

ART, ILLUSION, AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE:  
HYACINTHE RIGAUD AND THE MAKING OF THE MARQUIS DE GUEIDAN

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
Department of Art

Chapel Hill  
2012

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## ABSTRACT

CHRISTOPHER CURRIE: Art, Illusion, and Social Mobility in Eighteenth-Century France:  
Hyacinthe Rigaud and the Making of the Marquis de Gueidan  
(Under the direction of Mary D. Sheriff)

Cultural capital was essential to social mobility in eighteenth-century France. Rising through the nobility required more than economic and social capital; one was also required to demonstrate familiarity with discourses on the arts and to show through one's appearance and behavior that one had internalized qualities associated with literature, rhetoric, music, dance, and painting. This dissertation examines the role of cultural capital in the social ascendancy of Gaspard de Gueidan (1688-1767), the great-grandson of a merchant who, through his career in the *Parlement de Provence*, the publication of his writings, and the collecting and commissioning of works of art, became a notable figure in the society of Aix-en-Provence. Aside from the publication of his *Discours*, Gueidan's most significant engagement with the arts was his commissioning of three portraits of himself from the most sought-after portraitist of his day, Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743). Gueidan also published a false genealogy of his family, claiming that their nobility derived from service to the crown in the crusades, and he commissioned a mausoleum to his fictional forbears from the Provençal sculptor Jean-Panrace Chastel (1726-1793). Gueidan's campaign of social ascendancy was in many respects very effective, and yet he was also harshly criticized by certain of his contemporaries, notably his nephew Pierre-César de Charleval and the author

of the *Virelay en vers provençaux*, a poem ridiculing Gueidan that circulated in manuscript among the nobility of Aix-en-Provence. The works Gueidan produced and commissioned fashion images of him as inherently noble, as naturally possessing noble qualities such as grace, moderation, and nonchalance, as well as a sense of duty and a zeal for filling his role within the social order. This dissertation examines the means by which these qualities were given visual forms and the ways in which those forms were used to fashion elite identities. Essential to these processes is the concept of decorum (*la bienséance*); it is the ideal to which artists hoped not only their portraits but all of their works would conform and it is the standard by which individuals and works of art were judged.

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## Introduction

This dissertation explores the function of the arts in the construction of elite identities in early eighteenth-century France. At its heart are Hyacinthe Rigaud's three portraits of Gaspard de Gueidan, paintings that evoke the various strategies by which Gueidan (1688-1767) sought to fashion himself as a member of a social elite. Gueidan rose in society through his career in the *Parlement de Provence*, publication of his *Discours*, the induction of his sons into the Order of Malta, the collecting and commissioning of paintings, and an extensive correspondence with some of the most powerful people in France. He also invented and published an illustrious genealogy for himself and commissioned a cenotaph to his fictional forebears. Placing the various manifestations of Gueidan's ambitions within a broader constellation of objects produced for the Gueidan family and their contemporaries among the nobility of Aix-en-Provence, I argue that the products of Gueidan's activities present not a stable identity determined by birth, education, or marriage alliances, but rather an identity ever-changing in response to different social and political contexts. I examine the degree to which a patron's choices could be less products of social rank and more matters of the desire to be perceived in particular ways in order to facilitate one's social advancement. This is not, however, a patronage study; I am not so much concerned with the role of the patron in the creation of works of art as I am with the function of works of art in the fashioning of the patron.

Stephen Greenblatt's classic concept of self-fashioning provides me with an apt way of describing Gueidan's project.<sup>1</sup> I take the term in the broadest sense to mean the construction of human identity as a self-conscious and artful process, one that draws upon and is embedded within social structures and literary or artistic discourses. Through the various works created and commissioned by Gueidan I trace the discourses he deploys in his project of self-fashioning. Rather than using documents (such as Gueidan's letters and his *Discours*) to explain works of art I treat each object and document as a discreet instance of self-fashioning produced in response to a particular situation. Freed from the expectation that they provide windows into Gueidan's personality, I allow the texts and the paintings to stand as what they were in Gueidan's day: attempts to enter into particular social discourses while controlling the way in which he was perceived within them. The sum total of what these objects and documents present is not Gueidan the man, but rather the various strategies by which he sought to rise in society.

My research is focused on material culture and remnants of sociability in early eighteenth-century Aix: the letters, account books, inventories *après décès*, libraries, and works of art created by and for the elites of that city. I turn to fiction, theater, and opera to reveal the "forms of reasoning and the structures of the imaginary" of the period; but moreover, I turn to treatises on connoisseurship and social comportment to find the forms of reasoning and structures of the imaginary which governed responses to all of these social, material and artistic exchanges and productions.<sup>2</sup> The overriding question which I bring to all of these objects is: how does this object and the multiple associations it invokes position

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<sup>1</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

<sup>2</sup> These terms are borrowed from Daniel Roche, *La Culture des Apparences: Une histoire du vêtement, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

its owner within the overlapping discourses of taste and nobility? However, I am not solely interested in the ways in which texts conditioned the expectations Gueidan's contemporaries brought to works of art; I am also concerned with the ways in which Gueidan performed these discourses - taste, judgment, knowledge and nobility - through the works he created, collected and commissioned.

My work builds on Thomas Crow's *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* and Charlotte Guichard's *Les Amateurs d'Art à Paris au XVIIIe Siècle*;<sup>3</sup> but while they note the institutionalization of the *amateur* within the *Académie Royale* as a means of creating a public for art within the control of that institution and of lending authority to it through association with the noble pursuits of the *amateur*, I am concerned with an earlier phase and a different dynamic in this history; namely, the linking of taste and knowledge of the arts with nobility and the invoking of this discourse as a means to social mobility. Thus I seek to explain not only what meanings viewers would have brought to works of art in a particular historical moment, but also, I explain how works of art *functioned* in the formation and maintenance of social hierarchy and in individual efforts to navigate such structures. For a language with which to describe these processes I turn to sociology and in particular to several interrelated terms coined by Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>4</sup>

Bourdieu examines the role of taste in the maintenance of social hierarchy and the intergenerational transfer of status. Economic capital is not the sole determinant of social status. Bourdieu identifies the other forms of capital that determine one's place within a

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<sup>3</sup>Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). Charlotte Guichard, *Les Amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Editions Champ Vallon, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction : a social critique of the judgment of taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1984).

hierarchical social structure: namely, social and cultural capital, or to put it plainly, whom and what one knows. These concepts have been used extensively in studies of social class in contemporary Western societies; in particular, in examining differential access to educational, occupational, and economic opportunities. Applied to the history of art, these concepts offer a means to expand our understandings of works of art beyond meaning to function and to move considerations of identity in the forms of race and gender into examinations of social class.

Social capital is the network of social relations in which one is embedded. These connections become an asset when they provide one with privileged access to opportunity – educational, occupational, or economic. Social capital is not a tangible asset in the way that economic capital is; it cannot be possessed but is only experienced through relationships.

Cultural capital is a more complex concept. Sociologists Stephen J. McNamee and Robert K. Miller Jr. provide a clear definition:

*Cultural capital* refers to knowledge of the norms, values, beliefs, and ways of life of the groups to which people belong. It is information, often esoteric, specialized, costly, and time-consuming to accumulate, that like social capital, mediates access to opportunity. It is a factor in social mobility because as people move into different segments of society, they need to acquire the cultural wherewithal to travel in different social circles. In essence, cultural capital is a set of cultural credentials that certify eligibility for membership in social and economic groups. To “fit in” and “look and know the part” is to possess cultural capital; to “stick out like a sore thumb” is to be without the cultural cachet necessary to blend in.<sup>5</sup>

Cultural capital is most often acquired informally; it is transferred from one generation to the next by an often unconscious process of socialization. It may also be institutionally sanctioned, for example, with the conferring of academic degrees. For the purposes of my study, an important aspect of the acquisition of cultural capital is

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<sup>5</sup> Stephen J. McNamee and Robert K. Miller Jr., *The Meritocracy Myth* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 71.

*appropriation*. Gaspard de Guedan's cultural capital (or that of anyone, for that matter) is not simply the works of art he inherited, collected, and commissioned; rather, it is the knowledge and competencies he was able to demonstrate with regard to those works.

Appropriation is the process by which works of art contribute to cultural capital. Cultural capital is not the possession of objects deemed superior but the internalization and mastery of the values associated with them. It is mastery of the discourses by which art is discussed and it is the manifestation in one's own speech and bodily comportment of the qualities valued in a work of art.

Two questions were the genesis of this study. The first is very particular: how to explain the anomaly of a rococo masterpiece, the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*, in the oeuvre of the painter who his contemporaries called the French Van Dyck (in other words, the leading practitioner of a venerable tradition in baroque portraiture)? The second is more wide-ranging: are there in the early eighteenth century significant relationships between, on the one hand, particular social ranks, political interests and factions and, on the other, taste for or support of particular stylistic trends in the arts? Similar questions have been posed by Thomas Crow regarding painting in mid to late eighteenth-century Paris and by Todd Olson regarding the works of Nicolas Poussin.<sup>6</sup> Olson offers a decisive answer: Poussin's primary patrons were French robe nobles who shared in common a classical education received at the *collèges*, an education that not only prepared them for the magistrature but also disposed them toward the erudition and stoicism of Poussin's works. Crow's answer is much less straightforward. He describes a complex political landscape, one of shifting alliances – and of shifting tastes in the arts – as various

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<sup>6</sup> Todd Olson, *Poussin and France: Painting, Humanism, and the Politics of Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

players and factions sought to control a burgeoning public sphere for the consumption and criticism of painting. Where Olson associates a taste for Poussin with a particular rank in early seventeenth-century French society, Crow points out the ephemeral nature of such associations in the eighteenth. For example, he shows that the private tastes of Lenormand de Tournehem and his family were very different than those he espoused in his official capacity as *Directeur-général des bâtiments*; for himself he commissioned works in *le goût moderne*, and for the state, *le goût ancien*.<sup>7</sup> What, I wondered, was the relation between politics and artistic styles in the transformative – and underexamined – period between those explored by Olson and Crow?

In seeking an answer to my first question – the anomaly of Rigaud’s portrait of Gueidan – I found an answer to my second, more complex question. In placing the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* in the context of other works produced by Rigaud and his contemporaries for Gueidan and his contemporaries among the elites of Aix-en-Provence, I found no simple correlations of the kind I had sought. The works created for and collected by the elites of Aix comprise a variety of styles, a variety which is also found within individual collections. Gueidan, like the majority of magistrates in the *Parlement de Provence*, was educated at the Jesuit *Collège de Bourbon* and the *Université d’Aix*. The five volumes of his *Discours* and the *plaidoyers* he delivered before the *parlement* reflect the deep grounding in Roman history, rhetoric, and law that that education provided. Like the early seventeenth century robe nobles studied by Olson, the magistrates of the *Parlement de Provence* shared a common cultural and intellectual mentality and language. Mastery of that language was essential to success within the *parlement*, but, as the works produced for Gaspard de Gueidan and his fellow magistrates attest, these magistrates could also deploy

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<sup>7</sup> Crow, 110-113.

other discourses to fashion themselves and to further their interests beyond their role as magistrates. Gueidan is remarkable among his fellow aixois *robins* for the extent of his ambition and the range of discourses – ancient and modern history, classical literature and poetics, as well as the fashionable literature, music, and visual arts of his day - he invoked in his efforts to further that ambition. This is not to say that Gueidan was particularly erudite or wide-ranging in his interests, nor was his collecting and patronage of the arts very extensive; however, the relatively small number of works he collected and commissioned comprise a stylistic variety that reflects the very focused appeals which these works made, through the discourses which they invoke, to insinuate him into various institutions and social circles.

In chapter 1 I focus on Rigaud's first portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan. I argue that this seemingly simple portrait is not merely a likeness of the sitter; rather it is of a type that derives its significance from the interrelated discourses on art and social comportment. In particular, I focus on the idea of *la négligence* in the writings of Roger de Piles (on painting) and the Chevalier de Méré (on social comportment) and argue that this concept, along with a constellation of qualities valued both in painting and manners, are figured and thus attributed to Gueidan in this portrait. I turn to Judith Butler's concept of performativity to explain how portraits of this type give visual form to supposedly inner qualities by figuring them through or on the surface of the body. I articulate how the illusion of a noble inner essence is sustained through physical representation. In this chapter I introduce two terms that are essential to this study: moderation (*la modération*) and decorum (*la bienséance*). Through a reading of Gilles-Antoine de La Roche's writings on nobility and André Félibien's writings on art I demonstrate the centrality of these terms to the conceptions of social and artistic hierarchy prevalent in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century France. Moreover, I show that

these qualities were considered reflections of an unchanging natural order, one that was thought to have been clearly discerned first by the ancient Greeks. Turning once again to Judith Butler, I demonstrate how claims for the authority of nature and antiquity draw attention from the arbitrary and brutal facts of inequality. I show that the illusion of inherent worth sustained in Rigaud's first portrait of Gueidan, and other portraits of this type, is dependent upon the value attributed to certain qualities and behaviors in the discourses on the arts and social comportment. I then turn to collecting as another means of performing supposedly inherent inner qualities. In particular, I examine the ways in which the collections of paintings amassed by exceptional elites in Aix-en-Provence manifested ideals of taste articulated in texts such as Roger de Piles' *Conversations sur la connaissance de la peinture et sur le jugement qu'on doit faire des tableaux*, ideals regulated by moderation and decorum. I read the *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles* as a conscious effort to fashion one collector as possessing the qualities embodied in the works reproduced.<sup>8</sup> Drawing on published and unpublished inventories in the municipal archives of Aix-en-Provence I demonstrate that Eguilles' collection, in its comprehensive scope and conformity to de Piles' model of connoisseurship, was atypical of collections of paintings in Aix. Gaspard de Gueidan's collection was equally unusual but for a different reason. The Gueidans collected primarily portraits and, as I demonstrate, Gaspard de Gueidan used them as a manifestation of his social capital, as a sort of map of the political and social circles in which he sought to insinuate himself.

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<sup>8</sup> *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix: J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918. This book of engravings after paintings in the collection of Jean-Baptiste Boyer d'Eguilles was the first of its kind published in France.

In chapter 2 I turn to Rigaud's second portrait of Gueidan, the portrait of him in his official capacity as *avocat général* in the *Parlement de Provence*. I argue that this portrait is also a manifestation of conceptions of moderation and decorum, in particular that it shows Gueidan adhering to and fulfilling his place in society: in short, this is more the portrait of the office than of the man. It is through this conformity that the portrait attributes noble qualities of moderation and a sense of decorum to the sitter. I also argue that in choosing Rigaud as his portraitist, Gueidan associates himself not only with the monarchy but also with Rigaud's other patrons in Provence, who were the victors in the crown's struggle for authority over this traditionally independent and rebellious province. Turning to Gueidan's *Discours prononcés au Parlement de Provence par un de messieurs les avocats généraux*, I argue that they function in much the same way as Rigaud's second portrait of Gueidan.<sup>9</sup> Drawing on and refashioning ancient texts, and repeatedly speaking out against ambition and self-interest, Gueidan, in the *Discours*, fashions himself as a devoted servant of the state, bound by an uncompromising sense of duty. Turning to Gueidan's letters, I show how his voice as a writer varies depending upon the relation between his social role and that of his interlocutor; thus when addressing the king's ministers he is a humble servant, and when writing to men of letters he uses his wit and quotations from ancient and modern literature to fashion himself as a learned orator.<sup>10</sup> Finally, I turn to the pendant to Rigaud's second portrait of Gueidan, Nicolas de Largillierre's portrait of Madame de Gueidan as Flora.<sup>11</sup> I argue that such pairings of a portrait of a man in his official capacity with one of a woman in a mythological

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<sup>9</sup> Gaspard de Gueidan, *Discours prononcés au Parlement de Provence par un de messieurs les avocats généraux* (Paris : Quillau, 1739-63).

<sup>10</sup> *Lettres de Gueidan*. Bibliothèque Arbaud, MF59.

<sup>11</sup> There are two spellings of Largillierre. I have chosen Largillierre, over the standardized Largillière, as this is how he signed both his paintings and his letters.

guise (invariably one associated with fertility and beauty) embody a conception of a gendered division of labor and personal characteristics that pervades western cultures, one that associates women with nature and immanence and men with culture and transcendence.

In chapter 3 I examine Rigaud's foray into the rococo with his third and final portrait of Gueidan, the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*. With this portrait Rigaud departs from his vandyckian pictorial strategies for figuring a clearly legible social hierarchy and embraces the vocabulary of Watteau and his followers, in particular Nicolas Lancret. I demonstrate that the pictorial elements and themes of the painting – the exotic, the pastoral, rustic music and musical instruments, and an interest in disguise and identity – are prevalent in the fashionable artistic and musical culture of its day; in particular, I look at the commonalities in themes and forms between Rigaud's portrait and Jean-Philippe Rameau's *opéra-ballet Les Indes Galantes* which premiered in the same year Rigaud completed the portrait. I examine the prevalence of two rustic instruments, the musette and the tambourin, in the works of Lancret and in the musical culture of the day. I argue that the tambourin (an instrument and musical form indigenous to Provence) evoked in the minds of elites an exotic, foreign place – much like Turkey or the Levant – one that brought with it negative associations; while the musette was firmly associated, not only with the fashionable musical culture of the day, but also with nobility and the pastoral – associations that Gueidan welcomed. Through a reading of Charles-Emmanuel Borjon de Scellery's *Traité de la Musette*, I show that the musette, while developed in the seventeenth century, was associated in the minds of elites with antiquity, thus giving it the same claims to authority and nobility as painting and architecture. I look then at the continued interest in eighteenth-century France in Honoré d'Urfé's pastoral romance *L'Astrée* and the indebtedness of the artistic and

musical culture of the day, including the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*, to this work. I argue that *L'Astrée*, as a meditation on noble identity whose plot is driven by numerous instances of disguise and mistaken identity, resonated very strongly with a culture newly fascinated by appearances, pleasure, and, in general, the subjectivity of experience. Turning once again to the works of Roger de Piles and also to those of Charles Perrault, I demonstrate that this culture was in part the product of the intellectual quarrels of the late seventeenth century: namely, the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns and that of the *rubénistes* and *poussinistes* (*la querelle de coloris*). I argue that Rigaud's third portrait of Gueidan places the sitter within the fashionable artistic culture of the day and that Gueidan calculated that this portrait would appeal to particular people of his acquaintance: among them, Henry Lowther, the third Viscount Lonsdale, and the Princesse de Carignan, whose husband patronized the painter Lancret and, at the time the portrait was painted (and Rameau's operas were premiering), was director of the *Académie Royale de Musique*. Turning once again to Gueidan's letters I show how, in certain of them, he uses antique references to the pastoral to evoke the image of this painting in the minds of his readers.

In the fourth and final chapter I turn to the mausoleum Gueidan commissioned from the Provençal sculptor Jean-Pancrace Chastel and to the genealogy of the Gueidan family published in Artefeuil's *Histoire héroïque et universelle de la noblesse de Provence*. While Rigaud's portraits of Gueidan demonstrate how portraiture could contribute to social mobility in early eighteenth-century France, these two works clarify the limits of that mobility. Rigaud's portraits of Gueidan contribute to his social mobility by making subtle claims to an inherent nobility. They do so by evoking key concepts from the interrelated discourses on art, social comportment, and nobility, and by suggesting that the qualities

valued in these discourses emanate from Gueidan's heart and mind. The mausoleum and the genealogy work in a very different way: they make overt – and false – claims regarding the social status of the Gueidan family. I assert that it is because these works make for the patron no demonstration or claims of appropriation – that is, of the mastery and internalization of the valued qualities associated with works of art - but instead make overt claims to his elevated status, that they elicited the criticism of his contemporaries, while Rigaud's portraits did not. The negative reactions of some of Gueidan's contemporaries – I look in particular at the *Virelay en vers provençaux*, a poem satirizing Gueidan's ambition, and the *livre de raison* of Gueidan's nephew, the Marquis de Charleval - show that the concepts with which he fashioned his noble identity (moderation and decorum) were the same concepts that were used to criticize him. Rigaud's portraits of Gueidan were performances of moderation and decorum that contributed to his rising social status; the mausoleum and the publishing of his genealogy were violations of moderation and decorum that cost him social capital.

The backdrop and substance of Gaspard de Gueidan's performance of elite identity is that period in the history of western art that we call the rococo, a style and mode of thought that Gueidan's contemporaries called *le goût moderne*. The art of this period has been understood primarily through negative responses to it; in particular, La Font de Saint-Yenne's *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la peinture en France* (1747). A generation of art historians have made, and continues to make, great strides toward rectifying that situation, presenting the rococo on its own terms. What this dissertation contributes to that work is a demonstration of the degree to which the art and thought of the period was grounded in a conception of antiquity. I assert, along with most scholars of early eighteenth-

century French art, that this style reflects both changing artistic and social values, a relaxing of the strict hierarchies that regulated all aspects of French culture in the seventeenth century. And yet, if there was a promiscuous mixing of some things (people of different social ranks, schools of painting and music) and neglect of others (the venerable genres of history painting and the lyric tragedy in opera) in the early eighteenth century, it was done always with an awareness of the social and artistic standards of antiquity and of the *Grand Siècle*; it was not so much a wholesale rejection of French Classicism and the conception of antiquity in which it was grounded as it was a reassessment of the limits and authority of that particular conception of truth. The turn of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth in France was a period of conscious reassessment. The enduring values discovered by the ancients had been rediscovered in fifteenth-century Italy and reached their apogee in the reign of the Sun King – so the story goes. The setting of that sun begged the question: could perfection be maintained, and if so would it be through the preservation of old forms and ideas or the discovery of new ones? It was upon this field of contested values that Gaspard de Gueidan and a great number of his contemporaries in Provence waged their campaigns of social mobility.

Although he claimed that the nobility of his family was conferred in return for his ancestors' service in the crusades, Gaspard de Gueidan was the great-grandson of a merchant. He was the son of Pierre, son of Gaspard, son of Pierre, son of Christol, son of Jean; the archives of the notaries of Forcalquier, Reillanne, and Aix do not allow the Gueidan genealogy to be traced back any further.<sup>12</sup> In the archives Jean is referred to as *marchand*,

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<sup>12</sup> The history of the Gueidan family, based in part on research in the archives of these three towns, is found in Augustin Roux, « La Famille de Gueidan d'après des documents inédits, » *Arts et Livres de Provence* 29 (1956), 13-51.

and Christol, *marchand* and *bourgeois*. In 1650 Gaspard Gueidan, great-grandson of Jean Gueidan and grandfather of Gaspard de Gueidan, left Reillanne, purchased a position as *auditeur-archivair*e in the *Cour des Comptes*, and established his residence in Aix. In 1666, at the age of 50, he took his law degree. In 1691 his position in the *Cour des Comptes* was passed on to his eldest son Pierre. Gaspard died January 6, 1694. His will indicated that Pierre was not to inherit the family fortune; Gaspard felt that his son had already benefited enough from his generosity.<sup>13</sup> Gaspard's son Pierre Gueidan was born in Reillanne February 25, 1646. He was educated in Aix at the *Collège de Bourbon* and the *Université*. March 27, 1677 he married Madeleine de Trets, daughter of Charles, *conseiller au Parlement*, and Louise de Lieutaud. Upon his father's death he received 75,000 livres, 40,000 of which he was to pass on to any sons that might be born, provided that they become magistrates. Pierre also received money from his father in 1681, to buy a house on the *Cours* (today the *Cours Mirabeau*), and in 1683, to buy the *domaine de Valabre*, which became the Gueidan family's country estate. In 1714 he offered his position in the *Cour des Comptes* to his son Gaspard, who refused it. It was given to Gaspard's brother Jean who held the position until his death in 1751. Gaspard de Gueidan was born in Aix, April 10, 1688. After studying law at the *Université d'Aix* he took, in 1714, a position as *avocat-général* in the *Parlement de Provence*. After a failed plan to marry Mademoiselle de Bruny, daughter of the Marquis d'Entrecasteaux, he married Angelique de Simiane, daughter of Joseph de Simaine and of Marguerite de Valbelle on March 28, 1724.

Gaspard de Gueidan enjoyed the same social status as many of his fellow magistrates in the *Parlement de Provence*. The position his grandfather purchased in the *Cour des Comptes* conferred personal nobility, as did the position Gaspard de Gueidan purchased in

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<sup>13</sup> Roux, 16.

the *parlement*. Personal nobility was conferred on the individual and could not be passed on to the next generation. By the standards of the day personal nobility became transmissible from father to son with the fourth generation. Thus, were Gaspard's sons to serve in the *Cour des Comptes* or the *parlement* they could call themselves gentlemen and pass their noble status on to their sons. Monique Cubells has described the general social status of the magistrates of the *Parlement de Provence* as "une noblesse moyenne."<sup>14</sup> Gueidan's social status is typical of that of a large number of magistrates; it places him right in the middle of this middling nobility. Gaspard de Gueidan's campaign of social ascendancy was calculated to elevate him from one *état* to another, to free him from this middling position within the nobility.<sup>15</sup>

286 persons served in the *parlement* over the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

These people come from 163 family branches.<sup>17</sup> Two of these families are *chevalresque*, that

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<sup>14</sup> Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières: Les parlementaires d'Aix au 18eme siècle* (Paris : Maloine, 1984), 29.

<sup>15</sup> The traditional interpretation of the transformation of the French nobility in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – what is sometimes referred to as the crisis interpretation – posits two distinct social groups, the sword nobility (an old nobility whose status is based on military service) and the robe nobility (a new nobility whose status is based on service in the legal professions). In this interpretation the sword nobility was threatened by the rise of capitalism, their own exclusive marriage patterns, and their lack of regard for education coupled with a rising state bureaucracy in which education was valued. These factors allowed the Crown to expand its authority with little opposition. The revisionist interpretation argues that this account is too general and does not take local evidence into account. Wood and Dewald argue that older noble families assimilated newly ennobled families and welcomed an influx of talents and money. Bohanan argues that in Aix-en-Provence in the seventeenth century there was no significant distinction between sword and robe nobles and that old and new noble families shared the same mentalities and practices with regard to wealth, politics, marriage, and education. She also asserts that this Provençal nobility for the most part resisted attempts by the Crown to usurp their authority and autonomy. The crisis interpretation is presented by, among others, Roland Mousnier, *La venalite des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris, 1971); and Franklin L. Ford, *Robe and Sword: The Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953). The revisionist interpretation is argued by James B. Wood, *The Nobility of the Election of Bayeux, 1463-1666: Continuity Through Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Jonathan Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility: The Magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen, 1499-1610* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); and Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence, 1600-1695* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

<sup>16</sup> Cubells, 28.

is, their nobility is without known origin and has proofs going back to before 1400: the Isoard de Chenerilles and the Benault de Lubieres. Seven of these families trace their nobility to the fifteenth century; 35 to the sixteenth; 61 to the seventeenth; and 30 to the eighteenth; 30 are newly ennobled, and 13 cases are impossible to assess.<sup>18</sup> Of the 35 families ennobled in the sixteenth century, 6 were ennobled in the first half of the century and 28 in the second (one case remains uncertain); thus 1550 is a pivotal year: the majority of the 163 family branches represented in the *parlement* were ennobled after this year.<sup>19</sup> Of the 286 individuals, 31 represent the first degree of nobility (the number of degrees includes the interested person, thus these individuals are *annoblis*); 42 represent the second degree, 67 the third degree; 52 the fourth; 37 the fifth; 25 the sixth; 13 the seventh; 11 the eighth; 6 the ninth; and 2 the tenth.<sup>20</sup> Eighteenth-century jurists and genealogist agreed that nobility attains excellence with a certain number of degrees; however, they did not agree on the exact number: some said three and others four.<sup>21</sup> 146 magistrates satisfy this stricter criterion, 51%.<sup>22</sup> The most commonly recurring status among the magistrates is three degrees, one short of the status of gentleman – this was Gaspard de Gueidan’s situation. The second most commonly recurring is four degrees; thus the *parlement* is not only nearly evenly divided between gentlemen and non-gentlemen, but there is also a concentration around the divide

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<sup>17</sup> Cubells, 26.

<sup>18</sup> Cubells, 26.

<sup>19</sup> Cubells, 27.

<sup>20</sup> Cubells, 28.

<sup>21</sup> Gilles-André de la Roque, *Traité de la Noblesse et de toutes ses différentes espèces* (Rouen, 1735).

<sup>22</sup> Cubells, 29.

between old and new nobility. Thus Cubells calls the nobility of the *parlement une noblesse moyenne*.

Cubells also looks at degrees of nobility in relation to function within the *parlement*. Beginning with the highest status position and proceeding to the lowest: 3 of 4 premiers presidents were gentlemen (four or more degrees); 81.5% of presidents à mortier; 48.1% of conselliers; and 52.9% of *les gens du Roy*. Among *les gens du Roy*, almost evenly split between gentlemen and non-gentlemen, Gaspard de Gueidan is once again on the edge of this divide.<sup>23</sup>

Gaspard de Gueidan's middling noble status was quite common among the elites of early eighteenth-century Aix-en-Provence. His efforts at social climbing were not particularly unique either. While, for example, .32 percent of the population of Amiens claimed noble status in 1675, and .11 percent of the population of Beauvais in 1696, in Aix in 1695 the figure was 12.75 percent.<sup>24</sup> In 1715, in Gaspard de Gueidan's immediate social milieu, the *Parlement de Provence*, 58 percent of noblemen could trace the nobility of their family back only three generations or fewer.<sup>25</sup> One must also consider that 68 of the 163 families serving in the *parlement* in the eighteenth century had either obscured their origins or, like Gaspard de Gueidan, created false genealogies to further their political and social ambitions.<sup>26</sup> The upward mobility of the new *aixoïs* elite was accompanied by a series of

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<sup>23</sup> Cubells, 31. *Les gens du Roy* were those magistrates whose duty it was to represent the position of the Crown. The *avocat général* was chosen from among the *gens du Roy* to serve in a position comparable to what today we call a public prosecutor. This was the position Gaspard de Gueidan held within the *parlement*.

<sup>24</sup> Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence, 1600-1695: Portrait of an Urban Elite* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 20.

<sup>25</sup> Cubells, 29.

<sup>26</sup> Cubells, 97.

campaigns of urban development, and the products of these building booms demonstrate that the resources of this elite were not equal to their desire to give material form to their new status. Many building projects initiated in Aix in this period remain unfinished even today.<sup>27</sup> Late in his life Gaspard de Gueidan was criticized for his shameless social ambition, and yet he shared with the people of his milieu the desire and initiative to better the standing of his family. The gradual change in a family's place in the social hierarchy was generally not seen as a transgression of social norms; however, the precipitous rise of an individual was seen as a breach of decorum.<sup>28</sup> With the publication of his false genealogy and the construction of the mausoleum to his fictional ancestors, Gueidan crossed a line; he stepped too far outside of the societal role into which he was born; his ambition came to be perceived as indecorous.

In the scholarship on Gaspard de Gueidan there is no acknowledgment of the role of his political acumen in his efforts at social mobility and the degree to which these efforts were successful; nor is there recognition of the role of the concepts of *modération* and *bienséance* in the fashioning of Gueidan's image in Rigaud's three portraits of him. Despite the extreme rancor expressed by Gueidan's nephew, the Marquis de Charleval, and the particularity of the situation in which it was provoked (a dispute over money), his account of Gueidan, and others like it, have been taken at face value and echo down to our own day. No one has yet written on any of Rigaud's three portraits of Gueidan without commenting on his pretensions, his fatuousness, his megalomania. He has been likened to Molière's Monsieur

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<sup>27</sup> Jean-Paul Coste, *La Ville d'Aix en 1695 : Structure urbaine et société* (Aix, 1970). Coste argues that neither wealth nor demographics can explain the growth of Aix in the seventeenth century; rather the motivating factor was the desire of the residents of Aix to project an image of themselves as a social elite.

<sup>28</sup> Carolyn Lougee, *Le Paradis des Femmes : Women, Salons, and Social Structure in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1976). Lougee offers a discussion of the arguments made in the literature of the period for and against social mobility. She points out that venality – the crown's practice of selling positions that conferred noble status – brought an influx of talent to the nobility (not to mention an influx of cash to the state), and that marriage alliances between bourgeoisies and nobles provided much needed financial resources to the latter.

Jourdain in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, a rich parvenu who imitates the tastes and behaviors of the aristocracy without even beginning to comprehend the substance of their accomplishments. Hubertus Kohle argues that Gueidan's falsification of his genealogy and his efforts to get his sons into the Order of Malta bring him dangerously close to resembling Monsieur Jourdain, and Ariane James-Sarazin dismisses Gueidan as "a *bourgeois gentilhomme* in search of respectability" – that is to say, someone not particularly worthy of respect.<sup>29</sup> The character described in the *Virelay* and in Charleval's *livre de raison* is read into the portraits, but then the portraits are treated as if the negative traits described in the writings of Gueidan's contemporaries are somehow evident in them, and finally Gueidan is further criticized for being oblivious to the negative way in which these portraits would be received, that is, for not having seen what is presumably so abundantly clear to everyone else. One arrives through this reasoning at the very assumption with which one began: Gueidan, like Molière's Monsieur Jourdain, is buffered by his extreme vanity and self-satisfaction, if not by the simple fact that he is dense, from the realization that he is, in the eyes of everyone around him, absolutely foolish.

Jourdain dresses extravagantly, believing that he is imitating the nobility, and his maidservant, Nicole, when she sees him decked out in his finery, laughs in his face. He lives in a world turned upside-down: he does not know how to order things in his life as a

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<sup>29</sup> « De manière significative, Gueidan s'y attaqua peu après la mort de son père : il s'agit d'une véritable falsification de l'histoire. Gueidan se livre à d'autres manipulations de ce genre, qui le rendent dangereusement proche de M. Jourdain, le naïf parvenu auquel Molière, dans *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, a consacré l'une de ses plus belles satires. Les efforts déployés par Gueidan pour faire entrer ses trois enfants dans l'ordre de Malte, qui était réservé exclusivement à la noblesse, sont très éloquents à cet égard. » Hubertus Kohle, « Le portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan par Hyacinthe Rigaud. Art et politique aristocratique sous l'Ancien Régime » In *Arts et société. Essais sur l'art français, 1734-1889* (Verlag, 2009), 15. « Bourgeois gentilhomme en quête de respectabilité, Gaspard de Gueidan ne s'y trompa pas : il convenait, pour preuve de sa distinction tant native qu'acquise par ses fréquentations, de commander son portrait à celui auquel les plus hautes personnalités de la ville et la région avaient réservé leurs suffrages, Hyacinthe Rigaud. » Ariane James-Sarazin, "Hyacinthe Rigaud et ces messieurs d'Aix-en-Provence" *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 161 (2003), 258.

gentleman, so he turns for advice and acceptance, not to the people who actually have the power to bestow the elevated status he seeks, but to the people he employs, who, in turn, prove themselves to be his betters. Jourdain's vanity and fantastical notions blind him to the proper order of things. His maidservant, his music, dance, fencing, and philosophy masters accept and adeptly fill the roles in society to which they have been born. They understand the ordering of society, the proper places of people and behaviors. They understand better than Jourdain does the things to which he aspires.

Commentators on Gueidan have been too willing to echo the sentiments of his most ardent detractors among his contemporaries. Gueidan did not resemble Monsieur Jourdain nearly as much as some would like to believe. That is not to say that *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* did not embody, and provide a further model for, a criticism of social climbers in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France. And yet, while *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and the qualities and behaviors associated with Monsieur Jourdain may have become the touchstone for an elaborate and particular critique of social mobility, one certainly cannot assume that every person at whom this critique was leveled conformed to the model articulated by Molière. Because the characterizations provided by Charleval and the author of the *Virelay* have a great deal in common with Molière's Monsieur Jourdain, one cannot avoid the phrase *le bourgeois gentilhomme* with regard to Gueidan; however, one must not take these documents as unmediated glimpses of the character of Gueidan, nor as representative of how his contemporaries experienced him. *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* was simply a vivid point of reference for the critique of the socially ambitious.<sup>30</sup> Nor is

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<sup>30</sup> The works of Molière were well known to French elites in the early eighteenth-century. Even Pierre de Gueidan, who seems to have taken only a passing interest in literature, owned a complete set of the playwright's works. *Le Rapport d'estimation générale des biens de Pierre de Gueidan, mort le 3 Fév. 1734*. Archives Municipales d'Aix-en-Provence, BB218, 516.

*bourgeois gentilhomme* a reference to Gueidan's actual social status. He was not in fact a bourgeois, rather he was solidly ensconced through birth and marriage alliances within the nobility.<sup>31</sup>

Gaspard de Gueidan's account books indicate that he spent a great deal of money on clothes. He also made payments to a music master and a dance master. Were they, like Jourdain's instructors, happy to take their patron's money but frustrated with his complete lack of appreciation for their work? Jourdain employs a philosopher to instruct him, and Gueidan is in Ariane James-Sarazin's assessment, an aspiring *philosophe* who peppers his correspondence with Latin quotations. He is only too eager to believe insincere praise, and when his *plaidoyers* are published, he hopes that they will open the doors of the *Académie Française* to him.<sup>32</sup> Gaspard de Gueidan would seem to have lived the role of Molière's would-be gentleman.

While a selective reading of documents and objects relating to Gueidan may seem to support this point of view, a more thorough reading presents a very different picture. The entries of payments to music and dance masters in his account books for the years 1744-1762 relate to the instruction of Gueidan's daughters, Anne-Thérèse-Adelaïde (b. 1725) and

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<sup>31</sup> As mentioned above, his grandfather, Gaspard I, had taken the first step toward nobility by purchasing a position as *auditeur-archiviste* in the *Cour des Comptes*. Gaspard I's son, Pierre, had been president of the *Coure des Comptes* and married Madeleine de Trets, daughter of Charles de Trets, *conseiller au Parlement*, and Louise de Lieutaud. Pierre and Madeleine's daughter Louise (Gaspard II's sister) married Joseph-François de Galice (son of Joseph de Galice, *conceiller au Parlement*, and Jeanne de Thomassin), and another of their daughters, Catherine, married François de La Tour de Cadenel de Charleval, *conceiller au Parlement*. Gaspard de Gueidan's profession was largely determined by the situation into which he was born.

<sup>32</sup> "Vaniteux à l'excès, gageons que Gaspard dut se prendre au jeu des louanges les moins sincères, lui qui qualifiait ses écrits du terme faussement modeste de 'barbouillures,' mais dont il espérait qu'ils ouvriraient quand même les portes de l'Académie française." James-Sarazin, 261.

Catherine-Polyxène-Julie (b. 1734).<sup>33</sup> Julie married in 1759 and thus lived under Gueidan's care during the years in question.

What Gueidan's critics, both his contemporaries and ours, object to is his having claimed a degree of nobility to which he was not born. Their objections to his aspirations and to the means by which he acquired his noble title imply that the claims of certain of his contemporaries to an innate superiority over others were somehow legitimate. What these objections and the inadvertent valorization of elite status that logically follows from them overlook is the degree to which nobility was – and is, though this is less to the point – a performance, and not simply a quantifiable or verifiable measure of the privilege to which one was entitled at birth. It was not only a matter of blood (though this was held up as the main source of nobility); it was also the manifestation, through one's behavior, of several interrelated discourses; namely, those relating to the arts, courtly behavior, and nobility itself. These discourses all claim that the arts which they describe are imitations of an unchanging natural order. Art is therefore not simply a pleasing deception but rather the reflection of unalterable truth. The practice and appreciation of these arts lend the appearance of naturalness to certain claims, most notably to that of an innate personal superiority over others. An elite must be accomplished, for it is through accomplishments that one performs nobility. It is this performance that sustains the illusion of social hierarchy grounded in a natural order.

Putting aside judgments regarding Gueidan's character, this dissertation examines the role of engagement with discourses on the arts, nobility, and social comportment in the particular instance of social climbing presented in the objects and texts produced for, by, and

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<sup>33</sup> In June 1744 Gueidan paid six *livres* « pour le maitre de musique de ma fille » and in October of the same year 12 *livres* to M. Godar « maitre de danse de ma fille.” Gaspard de Gueidan, *État de recette et de dépense commencé le 1<sup>er</sup> juin 1744*. Bibliothèque Arbaud, ms. non côté.

about him. An in depth examination of this particular instance sheds light upon the means by which elite status was accrued and maintained. I argue that a display of cultural knowledge was an essential element in the performance of elite status in *ancien régime* France. I also argue that decorum (*la bienséance*) is the concept that lies at the heart of the various discourses Gueidan engaged and sought to manifest in his campaign of social ascendancy. It is also the criterion by which his contemporaries judged him. Far from the fatuous, insipid, and pretentious figure of the *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, Gueidan brought a degree of political, social, and artistic acumen to his efforts to rise in society. Unlike Molière's Monsieur Jourdain - the son of a merchant and yet entertaining fantastic notions of gentility - Gueidan spent the fifty-two years of his career in the *Parlement de Provence* accruing the political capital that he would exchange for markers of distinction. His hope that publishing his *discours* and *plaidoyers* would gain him acceptance into the *Académie Française* was never realized; however, he was a member of the *Académie de Marseille*. And despite his rejection by the *Académie Française* his published works played a substantial role in his campaign of social ascendancy: they were his calling card, reminding his potential benefactors of the services he rendered to wealth and power throughout his career. Gueidan did not so much put on airs as he put pressure on powerful persons and institutions to grant him privileges. He did not so much cultivate "a sort of relaxed dandyism, a wise and measured bohemianism"<sup>34</sup> as he – like all elites – fashioned an image of himself as possessing inherently a nobility which is, in fact, acquired through making oneself useful to other elites.

