



SHELTERING ART

COLLECTING AND SOCIAL IDENTITY IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS

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FIGURE 4 Turgot plan. Detail, vicinity of the Palais du Luxembourg, with the Hôtel de Condé (left) and the Petit-Luxembourg (right)

during the Regency, eventually selecting a large unencumbered site at the western edge of the quay on the south bank, near the grounds of the Invalides, at the far left on de Fer's plan. The Conti, the cadet branch, had acquired the former Hôtel de Guénégaud along the quai de Conti, near Pont-Neuf.

Northwest of the Luxembourg Palace stretched the newly developing faubourg Saint-Germain, by the early eighteenth century one of the capital's most rapidly growing districts and the most fashionable noble quarter. There Verrue's grandmother built her family's *hôtel* in the 1660s on the south side of the rue Saint-Dominique (labeled H. de Chevreuse by de Fer). When Verrue

returned to Paris at the turn of the century, she soon installed her household nearby.

Beyond the city's edge to the southeast was the artisanal faubourg Saint-Marcel, where the Gobelins (visible at the far right corner of de Fer's plan) had been established as a royal enterprise in the 1660s, on a site long favored by textile manufacturers and thread dyers (fig. 5). Within its bounds was a diverse and international artistic community, primarily master craftsmen who produced luxury furnishings for the *maisons royales*, but also painters, sculptors, and engravers. Among these factories was the house and thread-dyeing enterprise founded by Dutch immigrant Jean Glucq, who came to Paris in 1662 at Colbert's invitation, bringing his secret formulas for dyes. His ennobled sons would join Verrue's most intimate circle and collect art, but their holdings were dwarfed by those of their cousin Jean de Jullienne. Once established at the former Glucq house next to the Gobelins, Jullienne would transform it by installing the densest concentration of Watteau paintings in Paris—and then reconceive it to accommodate a far larger and more diverse art collection.

ANCIENTS VERSUS MODERNS: *Cultural Quarrels at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century*

On those rare occasions when society goes to war over cultural matters, the importance of . . . [the] debate should never be underestimated.

—Joan DeJean, *Ancients Against Moderns*, 1997

During the period when Crozat and Verrue became established in Paris, more than one “quarrel” dominated the capital's cultural and intellectual landscape and revealed anxieties about evolving identities in a society in transition. The “Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns” was the dispute that arose among



FIGURE 5 Turgot plan. Detail, vicinity of the Gobelins. Maison Glucq, then Jullienne, appears on the south side of the rue de Bièvre (also called the rue des Gobelins); the north-south artery labeled “R. des Gobelins” was also called the rue Mouffetard

men of letters. It emerged at the apex of Louis's reign, when a nationalist agenda was central to Moderns like Charles Perrault; it erupted again in about 1712, in a markedly different political climate. Today it is difficult to comprehend the passion with which these antagonistic positions were argued, yet similar debates raged in virtually every sphere of the arts, suggesting that the matters at stake were more complex than advocates were willing or able to disclose. Indeed, attached to their competing ideological structures were rival notions of modernity.⁵

Among men and women of letters, the quarrel had two phases, bracketing a crucial turning point in intellectual and social history. The protagonists of the first round were Nicolas Boileau (1636–1711), leader of the Ancients, and Charles Perrault (1628–1703), spokesman for the Moderns. When the debate reemerged in the mid-teens, the new leaders of the modern camp were men of letters close to Verrue and her circle. The conflict raised questions about progress, the authority of tradition, and the foundations of taste. To ask whether the culture of the Moderns might equal or surpass that of the Ancients was to raise fundamental issues of identity, including two primary constructions through which it was shaped—class and gender. In fact, the role of women in cultural and intellectual life would be central to these debates.

