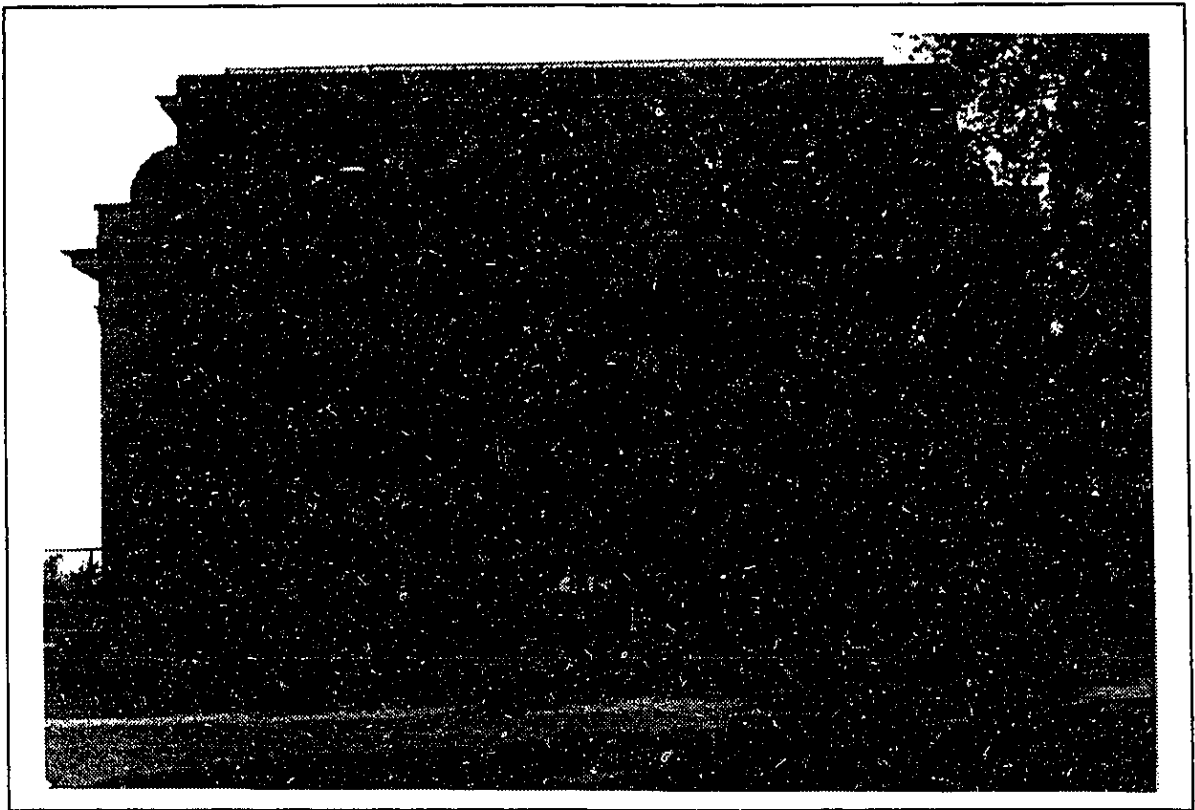
**Figure 48**

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*, 1770

Elevation of garden façade

Engraving published in Ramée, *L'Architecture de C. N. Ledoux*



**Figure 49**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
Garden façade (south elevation)  
Photograph, 1992

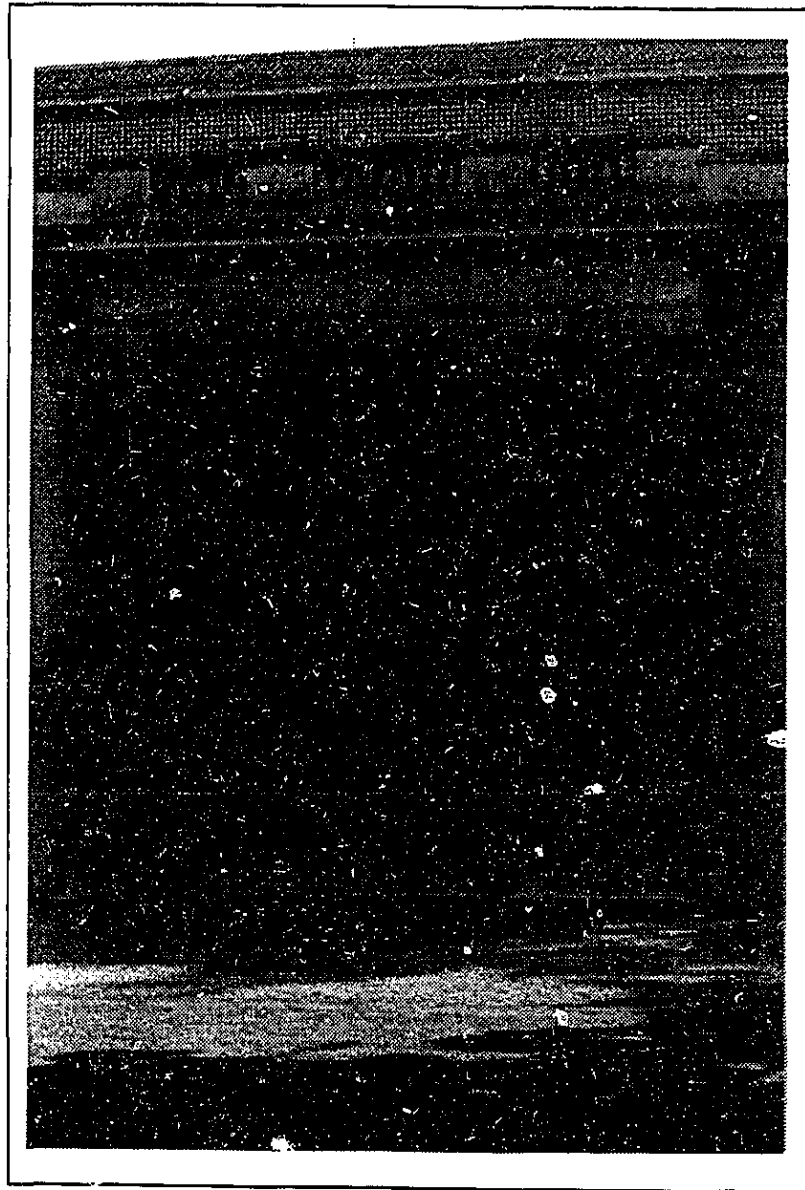


**Figure 50**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

*Pavillon and garden (south elevation)*

Photograph, 1992



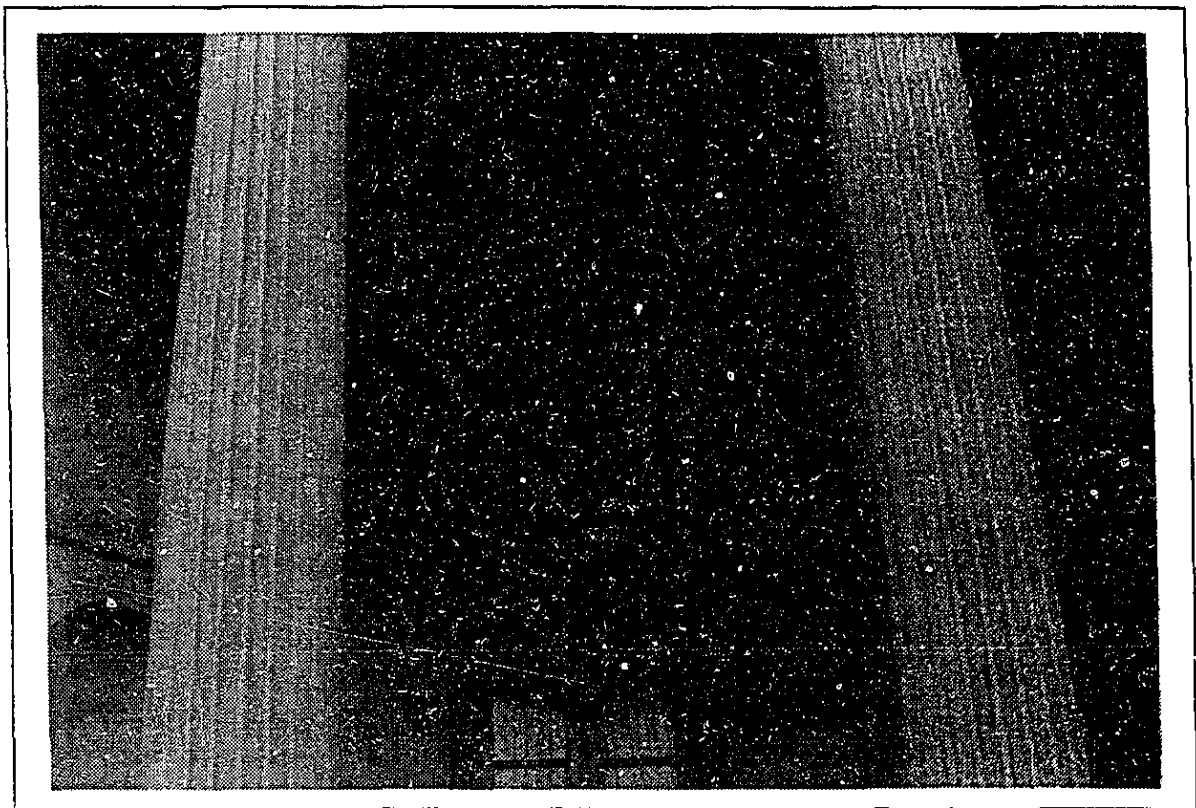
**Figure 51**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

Entrance portico with frieze (south elevation)

Photograph, 1992





**Figure 52**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

Entrance portico with frieze (south elevation)  
(detail)