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<sup>34</sup> James-Sarazin, 261.

## Chapter One: The Nobleman

Hyacinthe Rigaud first painted Gaspard de Gueidan in 1719. The portrait (fig. 1) seems to be a simple likeness. One finds in it none of the marks of distinction evident in his better-known portraits of French monarchs, financiers, and aristocrats at court. Here there is none of the grand vandyckian pictorial vocabulary of Rigaud's full-length and three-quarter portraits: no column on a high pedestal decorated with bas-reliefs, no spacious architectural setting all but concealed by a sumptuous curtain (figs. 2, 7, 17, 27). Gueidan is figured out of doors. He wears a simple lace collar, tied but leaving his neck exposed. The pose, the bare neck, and the shadows along the jaw line do nothing to conceal an ample double chin. The French art historian Ariane James-Sarazin writes: "The only detail to betray his rank, his lace collar is negligently open: affecting the manner reserved in Rigaud's work for artists and writers, the *avocat général* cultivates a sort of relaxed dandyism, a wise and measured bohemianism that sits perfectly with his fatuity."<sup>35</sup> It would seem that the portrait is a window into the past, one in which we see Gueidan as he was, and that the flesh made visible through paint gives material form to the interiority of the sitter, to his character. Does the informality of this portrait signify, as James-Sarazin asserts, the fatuity of the sitter?

This portrait is not the immediate likeness it might at first appear: the likeness of Gueidan appears within, and is structured by, several conventions common in Rigaud's

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<sup>35</sup> « Seule trahison par rapport à son rang, le col de dentelle de Gaspard est négligemment ouvert: en affectant la mise habituellement dévolue chez Rigaud aux artistes et aux écrivains, l'avocat général cultive une sorte de dandysme relâche, de bohème sage et mesurée qui sied parfaitement à sa fatuité. » Ariane James-Sarazin, « Hyacinthe Rigaud et ces messieurs d'Aix-en-Provence » (*Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 161, 2003), 261-263. The *avocat général* is the position in the *parlement* that represents the position of the crown and prosecutes cases on its behalf. The structure of the *parlement* will be discussed in the following chapter.

portraits, conventions that, I will argue, refer not to personal characteristics of the sitter but to ideas that are in turn conventions in the writing on art and society in the period. The background against which Gueidan is figured is not simply a glimpse of nature; it is rather a distinctly titianesque dawn or dusk and brings with it all that Titian signifies in an early eighteenth-century view of the history of painting. His clothing is all but concealed by rich gold and blue fabrics, not garments but rather conventional props in Rigaud's studio. His eyebrows are slightly raised, his nostrils slightly flared, the corners of his mouth slightly upturned, an expression impossible to imitate in the flesh.<sup>36</sup> Rigaud has not simply recorded the raw optical impression of Gueidan's appearance, nor has he, as James-Sarazin asserts, captured the character of this sitter. James-Sarazin's interpretation is problematic on several counts: the dandy and the bohemian were figures that would not appear until the early nineteenth century;<sup>37</sup> his lace collar does not appear to be open; and an open collar is not a detail reserved exclusively for artists and writers in Rigaud's work. Yes, Rigaud in his self-portraits often figures himself with an open collar (fig. 3). He paints the poet Boileau in this manner (fig. 4). But the architect Robert de Cotte (fig. 5) and the poet Jean de la Fontaine (fig. 6) are painted with their necks covered by a tidily arranged jabot. And then others who neither practiced an art nor versified are painted with an open collar: for example, Nera Maria Corsini (fig. 7) and Lucas Schaub (fig. 8). An open collar is not a detail reserved for

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<sup>36</sup>This facial expression conforms to a description in Roger de Piles discussion of portraiture : « Il faut [...] prendre garde qu'au même temps que le modèle se donne un air riant, les yeux se serrent, les coins de la bouche s'élèvent avec les narines, les joues remontent ; et les sourcils s'éloignent l'un de l'autre. » Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris : Gallimard, 1989), 130.

<sup>37</sup> Regarding the dandy, see: Domna C. Stanton, *The Aristocrat as Art: A Study of the Honnête Homme and the Dandy in Seventeenth and Nineteenth-Century French Literature*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980). Regarding the bohemian: Maurice Samuels, "Introduction." In Henri Murger, *The Bohemians of the Latin Quarter*, trans. Ellen Marriage and John Selwyn (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), vii-xvi; and Jerrold Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930* (New York: Viking, 1986).

artists and writers; however, they are often painted in this way. A survey of Rigaud's portraits shows a strong correlation between artists and open collars. Men who took an interest in the arts but were not professional artists, that is, amateurs, connoisseurs, and collectors, are frequently painted with an open collar. And finally, people with no claim to artistic accomplishments or knowledge of the arts are occasionally figured with an open collar – for example, Antoine Bouhier (fig. 9). An open collar is a detail associated with artists but not reserved for them.

An open collar derives its significance from its association with artists and when it is used in portraits of non-artists it is for the purpose of attributing to the sitter qualities associated with artists and their works. An open collar, both in portraits of artists and non-artists is one of several means of figuring *la négligence*, a quality attributed in the literature on the arts and social comportment to the best works of art as well as to the refined behaviors of the nobility. I will examine three strategies by which *la négligence* is figured in Rigaud's work: certain types of collars and their arrangement, certain poses, and a portrait type of which Rigaud's 1719 *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan* is an example. These three strategies by which supposedly inner qualities are figured on and through the body derive their significance from the discourses on the arts and social comportment. These two discourses are closely interrelated: both engage the same metaphors and vocabulary and often borrow freely from each other. These discourses stretch back to the Italian Renaissance, to Alberti's *On Painting* and to Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, and beyond, to their sources in antiquity. In the moment of Rigaud's artistic formation and the development of his vocabulary of portraiture – that is, the latter quarter of the seventeenth century – they find their most complete and current form in Roger de Piles' writings on painting and those of

Antoine Gombault, Chevalier de Méré on social comportment. But Rigaud's artistic strategies and vocabulary do not necessarily derive from these texts: more likely, the works of Rigaud, de Piles, and Méré are concurrent articulations of commonly held views on the arts, social comportment, and nobility. The most immediate source for Rigaud's artistic strategies and vocabulary is the work of Anthony Van Dyck. In fact, Rigaud's contemporaries called him the French Van Dyck as much in reference to his indebtedness to the Flemish painter as to his role as the leading portraitist of his day. Ultimately, what we see in Rigaud's 1719 *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan* is not a straightforward and unflattering likeness of a fatuous man but a portrait type and a vocabulary of portraiture derived from a tradition which Rigaud inherited from Van Dyck and which allowed Rigaud to attribute personal qualities associated with nobility to Gueidan – a person who, in 1719, could make little claim to nobility – while remaining within the bounds of decorum as articulated by the interrelated discourses on the arts and social comportment.

**La négligence: the hand of the painter, the comportment of the nobleman, a simple portrait type**

*La négligence* was a quality valued both in a work of art and in noble manners, in one's manner of speaking and of executing every gesture. The close relationship between the art of painting and that of noble comportment is most evident in those passages in which the Chevalier de Méré uses an example derived from the former to illustrate a point regarding the latter: "The best painters want the figures in their pictures to be sinuous, such that one finds in them a suppleness, much like that of the folds of a flame. Likewise one's manner of living

and one's actions should be free and casual, and should never appear labored."<sup>38</sup> There should be a nonchalance to both the figures in paintings and the gestures of noble persons. But *la négligence* in painting extends beyond the poses of the figures; it applies also to the process of painting and to the effects of paint in which the viewer finds the trace of the hand, and through it the mind, of the painter. De Piles writes: "The most finished works are not always the most pleasing; and paintings that are *artistement touchez* have the same effect as a speech in which things are not explained in all their circumstances, leading the listener to judge and to have the pleasure of imagining all that is in the author's mind. Details in a speech weaken the thought and extinguish the fire; and paintings in which one has finished everything with an extreme exactitude are often cold and dry. A good finish demands *la négligence*."<sup>39</sup> De Piles, the champion of *rubeniste* color over *poussiniste* drawing, is valorizing the painterly, virtuosic, and illusionistic brushwork found, most notably, in the works of Anthony Van Dyck's teacher, Peter Paul Rubens. He asserts that one sees more than the hand of the painter in a work that does not appear labored but is rather *artistement touchez*; one sees, through the hand of the painter, the mind as well: his thought, and the fire with which it is touched are suggested by this seemingly effortless brushwork. Art – the lengthy and painstaking process by which ability and inclination (what the French of the

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<sup>38</sup> « Les plus excellens Peintres veulent que les figures soient sinueuses dans leurs Tableaux, et qu'on y remarque une disposition a la souplesse, a peu près comme ces plis et ces replis qu'on voit dans la flame. Je trouve aussi que la manière de vivre et d'agir veut estre libre et dégagée, et qu'on n'y sente rien de force. » Chevalier de Méré, *Des Agremens*, in vol. 2 of *Ouvres complètes du Chevalier de Méré* (Paris : Fernand Roches, 1930), 13.

<sup>39</sup> « Les Ouvrages les plus finis, repondit Pamphile, ne sont pas toujours les plus agreables ; et les Tableaux artistement touchez font le mesme effet qu'un discours, ou les choses n'estant pas expliquees avec toutes leurs circonstances, en laissent juger le Lecteur, qui se fait un plaisir d'imaginer tout ce que l'Auteur avoit dans l'esprit. Les minuties dans le discours affadissent une pensee, et ostent tout le feu ; et les Tableaux ou l'on a apporte une extreme exactitude a finir toutes choses, tombent souvent dans la froideur et dans la secheresse. Le beau fini demande de la negligence en bien des endroits, et non pas une exacte recherche dans toutes les parties. » Roger de Piles, *Conversations sur la connaissance de la peinture et sur le jugement qu'on doit faire des tableaux* (Geneva : Slatkine, 1970), 69.

*ancien régime* called *la génie*) are nurtured – is, in de Piles’ formulation, the means by which the mind of the artist achieves its material manifestation. The works of the painter and the comportment of the noble person are both manifestations of superior inner qualities; however, these qualities must be nurtured if they are to find their full realization in material forms. One must first possess a genius for the art that one will practice, and then one must practice incessantly, but ultimately the purpose of all this practice is to give the appearance of effortless and spontaneity to one’s work. The purpose of art is to conceal itself; that which is artful will not appear so, rather it will appear natural. De Piles’ assertion that vagueness or a lack of finish, in a speech or a painting, suggests nonchalance and leaves one to wonder what more is in the mind of the orator or the painter is also articulated by Méré: “This manner that seems *négligée* makes us excuse those who do not attain perfection: when one excels it gives us to think that they could have done better; this is an obliging deception that tends only to render life more pleasant.”<sup>40</sup> Nonchalance signifies reserves of inner resources.

This intermingling of the discourses on the arts and social comportment and their common understanding of the role of *la négligence* in art and society is not unique to the writers of late seventeenth-century France. This intermingling of the arts of painting and of noble comportment is particularly evident in the works of the painter Anthony Van Dyck. Moreover, by the end of the century Van Dyck was seen as a painter who embodied equally in his work and in his person a number of noble attributes. Jeffrey Muller points out that in accounts of the life and works of Van Dyck from the latter half of the seventeenth century –

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<sup>40</sup> « Cette manière qui semble négligée fait excuser ceux qui n’ont pas atteint la perfection : et quand on excelle, elle donne à penser qu’on pourroit aller plus loin ; c’est une tromperie obligeante qui ne tend qu’à rendre la vie heureuse. » Méré, *Agremens*, 34.

in particular those of Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1672) and Joachim von Sandrart (1675) – certain qualities of the painter’s work are associated with his personal character: the agile hand of the painter, which leaves no trace of effort and animates the whole of a painting with a delicate spirit, reveals his innate character, in particular, his grace.<sup>41</sup> The idea that works of art are manifestations of the character of their makers is articulated by de Piles as well. In his *Conversations sur la connoissance de la Peinture*, one of the interlocutors, Pamphile, remarks that Michelangelo’s figures lack the *delicatesse* of those of the Ancients, and Damon concurs: “It seems to me that his works are a rather accurate portrait of his character, and that they are, like him, somewhat wild.”<sup>42</sup> I would add that the personal and artistic qualities brought together in Van Dyck’s work go beyond grace: his paintings manifest a complex semantic field, attributing to painter, figures, and sitters a group of interrelated terms that are found throughout the early modern discourses on the arts and social comportment. Van Dyck’s followers in France, most notably Hyacinthe Rigaud, Nicolas de Largillierre, and François de Troy, are the inheritors of these pictorial strategies.

Van Dyck painted several portraits of artists that are imbued with a marked informality, what de Piles and Méré would call *la négligence*; an informality in the poses, dress and expressions of the sitters that echoes the seemingly effortless virtuosity of Van Dyck’s brush. Among these portraits are *Lucas and Cornelis de Wael* (fig. 10), in which one brother sits sideways in a chair, his arm slung over the back of it, while the other wears his garment open at the collar. Van Dyck brings a similar informality to his portrait of *George Gage with Two Men* (fig. 11). Gage, an amateur who served as a buyer for Sir Dudley

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<sup>41</sup> Jeffrey M. Muller, “The Quality of Grace in the Art of Anthony Van Dyck.” In *Anthony Van Dyck* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1990), 27-36.

<sup>42</sup> « Il me semble... que ses Ouvrages sont un Portrait assez juste de sa personne, et qu’ils ont comme luy quelque chose de sauvage. » Roger de Piles, *Conversations*, 53.

Carleton, is depicted negotiating the purchase of a piece of antique sculpture. He wears a black garment and a simple lace collar. While the seller seems, by his hard stare and firmly planted elbow, to take an aggressive approach to the negotiations, Gage leans casually on the sculpted pedestal, his left hand relaxed, his right hand open, as is his mouth, as if he were stating his position; and yet there is no strain in his posture and facial expression. His body is turned away from the statue and the seller. He is cool and detached, and he effortlessly takes the upper hand. In his *Self-Portrait* (fig. 12) from roughly the same time, Van Dyck figures himself in a similarly informal yet commanding manner. The informality of the portrait is established by the open collar, and yet the fullness of the garments and the swagger of the pose – in particular, the back of the hand gracefully planted on the hip and the resultant jutting elbow – create a commanding figure. Moreover, the elaborate, though seemingly natural and effortless, pose is echoed in the virtuosic brushwork, particularly in the folds of the white shirt visible beneath his left arm. The pose and fullness of the garments are derived from Raphael's *Portrait of an Unknown Man*, a drawing after which appears in Van Dyck's Italian sketchbook.<sup>43</sup> Van Dyck's portrait of *Jacomo de Cachiopin* is remarkably simple and informal (Fig. 13). The sitter, an avid collector of, among others, the works of Van Dyck and Titian is dressed in, again, a white shirt and black garment. The focus is on Cachiopin's facial expression: he seems melancholic, a depiction which, Arthur Wheelock argues, is calculated to call to mind the sitter's artistic and intellectual interests.<sup>44</sup>

The pose, the setting (in particular, the broken column upon the base of which the sitter leans), the black garment, and the overall dark coloring of Van Dyck's *Self-Portrait* are

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<sup>43</sup> Anthony Van Dyck, National Gallery, Washington, 1990: 168.

<sup>44</sup> Anthony Van Dyck, 270.

borrowed in Rigaud's portrait of the banker and notable art collector Everhard Jabach (fig. 14). In fact, the elements of Van Dyck's portraits of artists and amateurs are brought together in a portrait type that Rigaud produced quite frequently for the figuring of artists and sitters with a significant interest in art. These three-quarter length portraits often include the swagger pose and open collar of Van Dyck's self-portrait. Examples include: the *Portrait de Jean-Baptiste Boyer d'Eguilles* (fig. 15), the *Portrait de Frédéric Léonard* (fig. 16), the *Portrait de Maximilien Titon* (fig. 17), the *Portrait du marquis Neri Maria Corsini* (fig. 7). All of these sitters had considerable interest in the arts. Eguilles amassed the largest and finest collection of painting in Provence and was the first collector to publish a book of engraved reproductions after works in his collection.<sup>45</sup> Léonard published Félibien's *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de la peinture et de la sculpture*. Titon was an arms dealer to Louis XIV and a notable collector, and Corsini was a great collector. And, of course, Rigaud utilized this portrait type in his depictions of artists: for example, the painter *Charles de La Fosse* (fig. 18), architect *Jules Hardouin-Mansart* (fig. 19), and sculptor *Martin Van den Bogaert dit Desjardins* (fig. 20).

For his own self-portraits Rigaud turned not to this portrait type but to another type associated with Van Dyck. His self-portraits are most often busts in which he is turned to the side or in three-quarters and as often as not is situated behind a stone sill. This type stands in a succession of portraits of artists and sitters once believed to be artists that includes, among others, Titian's *Man with a Blue Sleeve* (fig. 21), Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 22), and Charles Le Brun's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 23). Karel van Mander asserts that a portrait must suggest the intelligence of the sitter. In this regard Stephen Perreau argues that the great

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<sup>45</sup> This collection is discussed at length below.

number of portraits of artists looking over their shoulder are attempts to follow Van Mander's injunction, to show the intelligence and inventiveness of the artist depicted.<sup>46</sup> Perreau gives the example of Van Dyck's etched *Self-Portrait* in the *Iconography* (fig. 24). This effect is most marked in Titian's portrait, once thought to be a portrait of Ariosto.<sup>47</sup> The ample blue sleeve claiming and protecting space for the sitter creates for the viewer a sense of being held at a distance that is reinforced by the stone sill upon which his elbow rests. One does not enter the sitter's space but his eye allows him to enter ours. He is formidable and forbidding. Rembrandt saw this portrait, along with Raphael's portrait of Baldassare Castiglione (fig. 25), in an auction in Amsterdam in 1639.<sup>48</sup> Rembrandt's *Self-portrait at the age of thirty-four* combines elements from both these portraits. He has retained the elbow and the stone sill, but he has adopted the more open pose of the portrait of Castiglione, and the facial expression is somewhat softened, though not so gentle as that of Raphael's Castiglione. Rembrandt's has also arranged his costume to resemble that of Castiglione. Rembrandt's facial expression is still to some extent the critical eye of Titian's sitter, but it is here more engaging in that it appears more vulnerable; the lines around the eyes and in the forehead seem to suggest fatigue and worry. He has the commanding presence and critical eye of Titian's sitter; however, it is tempered by the gentleness of Raphael's Castiglione. Charles Le Brun's *Self-Portrait* is a return to the more guarded pose and formidable haughtiness of Titian's figure; the warm coloring recalls Rembrandt's portrait; and here we

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<sup>46</sup> Stephan Perreau, *Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1659-1743, Le peintre des rois* (Montpellier : Les Presses du Languedoc, 2004), 136.

<sup>47</sup> Simon Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes* (New York : Knopf, 1999), 465.

<sup>48</sup> Schama, 465.

find the lace collar *en negligé* that will appear in many portraits from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

This bust portrait type is one commonly produced by Rigaud's studio. There are variations – the sitter may be indoors or out, the sill may be included or not – but in general the sitter's likeness is simply inserted into this type without further distinguishing characteristics. For example, Gueidan is figured out of doors, while an unidentified sitter (fig. 26) is indoors; the one sitter wears blue and the other purple; and yet the pose and even the folds of the garments are identical. Antoine Bouhier (fig. 9) is placed behind a sill and a blue ribbon is strung through his lace collar, and yet this portrait otherwise conforms to the type. This type of portrait was a reasonable choice for Gaspard de Gueidan at the time that it was painted: he had just launched his career in the *parlement*, had not yet published his *Discours*, had not yet inherited lands from his father, and would not for many years claim the title *marquis*. It was also affordable: it cost him 300 livres, while the *Portrait en avocat général* would cost him 1,500 and the *Portrait en jouant de la musette* 3,000.<sup>49</sup> This seemingly ordinary portrait type was in accord with his social status, and yet in it Rigaud subtly, and without violating the laws of decorum, figures Gueidan as possessing noble qualities. In this portrait Rigaud attributes to Gueidan noble qualities by associating him with, paradoxically, a figure that was excluded from the nobility, namely, the artist.

The complicated and at times contradictory relationship between conceptions of the artist and nobleman is essential to an understanding of the pictorial strategies used by Rigaud's generation of portraitists. Both the artist and the nobleman gain status from the association of artistic with noble qualities and yet this ennobling of the artist does not bring with it the privileges and status of true – that is, juridical – nobility. The nobleman

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<sup>49</sup>*Portraits d'Aixois au siècle des lumières* (Musée du Vieil Aix, Musée Arbaud, 2005), 13.

demonstrates his nobility through the exercise of abilities associated with the artist – discernment, judgment, taste – however, he remains distinct from the artist. The artist’s engagement in trade excludes him from the nobility. The association of the qualities of art and artists with nobility is essential to the artist’s quest for respectability in the early modern period; this is a major motivation behind the founding of academies and much of the theoretical writing on the arts. The noble or ennobling qualities of the arts – invention, for example - are those which are detached from the merely physical aspects – color and drawing.

### **La Noblesse: an inner quality figured on the body**

The source and workings of this nobility – the ideal of human character - are ultimately unknowable: this idea was essential to the maintenance of inequality in *ancien régime* France. For Gilles-André de La Roque, author of the *Traité de la Noblesse et de toutes ses différentes espèces*, it is something in the seed, “a force that continues the inclination of the father in the son,” one that “secretly disposes the soul to the love of *honnêtes* things.”<sup>50</sup> The Chevalier de Méré examines this secret in more depth and for him it is only glimpsed fleetingly in its corporeal manifestations, what he calls *les agréments*. For Méré there are different types of *agréments*: there are those, such as the ability to sing or dance, that one is called on only occasionally to perform; “but the most sought after and the

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<sup>50</sup> « La noblesse est une qualité qui rend généreux celui qui la possède, et qui dispose secrettement l’âme à l’amour des choses honnêtes. La vertu des ancêtres donne cette excellente impression de la noblesse. Il y a dans les semences je ne sçai quelle force, et je ne sçai quel principe qui transmet, et qui continue les inclinations des pères à leurs descendants. » Gilles-André de La Roque, *Traité de la noblesse et de toutes ses différentes espèces*, Rouen, 1735 : *preface*, n.p. This book was first published in 1678. A second edition appeared in 1710 and a third in 1735, the year in which Rigaud completed his third portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan, the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*, which I discuss in chapter 3. The concept of *honnêteté* and the ideal of the *honnête homme* are central to the discourse on comportment in late seventeenth-century France. I discuss them later in this chapter.

most necessary are those that come straight from the heart and are fitting at all times.”<sup>51</sup>

Méré describes these *agréments* thus:

That which I like best and which one must in my view hope for in all that one does to please is I know not what (*je ne sçay quoi*) but that it feels good and cannot easily be explained, and I know not how to make myself understood here but to grasp at the word pleasantness (*la gentillesse*).

This pleasantness is noticeable in one’s appearance, in one’s behavior, in the smallest actions of the body and mind; and the more that one considers it the more one finds oneself charmed without noticing where this comes from. It seems to me that it proceeds primarily from a cheerful humor and a great confidence that all that one does will be well received. This naturalness must be free, noble, and delicate, for all that one does under constraint or which appears the least bit rough, destroys it. And to make a person pleasant in these ways, one must delight that person and take care not to burden them with tedious instructions.<sup>52</sup>

Nobility then, as manifested in these subtler *agréments*, is a quality that colors one’s appearance and all of one’s actions; but when it comes to accounting for this inner quality Méré resorts to a phrase commonly encountered in discussions of nobility in the *ancien régime* - *je ne sçay quoi* – and falls back on describing the effect, *la gentillesse*, while leaving the cause, *la noblesse*, unaccounted for. *Les agréments* must appear natural and unconstrained, thus those who practice them should not be burdened with excessive instructions. This last injunction points to an inherent contradiction in the discourse on nobility: noble appearance and comportment flow from hidden inner qualities and yet, as

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<sup>51</sup> « Mais les plus à rechercher et les plus nécessaires, ce sont ceux qui vont droit du cœur, et qui sont de toutes les heures. » Méré, *Agremens*, 11.

<sup>52</sup> « Ce que j’aime le mieux, et qu’on doit selon mon sens le plus souhaiter en tout ce qu’on fait pour plaire, c’est je ne sçay quoi qui sent bien, mais qui ne s’explique pas si aisement, et je ne sçay de quelle façon me faire entendre si je ne me sers du mot de gentillesse.  
« Cette gentillesse se remarque dans la mine, dans le procédé, dans les moindres actions du corps et de l’esprit ; et plus on la considère, plus s’en trouve charme sans qu’on s’aperçoive d’où cela vient. Il me semble qu’elle procède principalement d’une humeur enjouée avec une grande confiance que ce qu’on fait sera bien reçu. Il faut aussi que le naturel soit libre, et noble, et même délicat. Car tout ce qui est fait par contrainte ou par servitude, ou qui paroît tant soit grossier, la détruit. Et pour rendre une personne aimable en ses façons, il faut la rejouir le plus qu’on peut, et prendre bien garde à ne la pas accabler d’instructions ennuyeuses. » Méré, *Agremens*, 12.

Méré states, a person must be *made* pleasant in these ways. The conclusion one draws from this passage is that noble behaviors must be learned in such a manner that they do not appear to be the results of study; they must appear natural and unconstrained, that is, without any trace of the practice through which they were cultivated, so that they appear inherent rather than acquired.

Nobility is not an inherent quality transmitted through human reproduction; rather it is a specific set of knowledges, dispositions, and practices that determine one's relations to others within society, or more specifically, "the internalized form of class condition and of the conditionings it entails," what Pierre Bourdieu calls *habitus*.<sup>53</sup> The process by which nobility is passed from one generation to the next is not biological but rather cultural: cultural capital is passed between generations through informal and formal processes of education. Cultural capital is not simply material goods, a collection of paintings, for example; it is also the meanings associated with those goods, that is, the means of consuming those goods. It is not enough just to own these goods; one must also perform a labor of *appropriation*.

Bourdieu writes:

Objects, even industrial products, are not objective in the ordinary sense of the word, i.e., independent of the interests and tastes of those who perceive them, and they do not impose the self-evidence of a universal, unanimously approved meaning." Therefore, "the consumption of goods no doubt always presupposes a labor of appropriation, to different degrees depending on the goods and the consumers; or, more precisely, [...] the consumer helps to produce the product he consumes, by a labor of identification and decoding which, in the case of a work of art, may constitute the whole of the consumption and gratification, and which requires time and dispositions acquired over time."<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction : a social critique of the judgment of taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge : Harvard University Press), 101.

<sup>54</sup> Bourdieu, 100.

The acquisition over time of these dispositions – the production, or rather, reproduction of *habitus* – is the process from which the biological explanation of nobility diverts attention. Noble comportment is an art and, once again, the purpose of art is to conceal itself; that which is artful will not appear so, rather it will appear natural. The art of noble comportment is the art of making one's behaviors appear natural, thus bolstering the idea that biology is the basis of social inequality. Both Méré and La Roque present elite behaviors as the truth effects of a stable identity located in the interior space of the soul. Judith Butler accounts for this figuring on the body of the invisibility of its hidden depth:

The figure of the interior soul understood as “within” the body is signified through its inscription *on* the body, even though its primary mode of signification is through its very absence, its potent invisibility. The effect of a structuring inner space is produced through the signification of a body as a vital and sacred enclosure.<sup>55</sup>

Butler reverses the causal connection, found in texts such as La Roque's and Méré's, between a stable identity and the actions through which it is expressed. In her formulation identity is not expressive, rather it is performative; that is, the illusion of a stable identity located in a hidden interior space is produced by the sustained repetition of culturally significant acts. “Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally construed, are *performative* in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means.”<sup>56</sup> Butler is theorizing the process by which gender identity is formed; more specifically, she is theorizing the process by which sexuality is regulated. She argues that there is no gendered body that exists prior to its manifestation through acts that carry cultural significance. This argument can equally be applied to nobility: people do not each have an inherent value in

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<sup>55</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble : feminism and the subversion of identity* ( New York: Routledge, 1990), 184.

<sup>56</sup> Butler, 185.

relation to one another prior to performing acts that are assigned value within hierarchical social structures.

In La Roque's account of the origins of nobility, he recognizes an equality among people removed from the forms of social organization in which they are assigned value; however, he locates this equality at a safe remove, in a mythical past prior to social organization, in what philosophers from Hobbes to Rousseau call a state of nature. He argues that while, in their natural state, all men are of the same type and condition, in civil society there are among them certain advantages that serve to distinguish some. He grounds this reasoning in an observation about the natural world: in all species there are varying degrees of perfection; some individual beings are more perfect than others of the same kind. The same is true in the moral and civil life of people; differences in rank, condition and employment exist to put in place an order that conserves peace and unity. The most considerable among these differences is nobility (*la noblesse*). La Roque asserts that it was the ancients who established it among themselves; in particular, it was the warriors who distinguished themselves by their bravery and admirable deeds. Yet these warriors also saw the need for civic virtues; it was Theseus, king of the Athenians, who first chose those with such virtues to serve as magistrates and priests. Nobility was the prize for these qualities, martial and civic, but the ancients also recognized and rewarded those who excelled in intellectual pursuits. This variety of nobility La Roque calls spiritual; it is the reward granted to savants: people of exceptional genius who devote themselves to the arts and sciences. There is a fourth variety of nobility and, ultimately, La Roque asserts, this is the best nobility: namely, immemorial nobility - that which is derived from a long suite of ancestors. It is to this nobility that privileges and honors are granted.

Butler argues that “the displacement of a political and discursive origin of gender identity onto a psychological ‘core’ precludes an analysis of the political constitution of the gendered subject and its fabricated notions about the ineffable interiority of its sex or its true identity.”<sup>57</sup> La Roque recognizes that society engenders inequality among people; however, he qualifies – and contradicts - this by asserting that society is the mechanism by which *inherent* differences become pronounced: social organization was the means by which certain individuals among the ancients were able to turn their innate merit into markers of distinction. This does not explain how this inherent worth, *la noblesse*, is passed from one generation to the next; however, it does lead the reader away from the mechanisms of power by which inequality is maintained in the present. In La Roque and Méré’s conception of the workings of nobility, behaviors signify inner qualities; but once this interior space is revealed as a fiction it becomes evident that these behaviors rely on something else for their significance. The value and significance of *les agréments* is not an absolute, rather it is ascribed to them – and ascribed to them by the very people who practice them. The displacement of the source of this value and significance to an invisible essence is important to the bolstering of claims to privilege and elite status; however, it is not sufficient to maintain the fiction of nobility: elite behaviors only take on value and significance within particular discourses. These discourses need not be literary - they may simply be behaviors and the ways in which behaviors are understood and talked about – however, they are most accessible today in the texts of authors such as La Roque and Méré. The particular practices that elites perform are not important in themselves; what is important is that elites consistently reiterate practices *and* develop discourses that persuasively ascribe value to those practices.

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<sup>57</sup>Butler, 186.

### **The authority of the Ancients, discoverers of Nature's secrets**

The interests of elites in *ancien régime* France are bolstered by claims to truth. A common form of argumentation in the period is to ascribe truth to one's position by claiming that it was arrived at by bringing the light of reason to bear on the observation of nature. A related strategy is to cite precedents from Greek and Roman authors, the value of these precedents being that the ancients, much more than other societies, were considered to have brought the force of reason to bear on nature and forced her to give up many of her secrets. La Roque uses both of these strategies in his account of the origin of nobility: he cites differences among animals of the same species as justification for inequality in human society, and he draws on Plutarch's life of Theseus, asserting that this Athenian king was the first who conferred nobility upon his most meritorious subjects.

In *ancien régime* France, nobility, as a hidden quality only partially knowable through its manifestations, is subsumed within a larger concept that is equally elusive: namely, nature (*la nature*). Particularly in the seventeenth century, and increasingly less so over the course of the eighteenth, nature is not so much the natural world as distinct from human society as it is the underlying force and principles that structure all of existence. We have seen with the Chevalier de Méré the importance attached to *les agréments* appearing natural: they should not have the appearance of art or artifice, instead they should seem to flow naturally from one's core, or rather one's *coeur* (*les plus à rechercher et les plus nécessaires, ce sont ceux [les agréments] qui vont droit au coeur*). In this view, nobility has an absolute value within a social order that is reflective of - an intimation of - absolute truth. The political and discursive origin of inequality is displaced into an elusive and ultimately unknowable interior space; inequality is not produced under duress, rather the social order is

a manifestation of the natural order, a benevolent force that produces differences between people, a variety in which each individual fulfills a purpose and peace and unity are maintained.

The discussion of architecture with which André Félibien opens his *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes* is illustrative of the way in which the idea of nature is used to lend force to an argument and authority to its author.<sup>58</sup> A discussion of architecture may seem somewhat distant from our current consideration of portraiture but Félibien uses it as a means of introducing a history of painting and does so because it is an effective means of making a point that is essential to his view of all human endeavors, especially the arts: the Greeks excelled at the arts because they saw mimesis – imitation of the natural world – as the basis of the arts, and they were able to produce beautiful forms because they were able to see principles and perfect forms among the infinite multiplicity and seeming confusion of nature. In short, they were the first to use the capacity to reason to discern the best among natural forms. Félibien, Secretary of the Academy of Sciences and Historiographer to the King, uses the concept of nature, and the precedent of the ancients as those who best understood nature, to make a particular truth claim for the arts as they are practiced under Louis XIV: his discourse on the arts and the works of art he discusses are the effects of a truth hidden among the forms of the material world.

Félibien asserts that it was the Ancients who, through reasoning and meditation, discovered the art of building well. The modern architect's job is not simply to imitate the orders, proportions, and ornaments of ancient buildings but to look for *la raison* - a correlative of one's own cognition - both in the works of their predecessors and in nature; to,

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<sup>58</sup> London : David Mortier, 1705.

in a sense, recreate the reasoning of the Ancients; guided by their works and nature, to see as they saw. And what is it that they saw? Things are excellent when they are useful, and a thing is useful when it is in rapport with other things. The Ancients utilized the different orders to meet their various needs. The degree of strength in a structure was determined by its function. When strength is concentrated where needed and reserved where it is less in demand a *bienséance* is achieved, and the effect of that *bienséance* is beauty.<sup>59</sup> This is true not only of strength but of the organization of space and of decoration; when there is a rapport among the parts, one that is in accord with their use, the result is beauty. The Ancients derived their rules and principles from observation of this rapport among parts, or *convenance*. Félibien offers two principles that an architect must follow if his building is to be perfect: one, the building must be designed according to the intention of he for whom it is built; and, two, it must be carried out with the beauty and perfection that reason and the rules of art teach.<sup>60</sup> In short, *bienséance* must be respected; the extent of each part is determined by the extent of the whole, and the scale and ornaments are to be determined by the degree of grandeur of the use of the building and that of those who use it.<sup>61</sup> The rules may be useful, but through the use of reason one sees the source of these rules and they become less binding; one is guided by nature and one's own genius, which are not entirely distinct from one another. Reason is the means by which one discerns the natural order, which is then manifested in the work of art. Once again, as with nobility and *les agréments*, we are presented with the idea of a force that is ultimately unknowable, as it is only hinted at by its subtle materializations. The best examples of architecture are held to be realizations of the

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<sup>59</sup> Félibien, *Entretiens*, 11-12.

<sup>60</sup> Félibien, 13-14.

<sup>61</sup> Félibien, 14.

unchanging principles of nature. The architect – and the painter and sculptor as well - is a seer; it is he who comes closest to seeing the order of nature and presents it to others, who experience it as the beauty of a material form. But even beauty is not immediately discernible to all: much of Félibien's *Entretiens* is taken up with presenting the best examples of art, both ancient and modern, so that the reader, through experience of such examples, may develop judgment and taste. Taste is not a matter of personal preference; beauty is an absolute, and taste is the ability to discern it. This absolute is closely guarded by a discourse on the arts, and works of art, that can only hint at it; to borrow a phrase from Judith Butler, “its primary mode of signification is through its very absence, its potent invisibility.” In Félibien's text *bienséance* and *convenance* are the principles that structure both the arts and society. Moreover, art and society are inextricably linked by these guiding principles. *Bienséance* requires that each thing be in its proper place and *convenance* that there be a proper accord among things. Form is determined by function, and this extends to the social status of the people for whom the building is made. As with La Roque, for whom nature creates differences in *état*, differences that make for peace and unity in society, for Félibien there are distinct proportions and decorations of built forms that are appropriate to each *état*, and these too are grounded in the order of nature.

### **La Modération and the boundaries of taste**

Félibien, and seventeenth-century French thought in general, presents art and society as imperfect copies of an ideal order discerned within the material world. In aspiring to the ideal of noble comportment one seeks both to overcome the materiality of existence and through it to embody that ideal; one rejects nature in one sense, but in another one embraces it in that one wants one's nobility to appear natural, that is, an artless expression of the truth

of one's being. This complex relation between art and artlessness is at the heart of the discourses on art and social comportment. In both discourses perfection is to be found in moderation: *les agréments* are always subtle; the appearance of effortlessness is valued; and the natural and the ideal, the artless and the artful, blend imperceptibly. Everything that is tasteful takes place within certain boundaries. Taste enables a judicious choosing from the variety that nature presents. In a passage entitled *Du Vrai dans la Peinture* de Piles clarifies the relation between nature as it appears and the superior forms which the discerning artist joins together. De Piles is recapitulating classic art theory as passed down to him by Bellori and Du Fresnoy. He asserts that the object of art is imitation and that by a faithful representation of nature the artist will instruct and amuse (*docere* and *delectare*, along with *movere*, were the three aims of classical rhetoric: to teach, to delight, to move). Truth in painting takes three forms: *le vrai simple*, which is the faithful imitation of objects, *le vrai idéal*, which results from a judicious choice of perfections which are never found together in one model, and *le vrai composé* or *le vrai parfait*, which is a combination of the first two. According to Bellori, too much faithfulness to nature (de Piles' *le vrai simple*) reduces the painter to a mere imitator of appearances – he gives the example of Caravaggio – while focus on the ideal (*le vrai idéal*) or the work of a particular master, without adequate reference to nature, results in mannerism – he gives the example of Giuseppe d'Arpino. For Bellori, it was Annibale Caracchi who restored the balance between the two, which was upset by the followers of Michelangelo Buonarroti.<sup>62</sup> De Piles instructs that in striving for *le vrai parfait* one must find a *juste modération*:

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<sup>62</sup> “In this long period of agitation art was contested by two opposing extremes, one entirely subject to the natural, the other to the imagination: the exponents in Rome were Michel Angelo da Caravaggio and Giuseppe d'Arpino; the former simply copied bodies, as they appear to the eyes, indiscriminately; the latter did not consider the natural at all, following the freedom of instinct; and both, enjoying great reputations, became

There have been painters who, far from seeking a just moderation in their drawing, have affected to render muscles and contours more pronounced than the accuracy of their art requires, and this with the aim of passing for skillful in anatomy and possessing a taste for drawing that would win the esteem of posterity: but this reasoning as well as their pictures has a certain air of pedantry, more likely to diminish the beauty of the works than to augment the reputations of the painters who made them.<sup>63</sup>

Moderation is an essential quality of noble comportment as well ; it is what makes *les agrémens* so pleasing. Méré writes: “the true *agrémens* want nothing that is not moderate: all that passes beyond certain limits diminishes, or even destroys, them.”<sup>64</sup> He adds :

I mean to say that he who appears more somber or more gay than decorum (*bienséance*) requires must try by skill or habit to exercise some moderation. This right temperament can be acquired and made natural when taken into one’s care, and the principal cause of decorum comes from that which we do as if it were natural to us; moreover all characters are excellent when carried out to perfection.<sup>65</sup>

For the reader looking for a simple answer to the question of in what does beauty consist – what does it look like? – de Piles and Méré offer little satisfaction. Beauty does not exist in a realm separate from the natural world, a platonic realm of ideas, rather it is hidden

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admired and were examples to the world. So that when painting was going toward its end, Italy came under more favorable stars, for it pleased God that in the city of Bologna, master of sciences and studies, a most elevated genius should appear and with him the fallen and nearly extinct art rose again. He was Annibale Carracci.” Giovanni Pietro Bellori, “The Idea of the Painter, Sculptor and Architect, Superior to Nature by Selection from Natural Beauties” In Erwin Panofsky, *Idea, a Concept in Art Theory*, trans. Joseph J. S. Peake (New York: Icon Editions, 1968), 177.