The ideology of the Moderns was courtly and aristocratic, even if some of its spokespersons, including Perrault, had emerged from bourgeois *milieus*.⁶ Estates mixed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century salons or assemblies like those *chez* Verrue and at court. Bourgeois men of letters and courtiers came together and absorbed elements of each other's outlooks. Courtly ideology found a voice not only among writers born into the second estate but also among those with

whom they mingled. In considering the link between ideology and the history of ideas, it is instructive to note that class affiliations were precisely the reverse in the English “Battle of the Books.” Nothing inherent in either position inevitably linked it to one ideological structure or another. It emerged, in part, from social values associated with education and the mastering of Latin and ancient Greek, which differed in France and Britain.⁷ Many French courtiers could read neither with ease, and most noble women received little or no training in classical languages.

French *anciens* in literature and painting attacked not just the form and style of



CHAPTER 2

Cloistered in the Faubourg Saint-Germain

Jeanne-Baptiste d'Albert de Luynes was a daughter of Louis Charles d'Albert, the duc de Luynes (1620–1690), and his second wife, Anne de Rohan (1644–1684), both of whom emerged from important court families. The d'Albert, a branch of the Alberti clan of Florence, had settled in Provence in the fifteenth century. More distinguished were the Rohan, an old Breton family that traced its noble pedigree to the eleventh century; by the seventeenth century it would claim the stature of foreign princes, albeit not without challenge. Verrue descended from the Rohan through both parents. Her father was a son of Marie de Rohan (1600–1679), older sister of his second wife.¹ In 1683, at age thirteen, Jeanne-Baptiste wed Auguste-Manfroy-Jerôme-Ignace de Scaglia, the comte de Verrue, of a partly French family highly placed at the Savoy court in Turin.

The couple left for Piedmont, where the countess soon attracted the attention of Victor-Amédée II, the duc de Savoie. According to contemporaries, she long resisted the duke, but five years later, when her husband was at war, she became his mistress. She petitioned her husband for an official separation, but without success. The comte

Watteau paintings ever assembled. Scholars concur that he must have done so primarily to facilitate the publication of reproductive engravings after his friend's work. It was apparently an endeavor emerging from genuine



devotion to Watteau, even if the publication also enhanced the market value of his friend's paintings, from which Jullienne would profit.

Its frontispiece, engraved by Nicolas Tardieu, presents a double portrait, in which a standing Watteau leans over his seated friend Jullienne, playing the bass viol, and points with palette and brushes to an easel painting of the lush landscape that surrounds them (fig. 114). All that remained of the painting was a small fragment, a self-portrait of Watteau with his palette, akin to the drawing Jullienne holds in his own portrait by François de Troy (fig. 115). It bore an ode to their friendship and declared the publication's purpose to commemorate Watteau's "divine art."

Scholars have debated Jullienne's motives. Sales of the *recueil* never covered the production expenses, but the value of Watteau's paintings soared. As Jullienne sold the paintings he had acquired, he became for a time virtually a dealer specializing in his friend's work. It has been suggested recently that he may have collaborated with Gersaint in having unfinished works completed by younger painters, especially Pater, but engraved and sold under Watteau's name alone.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the enterprise does not seem to have been pursued primarily for financial gain.

Jullienne had about forty Watteau paintings in his possession when they were engraved from the late twenties through the mid-thirties. Approximately fifty Watteau paintings hung at one time or another in his house, and he owned more than four hundred of his friend's drawings.⁸⁵ Historians often register surprise that Jullienne kept so few of Watteau's paintings, since he had just eight when he died in 1766. Yet no evidence suggests that he ever intended to keep them all or conceived of them as a collection. The paintings did, however, fill his house, and for about a decade it was akin to contemporary museums



devoted to the works of a single artist. It was installed in his residence, and it was unique in the eighteenth century.