Photograph, 1992

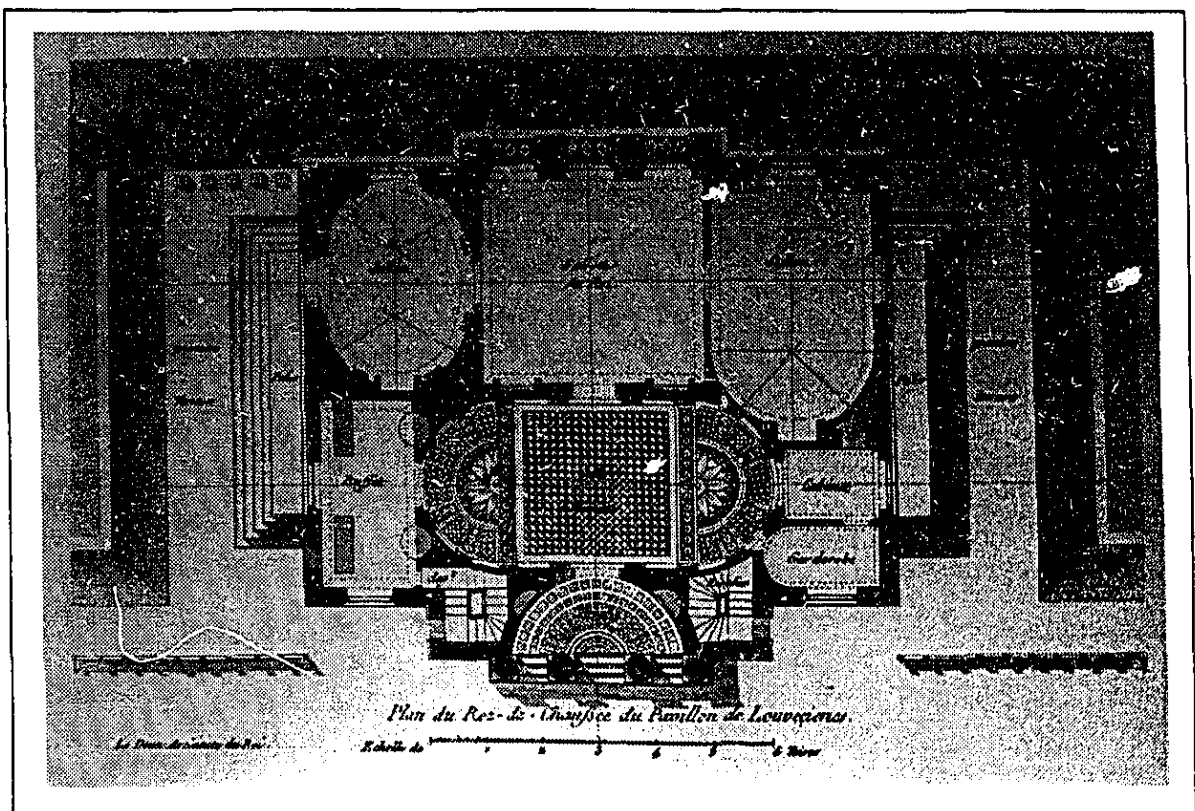


**Figure 53**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

*Salle à manger* (entrance foyer) (west elevation)

Photograph, 1992



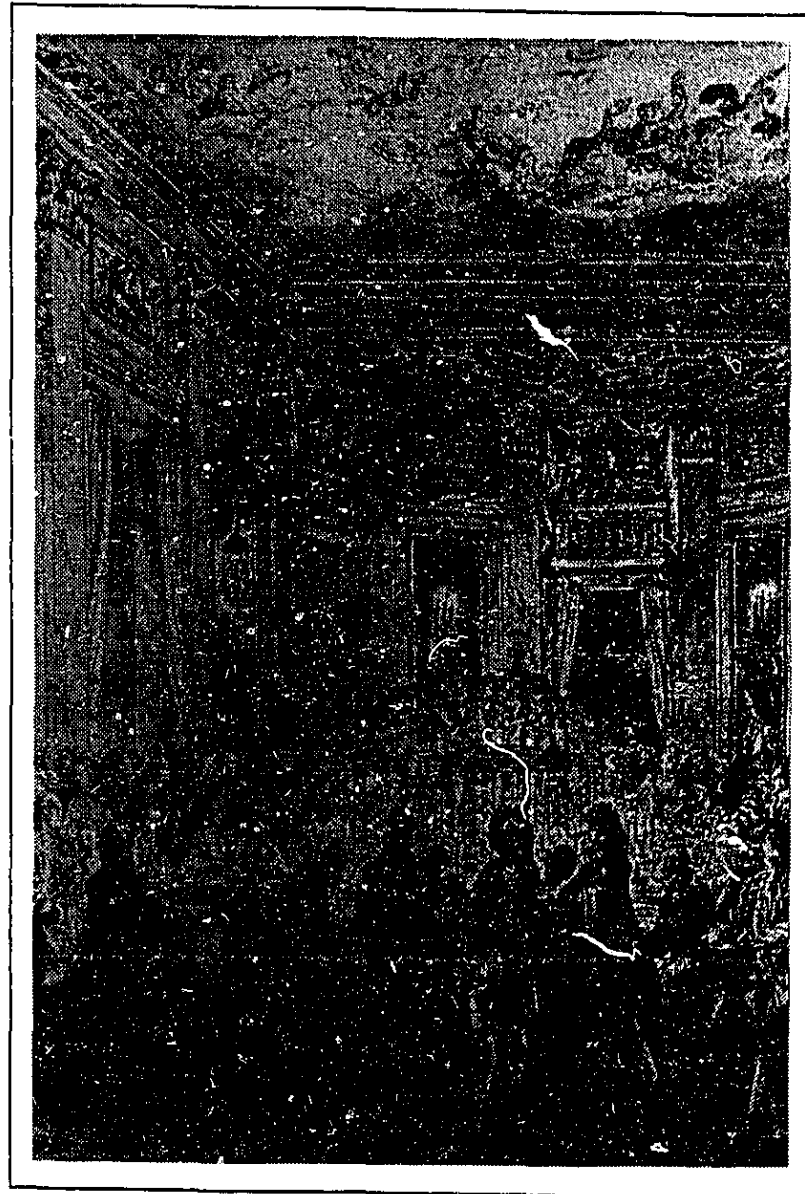
**Figure 54**

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Pavillon de Louveciennes*, 1770  
 Floor plan  
 Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 270



**Figure 55**

Jean-Bernard Restout  
Ceiling painting for the *salle à manger* of the  
*Pavillon de Louveciennes*, c. 1772 (partial view)  
Photograph, c. 1992



**Figure 56**

Jean-Michel Moreau le Jeune  
*Une fête donnée à Louveciennes en 1771*  
Watercolour, with pen and ink  
Musée du Louvre



**Figure 57**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon carré (salon du roi)*  
(north elevation, with view of river)  
Photograph, 1992



**Figure 58**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

*Salon carré (salon du roi)*

*(south elevation, adjacent salle à manger)*

Photograph, 1992



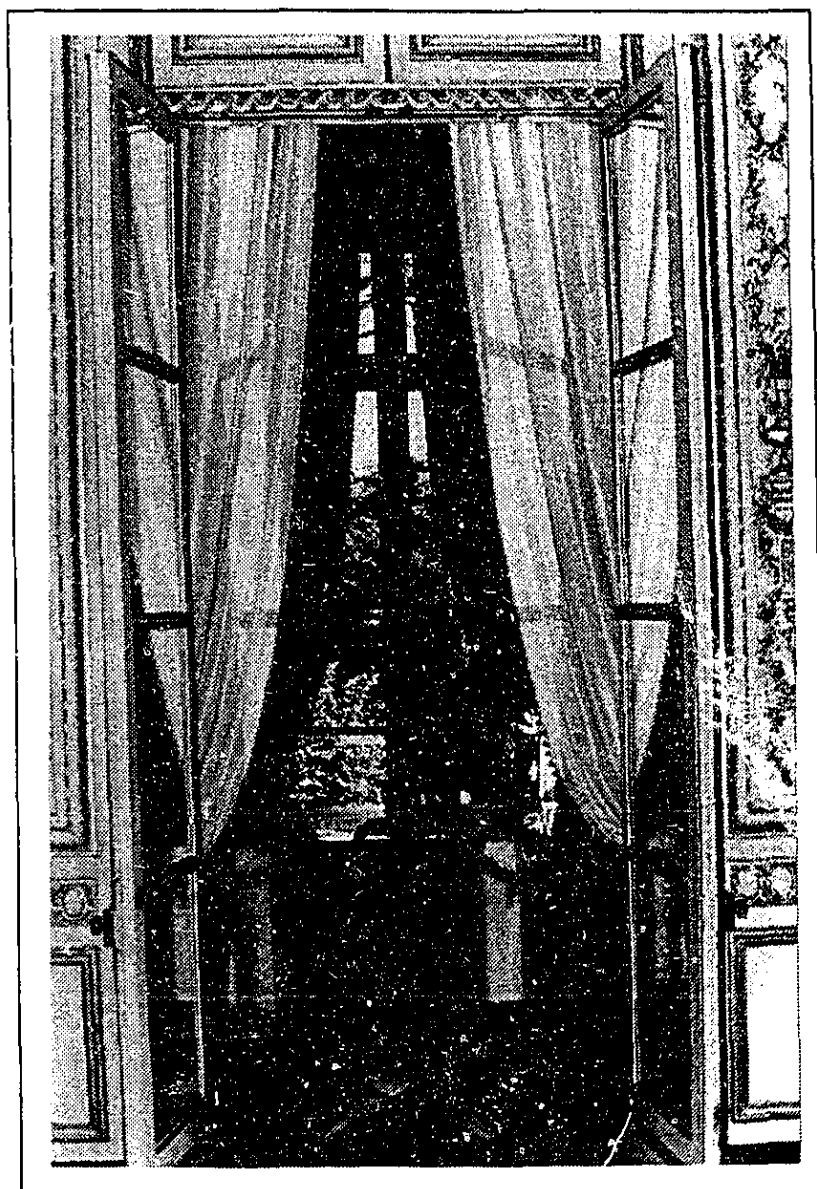
**Figure 59**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

View of river and valley from the *salon carré*  
(north elevation)