<sup>63</sup> « Il y a eu des Peintres qui, bien loin de rechercher une juste modération dans leur dessin, ont affecté d’en rendre les contours et les muscles prononcés au-delà d’une justesse que demande leur art, et cela dans la vue de passer pour habiles dans l’anatomie, et dans un goût de dessin qui attirât l’estime de la postérité : mais ce motif aussi bien que leurs tableaux ont un certain air de pédanterie, bien plus capable de diminuer la beauté des ouvrages que d’augmenter la réputation des Peintres qui les ont faits. » de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes*, 24.

<sup>64</sup> « les vrais Agrémens ne veulent rien qui ne soit modéré : tout ce qui passe de certaines bornes, les diminue, ou mesme les détruit. » Méré, *Agrémens*, 15.

<sup>65</sup> « Je veux dire que celui qui paroist plus sombre ou plus gay que le bien-seance ne veut, doit essayer par adresse ou par habitude d’y apporter quelque moderation. Ce juste temperament se peut acquerir et se rendre naturel quand on y prend garde, et la principale cause de la bien-seance vient de ce que nous faisons comme il faut ce qui nous est naturel ; d’ailleurs tous les caracteres sont excellens lors qu’on s’en acquitte en perfection. » Méré, *Agrémens*, 19.

in plain sight; what is necessary to grasp it is discernment, the ability to distinguish it among the multiplicity of forms presented by nature. As Jacqueline Lichtenstein puts it: “The discernment of which Méré speaks is the intelligence of the tangible realm, an act of the mind that discovers the intelligibility of phenomena without ever leaving the domain of appearances, a reasoning that subtly penetrates the mysteries of a world whose secrets lie hidden in the dips and folds of its surfaces.”<sup>66</sup> Regardless of the metaphor for this invisibility, whether it be enclosed in the interiority of nature or hidden on its surfaces, the idea of the ephemeral nature of beauty, the idea that access to it is reserved for the few, is essential to the maintenance of social hierarchy. It is to be found in moderation, at some unspecified point between two extremes. De Piles’ formula for beauty is made up entirely of variables: the purely imitative and the overly idealized are both abstractions, thus the *juste modération*, or *le vrai parfait*, is to be found between two indeterminate points. Beauty becomes a consensus between those who – by consensus – perceive themselves and each other to be discerning.

The artist who renders muscles and contours too pronounced departs from the moderation that renders things pleasing or even beautiful, but moreover his works have an “air of pedantry” that does more to spoil the beauty than to augment his reputation. In stepping beyond that which is moderate, that which art, which *bienséance*, requires, the artist seeks to draw attention directly to himself. De Piles calls this pedantry, implying that the artist not only renders himself tedious but also that instruction (*docere*) is foregrounded at the expense of pleasure (*delectare*). The pedant is one who takes the role of teacher but also one who holds too tightly to principles, whose knowledge is bookish rather than worldly. The

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<sup>66</sup> Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color: Rhetoric and Painting in the French Classical Age*, trans. Emily McVarish (Berkeley: UC Press, 1993), 15.

Chevalier de Méré contrasts the pedant with the wit (*l'homme d'esprit*) who demonstrates ease and adaptability; the wit will always do or say what is appropriate to a situation because he is focused not on fixed principles but on the heterogeneity of experience.<sup>67</sup> Socrates serves as an example of the pedant: he instructed others in prudence but his own words and actions were often imprudent; he might have saved his own life simply by appeasing his accusers with some pleasant words but he chose not to. He may have understood things that common people did not but he was not capable of succeeding in the world; he was not an *habile homme*.<sup>68</sup> At the other extreme is Caesar:

...I observe that Caesar, the most able man who ever lived, who was neither too much the philosopher nor too much the recluse, and who moreover did such great things that he had little time for reflection ; I observe, I say, that he was assassinated because of his imprudence and that another, less wise and less capable than he, would not have been.<sup>69</sup>

Wit (*l'esprit*) is a product of moderation; more particularly, of prudence, discernment, and judgment, qualities that are characterized by moderation. Wit is ultimately a quality that enables one to succeed in the world; a wit (*homme d'esprit*) is capable and worldly:

It seems to me that wit consists in understanding things, in considering them from many perspectives, in judging clearly what they are and their proper worth, in discerning what one has in common with another and what distinguishes them, and in knowing the proper means of discerning the most hidden. It seems to me that it is an unmistakable mark of wit that one knows

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<sup>67</sup> "The strictures against pedantry in general and against philosophical pedantry in particular are part of the criticism aimed at all forms of bookish knowledge, the technical knowledge and professional criteria of the professor who knows only what he has read of things – that is, what is written about them – not the wisdom of the nonprofessional, the *amateur* who walks the paths of knowledge as if in a garden and lives for polite conversation." Lichtenstein, 22.

<sup>68</sup> « C'est peut-estre que la haute intelligence trouve le bonheur en des choses que les gens du commun ne goustent pas, comme elle en méprise d'autres que le peuple admire. » Méré, « De L'Esprit » in vol. 2. of *Œuvres complètes du Chevalier de Méré* (Paris : Fernand Roches, 1930), 62.

<sup>69</sup> « ...je voy que Cesar le plus habile homme qui fut jamais, qui n'estoit ny trop Philosophe ny trop Solitaire, et qui d'ailleurs faisoit de si grandes choses qu'il n'avoit pas le temps de faire beaucoup de reflexions: je voy dis-je, qu'il fut assassiné par son imprudence, et qu'un autre moins sage et moins habile que luy ne l'eust pas esté. » Méré, *De L'Esprit*, 62-63.

the best means and knows how to employ them so as to do well all that one undertakes.<sup>70</sup>

When de Piles warns that the *amateur* should not acquiesce in a preference for a particular school of painting but should recognize what is best in all schools he is speaking against pedantry; he is arguing that one should be open to this heterogeneity of experience. The artist and the *honnête homme* are more concerned with pleasing than instructing; neither is bogged down by fixed principles: the painter does his thinking at the tip of the paintbrush, that is, he resolves difficulties by applying his particular genius to specific situations, and the *honnête homme* finds the word or action most fitting in the moment. This code of behavior, both social and artistic, is particularly difficult to imitate because it is not fixed; what is most fitting or reasonable changes from one moment to the next, and yet it is presented as if it were far from arbitrary, as if everything had its place within a broader order that is as a whole governed by reason. Ultimately the ideal of social comportment is a person who acquiesces to his particular place in the social hierarchy:

To my mind the greatest proof that one has wit is that one lives well and conducts oneself always as one should. This means taking in all encounters the most reasonable part and to uphold it well ; and the most reasonable part is that which appears to conform best to the position in life in which one finds oneself.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> « Il me semble que l'Esprit consiste à comprendre les choses, à les savoir considérées à toutes sortes d'égards, à juger nettement de ce qu'elles sont, et de leur juste valeur, à discerner ce que l'une a de commun avec l'autre, et ce qui l'en distingue, et à savoir prendre les bonnes voyes pour decouvrir les plus caches. Il me semble aussi que c'est une marque infallible qu'on a de l'esprit, de conoistre les meilleurs moyens, et de les savoir employer pour bien faire tout ce qu'on entreprend. » Méré, *De L'Esprit*, 64.

<sup>71</sup> « A mon sens la plus grande prevue qu'on a de l'Esprit, et qu'on l'a bien fait, c'est de bien vivre et de se conduire toujours comme on doit. Cela consiste à prendre en toutes les rencontres le party le plus honneste, et à le bien soutenir ; et le party le plus honneste est celui qui paroit le plus conforme à l'estat de vie ou l'on se trouve. » Méré, *De L'Esprit*, 64.

### **La Bienséance, the principle that gives order to Nature and society**

The natural order of things, it would seem, is embodied both in good painting and good social comportment. The reflection of this natural order, in painting and comportment is decorum or *bienséance*. This is an idea that early modern art theory borrows from Aristotle's *Poetics*. It is to be distinguished from verisimilitude or *vraisemblance*, a term that denotes that art will represent things not as they are or as they have been (then we would be dealing with History) but as they would be. The imitation that the artist creates must be within the bounds of nature as it would be; it must resemble truth. *Bienséance* relates to the place of each object or person within that reality. In his preface to the *Conférences* of the *Académie Royale*, Félibien explains that *bienséance* is "to be maintained in respect of different ages, sexes, countries, of different professions, morals, passions, and of the fashions of each nation to dress."<sup>72</sup> In a painting, the figures should appear in a manner appropriate to who they presumably are. In life, people should do the same; the *honnête homme* is a man who does this to an exceptional degree. For Mere, *honnêteté* is attainable not only by a small elite (though how far down the social ladder he is willing to extend this invitation is unclear); every person, regardless of fortune or character, can attain it by playing to perfection (or nearly so) the role which fate has assigned them.<sup>73</sup> Méré tells us that "the principal cause of *bienséance* is one's doing with an agreeable air that which is most natural to one."<sup>74</sup> That is not to say what comes most naturally, but rather what becomes most natural through constant

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<sup>72</sup> Thomas Puttfarken, *Roger de Piles' Theory of Art* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1985), 25.

<sup>73</sup> « L'aire le plus conforme au rôle qui se présente et qui vient le mieux à la personne qui le joue, est la principale cause de la bien-seance. » Mere, *Agremens*, 20. « La vraie bien-seance ne dépend point de la fortune, elle vient du cœur et de l'esprit ; tout le reste est peu considérable. » Mere, *Agremens*, 2.

<sup>74</sup> « c'est la principale cause de la bienséance, que de faire d'un air agréable ce qui nous est naturel. » Chevalier de Méré, *Honnêteté*, in vol. 3 of *Œuvres complètes du Chevalier de Méré* (Paris : Fernand Roches, 1930), 74.

practice. In painting the artist must represent all things as they are or would be; in society one must present oneself as one is, and, if one is to please, as the perfect embodiment of what one is. To do so one must know what one is. Méré writes: “It is difficult to assemble all characters because the one destroys the others. Caesar had nobility and dignity, but he had none of the qualities (*agréments*) of which we speak.”<sup>75</sup> For Méré, the goal is to be exactly who one is, and to make the execution of this role seem natural. The *honnête homme*, it would seem, is the consummate conformist; he is the one who plays his social role, who embodies his character as well as his *état*, to perfection. And yet being one’s natural self is so rare and mysterious that Méré never does find words to explain how it is done.

Closely related to decorum and nature is the concept of genius (*génie*). *Génie* denotes genius but also one’s particular character and natural propensities. An artist may have a particular *genie* for invention or drawing or color. There are also national or regional *genies*: that of the (modern) Romans is for drawing; that of the Lombards and the Venetians is for color. There are several parts to painting – invention, drawing, color, expression, beauty, grace – and no one painter is equally gifted in all of them. In de Piles’ *Conversations* Pamphile instructs Damon that to be a true connoisseur one must first give up any attachment to a particular school of painting and to the part of painting in which that school excelled. Félibien makes the same injunction: “there is always some part of painting in which a painter is inferior; one must consider that which is most excellent in a painting and not scorn that which is imperfect.”<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> « Il est difficile d’assembler tous les caracteres, parce qu’ils se détruisent l’un les autres. Cesar avoit de la noblesse et la dignité ; mais il n’avoit point de ces agréments dont nous parlions. » Méré, v. 2, p. 141, n. 3.

<sup>76</sup> « il y a toujours quelque partie dans laquelle il est inferieur a un autre. L’on doit donc considérer ce qui est de plus excellent dans les Tableaux, et ne pas mépriser les moins parfaits. » Félibien, *préface*, x.

Genius alone does not make a painter; it must be joined with sound precepts and extensive practice. Félibien addresses the relations between these three factors. He relates how during his stay in Rome he tried his hand at painting, guided by the excellent precepts he learned from his conversations with Poussin and from watching the master work; however, his affairs got in the way, and he learned that sound precepts were not enough to produce a good painting. One must also have extensive practice, for it is in the execution of a work that one encounters difficulties for which precepts provide no solution. The solutions are found through experience and solid reasoning. In fact, solutions are sometimes found in going against the ordinary rules of painting; they are discovered by the light of reason. Reason is the means by which one discerns the natural order, which is then manifest in the work of art as beauty. A rapport among the parts that is in accord with use – that is to say, proportion – results in beauty. But there is something more, something beyond beauty, that is discernible in great works of art, and that is grace.

Beauty results from proportion and symmetry among parts; grace comes from a uniformity of interior movements caused by the affections and sentiments of the soul.<sup>77</sup> Félibien gives the example of an accomplished person the parts of whose body are not in perfect proportion. He points out that this person often has a spiritual beauty that exceeds any corporeal beauty, an *air* and a *je ne sais quoi* that renders them more pleasant than one who is simply beautiful.<sup>78</sup> Grace is a movement of the soul. To illustrate the distinction between beauty and grace Félibien gives the example of a beautiful woman; one judges her

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<sup>77</sup> « Je puis vous dire en peu des mots... la difference entre ces deux charmantes qualitez. C'est que la beaute nait de la proportion et de la symmetry qui se rencontre entre les parties corporelles et materielles. Et la grace s'engendre de l'uniformite des mouvements interieurs causez par les affections et les sentimens de l'ame. » Félibien, 18.

<sup>78</sup> « Ainsi quoi que Quintia dans Tibulle fut plu belle que Lesbia; neanmoins celle-ci avoit un air et un je ne sai quoi qui rendoit beaucoup plus agreeable que l'autre. » Félibien, 28-29.

beauty by the accord between the parts of her body, but one cannot judge of her grace until she has spoken, laughed and moved. This *je ne sais quoi* of which so much is heard and which no one seems able to explain is the knot that binds the body and the mind; it results from the symmetry of parts and their accord with each movement; it is a meeting fashioned by subtle and hidden means; “it is nothing other than a divine splendor born of beauty and grace.”<sup>79</sup>

Genius also relates to the hierarchy of genres in painting. De Piles states that there are several degrees of genius. Nature gives some of it to one person for one thing and to another for something else. This applies not only to the diversity of professions but also to the various parts of an art or a science. In art one may have a genius for portraiture or landscape or still-life, and within still-life one may have a genius for painting animals or flowers. The highest of the genres is history painting because the genius for history brings together all the parts of painting that one finds in the other genres.<sup>80</sup> This hierarchy of genres implies also a hierarchy of painters; this is confirmed by the titles with which painters were admitted to the *Académie*, and often a painter would aspire to be accepted as a history painter but after doing so would continue to primarily practice one of the lesser genres. Thus the genres of painting were demonstrative of a natural order in which abilities were distributed unevenly but judiciously among people. It would seem that nature ensures diversity so that society will function properly; the social order is a reflection of the natural order.

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<sup>79</sup> « ce je ne sais quoi n'est autre chose qu'une splendeur toute divine qui naît de la beauté et de la grace. » Félibien, 30.

<sup>80</sup> Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), 189.

### **The figuring of *La Noblesse* in Rigaud's first portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan**

These interrelated discourses on the arts, social comportment, and nobility find their most potent manifestation in the portrait. A portrait functioned in much the same way as the body of the nobleperson in society: it created the illusion of an interiority, an essence enclosed within the body, through the figuring of the manifestations of that essence on the body. Portraits tell us a great deal about the culturally significant postures available to elites in a particular historical moment for the performance of nobility; they also stand as performances themselves, performances in which the likeness of an individual is blended with visual and literary discourses of nobility, discourses to which La Roque, Méré, and Félibien contribute. Ariane James-Sarazin interprets Hyacinthe Rigaud's first portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan as the likeness of the sitter through which his inner qualities are expressed: the open collar, a detail reserved for artists and poets in Rigaud's work, sits perfectly with his fatuousness. I have asserted that the pictorial elements in this portrait refer not to the personal character of the sitter, rather they relate to the discourses on the arts, social comportment, and nobility and associate the sitter with particular qualities valorized within those discourses. While the portrait works at attributing to the sitter an interiority inhabited by noble qualities, it actually does so by placing his likeness within the discourses in which those qualities are valued.

In his 1719 *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan* Rigaud ascribes noble qualities to the sitter without making overt claims to elevated social status. He does this through the inclusion of pictorial elements common in portraits of artists: the pose and the portrait type itself, and the collar *en négligée*. As stated above, the collar in this portrait does not appear to be open; however, I will argue that it nonetheless is a mode of dress associated with the

artist and *la négligence*. The same correlation that exists in Rigaud's work between an open collar and artists and amateurs also applies to an uncovered neck coupled with this type of lace collar. This form of *la négligence* is found, for example, in Rigaud's portraits of the sculptor Martin Van den Bogaert (fig. 20) and the collector Maximilein Titon (fig. 17). It is also found in Charles Le Brun's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 23). Furthermore, in Rigaud's formal portraits of men, that is, of men at court or depicted in their professional capacities, the neck is always covered. The type of lace collar worn by Van den Bogaert, Titon, and Le Brun can be dressed up with a jabot for a more formal portrait such as Rigaud's *Portrait of François Gigot de La Peyronie* (fig. 27).

Rigaud's 1719 *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan* attributes social status to the sitter by figuring him as in accord with himself, society, and his place within it. *La bienséance*, *le genie*, and *la grace* are all suggested by the informality of the portrait. One element of that informality is the absence of conventional markers of elevated status. The portrait makes few overt claims regarding the status of the sitter;<sup>81</sup> there is nothing to measure Gueidan against, nor is there any sense of striving or aspiring; he is figured as if in a natural state, true to and in accord with his inner being, in a state of grace in which the interior movements of his soul match, or even exceed, his corporeal beauty. This lack of aspiration, this nonchalance, suggests that he has relaxed into not only his own being but also the place in society into which he was born: he respects all that *bienséance* requires. His natural abilities and inclinations, his genius, as much personal qualities as qualities that relate to his role in the social order, are also suggested by this nonchalance or *négligence*. This is not simply a modest portrait, rather it is one in which a particular type of modesty is attributed to the

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<sup>81</sup> The wig and sumptuous drapery are associated in general with elevated status – as is having one's portrait painted by Hyacinthe Rigaud.

sitter, a modesty born out of discernment, judgment and a sense of moderation. This portrait, and others like it, is about effortlessness; it neither demonstrates nor alludes to any action or ability of the sitter and thereby leaves the viewer to wonder what inner resources the sitter possesses. These qualities are figured by their very absence; they presumably exist in the hidden interiority of the sitter; they are suggested by the subtle *agrémens* performed by the figure in the painting and by the painter's brush.

This portrait functions in part by figuring Gueidan within the boundaries of *bienséance* and *moderation*; however, within those boundaries the sitter is allowed a certain degree of expression of personal qualities, or rather the painter can attribute these qualities to the sitter as if they were expressions emanating from an interiority. Above all, Gueidan is figured in this portrait as pleasant and confident. He seems to have that pleasantness (*la gentillesse*) that Méré asserts “proceeds primarily from a cheerful humor and a great confidence that all that one does will be well received.”<sup>82</sup> Rigaud figures Gueidan with the pleasant air (*air riant*) that de Piles describes: “the eyes narrow, the corners of the mouth rise and the nostrils flair, the cheeks rise, and the eyebrows move away from each other.”<sup>83</sup> This pleasantness, or cheerful humor, figured in the accord between the facial features, is coupled with confidence, manifested in the pose of the body, a pose that resembles in significant ways that of Charles I in Anthony Van Dyck's portrait of this king at the hunt (fig. 28). Like Charles I, Gueidan stands perpendicular to the picture plane, his head turned toward the viewer, his hand on his hip and his elbow jutting toward us. With this posture, the figure of

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<sup>82</sup> « Il me semble qu'elle procede principalement d'une humeur enjouee avec une grande confiance que ce qu'on fait sera bien receu. » Méré, *Agrémens*, 12.

<sup>83</sup> Il faut [...] prendre garde qu'au meme temps que le modele se donne un air riant, les yeux se serrent, les coins de la bouche s'elevent avec les narines, les joues remontent ; et les sourcils s'eloignent l'un de l'autre. » De Piles, *Cours*, 130.

Gaspard de Gueidan borrows from a king the confidence that all he does will be well received. He has the attitude of a king in both senses of the word: the disposition of his body suggests the disposition of his mind. And yet, all of this is done without overt claims to the elevated status of the sitter; there are no attributes that point to particular accomplishments or to a particular rank in society: no books, no medals, no crowns, no architectural interior (with all that, in resonance with Félibien's discussion of architecture, this could indicate). Interior qualities – *noblesse, honnêteté, grâce* – are in this portrait figured through corporeal manifestations – *négligence, les agréments* – which take on significance in relation to other portraits – portraits of artists, kings, and noblemen – and to the discourses on the arts and social comportment – here exemplified by the works of de Piles and Méré. The sitter is inserted into the discourse on art simply by being painted, but moreover he is figured as having performed the work of appropriation, of having internalized the qualities and knowledge associated with works of art, and therefore he seems to be in accord with the best of nature's manifestations and closer to the nearly indiscernible beauty and order of nature, closer to her secrets, closer to truth, this is, well situated in a hierarchy in which all things and people have an absolute value.

This work of appropriation can be demonstrated in other ways. The ability to draw, to dance, or to play a musical instrument all imply an internalization of qualities that are both artistic and noble. A collection of works of art can also be a demonstration of these qualities in the collector. Just as a body of works can be a manifestation of the interiority of the artist – Van Dyck's grace or Michelangelo's wildness – so too can a collection seem to represent the interiority of the collector. The most ambitious collectors in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Provence used their collections in this way, to claim particular noble qualities for

themselves. Gaspard de Gueidan had a relatively small collection and he did not use it primarily as a map of his interiority, of the noble qualities associated with works of art; rather Gueidan's collection presents a map of the social circles through which he sought to rise in society: the sitters in the portraits are the people with whom he sought alliances, and the stylistic variations indicate the fashions followed within the milieus in which he sought to insinuate himself. Gueidan's unique approach to collecting is best understood in relation to collecting in Provence in general and to the collections of those people in his social circles – especially the *Parlement de Provence* – who made overt claims to knowledge of the visual arts; therefore, before presenting the contents of Gueidan's collection I will consider other collections and the means by which they contributed to their owners' self-fashioning as social elites.

### **Collecting and appropriation**

Travelers to Aix-en-Provence in the eighteenth century found the city very beautiful, second in France only to the capital. The Paris to which they compare Aix is a city since transformed; the Aix they describe exists today much as they knew it. The center of Aix gains much of its charm from the fact that it remains the product of large scale building campaigns in the seventeenth century. To early eighteenth-century travelers Aix was a city with a new face. They describe fountains, churches, private homes and the works of art that adorn them. Among the adornments of Aix were a number of collections of antiquities, paintings and curiosities. Botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708), setting out on a research trip to the East (through what is today Greece, Turkey, Armenia and Georgia), stopped in his native city of Aix. The brief account of this stay, in his *Voyage du Levant*,

says nothing about the physical condition of the city and the surrounding countryside; rather, Tournefort focuses exclusively on the learned men of Aix and their collections. He remarks that there are few towns in France, perhaps in all of Europe, that have had so many cabinets of curiosities, and he notes that there are still a great many beautiful things to be seen there: “few ships land in Provence without merchants and sailors carrying antique medals, engraved stones, jewels and gems; and, as the *parlement* and other courts bring a great many people to the capital of the province, these curiosities easily find their way there.”<sup>84</sup>

An obligatory stop for the gentleman passing through was the house on the rue Esperiat where Jean-Baptiste Boyer d’Eguilles (1645-1709), *President au Parlement de Provence*, amassed the largest and finest collection of paintings in the region. In a very brief description of Aix in his *Lettres Ecrites d’Italie*, President De Brosse finds room to mention this collection;<sup>85</sup> and Tournefort makes the *Hôtel d’Eguilles* his first stop in Aix (after paying a visit to his relatives). There one could see examples from the various schools of painting, executed by the most renowned masters: Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Titian, Caravaggio, Veronese, Correggio, Annibale Carracci, Tintoretto, Guido Reni, Poussin, Sebastien Bourdon, Le Sueur, Puget, Valentin de Boulougne, Rubens and Van Dyck.

Tournefort states his admiration, not just for the collection but also for Eguilles himself. He notes that Eguilles had one-hundred engravings done after paintings in his collection, that some of these are from Eguilles’ own hand and that the frontispieces of the

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<sup>84</sup> « Il y a peu de villes dans le Royaume, et peut-estre en Europe ou il y ait eu plus des cabinets curieux, et l’on y voit encore de très belles choses... Il vient peu de vaisseau de Levant en Provence sur lesquels il n’y ait des marchands, et même des matelots qui apportent des médailles, des pierres gravées, ou d’autres bijoux antiques. Comme le Parlement et les autres Cours supérieures attirent à Aix le pluspart des gens de la Province, ces curiositez s’y répandent facilement. » Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d’in Voyage du Levant* (Paris, 1717).

<sup>85</sup> Charles de Brosse, *Lettres familières écrites d’Italie à quelques amis en 1739 et 1740* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1858).

two volumes of prints are of his own invention (figs. 29 & 30).<sup>86</sup> Tournefort notes that Eguilles has not only a great knowledge of antiquity but also shares with the great connoisseurs an exquisite taste for drawing. It is Eguilles who directs the engravers, Jacques Coelemans and Sébastien Barras, with regard to the fidelity of contours and force of expression. Tournefort adds, “for a man of quality, one who fulfills his official duties with such dignity as Eguilles does, there are no nobler recreations than these.” He goes so far as to say that, uncommon as the works in the collection are, he and his entourage were less touched by them than they were by the merit of Eguilles himself.<sup>87</sup>

That the merits of men could be compared with those of works of art points again to the commonality of ideas and language between, on the one hand, the discourse of nobility and social comportment and, on the other, that of painting. The taste revealed in the collection and the engravings after it, to which Eguilles contributed with his advice and his own hand, are related to Eguilles’ character, a character that is apparently revealed in the course of a short visit, though through what particular qualities Tournefort does not say. Nor does he innumerate the particular merits of the paintings in Eguilles’ collection.

Nonetheless, to a reader conversant with the ideas contained in the writings of Félibien or de Piles, or any one of a number of writers on painting, the names Tournefort lists would have

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<sup>86</sup> *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d’Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix: J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.

<sup>87</sup> « Après que j’eus embrasse mes parents, nous allâmes saluer M. de Boyer d’Aguilles Conseiller au Parlement, et nous fumes bien moins touchez de ses tableaux, quelque rares qu’ils soient, que nous ne le fumes de son mérite. Ce scavant magistrat n’excele pas seulement dans la connoissance de l’antiquité, il a naturellement ce goust exquis du dessein, qui rend si recommandables les grands hommes en ce genre. M. d’Aguilles a fait graver une partie de son cabinet en cent grandes planches d’après les originaux de Raphael, d’Andre del Sarto, du Titien, de Michel Ange Caravage, de Paul Veronese, du Corregge, du Carrache, du Tintoret, du Guide, du Poussin, de Bourdon, de le Sueur, de Puget, du Valentin, de Rubens, du Vandeik, et d’autres peintres fameux. Ce Magistrat me permettra-t-il de dire qu’il a grave lui-même quelques-unes de ces planches ; que les frontispices des deux volumes qui composent ce recueil sont de son invention ; qu’il a conduit les graveurs pour la fidélité des contours, et pour la force des expressions. Un homme de qualité, qui remplit d’ailleurs si dignement les devoirs de sa charge, ne scaurroit se délasser plus noblement. » Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, 5.

implied certain qualities. These names support Tournefort's assertion of Eguilles' good taste, not because they are the names of the most renowned masters, but because taken together they indicate that he has not acquiesced in a preference for any one school of painting (and thus the particular aspect of painting in which that school excelled) but that he is open to all that is good in painting and therefore able to properly judge the merits of a particular work.

How do we know that he has assembled a truly exquisite collection and not merely bought according to the names attached to the paintings? Tournefort tells us that Eguilles advised the engravers on their contours and expression, and that he even took the burin in hand himself. We are not asked to take Tournefort's word for it that Eguilles has excellent taste; we are asked to accept that Tournefort has seen with his own eyes the products of Eguilles' discernment. The two volumes of engravings show Tournefort that Eguilles is not merely a collector; he is an accomplished connoisseur, one who is able to identify and – what is most remarkable - demonstrate the merits of a great work of art. *Un homme de qualité, qui remplit d'ailleurs si dignement les devoirs de sa charge, ne scaurroit se délasser plus noblement.* Eguilles' nobility is not simply a matter of genealogy, nor of his service to the crown or of that of his ancestors; rather it is his deep involvement with beautiful works of art that most clearly demonstrates his nobility. But connoisseurship is not simply an appropriate pursuit for a man of quality; it is a means of revealing a natural aptitude that draws him to what is beautiful and true and places him in the company of those who have understood these things most clearly - the ancients.

The path to becoming a true connoisseur is laid out in Roger de Piles' *Première conversation sur le jugement qu'on doit faire des tableaux; pour servir de disposition à la connoissance.* De Piles imagines a conversation between himself and two friends whom he

calls Damon and Pamphile. They have just passed a couple of hours in the Louvre looking at the king's paintings, and they go to the Tuilleries and sit on the grass. Pamphile is an accomplished connoisseur of painting and Damon, a lover of art who aspires to become a connoisseur, seeks guidance from him. Damon asks Pamphile what he found most beautiful in the king's collection, and Pamphile answers that everything there is beautiful, but as each painter excels differently it makes more sense to speak of their particular talents than to praise their works in general. In order to do this they must be in front of the paintings, and so Damon, and the reader, are denied the particulars. This is the beginning of a cat and mouse game, one in which Damon asks for Pamphile's opinions and Pamphile answers by exposing Damon's opinions as impediments to his becoming a connoisseur. Damon despairs of ever becoming a true connoisseur; in the six years he has been in Paris he has sought the most beautiful paintings and yet he has learned so little. Pamphile objects; just the other evening he saw Damon make an attribution of one painting and show another to be an original rather than a copy. This leads Damon to toot his own horn a bit; yes, he demonstrated that it was an original by turning the painting over and showing that the canvas was from Rome. Pamphile chides Damon: well, after that there could be no doubt. Pamphile repeatedly assures Damon that he is a connoisseur, just as much as the other men who claim to be; that is to say, not much. And yet, those present that evening were impressed with Damon's insights and afterward the one painting quickly changed hands twice because of the name he had associated with it. Damon then asks Pamphile why he never proffers his sentiments in such situations, and Pamphile answers that it is not easy to make such judgments and he prefers to be cautious. Would you prefer, asks Damon, that a painting remain without a name attached to it? Why not, there have been plenty of capable painters who created beautiful works but

whose names are not known, and those who are known often worked in one manner then in another but also created works that are in neither of these manners, thus uncertainty is inevitable. Pamphile concedes that it is nice to know the author of a painting, but that this does not constitute the true knowledge of painting. “True knowledge of painting consists in knowing if a painting is good or bad; in distinguishing that which is good and bad within a work; and in stating the grounds for the judgment one has made.”<sup>88</sup> There is one other thing, much inferior to these, and that is knowledge of manners: that is, judging who is the author of a painting based on others one has seen from the same hand. This is the skill that Damon possesses, and Pamphile confesses that he finds this knowledge a bit superficial, relying as it does more on memory than judgment. Pamphile compares looking at a painting to receiving a letter. Before one even opens the letter one knows who the sender is; one recognizes the handwriting. Having read the letter one recognizes the author by the character of his thought and the style of his writing. In painting, one also finds these two characters, that of the hand and that of the mind or the genius of the painter. This division corresponds to a distinction between the parts of painting that de Piles makes elsewhere; between invention, which is the intellectual part of painting, and drawing and color, which are the mechanical parts. Pamphile encourages Damon to move beyond the hand of the painter and to recognize a manner by the particular painter’s character of thought.

Damon despairs of ever having this true knowledge of painting, but Pamphile assures him that all that one is required to bring to the endeavor is that one have as much intelligence as Damon does and that one love painting. Damon adjures that one could not love painting more than he does, and this has led him to seek out the friendship of the most able painters,

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<sup>88</sup> « la véritable connoissance de la Peinture, consiste à sçavoir si un Tableau est bon, ou mauvais ; à faire la distinction de ce qui est bien dans un mesme Ouvrage, d’avec ce qui est mal, et de rendre raison du jugement qu’on en aura porté. Voilà la veritable connoissance de la Peinture. » De Piles, *Conversations*, 7.

to see their works and to hear them discuss them; but rather than clarifying anything, the diversity of their ideas has left him more confused than when he began. One painter follows this manner, another follows that; one imitates this master, another imitates that; and when he asks them why, they say they do not know, that “painting’s reasoning takes place at the tip of the paintbrush.”<sup>89</sup> Pamphile expresses regret that Damon has been so poorly instructed, for he knows enlightened and articulate painters; in fact, what he knows of painting he has learned from them – and from reflecting on the most beautiful paintings by the best masters. He tells Damon that for the connoisseur the true masters are the paintings themselves, the paintings they have just seen in the king’s cabinet. Damon objects, they are beautiful but they don’t speak. Here de Piles interjects: he finds them very eloquent; they tell him a thousand different histories – “it is a mute discourse, but mute as it is it makes itself understood to the heart.”<sup>90</sup> Pamphile adds that Damon should listen to them alone; they will tell him all he hopes to know about painting. If he is to put himself in a disposition to properly judge painting he must act as if he had never heard anything said about them, and look at them as if he had never seen one before. He must judge them in good faith, without trying to play the connoisseur. His preference should be for that which first strikes him. “The eyes of an *homme d’esprit*, though he is new to painting, will be touched by a beautiful picture, and if not he must conclude that what he sees is not true to Nature.”<sup>91</sup> But how,

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<sup>89</sup> « Le raisonnement de la Peinture estoit au bout du Pinceau. » De Piles, *Conversations*, 14.

<sup>90</sup> « Pour moi, luy dis-je, je tes trouve très-eloquens. Ils m’ont répété mille histoires différentes, dont j’ay esté plus agréablement touché que lors que je les ay leües. C’est un discours muet à la vérité, et qui n’est que pour le cœur ; mais tout muet qu’il est, il se fait très-bien entendre. » De Piles, *Conversations*, 16.

<sup>91</sup> « Voir les Tableaux, répondit Pamphile, les regarder comme si jamais vous n’en aviez veu, et en juger de bonne foy san vouloir trop faire le Connoisseur, et préférer ceux qui vous surprendront davantage. Car les yeux d’un homme d’esprit, quoyque tout noeufs en Peinture, doivent estre touchez d’un beau Tableau ; et s’ils n’en sont pas contens, il faut conclure que la Nature y est mal imitée, et que les objets qui y sont peints, ne ressemblent gueres aux véritables. » De Piles, *Conversations*, 20.

Damon asks, can one judge a painting if one knows nothing about painting? Pamphile responds that judgment is based on one's knowledge of the objects represented in a painting. A preference for a particular manner or a prejudice one holds from hearing those one considers knowledgeable praising a particular school or master - these things only hinder one's ability to judge in this direct manner. This is not to say that one should not listen to the most able masters and connoisseurs; but one should only accept what they say after examining their opinions and being truly convinced. Pamphile also recommends that Damon read Du Fresnoy and Félibien; but becoming a connoisseur is not just a matter of reading; one must read a bit at a time and reflect, and apply what one reads when looking at paintings, and discuss these things with able men. This last part is important, for it is through such discussions that one learns to articulate one's sentiments and to take from others those that seem reasonable and convincing; it is in this way that one finds the principles that inform one's judgment, and one comes to know the true causes of the beauty that formerly one only admired.

Is this a representation of conversations in which de Piles actually participated? More likely de Piles has chosen to present his ideas in the form of a dialogue because this form allows him to discuss his higher conception of connoisseurship without directly claiming these particular merits for himself. How does Roger de Piles know so much about painting and connoisseurship? He heard it from a friend whom he calls Pamphile. De Piles is for the most part a silent presence in this dialogue, interjecting only often enough to remind the reader that he was there, witness to the conversation he reports; de Piles is the observant, reticent figure Pamphile claims to be while others judge too quickly. The dialogic form lends a graciousness to de Piles' writing; he is not lecturing the reader; he is simply sharing with us

a conversation at which he was present. The form lends intimacy to the writing in a way that the author addressing the reader cannot; rather than imparting knowledge to us, he brings us into the circle of his close friends; he tells us what they talk about and how they conduct the art of conversation. Do they really have such conversations? Whether or not they do, won't the reader want to imitate them? De Piles gives the reader a conception of how the most distinguished collectors talk about painting – not in the provinces but in the Tuileries, having passed a couple of hours in the king's cabinet, looking at the most beautiful paintings in Europe. Wouldn't an aspiring collector in Provence be well advised to consider this conception when putting his collection together, or when talking about painting?

There were collections, in Paris and Provence, whose inventories reflect at least this one important quality of de Piles' connoisseur: that he be receptive to what is beautiful in the works of all the schools of painting. Raphael, del Sarto, Titian, Caravaggio, Veronese, Correggio, Carracci, Tintoretto, Guido, Poussin, Bourdon, Le Sueur, Puget, Valentin, Rubens, Van Dyck – the order in which Tournefort places these names is significant; Roman, Florentine, Venetian, Lombard, French, Flemish – they reflect a particular categorical and hierarchical conception of the history of art, one that is found in all the major early modern writers on art. Roman and Florentine *disegno* is contrasted with Venetian *colore*. After Michelangelo the idealizing tendencies of the Roman and Florentine schools are taken too far – they depart from nature. Annibale Carracci restores things to their right order, and his classicism is contrasted with the excessive naturalism of Caravaggio (and his followers, who include Bourdon and Valentin). The French school – at least the dominant classical wing – led by Poussin, is essentially an offshoot of the Roman; and the color and naturalism of the Flemish is contrasted with it. Italian, French, Flemish – this order, often found in writings on

art and inventories of collections, reflects the dominance of classical ideals and an historical mindset that sees Italy, because of the abundance of antique sculptures there, as the source of all that is good – that is, correct – in the art of the rest of Europe. Such an order is found for example in Mariette's inventory of the collection of Pierre Crozat.<sup>92</sup>

But, of course, not every collector is a Crozat. Jean Boyer has published several inventories of Aixois collections from the mid-seventeenth through the eighteenth century.<sup>93</sup> These inventories help to gauge the depth of involvement of individual collectors, such as Eguilles and Gaspard de Gueidan. Boyer limits his survey to paintings that are attributed, if not to an individual then at least to a school. His statistical analysis of the roughly 350 paintings in his chosen inventories reveals that French paintings are the most numerous (a great number of them are by Provençal painters), followed by Flemish and then Italian. Arranged by subject, landscapes are the most numerous, followed by religious subjects, still-lives and flower paintings, marine subjects, and lastly portraits. Boyer notes that collections of paintings were somewhat rare in Aix in the first half of the seventeenth century, a time when collectors were more interested in antiquities, medals and curiosities of nature; but they become more numerous beginning in the reign of Louis XIV. He finds that collectors of painting were quite numerous in all classes of Provençal society – nobility, clergy and bourgeoisie - during the reigns of the three Louis; most inventories of the *hôtels particuliers* and *bastides* of nobles and bourgeois list at least some paintings, and some list over a hundred. In addition to reversing the importance of the various schools, these inventories differ from that of Eguilles' collection in that, even in the most extensive, there are few

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<sup>92</sup> Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Description de la collection Crozat* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1973). This is a reprint of 1741 edition.

<sup>93</sup> « Les collections de peintures à Aix-en-Provence au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles d'après des inventaires inédits » *Gazette des Beaux-arts* (February 1965), 91-112.

paintings attributed to the most renowned masters. When these names do appear they are often preceded by *copie de*, *école de* or *goût de*. The majority of inventories surveyed by Boyer do not indicate the collections of connoisseurs as de Piles describes them. There are two notable exceptions: the collections of Jean-Paul Ricard and Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Eguilles.

One of the most extensive Aixois collections, comprising in excess of 370 works, was that of Gaspard de Gueidan's contemporary Jean-Paul Ricard, Marquis de Joyeuse-Garde, doyen du Parlement.<sup>94</sup> Of the 82 works that are attributed, and therefore listed by Boyer, 8 are by painters who appear in de Piles' balance of painters or are otherwise considered canonical in the period: 3 by Claude Lorraine (landscapes), 2 by Durer (subject not listed), one by Domenichino (*communion d'une sainte, ébauche*), an engraving by Rembrandt, and a drawing by Carlo Maratti. *Ecole de* appears once before each of the names Raphael, Titian, Carracci, and Bourdon; *copie de* once before Guido, Titian, Rubens, and Bassano; *goût de* appears once before the names Durer, Claude, Van Dyck and Poussin, twice before Teniers and Salvator Rosa, and three times before Brueghel. There are also 3 paintings listed as *goût de* Watteau. What emerges is a list of names much like that given by Tournefort with regard to Eguilles' collection. While Ricard's collection contains considerably fewer works from the hands of renowned masters, it fashions a similar conception of the collector, one that is in accord with de Piles' connoisseur; that is, one who appreciates what is good in all the schools of painting – though the designations *école de*, *goût de* and *copie de* imply that these paintings are less good than paintings attributed to the masters. In general, there is a relation between the theory and practice of connoisseurship though the dynamic of that relation is

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<sup>94</sup> Archives Municipales d'Aix-en-Provence, BB221, 428-605.

unclear; does de Piles' conception of the connoisseur follow the practice of collectors, or do books such as the *Conversations* dictate practice?

**Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d'Eguilles' *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux***

In a chapter on the usefulness of prints de Piles asserts that there is no one, regardless of *état* or profession, who cannot benefit from them: theologians, philosophers, soldiers, travelers, geographers, painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, amateurs of the arts, those interested in history and antiquity, and finally “those who, having no particular profession other than to be *honnête gens*, wish to enrich their minds with knowledge that renders them more estimable.”<sup>95</sup> There are, however, such a great number of prints that one cannot take an interest in or profit from all of them; therefore, each will view them according to one's particular interests. Theologians will be drawn to religious subjects, philosophers to those depicting the natural world, soldiers to maps and diagrams of fortifications, travelers to views of palaces and towns to prepare them for a journey or to refresh their memories after they have returned, geographers to maps. Painters will be drawn to things relating to their art: works of antiquity and those of Raphael and the Carracci for their good taste and correct drawing, their grand manner and choice of *aires de tête*, the passions of the soul and the postures of the figures; Correggio for grace and fine expressions; Titian, Bassano and the Lombards for their fidelity to truth and naïve expressions of nature; Rubens for grandeur, magnificence of invention and for *clair-obscur*; and those which, though defective, nonetheless contain something singular and extraordinary – for painters can take something from all the different manners of those who preceded them. “These works are like so many flowers from which they take, in the manners of bees, a suck, which, becoming part of their

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<sup>95</sup> Roger de Piles, *L'Idée du peintre parfait* (London, 1707), 59.

substance, produce useful and pleasing works.”<sup>96</sup> And finally, “for those who, in order to become happier and more *honnêtes gens*, wish to form a taste for good things, nothing is more necessary than good prints.”<sup>97</sup> Looking at and reflecting on them exercises the mind and fortifies one’s judgment. They allow one to study all manners of painting and to compare one master with another, and by this practice one develops a familiarity with good taste and the various manners of painting.

Each person will collect and arrange their prints according to his or her interests. Some will arrange them according to the names of the painters; some according to the subject represented. The prints after paintings in Eguilles collection are arranged in two volumes, the first containing sacred subjects and the second secular.<sup>98</sup> Those from the hand of Sebastien Barras are interspersed with those by Jacques Coelemans, and history, allegory, portraiture, landscape, genre and still-life mingle throughout the second volume. They are also ordered without concern for school. The primary focus of these two volumes is the merits of each painter and this is reflected not only in the loose arrangement of the prints but also in the handling of each print. The prints are not infused with the character of the engravers; rather Coelemans and Barras adapt their techniques from one to the next in order to capture the character of each of the paintings. These variations in technique emphasize the particular merits of each school and each painter. The prints are ordered so as to highlight contrasts in style and invite comparison. Coelemans constructs the Van Dyck (fig. 31)

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<sup>96</sup> « lesquelles sont autant de fleurs dont ils doivent ramasser, à la manière des Abeilles, un suc, qui, ayant passé en leur propre substance, produira des Ouvrages utiles et agréables. » De Piles, *L’Idée du peintre parfait*, 61.

<sup>97</sup> “A ceux enfin qui pour être plus heureux et plus honnêtes gens veulent se former le Gout aux bonnes choses, et avoir une teinture raisonnable des beaux-arts, rien n’est plus nécessaire que les bonnes Estampes.” De Piles, *L’Idée du peintre parfait*, 62-63.

<sup>98</sup> *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d’Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.

entirely with short, thin, sinuous lines. These lines, alternating with white highlights, create the illusion of soft undulating surfaces of translucent flesh. There are subtle variations of light and a complete absence of harsh contrasts. This evenness lends a softness to the figures and objects and emphasizes the *tout-ensemble* of the composition and the free and deliberate yet light touch of Van Dyck's brush. As de Piles writes, "The word *pinceau* means simply the fashion in which he has employed his colors and that these colors are not at all too hectic, and, as one says, too tormented by the movement of a heavy hand, and as on the contrary the movement appears to be free, prompt and light one says that the work is of a good *pinceau*."<sup>99</sup>

The Van Dyck is followed by a holy family by the Genoese painter Valerio Castelli (fig. 32), a work with none of the lightness of the Van Dyck. Here the massive sculptural figures are emphasized. Thick contour lines and deep regular hatching are contrasted with stippling – a technique not used in the Van Dyck – in the areas bathed in light. The result is much idealized figures, the surfaces of their flesh smooth. The regularity of the markings makes for clarity. In a Tintoretto drama is stressed over clarity (fig. 33). The contours are lost in areas of dense cross-hatching and fields of pure white imitate Tintoretto's loose brushwork. As de Piles writes, "The Venitian taste is opposed to that of the Romans, in that the one neglects drawing a little and the other color. As there are few antiquities in Venice, and very few works in the Roman taste the Venetians are attached to expressing the *beau*

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<sup>99</sup> « Le mot de Pinceau signifie simplement la façon extérieure dont il a été manie pour employer les couleurs et lorsque ses mêmes couleurs n'ont point été trop agitées, et, comme on dit, trop tourmentées par le mouvement d'une main pesante, et qu'au contraire le mouvement en paroît libre, prompt et léger, on dit que l'ouvrage est d'un bon Pinceau... En un mot le beau Pinceau est à la peinture ce qu'est à la musique un belle voix ; l'un et l'autre soit estimez a proportion du grand effet et de l'harmonie qui les accompagne. » De Piles, *L'Idée du peintre parfait*, 41.

*Naturel* of their country.”<sup>100</sup> A Correggio (fig. 34) conforms to de Piles characterization : “the Lombard taste consists in drawing that is relaxed, lively and soft and combines a little of the Antique with carefully chosen observations of nature.”<sup>101</sup> De Piles asserts that among the Lombards Correggio is notable for his *grâce* and *délicatesse*. In Coeleman’s engraving there is a dry regularity to the markings that is relieved by the contours of the figures and their delicate facial features. The prints after French painters support de Piles’ assertion that *le goût François* is difficult to define as some have studied in Rome and followed the antique and the drawing of Annibale Carracci, while others follow the Venetians. In a print after a Nicolas Loir (fig. 35) gentle contrasts of light and dark stress clarity in the complex variety of the folds of the draperies and in the graceful poses of the figures. De Piles writes, “in following the character of pure Nature, which is far from every affectation, the folds must be arranged as if by chance around the limbs, that they make the body appear as it is, and that by an industrious artifice they contrast with the parts of the body while revealing them, that they caress them, so to speak, with their tender windings and their softness.”<sup>102</sup> He also warns that while one wants to avoid dressing a figure like a mannequin, one should also avoid draperies that are too agitated.

In general, there is a regularity and simple geometry to the markings in the engravings after the Romans and Lombards (and their French followers) which stresses

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<sup>100</sup> « Le gout Vénitien est oppose au gout Romain, en ce que celui-ci a un peu trop négligé ce qui dépend du Coloris et celui-là ce qui dépend du Dessein. Comme il y a très peu d’Antique à Venise, et très peu d’ouvrages du gout romain, les Vénitiens se sont attachez à exprimer le beau Naturel de leur pais. » De Piles, *L’Idée du peintre parfait*, 83.

<sup>101</sup> « Le gout Lombard consiste dans un Dessein coulant, nourrie, moelleux et mêlé d’un peu d’Antique et d’un naturel bien choisi. » De Piles, *L’Idée du peintre parfait*, 83.

<sup>102</sup> « En suivant la caractère de la pure Nature, laquelle est éloignée de toute affectation, il faut que les plis se trouve comme par hasard autour des membres, que ils les fassent paroître ce qu’ils sont, et que par un artifice industrieux ils contrastent en les marquant, et qu’ils les caressent, pour ainsi dire, par leurs tenders sinuositez, et par leur mollesse. » De Piles, *L’Idée du peintre parfait*, 35.

clarity, drawing and the idealization of the figures, while in the prints after the Venetians and Caravaggio (and the French painters influenced by them) there is a variety of techniques imitating the chiaroscuro and naturalism of the originals. This is particularly evident in folios 49 through 51 where there is a striking contrast between two Caravaggios and a Poussin. In the *Jacob and Laban* (fig. 36) after a painting attributed to Caravaggio a variety of markings are used to imitate the contrasts of texture in the original.<sup>103</sup> Coelemans uses a light mobile touch to imitate the fleece of the sheep. The regularity of hatching and stippling imitates flesh in the figure in the lower left. This regularity is taken further in imitating the shiny surfaces of the urn in the foreground and the bowl from which a boy drinks. In a print after a *David* by Poussin (fig. 37) the deep cuts and harsh contrasts of textures and light and dark are gone. Most of the marks are made with shallow cuts, in regular – in places geometric – patterns (in particular in the concentric circles forming the breast). This gives the figures and objects a metallic finish which, as in the Correggio, is relieved by the graceful poses and subtle contours of the figures.

De Piles' writings present the ideas, the categories and criteria an early eighteenth-century observer would have brought to these two volumes of prints. De Piles wrote for a ready audience eager to become conversant in the fine arts. The publication of his later works coincides with the rise of the art dealer, of whom Watteau's friend Edame Gersaint is perhaps the best known example. With a shift in the market for paintings came a rise in the publication of books aimed at aspiring connoisseurs. As its complete title shows, De Piles' *L'Idée du peintre parfait* aims to « servir de regle aux jugemens que l'on doit porter sur les

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<sup>103</sup> This is the one print in the *Recueil* that I am able to compare to the original, as it is today in the Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence. The painting is now attributed to The Master of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, a painter active in Naples in the Seventeenth-Century and whose work is perhaps more akin to that of Ribera than to Caravaggio's.

ouvrages des peintres. » However, many of the ideas contained in de Piles writings are not new: he is indebted to many of the early modern theorists, especially Dolce, Bellori, Dufresnoy and Félibien. There is a commonality of terminology, metaphors and formal presentation among these authors; they borrow liberally from antique authors and claim continuity with an ancient discourse on art. Thus, many of the ideas in de Piles writings were more pervasive than even the new market for such books would indicate. De Piles, though a partisan of the *Rubenistes*, is the summation of the early modern discourse on painting. He champions color but his terms are for the most part *the* terms with which painting was discussed. The degree to which this discourse lends itself to a reading of Eguilles' *Recueil* indicates that these volumes of prints were fashioned with the terms of this discourse in mind. Thus the *Recueil* was a tool in Eguilles' self-fashioning as a connoisseur. The *Recueil*, like Rigaud's portrait of Eguilles, is a visual construction of him from the early modern discourses on art and nobility. As Tournefort attests, in the *Recueil* one is invited to admire not only the collection but also the character of this particular collector; in it his nobility is constructed from the ideas found in de Piles and the other early modern theorists.

### **Gaspard de Gueidan as collector**

Knowledge of the arts – or at least the appearance of such knowledge - undoubtedly played an important role in the fashioning of noble identities in *ancien régime* France; La Roche's treatise attests to this fact, as does the building boom in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Aix that accompanied the significant upward nobility of aixois elites, particularly those bourgeois and nobles associated with the law courts.<sup>104</sup> The comprehensive collections of paintings amassed by notable amateurs such as Eguilles and

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<sup>104</sup> The build environment of eighteenth-century Aix-en-Provence is discussed in chapters 2 and 4.

Ricard represent one means of manifesting that knowledge; however, this was simply one means among many. For elites with social ambitions but a lack of serious engagement with the arts or an unwillingness to commit vast financial resources to serious collecting, the art of painting nonetheless offered a means of manifesting one's judgment, taste and fine sentiments – real or imagined. The portrait type of which Rigaud's 1719 *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan* is an example, was one means. The placing of oneself in a fashionable realm of theatrical and musical *bergeries*, as Gueidan did with the commissioning of his portrait *en jouant de la musette*, was another.<sup>105</sup> However, the majority of paintings owned by Gueidan contributed to his social mobility by a means related only indirectly to the amateur's knowledge of painting: they represented the place which he was carving out for himself within specific political, social and familial networks.

Gueidan collected primarily portraits; of the fifty-seven works in the Gueidan bequest thirty-two are painted portraits. It is difficult to determine which of these portraits Gaspard de Gueidan inherited along with the house on the *Cours* from his father, Pierre de Gueidan, as portraits were generally not included in eighteenth-century inventories.<sup>106</sup> It seems that a number of the other paintings were inherited from his father. The inventory of paintings compiled by the aixois painter Claude Arnulphy shortly after Pierre de Gueidan's death includes descriptions of several paintings that match paintings in the Gueidan Bequest.<sup>107</sup> Eleven of the twenty-nine paintings in the inventory are religious subjects, which is in keeping with the inventory of Pierre's library, made up predominantly of books on religious

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<sup>105</sup> This is discussed in chapter 3.

<sup>106</sup> *Portraits d'Aixois au siècle des lumières* (Musée du Vieil Aix, Musée Arbaud, 2005), 9.

<sup>107</sup> *Rapport d'estimation générale des biens de Pierre de Gueidan, mort le 3 Fév. 1734*. Archives Municipale d'Aix-en-Provence, BB218, 516-638.

subjects. The inventory includes four battle scenes, one of which may be the *Choc de cavalerie* now in the Granet (fig. 38). Two small landscapes may be the paintings identified by the Granet as *Ecole Romaine milieu XVIIe siècle* (figs. 39 & 40). One of the two Magdalenes in the inventory may be the painting identified by the Granet as *Ecole Italienne XVIIe siècle* (fig. 41). There are certain paintings that it is certain Gaspard did not inherit, as they are not portraits and are not included in the inventory of Pierre's paintings; for example a series of four seasons which the Granet identifies as early eighteenth-century copies after Bassano (fig. 42). These four paintings, most likely purchased by Gaspard de Gueidan, would not have fashioned him as a connoisseur of painting; they have none of the *beau Naturel* that de Piles identifies with the Venetians and the drawing is more than *un peu trop négligé*. The finest paintings in Gaspard de Gueidan's collection are the portraits, seven of which came from the workshop of Hyacinthe Rigaud.

Even if conversations about paintings didn't imitate books such as de Piles' *Conversations*, surely such books influenced and reflected the way people thought about paintings, and what they thought about the owners of those paintings. The conversation at Gueidan's house on the *Cours* was another matter. The paintings that hung in this house do not lend themselves to the discourse found in de Piles' *Conversations* and his *Idée du peintre parfait*. Visitors to the *Hôtel de Gueidan* would have encountered there the painted visages not only of Gaspard, his ancestors, his wife and children, but the king's ministers, members of various chivalric and religious orders, as well of members of the leading noble families both in and beyond Aix. The sitters in a number of these portraits have not been, and perhaps never will be, identified. Gaspard de Gueidan not only invented an illustrious genealogy stretching back to the middle ages; he also obscured the identities of his immediate forbears,

and he seems to have used portraiture in a similar way. The portraits in the Gueidan Bequest do not chronicle the modest origins of the family's wealth and status, rather they present a world of fashion, power, and firmly established privilege. While it is not the case that Gueidan has fabricated this world through the acquisition of portraits of people unrelated to him – either biologically or socially – he has chosen to highlight those connections, however tenuous, that would seem to place him in a very elite social milieu; for example, nearly half of the men in these portraits (excluding Gueidan himself) wear the cross of a chivalric order. This is especially true of the works produced in the eighteenth century and purchased by Gueidan himself; in particular, the works of Rigaud and his imitators in Provence, Claude Arnulphy and Joseph Cellony. It is also consistent with the bound volume into which Gueidan copied selections from his correspondence: in both cases he wants to remind the viewer and the reader of his connections with people who enjoy the elevated status to which he aspires. As such, even without names to attach to all the sitters, these portraits speak, in a pictorial language of distinction, of the elite identity which Gueidan sought to fashion for himself through their acquisition and display in his home on the *Cours*. In the following chapters I will detail, as I have done in this chapter with Rigaud's 1719 *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan*, how the works in Gueidan's collection intersect with discourses on art and society to fashion this elite identity for him – or rather, these elite identities, for the works Gaspard de Gueidan commissioned can be construed as appealing to particular constituencies within the elite culture of the France of the day.

## Chapter Two: The Orator

Hyacinthe Rigaud's first portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan (fig. 1) fashions the sitter as a nobleman through a conventional pictorial vocabulary that attributes to him qualities associated with both noble comportment and the arts, in particular, painting and architecture. Rigaud's second portrait of Gueidan (fig. 43, 44, 45) is of an equally conventional type, one that in its restricted pictorial vocabulary highlights the position of the sitter as a magistrate and downplays unique personal characteristics. This type of portrait represents qualities associated with the ideal magistrate and orator in the writings of both modern magistrates and the antique authors that shaped their mentalities through the classical education in the *collèges* and *universités* that prepared them for the bar. Foremost among these qualities are two that are valued also in the discourses on the arts and noble comportment, exemplified in the writings of André Félibien and the Chevalier de Méré: moderation (*modération*) and an embracing of one's place in the social order (a manifestation of one's sense of *bienséance*). In the writings of ancient Roman authors and in the published writings of Gaspard de Gueidan these qualities are contrasted with ambition and self-interest. Eloquence and erudition are also qualities associated with the ideal magistrate and orator. Along with Rigaud's *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, président à mortier au parlement de Provence*, Gueidan's letters and his published writings, his *Discours*, fashion him within these ideals; however, these various works do not construct a stable identity, rather they highlight different aspects of these ideals depending upon the nature of the relationship between Gueidan and the person he is addressing. I end this chapter with a discussion of portraits of

magistrates' wives. Portraits of magistrates were often paired with portraits of their wives in mythological guises, in particular, those associated with fertility and beauty: Flora, Ceres, and Pomona. These portraits enforce a gender dichotomy and marginalize women through an equating of men with culture and women with nature, a conception that, while not necessarily universal, is particularly pronounced in eighteenth-century France, not only at mid-century, as exemplified in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, but, as these portraits show, earlier as well.

### **Rigaud's second portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan**

Hyacinthe Rigaud's second portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan went through a series of transformations; this one canvas has been the vehicle for three distinct portraits. The first, the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, avocat général au Parlement de Provence*, is known only from a drawing of it made just before it left Rigaud's studio for the first time (fig. 43). The second, also *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, avocat général au Parlement de Provence*, is known from radiography taken of the painting at the Musée Granet in Aix-en-Provence, and shows changes to the painting made in Rigaud's studio at Gueidan's request (fig. 44). The third and final version of this canvas, the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, président à mortier au Parlement de Provence*, was completed by the *aixoise* painter Claude Arnulphy in 1740 when Gueidan moved within the *parlement* to the position of *président à mortier* (fig. 45).

Late in the summer of 1723 the portrait, in its first version, arrived in Aix-en-Provence. The painting had been carefully packed in the artist's studio in Paris; however, the package was opened at a toll station at Lyon and arrived damaged at its final destination. As there was no damage to the head, Gueidan wrote to the painter to ask if the painting could be

repaired and, seeing the opportunity to have the image fashioned more to his liking, to suggest some changes to the composition. Gueidan's letter does not survive, but his suggestions can be gleaned from Rigaud's response:

Regarding the change to the chair, Monsieur Lieutaud, your relative and friend, perhaps told you that I will make it as you hoped and according to the idea in the drawing which he gave me on your behalf, a drawing that I found to be very good. If, as he tells me, it is you who made this drawing, I congratulate you. I never would have imagined that, with the way in which you applied yourself to your studies, you would have found such considerable time to devote to this virtue.

Allow me now to reason as a man of art upon the change to the above-mentioned chair into a bench. I painted it, as you saw it, to give a greater accord to the overall picture (*tout ensemble*), as the yellow of the damask is a color that sits perfectly with the red and black, better than blue would. You may reply that this would not prevent me from harmonizing them with the same ease, and this is true. Your idea makes me think that you would like that one think that the pose I have given you is connected with that which you assume when addressing affairs in the *grande chambre*. If you are supposed to be in the Senate then the background of the painting would be blue patterned with fleurs-de-lys, the same as the bench. In truth this was not my conception, rather it was to place you in an ordinary room. If you see my conception, you will also see the difficulty in which I find myself: I fear that the fleurs-de-lys in the background would be detrimental to the presentation of the head. Join to this that I am not sure that this would not open up the work to negative criticisms and another thought occurs to me. As you know, I have painted a yellow curtain and this would not match the blue. If you find it fitting, I could make it, like the bench – and rather than the background – in all one color or patterned with fleurs-de-lys. Send me if you would please, your decision on this matter.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> « A l'égard du changement du fauteuil, M. Lieutaud, votre parent et votre ami, peut vous avoir dit que votre volonté étoit la mienne et que je le feray selon que vous le souhaitez et selon l'idée du dessein qu'il m'a donné de votre part, dessin que j'ai trouvé fort bien. Si c'est vous qui l'avez fait, comme il me l'a dit, je vous en félicite. Je ne me serois jamais imaginé qu'avec l'application que vous avez donnée à vos études, vous eussiez eu assez de tems pour en donner un si considérable à cette vertu.

« Permettez-moi à présent que je raisonne en homme d'art sur le changement du dit fauteuil en un banc de palais. Je l'ay fait tel que vous l'avez vu pour donner un plus grand accord au tout ensemble, par ce que le damas jaune est une couleur qui se lye parfaitement avec le rouge et le noir, mieux que ne le fera le bleu. Vous me pouvez répondre que cela ne m'embarrassera pas de l'accorder avec la même intelligence ; cela est vrai. Votre idée me fait entendre que vous voulez que l'on pense que l'attitude que je vous ay donnée ait quelques liaisons avec celle que vous vous donnez lors que vous rapportez quel qu'affaires a la grande Chambre. Si vous supposez estre dan ce Senat, il faut donc, par la même raison, que le fond du tableau soit un fond bleu semé de fleurs de lys, de même que le banc. Et ma pensée a la vérité n'a pas été telle, mais bien de vous mettre dans une chambre ordinaire. Si vous approuviez ma réflexion, voicy la difficulté que j'y trouverois, que je craindrois que les fleurs de lys qui seroient dans le fond ne fissent tort à la teste ; joint à cela, je ne scay pas si cela ne donneroit a parler a quelques mauvais critiques. Voicy encore une pensée qui me vient. Vous scavez

This letter is illustrative of two points essential to my study. The first is that appropriation – an internalization and demonstration of mastery of certain concepts and qualities associated with the arts – is, and was in eighteenth-century France, an essential aspect of the development of cultural capital. It is not enough to engage with the arts – by, for example, collecting paintings – rather, one must show an understanding of the discourses relating to them; one must show that one has the means of consuming them. Rigaud complements Gueidan on his drawing. Gueidan - like Eguilles who, as Tournefort tells us, not only amassed an impressive collection of paintings but advised the engravers who reproduced them and even took the burin in hand himself – is able to demonstrate his understanding of art through his own practice. Moreover, Rigaud acknowledges that the level of mastery he is ascribing to Gueidan requires a considerable commitment of time. Gueidan’s drawing attests to the depth of his engagement with the visual arts, to his not only possessing and commissioning works but to his having mastered the concepts related to them. This process is that which Bourdieu calls appropriation:

The objects endowed with the greatest distinctive power are those which most clearly attest to the quality of the appropriation, and therefore the quality of the owner, because their possession requires time and capacities which, requiring a long investment of time, like pictorial or musical culture, cannot be acquired in haste or by proxy, and therefore appear as the surest indications of the quality of the person. This explains the importance which the pursuit of distinction attaches to all those activities which, like artistic consumption, demand pure, pointless expenditure, especially of the rarest and most precious thing of all [...] namely, time, time devoted to consumption or time devoted to the cultural acquisition which adequate consumption presupposes.<sup>109</sup>

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que j’ay peint un rideau jaune qui ne sera plus uniforme avec le bleu : si vous le trouviez à propos, je le ferois de même que le banc, au lieu de fond, ou tout unis ou avec les fleurs de lys. Mandez-moy, je vous prie, sur cela votre décision. » H. Gibert, « Dix portraits et dix-neuf lettres de Rigaud et de Largillier », in *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1890 : 297-298.

<sup>109</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgment of taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 281.

Gueidan's drawing does not survive, therefore it cannot serve, as Eguilles' *Recueil* does, as a testament to his engagement with the visual arts. Rigaud's letter perhaps attests more to his desire to flatter his client than to that client's artistic abilities: he wants to discourage Gueidan from pursuing his particular conception for his portrait, so he flatters him that he has a high degree of understanding of such matters, then he begs leave to reason with him as a man of art.

The second point that Rigaud's letters demonstrate is the central role that decorum plays both in the arts and the social order. Rigaud is concerned with *convenance*, that all of the elements of the painting should be in accord, thus creating a pleasant overall effect. He opposes Gueidan's wish that the chair should be painted in blue patterned with fleurs-de-lys; both the chair and the curtain should remain yellow, as this color accords with the red and black of Gueidan's robes, better than blue would. Rigaud is also concerned with *vraisemblance*: the painting, while not necessarily a direct imitation of appearances, should nonetheless accord with things as they would be, that is, they should accord with things as the viewer knows them to be. If Gueidan were figured speaking in the *grande chambre* (on the floor of the *parlement*) then the background in the painting would have to correspond with the decoration of that room – it would have to be blue patterned in fleurs-de-lys. Such patterning would detract from the clarity of the outline of the head and therefore should be avoided. Rigaud is also deeply concerned that *bienséance* should be respected, and yet, because of his desire to be diplomatic with Gueidan, he is less explicit with this concern. He presents his objections to blue patterned in fleurs-de-lys as relating to the technical aspects of painting; he is reasoning as a man of art; and yet his objection is to Gueidan's entire conception of the painting. Gueidan wants to be depicted in a manner that is completely

inconsistent with his role and rank within society. The conventions for portraits of members of the French *parlements* had been firmly established, and Rigaud's portraits of magistrates conform to these norms. While Rigaud's figures are much more animated, his portraits do not differ, in terms of the objects represented, from, for example, Philippe de Champaigne's *Portrait of Pomponne de Bellièvre, Premier Président of the Parlement of Paris* from around 1650 (fig.46). What Gueidan is asking for is an exceptional portrait. This Rigaud will not produce; Gueidan's portrait will not be shaped primarily by the sitter's wishes – nor by those of the painter for that matter – rather the portrait will be in accord with his rank within the *parlement*. Gueidan's response to Rigaud's letter has not survived, but again its content is revealed by Rigaud's subsequent letter, in which we find the painter, once again, using the concepts of *convenance* and *vraisemblance* to argue for a more modest portrait, one that respects *bienséance*. It is nonetheless clear that Rigaud has made some concessions to Gueidan's wishes:

Your reflections upon the background and the curtain are entirely just and, as such, would be exempt from criticism. I have done as you wished and made the arm of the bench just as you indicated in your drawing. I think that this will conform more with the antiquity of those that are in your rooms, as you stated yourself, and although you have granted that I may leave the chair, I have reflected and think that it would have been nonetheless cause for criticism, because one does not see chairs patterned in fleurs-de-lys except those belonging to kings. But as one of your benches it is self-explanatory, as one is used to seeing such. I made the curtain stays in silver to stand out from the yellow. In my portraits, I paint them so when I want to decorate this color, and I never use gold unless it is on red or another color that agrees with it.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> « Vos réflexions sur le fond et sur le rideau sont tout à fait justes et, le laissant tel qu'il est, il sera exempt de toutes critiques, je l'ay fait tel que vous l'avez souhaité, faisant le bras du fauteuil de même que vous l'avez marqué dans votre dessein. J'ay pense que cela estoit plus conforme à l'antiquité de ceux qui sont dans vos chambres, comme vous le dittes fort bien, en quoy que vous m'avez mandé que j'étois le maitre de laisser le premier, j'ay reflechy qu'il auroit été encore sujet a la critique, parce qu'on ne voit point de fauteuil n'y de canapé fleurdelyse, or ceux des roys. Et le faisant tel qu'ils sont à vos bancs, il s'expliquera par luy'meme, par l'usage qu'on a de les voir ainsi. Si j'ay fait les cordons et les houppes du rideau en argent, c'est pour se détacher d'avec le jaune. Dans mes portraits, je les peints ainsi lorsque je veux orner cette couleur, et je ne les fais jamais en or a moins qu'ils soient sur du rouge ou d'autres couleurs qui y conviennent. » Gibert, 298.

Rigaud argues that, if patterned in fleurs-de-lys, the seat should be a *banc de palais* and not a chair. Ostensibly he supports this point by reference to *vraisemblance* - one does not see chairs patterned thus except those belonging to kings, so for the portrait to be believable, the seat must be a bench; and yet the greater point to be made is that the appearance of such a chair – a chair fit for a king – in a portrait of an *avocat général* in the *parlement de Provence* would be a violation of *bienséance*. Rigaud returns to the idea of *convenance* when he argues that the curtain stays are in silver, rather than gold, to stand out against the yellow of the fabric; and yet gold, like fleurs-de-lys, is also best reserved for portraits of people whose status is much more elevated than that of Gueidan.

Portraits of members of the *parlements* do, for the most part, conform to a single type; therefore it is illustrative to compare Rigaud's *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, avocat général au parlement de Provence* to other portraits of this type, as well as to portraits that, like the portrait Gueidan envisioned, depart from this type. Rigaud's portraits of Pierre de Bérulle (fig. 47) and Cardin Le Bret (fig. 48) are representative of this portrait type. De Bérulle is seated and Le Bret standing, and the one looks away while the other makes eye contact, but in the essentials they conform: both are three-quarter length portraits and both include the symbols of their office and little else. These are both portraits of *présidents à mortier*, therefore they wear a red robe over their black robe, and each rests a hand on a *mortier*, the hat from which their office takes its name. Le Bret points with his right hand, a gesture that animates the figure and suggests speech, while de Bérulle's right hand rests on the arm of his chair, a detail that, together with the seated pose, suggests repose, an attitude that conforms to Roger de Piles' assertion that animated poses are only appropriate for the

depiction of young people.<sup>111</sup> The background indicates an indistinct interior, what Rigaud in his letter to Gueidan calls an ordinary room. Rigaud's *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, avocat général au parlement de Provence* (fig. 43), known only from a drawing of it made in the painter's studio, borrowed elements from both of these examples. The pose and, in particular the positioning of the hands, conforms to the portrait of Le Bret; the positioning of Gueidan's head is that of de Bérulle. Radiography of the portrait taken at the Musée Granet in 1987 show the changes to the portrait that Rigaud made in response to Gueidan's requests: the chair in yellow damask was changed to a *banc de palais* patterned in fleurs-de-lys (fig. 44). The portrait as it appears today, reworked by Claude Arnulphy when in 1740 Gueidan moved to the position of *président à mortier*, is even closer to the example of the portrait of Cardin Le Bret: Guiedan wears the red robe of his new office and the bench has been replaced by a table and *mortier* (fig. 45).

In his letters to Gueidan, Rigaud tries to persuade him to accept a conventional portrait. The criticism that Rigaud wishes to avoid is not simply that related to artistic concerns, to *convenance* and *vraisemblance*; he is also concerned that the portrait conform to social norms, to *bienséance*. But that is not to say that *bienséance* is not also an artistic concern: Rigaud's role as a portraitist is to make the likeness of his sitter conform to the rules of art and society, which are not entirely distinct. Portraits that depart from the norms embodied in the portrait type used by Rigaud to figure magistrates in their official capacities give some idea of the breach of decorum from which Gueidan was saved by Rigaud's advice. Portraits that depart from the type include Claude Arnulphy's *Portrait de Michel Antoine d'Albert de Saint-Hippolyte* (fig. 49). This is the only known full-length portrait of a

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<sup>111</sup> « Les attitudes de repos peuvent convenir à tout le monde, et celles qui sont en mouvement ne sont propres qu'aux jeunes personnes. » Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983), 136.

*président au parlement de Provence*. Full-length portraits were generally reserved for the royal family, wealthy financiers, and the highest ranks of the nobility. It was painted after 1767, the year the sitter assumed the position of *président à mortier*. This exceptional portrait is not warranted by d'Albert's position within the *parlement*; however, his social capital may have purchased him this exception and rendered the portrait somewhat more palatable to his fellow *aixois*: he was married to Marie-Thérèse d'Isoard de Chénérilles, a member of one of the two parliamentary families in Aix whose nobility was *chevaleresque*, that is, whose proofs of nobility extended back to the Middle Ages.<sup>112</sup>

Even more exceptional among portraits of *aixois* barristers is Jean-Baptiste Van Loo's *Portrait de Jean-Baptiste d'Albertas* (fig. 50). This portrait was likely painted in 1745, the year of Van Loo's death, and the year d'Albertas assumed the position of *Premier Président* – that is, the highest ranking magistrate – in the *Cour des Comptes, Aides et Finances de Provence*, a position that was passed from father to son in the d'Albertas family from the early seventeenth century up to the Revolution. From 1738 to 1745 Jean-Baptiste d'Albertas held the position of *avocat général*, that is, the representative within the *Cour des Comptes* of the crown's position. According to Artefeuil's *Histoire héroïque et universelle de la noblesse de Provence*, the same book in which Gueidan's invented genealogy was printed, the d'Albertas family first came to Provence in 1360 from Alba in the Piedmont. Initially clothiers, they then became merchants. Colin d'Albertas took the title of *écuyer*, the first degree of a non-titled nobility. In the mid fifteenth century they moved to Marseille and set themselves up as importers, bankers, and town councilmen. Pierre d'Albertas convinced Charles IX to allow the nobles of Marseille to engage in commerce without a lessening of

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<sup>112</sup> Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières: les parlementaires d'Aix au 18ème siècle* (Paris: Maloine, 1984), 26.

their noble status, on the condition that they not engage in retail commerce. Marc-Antoine d'Albertas married into a noble *aixoïs* family and inherited from his father-in-law, Raymond de Séguiran, the position of *Premier Président* in the *Cour des Comptes*.<sup>113</sup> Thus the d'Albertas were able, by way of their considerable economic capital, to amass considerable social and political capital as well, marrying into an established noble *aixoïs* family and assuming a position in the sovereign courts that brought with it a nobility recognized by the crown and transmissible after three generations of holding the position. The service of the d'Albertas to the crown enabled Jean-Baptiste to successfully petition the king to declare Bouc, the family's property near Aix, the marquissate d'Albertas. Gaspard de Gueidan succeeded in having one of his lands declared a marquissate, thus we have two examples of representatives of the crown within the courts at Aix being rewarded for their service with the title of marquis. Jean-Baptiste had gardens laid out at Bouc, adorned with statues by Jean-Pancrace Chastel, the sculptor who created the cenotaph to Gueidan's fictional crusader ancestors, but no chateau was ever built there (fig. 51).<sup>114</sup>

In addition to holding the most prestigious position within the *Cour des Comptes*, the d'Albertas made their presence conspicuous within the built environment of Aix.<sup>115</sup> Jean-Baptiste's father, Henri, built his massive *hôtel* adjacent to that of the d'Eguilles on the rue Espariat (fig. 52). Jean-Baptiste bought the lot across the street from the *Hôtel d'Albertas*, had the buildings on it torn down, and constructed a large *place* complete with a large

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<sup>113</sup> This genealogy is recounted in *Portraits d'Aixoïs au siècle des lumières*. Musée du Vieil Aix, Musée Arbaud, (2005), 36-37.

<sup>114</sup> Chastel and the cenotaph to Gueidan's ancestors are discussed in chapter 4.

<sup>115</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the architecture of Aix, see: Jean-Jacques Gloton, *Renaissance et baroque à Aix-en-Provence: recherches sur la culture architecturale dans le Midi de la France de la fin du XVe au début du XVIIIe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome; Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1979).

sumptuous fountain (fig. 53), thus allowing a great deal of light into a massive house built on a narrow street, as well as distinguishing the house from all others in the city. The *Hôtel d'Albertas* is built in a style typical in the region with a flat façade and the courtyard in the interior,<sup>116</sup> as opposed to the *Hôtel d'Eguilles* (fig. 54) which is built in the Parisian style: a massive rectangular form flanked by two wings which form a U surrounding a courtyard which is enclosed on the fourth side by a stone wall and iron gate facing the street. The *place d'Albertas* mimics the courtyard in front of the *Hôtel d'Eguilles* but extends it across the street, effectively doubling the size of the property and creating a courtyard that moreover serves as a civic space. With the *place d'Albertas* Jean-Baptiste added another square and fountain to a city of squares and fountains that celebrate the city's Roman heritage as *Aquae Sextius* but one that also celebrates the distinction of the d'Albertas family.

Van Loo's *Portrait de Jean-Baptiste d'Albertas* (fig. 50) is an equally imposing statement of that distinction. Unlike Rigaud's *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, avocat général au parlement de Provence*, this portrait does include a chair patterned in fleurs-de-lys to which d'Albertas points with his right hand. His left hand is planted on his hip, creating the renaissance elbow found in many portraits by Rigaud and Van Dyck, and a boy, a *negrillon de cour*, holds his robe.<sup>117</sup> On a table next to the chair are three crowns representing d'Albertas' three noble titles: Sieur de Gémenos, Marquis d'Albertas, and Comte de Ners.

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<sup>116</sup> Charles de Brosses refers to this style of house as "à l'italienne." Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie à quelques amis en 1739 et 1740* (Paris, 1858), 18.

<sup>117</sup> In the literature on Rigaud these figures are identified as servants. The best known of these paintings is perhaps Rigaud's *Portrait de jeune serviteur* (Dunkirk, Musée des Beaux-Arts). These children were used not as servants but as pets and were called *negrillons de cour*. I am aware of nothing published on this topic either in French or English. My knowledge of this is based on conversations with Sahar Amer in the departments of Asian Studies and French at UNC-Chapel Hill.

This is, as Bruno Saunier has pointed out, a princely portrait, one that calls to mind Van Loo's portraits of Louis XV and Marie Leszczyńska (fig. 55, 56).<sup>118</sup>

This is a princely portrait, but d'Albertas is not a prince, nor is the nobility of his family particularly old – and time, La Roque tells us, is the element that adds quality to nobility. The very oldest families took their names from fiefs granted to them by the king in reward for services rendered. La Roque asserts in his *Traité de la Noblesse* that this was the origin of nobility.<sup>119</sup> This type of nobility, what La Roque calls immemorial nobility, is that which was claimed by the d'Isoard de Chénérilles family and allowed Michel Antoine d'Albert de Saint-Hippolyte, having married into this family and inherited his father-in-law's position in the *Cour des Comptes*, to commission a full-length portrait of himself in his official capacity. The d'Albertas, like the Gueidan family, were merchants who used their fortune as leverage to enter the nobility through ennobling positions within the courts. Their lands were declared marquisates by the crown, thus they were granted the title marquis, but their nobility was of a lesser quality than that of the d'Isoard de Chénérilles: the d'Albertas and de Gueidan were *annoblis*, that is, newly ennobled; they did not take their name from land granted to them by the king in the distant past, rather they were permitted to give their name to land they had recently purchased.

This princely portrait makes no reference to the source of d'Albertas' nobility in commerce, unlike, for example, Rigaud's *Portrait of Samuel Bernard* (fig. 57). Samuel Bernard, Comte de Coubert, owed his elevated status to the same sources as the d'Albertas; however, his rise was much more precipitous. The son of a painter, Bernard began his career as a master haberdasher and wholesale clothier. He later became a merchant banker, loaning

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<sup>118</sup> *Portraits d'Aixois*, 37.

<sup>119</sup> Gilles-Antoine de La Roque, *Traité de noblesse et de toutes ses différentes espèces* (Rouen, 1735), 46.

considerable sums to the crown. He was ennobled in 1699 and bought the barony of Rieux, in Languedoc, in 1707.<sup>120</sup> His portrait, painted by Rigaud in 1726, bears the full complement of vandyckian markers of distinction: he is painted full-length, surrounded by sumptuous draperies, in particular a curtain that is lifted to reveal a massive column on a high pedestal. The raised curtain also reveals ships in a port. He wears the cross of the Order of Saint-Michel, a marker of the favor and noble status conferred on him by the king,<sup>121</sup> but unlike Van Loo's portrait of d'Albertas, this portrait conspicuously references the origins of the sitter's status in trade, not just with the ships but also with the globe on the table next to him. This is a very grand portrait, as Bernard was a person of consequence - Saint-Simon remarked that no individual had extended as much credit across Europe as he<sup>122</sup> - and yet all is in keeping with *bienséance*: there are no chairs patterned in fleurs-de-lys, that is, no references to the crown's indebtedness to him for his service; there is the cross of the Order of Saint-Michel, an indirect reference to the favor that the crown has bestowed on him. The Rigaud of this painting is the Rigaud of the letters to Gueidan, concerned with observing all that *bienséance* requires. By comparison, the Van Loo of the *Portrait de Jean-Baptiste d'Albertas* is much more permissive. Like Gaspard de Gueidan, d'Albertas is less than a handful of generations from the commerce that is the seed of his nobility and yet his portrait is of a type reserved for those of the most elevated status and/or ancient nobility.