When his *catalogue raisonné* of engravings after Watteau's paintings and drawings was complete (or nearly so), Jullienne turned to building an art collection more in keeping with tradition. By the mid-fifties, he still owned more Watteau paintings than any contemporary collector in Paris, but it was nothing like his earlier assemblage. A letter published in the *Mercur* in December 1732 mentioned Jullienne's collection, but cited only his Watteau paintings; the abbé de La Marre's preface to his poem about Watteau (1736) also suggested that Jullienne still owned many paintings.⁸⁶ Of those engraved with his name, Jullienne retained only *Les fêtes vénitiennes*, in which both Vleughels and Watteau appeared (fig. 116), the diminutive *Dénicheur de moineaux*, and the small fragment of the work engraved for the



frontispiece. Yet he bought others, including *Les plaisirs du bal* (fig. 69), which he must have considered among Watteau's finest. He probably convinced his cousin Claude to purchase it, and he would bequeath it to Montullé's son.

Jullienne may have acquired some inexpensive paintings before he turned his attention to Watteau, but his resources were limited before his uncle François died in 1733. Although he profited from Law's system, his investment was relatively small.⁸⁷ His financial success came primarily from the family's thriving thread-dyeing enterprise, which he directed from the late twenties. In 1738, when he was fifty-two, he purchased it outright, paying Saint-Port 130,000 livres for the house, two smaller dwellings, and the factories.⁸⁸

At that time, or shortly after, he rebuilt the *orangerie*, connecting it with the rest of the house and adding a story to accommodate galleries on the ground and first floors (figs. 113 and 117–18). By the fifties, when it

FIGURE 113 (opposite) Massing of buildings comprising the house and ateliers of the Gluc-Jullienne family in 1729, entered from the rue de Bièvre ("dit des Gobelins"). Archives nationales. A: corps-de-logis parallel to street; E: taller corps-de-logis (with entrance); I: stables; X: orangerie; L–V: workshops

FIGURE 114 Nicolas-Henri Tardieu, engraving, after a painting by Watteau according to Mariette's notes in his copy of the Jullienne sale catalogue. Frontispiece to Jullienne's *L'oeuvre d'Antoine Watteau*. Research Library, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles

FIGURE 115 François de Troy, portrait of Jean de Jullienne, holding a drawn portrait of Watteau (possibly by Jullienne, who holds a *porte-crayon*, after a self-portrait by Watteau in his collection), 1722. Cross of the Ordre de Saint-Michel added in or after 1737. Oil on canvas, 92.5 × 73 cm, or 3 × 2.4 ft. (36.4 × 28.7 in.). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes



PLATE IV David Teniers the Younger, *Fête de village*, s/d 1646. Oil on canvas, 97.2 × 130.5 cm, or 3.2 × 4.3 ft. (38.3 × 51.4 in.). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Collections of Verrue, Saint-Port, Voyer d'Argenson, and Choiseul



PLATE V Teniers, *Fête de village*, s/d 1648. Oil on canvas, 97 cm × 129 cm, or 3.2 × 4.2 ft. (38.2 × 50.8 in.). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Collections of Verrue, Fonspertuis, Voyer d'Argenson, and Choiseul (see fig. 95)

Artist	Painting	Comments
Rubens (4)	^B <i>Les vertus: Prudence, Justice, La force; La libéralité</i> (“petits,” 2 pd × 1 pd 4.5 po)	Sold to Tramblin; Hoym bought April 1723: 3,500 liv. (Pichon, 2:64 [no. 312])
Rembrandt	<i>Portrait . . . un jeune Janissaire</i> (1 pd 10 po × 1 pd 5.5 po)	By 1727, Hoym (who hung it with a female portrait, same size, purchased from Lériget) (Pichon, 2:71 [no. 353])
Teniers	Pendant to work below	Carignan (De Brais’s 1742 list in Spenlé [2002], 125: “de M ^r de Noce”)
Wouwerman	“Grand” (pendant)	See above

PERHAPS IN SINGLE-BAY-WIDE CABINET OVERLOOKING THE SQUARE

Smaller Dutch and Flemish works, like those below, were *probably* hung in this room.