Photograph, 1992



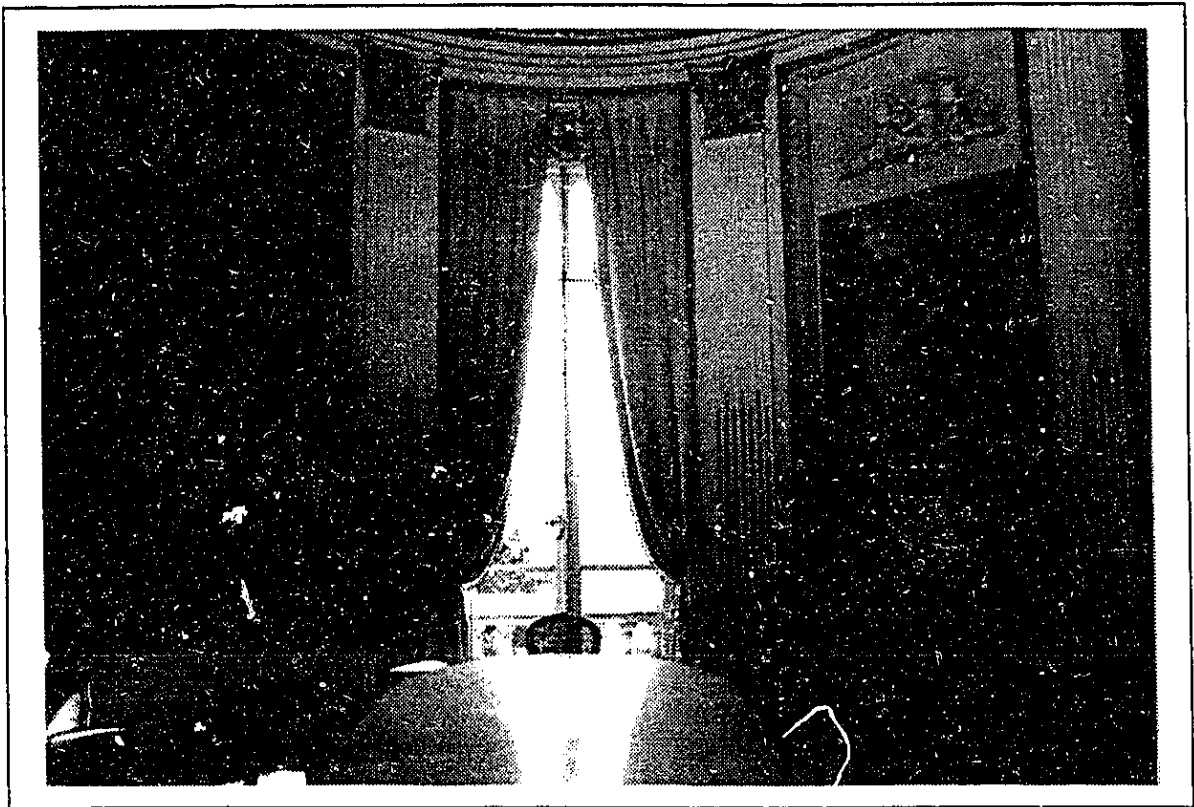


**Figure 60**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

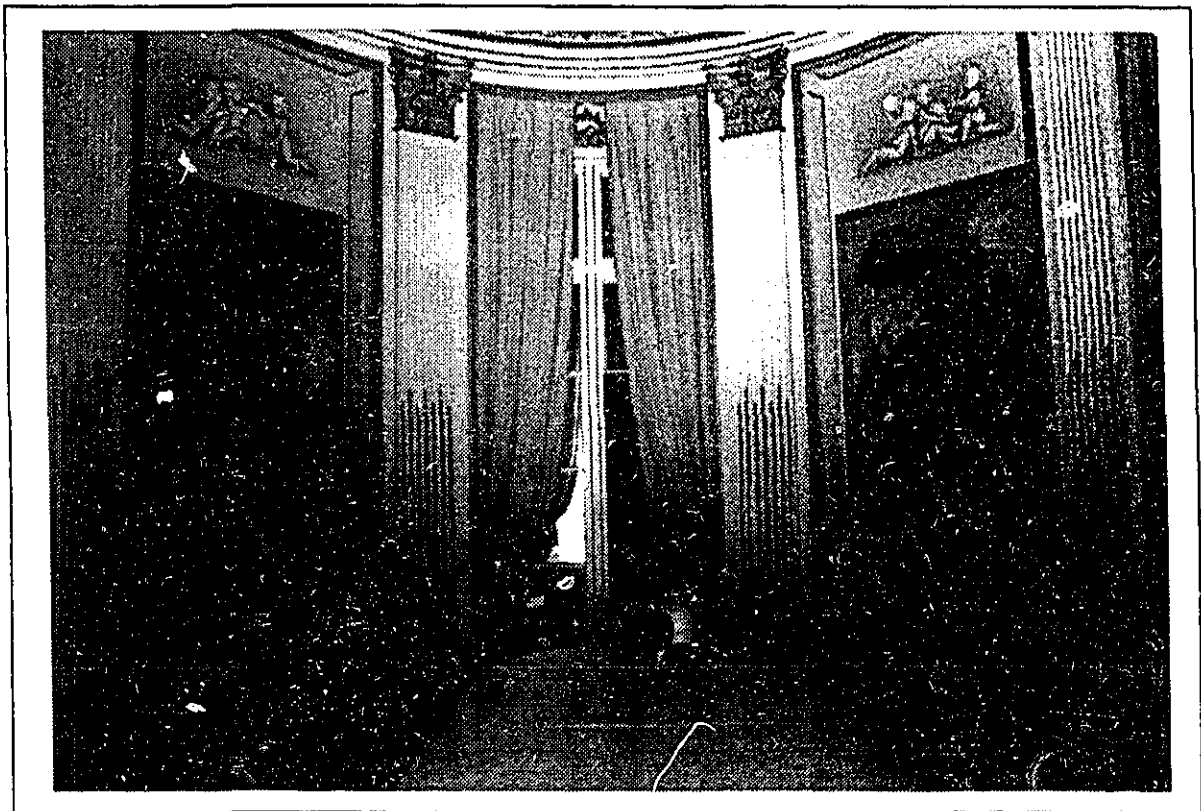
Entrance to the *salon ovale* from the *salon carré*  
(with view of *bosco*)

Photograph, 1992



**Figure 61**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon ovale* (north elevation)  
(with reproductions of the *Progress of Love* panels)  
Photograph, 1992



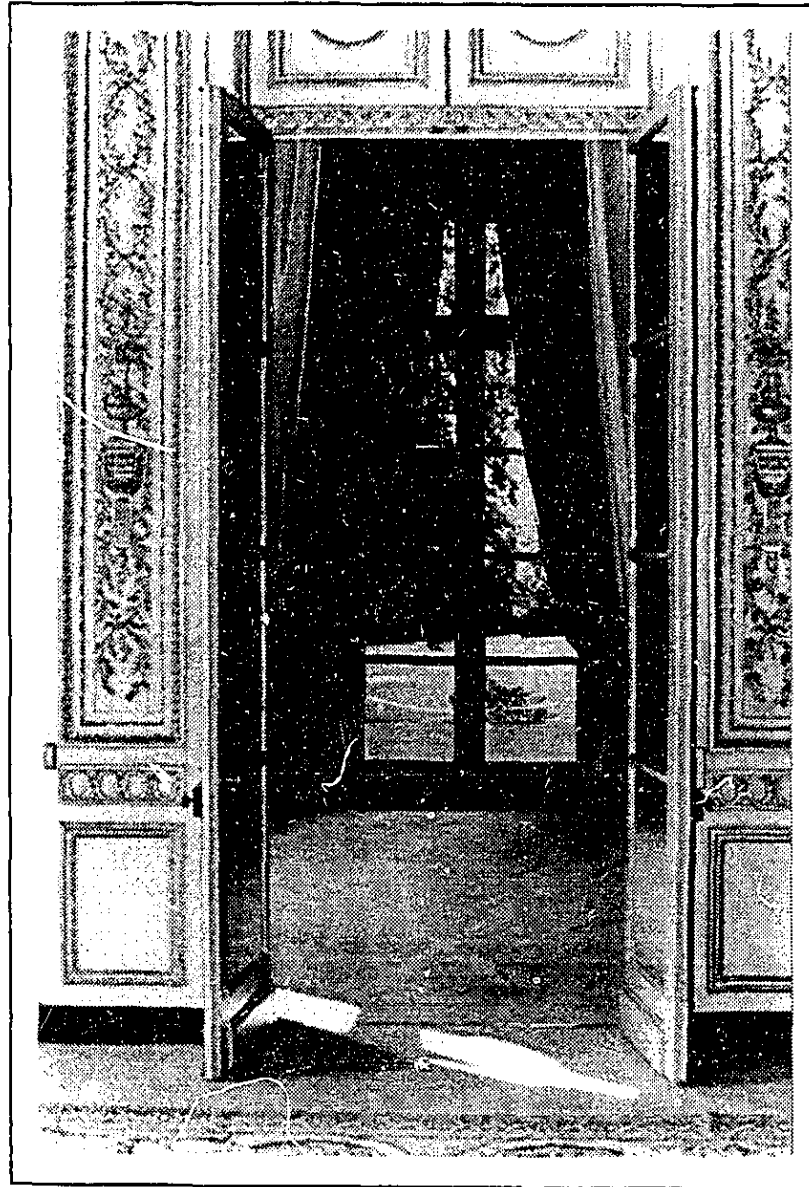
**Figure 62**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

*Salon ovale* (south elevation)

(with reproductions of the *Progress of Love* panels)

Photograph, 1992



**Figure 63**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

Entrance to the *salon en cul-de-four* from the *salon carré*  
(with view of garden)

Photograph, 1992



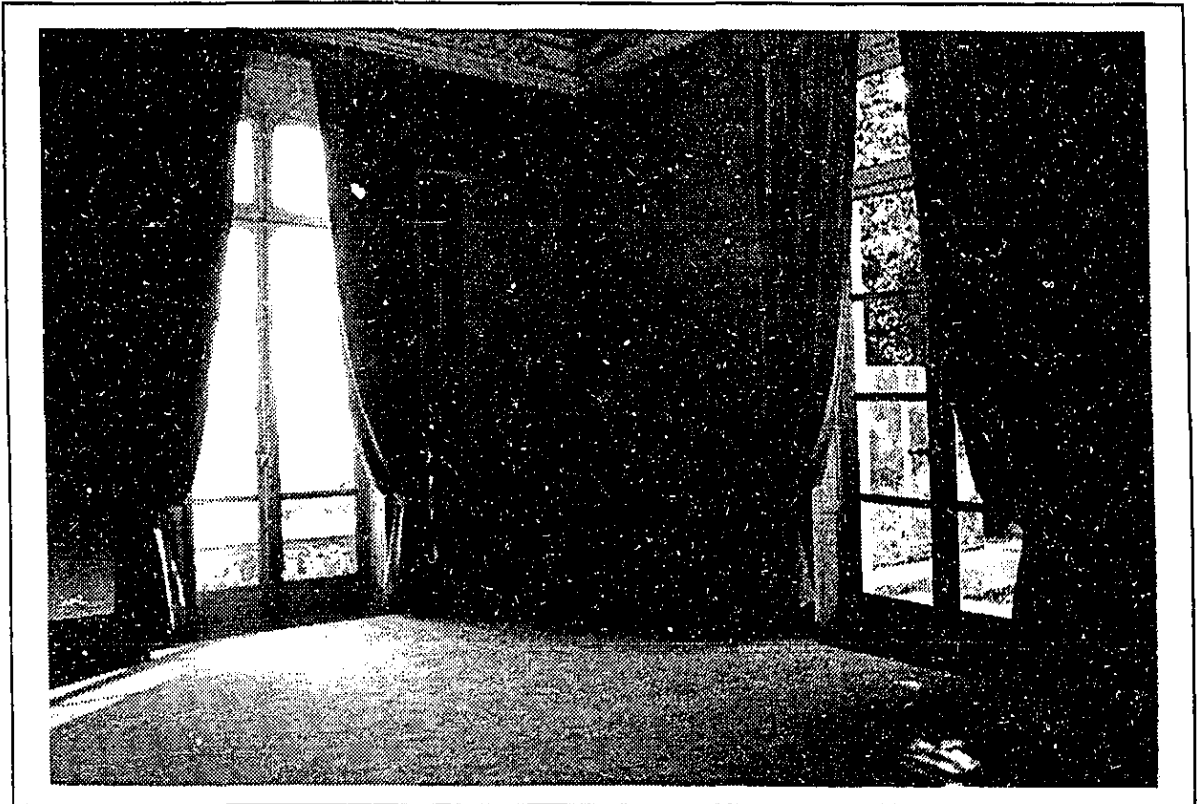
**Figure 64**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon en cul-de-four*  
(north-west elevation, river side)  
Photograph, 1992