The example to which the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, avocat général au parlement de Provence* most closely conforms is Rigaud's 1712 *Portrait de Cardin Le Bret*

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<sup>120</sup> Stéphan Perreau, *Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1659-1743: peintre des rois* (Montpellier: Presses du Languedoc, 2004), 192.

<sup>121</sup> Acceptance into a chivalric order required proofs of nobility, proofs which were not rigorously confirmed when submitted by someone who had been ennobled by the king.

<sup>122</sup> Perreau, 192.

(fig. 48), a painting with which, and a sitter with whom, Gueidan would have been familiar. In fact, the delivery of Rigaud's first portrait of Gueidan was held up by the painter's work on the pendant to the portrait of Le Bret, the *Portrait de Marguerite Le Bret de La Brisse, comtesse de Selles*. (fig. 58) In response to Gueidan's inquiry as to when his portrait would be delivered to Aix, Rigaud wrote, on the first of January 1720, that he would have to continue to wait: "I cannot fulfill your wish without displeasing *Monsieur le Premier Président* and *Madame la Première Présidente*. I think that you are too close a friend to them to think of causing them any grief."<sup>123</sup> Gueidan must wait until the portrait of Madame Le Bret is finished and then it, along with Gueidan's portrait, will be delivered to Aix. The excuse Rigaud makes for his delay is supported by two points: one, Gueidan's familiarity with Monsieur and Madame Le Bret, and, two, his inferiority to them, both political and social. He must put their pleasure above his own, out of courtesy – and also because he has no choice: if he were to demand that his portrait, which sat completed in Rigaud's studio, be delivered right away, he would cause grief not to the painter but to *Monsieur le Premier Président* and *Madame la Première Présidente*. Two years later, Rigaud wrote to Gueidan to tell him that his *grand Portrait*,<sup>124</sup> the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en avocat général*, a portrait that in many ways resembles the portrait of Cardin Le Bret, was almost completed.

For Gueidan, who was very ambitious politically and socially, the choice of Rigaud to paint his portrait – a choice he made three times - may seem simple and obvious: he wanted to be counted among the most illustrious men in France; therefore he would choose their portraitist. If we follow the conception of Gueidan as a fatuous upstart – *le bourgeois*

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<sup>123</sup> « Je ne pouvois exécuter vostre volonté sans déplaire à Monsieur le Premier Président et à Madame la première Présidente. Je croy que vous êtes trop de leurs amis pour penser à leur faire aucune peine. » Gibert, 293.

<sup>124</sup> Gibert, 297.

*gentilhomme* – then the choice seems quite natural and perhaps simpleminded; however, the choice to be painted by Rigaud did more than simply place Gueidan in the pantheon of the illustrious men who had served the crown; it reflects his political alliances, not only at Versailles but in Aix-en-Provence as well and it positions him within the political landscape of Aix and in relation to the political history of that city. He is not merely insinuating himself into the highest circles of power; he is confirming his choice to throw in his lot with this circle and not with others closer to home. He has decided to court royal favors, and in a city with a checkered history in relation to monarchical power this is a significant choice, one that reflects Gueidan's alliances as well as the degree to which, by the end of the reign of Louis XIV, monarchical power had been established in Provence.

### **Rigaud, Le Bret, and Provençal Politics**

Cardin Le Bret (fig. 48) and his father, Pierre Cardin Le Bret were, aside from Louis XIV himself, the most important figures in the solidification of monarchical power in Provence. Gaspard de Gueidan, the *avocat général*, that is, the representative within the *parlement* of the king's position, in choosing the portraitist of the king, his ministers and court, and his most powerful representatives in Provence, is clearly invested in allying himself with the power and authority of the crown. This is not necessarily true of the vast majority of Rigaud's sitters; however, because Rigaud's activity was relatively limited in Provence, and because the relatively few patrons Rigaud served there were closely allied with the crown, Gueidan would not have been unaware of the opportunity presented by patronizing Rigaud to fashion himself after these sitters who had, so it would seem, so competently served the crown in Provence.

Rigaud's *aixois* patrons are the victors in a long struggle for administrative control of Provence. From its union with France in 1486 until the 1660s when Louis XIV brought the province under his authority, Provence was characterized by the virulent defense of its administrative autonomy. The defender of that autonomy was the *Parlement de Provence*. When Provence was united with France the province retained certain privileges: the king of France ruled Provence as its count; legislation was registered by the *conseil éminent*, the precursor to the *parlement*; the city of Aix was recognized as the administrative capital of Provence; taxation was dependent on the consent of the provincial Estates; taxes were collected by local agents; customary procedures were followed in municipal elections; Aix, Arles, Marseille, and Tarascon were exempt from troop billeting; the billeting and payment of troops outside these cities were subject to the approval of the *procureurs du pays*; and the Parlement acted as governor in the absence of the governor and the lieutenant general.<sup>125</sup> Between 1630 and 1660 several efforts were made by the crown to curtail the privileges of Provence: on numerous occasions the crown forced the *parlement* to register unwanted edicts, it ignored the *parlement's* right to remonstrate against royal edicts, it threatened to transfer the judicial courts out of Aix, it attempted to suspend the right of the provincial Estates to collect taxes, the governors attempted to collect taxes without the approval of the Estates, the governors more often than not suspended municipal elections and appointed members to Aix's municipal government, and troops were billeted without the approval of the *procureurs*.<sup>126</sup> The period from 1630 to 1660 was also characterized by often violent resistance to the encroachments from the crown - revolts erupted in 1630, 1649, and 1659 –

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<sup>125</sup> Sharon Kettering, *Judicial Politics and Urban Revolt in Seventeenth-Century France : The Parlement of Aix, 1629-1659* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 6-7.

<sup>126</sup> Kettering, 7.

and yet the weakening of provincial authority was not entirely a product of the crown's ambitions: J. P. Coste argues that over the course of the seventeenth century the parlement's defense of its privileges devolved into the defense of the *parlement* itself and of social groups within it.<sup>127</sup> By 1714, the year Gaspard de Gueidan entered the parlement, the crown's hold on Provence was quite secure. Cardin Le Bret was the primary agent of that hold. In 1687 the *Intendant de Provence*, Morant, was named *Premier Président* in the *Parlement de Toulouse*. His successor as *Intendant de Provence* was Pierre Cardin Le Bret, who had been *Intendant en Dauphiné*.<sup>128</sup> It was common practice for the *Premier Président* to be from a province other than that in which he was appointed. Pierre Cardin Le Bret was appointed, concurrent with his position as Intendant, *le Premier Président au Parlement de Provence*, thus the representative of the king's authority in the province also became the highest ranking member of the body that historically had defended the province against the encroachment of that authority. In 1706 he passed both of these positions on to his son, Cardin Le Bret, who had formerly served as *Intendant du Béarn et de la Basse Navarre*.<sup>129</sup>

In 1714 Gaspard de Gueidan purchased the position of *avocat général* in the *Parlement de Provence*, a post that placed him on the side of the victors in the struggle for authority over Provence. The structure of the *parlement* divides it into two parts: the magistrates and the *gens du Roy*.<sup>130</sup> The magistrates of the various chambers are (in ascending order of power): *conseillers, présidents, président à mortier* and *premier président*. The *gens du Roy* are

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<sup>127</sup> Jean-Paul Coste, *La ville d'Aix en 1695 : structure urbaine et société* (Aix-en-Provence: La pensée universitaire, 1970), 15.

<sup>128</sup> Pierre-Joseph de Haitze, *Histoire de la ville d'Aix, capitale de la Provence, tome sixième, de l'année 1660 à l'année 1715* (Aix-en-Provence : Makaire, 1892), 281.

<sup>129</sup> Haitze, 475.

<sup>130</sup> The structure of the *Parlement de Provence* is described in Michel Vovelle, *Les Folies d'Aix ou la fin d'un monde* (Le temps des cerises, 2003), 165.

those charged with representing the will and authority of the king and his ministers. At their head and appointed by the King is the *procureur général* (sometimes called the *procureur du Roy*). He initiates legal actions and controls the execution of the King's orders. Beneath him are *les avocats du Roy*, and from among them the *avocat général* was elected – though by 1714 when Gueidan took the position it was purchased rather than elected. The *avocat général* was charged with transmitting the orders of the king to the *parlement* and representing the official position of the Crown. At the opening of the session each year the *gens du Roy* would address the *parlement*. This duty (privilege?) alternated between the *procureur général* and the *avocat général*.

### **Gaspard de Gueidan's Discours**

Gueidan's desire to project an image of himself as unwavering in his service and loyalty to the crown – evident in his choice of Rigaud as his portraitist, and his desire to be painted amongst fabrics patterned in fleurs-de-lys – is also very much in evidence in his speeches on the floor of the *parlement*, a selection of which – a rather vast selection – were published in five volumes from 1739 to 1762. September 2, 1732 Gueidan addressed *les Gens du Roy* with a sentence of the court. He ordered that a pamphlet entitled *Judicium Francorum* or *Mémoire touchant l'Origine et l'Autorité du Parlement de France* be burned. Gueidan asserted that while the purpose of *Judicium Francorum* was ostensibly to raise the status of the *Parlement de Paris* through historical research into its origins, this was only a pretext to foment insubordination among the legal class (the robe nobility) and to shake the foundations of the monarchy. Gueidan summarizes the argument of *Judicium Francorum* thus: the *Parlement de Paris* is as old as the crown and independent of the king. Without the counsel of the *parlement* the king cannot make a law, declare war, or conclude a peace. It is

only as the head of the *parlement* that the king rules, thus he may not use his authority against the *parlement* nor can he exile any of its members. “What remains,” Gueidan asks, “but to grant the *Parlement de Paris* the right to depose kings?”<sup>131</sup> In addition to the *parlement*, *Judicium Francorum* poses popular authority as a counterbalance to the power of the monarchy, arguing that sovereign power derives from accord between the king and his subjects. Gueidan’s rebuttal of these points is founded on the assertion that they are excessive: the French monarch is neither a despot who treats his subjects as slaves, nor is he a man of the people. Gueidan argues that between these two extremes is a form of government that approaches divinity, one that rules over free men. Those free men recognize that the best use of their freedom is to submit to their prince, who in turn is above all power and thus relies upon God.

Only the King possesses authority. All tribunals, however old they may be, have it only by the disposal and communication of the King. He is a Father who unable to look after his large family deigns to call on the talents of others. However, it is but for him and in his name and always in subordination that the people he employs act – and each is accountable to him in accordance with the degree of power received from him.<sup>132</sup>

Gueidan sets out to rebut the excess of viewing the king as, on the one hand, a despot and, on the other, a man of the people. But moderation is not simply a midpoint between two extremes; it is not determined by those extremes, rather it is a quality by which one recognizes the truth. In the view commonly held in the *ancien régime*, manifested in the discourses on art, nobility, and social comportment, moderation is a means by which one

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<sup>131</sup> « Que restoit-il, qu’à accorder au Parlement de Paris le droit de déposer les Rois ? » Gaspard de Gueidan, « Arrêt de la cour du Parlement, du 2 de Septembre 1732 » vol. 1 of *Discours prononces au Parlement de Provence par un de messieurs les avocats généraux* (Paris: Quillau, 1739), 348.

<sup>132</sup> « Le Roi seul possède en propre l’Autorité. Tous les Tribunaux, quel qu’anciens qu’ils puissent être, ne l’ont que par écoulement et par communication. C’est un Père qui ne pouvant suffire au gouvernement de sa nombreuse Famille, daigne mettre en œuvre quelques talens étrangers. Mais ce n’est que pour lui, en son nom, et toujours avec dépendance, qu’agissent les personnes qu’il employe, et chacun lui est comptable, suivant la mesure du pouvoir qu’il a reçu. » Gueidan, vol. 1, 350-1.

achieves perfection. Things that are moderate are things that are as they should be; they do not stray outside their appointed purpose. Moderation is a quality closely associated with *bienséance*. These ideas of moderation and decorum also relate to the filling of one's *état*. The patriarchal and paternalistic relation between monarch and subjects that Gueidan supports is grounded in a social hierarchy that purports to exist before the individuals that occupy it. One is born a king, born to rule, and others are born subjects. The only reasonable thing for a subject to do is to submit. A subject perfects himself by playing the role he has been assigned within society. The casting of the king as a father assures the reader of his benevolence toward his subjects/children.

Gueidan comes to the defense of the crown and in doing so he submits and fills his role as *avocat général*. And yet his zeal to perform his duties, in particular his desire to have this zeal manifested in his portrait, is immoderate; it takes him beyond the bounds of his *état*. He wants to be depicted speaking in the *Grande Chambre* against a background patterned in fleurs-de-lys. The uniqueness of this scheme would result in a portrait as much, if not more, about Gaspard de Gueidan than about the position of *avocat général*. Rigaud's response to Gueidan's request shows that a portrait, in particular an official portrait, must first and foremost be about the position. The individual likeness is inserted into the markers of rank in the same way that an individual is born into a particular *état*. Uniqueness is a violation of decorum and an introduction of disorder into the natural/social order established by God. There is nothing left but to submit, Gueidan advises, and yet in his own actions, for example his letters to Rigaud, he finds it difficult to follow his own council: not content with the figuring of his likeness in the role of *avocat général*, he conceives a portrait that abandons moderation in its figuring of the zeal with which Gueidan serves the crown.

Gueidan's conception for his portrait is immoderate and indecorous but it is more representative of his relation to the power of the crown than the portrait Rigaud actually produced. The power of the monarch depends upon the support of his subjects. In his case against *Judicium Francorum* Gueidan argues that power is communicated to the subject by the king but the subject is accountable for the power received; the subject employs this power in the name of the king. It never really belongs to the subject – accountable suggests an accounting in which power is returned to the king. And yet Gueidan clearly wants to keep something of this power for himself; he wants to benefit from his service to the crown. This is evident in his letters to the king's ministers: he reminds them of his service to the crown and requests favors based on this service. Gueidan has contributed to the power of the crown and he wants some of that power for himself. Rigaud suppresses the representation of a reciprocal relation between Gueidan and the crown and instead perpetuates the myth of the king as the source of all power, second only to God, much like Gueidan does in his case against *Judicium Francorum*.

The appropriateness of Rigaud's advice is evident when we consider the degree to which Gueidan promoted this paternalistic model of power in his self-fashioning as *avocat général* in his *Discours*: the portrait that Rigaud produced for Gueidan is more in keeping with the self-sacrifice with which Gueidan characterizes the magistrate in his writings. In these writings, records of speeches delivered in the *Grande Chambre*, Gueidan speaks adamantly against self-interest. The first of October 1732, Gaspard de Gueidan addressed the *parlement* at the opening of the session with a speech the subject of which is that the magistrature requires no less heroism than the profession of arms:

Messieurs,

It is neither recognition nor titles that make great men; it is what we carry in our hearts. The very thrones that lift kings so high cannot in the least increase their glory. They can render them more majestic and garner them respect, but they cannot make them greater; they must carry within themselves the source of greatness. It is superior genius, nobility of feeling, magnanimity, and a natural kindness that make a great man; and it is these virtues pushed to perfection that make a hero.<sup>133</sup>

Gueidan goes on to argue that these qualities are not unique to the profession of arms; they are open to all men who cultivate talents useful to society; however, true heroism requires that one love order and justice above all else and that this love inspire one to reject self-interest and human passions. The magistrature thus has its heroes and their glory is no less enduring than that of warriors: “Here we see no trophies, nor victories, but we find in the heart of a man who fights for justice, and who sacrifices everything for it, as much force and nobility of soul as one would need to conquer provinces and win battles.”<sup>134</sup> So why, Gueidan asks, should these two professions view each other with jealousy? They serve the same master, the same spirit animates them, the one as instruments of power, the other as organs of wisdom, and they both work toward the same end: the happiness of the state. The speech is redolent of the stoical virtues valued by the Roman historians. The only reward for such virtues is virtue itself; Gueidan warns that while these virtues will separate one from the crowd, this will attract envy, “so much so that one sometimes would have less to fear from

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<sup>133</sup> « Messieurs, Ce ne sont ni les éminentes dignités, ni les grands titres qui font les grands hommes ; c’est le cœur qui nous y portons. Les trônes mêmes qui élèvent si haut les Rois ne rehaussent point leur gloire. Ils peuvent bien les rendre plus majestueux et plus respectés, mais ils ne les rendent pas plus grands, s’ils ne portent en eux-mêmes le fonds de la grandeur. C’est par la supériorité du génie, la noblesse des sentimens, la magnanimité, la bonté naturelle, qu’on est grand homme, et ces vertus poussées jusqu’à la perfection, c’est ce qui fait le Héros » Gaspard de Gueidan, « Qu’il ne faut pas moins d’Héroïsme dans la Magistrature que dans la profession des armes » vol. 2 of *Discours* (Paris : Quillau, 1741), 45-46.

<sup>134</sup> « Nous ne voyons point ici de trophées, ni des victoires, mais nous découvrons dans le cœur d’un homme qui combat pour la justice, et qui lui sacrifie tout, autant de force, autant de grandeur d’âme qu’il faut pour conquérir des provinces et gagner des batailles. » Gueidan, vol. 2, 47.

bad qualities than from excellent ones.”<sup>135</sup> In the published version of the speech Gueidan acknowledges in a footnote his indebtedness to Tacitus for this idea: *nec minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala*.<sup>136</sup> The quote leads to the source of many of the ideas in Gueidan’s speech; in fact, this speech is a refashioning of Tacitus’ ideal soldier, his father-in-law Agricola, as the ideal magistrate.

Tacitus begins the *Agricola*, his account of Britannia and of his father-in-law’s governorship of that province, by recounting Agricola’s early career and the role of his virtues in its advancement. He characterizes Agricola as a man of rare virtue in a time (the reign of Nero) when such qualities attracted only envy and malice. Tacitus opens the *Agricola* by harkening back to a time when “the road to memorable achievement was not so uphill or so beset with obstacles, and the task of recording it never failed to attract men of genius. There was no question of partiality or self-seeking. The consciousness of an honorable aim was reward enough.”<sup>137</sup> Thus the main theme of the *Agricola* – and what will become the main theme of Gueidan’s speech – is introduced: the placing of honor above self-interest. Tacitus recalls Agricola telling him that in his youth he was attracted to philosophy and was “tempted to drink deeper than was allowable for a Roman and a future senator” but that “age and discretion cooled his ardour; and he always remembered the hardest lesson that philosophy teaches – a sense of proportion.”<sup>138</sup> We are told that in the course of his military apprenticeship Agricola “never sought a duty for self-advancement, never shirked one

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<sup>135</sup> « En sorte qu’on auroit quelquefois moins à craindre pour de mauvaises qualités que pour des qualités excellentes. » Gueidan, vol. 2, 62-63.

<sup>136</sup> “a great reputation was as dangerous as a bad one.” Tacitus, *Agricola*, trans. H. Mattingly (New York: Penguin, 1970), 55.

<sup>137</sup> Tacitus, 51.

<sup>138</sup> Tacitus, 54.

through cowardice.”<sup>139</sup> When he was appointed to take command of an unruly legion and to mete out punishment to the soldiers, Agricola took disciplinary measures “but, with rare modesty, did his best to give the impression that no such measures had been necessary.”<sup>140</sup> He found himself serving in Britannia under a governor who ruled with too gentle a hand, but he knew to restrain his enthusiasm; by this time “he had learned the lesson of obedience and schooled himself to subordinate ambition to propriety.”<sup>141</sup> When he was placed in charge of the province of Aquitania he found scope to demonstrate that he had what soldiers are often assumed to lack, the power of fine discrimination; he “had the natural good sense, even in dealing with civilians, to show himself both agreeable and just... To mention incorruptibility and strict honesty in a man of his caliber would be to insult his virtues. Even fame, which often tempts the best of men, he would not seek by self-advertisement or intrigue.”<sup>142</sup> Agricola’s primary virtue is his wisdom, a wisdom that consists in knowing when to act and what action is called for in each particular situation. This wisdom is bolstered by the courage to place the necessity of these actions above self-interest.

Gueidan casts his hero in the same mold. Two qualities are essential to Gueidan’s hero: courage and wisdom; but he argues that courage alone cannot make a great warrior – he points out that pirates and gladiators have this quality - rather to it must be joined wisdom, a wisdom that encompasses justice, moderation, and humanity. The hero will be fierce in battle and modest in victory and his exploits will not serve his own glory but only the good and tranquility of the state. Most importantly, he will not be swayed from performing his

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<sup>139</sup> Tacitus, 55.

<sup>140</sup> Tacitus, 57.

<sup>141</sup> Tacitus, 58.

<sup>142</sup> Tacitus, 59.

duty by self-interest or the turns of his own personal fortunes. “It is this equilibrium of the soul, this control that reason exerts over the passions, over fickle fortune, and over his entire being that makes a great warrior.”<sup>143</sup> And this too is what makes a great magistrate: “Intractable in the face of sensual pleasures and all instruments of power, the magistrate remains unshakable in his duty.”<sup>144</sup> This duty is to remain disinterested and moreover indifferent to his personal interests:

Ambition destroys all sense of duty. It is she who corrupts the law and clouds one’s judgment. It is she who presents risks in the face of which a judge may gain or, to protect himself, may fail to observe even the proprieties of justice. It is she who loses the rights of the poor in the windings of an interminable chicanery. It is because of ambition that one is cowardly, complacent, artificial.

Moderation saves the magistrate from these pitfalls. He who has neither enough courage nor enough resources to live with himself will chase titles and dignities; but the wise man, what use does he have for these things? Rich in moderation, he restricts himself to filling his place and never looks toward things that are above him. If justice builds for herself an incorruptible sanctuary in his heart, it is only when he has overcome his passions, all of them, and, this that is the mark of a truly strong soul, that he never tire of overcoming them.<sup>145</sup>

For both Tacitus and Gueidan, who follows the example of the antique author, it is moderation (*modération*) and propriety (*bienséance*) that protect the warrior and the magistrate from the temptations of self-interest. Agricola tempers his ambition with a sense

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<sup>143</sup> « C’est cette égalité d’âme, c’est cet empire de la raison sur les passions, sur la double fortune, et sur lui tout entier qui fait le grand homme de guerre. » Gueidan, vol. 2, 49.

<sup>144</sup> « Indocile aux charmes des sens, et de tous les appareils de la puissance, le Magistrat demeure inébranlable dans son devoir. » Gueidan, vol. 2, 49.

<sup>145</sup> « L’ambition immole tous les devoirs. C’est elle qui corrompt la loi, et qui énerve les jugemens. C’est elle qui hazarde ces démarches irrégulières ou un Juge gagné, ou intimidé ne garde pas même les bienséances de la justice. C’est elle qui embarrasse le droit du pauvre dans les détours d’une chicane interminable. C’est parce qu’on est ambitieux qu’on est lâche, complaisant, artificieux.

« La modération sauve le Magistrat de ces écueils. Que celui qui n’a ni assez de courage, ni assez de ressources pour vivre avec lui-même, brigue les titres et les dignités ; mais le Sage quel besoin en a-t’il ? Riche de la modération il se borne à remplir sa place, et ne porte jamais ses regards sur celles qui sont au-dessus de lui. Si donc la Justice se construit dans son cœur un sanctuaire incorruptible, ce n’est qu’autant qu’il surmonte toutes, et ce qui est la marque d’une âme véritablement forte, qu’il ne se lasse jamais de les surmonter. » Gueidan, vol. 2, 51.

of proportion and propriety. Gueidan's magistrate does not allow ambition to blind him to *les bienséances de la justice*; moderation keeps him in his place and allows him to perform his role well. Gueidan's *Discours* played a central role in his campaign of social mobility; in particular, they gave material form to the social and cultural capital he accumulated through his position in the *parlement de Provence*. Throughout the *Discours* Gueidan demonstrates his familiarity with antique authors; as in his letters, in his speeches before the *parlement* he often includes quotes from Roman authors but moreover, as in his adaptation of Tacitus, he demonstrates an ease in imitating and transforming the works of these authors. In fashioning his speeches after the works of Roman authors Gueidan adopts a language and literary forms that were very familiar to his audience; namely, his fellow *robins*, many of whom were educated at the Jesuit *Collège de Bourbon* in Aix-en-Provence. This education consisted primarily of the reading of ancient authors. The ideas and literary tropes of these authors were the *lingua franca* of the robe nobility in *ancien régime* France. The *College de Bourbon* and the *université* gave institutional recognition to the cultural capital of these *robins*. Gueidan's speeches, in their published form, provided him with a surfeit of cultural capital; they distinguished him from the majority of his fellow barristers. Gueidan was not the only member of the *parlement de Provence* to publish a work that related to proceedings within that body; however, he was the first to offer the public such a work that would be of interest not only to those concerned with jurisprudence but might also recommend itself by virtue of its literary merits. Gueidan's contemporaries remarked on these merits of the *Discours* and Gueidan hoped that they would warrant his admission to the *Académie Française*. The publication of his speeches and the cases he pleaded before the court was in itself an additional institutional recognition of Gueidan's cultural capital; the positive reviews

which the work garnered were further institutional recognition. The *Discours* also strengthened the social capital Gueidan had accrued in his career in the *parlement*; he used each successive volume as a reminder to powerful individuals and institutions of services he had rendered to them as *avocat général*.

Upon the publication of each volume of his *Discours*, Gueidan sent a copy along with a letter to several influential people, among them the king's ministers and the editors of periodicals. Some of these letters Gueidan copied into the volume bound in red morocco in which he preserved choice morsels of his correspondence.<sup>146</sup> These letters provide insight into several aspects of Gueidan's campaign of social ascendancy. They demonstrate that Gueidan fashioned a variety of selves, each suited to the context in which he was operating; for example, the authorial voice with which he addresses the king's ministers is very different from that which he uses with men of letters, in particular editors and members of various academies. In addition, they show the degree to which Gueidan's language was determined not simply by his *état* but also by the relation between that *état* and that of the person whom he is addressing. Finally, they show the degree to which that relationship and the social hierarchy in which it was embedded were established and maintained by the concept of *bienséance*. There is an extreme – at times hyperbolic – politeness to the language with which Gueidan and his correspondents address each other. Extreme self-deprecation and high praise for the other are essential aspect of this politeness, a dynamic in which the one is used to elicit the other: Gueidan insists that all credit for his own merits must go to the person he is addressing, and that person in turn must praise Gueidan so as not to seem to assent to his excessive praise – to offer no opposition to praise is the same as praising oneself. In his interactions with the king's ministers another dynamic is at work:

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<sup>146</sup> Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, Aix-en-Provence, MF 59.

Gueidan praises them and not only do they not contradict him, they do not acknowledge that they have been praised. The respect Gueidan offers them is appropriate to their position. For the king's first minister to deny such praise would be a violation of decorum as much as it would be for the editor of the *Journal de Trevoux* to let such praise pass without protestation. On the twentieth of September 1739 Gueidan sent the first volume of his *Discours*, along with the following letter, to Louis XV's first minister, the Cardinal de Fleury:

I had sent some of my speeches to be included in the *journal des audiences*. I have come to understand that they have been published separately. This obliges me to take the liberty of presenting them to Your Eminence. The desire to be useful, and to render decisions that are beyond dispute, together with the assurance that I would not be distinguished from the crowd, has overcome my extreme reluctance. If Your Eminence should judge that I was not mistaken in this, I will have nothing to regret. I know, Monseigneur, that I would be sinning against the public good were I to propose, were I to dare to propose that Your Eminence lose, perusing this volume, some of those precious moments that you consecrate with an inexhaustible ardor to the glory of the nation and the peace of all Europe. My sole ambition in offering you these fruits of my labor is to merit the honor of your protection and to give you a token of my profound respect.<sup>147</sup>

Gueidan claims, as he does in many of the letters relating to his *Discours*, that he never had any intention of becoming a published author; he sent his pleas, as was customary, to be printed so that the proceedings of the court could be made public and available to other magistrates; it was the wish of the publisher that they appear in

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<sup>147</sup> « À S.E. Mgr. Le Cardinal de Fleury, en lui présentant le premier volume de mes ouvrages à Aix le 20 Septembre 1739

Monseigneur

J'avois accordé quelques uns de mes plaidoyés pour être insérés dans le journal des audiences. Je viens d'apprendre qu'on les a imprimés séparément. Cela m'engage indispensablement à prendre la liberté de les présenter à Votre Eminence. Le désir d'être utile, et de donner des décisions qui puissent prévenir des contestations, joint à l'assurance que j'avois d'être caché dans la foule, avoit vaincu ma répugnance extrême. Si Votre Eminence ne juge pas que ce soit là une illusion, je n'y avois point de regret. Je sçai, Monseigneur, que ce seroit pecher contre l'utilité publique que je me propose, que d'oser supplier V. E. de perdre, à parcourir ce volume quelques uns de ces précieux momens que vous consacrez avec une ardeur infatigable à la gloire de la nation et au repos de l'Europe entière. Toute mon ambition on vous offrant ces fruits de mes travaux, est de mériter l'honneur de votre protection, et de vous donner des marques du profond respect. » Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 13.

a separate volume and it was the publisher's judgment that they merited such treatment. Gueidan also claims that he is only sending the volume to the Cardinal because he is obliged to do so: as the official who argues cases on behalf of the crown he would send a copy of a book relating to his work to his employers. He claims that he only wishes to be useful, but he had other reasons for reminding the king's ministers how hard and effectively he had been working on behalf of the crown: in 1734 he had written to Fleury asking that he be freed from his duties as *avocat general* so he could take up the more prestigious and less arduous post in the *Cour des Comptes* that had been vacated by his father's death, a request that the Cardinal denied. Gueidan does not expect that the Cardinal will read this volume, but the Cardinal would not have to read it for it to make the point Gueidan wishes to impress upon him: this volume of the *Discours*, even if the Cardinal did not read it, was evidence that others recognized the value of Gueidan's work in the *parlement*. He is not writing to the Cardinal as a man of letters, therefore we see none of the references to antique authors that will appear in other of his letters; he is writing as a devoted servant of the crown. His devotion is not simply a claim he makes: the *Discours* is a substantial manifestation of that devotion.

The cardinal responded on the fifth of October with the following letter:

I received the copy of your speeches that you were so good as to send me and I thank you. The decision to make a separate work of them is proof of the utility one hopes they will have for the administration of justice, and I do not doubt that they will have the desired effect. I beg you, Sir, to rest assured of the sincerity of my sentiments toward you.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> « Reponse de Son Eminence à Issy le 5 Oct 1739

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, l'exemplaire que vous avés bien voulu m'envoyer de vos plaidoyés et je vous en fais mes remerciemens. Le parti qu'on a pris d'en faire un ouvrage separé est une preuve de l'utilité dont on espère qu'il sera pour l'administration de la justice, et je ne doute pas que l'effet ne reponde à cette attente. Je vous prie, Monsieur d'être persuadé de la sincerité de mes sentimens pour vous

Fleury acknowledges receiving the book but he does not deny Gueidan's assertion that reading it is not worth the time of someone who is engaged with so many pressing matters; he acknowledges the utility that one hopes it will have, not that his Majesty or the Cardinal himself hopes it will have, and he assures Gueidan that it will have the desired effect, though upon whom we are left to wonder. Lastly, having expressed nothing that could be called a sentiment, he assures Gueidan of the sincerity of his sentiments toward him. On the twentieth of September Gueidan sent to Chancellor d'Aguesseau a letter nearly identical to that he sent to the Cardinal.<sup>149</sup> The Chancellor's response is no less laconic than the Cardinal's:

I received the book that has been published of the discourses that you have delivered regarding various affairs in you capacity as *avocat général*. I will take advantage of the first free moments I may have to read them, and I do not doubt that I will find they match the reputation you have acquired for yourself in the exercise of a charge as laborious as it is honorable.<sup>150</sup>

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Le Card. De Fleury » Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 14.

<sup>149</sup> « À Monseigneur le Chancelier sur le meme sujet a Aix le 20 Septembre 1739  
Monseigneur

J'avois accordé quelques uns de mes plaidoyés pour etre inserés dans le journal des audiences. Je viens d'apprendre qu'on les a imprimé séparément. Je me hate, Monseigneur, de les presenter à Votre grandeur. Tout ce qui a quelque raport à la justice apartient de droit à celui qui en est l'illustre chef. Le desir d'etre utile et de donner des décisions qui puissent prevenir des contestations, joint à l'assurance que j'avois d'etre caché dans la foule, avoit vaincu ma repugnance extreme. Si Votre Grandeur ne juge pas que ce soit la une illusion, je n'y aurai point de regret. Je ne scais, Monseigneur, si ce ne seroit point aller contre l'utilité publique que je me propose, que d'oser vous suplier de perdre, à parcourir ce volume, quelques uns de ces pretieux momens que vous employés à maintenir et à faire regner l'ordre. Toute mon ambition en vous offrant ces fruits de mes travaux, est de meriter l'honneur de votre protection, et de vous donner des marques du profond respect avec lequel je suis... » Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 17.

<sup>150</sup> « Reponse de Mgr. Le Chancelier à Paris le 7 Octobre 1739  
Monsieur

J'ai reçu le recueil qu'on a imprimé des discours que vous avés prononcés dans différentes affaires en qualité d'avocat general. Je profiterai des premiers momens de loisir que j'aurai pour les lire, et je ne doute pas qu'ils ne me paroissent repondre à la reputation que vous vous etes acquise dans l'exercice d'une charge aussi laborieuse qu'honorable. Je suis

Monsieur  
Votre aftne ( ? ) serviteur  
Daguesseau » Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 18.

The Chancellor acknowledges receiving the book and assures Gueidan that when he has free time he will read them; but again, we are left to wonder if the king's ministers have free time. He assures Gueidan that the *Discours* will match the reputation the author has earned; however, he says nothing about the nature of that reputation, though he does acknowledge what Gueidan knows only too well, that his job is laborious, and he reminds Gueidan that his charge is honorable, an honor that derives from the crown.

By contrast, the letters he exchanged with the poet Antoine-Louis de Chalamont de la Viscède (1692-1760), a founding member of the *Académie de Marseille*, are expansive, filled with tender sentiments, vulnerabilities, wit, and literary references. On the seventh of March 1739 Gueidan wrote to Viscède, ostensibly to express his misgivings about publishing his speeches and to ask the poet's opinion of one particular *plaidoyer*. He begins with the same misgivings about becoming an author that he expressed to the king's ministers:

The advice of our friend the reverend Father Fabre, and yours my dear Sir, has in the end persuaded me to have my scribbles published. I cannot utter this word without trembling and I confess I cannot support the weight of it.

...*hac re scilicet una*

*Multum dissimiles, ad caetera pene gemelli.*

*Fraternis animis, quidquid negat alter, et alter.*

*Annuimus pariter uetuli, notique columbi.*

I fear that my productions, that were received favorably when I pronounced them, are infinitely less when read. This is the fate of the best works: their value is diminished by reading. What then of mediocre works? Your verdict, while meant to give me confidence, cannot reassure me. I recognize that it lacks many things that would make it excellent, this which you are so kind to regard as such; firstly, a mind other than mine: *quod sentio quam sit exiguum*; and then subjects that lend themselves to greatness and ornament. In the absence of these things, will you accept it as it is? With regard to tedious subjects, I am sending you one of my speeches in which it is asked which is the first to die, the father or the son drowned in the same shipwreck? This legal question it seems to me is tolerably treated, but the discussion of our laws and these sorts of matters are so dry that I cannot resolve to put them before the eyes of readers who are often quite fed up, and to whom therefore

one must present nothing that will not stimulate their appetite: *demum sapiet dictio qua feriet*. Your feelings will make up my mind. Give them to me please without flattery, which is a true plague to friendship. *Thésée à vos rigueurs connaîtra vos bontés*. I am, my dear Sir, with an inimitable attachment...<sup>151</sup>

What is most immediately evident in all of Gueidan's letters relating to the publication of his *Discours* is that his ambition is couched in a language of the renunciation of ambition; the purpose of the letters is to bring attention to his achievements, and yet there is an insistence that the last thing he wants is to bring attention to himself: his writings are mere scribbles and he only assents to their publication out of respect for the opinions of men more learned than himself. One cannot know Gueidan's intention in fashioning the voice of an author plagued by self-doubt; however, the effect of this letter is to elicit a letter from a founding member of the *Académie de Marseille* that describes the particular virtues of his *Discours*. Gueidan insists that his work is mediocre, that he himself lacks *esprit*, that his subject matter is excessively dry and distasteful, and that no amount of praise can reassure him. What can

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<sup>151</sup> «de M. de Gueidan a M. de la Visclède en lui envoyant un de ses plaidoyers, à Aix le 7 Mars 1739

Les conseils de notre ami le révérend père Fabre, et les vôtres, Mon cher Monsieur, m'ont enfin déterminé à faire imprimer mes barbouilleurs. Je ne prononce ce mot qu'en tremblant, et je vous avoue que je ne puis en soutenir le poids.

*Hac re scilicet una  
Multum dissimiles, ad caetera pene gemelli.  
Fraternis animis, quid quid negat alter, et alter.  
Annuimus pariter uetuli, notique columbi.*

Je crains que mes productions qu'on a écoutées favorablement lorsque je les ai prononcées, ne perdent infiniment quand on les lira. C'est le sort des meilleurs ouvrages : ils diminuent de prix par la lecture. Que sera ce donc des médiocres, pour ne rien dire de plus ? Votre suffrage, quoique très propre à donner de la confiance, ne peut me rassurer. Je reconnois qu'il faudroit bien des choses pour rendre in effet excellent, ce que vous avez la bonté de regarder comme tel, premièrement un autre esprit que le mien : *quod sentio quam sit exiguum*; et ensuite des sujets susceptibles de grandeur et d'ornemens. Au défaut de tout cela, voudra t'on se contenter de ce qui est ? A propos des sujets secs et enuieux, je vous envoie un de mes plaidoyers où il s'agit de scavior lequel est mort le premier du père ou du fils noyés dans le même naufrage. Cette question de droit me paroît assez passablement traitée, mais la discussion de nos loix, et ces sont de matières sans si arides que je ne puis me résoudre à mettre celle-ci sous les yeux des lecteurs qui sont gens toujours fort dégoutés, et à qui par conséquent il ne faut n'en présenter qui ne soit propre à réveiller leur appétit : *Ea demum sapiet dictio quae feriet*. Votre sentiment me décidera. Donnez le moi, je vous prie, sans flatterie qui est une vraie peste en amitié. *Thésée à vos rigueurs connaîtra vos bontés*. Je suis, Mon cher Monsieur, avec un inimitable attachement... »  
Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 47.

Visclède do but contradict each of these points? Visclède does exactly that, in a letter which Gueidan then copies for posterity into the volume bound in red morocco:

It is a wicked temptation, there can be no doubt, my very dear Sir, this thought of cancelling your shipwreck. I searched very carefully for this dryness of which you speak and in truth I could find no trace of it. And this from me who has a natural aversion to dryness; I did not find it at all in your work, believe me, it is not there. It would be murderous to deprive the public of this piece, interesting for the objects it presents, curious for the rarity of the subject it treats with as much eloquence as erudition.<sup>152</sup>

Visclède intends to reassure Gueidan but he is also making a demonstration of his own wit (*esprit*): there is most assuredly no trace of dryness in Gueidan's piece, so with water everywhere why not go ahead with the shipwreck? Visclède expresses his wit through the extension of a metaphor derived from Gueidan's subject matter and his expressed fears about his work (is Visclède's aversion to dryness in fact a fondness for drink?); Gueidan does something similar with quotations from antique and classic French authors. These quotations do not simply show that he is well read but moreover they situate him, his works, and his relationship with Visclède within a revered literary tradition. This self-fashioning is in keeping with Gueidan's larger ambition: to be accepted into the *Académie de Marseille*. Horace opens his tenth Epistle: "To Fuscus, lover of the city, I, a lover of the country, send greetings." This is followed by the passage that Gueidan quotes: "In this one point, to be sure we differ much, but being in all else much like twins with the hearts of brothers – if one says 'no,' the other says 'no' too – we nod a common assent like a couple of old familiar

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<sup>152</sup> « C'est une tentation du malin, il n'y a pas moyen d'en douter, mon très cher Monsieur, que la pensée de supprimer votre naufrage. J'ai cherché avec grande attention cette sècheresse dont vous parles et en vérité je ne l'ai point trouvée. Et des que moi qui ai une aversion naturelle pour la sécheresse, je ne la trouve point dans votre ouvrage, croyez qu'il n'y en a point. Ce seroit un vrai meurtre de priver la public de cette pièce intéressante pour les objets qu'elle présente, curieuse par la rareté du sujet et traitée avec autant d'éloquence que d'érudition. » Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 48.

doves.”<sup>153</sup> Gueidan replaces the dichotomy between urban and rural with Visclède’s support of the publication of the *Discours* and the author’s own doubts about the work’s merits.

Gueidan is not simply invoking the commonalities in the education and cultural heritage claimed by him and his correspondent; there is something playful about Gueidan’s use of antique authors: he is inviting Visclède to play with him the roles of Fuscus and Horace, to enter an elevated literary realm, and to see continuity between themselves and the revered authors of antiquity. Gueidan insists on the mediocrity of his writings, but at the same time he speaks the words of, and thus likens himself to, Horace.