Artist	Painting	Comments
Wouwerman (2)	<i>Halte</i> ; ^B <i>Abrevoir</i> (1 pd 4.5 po × 1 pd 11.5 po)	Prev. Verrue; to Hoym 1726 (2,500 liv.); Verrue bought again Aug. 1735 (Pichon, 2:66 [nos. 326–27])
Teniers	^B <i>Joueurs aux dés</i> (1 pd 4.5 po × 1.5 pd) (Hoym 1732 inv.: “dans un corps de garde”)	Hoym 1726: 800 liv. (Pichon, 2:65 [no. 320])
Brueghel, Jan I	^C <i>Une marine</i> (6.5 × 9 po)	Hoym bought from Tramblin 1723 (510 liv.): “venant du comte de Nocé” (Pichon, 2:67 [no. 331])
Dou (2)	2 têtes: ^B <i>Un vieillard</i> ; ^B <i>Une vieille qui lit</i> (1 pd 8.5 po × 1 pd 3.5 po)	Hoym: “très beaux & rares pour la grandeur. . . On estime surtout la <i>Liseuse</i> ,” bought 8-IV-1726: 1,000 liv. (Pichon, 2:65 [nos. 317–18])
Schalcken	^B <i>Jeune homme qui veut baiser une servante qui met une chandelle dans une lanterne</i> (10 × 7.5 po)	Hoym purchased in October 1728: 1,000 liv. (Pichon, 2:73 [no. 362])

WORKS THAT PASSED THROUGH NOCÉ’S COLLECTION BUT ARE NOT IN TABLES ABOVE

A. Gifts to Regent (ca. 1716–19)

1. Van Dyck, portraits of Frans Snyder (142.56 × 105.41 cm) and his wife Margareta ca. 1620 (130.81 × 99.38 cm) (The Frick Collection, 1909.1.39/42)
2. Attr. Annibale Carracci (today: Pedro Orrente?), *Descent from the Cross* (*The Crucifixion*), ca. 1612 (121.3 × 102.6 cm, High Museum, Atlanta; *Recueil Crozat*, 2:XL; color image: <http://www.kressfoundation.org/collection>)

B. Exchanged with the comtesse de Verrue (ca. 1718–20): *La conversation* (*Garden of Love*) attr. to Rubens (fig. 33); in exchange, pair by Claude (see above)

C. 1734 sale: Voltaire purchased some paintings (not further described; see chapter 5)

LOUIS ANGRAN, VICOMTE DE FONSPERTUIS, NO. 21 PLACE VENDÔME (SELECTION)

Sources and Notes

AN, MC LXVII, 558 (20-VII-1747); Y 14794 (11-VI-1747); Gersaint’s 1747 catalogue.

Limited selection of porcelain below; 1747 inventory had 320 lots, often comprising multiple pieces. Mme de Fonspertuis selected seventeen paintings that were removed before the sale; several appeared less than three years later in the sale of Mme d’Hariague (Geneviève Roger du Perron [†1749], widow of Pierre d’Hariague, former *trésorier général de la Maison d’Orléans*) (GPI, 14-IV-1750).

“LE GRAND APP^T DU[DIT] DEFFUNT S. DE FONSPERTUIS” (PREMIER ÉTAGE, FACING PLACE VENDÔME)

TWO-BAY CHAMBRE DE PARADE

Textiles	Wall coverings, 2 curtains, 2 portières: crimson damask (1,100 liv.); bed draped in yellow embroidered satin (“couleur de soufre”), with backs of some armchairs upholstered in the same satin (800 liv.)
Seating	14 armchairs: 6 covered in crimson damask, 8 in tapisserie de petit point (total: 232 liv.)
Trumeaux	Fireplace (102 × 49 po); between windows (109 × 50 po)
Furnishings	Include 1 “table de marbre serancolin” and 2 “encoignures de bois de violette” (160 liv.); 2 petites tables en ecritoire (64 liv.); 2 petites pendules (240 liv.)
Two dessus de porte	Des chiens de chasse “encastrés dans leurs bordures contournées”