**Figure 65**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon en cul-de-four* (north elevation)  
(with river view)  
Photograph, 1992



**Figure 66**

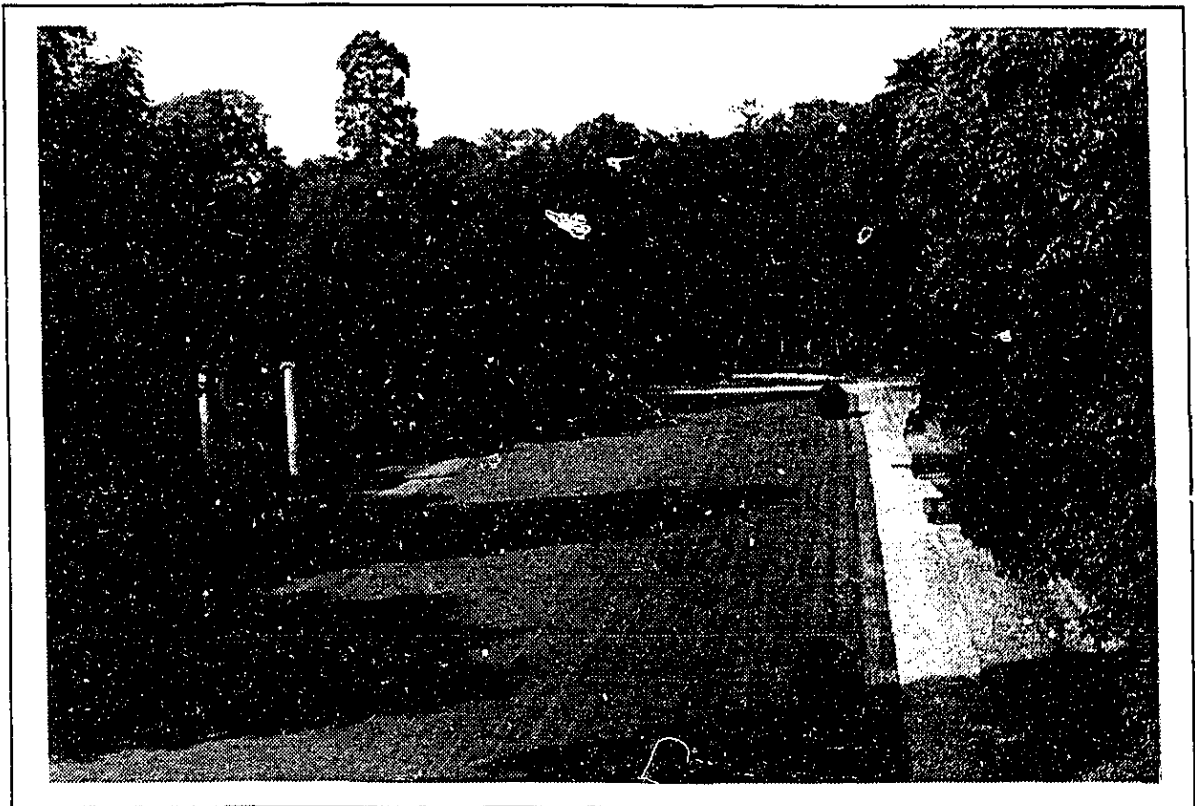
*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon en cul-de-four* (north-east elevation)  
(with river and garden views)  
Photograph, 1992



**Figure 67**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
*Salon en cul-de-four* (south elevation)  
(*cul-de-four* termination of *salon*)  
Photograph, 1992





**Figure 68**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

View of garden from *pavillon* (south elevation)

Photograph, 1992



**Figure 69**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

Ionic columns

(original columns from the south portico of the *pavillon*)

Photograph, 1992



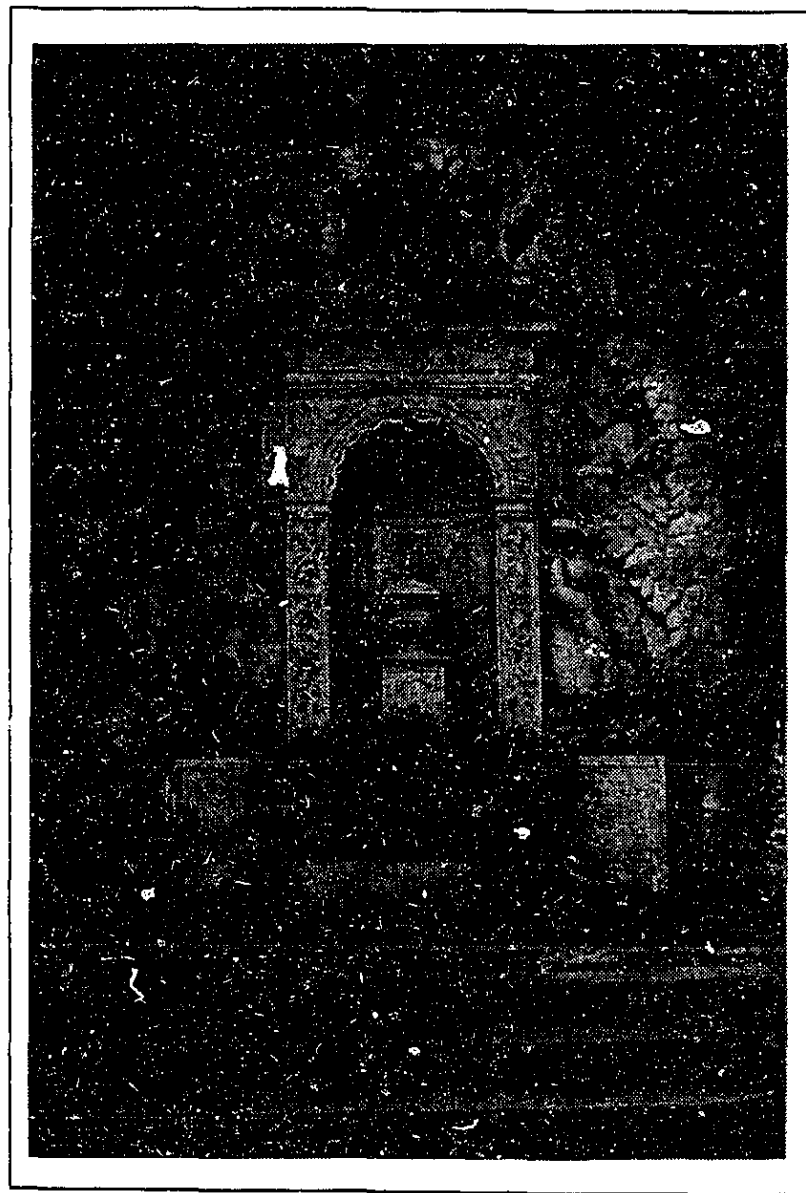
**Figure 70**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

Ionic columns

(original columns from the north portico of the *pavillon*)

Photograph, 1992



**Figure 71**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

Grotto

Photograph, 1992



**Figure 72**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of Venus*  
Photograph, 1991



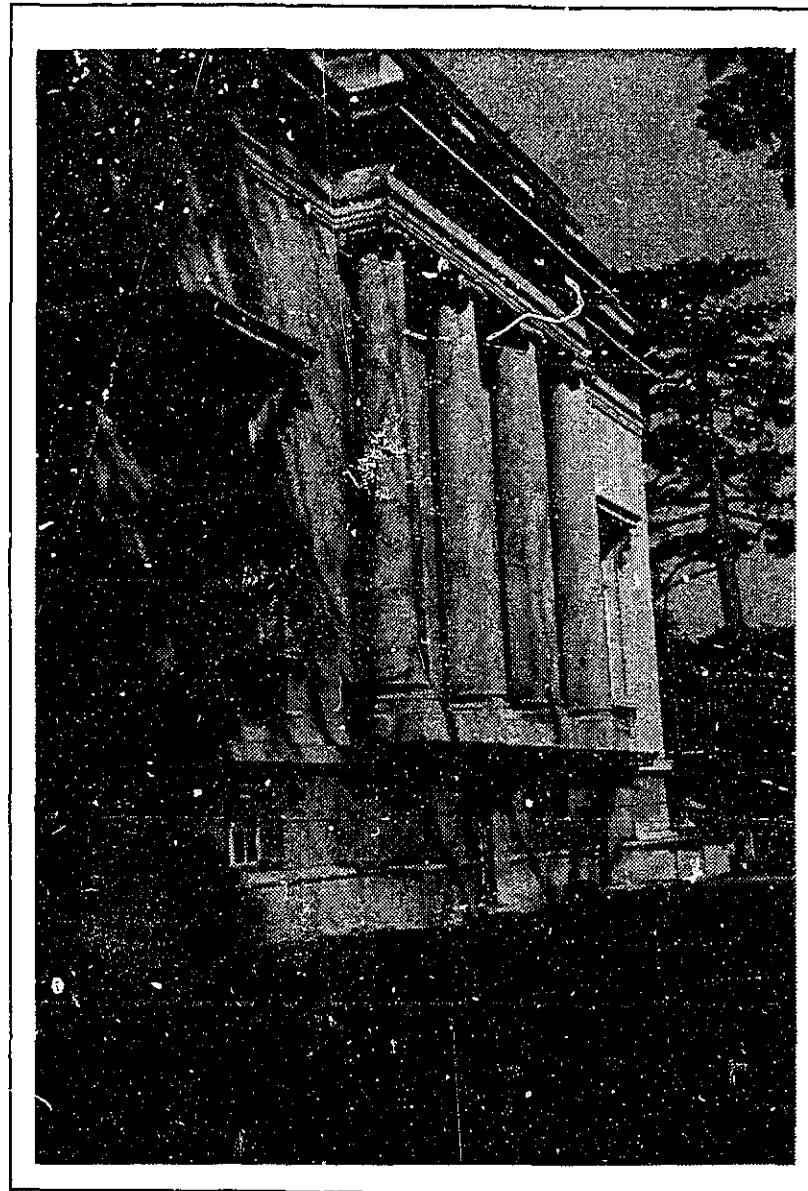
**Figure 73**

Testard and Bellet

*Vue du pavillon de Lucienne, près Marli,  
appartenant à Mme la Comtesse du Bary, c. 1800*