The second quote is taken from the opening lines of Cicero’s *Pro Archia Poeta*.

Gueidan writes *quod sentio quam sit exiguum*, “I realize its limitations,” with regard to his own mind. Cicero writes:

Gentlemen of the Jury: Whatever talent I possess (and I realize its limitations), whatever be my oratorical experience (and I do not deny that my practice herein has not been inconsiderable), whatever knowledge of the theoretical side of my profession I may have derived from a devoted literary apprenticeship (and I admit that at no period of my life has the acquisition of such knowledge been repellent to me),- to any advantage that may be derived from all these my friend Aulus Licinius has a pre-eminent claim, which belongs to him almost of right.<sup>154</sup>

Cicero claims that his own abilities, which he has gone to great lengths to cultivate, are not for the service of his own interests but rather those of his client. The attitude which Gueidan and his correspondents voice with regard to his own talents and the *Discours* is very much in keeping with Cicero’s. He insists over and over in his letters that if the *Discours* only bring pleasure to his friends he will consider them a success; and while Gueidan himself makes no

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<sup>153</sup> Horace, *Epistles*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (London: Loeb, 1966).

<sup>154</sup> Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta*, trans. N. H. Watts (London: Loeb, 1979), 7.

claims for them beyond that, those who praise the *Discours* assert that they will contribute to the field of jurisprudence and therefore the public good.

The third quote, *demum sapiet dictio qua feriet*, is from the Epitaph of Lucan which Gueidan may have known from Montaigne's essay "Of the Education of Children:"

The speech I love is a simple, natural speech, the same on paper as in the mouth; a speech succulent and sinewy, brief and compressed, not so much dainty and well-combed as vehement and brusque:

The speech that strikes the mind will have most taste;  
EPITAPH OF LUCAN

rather difficult than boring, remote from affectation, irregular, disconnected and bold; each bit making a body in itself; not pedantic, not monkish, not lawyer-like, but rather soldierly, as Suetonius calls Julius Caesar's speech; and yet I do not quite see why he calls it so.<sup>155</sup>

In the context of this passage from Montaigne, the Latin quote has greater resonance with Gueidan's words. Gueidan's metaphorical use of taste (or rather his literal use of the sense of taste, recovering it from the realm of metaphor), his claim that many readers have consumed too much and are receptive only to things that will restimulate their appetite, recapitulates Montaigne's reference to succulent speech. Gueidan is concerned that readers will find the legal matters he treats tedious, and Montaigne calls for language that is rather difficult than boring, that is not lawyer-like. These connections offer some insight into how these quotations functioned within the letters and moreover within the minds of Gueidan's intended audience. They are meant to call to the reader's mind the longer passage or even the complete text from which they are extracted. By the clever use of quotations, inserting a brief passage that invokes a longer passage, one that echoes or elaborates upon Gueidan's own words, Gueidan grafts his language, himself, and his relationships onto the literary

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<sup>155</sup> Michel de Montaigne, "Of the Education of Children" in *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), 127.

tradition that was the basis of the education of elites in *ancien régime* France. He is not flaunting his education or his literary aspirations in a superficial manner, rather he is demonstrating his appropriation of classical learning - appropriation in the particular sense in which Bourdieu would use the word: he is demonstrating the depth of his understanding of the texts he deploys.

The fourth and final quotation in Gueidan's letter to Visclède is an adaptation of a line from Jean Racine's *Phèdre*. Theseus, speaking in the third person and calling on Neptune to punish his son Hippolytus, who has conceived a passion for his stepmother, Theseus' wife, says: "Thésée à tes fureurs connaîtra tes bontés" – Theseus will experience your fury as kindness. Gueidan, asking that Visclède give him his honest assessment of his *plaidoyer*, writes: "Thésée à tes rigueurs connaîtra tes bontés" – Theseus will experience your rigor as kindness. Beyond the witty substitution of *fureurs* with the rhyming *rigueurs*, thus transforming to comedy a pivotal speech in a tragedy, the line from Racine completes and gives symmetry to a suite of quotations: Montaigne and Racine, the orator and poet, are modern counterparts to the ancient Cicero and Horace. This letter is about friendship and rhetoric; it is about like-minded men, the putting of one's talents in the service of others, and language that pleases and moves the listener or the reader. It is ostensibly about Gueidan's misgivings about moving from the role of magistrate to that of man of letters but the indirect reference to Montaigne, who made just such a transition, perhaps reveals the extent of his hopes and his true lack of the modesty he claims in his letters. The precedent he invokes is no less than France's most famous lawyer and man of letters. He invites Visclède's *rigueurs*, thus paying the complement of casting his correspondent in the role of a god, Neptune, and himself in the role of Theseus. Are Visclède's *rigueurs* really comparable to Neptune's

*fureurs*? No, the comparison is comical and self-deprecating – but at the same time it is grandiose. Gueidan is reminding the person who has the power to ensure his seat in the *Académie de Marseille* that he can engage substantively and playfully with literature both ancient and modern, but he is also revealing the realm he dreams of inhabiting: Horace, Cicero, Montaigne, Racine, Gueidan. The temptation to see himself in this way may very well have been strong, especially with his friends offering – though perhaps tongue in cheek – encouragement. Alexandre-Jean-Baptiste de Boyer d’Eguilles, his friend and colleague in the *Parlement de Provence* and grandson of the magistrate and art collector Jean-Baptiste Boyer d’Eguilles, writes in the postscript to a letter to Gueidan praising the first volume of the *Discours*: “Your speech against *Judicium Francorum* was perhaps the most subtle and the most dangerous to handle. I would rather have written it than a tragedy by Corneille.”<sup>156</sup>

Collections of speeches by members of the various *parlements* were generally not viewed in the way that Gueidan characterizes them; that is, as dry works that would be of interest only to specialists. One of the leading journals of the day, the *Journal de Trévoux*, in the catalogue of works mentioned, published in the twelfth and final volume of each year, lists such works not under the heading “Law, Politics” but rather under “Eloquence, Rhetoric, Poetry, Grammar.” Thus Gueidan’s *Discours* were classed not with works such as “Treatise on Criminal Matters,” and “Treatise on Bills of Exchange” but with “Tenth Epistle, from Monsieur Rousseau to Monsieur Racine,” and the “Works of Monsieur Despréaux”<sup>157</sup> as well as “The Discourses of Monsieur Nicolas, Lawyer in the *Parlement*” and “A Discourse on the

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<sup>156</sup> « Votre réquisitoire contre le *Judicium francorum* étoit peut être le morceau le plus délicat et le plus dangereux à traiter. J’aimerois mieux l’avoir fait qu’une tragédie de Corneille. » Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 30. The author of this letter was also the younger brother of the Marquis d’Argens, author and philosopher who spent the greater part of his career at the court of Frederick the Great where he served as royal chamberlain.

<sup>157</sup> Jean-Baptiste Rousseau (1671-1741), Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636-1711).

Legal Profession.” These *Discours*, like Gueidan’s, were seen not simply as vehicles of practical information relating to the ordering of society, rather they were seen as examples of the art of persuasion, and their authors as practitioners of the same art practiced by Cicero, just as Boileau carried on the work of Horace, and Racine that of Euripides and Seneca. This point is made clear in the review in the *Journal de Trévoux* of the first volume of Gueidan’s

*Discours*:

If nothing more is needed to nurture eloquence in all its forms than good and grand models, Antiquity and recent times leave nothing to be desired to succeed in this noble and useful art. The pulpit, the bar, and the academies have had, in this and in the previous century, their Chrysostoms, their Demosthenes, their Isocrates, their Ciceros, their Plinys, and perhaps yet others who, having no example to imitate among the ancients, made new routes for themselves. Can we not include in this class discourses of the kind contained in this volume? New times, new manners, new usages bring with them new forms of eloquence.<sup>158</sup>

The author of this review goes on to explain that in antiquity the orator sought only to represent his cause in the best possible light but that modern orators alternately consider the merits of two conflicting points of view until the superiority of one position over the other becomes evident to the listener. This is the model that Gueidan follows in his pleas (*plaidoyers*). With regard to the speeches (*discours*) that Gueidan delivered at the opening of sessions of the *parlement* the reviewer writes: “Throughout we find a noble, simple, and natural eloquence; an elegance in the style and expressions; an erudition matching the subject

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<sup>158</sup> « S’il ne falloit, pour se former à l’Eloquence en tous les genres, que de bons que de grandes modèles, l’Antiquité et ces derniers tems ne laisseroient rien à désirer pour réussir dans un Art si noble et si utile. La Chaire, le Barreau, les Académies ont eu dans ce siècle et dans le précédent leurs Chrysostomes, leurs Démosthènes, leurs Isocrates, leurs Cicérons, leurs Plines, et peut-être d’autres encore, qui n’ont point eu parmi les Anciens d’exemples à imiter, et qui se sont fait des routes nouvelles. Ne pouvons-nous pas mettre dans cette classe les Discours de la nature de ceux qui sont contenus dans ce Volume ? D’autres tems, d’autres mœurs, d’autres usages amènent de nouveaux genres d’Eloquence. » *Journal de Trévoux, ou Mémoires pour l’histoire des sciences et des beaux-arts*, December 1739 (Geneva : Slatkine reprints, 1968), 620.

matter, wisely dispensed, without show, without affectation, without excess.”<sup>159</sup> Two points are abundantly clear in the treatment of Gueidan’s *Discours* in the *Journal de Trévoux*: one, they are valued for their literary merits as much as, and perhaps more than, for their contribution to the field of jurisprudence, and, two, this places Gueidan in conversation with the most revered orators, both ancient and modern. Gueidan, though his pleas are typically modern in form, is seen as taking up an oratorical tradition that stretches back to ancient Greece. The qualities that the author of the review values in Gueidan’s work – his language is simple, natural, unaffected, and unmarred by excess, that is, it is moderate – are the very qualities that Félibien, looking back to the ancients, values in a work of visual art, and that the Chevalier de Méré values in the comportment of noble men and women. Montaigne too, though the brusque language he seeks is incompatible with the elegance praised in the *Trévoux* review, values speech that is simple, natural, and unaffected. The art of rhetoric, like that of painting, overlaps with the art of living nobly. The orator deals not only with language, rather when he speaks he embodies the qualities valued in his language. He performs his text and that performance is understood as the expression of qualities that inhabit his interiority. Gueidan’s speeches, in their published form, serve as a lasting manifestation of cultural capital that is understood as evidence of his nobility. The positive reviews he garnered in publications such as the *Journal de Trévoux*, and the letters of praise he received from people like Visclède and d’Eguilles and preserved in a bound volume, are further manifestations of cultural capital: they are embodiments of qualities that Gueidan claims for himself. While we, following Judith Butler’s lead, might consider Gueidan’s letters, pleas, and speeches, as well as Rigaud’s *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, président à*

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<sup>159</sup> « Partout nous remarquons une Eloquence noble, simple, naturelle ; de l’élégance sans le stile et les expressions ; une érudition bien assortie aux sujets, sagement dispensée, sans parade, sans affectation, sans profusion. » *Journal de Trévoux*, 621.

*mortier au parlement de Provence*, as performances that create the illusion of an interiority inhabited by noble qualities, Gueidan fashioned them as expressions of his nobility, as evidence of his inherent worth and his entitlement to privilege.

In his writings and in Rigaud's second portrait of him, Gueidan's exceptional qualities are, in one sense, figured through their very absence: instead of distinction we find moderation, a sense of proportion, a rejection of ambition and self-seeking, and a sense of duty. In his writings Gueidan not only discusses these qualities, he performs them: he discusses, though often indirectly, the formulation of these values in ancient texts; through his playful use of quotations he demonstrates that he has appropriated them – that he understands on a deep level; in his letters he fashions an authorial voice that performs them; and in his portrait, thanks to Rigaud's advice, he does not step outside of them. Rigaud's portrait is the figuring of Gueidan in the office of *avocat général* (and later *président à mortier*); of Gueidan we see only his likeness – within the office. In his writings Gueidan fashions himself as an exceptional man, not by going beyond the boundaries of his office but rather by filling it to perfection: he shows himself to be more than a magistrate by playing the role of the magistrate with a vengeance.

### **Madame La Présidente**

In the spring of 1730 Gaspard de Gueidan wrote to Rigaud to commission a portrait of Madame de Gueidan, a pendant to the *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan, avocat général au parlement de Provence*. Rigaud declined, stating that he was busy completing a portrait of Louis XV (Versailles) and copies of it to go to the Grand Master of the Order of Malta and the Cardinal de Fleury. He also informed Gueidan that his prices had risen considerably since he last painted his portrait. Rigaud recommended that Gueidan look to Nicolas de

Largillierre to paint the portrait of Madame de Gueidan, as he was an excellent man and would work for nearly half the pay.<sup>160</sup> March 20, 1730 Largillierre responded to an inquiry from Gaspard de Gueidan:

Nothing is more flattering to me than to imitate such a perfect original. You may rest assured, Sir, that I will neglect none of the talents granted to me by the author of all things, and that it will take its place beside that of Mr. Rigaud, my friend, the standards and skills of whom I hold in the highest esteem. I agree, Sir, with your choice of a naiade; one may consider also a Flora or an Iris; these are all subjects that have decorative attributes. Enjoying the freedom you have so graciously granted me to make the choice, according to the position of the head, I would need for this reason also to respect the disposition of the portrait of Mr. Rigaud to avoid any repetition in the position of the body or the hands. I will await, Sir, your orders and your feeling regarding this choice which you may make or that which may give more pleasure to Madame the marquise.<sup>161</sup>

The choice was ultimately made by Madame de Gueidan: in a letter dated June 24, 1730, Largillierre remarked to Gaspard de Gueidan that Madame de Gueidan had arrived in Paris for her sitting and that she had chosen to be painted as Flora (fig. 59). Largillierre adds that a little *amour* will decorate her divinity with a garland of flowers and present her with the golden apple of the shepherd Paris.<sup>162</sup> The painting ostensibly pays homage, as do Largillierre's letters to Gaspard de Gueidan regarding the portrait, to Madame de Gueidan's beauty. Largillierre constructs this homage by combining elements from different myths. The golden apple is that presented by the shepherd Paris to Venus in a contest of beauty

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<sup>160</sup> Gibert, 301.

<sup>161</sup> « Rien n'est plus flateur pour moy que d'imiter un sy parfait original. Vous estes bien persuade, Monsieur, que je ne negligere point les talens que je tiends de l'auteur de toute chose, et de temir sa place aupres de celuy de Monsieur Rigault, mon amy, pour les mœurs duquel et sa grande science j'ay une parfaite estime. J'approuve fort, Monsieur, vostre choix pour un nayade ; l'on peut jeter les yeux aussy sur une Flore, une Iris sur des nuez ; ce sont les sujets tous ses sujets ont des atribus qui decore. Et profitant de la liberté que vous m'accordez sy gracieusement de pouvoir faire choix, selon la disposition de la teste. Et j'surois besoin pour cet efait d'un trait de la disposition du portrait de Monsieur Rigault pour éviter quelque répétition sois dans l'atitute du corps ou des mains. J'atendray, Monsieur, vos ordres et vostre sentiment sur le choix que vous pouvez faire ou ce qui pourra faire plus de plaisir à Madame la marquise. » Gibert, 311.

<sup>162</sup> Gibert, 312-313.

between her, Juno, and Minerva. Flora is a goddess associated with flowers, springtime, and fertility. Ovid tells in the *Fasti* that Chloris was persued by Zephyr (the west wind) and that when he caught her flowers spilled from her mouth and she was transformed into Flora. In depictions of the Triumph of Flora, Poussin's for example, she is accompanied by putti who crown her with flowers (fig. 60).

In the first third of the eighteenth century in France, when portraits of magistrates and their wives are paired the one represents the enterprise engaged in by the man and the other the woman in a mythological guise. The pendant to Rigaud's *Portrait of Cardin Le Bret*, the painting that I argue served as Gueidan's inspiration for the similar one he commissioned from Rigaud, is the *Portrait of Madame Cardin Le Bret as Ceres* (fig. 58). Associated with the earth, agriculture, abundance, and fertility, Ceres' attribute is a sickle. Madame Cardin Le Bret holds a sickle in one hand in the other flowers and shafts of wheat, which also adorn her hair. These guises are a creative answer to a difficult question: when a man is figured through the trappings of his office how is a woman, who from a certain point of view does nothing, to be represented as his counterpart? The portrait of the man is dominated by objects that represent his noble pursuits; with no such objects to show, how is woman to be figured? These pairs of portraits are visual equivalents to genealogies such as those found in Artefeuil's *Histoire héroïque*: the man contributes to the nobility of his family through service to the state, the woman through childbearing, and the pictorial vocabulary for the woman's role in maintaining the nobility of her family is found in the stories of mythological figures associated with fertility. The cuirass or the magistrates robes call to mind the various mental and spiritual qualities valorized in literature both ancient and modern: courage, self-

sacrifice, eloquence, and mental acuity. The attributes of Flora, Pomona, and the Naiads call to mind physical qualities: in particular, beauty, abundance, and fertility.

A great many portraits of noble men make reference to the sources of nobility in service to the crown through either military service or the legal profession. In La Roque's account of the origins of nobility it was, among the ancients, the warriors who first distinguished themselves by their bravery and valor; but they also saw the need for civic virtues, thus Theseus chose those with such qualities to serve as magistrates. Nobility was the prize for valor and justice, but the Athenians also recognized certain men for the excellence of their minds, thus learning became a third means to noble status.<sup>163</sup> And what of the role of women in the establishment and maintenance of nobility? In a chapter entitled "That the nobility of males and fathers is preferable to that of women and mothers" La Roque writes: "the Scriptures remark that Sara bore a son for Abraham: *Abraham called the name of his son who was born to him, whom Sarah bore to him, Isaac*. By this one knows that children are born to the father and not to the mother."<sup>164</sup> He adds: "It is also certain that in the civil order, the glory of families resides with the males. It is only they who carry the name and the arms of their house; and if blood conserves families in nature, the name and arms conserve them in society."<sup>165</sup> And yet, while nobility is established and maintained by the virtuous actions of men and passed from father to son, La Roque adds that paternal and maternal nobility is preferable to paternal alone because the blood of commoners always

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<sup>163</sup> La Roque, 2.

<sup>164</sup> « L'Ecriture remarque que Sara enfante un fils a Abraham : *vocavit Abraham nomen filii sui, quem genuit ei Sara, Isaac*. Cela fait connaitre que les enfans naissent au Père, et non à la Mere. » La Roque, 33.

<sup>165</sup> « Il est aussi certain que dans l'ordre civil, la gloire des familles réside en la personne des males. Il n'y a qu'eux qui portent le nom et les armes de leur Maison ; et si le sang conserve les familles dans la nature, le nom et les armes les conservent dans le monde. » La Roque, 34.

leaves its traces in a noble family - though he does not specify how these traces manifest themselves.<sup>166</sup> Thus men contribute to nobility through their virtuous actions while women are merely (though nonetheless important) vessels for that nobility. We have seen, in the writings of Cicero, Tacitus, Félibien, Méré, Gueidan, and La Roque, that virtue and nobility are achieved by transcending the particular: self and self-interest, personal and carnal desires, and the natural world as it presents itself to the senses. It is these acts of transcendence that contribute to one's nobility and the nobility of one's family. These acts of transcendence are not available to women, rather women are vessels for the seed and the blood, that is, women are reduced to the physical transmission of nobility between males.

This view is evident also in the genealogies published in, for example, Artefeuil's *Histoire héroïque et universelle de la noblesse de Provence*. The entry for Gueidan in this work is, precisely because it was of Gaspard de Gueidan's own invention, representative of the ideal genealogy; but it is also consistent with the form of other entries. Each of Gueidan's invented male ancestors is associated with either distinguished military service – a great number of them were purported to have been wounded or killed fighting alongside their king – or a career in the law courts; and Gaspard adds to these services his intellectual activities: the publication and reception of his *Discours* are noted at length. As for the women, only their names are given; their illustrious family names adorn the male blood line. These women's names, in particular their family names, contribute to a virtual map of the social structure of elite Provençal society, connecting the various entries in the *Histoire héroïque* and highlighting the importance of marriage in the building of that structure. The actions of the men, their exploits on the battlefield and their service to the state, are named; no actions are named for the women, but one is implied: when the name of a woman appears

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<sup>166</sup> La Roque, 35.

in a genealogy, it is followed by the names of her children, who bear the name of their father's family and continue the narrative, either through, in the case of sons, their careers, or, in the case of the daughters, marriage into other notable families. In short, mothers are the vessels through which nobility passes; and the successful transmission of that nobility is ensured by their own nobility, which derives from the noble actions of their male ancestors.

The pictorial conventions for figuring the distinct roles of men and women in the maintenance of nobility is fully developed in a pair of portraits once attributed to Largillierre but now thought to be from the hand of Claude Arnulphy: the presumed *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan Writing* (fig. 61) and the presumed *Portrait of Madame de Gueidan as a Naiad* (fig. 62).<sup>167</sup> Gaspard de Gueidan sits at his writing desk, plume in hand, and in the other hand a piece of paper with a name and address in Paris obscured by his thumb. Beneath his hand is the letter he has just written and next to that the red wax with which he will seal it. Behind is a clock and three books, the titles on the spines illegible. In the background a green curtain is raised to reveal a pilaster across which light from high in the upper left rakes. Madame is figured out of doors. She is standing, but as she is behind a rock in the foreground the portrait is not full length but three-quarters, like that of her husband; and though he is seated her posture mirrors his: with her left hand she plucks a flower, echoing the right hand in which Monsieur holds the plume. With their other hands they seem to reach, unconsciously, toward one another, thus their arms create a symmetrical encircling line. Her arm rests on a large urn, turned on its side, toward the viewer, from which water pours. Blossoms are scattered on the rock in front of her. A dog rests a paw on this rock and turns, as if thirsty for the water that pours from the urn.

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<sup>167</sup> The attribution to Largillierre is understandable: the predominance of neutral colors and, in particular, the rich autumnal landscape against which Madame de Gueidan is set, are characteristic of Largillierre. Furthermore, there is nothing like this elsewhere in the oeuvre of Arnulphy.

The objects and guises figured in this pair of paintings and others of the same type give visual form to a gender dynamic that Simone de Beauvoir describes with the terms immanence and transcendence:

History has shown us that men have always kept in their hands all concrete powers; since the earliest days of the patriarchy they have thought best to keep women in a state of dependence; their codes of law have been set up against her; and thus she has been definitely established as the Other. This arrangement suited the economic interests of the males; but it conformed also to their ontological and moral pretensions. Once the subject seeks to assert himself, the Other, who limits and denies him, is none the less a necessity to him: he attains himself only through that reality which he is not, which is something other than himself. That is why man's life is never abundance and quietude; it is dearth and activity, it is struggle. Before him, man encounters Nature; he has some hold upon her, he endeavors to mold her to his desire. But she cannot fill his needs. Either she appears simply as a purely impersonal opposition, she is an obstacle and remains a stranger; or she submits passively to man's will and permits assimilation, so that he takes possession of her only through consuming her – that is, through destroying her. In both cases he remains alone; he is alone when he touches a stone, alone when he devours a fruit. There can be no presence of an other unless the other is also present in and for himself: which is to say that true alterity – otherness – is that of a consciousness separate from mine and substantially identical with mine.

It is the existence of other men that tears each man out of his immanence and enables him to fulfill the truth of his being, to complete himself through transcendence, through escape toward some objective, through enterprise.<sup>168</sup>

She is surrounded by earth and sky and water, trees, flowers, and an animal. He has a clock, books, a pen, a letter, a seal, light, and a pilaster: that is, time, knowledge, a voice, an interlocutor, a name, discernment, and a claim to truth. She, in effect, has nothing but is one with the things around her. When Rigaud complimented Gueidan on his drawing he remarked: "I never would have imagined that, with the way in which you applied yourself to your studies, you would have found such considerable time to devote to this virtue."<sup>169</sup> The

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<sup>168</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (New York: Vintage, 1989), 139-40.

<sup>169</sup> Gibert, 297.

man in this portrait has time too, time to read, time to write, time to think; but time also marks limits: his life is activity, and perhaps it is struggle; while that of the woman in the pendant is abundance and quietude. She is different from him, but she is not a true other, she is not a consciousness separate from his and substantially identical with his – this role is reserved for the recipient of his letter. She is a myth, a product of his consciousness and of that of other men; she is an idea represented in books like those on his desk; and the pilaster – a generic reference to antiquity – represents those ideas. His name, a pictograph in the seal, will pass from him to his sons. The name is not so much hers as it marks her as his; whoever she was or may have been has been destroyed, consumed. She is Nature; she is the Other, the limit and obstacle over and through which he asserts himself. Her primary attributes are a flower – the reproductive organ of a plant – and an urn, a dark cavity, from which water, the source of life, flows.

A curtain is lifted to reveal what I would argue is his primary attribute: a pilaster with light raking across it. This detail enacts a sort of secular hierophany: it is a revelation of absolute truth around which the natural and social orders take form.<sup>170</sup> While myth – Flora, Pomona, the Naiads, for example – explains the origins of the natural world, the presumed portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan, and many portraits like it, draws on a myth of the origins of culture. This is the origin myth told by Félibien in his first *Entretien*: the ancient Greeks were the first, through observation and reason, to discern Nature's secrets; and the moderns will find truth, not by imitating the forms of the Greeks (the architectural orders, for example), but by reenacting their observations and reasoning – by reenacting the original

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<sup>170</sup> “In the homogeneous and infinite expanse, in which no point of reference is possible and hence no orientation is established, the hierophany reveals an absolute fixed point, a center.” Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959), 21.

moment of the revelation of absolute reality. The pilaster references that revelation; and yet one may be inclined to wonder: the curtain is raised to reveal the pilaster; but what is behind this wall decorated with a pilaster; were it removed, what would be revealed? The answer is, of course, that there is nothing behind that wall; a fictive space contains only what is visible: we do not see absolute truth, but only a signifier of that truth. As Elizabeth Grosz writes: “Salomé’s dance, like strip-tease, can only seduce when at least one veil remains.”<sup>171</sup> This privileged signifier, the pilaster, references an absolute truth that was discovered by the ancient Greeks, manifested in their art and architecture, and accessible to the moderns by way of a retracing of their thought through the study of the natural world and their arts. This final veil cannot be lifted for all that is behind it is the arbitrariness of this truth claim. The arbitrary nature of this claim is examined by Henri Zerner who asks why classical art has held authority across long stretches of the history of the West? He writes:

I believe it has to do with the development of a particular kind of naturalism in fifth-century Greece and that this kind of naturalism is able to make one believe that the authority of this art is grounded in nature. Then it should no longer surprise us that such an art would be resurrected under different circumstances. What should be better for a power in place than to make us believe that it is not simply there by an act of force, but that its authority is inscribed in nature herself?<sup>172</sup>

The pilaster in this portrait – and the pillars and pilasters in so many portraits by Van Dyck and his imitators – is simply a claim to authority, an authority grounded in the observation of nature. These pairs of portraits – of magistrates and their wives – may be understood in terms of the relation between nature and culture; but one must keep in mind that nature is not

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<sup>171</sup> Elizabeth Grosz, *Jacques Lacan: a feminist introduction* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 121. The pilaster is also the phallus; not the signifier of the penis but “‘the signifier of signifiers’, the representative of signification in language;” and it is through possession of it that one occupies the speaking position in language, the ‘I.’ Grosz, 125.

<sup>172</sup> Henri Zerner, “Classicism as Power,” *Art Journal* 47, no. 1, The problem of Classicism: Ideology and Power (Spring 1988): 36.

separate from culture: conceptions of nature are themselves products of culture. These portraits claim that culture is derived from nature, that culture has a certain authority over nature, and that man, who produces culture, has authority over woman, who is close to nature; but these relations do not cross a divide between nature and culture, rather they take place entirely within the realm of culture.<sup>173</sup> The learned man does not exert authority over the natural woman; he has invented her and thus overlooked the actual woman. His claim to authority and his denial of her are interrelated. His authority is essentially arbitrary and brutal; but it is supported by the entirety of classical arts and learning. The brutal and arbitrary nature of authority is covered by a seamless veil of social and artistic discourse, one that employs terms antithetical to that authority: *grâce, convenance, bienséance, agrément, négligence, délicatesse, gentillesse*. The authority of this art – as well as the social order which it supports – is grounded in nature; an essential aspect of the discourse on art and the authority that it holds is *vraisemblance*, a concept derived from Aristotle's *Poetics*. In short, the basis of the arts is *mimesis*, the imitation of the natural world. And yet this conception of nature is as much the product of art as it is the model upon which art is based. At the edge of reason is an idea that is presented as a given, as an absolute truth that requires no explanation.

Hobbes posits, and Locke and Rousseau take up the idea of, a theoretical past, a time before and outside of historical time, before we entered into the social relations in which we find ourselves – the social contract. For Rousseau, our nature is most evident when we are

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<sup>173</sup> “although Levi-Strauss has attempted to cast the nature-culture contrast in a timeless, value-free model concerned with the workings of the human mind, ideas about nature and culture are not value free. The ‘myth’ of nature is a system of arbitrary signs which relies on a social consensus for meaning. Neither the concept of nature nor that of culture is ‘given,’ they cannot be free from the biases of the culture in which the concepts were constructed.” Carol P. MacCormick, “Nature, culture and gender: a critique,” in *Nature, Culture and Gender*, ed. Carol MacCormick and Marilyn Strathern (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 6.

closer to nature, when we are as we were in a time that is lost to us. For André Félibien, and for the early modern discourse on the arts in general, a significant milestone in the transition from nature to culture was achieved by the ancient Greeks. The creation of the world was a transition from disorder to order, from chaos to cosmos. In the early modern French mentality the Greeks were the first to clearly perceive this order; they left the state of nature by coming to understand their place within an ordered universe. For French Classicism, the art of the ancients is a point of reference; it established an orientation; from it are developed a set of values by which qualitative differences are discerned in an otherwise homogenous expanse of nature and human activity. A work of art that is grounded in absolute truth – discerned through study of nature and the art of the ancients - will not simply delight; it will reveal truths to the viewer.

In this pair of portraits two acts of creation are reenacted: the coming into being of the natural world, and the establishment of culture through the discernment of an order in that natural world. The division of these functions – intellectual and physical creation - between man and woman associates him with culture and transcendence and her with nature and immanence.<sup>174</sup> This is the division of roles that is figured in general in this type of paired portraits. It is figured also in the pairing of the *Portrait de Madame de Gueidan en Flore*

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<sup>174</sup> Sherry Ortner argues that in all cultures women are considered to be closer to nature than are men, that is, woman is considered, more so than man, an active participant in nature's processes:

“It all begins of course with the body, and the natural procreative function specific to women alone. We can sort out for discussion three levels at which this absolute physiological fact has significance. (I) Her *body and its functions*, more involved more of the time with ‘species life,’ seem to place her closer to nature, as opposed to men, whose physiology frees them more completely to the projects of culture. (II) Her body and its functions put her in *social roles* that are in turn considered to be at a lower order of culture, in opposition to the higher orders of the cultural process. (III) Her traditional social roles, imposed because of her body and its functions, in turn give her a different *psychic structure* – and again, this psychic structure, like her physiological nature and her social roles, is seen as being more ‘like nature.’” Sherry Ortner, “Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?” *Feminist Studies* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1972), 12.

Leaving aside the issue of whether or not this is the situation of all women in all cultures, the dynamic that Ortner describes is very much in evidence in eighteenth-century France and, in particular, in the type of pairs of portraits that I am examining.

with the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan, avocat général au Parlement de Provence*.

Largillierre produced his portrait of Madame de Gueidan in 1730 as a pendant to Rigaud's portrait of Monsieur de Gueidan in his official capacity. Five years later Rigaud produced a pendant to Largillierre's Madame de Gueidan: the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*. This is a precipitous break with the division of labor traditionally figured in pairs of portraits: with Rigaud's third and final portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan the image of this sitter enters a realm of fiction that, in the portrait tradition, had been inhabited primarily by women.

### Chapter Three: The Faithful Shepherd

Rigaud's third portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan, the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* (fig. 63), is unusual among the works produced in Rigaud's studio. With this portrait Rigaud takes up a pictorial vocabulary vastly different from those with which he had worked throughout most of his career. In this portrait he largely abandons the conventions he inherited from the formal portraiture of Anthony Van Dyck. The figure portrayed here is more akin to those in the *fêtes galantes* of Antoine Watteau or to the stars of the Parisian stage - such as Marie-Anne Cuppi de Camargo and Charles-François-Nicolas-Racot de Grandval - painted by Nicolas Lancret than to those found in the vast majority of Rigaud's portraits. With this portrait Rigaud puts aside conventional markers of status and engages with another system of distinction; namely, that of fashion. With this portrait Rigaud places Gueidan in a realm less of fixed social structure than of sociability, less of the facts that determine one's place in the social hierarchy – pedigree, marriage, profession, service – than of the relations that characterize the leisure pursuits of social elites. Rigaud's first two portraits of Gueidan place the sitter in his proper place within an ordered and, most importantly, clearly legible social hierarchy. As Rigaud's letters regarding his second portrait of Gueidan demonstrate, what is most important is that the sitter's image conform to his *état*. The pictorial vocabulary of the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* refers, if not to a fictional realm, then to social activity derived largely from fiction; in particular, to forms of sociability derived from the theater. The scenes created with this

pictorial language of sociability seem to take place in a liminal space, neither the gardens in which elites imitate forms of performance found in the theater, nor the theater itself.

Rigaud's first portrait of Gueidan (fig.1) attributes to the sitter qualities associated with nobility through the arts and refined social comportment. It fashions him quite generally as an elite. It speaks to the elite society of Aix-en-Provence, in which he seeks to secure his place. The second portrait (fig.43-45) embodies his service to the state through his positions in the *parlement*. It fashions him as a political elite and also serves as a reminder to other political elites of the services he has rendered and the favors he is presumably owed. The third portrait figures him as a man of leisure and as a man who has appropriated – that is, internalized to a significant degree – the forms of leisure enjoyed by the most fashionable elites of his day. It speaks in particular to the people who were involved in the production and consumption of those forms of leisure. Within Gueidan's expanding social circles those people included the Princess de Carignan, her brother the Marquis de Suse, and her husband the Prince de Carignan, director of the *Académie Royale de Musique*.

This portrait is evocative of a place in the minds of Gueidan's contemporaries. It recalls and contributes to the tradition of the pastoral, a tradition that begins with the poetry of Theocritus and Virgil, is found again notably in Honoré d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* and Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, and in the early eighteenth century undergoes a popular revival through literature, theater, music and dance. This revival – or perhaps flowering, for it had never really gone out of fashion - had a considerable influence on the spectacle *par excellence* of the eighteenth century, the opera. Rigaud's *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* carries associations with many works in a pastoral tradition well known to Gueidan's contemporaries; it also evokes the *fête galante*, both as an elite social practice and as a genre

of painting; but moreover, this portrait is evocative of a particular locale, one in which these numerous associations, as well as much of fashionable society, came together - the opera.

Mistaken identity, disguise and transvestism, pastoral and exotic settings: these are the elements that characterize the plots of many early eighteenth-century French works, including the plays of Pierre Marivaux, the operas and cantatas of Jean-Philippe Rameau, and the writings of François-Timoléon de Choisy. In the works of many composers this rusticity and exoticism extends beyond the setting and plot to the character of the music; in particular, the appearance of rustic instruments and the integration or invention of formal elements associated with places considered exotic, including the Mediterranean. The most popular composer of such works was Rameau whose *Les Indes Galantes*, an *opéra-ballet* in a prologue and four acts with a libretto by Louis Fuzelier, premiered at the Paris *Opéra* in August of 1735, the same year Rigaud completed his *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*.<sup>175</sup> Rigaud's portrait of Gueidan is, like *Les Indes Galantes*, a manifestation of several of the elements that characterize fashionable artistic culture in this particular historical moment. It is through the language of that culture that Rigaud's portrait speaks to particular segments of elite society, presenting Gueidan as, quite literally, immersed in that culture: he is the faithful shepherd. A consideration of the plots and musical elements of *Les Indes Galantes* illuminates the concepts that fashionable French elites would have associated with the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* at the time that it was made.

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<sup>175</sup> In the eighteenth century the *Académie Royale de Musique* was often referred to as *L'Opéra*.

### **The sources of Rigaud's pictorial vocabulary: Van Dyck, Watteau, and Lancret**

Rigaud's *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* is unusual, not just among Rigaud's other works but among early eighteenth-century portraits in general. In both the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, there are simply not many portraits of men either in the guise of a shepherd or playing a supposedly rustic instrument. In portraiture, Arcadia, Parnassus, and other such fictive realms were inhabited predominantly by women. The portraits of Madame de Gueidan as Flora (fig.59) and as a Naiade (fig. 62) are of a common type and, as I showed in chapter two, this was the standard type for pendants to men depicted in an official or professional capacity. There are exceptions to this gender divide; notable examples among Van Dyck's works are the portrait of *Philip, Lord Wharton* (fig. 64), and that of *François Langlois as a Savoyard* (fig. 65). In the portrait of Lord Wharton, painted in 1632, the sitter holds a shepherd's crook of a type essential to the iconography of the pastoral in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Europe. This same type of crook appears with the figure of Celadon in the frontispiece to an early edition of *L'Astrée* (fig.66). The hat and garment worn by this Celadon are similar to those worn by Langlois, and Celadon's satchel will appear again in a much more ornate form in Rigaud's portrait of Gueidan. Van Dyck's portrait shares key features in common with Rigaud's Gueidan, thus it seems very probable that the one served as a model for the other; in fact, these similarities could only be explained by Rigaud's having seen, and most likely made drawings after some version of the earlier portrait. The presence of the dog, the angle of its head, and its attention fixed on the sitter are notable, but what is most striking is the similarity in the position of the musette and the fingers upon it. The two sitters are positioned at the same angle in relation to the picture plane and they hold the instrument in a similar fashion. The most remarkable similarity is

that Langlois and Gueidan appear to be sounding the same note on the instrument. In his *Traité de la musette* Charles-Emmanuel Borjon de Scellery instructs that the eight holes in the pipe of the musette are to be fingered in the following fashion: the thumb of the left hand is positioned over the first hole, which is on the back of the pipe, and the first three fingers of the left hand cover holes two, three, and four. The pinky of the left hand remains free; Langlois tucks it behind the pipe and Gueidan poises it far from the pipe. The four lower holes are played with the fingers of the right hand.<sup>176</sup> In both of the portraits the fifth hole remains open, and a pinky is positioned near to or over the eighth hole (this is unclear in the portrait of Gueidan). The most marked difference between the two portraits is that the hands are reversed: Gueidan's hands are positioned, as instructed, with the left uppermost, while Langlois positions his right hand above, while maintaining the same fingering; thus, while the musettes are positioned the same, the hands of the two sitters are mirror images. One possible explanation for this is that Rigaud fashioned his study of the hands in his portrait (fig.67) from an engraving after Van Dyck's portrait (which would have been a mirror image of the portrait itself). Van Dyck's portrait was painted for the sitter, who in 1634 settled in Paris, and it remained in Paris after his death and throughout the eighteenth century,<sup>177</sup> so it is entirely possible that Rigaud was familiar with the original as well.

Another source of inspiration for the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* may have been the later works of Antoine Watteau, which Donald Posner has argued “seem to associate themselves with portraiture, although they are not portraits in the ordinary

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<sup>176</sup> Charles-Emmanuel Borjon de Scellery, *Traité de la Musette, avec une nouvelle méthode, pour apprendre de soy-même à jouer de cet Instrument facilement, et en peu de temps*. Lyon : Girin et Riviere, 1672 (Geneva : Minkoff Reprint, 1972), 22.

<sup>177</sup> The provenance is given in *Van Dyck 1599-1641* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten and Royal Academy of Arts, 1999), 248.

sense of the word.”<sup>178</sup> This tendency toward portraiture takes on many forms. Posner points out that the musette player and the dancer in *Fêtes vénitiennes* (fig.68) resemble Watteau himself and his friend Nicolas Vleughels. He argues that in some cases these resemblances are a matter of the likenesses of the painter’s models finding their way into the paintings, and in others they are amusing asides aimed at members of his circle, but that in either case they are not important to the meaning of the paintings. The informal pose and averted attention of the sitter in *Portrait of a Gentleman* (fig. 69), Posner argues, likens him to a figure in a painted *fête galante*. Perhaps Posner is thinking of the figure on the far right in *Recréation italienne* (fig.70); however, these figures also both resemble those in Watteau’s *Figures du mode* (fig.71). Posner argues that *Mezzetin* (fig.72) is more a portrait of a character than an individual, and he reiterates the belief that *Gilles* (fig.73) may have originally functioned as a signboard. In each case Posner stops short of asserting that these works are portraits, but whatever genre these works may have fit into in the minds of Watteau and his friends and patrons, be it portrait, conversation piece, or *fête galante*, they present visual forms and a stylistic ambiance that Rigaud grafts onto the example of Van Dyck’s portraits of sitters in the guise of rustics to create a striking and unique, and at the same time very fashionable, portrait: namely, the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*. Watteau’s *Mezzetin* and *Gilles* present examples of a single figure in a theatrical costume that are easily adopted and transformed into a portrait type.