Artist	Painting (min. est. value: 80 liv.)	Inv. no./est. (liv.)	Comments
Rembrandt	^B <i>Repentir de Judas</i>	351 (500)	“Grand . . . enlargeur”; Mme de Fonspertuis selected before the sale; poss. <i>Repentant Judas</i> , 1629, priv. coll. Eng. (79 × 102.3 cm)
Teniers	^V <i>Une grande noce</i> (color plate v; fig. 95)	352 (2,400)	L424 (6,000 liv.), Gersaint: gift from Verrue; engr. Le Bas as <i>Réjouissances flamandes</i> ; d’Argenson; Hermitage
Rosingalle, peintre allemand (prob. Ruisdael, Jacob van [Dutch, ca. 1628–1682])	<i>Paysage</i>	353 (100)	L425: “Morceaux de ce maitre sont rares en France . . . les arbres . . . achevés avec une patience qui étonne” (325 liv.)
Claude Lorrain	1 of 2 “grands paysages . . . un soleil levant” (L427: <i>Enée arrivant en Epire avec Anchise son Pere</i> [37 × 50 po]) (<i>Aeneas at Delos</i> , fig. 93)	354a (with 354b, 3,000 liv.)	LV179; L427 (2,001 liv. to Darras [Blondel de Gagny]). Prev. Du Vivier (2nd index LV), poss. Verrue (Blondel de Gagny 1776 sale, L197: “a appartenu à Madame la Comtesse de Verrue, & à M. de Fonspertuis” [9,900 liv.]). NGL, NG1018
Claude Lorrain	“l’autre un soleil couchant” (<i>Jugement de Paris</i> [41 × 54 po])	354b (see above)	LV94; L426 (1,160 liv.). 2nd index LV: Le Danois. NGW, 1969.1
Berchem (2)	<i>Port de mer; Paysage</i> “ornés d’animaux” (30 × 31.5 po)	357 (800)	L431: “très-convenable pour un grand Cabinet” (1,400 liv.)
Breenbergh Miel	<i>Paysage (Fuite en Egypte)</i> <i>Une distribution d’aumone</i> (23.75 × 18 po)	358 (100) 359 (400)	Subject noted when Mme de Fonspertuis selected L432 (1,201 liv.)
Cantarini, S., attr.	^C <i>Prédication de St Jean dans le desert</i> (13.75 × 17.75 po)	360 (120)	L433: “tableau de conséquence,” attr. debated (606 liv.: to Agard [dealer]). Prev. Carignan (1743, L175: 901 liv.). Tallard 1756, L74
Rembrandt	^B <i>La servante</i> (<i>Girl at a Window</i>), “sur bois en hauteur . . . ceintré en haut.” Prob. error in noting support (pendant: on panel); 1776: “sur toile” (fig. 92)	361 (800)	L435 (support not specified): “de même forme & . . . grandeur” (30 × 23.75 po) as L434: together 2,001 or 2,750 liv. Prev. de Piles (†1709); du Vivier († early 1720s); Morville (†1732); Hoym 1737. Blondel de Gagny 1776, L70: “sur une toile ceintrée par le haut,” citing de Piles and Fonspertuis. Dulwich
Rembrandt	<i>Portait de femme</i> “de meme forme et grandeur”	362 (300)	L434: <i>La belle jardinière</i> (“peut servir de pendant [and sold with above] . . . été agrandi à cet effet”)
Wouwerman (2)	“Deux . . . de Vauvremens . . . sur bois en largeur” (fig. 94)	363 (1,200)	L436: 17 × 24 po, “un Départ, & . . . un Retour de Chasse” (3,300 liv. to Pasquier). Moyreau engr.; Pasquier 1755, L4; Count Wackerbarth of Dresden; Dresden, Gal-Nr 1439–40