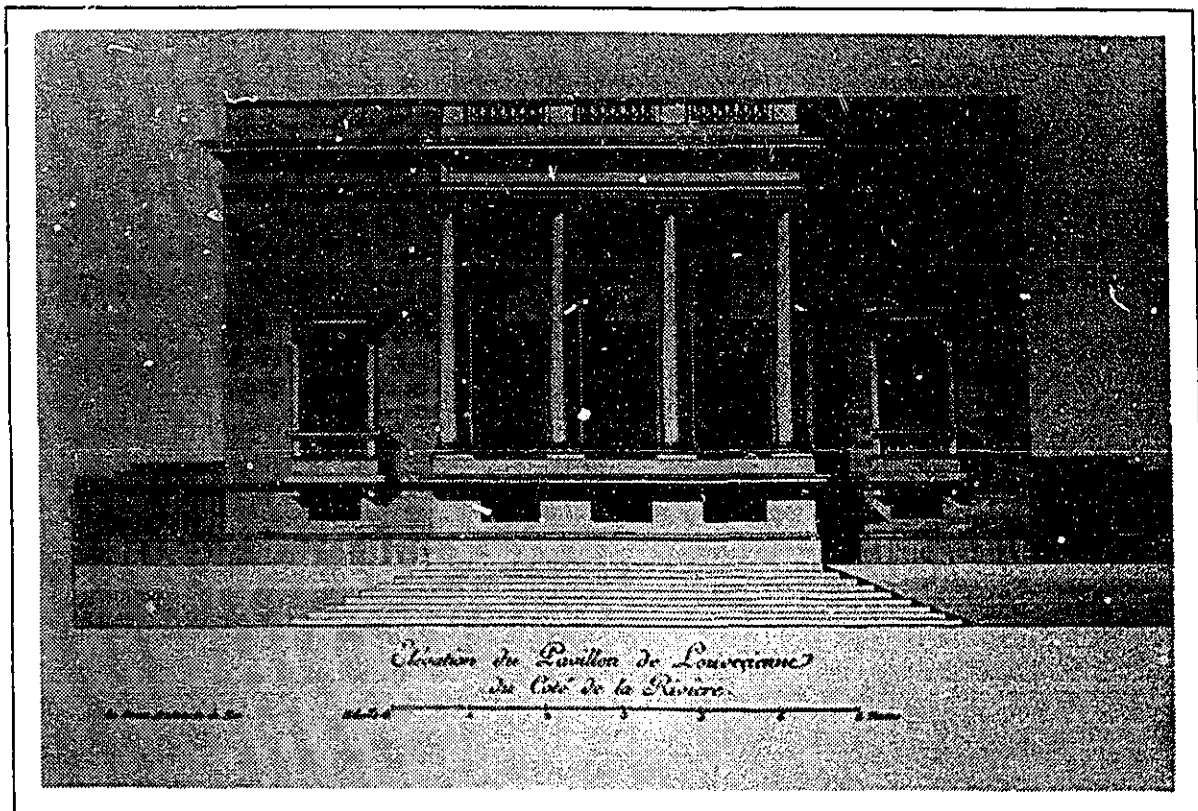
Engraving

Musée-promenade de Marly-Louveciennes



**Figure 74**

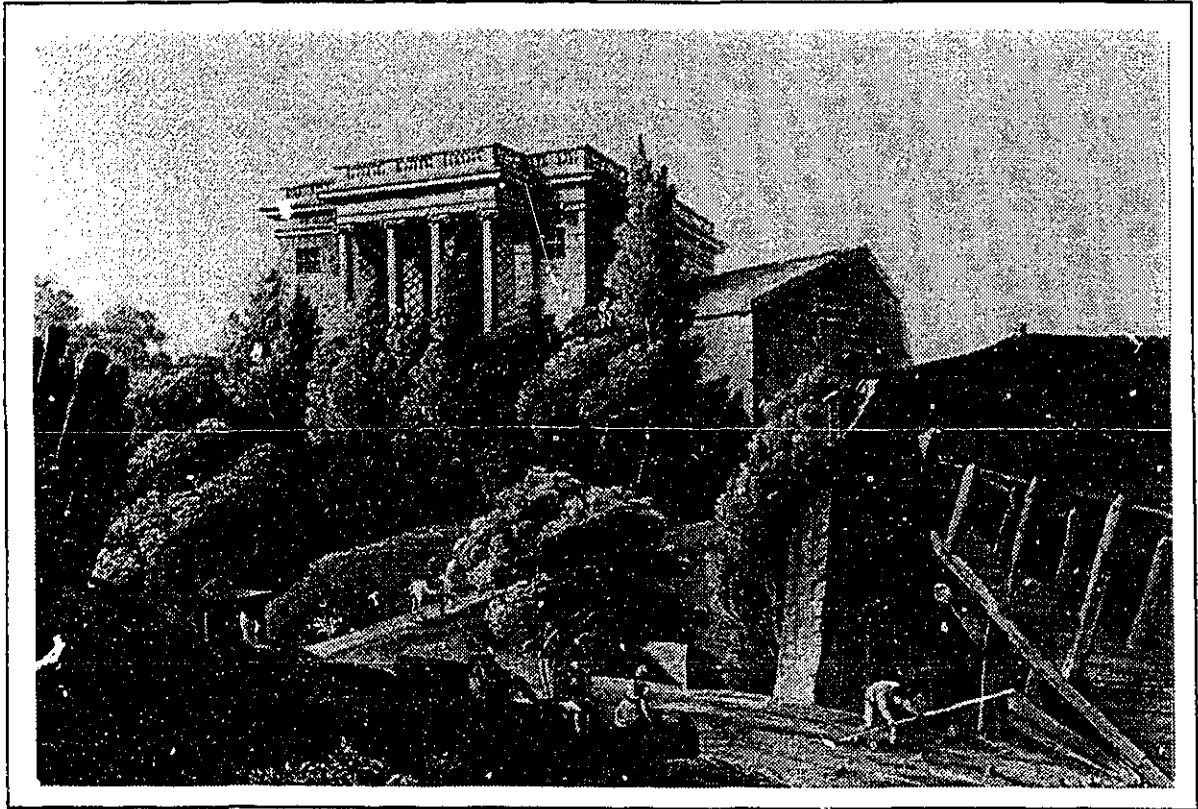
*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
River façade (north elevation)  
Photograph, 1992



**Figure 75**

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux  
*Pavillon de Louveciennes*, 1770  
Elevation of river façade  
Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 272





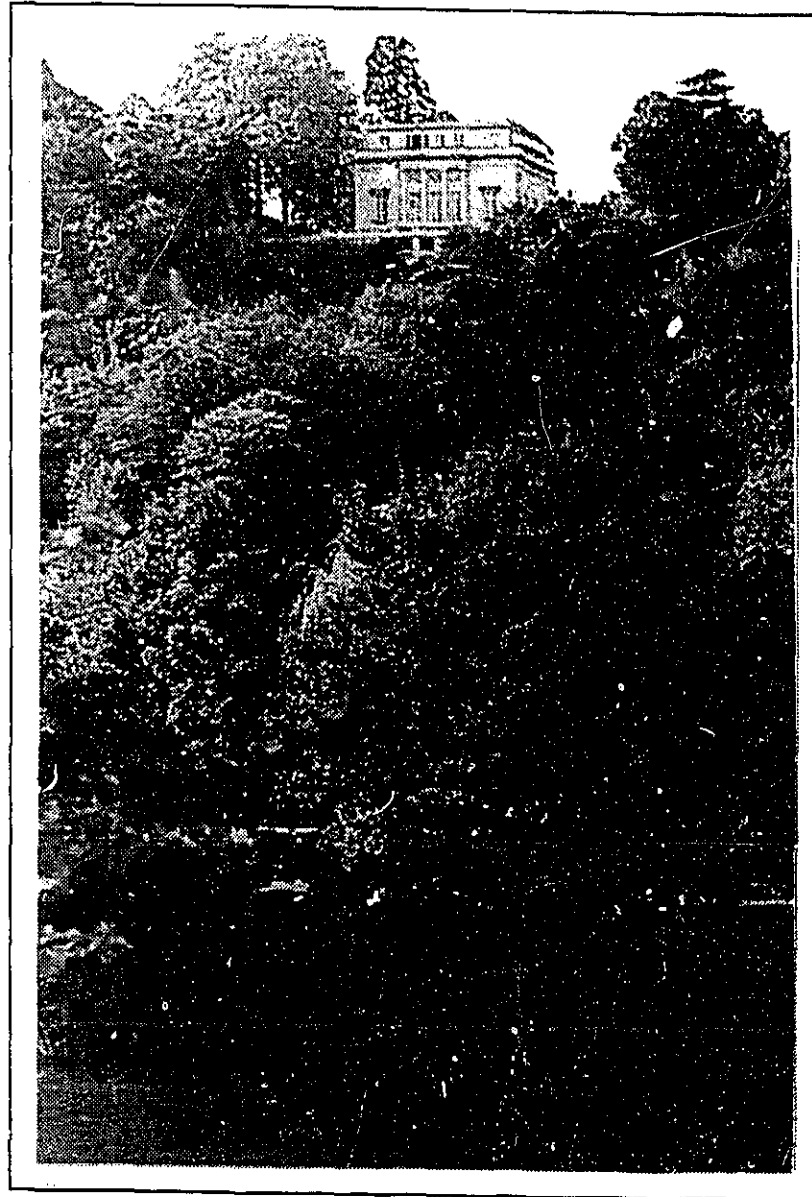
**Figure 76**

J. Hill

*Vue du pavillon de Louveciennes sous l'Empire, c. 1800*

Engraving after drawing by J.-Cl. Nates

Musée-promenade de Marly-Louveciennes



**Figure 77**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
View of *pavillon* from north-west  
Photograph, 1988



**Figure 78**

François-Hubert Drouais

*Madame du Barry en muse*, 1772 (detail)

Oil on canvas

Chambre de commerce et d'industrie des Yvelines  
et du Val-d'Oise, Versailles



**Figure 79**

Joseph-Marie Vien  
*La famille de Coriolan venant le fléchir  
et le détourner d'assiéger Rome, 1779 (detail)*  
Oil on canvas  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence



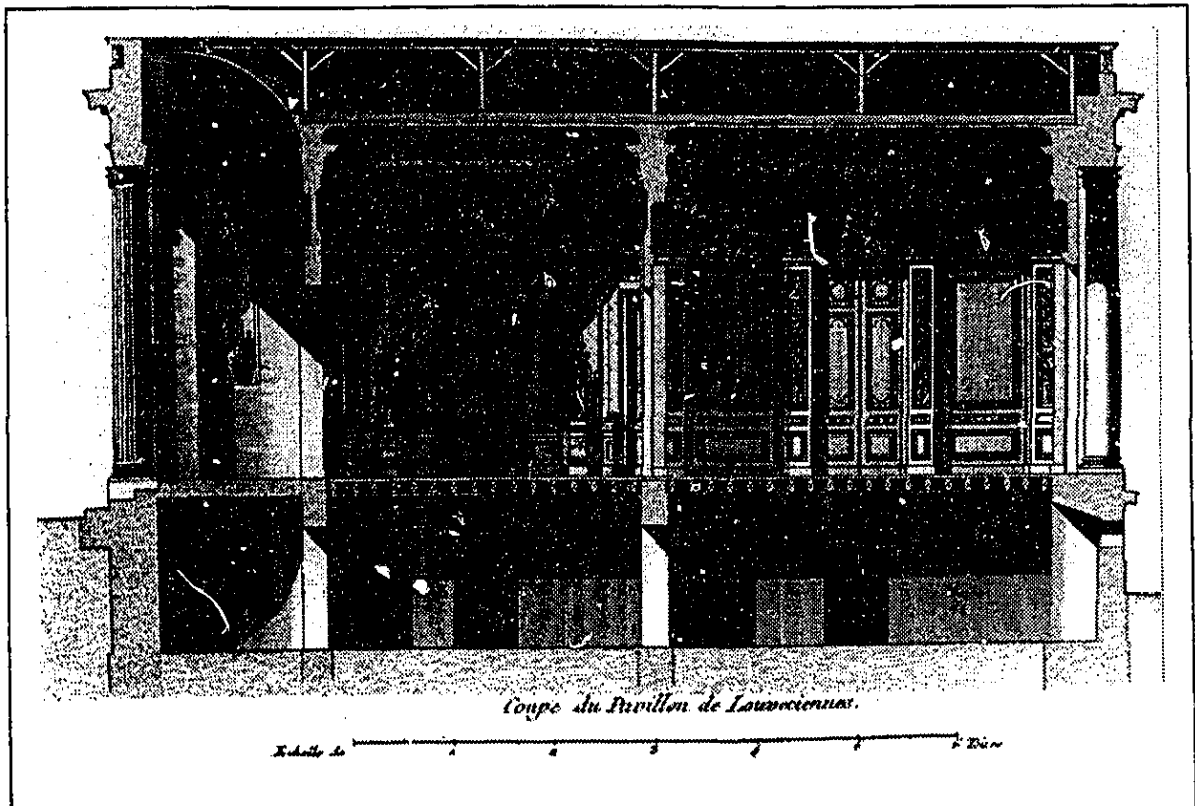
**Figure 80**

Claude-Joseph Vernet  
*Le Matin, les baigneuses*, 1772  
Oil on canvas  
Musée du Louvrè



**Figure 81**

Joseph-Marie Vien (after)  
*L'Enlèvement de Prosperine*, 1773-75  
Gobelins tapestry (central portion)  
Mobilier national, Paris



**Figure 82**

Claude-Nicolas Ledoux

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*, 1770

Section through *pavillon* (with *salon carré* and *salle à manger*)

Engraving published in Ramée, *Ledoux*, pl. 271



**Figure 83**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Muse Terpsichore and A Muse*, c. 1770  
Drawing  
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Besançon





**Figure 84**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*L'Amour embrasant l'Univers*, c. 1770  
Oil on canvas  
Musée de Toulon



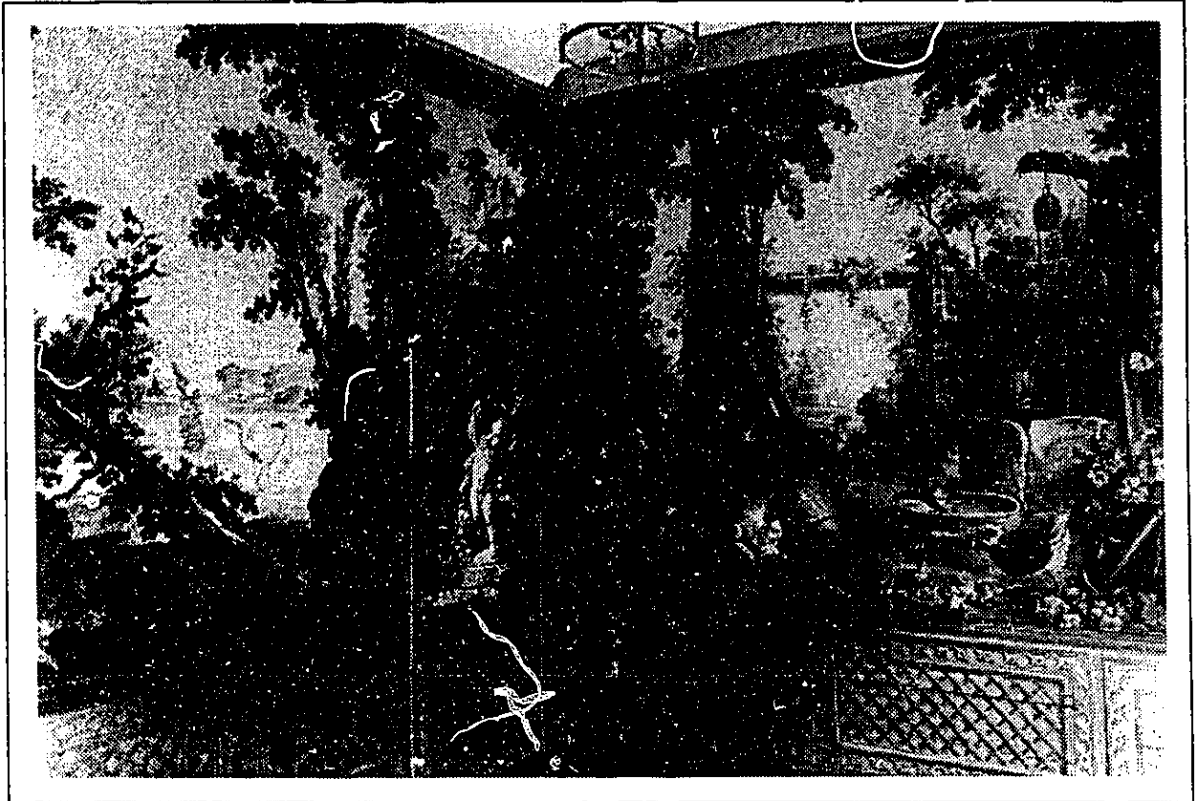
**Figure 85**

François-Hubert Drouais

*Un petit garçon jouant du tambour de basque*, 1772

Oil on canvas

Private collection



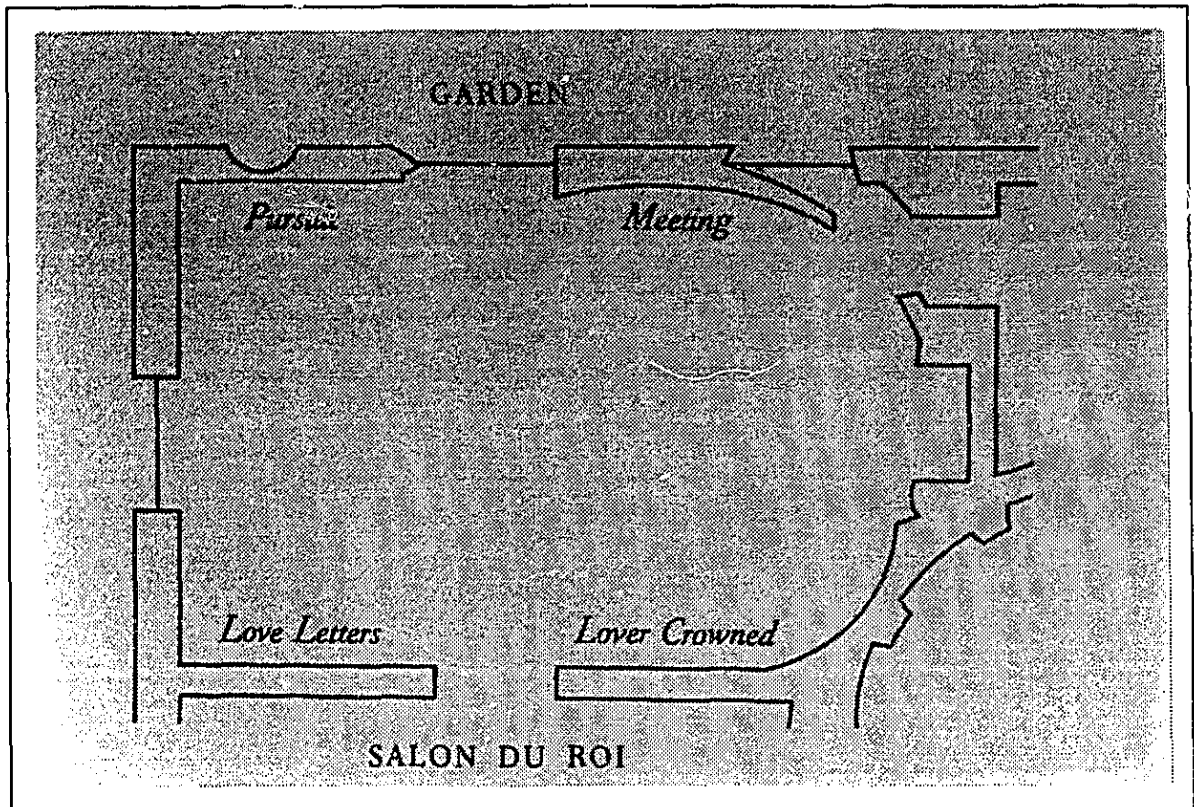
**Figure 86**

François Boucher, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, and Jean-Baptiste Huet  
*Le Salon du Graveur Gilles Demarteau*, 1768-70  
Oil on canvas  
Musée Carnavalet, Paris