Portraits of women in mythological guises – of which Rigaud, Largillierre, and their followers and imitators produced numerous examples – provided another precedent, though I would argue that the theatrical setting borrowed from Watteau and his followers sets Rigaud’s portrait of Gueidan apart from them: Largillierre paints Madame de Gueidan as

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<sup>178</sup> Donald Posner, *Antoine Watteau* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1984), 205.

Flora, while Rigaud paints Monsieur de Gueidan as *playing the role of* the faithful shepherd. The one is set in a literary realm, the other in a theatrical realm. One reads a literary text and imagines it in the mind's eye. In a portrait like that of Madame de Gueidan as Flora, details from a text – or, in this case, several texts – are given visual form and the sitter is placed amongst them: she appears as if in a poem. A text for the theater requires intermediaries; it must be performed. Performance is a key element in the portrait of Monsieur de Gueidan in the role of the faithful shepherd. It invites the viewer to consider identity and theatrical performance, and the relation between the two.

With this grafting of a pictorial vocabulary and ambiance derived from the works of Watteau and his followers onto that of Van Dyck's portraits of sitters in the guises of rustics, Rigaud – even if only in this one instance, namely, the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* – invokes a fashionable realm and its discourses; in particular, he explores: the relation between the theater and role-playing as social performance; a blurring of the boundaries in the social hierarchy; a loosening of the distinctions between men and women; a separation of appearance and identity; an interest in minor genres in the arts; and a view of the arts as sources of pleasure rather than vehicles for universal truths.

There is a solid consensus among interpreters of Watteau's works that in them he explores not only the theater but also social practices derived from the theater; that the term *fête galante* refers not only to the genre of painting invented and practiced by Watteau but also to an actual social practice, one that serves as the subject matter for the paintings.

Suzanne Pucci emphasizes the ambiguity of the setting of many of Watteau's paintings: they appear to be set in parks and gardens and yet these locales also strongly resemble theatrical décor. This ambiguity of setting relates to the relation between theatrical and social

performance. These paintings call to mind the stage of the theater but also the parks and gardens in which elites enacted social practices – namely, the masquerade and the *fête galante* - derived from the theater. The theater from which these social practices are derived is not classic French drama but the minor genres found, most notably, at the fairs, the *foire Saint-Germain* and the *foire Saint-Laurent*: in particular, the *commedia dell'arte* and the *parades* performed outside the theaters to entice spectators to enter for the full performance. Thomas Crow has remarked that the popularity of these minor genres of theater, which were attended by people of various social ranks – noble, bourgeois, and commoner alike – eroded the relation between artistic and social hierarchies, a relation in which elevated genres were produced for elites and low genres for commoners.<sup>179</sup> Pucci notes that the festive social events derived from these forms of theater further erased boundaries, both those between social ranks and between social and theatrical performance. She remarks that, at a masked ball or *fête galante*, a mask or costume could free one from one's place in the social hierarchy, and furthermore, that this separation between appearance and identity was being explored not only in the social realm but also in the arts.<sup>180</sup>

Much has been written about the representation of the *commedia dell'arte* and its stock figures – Harlequin, Pierrot, Columbine, etc. - in Watteau's work,<sup>181</sup> and yet the pastoral is no less of a presence; in fact, the musette and the shepherd's crook, the essential elements in the iconography of the pastoral, appear throughout Watteau's works, from the

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<sup>179</sup> Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 54.

<sup>180</sup> Suzanne Pucci, "Watteau and Theater: Moveable Fetes" in *Antoine Watteau: Perspectives on the Artist and the Culture of his Time* ed. Mary D. Sheriff (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 116.

<sup>181</sup> In addition to Pucci and Crow, there are several essays on Watteau and the theater in : *Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), le peintre, son temps et sa légende*, ed. Francois Moureau and Margaret Morgan Grasselli (Paris: Champion-Slatkine, 1987).

earliest to the latest, in decorative works such as *The Cajoler* (fig.74) and in more ambitious works such as the *Pilgrimage to Cythera* (fig.75). Pastorals such as d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* and Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* were major sources of inspiration for early eighteenth-century French theater and musical culture, and this is reflected in the works of Watteau and his followers. Celadon and Astrée were, no less than the characters of the *commedia dell'arte*, characters through which identity and appearance were explored in the theater - and guises through which participants in social performances and amateur theatricals explored them.

Melissa Hyde argues that the pastoral, both in the theater and in painting, was an important vehicle for the values and preoccupations of fashionable (*mondaine*) French society at midcentury. She points out that *L'Astrée* was still widely read in the eighteenth century and that, with its themes of identity and plot devices involving cross-dressing, it resonated with a society in which men and women often interacted socially, women were considered important to culture, and men and women shared appearances to some extent (make-up, powdered wigs, sumptuous fabrics, and men's clean-shaven faces).<sup>182</sup> Hyde points to the salon of Madame de Lambert (Anne-Thérèse de Marguenat de Courcelles, 1647 – 1733) as a focal point of *mondaine* society. Among the attendees of Madame de Lambert's weekly salon were François-Timoléon, abbé de Choisy (1644-1724) and Pierre de Marivaux (1688-1763). De Choisy took an acute interest in appearance and identity. He lived most of his life as a transvestite and wrote a memoir of his experiences dressing as a woman. A version of his story, *L'Histoire de la Marquise-Marquis de Banneville*, was published anonymously in *Le Mercure galant* in 1695. Joan de Jean argues that this story was co-authored by de Choisy, Marie-Jeanne L'Heritier, and her uncle Charles Perrault, a key figure,

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<sup>182</sup> Melissa Hyde, *Making up the Rococo: Francois Boucher and his critics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), 147.

through his role in the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, in the development of the artistic fashions of early eighteenth-century France.<sup>183</sup> De Choisy also published an abridged version of d'Urfé's five volume romance, which he entitled *La Nouvelle Astrée*. Marivaux's plays, written for the Parisian stage, in particular the Comédie-Française and the Comédie-Italienne, epitomize the artistic fashions of early eighteenth-century France with their melding of high and low culture, of formal language and dialect, and their cross-dressing and disguise, often accompanied by the rustic *divertissements* of composer Jean-Joseph Mouret (1682-1738).<sup>184</sup>

These values and preoccupations of fashionable French society also appear in the works of the most successful follower of Watteau, Nicolas Lancret. While the theater provides the setting for many of Watteau's works, Lancret's works are more closely associated with the opera and other forms of musical culture, including amateur and private performances. The theater and the opera serve as sources and subject matter for the works of Watteau and Lancret, and yet by the time of Watteau's death in 1721 the relation between the arts was more one of symbiosis: meaning did not reside with one art in particular, but rather all the arts were saturated with a new artistic conception and vocabulary. Lancret's *Concert at the Home of Crozat* (fig.76), refers to actual social and musical practices, but such paintings, in which a small ensemble accompanies a singer, would also have called to mind the music that would be performed at such an occasion by such a group of musicians: the French and Italian cantatas of the early eighteenth century, many of which had pastoral

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<sup>183</sup> Joan DeJean, "Introduction," in *The Story of the Marquise-Marquis de Banneville* (New York: Modern Language Association, 2004).

<sup>184</sup> The rusticity of Mouret's *divertissements* is the studied rusticity of the fashionable musical culture of early eighteenth-century France. Prior to his appointment as director of the *Nouveaux Théâtre Italien du Palais-Royal* in 1717, in which capacity he wrote incidental music for Marivaux's plays, Mouret was *Surintendant de la musique* at Sceaux. James R. Anthony, "Mouret, Jean-Joseph," *Grove Dictionary*.

settings. *La Camargo Dancing* suggests a more elaborate performance, but nonetheless it is not evocative only of the stage; the pictorial vocabulary of this portrait relies for its multiplicity of meanings on various social, literary, musical, and pictorial associations. The Washington D. C. version (fig.77) of this portrait call to mind the *fete galante*, while the version in the Wallace Collection (fig.78), with the musicians placed below ground level, as if they were in an orchestra pit, suggests that the setting is the staging of an *opéra-ballet*. With the tambourinaire appearing on stage with La Camargo, the painting evokes *opéra-ballets* such as Mouret's *Les Fêtes de Thalie* which features Provençal characters, instruments, and musical elements, as well as dialogue in the Provençal language.

There are many elements in the works of Lancret that appear also in Rigaud's *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*. Lancret's works are not simply the most fashionable and contemporary sources for Rigaud's portrait; the sumptuousness of Gueidan's costume, the musette he plays, and the animated but restrained posture and fabrics, all call to mind not only Lancret's evocations of contemporary operatic performances but also the character of the then fashionable style of music, a blending of the regal restraint of Lully and Delalande with the animation and exuberance of Vivaldi and Pergolesi, a style practiced and developed most notably by Jean-Philippe Rameau. Rigaud's Gueidan is clearly no ordinary shepherd. The richly embroidered fabrics of his costume rival those of the actor Grandval in Lancret's portrait (fig.79), and their apricot and pale blue coloring recall the garments of the *tambourinaire* and moreover those of the male dancer in the Wallace Collection version of *La Camargo Dancing*. The presence of the dog and the sack he wears at his waist recall hunt scenes, such as Lancret's *The Picnic after the Hunt* (fig.80) and *A Hunter and His Servant* (fig.81). The musette also calls to mind Lancret's *The Luxembourg Family* (fig.82), *The*

*Game of Pied-de-Boeuf* (fig.83), and *The Outdoor Concert* (fig.84), in which the instrument is an essential prop, establishing a theatrical, and moreover, pastoral setting.

What sets the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* apart from the works of Van Dyck, Watteau, and Lancret is how activated it is, that is, the sense of energy and motion it suggests, an effect achieved largely by the multiple folds in the seemingly windswept garments but also by the curve of Gueidan's body and the elevated position of his arms. This curve, suggesting that his body sways toward the right side of the picture is accentuated by the placing of his hands and the musette outside the silhouette of his body. Gueidean seems to move in time with the lilting music of the musette, and yet he shows no signs of effort or enthusiasm – of being carried away by the music – rather his placid facial expression and delicately posed hands suggest control and effortlessness (what Castiglione called *la sprezzatura* and Méré *la negligence*). Gueidan's control is contrasted not only with the animation of his garments but also with the energy of the dog who, with his front paws elevated, seems to be bounding. If this animation calls to mind a particular style of music it is not the restraint of Lully or even François Couperin, rather it is a style relatively new to France, one inspired by the frenzied energy introduced by Italian composers such as Pergolesi and Vivaldi and grafted onto the French tradition by Jean-Philippe Rameau; it is a music that evokes the energy of the natural world as well as that of human passions. The background in the portrait bears a close resemblance – though most likely coincidentally – to an actual place. The river Arc runs east to west through Valabre, the Gueidan family estate. The road to Aix runs perpendicular to the Arc. This is the road that Casanova describes, having travelled it not long after this portrait was painted. It is a steady, gradual incline up the road to Aix. North-east of the city this incline levels out into the plateau de

Bibemus which continues to the foot of Mont Saint-Victoire. But if Valabre is figured in this portrait, it is an imaginary Valabre, one akin to Arcadia or d'Urfé's Foret. There is no evidence of masquerades or *fêtes galantes* at Valabre, nor is there evidence that Gueidan played the musette – though many elites in the period did. The one place that in 1735 one was sure to see a man dressed like this playing the musette was the stage of the *Opéra*.

### *Les Indes Galantes*

In the prologue to *Les Indes Galantes* Hebe calls her followers, young lovers from four nations, France, Spain, Italy, and Poland, to revel with her. She sings:

Musettes, resound in this pleasant grove,  
In its shade tune yourselves  
To the murmur of brooks,  
Accompany the sweets songs  
Of tender birds.<sup>185</sup>

She is joined by two musette players and the young lovers dance two *Musettes en rondeau*.

The instrumentation and character of the music quickly change, from flutes and musettes to drums and trumpets, and from pastoral to martial, as Bellone appears onstage and calls the followers of Hebe to war:

Glory calls you: hear the trumpets!  
Quickly, to arms, and become warriors!  
Leave your peaceful retreats!  
Fight, it is time to pick laurels.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Musettes, résonnez dans ce riant bocage,  
Accordez-vous sous l'ombrage  
Au murmure des ruisseaux,  
Accompagnez le doux ramage  
Des tendres oiseaux.

<sup>186</sup> La Gloire vous appelle: écoutez ses trompettes!  
Hâtez-vous, armez-vous, et devenez guerriers!  
Quittez ces paisibles retraites!  
Combattez, il est temps de cueillir des lauriers.

The nations of Europe abandon Hebe to follow Bellone. Hebe sings to Amour:

To replace the hearts Bellone stole from you,  
Son of Venus, hurl your surest shafts;  
Drive pleasures into distant lands,  
When Europe abandons them!<sup>187</sup>

The prologue introduces the four *entrées* that are to follow, four stories of love set in distant lands: *Le Turc Généreux*; *Les Incas du Pérou*; *Les Fleurs: fête persane*; and *Les Sauvages* (set in North America). *Le Turc Généreux* is the story of two Provençal lovers, Émilie and Valère. Émilie was abducted by pirates and sold into slavery to the Turkish pasha Osman. Osman is in love with Émilie but she remains constant to her lover, the sailor Valère, even though she suspects that he may have been killed trying to stop her abduction. Osman tries to persuade Émilie to forget her lover, as she will never see him again:

Ah! What are you saying?  
You overwhelm me with your tears,  
Speak no more of these useless sorrows!  
Love must take flight,  
When hope has gone.  
Constancy becomes tedium  
For a heart that makes of it a duty.<sup>188</sup>

Nonetheless, Émilie remains constant. There is a shipwreck and the French sailors are taken captive and forced onto slavery. Among them is Valère. Since Émilie was abducted, he has travelled the world in search of her:

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<sup>187</sup> Pour remplacer les cœurs que vous ravit Bellone,  
Fils de Vénus, lancez vos traits les plus certains;  
Conduisez les plaisirs dans les climats lointains,  
Quand l'Europe les abandonne!

<sup>188</sup> Ah! Que me faites-vous entendre?  
C'est trop m'accabler par vos pleurs,  
Cessez d'entretenir d'inutiles douleurs!  
Il faut que l'amour s'envole,  
Dès qu'il voit partir l'espoir.  
A l'ennui la constance immole  
Le cœur qui s'en fait un devoir.

Since that fatal moment when we were separated,  
My distraught sighs have searched night and day  
Through many distant lands... I find you a captive.<sup>189</sup>

Osman overhears Valère professing his love, and the two lovers fear that the pasha will put the sailor to death, but just as he raises his sword Osman recognizes Valère as the man who once released him from slavery. He grants Émilie and Valère their freedom, returns Valère's crew and ships, and retires to grieve his lost love. Émilie and Valère are joined onstage by several *provençaux* and *provençales* and, accompanied by a tambourinaire, they dance a series of rigaudons – a musical form associated with the port city of Marseille - and tambourins – a form associated with Provence.<sup>190</sup>

In *Les Indes Galantes*, Rameau and Fuzelier bring together several elements that are characteristic of the arts at this time: the appearance of rustic instruments such as the musette and the tambourin, both on stage and in the musical score; pastoral and exotic settings, including faraway places like Turkey and Persia, but also places closer to home like Provence; the theme of constancy in love; and the use of disguise, particularly male characters disguising themselves as women and women disguising themselves as men. Disguise is a central plot device in the third *entrée*, *Les Fleurs: fete persane*. Prince Tacmas is in love with Zaïre, the slave of his friend Ali. Ali is in love with Tacmas' fiancé Fatima. Tacmas disguises himself as a woman to spy on Zaïre and Fatima disguises herself as a man to spy on Ali. Tacmas and Fatima learn that Zaïre and Ali share their sentiments, the engagement is broken, and all four characters end up with their true loves. Disguise and

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<sup>189</sup> Depuis l'instant fatal qui nous a séparés,  
Dans cet climats divers mes soupirs égarés  
Vous cherchent nuit et jour ... je vous trouve captive.

<sup>190</sup> The tambourin is a distinctly Provençal folkloric form that still exists today. The tambourinaire plays with one hand a long cylindrical drum and with the other a small pipe, the galoubet.

deception are the means by which one arrives at truth; underlying their disguises and their engagement to each other is the constancy of their love for Zaïre and Ali, and the plot is resolved when they are true to their own hearts. In *Les Indes Galantes*, and numerous works like it, disguise and constancy are interrelated. The pastoral and the exotic are part of this formula as well: constancy is the underlying theme of pastoral as a modern genre, from d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* through the literature, theater, and music of the eighteenth century, and this theme is consistently explored through characters taking on different identities by way of disguise. The musette as a prop, a sonority, and a musical form provides an ambiance at once rustic and refined for these modern incarnations of the pastoral. The themes and plot devices of pastoral, as well as the use of rustic instruments, provides the template for the musical and visual vocabulary of the exotic settings of eighteenth century operas like *Les Indes Galantes*. The sailors who dance to the tambourin at the end of the first *entrée* are a refashioning of the shepherds who dance to the musette in the prologue. The Indies (as distant lands were called in eighteenth-century France) are, like the Arcadia of the pastoral, an image onto which elites projected and around which they elaborated an idealized conception of themselves. Picturing oneself in a place apart from the here and now allowed for a creative refashioning. Provence was also one of these places apart that appealed to the imagination in eighteenth-century France, thus Provence takes its place as an exotic setting in *Les Indes Galantes* alongside Turkey, Peru, Persia, and North America. It is among these dominant elements of early eighteenth-century French artistic culture that Rigaud's departure from a vandyckian vocabulary of portraiture, and Gueidan's decision to be depicted as a sumptuously attired shepherd begin not only to make sense but to appear as effective strategies of representation and self-fashioning. It is significant that while both the musette

and the tambourin were common musical and visual elements in the artistic culture of the early eighteenth century, elements that would have triggered numerous associations in the minds of viewers and listeners, Gueidan chose to be painted with the musette and not the tambourin. In doing so, he chose not simply a particular prop but, more importantly, the concepts associated with it. Significantly, he did not choose the instrument associated with his own region.

### **Provence and *Le Tambourinaire***

André Bourde traces the origins of local color, and in particular a *provençalité musicale*, in French art music to the beginning of the eighteenth century. This local color is “a combination of formulas and picturesque suggestions drawn from folklore (real or imagined) expressing certain ‘atmospheres’ of which the new musical language of Vivaldi and Pergolesi emphasize the traits and the psychological, plastic, and moreover ethnic personality.”<sup>191</sup> He characterizes *la provençalité musicale* as “frankly cheerful in its rhythms and popular melodies;” with the “brio and charm of its *sonorités méridionales* it introduces a casual lightness to the *grand goût*”<sup>192</sup> exemplified by the works of Lully and Delalande. The mythical cultural identity presented by this new music is “an irreducible combination of

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<sup>191</sup> « La ‘couleur locale,’ telle qu’elle s’est développée à partir du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle est la combinaison de formules et de suggestions ‘pittoresques’ nourries d’un ‘folklore’ (réel ou fabrique) exprimant des ‘ambiances’ dont le nouveau langage musical du temps de Vivaldi ou de Pergolese accuse les traits et la personnalité psychologique, plastique et même et surtout peut être – ethnique. » André Bourde, « Aux origines de la « provençalité » musicale, » *La Musique dans le Midi de la France, XVII<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, Actes des Rencontres de Villecroze, 5 au 7 octobre 1994*. Paris : Klincksieck, 1996 : 11-12. On the musical culture of Provence, and in particular Aix, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, see also: Olivier Bonfait, « Aix et Paris. Habitus visuels, stratégies de carrière et mémoires du lieu dans les relations artistiques entre les deux capitales » in *Regards sur la musique... André Campra (1660-1744) un musicien provençal à Paris*, ed. Jean Duron (Wavre : Editions Mardaga, 2010).

<sup>192</sup> “La gaité et la franchise des rythmes et des mélodies ‘populaires’ de l’école ultramontaine vont, en France, introduire un levain de légèreté désinvolte dans la distinction compassée du ‘grand goût’ versaillais. » Bourde, 12.

expressive personality, of the good-naturedness and aristocratic elegance of Aix, of the pulse of Marseille, and the flavors of the Mediterranean that is found in no other place.”<sup>193</sup>

This *provençalité* finds expression in the musical forms and stylistic elements employed by several early eighteenth-century French composers, some from Provence and others from various other regions of France. At the end of the first *entrée* of *Les Indes Galantes* a tambourinaire appears onstage along with several dancers dressed as Marseillais sailors who dance to his music. The distinct musical form played by the tambourinaire, uptempo and lilting in 6/8, is also found in music intended for performance outside the theater; for example, it was adapted to the harpsichord in, among numerous other examples, Rameau’s *Tambourin* (1722). Jean-Joseph Mouret, in his operas and in the many works he wrote to accompany the plays of Marivaux, incorporates Italian and Provençal elements. His opera *Les Fêtes de Thalie* (1714) represents the port of Marseille and includes several rigaudons, a musical form associated with that city. The 1735 production included a fourth *entrée* entitled *La Provençale* which included dialogue in the Provençal language. Other composers who drew on Provençal folkloric elements include Desmarets, Bradamante de Lacoste, Bodin de Boismortier and Cassanea de Mondonville. These elements are quite common in the works of Rameau. The tambourin as a musical form appears in *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1732), *Les Indes Galantes* (1735), *Dardanus* (1739), *Pygmalion* (1745), *Platée* (1744). This *provençalité musicale* is also an element in the works of Provençal composers, including the aixois Andre Campra, whose opera-ballet *Le Carnaval de Venise* (1716) includes a tambourin, and the Marseillais Pierre Gaultier, whose works are perhaps the most colorful and exuberant expression of these elements. This is not to say that the works of

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<sup>193</sup>« une combinaison irréductible de personnalité affrme de bonhomme et d’élégance d’aristocratie aixoise, de trépidations marseillaises et de saveurs méditerranéennes qui n’est pas assimilable à nulle autre. » Bourde, 12.

Provençal composers present a more authentic version of this *provençalité*. The elites of Aix-en-Provence and Marseille enjoyed a rich musical culture in the eighteenth century, one that was shaped in large part by musical fashions in Paris. It was thanks to negotiations between Lully and Pierre Gaultier that the first opera outside Paris was established in 1685 in Marseille, and later the opera was also established in Aix. Provençal composers were perhaps better positioned to feed the vogue for folkloric elements in art music but Provençal audiences were equally receptive to the *provençalité* in the works of northern composers.

Gaspard de Gueidan could have chosen to be painted in the guise of the tambourinaire. The Provençal painter Claude Arnulphy produced at least one such portrait (fig.85). Gueidan chose the musette over the tambourin because the former held associations the evocation of which were essential to the image of himself he wished to fashion in the mid-1730s, while the latter called to mind associations which he wished to avoid. Both of his genealogies, the true one as well as that which he invented, associate his family with the medieval capital of Haut-Provence, Forcalquier, the one as merchants, the other as counts and governors. An essential element in his campaign of social mobility was to associate his family name with lands in Provence and to argue that that association was established in the very distant past. He made considerable, though ultimately unsuccessful, efforts to have the name of Valabre, the estate he inherited from his father in the same year he commissioned his third portrait from Rigaud, changed to Gueidan. He did eventually succeed in having Castellet, lands he owned further to the west, declared the marquisate *de Gueidan*. Gaspard was determined to promote the idea that land in Provence had been granted to his ancestors by the king in return for their valorous service in the crusades; and yet this is the only way in which he wished to be associated with Provence. As I discussed in chapter two, Provence

had a long history of resistance to the authority of the French kings, and Gueidan sought, both in his role as *avocat général* and in the choice of Rigaud to paint his portraits, to associate himself with the men who had established monarchical authority in the province. While his title, the marquis de Gueidan, would be associated with land in Provence, Gaspard's hope was that that title would grant him entry into a social sphere whose center was not Aix-en-Provence but Paris. While the tambourin was associated with a foreign and rebellious people, the musette called to mind, first and foremost, the quality with which Gueidan most wanted to be associated: nobility.

Provençals had their own language, customs and laws, and, as numerous operas, plays, and travel writings from the early eighteenth century attest, while Provence was politically part of France, it was seen as an exotic foreign land, part of a *méridional* region that included Spain, Italy, North Africa, Greece, and Turkey. This view of Provence as part of an exotic Mediterranean region is evident in the writings of Charles de Brosses, the antiquarian, amateur of music, and *président au Parlement de Dijon* who travelled through the region in 1739 on his way to Italy. De Brosses was not particularly impressed with Provence, and yet – his book is after all the record of a journey - he lends it the exotic appeal of a foreign land. Setting out from Dijon, a city that is very important to his own sense of identity and one that serves as a point of reference throughout his book, he refers to Avignon as his first stop in foreign lands.<sup>194</sup> Toward the end of his account of his journey along the Rhône, he remarks that “Provence is nothing but a perfumed pig,” a place where one finds

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<sup>194</sup> « Me voici arrivé à ma premier station en pays étranger. » Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières écrites d'Italie a quelques amis en 1739 et 1740* (Paris, 1858), 1.

what is pleasant but never what is necessary.<sup>195</sup> When he describes Marseille, this perfume takes on an exotic character. He remarks that in general he has not found in Provence the beauty he expected. He continues:

The judgment I make here is not at all applicable to a small prominence located a half-league from Marseille from which one sees, to the right, the Mediterranean, the Chateau d'If and the adjacent islands in perspective, straight ahead, the city of Marseille, dominated by the citadel of Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde and by the mountains in the background, and to the right, a valley so full of *bastides*, or country houses, of trees and gardens, that by wrapping it all within walls one would make of it a city in the style of Constantinople.<sup>196</sup>

De Brosse is saying that from a distance Marseille could seem to resemble the Turkish capital, and this is a comparison he continues upon taking a closer look. In the harbor he finds feluccas, caiques, and pinks, boats associated with the eastern Mediterranean, and in the shops along the waterfront he finds all varieties of merchandise from the Levant.<sup>197</sup> He remarks that on the docks one sees people of all nations, and yet those he lists – “Europeans, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Negroes, Levantines”<sup>198</sup> – reinforce the Mediterranean (and, in particular, eastern Mediterranean) character of his description, and when he describes particular individuals in the port he refers to them all as Turks. He is amazed by one such man, who while in shackles is able to climb the mast of a ship as easily as one would mount a staircase.<sup>199</sup> Much of the work in the port is done by captives. He remarks that in the

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<sup>195</sup> « On trouve en cette province à chaque pas l'agréable et jamais le nécessaire. Aussi, à vous parler net, la Provence n'est qu'une gueuse parfumée. » De Brosse, 25.

<sup>196</sup> « Le jugement que je porte ici ne doit point être appliqué à une petite hauteur que l'on trouve à une demi-lieue de Marseille, dominée par la citadelle de Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde et pas les montagnes qui terminent le lointain, et à gauche, un vallon si rempli de *bastides*, ou maisons de campagne, d'arbres et de jardins, qu'en fermant de murailles cet enclos, on en ferait une ville dans le goût de Constantinople. » De Brosse, 21.

<sup>197</sup> De Brosse, 22.

<sup>198</sup> De Brosse, 23.

<sup>199</sup> De Brosse, 23.

shipyard the work is done by men who are chained together in threes, two Christians and one Turk – because they do not all share a common language, they are less able to escape.<sup>200</sup>

Along the waterfront he observes:

The convicts are bound by an iron chain and each has a little hut where they practice all imaginable sorts of business. I saw one who seemed to me to be of profound genius: his nose buried in his Descartes, he worked on a philosophical commentary against Newton. Another made slippers, and another very adroitly forged the signature of a banker of the city on a bill of exchange. They lead a sweet little life there; Lacurne [Des Brosses travelling companion] would have fit right in, and seeing one of their little huts vacant I thought about retaining it for a certain rascal of your acquaintance.<sup>201</sup>

De Brosses' Turks are characterized as irrational and backward even in their most concerted efforts at enlightenment; or as picturesque, manufacturing a particularly oriental type of footwear; or as gifted at petty crime; but whatever their flaws, he stresses that they are not aware enough of their condition to be unhappy with it. De Brosses insists that he is not particularly charmed by Provence and yet he sees it through the conventions of exoticizing fictions. The people he sees in the port of Marseille are not to his eyes entirely human; they are decorative, and the horror of what he describes is softened and transformed into comedy. De Brosses' description may tell us more about the author himself than about the port of Marseille in 1739. In a short description of the city – just under seven pages of the two volumes of the *Lettres familières* are devoted to Marseille – de Brosses includes several details that draw the reader's imagination not simply toward points further east, but into the literary and theatrical imaginary of the cultured elites of early eighteenth-century France. On his way to Italy, where he will write, most notably, about the musical culture of that country,

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<sup>200</sup> De Brosses, 24.

<sup>201</sup> « Les galériens, attaches avec une chaîne de fer, ont chacun une petite cabane où ils exercent tous les métiers imaginables. J'en vis un qui me parut d'un génie profond : la tête appuyée sur un Descartes, il travaillait à un commentaire philosophique contre Newton. Un autre faisait des pantoufles, et un troisième contrefaisait fort adroitement dans une lettre de change la signature d'un banquier de la ville. » De Brosses, 22-23.

De Brosse passes through Marseille, and he describes the city through conventional imagery that resembles the décor of a theatrical entertainment. His shackled Christians and Turks call to mind Valère and Osman who, four years before De Brosse's departure for Italy, appeared on the stage of the opera in Rameau's *Les Indes Galantes*.

### **La Musette**

The tambourin was one element in the exoticism that characterized much of the music intended for performance by professional musicians in early eighteenth-century France. The musette, on the other hand, in addition to manifesting this vogue for the exotic and moreover rustic, was also an integral part of the musical culture of noble amateurs. Written and visual sources attest to the fact that the mouth blown bagpipe was always associated with the lower classes; the musette however was always associated with the French court.<sup>202</sup> It did not, however, first arrive at Versailles in the hands of noble amateurs. In the seventeenth century musettes were included, along with oboes, trumpets, sackbuts, fifes and marine trumpets, in the *Bande de la Grande Ecurie*, the ensemble charged with providing military music at courtly affairs, entertainments, and outdoor spectacles. The *écurie* employed *haut*, that is, loud, instruments, as opposed to the *bas*, or quiet, instruments associated with the royal chamber music. The musette was set on the path that would lead to the hands of noble amateurs in 1671 with the performance of *Pomone* an operatic *bergerie* composed by Robert Cambert (1628-1677) with a libretto by Pierre Perin (c.1616-1675). The following year the directorship of the *Académie Royale de Musique*, founded in 1669, was awarded to Lully who continued the use of pastoral themes, often in the prologues to his operas, sometimes in

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<sup>202</sup> Richard D. Leppert, *Arcadia at Versailles: noble amateur musicians and their musettes and hurdy-gurdies at the French court, c. 1660-1789* (Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1978), 7.

the main body. While the musette was never played by actual shepherds, it was, through these operatic performances, linked in the minds of the nobility with the pastoral. Noble amateurs took up the musette thinking of it in a pastoral context.<sup>203</sup>

These noble amateurs found ready and accomplished teachers at Versailles, most notably in two family dynasties of musicians, the Hotteterres and the Chédervilles. The Hotteterres were wind players and instrument makers to both Louis XIV and Louis XV. Jean Hotteterre appears in the accounts of the *Ecurie* in 1661. His son, Martin, was active in the musical life of the French court from 1660 to 1712, playing the flute and the oboe but making his reputation on the musette. His son, Jacques, was primarily a flautist but also played the musette and taught several noble amateurs. In 1707 Jacques Hotteterre published a treatise on the transverse flute, the instrument that came to replace the recorder, and in 1737 his *Méthode de la Musette*, a treatise for the serious amateur. Among his students was the queen, Marie Leszczyńska.<sup>204</sup> The daughters of Louis XV and Marie Leszczyńska, Adélaïde and Henriette, were taught by Nicolas Chéderville, a member of the other notable dynasty of wind players at Versailles.

The brothers Chéderville, Pierre (1694-1725), Esprit-Philippe (1696-c.1760) and Nicolas (1705-c.1783), played important roles in the musical life of Versailles in the eighteenth century, as composers, performers and teachers. In 1709 Esprit-Philippe entered the opera orchestra and in 1723 he took charge of the hautbois band. In 1725 he was appointed *Hautbois du Roi*, though his actual instrument in this position was the musette, an instrument for which he published a great deal of music. Nicolas entered the opera orchestra

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<sup>203</sup> Leppert, 35.

<sup>204</sup> Leppert, 37.

in 1725. Later that year he took over from Esprit-Philippe charge of the hautbois band. He was a virtuoso of both the hurdy-gurdy and the musette.<sup>205</sup>

In 1672 Charles-Emmanuel Borjon de Scellery published an instructional manual for the self-taught amateur of the musette, the *Traité de la musette*. Published just twelve years after the appearance of Martin Hotteterre at Versailles, this treatise gives the instrument a long and noble pedigree, one that contributes to its association with shepherds, the pastoral, and antiquity; in fact, Borjon de Scellery begins his account of the origins of the instrument with the following extravagant assertion:

If antiquity is an indication of the merit of things, the musette is to be valued above all other musical instruments as it is the first and oldest of all; for to consider this article by the light of good sense, and not at all according to the ideas of the poets, who have so enveloped all things in lies and fictions, that we know next to nothing for sure of that which happened in the first ages of the world, which one calls for this reason fabled times, does it not seem that the first men, who found their occupation and their dearest delights in rural life (*la vie champêtre*), were the first inventors of the musette and the flute?<sup>206</sup>

Borjon de Scellery distinguishes himself from the poets, whose fictions have obscured the facts regarding the first ages of man, establishing the credibility of his account of the music-making of the earliest peoples, and yet his account, which he supports with quotations from scripture and antique authors, is no less a fiction. He establishes the antiquity of the musette in large part by conflating it with the flute and the origins of wind instruments in general.

His account of the origins of the musette is very much like Gilles-André de La Roque's

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<sup>205</sup> Leppert, 37-38.

<sup>206</sup> “Si l’antiquité est un titre du mérite des choses, la Musette doit l’emporter par-dessus tous les autres Instrumens de la Musique, comme étant le premier et le plus ancien de tous ; car à raisonner sur cet article selon les lumières du bon sens, et nullement selon les idées des poètes, qui ont tellement enveloppe toutes choses de mensonges et de fictions, que nous ne scavons presque rien assurément de ce qui s’est passé dans les premiers siècles du monde, que l’on appelle aussi pour cette raison les temps fabuleux, n’y a-t’il pas bien de l’apparence que les premiers hommes, qui ont fait toute leur occupation, et leurs plus chères délices de la vie champêtre ont este les premiers inventeurs de la musette et du chalumeau ?” Charles-Emanuel Borjon de Scellery, *Traité de la Musette, avec une nouvele méthode, pour apprendre de soy-même à jouer de cet Instrument facilement, et en peu de temps*. Lyon : Girin et Riviere, 1672 : 1 (Geneva : Minkoff Reprint, 1972).

account of the origins of nobility in that it is supported by references to scripture and Greek and Roman texts, and yet is nonetheless largely speculative. He also, like La Roque, attributes value to the topic of his discourse by associating it with antiquity. They both use this term in two senses, to indicate age but also association with and validation by the texts that are taken as statements of truth in early modern Europe: namely, the bible and especially the works of Greek and Roman authors. In La Roque's *Traité de la noblesse*, antiquity indicates the quality of a family's nobility – the most noble families are those whose origins are lost in the fog of time – and the merit of the musette is, in Borjon de Scellery's account, indicated by its distant origins: it was invented in a lost age, *les temps fabuleux*. When his account passes into historical time he supports his assertions with quotations from the book of Genesis, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*. He is arguing that the musette is an instrument worthy of a nobleman and he invokes the authority of the ancients to support this assertion. *La vie champêtre* refers not to the lives of actual shepherds but to a literary realm, one established by Theocritus and Virgil. What gives value to the musette is not its antiquity but rather the antiquity of references made to it.

Borjon de Scellery remarks that the book of Genesis tells us that Jubal was the first among the shepherds to teach them to adjust the tones of their voices and to soften the sound of their reeds. He points out that several ancient authors do not recognize this fact, rather they attribute the origin of the pipe (and thus the musette) to Pan or to Daphnis, who is also credited with the invention of pastoral poetry. He points out several references to pan pipes in the works of Martial, Ovid, Theocritus, and Virgil but he does not call them pipes, rather he takes any instrument made up of pipes (lat. *fistula*; fr. *chaluveau*) to be a musette. He does acknowledge the development of the musette proper, placing it in the 1620s or 1630s:

“as one played this instrument with the breath and as this fatigue was accompanied by a very bad grace, in order to render it convenient and agreeable, one found the secret forty or fifty years ago to add a bellows to which the pipes are attached, by means of which one fills it with as much air as one wants, taking no further pain than to gently lift or drop one’s arm.”<sup>207</sup>

The nobility of the instrument is established by its literary pedigree but also by the manner in which it is played; it is important to distinguish between the bagpipe, which is mouth blown and therefore necessitates facial contortions, and the musette, whose bellows, pumped with the arm, allow one to avoid such disagreeable effects. It is important that the musette be easy to play; any sign of effort on the musician’s part detracts from the agreeable effects of the music. This is so important that Borjon de Scellery devotes a chapter to grimaces and the means of avoiding them. Among the disagreeable contortions that the player must avoid are: holding one’s breath, biting or moving one’s lips, tapping one’s foot, and abruptly turning one’s body. He attributes these defects to two causes: an impatience to learn, in which the mind knows what the fingers must do but the fingers are simply not yet able to do it; and being carried away, ravished in a fit of enthusiasm, by one’s music.<sup>208</sup> These concerns are redolent of Castiglione’s *sprezzatura* and the Chevalier de Méré’s *négligence*; any sign of effort spoils the effect. The appearance of effortlessness disguises the effort by which ability is acquired; ability comes to appear natural and inherent in the performer; and effortlessness implies that ability is held in reserve: one could do even better,

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<sup>207</sup> « comme il falloir souffler pour jouer de cet instrument, et que cette fatigue estoit accompagnée d’une très-mauvaise grâce, afin de le rendre autant commode qu’agréable, on a trouvé le secret depuis 40 ou 50 années, d’y ajouter un soufflet, que l’on a emprunté des orgues, par le moyen duquel on le remplit d’autant d’air que l’on veut, sans prendre d’autre peine que celle de lever doucement, ou d’abaisser le bras qui le conduit. » Borjon de Scellery, 5.

<sup>208</sup> « L’autre cause des grimaces vient de l’emportement du jouer, qui se ravit luy-meme, et qui s’entousiasme de sa propre harmonie. » Brojon de Scellery, 17.

if one cared to try. The contortions that the musician must avoid are departures from *modération* and *bienséance*.

Etymologically the word *musette* derives from music, “but as this instrument is not serious enough to play grand airs, one gave to it the name *musette*, to better represent the character of its charms (*agréments*); diminutives having this peculiarity that they soften that which they seem to diminish, and that they indicate more delicacy than do full names.”<sup>209</sup> In a chapter on the pieces of music best suited to the *musette*, Borjon de Scellery asserts that while one can play courantes, sarabandes, and allemandes on the instrument, however gavottes – a form that originated as a French country dance and was popularized by Lully – are best suited to its character. “This instrument breathes but naïveté and rustic simplicity.”<sup>210</sup>

Borjon de Scellery points out that despite the crudeness of the ancient *musette* in comparison with that of his own day, it had always been favored by the nobility (*gens de qualité*). He asserts that the first refinements to the pipe (*chaluzeau*) were made by a king of Phrygia, who Pliny identifies as Midas. He speculates that the Phrygian courtiers would have applied themselves to mastering this instrument to please their king and that the popularity of this instrument among the nobility (*personnes de condition*) would have spread to and beyond neighboring lands.

Borjon de Scellery laments a lack of knowledge about the first ages of man, a lack that he blames on the lies and fictions of the poets, and yet his account of the origin of the *musette* is supported largely by quotations from these poets: Virgil makes reference to a

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<sup>209</sup> “comme cette instrument n’est pas assez sérieux pour exprimer les grands airs, on luy a donné le nom de *musette*, pour mieux représenter le caractère de ses agréments; les diminutifs ayant cela de propre qu’ils marquent plus de délicatesse que les noms pleins et entiers.” Borjon de Scellery, 6.