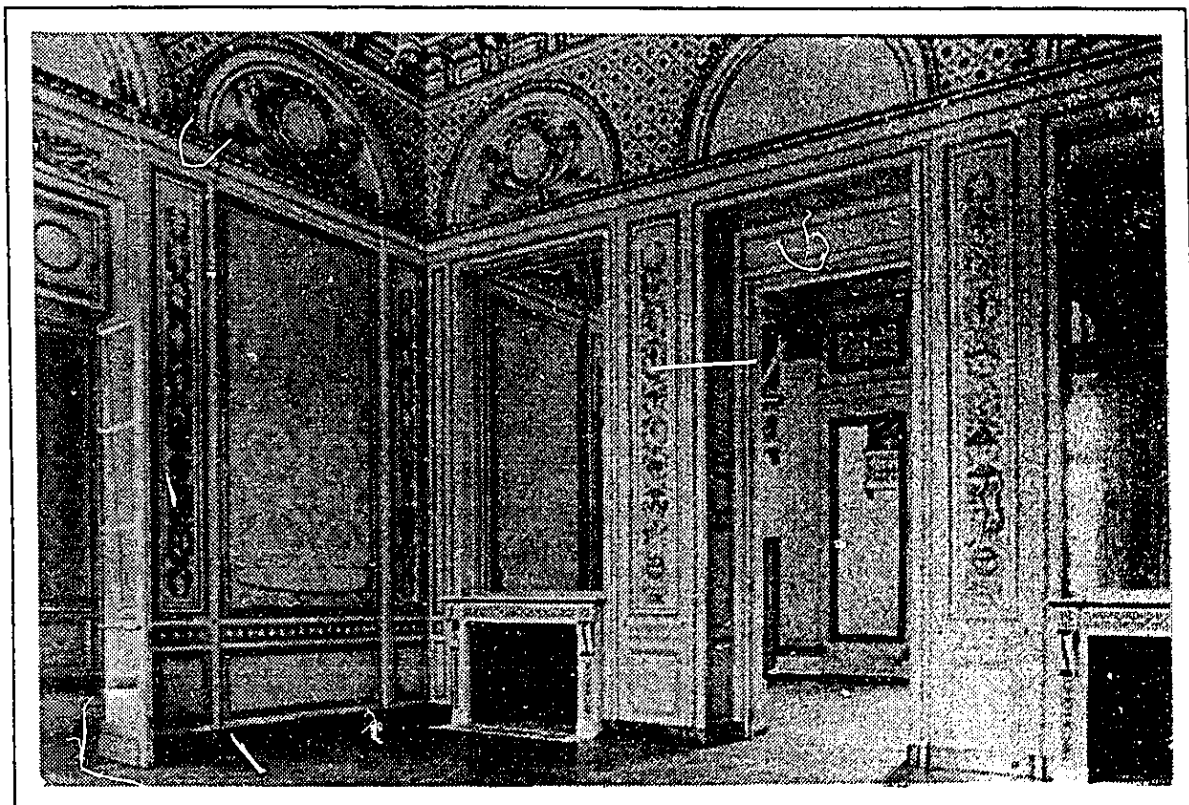
**Figure 87**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*L'Amour Triomphant*, 1768-70  
(panel from *Le Salon du Graveur Gilles Demarteau*)  
Oil on canvas  
Musée Carnavalet, Paris



**Figure 88**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
 Floor plan of *salon en cul-de-four*  
 (with arrangement of *Progress of Love* panels)

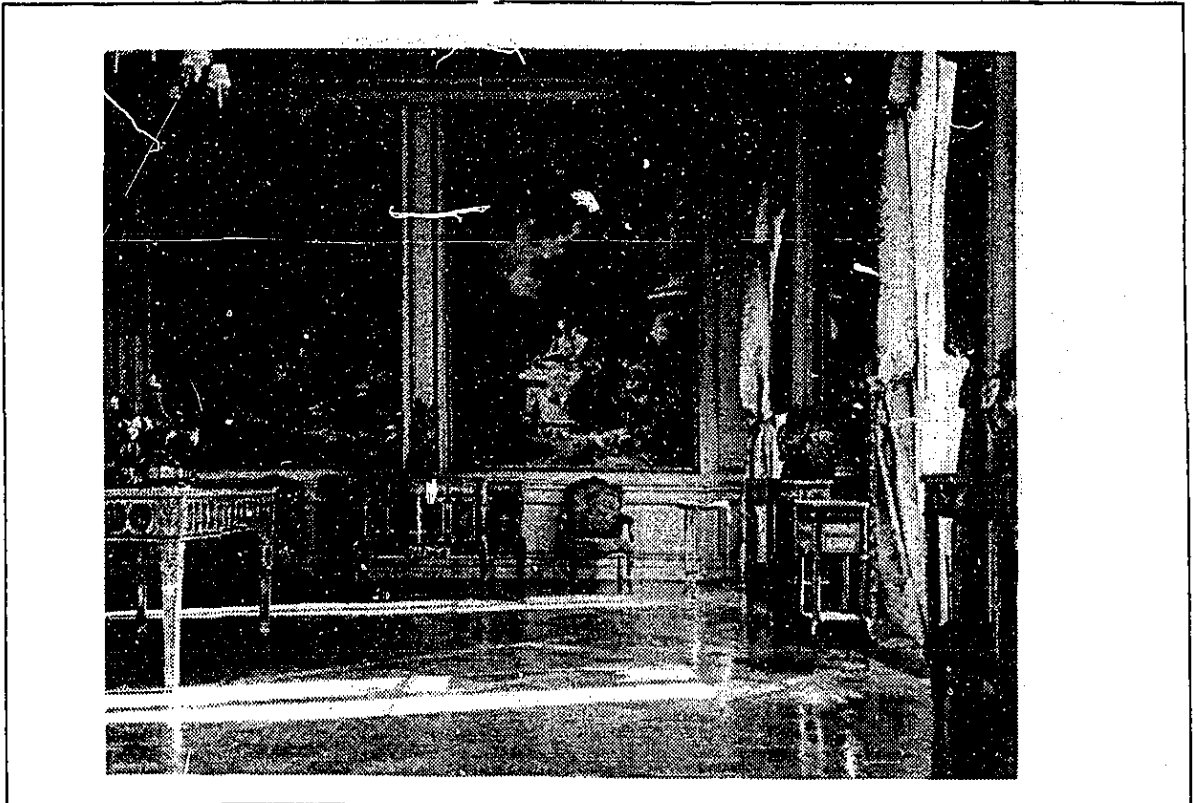


**Figure 89**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

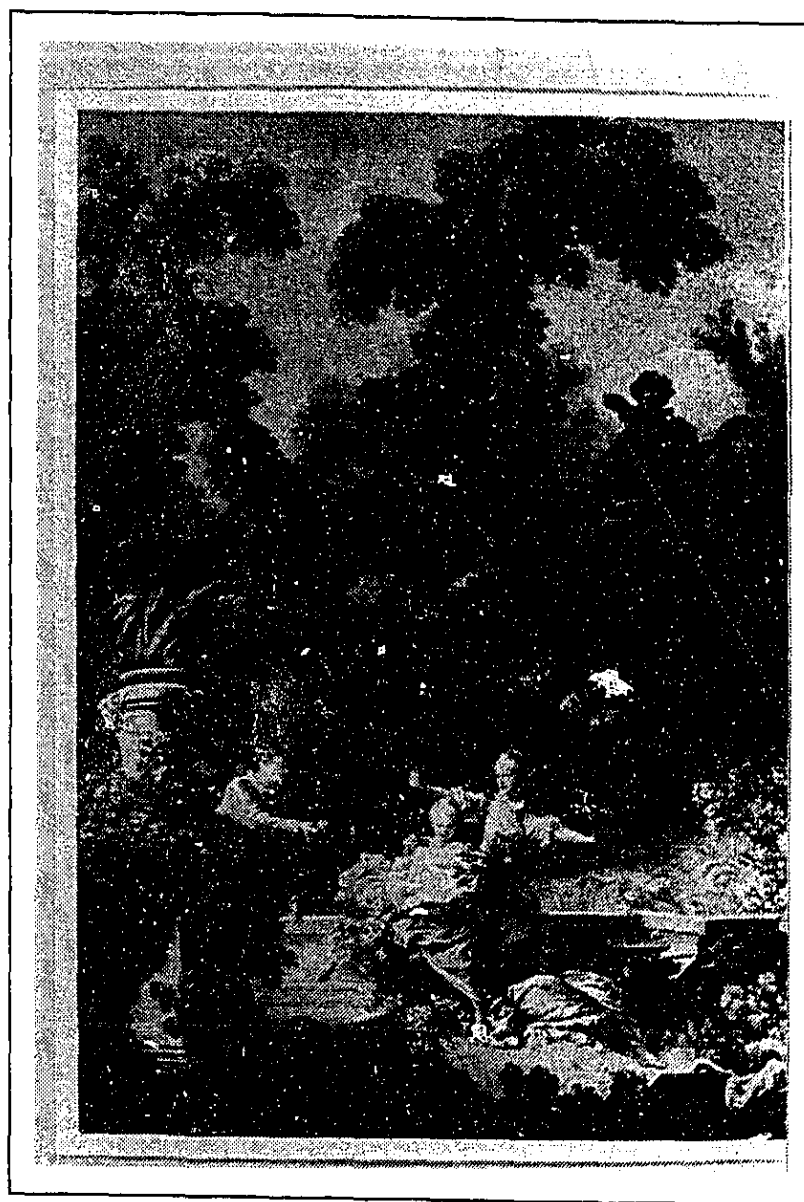
*Salon carré (with partial view of salon en cul-de-four)*

Photograph, c. 1962



**Figure 90**

*Fragonard Room, The Frick Collection*  
(with *Progress of Love* panels)  
Photograph, c. 1987)



**Figure 91**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Pursuit* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73  
Oil on canvas  
The Frick Collection, New York





**Figure 92**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*The Meeting from The Progress of Love*, 1771-73

Oil on canvas

The Frick Collection, New York



**Figure 93**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*The Lover Crowned* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73

Oil on canvas

The Frick Collection, New York



**Figure 94**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*Love Letters* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73

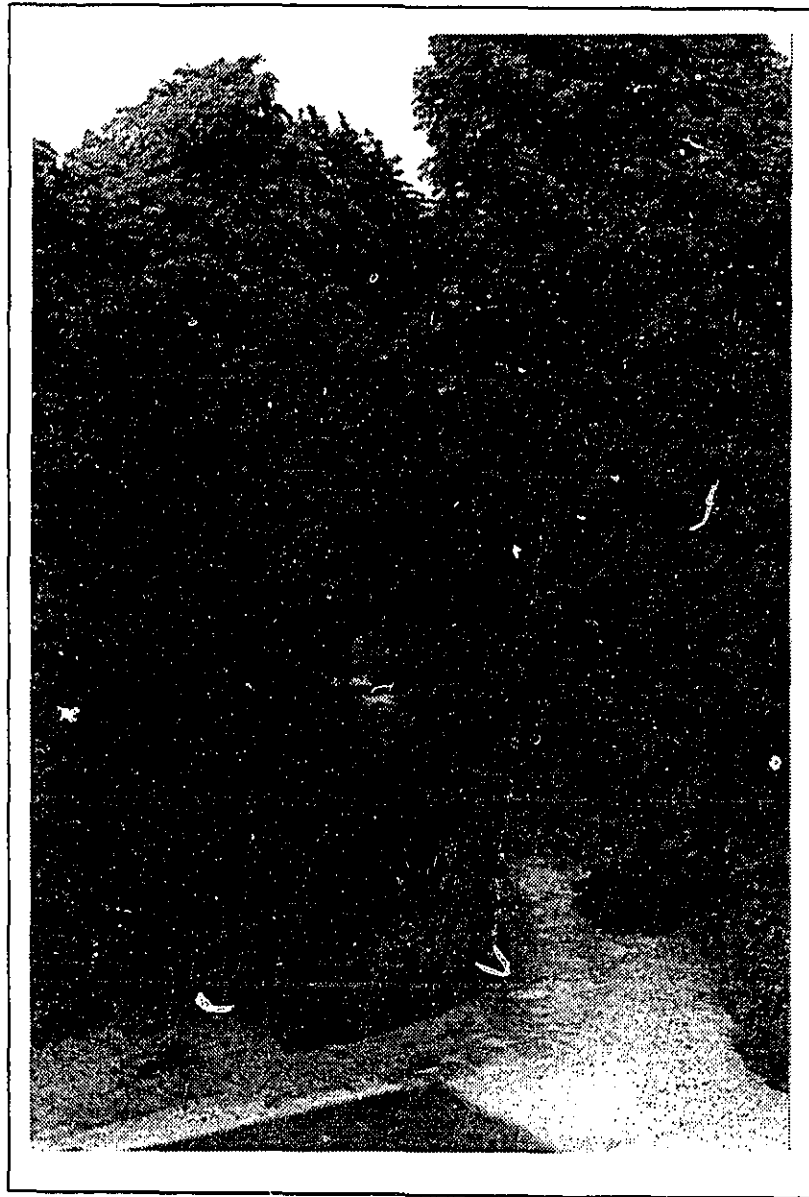
Oil on canvas

The Frick Collection, New York



**Figure 95**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*  
View of garden from the east terrace door  
of the *salon en cul-de-four*  
Photograph, 1992



**Figure 96**

*Pavillon de Louveciennes*

View of *bosco* from the west window of the *salon ovale*

Photograph, 1992



**Figure 97**

Joseph-Marie Vien

*Deux jeunes Grecques faisant serment de ne jamais aimer,*  
from *Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles*,  
c. 1773

Oil on canvas

Préfecture de Chambéry, Savoie



**Figure 98**

Joseph-Marie Vien

*Deux jeunes Grecques recontrent l'amour endormi dans un jardin* from *Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles*, c. 1773

Oil on canvas

Musée du Louvre



**Figure 99**

Joseph-Marie Vien

*Amant couronnant sa maîtresse*

from *Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles*,  
1773

Oil on canvas

Musée du Louvre





**Figure 100**

Joseph-Marie Vien

*Deux Amants s'unissant à l'autel de l'hymen*

from *Le progrès de l'amour dans le coeur des jeunes filles*,  
1774

Oil on canvas

Préfecture de Chambéry, Savoie



**Figure 101**

Jean-Baptiste Pigalle  
*L'Amour et L'Amitié*, 1754-68  
Sculpture  
Musée du Louvre



**Figure 102**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*The Pursuit* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73 (detail)

Oil on canvas

The Frick Collection, New York



**Figure 103**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*The Pursuit* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73 (detail)  
Oil on canvas  
The Frick Collection, New York



**Figure 104**

Antoine Watteau

*The Embarkation for Cythera*, c. 1718 (detail)

Oil on canvas

Schloss Charlottenburg, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten Berlin, Berlin



**Figure 105**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*The Meeting* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73 (detail)

Oil on canvas

The Frick Collection, New York



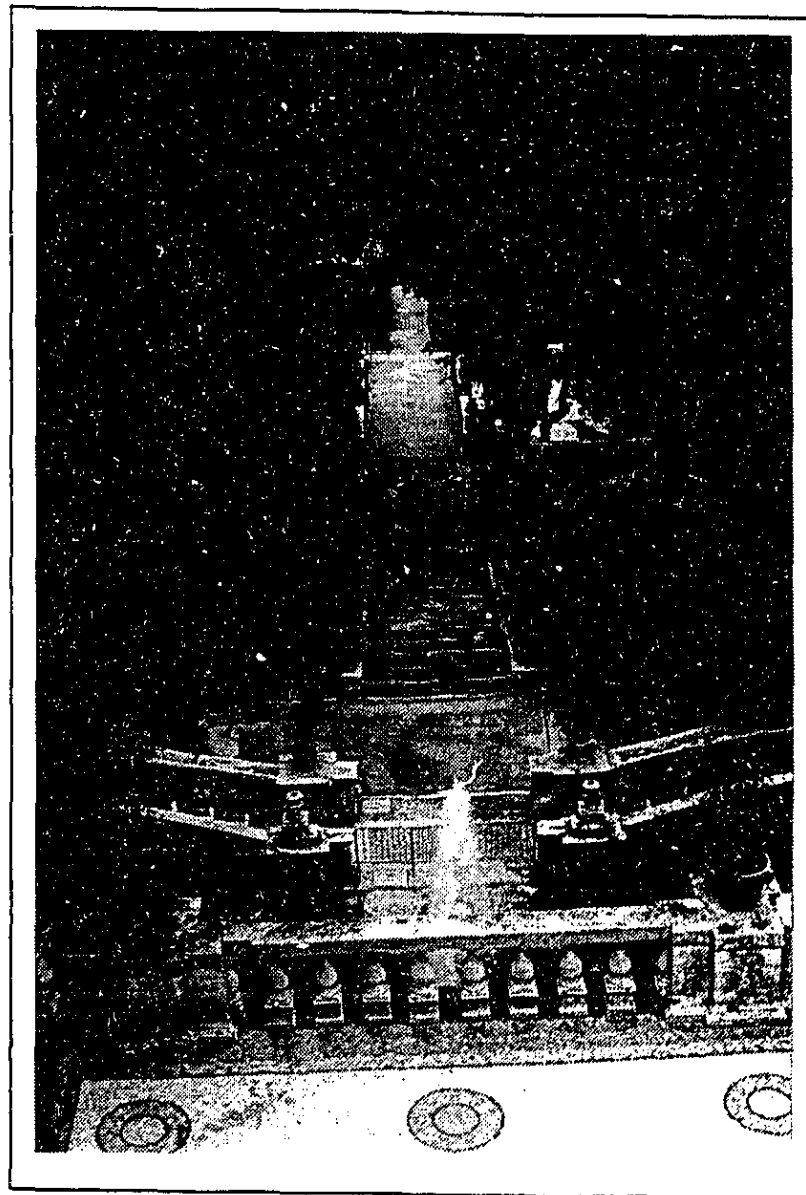
**Figure 106**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*Le petit parc* (*Gardens of the Villa d'Este, Tivoli*), c. 1762

Oil on canvas

The Wallace Collection, London



**Figure 107**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli  
*Fountain of the Dragon*  
Landing above the fountain  
Photograph, 1991





**Figure 108**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*Le petit parc*, 1763  
Etching



**Figure 109**

Villa d'Este, Tivoli

*Avenue of the Cypress Trees*

View from the landing above the *Fountain of the Dragon*

Photograph, 1991



**Figure 110**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard  
*L'Escalade* (Sketch for *The Meeting*)  
Oil on canvas  
Private Collection, Paris



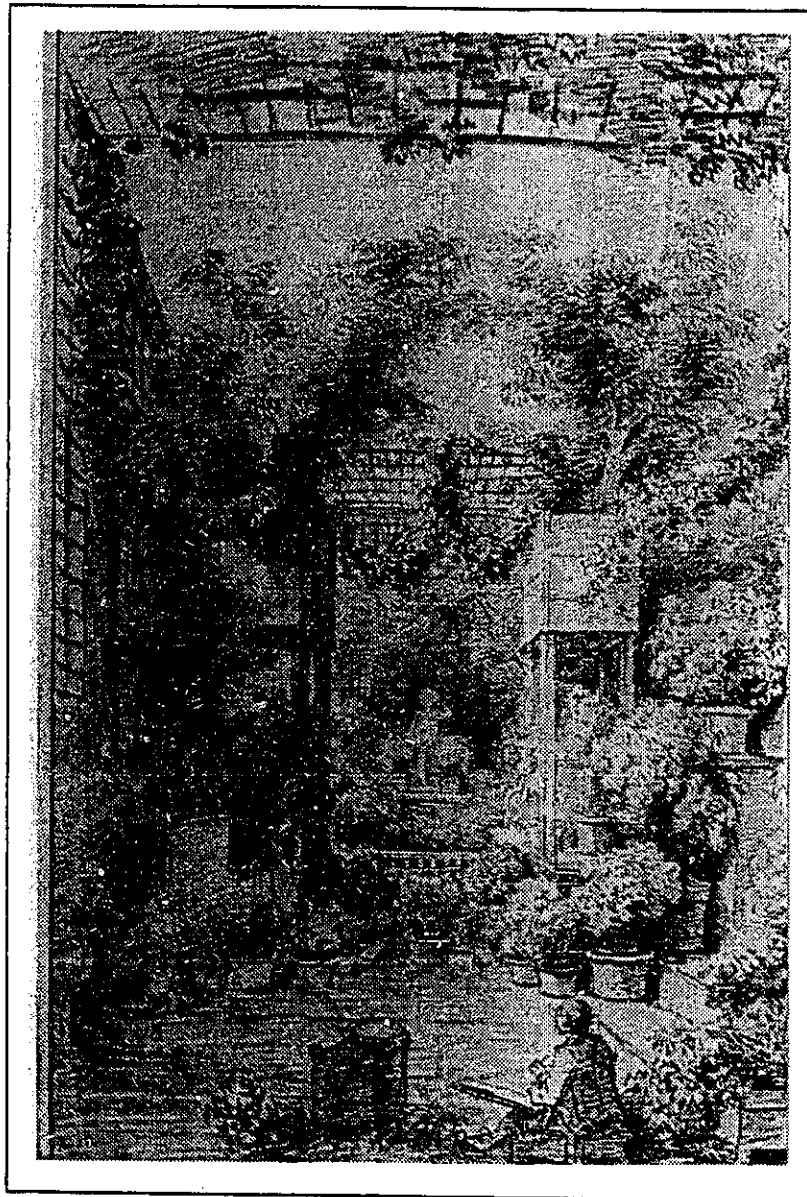
**Figure 111**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*The Lover Crowned* from *The Progress of Love*, 1771-73  
(detail)

Oil on canvas

The Frick Collection, New York



**Figure 112**

Jean-Honoré Fragonard

*Le Dessinateur*, c. 1772

Black chalk on paper

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York