<sup>210</sup> “Cet instrument ne respire que la naïveté et la simplicité champêtre.” Borjon de Scellery, 29.

musette with seven pipes, Theocritus to one with nine, and Ovid tells us that Polyphemus' instrument had one-hundred pipes; Borjon de Scellery asserts that the festival of Minerva described by Ovid in the *Fasti* was in fact the festival of the flute and musette players; that the number of flutes included in Roman funeral processions had become so excessive as to require regulation is confirmed by a line from the *Fasti*. Those parts of the *Traité de la musette* that do not relate directly to the mastery and care of the instrument itself are devoted to establishing that the musette is both rustic and noble; that is, to situating it, as Lully's operas do, within the pastoral tradition. Borjon de Scellery places the origin of the musette in *les temps fabuleux*, a time outside of history, one that has been idealized by the poets. Playing or listening to the musette is not a purely musical diversion, rather it transports one to an idealized time and place, to Arcadia in the Golden Age, a time in which a leisured life of rustic simplicity is characterized by the most noble thoughts, sentiments, and actions. There is no toil in this place, nor are there calamitous events or tragedies, no wars, no conquests. In this state of extreme leisure one's time is taken up only with amorous pursuits, with love and laments for lost loves, and all that one contemplates relates to a single theme: constancy.

### **Celadon, the faithful shepherd**

Rather than the title often used, *Gaspard de Gueidan en Celadon*, a more apt title for Rigaud's portrait is *Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*; it is identified as such in the painter's account books and under this title the painting evokes the artistic and social milieu in which Gueidan sought to situate himself. Honoré d'Urfé's romance *L'Astrée* – in which Celadon is one of the main characters – is not however to be overlooked; it is perhaps

the single most important work in the development of the particular conception of the linking of the pastoral and nobility in the minds of French elites of the *ancien régime*. The themes, characters, and situations presented in this romance feed the pastoral tradition in music, literature and the visual arts throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; they also provide a resonant iconography for the figuring of Gaspard de Gueidan's uncertain noble status. Celadon lives the humble life of a shepherd, and yet he belongs to one of the country's leading families. How did these noble families come to lead this rustic existence? All the people living along the Loire, Lignon, Furan, and Argent, seeing the troubles the Romans caused by their ambition and desire to dominate, swore off, by mutual consent, all ambition and agreed to live in the guise of peaceful shepherds. This vow pleased the Gods and they determined to punish anyone who broke it. A life of retreat is what Gaspard de Gueidan aspired to, for himself and for his descendants; he sought to relieve himself and his sons of the life of ambition and worldly concerns led by the magistrates of the *parlement de Provence*. Like that of d'Urfé's Celadon, Gueidan's true identity is difficult to determine: Celadon is a noble living as a rustic; and Gueidan was, by some accounts, a rustic in the guise of a nobleman. While Rigaud's *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* engages discourses of noble status, notably the pastoral and the related *fête galante*, it does not shy away from the ambiguity of Gueidan's identity; rather it seems to play with this uncertainty.

*L'Astrée* can be read as an extended exploration of the nature of identity, in particular noble identity. It is the story of the loves of shepherds, principally that of Astrée and Celadon, but through multiple subplots and diversions it introduces numerous characters and their amorous pursuits. The main theme is ostensibly fidelity in love; however, this fidelity

is simply the outward manifestation of a deeply rooted inner quality. Devotion to the beloved is above all a devotion to one's true nature. Unrequited or forbidden love may cause one great suffering but this suffering is less than that caused by acting contrary to the dictates of one's heart. Submission to the commands of the beloved is the inviolable law which determines the actions of the noble shepherd but this fidelity is above all else determined by the noble heart of the lover. For example, there is enmity between the families of Astrée and Celadon, therefore they must keep their love a secret; so, when Astrée commands Celadon to court another shepherdess to draw attention from their own love, he objects that to act contrary to his love for her would cause him great suffering. And yet the beloved must be obeyed. Celadon would seem to be acting contrary to his heart, but as this deception is at the bidding of his beloved it is in fact an act of fidelity, one that manifests the true nobility of his heart.

Fidelity, this noble quality par excellence, is examined throughout *L'Astrée* in its various manifestations – or the lack thereof. Is fidelity a dictate of the heart or a choice? Is happiness in love to be found through constancy – however much suffering it may cause – or through libertinage? Is a noble heart an innate quality or is it acquired through one's actions? Can one change one's condition by choice or by actions, or is one, under any guise, bound to one's nature and place in society? Is nobility a quality found in all ranks of society or only in the highest? These questions are examined through the conversations of the shepherds themselves but also through their assuming various disguises: nobles become shepherds, shepherds become nobles, men become women. Most often the identities, fidelity, and nobility of these shepherds are examined through the recognition and deception of their fellows. Astrée has encouraged Celadon to court Aminta in order to deceive their parents.

When she believes that he is truly courting Aminta she scorns him and banishes him from her presence. He cannot go without seeing her – for he loves her – and so he chooses death and throws himself into the river Lignon. Astrée is then presented with proofs of Celadon's fidelity in the form of letters and poems from his hand. But it is too late; Celadon has washed up on the opposite bank of the river and been found by three nymphs. He is alive. Astrée believes him dead. And he cannot return to her because she has commanded him to go away. In the world of *L'Astrée* things are seldom what they seem. Even Astrée, who has encouraged Celadon to feign a love for Aminta, is persuaded by the performance.

In *L'Astrée*, as later in *Les Indes Galantes*, deception is an effective means of arriving at the truth. Astrée tells the story of her meeting Celadon and their early courtship. Celadon loved Astrée at first sight. It is customary among the shepherdesses to dramatize the Judgment of Paris. The girls assemble. A druid throws out a golden apple on which are written the names of the three shepherdesses who seem to him the most beautiful. Lots are drawn to see which of the remaining shepherdesses will play Paris. Celadon, disguised as a shepherdess, is among them and he is chosen to play Paris. In the Temple of Love the three girls remove their clothes and one by one approach Paris – a shepherd played by a shepherdess, or in this case a shepherd played by a shepherd disguised as a shepherdess. Any boys found in the Temple during this performance are to be stoned to death by the girls. Astrée is the last of the three to approach Celadon. He tells her that he has chosen her as the most beautiful but before he will announce his choice she must promise to grant him what he will ask. She agrees and he reveals himself as Celadon and tells her that the promise she has made is to love him more than anyone and to accept him as her faithful servant. It is customary for the judge to kiss the winning shepherdess and Astrée relates that Celadon did

not kiss like a girl. Astrée does not reveal Celadon's deception; she has already determined that she is interested in his attentions, but she does not reveal this either: she tells Celadon that he has given her an apple but she has given him his life therefore she owes him nothing. This is the first of several instances in d'Urfe's romance of successful deception through cross-dressing. Celadon ultimately reunites with Astrée at the end of the romance by disguising himself as a girl and winning her affection under that guise.

One's affections may be won by an illusion but when that illusion is revealed does love endure? In the case of Astrée and Celadon, yes, because their hearts are true and noble. In other cases illusion is simply illusion – it leads one away from the truth. Galatea loves Lindamor. Climantes, disguised as a diviner, tells her that she will find someone along the banks of the Lignon at a particular time and that if this man does not become her husband she will be among the unhappiest people in the world. This is part of a scheme devised by Climantes and Polemas, who is in love with Galatea; Polemas is in fact the person who is to appear by the banks of the river at the designated hour. But before he can appear, Galatea and her fellow nymphs, Sylvia and Leonida, find Celadon washed up in the river bank. Deceived by Climantes, Galatea decides that she will love Celadon and reject the man, Lindamor, who has so faithfully courted her. Just as one may appear inconstant while acting true to one's heart – as Celadon did when he courted Aminta – one can appear constant while violating the true dictates of one's heart: Galatea believes that she has found in Celadon her true love but in fact her true love is Lindamor.

D'Urfé's complex exploration of noble identity is a particularly fruitful model for the figuring of Gaspard de Gueidan's nobility. According to one version of Gueidan's history, the *Virelay*, a poem that will be considered in depth in the next chapter, he is the upstart

great-grandson of a livestock merchant. Artefueil's *Histoire heroïque*, also considered in chapter four, presents him as heir to one of the noblest pedigrees in Provence. The faithful shepherd, a keeper of livestock who lives in a noble state of retreat, free from ambition and worldly cares, is a fitting figure to embody Gueidan's social and cultural status, particularly after 1734 when he inherited a country house outside of Aix and began to grow tired of his work in the *parlement*. The *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* does not simply figure the sitter as an elite through the association of nobility with the pastoral; the figure of the shepherd and all of the associations it had come to carry in early eighteenth-century France resonates with the complexity and uncertainty of Gueidan's identity. As I will demonstrate in the following chapter, the true origins of the Gueidan family were not a well-kept secret among Gaspard's contemporaries. There may have been confusion or uncertainty about Gaspard de Gueidan's origins, but there was also, among some, including the Crown and the grand master of the Order of Malta, a willingness to overlook his humble origins. Those who had benefitted from his actions as a magistrate were willing to grant him a social status that was unwarranted by his family history. They were willing to let his invented genealogy go unquestioned. Gueidan may very well have welcomed the parallels that could be made between his situation and the story of Celadon. He may have believed that his invented genealogy was more appropriate to his nobility of soul than his humble family history was. The *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* could easily accord with the view that the Gueidan were an old noble family, like Celadon's family, living under the guise of rustics. The portrait also embodies Gueidan's desire to live like Celadon's people, to renounce ambition and to live a life of simple rural retreat. While this portrait figures Gueidan as a noble, it does not distance him from his family origins; Celadon,

who unites the noble and rustic, is a figure capable of encompassing both of Gueidan's genealogies. In this light, the portrait seems less intended to deceive than to invite consideration of the uncertain relation between appearance and identity.

*L'Astrée* appealed to and fed an intellectual and artistic trend toward the questioning of appearances, traditional signs of status and authority, and the stability of identity, one that became quite pronounced in the late 1680s and continued unabated into the 1740s. The artistic trends of early eighteenth-century France are the outcome of two interrelated quarrels in the academies in the late seventeenth century: the quarrel of the *Poussinistes* and *Rubenistes*, and the quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns. The artistic forms popular in early eighteenth-century French theater, music, and visual arts were shaped by the victors in those quarrels, two of whom warrant particular attention in relation to the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*: Charles Perrault and Roger de Piles. Their writings explain to some extent the philosophical underpinnings of the play of appearance and identity in Rigaud's portrait of Gueidan; they mark a precipitous shift in the focus of philosophical thought from a view elaborated around a belief in a perceptible objective reality to one in which the subjectivity of experience is a central tenet.

### **The quarrel of the ancients and moderns**

*La querelle du coloris*, as it came to be known, was not simply about the competing merits of drawing and color and the painters who excelled at these two aspects of painting, Poussin and Rubens respectively; rather it was about the purpose of painting. As Jacqueline Lichtenstein has shown, the thinking of the academicians and amateurs who engaged in this

debate was very much shaped by their knowledge of classical rhetoric.<sup>211</sup> *La querelle du coloris* took up the form and the language of, and therefore could appear to be a continuation of, an ancient debate on the role of the orator, the distinction between truth and persuasion, and the competing claims of philosophy and rhetoric. Substituting two types of painter for the philosopher and the orator, this debate set up a style of painting whose primary purpose was to reveal philosophical truths in opposition to one that sought first and foremost to elicit a response from the viewer. The victors in this quarrel, the *Rubenistes*, effected a shift among the means and purposes of painting as derived from the language of classical rhetoric, a shift from *ethos* (the credibility of the speaker) and *logos* (the truth of the speaker's words) to *pathos* (the ability of the speaker's words to elicit a response in the listener) and from *docere* (to instruct) to *delectare* (to delight) and *movere* (to move). In short, the shift was from a painting that presumably embodied objective truths to one that played upon the senses and emotions of the viewer. *La querelle du coloris* can be seen as a manifestation of the broader debate. Another skirmish in that conflict erupted a decade later, *la querelle des anciens et des modernes*. Both of these quarrels were a questioning of authoritative claims to objective truth that were beginning to seem arbitrary.<sup>212</sup>

While it was Roger de Piles who came to replace André Félibien as theoretician to the *Académie Royale* (the former as honorary advisor, the latter as secretary), it is Charles Perrault – whose poem *Le siècle de Louis le Grand* instigated *la querelle des anciens et des modernes* – who most directly takes on the sort of truth claims for antiquity that Félibien makes in *Les Entretiens*. Félibien asserts that the proportions of the architectural orders were

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<sup>211</sup> Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color: rhetoric and painting in the French classical age*, trans. Emily McVarish (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>212</sup> These quarrels are also manifestations in the arts of a philosophical shift from Cartesian rationalism to Lockean empiricism.

derived from nature by the Greeks. As these proportions are based on sound observations of nature's truths they are correct and therefore cannot be improved upon, and the Greeks cannot be surpassed in the field of architecture; the best one can do is not merely to imitate them but to use their example as a guide to seeing this truth for oneself. Perrault's *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes* is a series of dialogues among three characters: *le président*, who voices the position of the partisans of the ancients; *l'abbé*, who asserts that the moderns have surpassed the ancients; and *le chevalier*, who is noncommittal. A polemical preface makes it clear which of these characters gives voice to Perrault's own sentiments. The preface opens:

Nothing is more natural and reasonable than to venerate those things that have true merit in themselves and yet join to it that of being old. It is this just and universal sentiment that redoubles the love and respect we have for our ancestors, and renders our laws and customs more authentic and inviolable. But it has always been the fate of the best of things to become bad in their excess, and to become so in proportion to their excellence. Often this veneration, so laudable in its beginnings, becomes in time a criminal superstition, and even passes sometimes into idolatry.<sup>213</sup>

This, Perrault argues, is what some learned men have done with the productions of the ancients. They have elevated their veneration for the ancients to a religion in which anything made by the ancients is held above even the most beautiful works of the moderns. Perrault explains his motivation for writing *Le Siècle de Louis le Grand* and reading it before his fellow members of the *Académie Française*:

I admit that I was hurt by such injustice - it seemed to me there was so much blindness in this prejudice, and such ingratitude to not want to open one's eyes

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<sup>213</sup> « Rien n'est plus naturel ny plus raisonnable que d'avoir beaucoup de vénération pour toutes les choses qui ayant un vray mérite en elles-mêmes, y joignent encore celuy d'estre anciennes. C'est ce sentiment si juste et si universel qui redouble l'amour et le respect que nous avons pour nos Ancestres, et c'est par là que les Loix et les Coustumes se rendent encore plus authentiques et plus inviolables. Mais comme c'a toujours este le destin des meilleures choses de devenir mauvaises par leur excès, et de le devenir à proportion de leur excellence. Souvent cette vénération si louable dans ses commencemens, s'est changée dans la suite en une superstition criminelle, et a passé mesme quelquefois jusqu'à l'Idolâtrie. » Charles Perrault, *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes, en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences* (Paris : Coignard, 1688), i-ii.

to the beauty of our age, to which Heaven has bestowed a thousand lights that were denied to Antiquity - that I could not help but voice my outrage.<sup>214</sup>

Perrault leaves no doubt in his reader's mind that in the dialogues that follow he will seek to forward the position of the partisans of the moderns. In the second dialogue, that in which architecture, sculpture, and painting are considered, the *Abbé* makes the following bold assertion:

It was only over the course of much time and little by little that these ornaments [the orders] took the form that we see today. As such one cannot say that particular men were the inventors of them. Also, if the form of these ornaments seems beautiful to us it is only because they have been accepted for a long time, and it is certain that they could be entirely different from what they are and please us none the less if our eyes were equally accustomed to them.<sup>215</sup>

The *Abbé* argues, in short, that the rules that have been derived from a certain understanding of antiquity are arbitrary. The true guide for what is fitting is not the rule or even the form itself but how that form is received by the viewer. Just as *la querelle du coloris* was not simply about the competing merits of drawing and color, *la querelle des anciens et des modernes* was not simply about the competing merits of two ages, rather it was about the rise of a new conception of human understanding, one that considers the role of the observer in the formation of meaning.<sup>216</sup> Roger de Piles' definition of painting is on the surface a

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<sup>214</sup> « J'avoue que j'ay este blesse d'une telle injustice, il m'a paru tant d'aveuglement dans cette prévention et tant d'ingratitude à ne pas vouloir ouvrir les yeux sur la beauté de nostre Siècle à qui le Ciel a départi mille lumières qu'il a refusées à toute l'Antiquité, que je n'ay pu m'empescher d'en estre ému d'une véritable indignation. » Perrault, iv.

<sup>215</sup> « Ce n'a este qu'avec bien du temps et peu à peu, que ces Ornemens ont pris la forme que nous leur voyons. Ainsi on ne peut pas dire que certains hommes en particulier en soient véritablement les premiers inventeurs. D'ailleurs si la forme de ces ornemens nous semble belle, ce n'est que parce qu'il y a longtemps qu'elle est recuë et il est certain qu'elle pourroit estre toute différente de ce qu'elle est, et ne nous plaire pas moins, si nos yeux y estoient également accoustumez. » Perrault, 132.

<sup>216</sup> David Lowenthal argues that the factor that contributed most to this quarrel was the rise of science and, in particular, the importance of sensory experience to the late seventeenth-century conception of science. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 74-124. On the quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, see also: Hubert Gillot, *La querelle des anciens et des modernes in*

reiteration of Aristotle's assertion that imitation is the basis of the arts, and yet while affirming the philosopher's point, de Piles introduces an element of subjectivity that constitutes a challenge to orthodoxy:

The essence and the definition of painting is the imitation of visible objects by means of form and colors. One must conclude therefore that the more painting conforms to nature the more it leads us, quickly and directly, toward its end, which is to seduce the eyes, and the more it gives us in this traces of its true idea.

This idea strikes and attracts everyone: ignoramuses, amateurs, connoisseurs, and painters themselves. It allows no one to pass indifferently in front of a picture that has this character, without being surprised, without stopping and enjoying for a while the pleasure of this surprise. Therefore true painting is that which calls to us, so to speak, by surprising us.<sup>217</sup>

Perrault and de Piles give voice to a conceptual shift in the arts, a shift from the means by which a work of art might embody universal and unchanging verities to the means by which it might appeal to the senses of a viewer; a shift in emphasis from the object itself to the subjective experience of that object. The *Abbé's* assertion in Perrault's dialogue makes it clear that those verities were always the products of subjective experience: they seemed right not because they were right in any objective sense but because people had become accustomed to them through prolonged experience. These assertions have particular antiauthoritarian – though perhaps not egalitarian – implications, as de Piles makes clear: everyone, not just those with a specific knowledge, has access to the experience of painting

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France (Paris, 1914); and Paul Hazard, *The European Mind, 1680-1715*, trans. J. Lewis May (New York: Meridian, 1963).

<sup>217</sup> « L'essence et la définition de la Peinture est l'imitation des objets visibles par le moyen de la forme et des couleurs. Il faut donc conclure que, plus la Peinture imite fortement et fidèlement la nature, plus elle nous conduit rapidement et directement vers sa fin, qui est de séduire nos yeux, et plus elle nous donne en cela des marques de sa véritable idée.

« Cette idée générale frappe et attire tout le monde : les ignorants, les amateurs de Peinture, les connoisseurs, et les Peintres mêmes. Elle ne permet à personne de passer indifféremment par un lieu ou sera quelque tableau qui porte ce caractère, sans être comme surpris, sans s'arrêter et sans jouir quelque temps du plaisir de sa surprise. La véritable Peinture est donc celle qui nous appelle (pour ainsi dire) en nous surprenant. » Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris : Gallimard, 1989), 8.

in its true and essential forms and function; all that is required is a most basic experience of the natural world. One is deceived momentarily by an illusion. Recognition of that illusion is pleasurable, and that pleasure continues as one examines the means by which it was affected. Deception and recognition are pleasurable. It is not surprising that d'Urfé's *L'Astrée*, a work in which deception and recognition are key themes and plot devices, appealed to writers, composers, visual artists, and audiences in the wake of this philosophical shift. This was a society fascinated with appearance and uncertainty. The meaning of fidelity and the desire and ability to act in accord with – or transcend – one's nature in a sea of illusions are the themes of numerous plays, operas, cantatas, and paintings produced in the first half of the eighteenth century in France. It is to elite consumers and patrons of this fashionable artistic culture that the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* is addressed.

### **An audience for Gueidan's performance of the faithful shepherd**

Unfortunately, no letters from the painter's hand survive regarding the *Portrait de Gaspard en jouant de la musette*, as they do for Rigaud's first two portraits of Gueidan and Largillierre's portrait of Madame de Gueidan. There is no letter, like that Rigaud wrote to Gueidan discussing the conception for the second portrait, that shows how the third portrait functioned in relation to the sitter's social status and accomplishments. However, several of Gueidan's letters to noble friends and acquaintances give some insight into how references to the pastoral worked to further Gueidan's self-fashioning as a member of the upper echelons of the nobility. These letters, all addressed to members of the upper nobility and containing quotations from Virgil's *Eclogues*, are grouped together in the volume into which Gueidan

copied portions of his correspondance. The heading of one of these letters reads: “Monsieur de Gueidan’s response to *My Lord Lonsdal*.”<sup>218</sup> In her account of this letter, James-Sazarin drops the ‘s’ thus Lonsdal becomes Londal. The recipient was in fact Henry Lowther, 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Lonsdale (1694-1751). The letter is in Gueidan’s own hand and he drops the e. Gueidan writes, “If it is as you say, that it is from the northernmost region of England that you do us the honor of writing, in truth the style does not belie that fact.”<sup>219</sup> Lonsdale lived at Lowther Hall in the historic county of Westmorland, which forms part of the modern county of Cumbria, one of the northernmost counties in England. Lonsdale was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber to George I in 1717 and Constable of the Tower of London in 1726.<sup>220</sup> James-Sarazin interprets this letter as evidence of Gueidan’s pretensions, in particular of his desire to become a *philosophe*. In his letter to Lonsdale, Gueidan does not profess the desire of him and Madame de Gueidan to become *philosophes*, rather he pays a compliment to Lonsdale, asserting that were they to spend much time with him they *would* become *philosophes*.

We might very well wish, my Lord, that you savants - who, even after six thousand years of searching, are finding every day so many new things in nature - might find the secret of giving to the body the same lightness and promptitude one finds in your thought. We would share the expenses. You, my Lord, you would provide the conversation and we would cover the voyage; and we would keep such good watch over you that no sooner would you conceive the desire to call on us than you would find us waiting in your antechamber. What advantages and *agrémens* this commerce would yield! Madame de Gueidan would never despair of becoming a philosopher, and I, I would reform my ideas on a thousand topics, rearranging and expanding them, ennobling them; I believe I would double my thinking being. These are, my

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<sup>218</sup> Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 172. The letter to which Gueidan is responding is not included in this volume.

<sup>219</sup> « Si c’est comme vous le dites, du pais le plus nord d’Angleterre que vous nous faites l’honneur de nous écrire, en vérité le style se s’en ressent pas. » Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 172.

<sup>220</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Lord, pleasant fancies, and though perhaps idle, one enjoys entertaining them nonetheless. Isn't it said: *amantes ipsi sibi somnia fingunt*?<sup>221</sup>

These *savants*, who after six-thousand years of searching still find each day so many new things in nature, recall the battle of the ancients and the moderns; in particular, the argument of moderns such as Charles Perrault that if modern science has made discoveries of things that were unknown to the ancients, so too will there be new advances to be made in the arts – in all endeavors, the ancients might be surpassed.<sup>222</sup> And could they, Gaspard and Madame de Guidan, be with Lonsdale whenever they wish, *que d'agrémens et d'avantages nous raporterions de ce commerce !* What *agrémens* – not exactly pleasures, but pleasantness, attractiveness, charms – they would gain. The conditional *raporterions* is important to what follows: Gueidan is not saying that Madame de Gueidan actually hopes to become a *philosophe*, nor that he has any actual intention of reforming his thought; he is simply musing upon the advantages they would reap were they to enjoy more often the Viscount's company. Gueidan has devised a conceit that both pays an elaborate compliment to the Viscount and, perhaps more importantly, draws attention to his own swiftness of thought. In his deference to the Viscount, Gueidan shows himself to have the very *agrémens* he wishes the Viscount would impart to him.

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<sup>221</sup> “Nous le voudrions bien, My Lord, que vous autres scavants qui trouves encore tous les jours tant de choses neuves dans la nature après pres de six mille ans qu'on y fouille, vous trouvassies le secret de donner au corps la promptitude et la legerete de la pensee. Nous partagerions les frais. Vous, My Lord, vous y series pour la conversation, et nous pour le noiage, et nous ferions si bonne garde autour de vous que vous nous rencontreries toujours à votre antichambre au moment qui precederoit celui ou l'envie vous prendroit de nous venir visiter. Que d'agremens et d'avantages nous raporterions de ce commerce ! Madame de Gueidan ne desesperoit pas de devenir philosophe, et moy sur mille choses je reformerois mes idees, je les arrangerois, je les agrandirois, le les annoblirois, je doublerois, je crois, mon etre pensant. Ce sont la, My Lord, d'agreables chimeres, mais tout chimeres qu'elles sont on aime à s'en entretenir. N'a-t-on pas dit : *amantes ipsi sibi somnia fingunt*.” Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 172.

<sup>222</sup> Charles Perrault, *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences* (Paris: Coignard, 1688).

The Latin quote, *amantes ipsi sibi somnia fingunt*, is an adaptation of a line from Virgil's eighth Eclogue: *credimus? an, qui amant, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt?* (Can I trust my eyes, or do lovers fashion their own dreams?). Gueidan's use of this quote might seem pedantic because there is no direct relation between the subject matter of his letter and that of Virgil's Eclogue. The relation is indirect. The quote invokes the pastoral tradition, of which Virgil's Eclogues are a foundational work. This antique reference calls to mind, as does Rigaud's *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*, the association of the pastoral with elite status; it activates an image well-established in the imaginary of elites in early eighteenth-century France, one of rural retreat free from worldly concerns, in which one is given free rein to manifest one's noblest qualities.

Gueidan's letter was intended for eyes other than those of the Viscount. It was included in the volume bound in red morocco in which several of Gueidan's letters, along with responses to them, were copied in his own hand.<sup>223</sup> Most of the letters in this volume relate to his service to the crown, the publication of his *Discours*, and his sons' entry into the Order of Malta. The letter to Lonsdale is significant in that it is one of only a few that call to mind the pastoral tradition. I would argue that it is for this very reason that it is included in the volume: the volume of letters is the place in which all the various aspects of Gueidan's campaign of social ascendancy are brought together; this letter serves to highlight particular aspects of his personal merit and to bring the image of him as a fictionalized shepherd – along with all that that implied to elites in early eighteenth-century France – into the telling of

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<sup>223</sup> An entry in his account book indicates that in June of 1744 he paid ten *livres* for this sumptuously bound volume (Gaspard de Gueidan, *État de recette et de dépense commencé le 1<sup>er</sup> juin 1744*. Bibliothèque Arbaud, ms. non côté : 2). This book (Bibliothèque Arbaud, MF 59) includes only a small selection of Gueidan's letters, the originals of which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud. If the *Virelay* and the *livre de raison* of Pierre-Cesar de Charleval (examined in chapter 4) summarily condemn Gaspard de Gueidan as a presumptuous upstart, the volume bound in red morocco presents his vindication, a detailed account of his relations with the people and institutions that secured his status as a gentleman.

his accomplishments and virtues. Writing this letter, Gueidan is performing not only for the Viscount but also for future readers of this volume of letters.

The tone of Gueidan's letter, in which the Viscount thinks of his friends and they appear in his antechamber, in which savants find new things in nature every day, is very distant from Felibien's *Entretiens* and Rigaud's letters to Gueidan. When lovers fashion their own dreams we are a long way from what is *vraisemblable*, and looking to nature to find new things is very different from looking to nature to see what the ancients saw. Gueidan's letter is very topical in that it refers to the reform of ideas that was taking place in all fields of endeavor at the time he was writing, and in that in it he fashions a fantastical vignette in which he and Madame de Gueidan are transported almost instantaneously from one place to another, much in same way that the opera could transport its audience to Turkey, Persia, North America, and Peru all in the course of an evening. In this letter Gueidan fashions himself as inhabiting a realm in which lovers fashion their own dreams; and yet this license is not a precipitous break with the past: the line that announces this new sensibility is in fact from a venerated antique poet. Gueidan's letter signals that he has, even if only for the moment, embraced new fashions in the arts and new ideas in science and philosophy, that he is thoroughly modern, and this new outlook is summed up in a line from Virgil. The mentality Gueidan reflects is not a break with the ancients but a reconsideration of the place of their contributions within the corpus of human knowledge.

Two other correspondents whose letters Gueidan copied onto the volume bound in red morocco are Marie-Anne-Victoire-Françoise de Savoie, Princess de Carignan (1690-1766) and her brother Victor-François de Savoie, Marquis de Suse (1694-1762) – the wife and brother-in-law of the Prince de Carignan. The prince was a patron of the painter Lancret

and, in 1735, the year Rigaud completed his *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* and Rameau his *Les Indes Galantes*, director of the *Academie Royale de Musique*.

He was very much at the center of the fashionable artistic culture to which Rigaud's portrait speaks and contributes.<sup>224</sup>

In 1747 the Princess de Carignan sent a legal brief prepared by Daniel Bargeton to Gueidan for him to review. Gueidan wrote to the princess, praising the brief – while making no mention of its content – assuring her of the strength of her case, and expressing his pleasure at the news of her brother's return to health.<sup>225</sup> The princess, writing from Paris, the first of September 1747, thanked Gueidan for the attention he had given to the brief:

Knowing that you approve of it, and that in it you find solid arguments in my favor is enough to give me great hope for a judgment in my favor. The support of a magistrate as honorable and enlightened as you reassures me entirely, and if I were permitted to produce it I do not doubt that it would hold great weight with the court. I am no less sensitive to the part that you played in restoring my brother to health.<sup>226</sup>

The Marquis de Suse added a note himself at the bottom of the princess' letter assuring Gueidan that his health was much improved and but for a case of gout he would be prepared to leave Paris. These health problems, the particulars of which are not discussed in the letters, most likely stem from a mishap the befell the marquis in the spring of 1744. In April

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<sup>224</sup> Based on the exceptionally high prices Carignan paid for two paintings by Lancret (10,000 livres at a time when the average cost of an easel painting was 500-800 livres), the *Quadrille before a fountain* and *The Ball*, Mary Taverner Holmes asserts that Carignan "must have been interested in this relative newcomer and this novel genre at a fairly early moment in the popularity of both." Mary Taverner Holmes, *Nicolas Lancret: Dance before a fountain* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), 88.

<sup>225</sup> Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 177. This brief, prepared six years after the death of the Prince de Carignan, may have related to his considerable gambling debts.

<sup>226</sup> « Il me suffit de scavoir que vous l'approuves, et que vous y trouves des raisons solides en ma faveur, pour que je conçoive les plus grandes esperances d'un jugement favorable. Le suffrage d'un magistrat aussi integre et eclaire que vous me rassure entierement, et s'il m'étoit permis de la produire, je ne doute pas qu'elle ne fut d'un grand poids aupres du conseil. Je ne suis pas moins sensible à la part que vous prenes au retablissement de mon frere. » Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 178.

of that year the marquis led the Piedmontese troops against those of France and Spain at the battle of Villefranche, where he was defeated and taken prisoner. He spent the following winter at Gueidan's country estate outside Aix, Valabre. Gueidan recorded in his account book receiving 100 *livres* from the Marquis de Suse promptly on the fifth of each month from November 1744 to March 1745 for the renting of his *pavillon*, a small building on the property at Valabre (fig.86).<sup>227</sup> It is unclear whether the *pavillon* was rented for the marquis himself or for members of his entourage. It seems likely that the princess' reference to Gueidan's role in her brother's return to health relates to his stay at Valabre, and that his ill health stemmed from his capture at Villefranche. In another letter from 1747, the marquis wrote to inform Gueidan that he would soon be returning to Provence, in particular to the town of Béziers. He expressed his hope that he might again visit Aix, "where I received, during my stay, infinite courtesies," and that Gueidan might spend some weeks with him in Béziers.<sup>228</sup> In August 1748 Gueidan wrote to de Suse in response to the news that, with the resolution of the War of Austrian Succession, the marquis would finally return to Turin. Gueidan voices his disappointment that he may not see much of the marquis after his departure, but congratulates him on his return to the court of the King of Sardinia: "a prince made to be the ornament of an august court would be out of place simply enjoying the admiration of our provinces: *agredere, o magnus, aderit jam tempus, honores.*"<sup>229</sup> The latin quotation is from Virgil's fourth Eclogue: *Aggredere, o magnos (aderit iam tempus) honores,*

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<sup>227</sup> Gaspard de Gueidan, *État de recette et de dépense commencé le 1<sup>er</sup> juin 1744*. Bibliothèque Arbaud, ms. non côté, 13, 16, 18, 21, 22.

<sup>228</sup> Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 184.

<sup>229</sup> Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MF 59, 297. The Marquis de Suse and Princess de Carignan were the illegitimate offspring of Victor Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy and King of Sardinia, and his mistress Jeanne-Baptiste d'Albert de Luynes. The king's legitimate heir, Charles Emmanuel III, ascended to the throne in 1730.

cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum!, or “Enter thy high honors – the hour will soon be here – o thou dear offspring of the gods, mighty descendant of Jupiter.”<sup>230</sup> The subject of the fourth Eclogue is the ushering in of a new cycle of ages prophesied by the Sibyl of Cumae. Virgil assures Asinius Pollio, during whose consulship he is writing, that it is in his consulship that this new age will begin, one in which heroes will mingle with gods, the earth will produce without tilling, the serpent will perish, and the herds will not have to fear the lion. With this quotation, Gueidan casts de Suse as Jupiter’s representative on earth who will usher in this age, marked by the close of the war. The hour will soon arrive for the marquis to enter his honor at court in Turin. But again, this coming Golden Age calls to mind the pastoral tradition, of which the *Eclogues* are a foundational work. It may also call to mind de Suse’s stay at Valabre, Gueidan’s rural retreat, and a portrait that de Suse likely saw during that stay, one that places Gueidan within the setting of the pastoral, namely, Rigaud’s *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*.

Gueidan did not copy letters into the red morocco volume chronologically; rather he placed together letters relating to various aspects of his campaign of social ascendancy – the publication of his *Discours*, the acquisition of the title Marquis, the entry of his sons into the Order of Malta. The letters he exchanged with the Princess de Carignan and the Marquis de Suse are placed with that which he sent to Lord Lonsdale. What these letters have in common is that they relate not to particular accomplishments but to Gueidan’s friendships with people of high nobility, and that they contain quotations from Virgil’s *Eclogues*. These letters relate not only to Gueidan’s political capital and the ways in which he exchanged it for social capital, as most of the letters do, rather they document his direct cultivation of social capital, which involves drawing on his cultural capital by demonstrating – or reminding

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<sup>230</sup> Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Loeb, 1994), 33.

others – that he has appropriated elites forms of art and leisure derived from and developed through the form of the pastoral. Undoubtedly his political capital is an important factor in the cultivation of his relationship with the Princess de Carignan. It is entirely possible that she sent the brief to Gueidan not simply to have him give her his opinion on it but also with the hope that he might call in a favor on her behalf, perhaps with his former employers, the country's chief legal authority, Chancellor d'Aguesseau, and the king's first minister, Cardinal de Fleury. Her allusion to the weight his opinion would have with the court certainly seems like an invitation to exert his influence. There is no reference in the letters to if and how he benefitted from the help he offered to the Princess de Carignan and the Marquis de Suse. There is no record of the fruit that the cultivation of these relationships may have borne. What is clear is that with these letters the images he hopes to leave in the minds of these noble and cultured friends are of his country house, Valabre, and himself as the faithful shepherd; that is, of himself as a cultured and leisured person, one worthy of the privileges granted to nobility. Gueidan's letters to Lonsdale, Carignan, and de Suse in a sense activate the performance of noble identity embodied in the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*. Gueidan performs for his noble correspondents, but his friendship with them is also performed for other onlookers: the walls of the *Hôtel de Gueidan* on the *Cours* in Aix, where Rigaud's portraits of Gueidan hung, were also adorned with portraits of the Prince and Princess de Carignan (figs. 87 & 88). While a collection of paintings like that amassed by Jean-Baptiste Boyer d'Eguilles was a demonstration of cultural capital, showing the collector's conformity to a particular conception of taste, Gueidan's collection of portraits was a map of his social capital and the sources of his power. The portrait of the Cardinal de Fleury (fig. 89), a copy produced in Rigaud's studio, called to

mind Gueidan's years of service to the crown, and the portraits of the Carignans evoked his friendship with, and favors performed for, them.

The *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* does attribute cultural capital to the sitter; it figures him as literally immersed in the fashionable artistic culture of his day. The portrait also evokes the interest in illusion and the tenuous relation between appearance and identity that are the major preoccupations of that artistic culture. Within the artistic vocabulary of this culture Gueidan elaborates on the image of himself as an elite; in fact, the new artistic conceptions of the early eighteenth century, with their questioning of verities and hierarchies, allow Gueidan to make greater claims for himself without crossing the boundaries of decorum (*bienséance*). The shift in artistic concerns from verities to appearances allows for a more capacious conception of decorum and within this Gueidan has broader range to develop his performance of elite status. In short, Rigaud's third portrait of Gueidan makes vaguer and therefore potentially further-reaching claims for the sitter's status. Nonetheless, *bienséance* was, perhaps no less than in the seventeenth century, one of the central principals of artistic practice and social comportment in the early eighteenth century. The limitations of social mobility and the force of the idea of *bienséance* become clear when Gueidan steps beyond the boundaries, when in the eyes of his fellow *aixoïs* elites he reaches too far above the position in society into which he was born. The further reaches of Gueidan's ambition and the negative responses of his contemporaries to it are the subjects of the following chapter.

## Chapter Four: The Would-Be Gentleman

In 1757 Gaspard de Gueidan's greatest ambition - to be counted among the highest ranks of the Provençal nobility - was given its most concrete manifestations in two complimentary works: the genealogy of his family and the mausoleum dedicated to his forebears (fig. 90). The first edition of *L'Histoire héroïque et universelle de la noblesse de Provence* was published in Avignon in 1757 under the pseudonym Artefeuil.<sup>231</sup> Displeased with the short notice on his family that appeared in this edition, Gueidan used his political connections to have the edition seized after only thirty copies had reached the public.<sup>232</sup> The entry on his family was retracted and replaced with a much longer one that Gueidan wrote himself. According to this version Gaspard de Gueidan counted among his ancestors Guillaume II de Gueidan who on his return from the Holy Land in 1208 founded the convent of the Observantins in Reillanne where he was interred in a mausoleum that his son Guillaume III de Gueidan erected. Gaspard de Gueidan's account books tell another story: on the ninth of May 1757 he made the last of several payments, totaling 500 livres, to the sculptor Jean-Pancrace Chastel for the fashioning of this supposed thirteenth-century edifice.<sup>233</sup> Gueidan's true origins were no secret. Gaspard de Gueidan's nephew, the Marquis de Charleval, wrote regarding his uncle in his *livre de raison*: "He had a mausoleum

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<sup>231</sup> Artefeuil, *Histoire héroïque de la noblesse de Provence* (Marseille: Laffitte reprints, 1970). Artefeuil was the pseudonym of Louis Ventre, seigneur de Touloubre ; his *Histoire héroïque* was originally published in 1757.

<sup>232</sup> Augustin Roux, « La Famille Gueidan, » in *Arts et livres de Provence* 29 (1956), 38.

<sup>233</sup> Gaspard de Gueidan, *État de recette et de dépense commencé le 1<sup>er</sup> juin 1744*. Bibliothèque Arbaud, ms. non coté, 234, 267, 274, 276, 287, 293.

built at Reillanne, presuming that one of his ancestors, distinguished at arms, ordered it; it cost him 4,000 livres. No one wanted it in the parish so he planted it in the middle of the church of the Cordeliers of Reillanne.”<sup>234</sup> The *Virelay en vers provençaux*, a poem that circulated in manuscript among the elites of Aix-en-Provence, gives several details regarding Gueidan’s phony genealogy, as well as the construction of the mausoleum at Reillanne, indicating that the inauthenticity of these works was common knowledge. These works were intended to secure his claim to the *chevalresque* origins of his nobility. Instead they seem to have invited a critique of his seemingly boundless ambition. Rigaud’s three portraits of Gueidan make very few overt claims regarding the status of the sitter; rather they work by referring to various discourses – artistic, social, and intellectual – and inviting, or creating the illusion of, the association of the qualities valued in those discourses with the sitter. Rigaud figures Gueidan as the *honnête homme*, the ideal orator, and the faithful shepherd – three ideals of nobility drawn from literature both ancient and modern. The genealogy and the mausoleum are both overt assertions of elevated status and therefore conspicuous targets for criticism. Chief among the qualities targeted by Gueidan’s contemporaries is one that Gueidan himself derided in his letters and *Discours*; namely, self-interest. Gueidan’s published writings, his letters, and the paintings he collected and commissioned were clearly tools he used to further his interests, but, as I have shown, these efforts were always couched in a language of self-deprecation. He could claim that whatever talents he possessed, whatever efforts he made, were in the service of the greater good. Among his fellow *aixois* elites, many of whom shared his relatively new noble status, there could be no justification

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<sup>234</sup> «Il a fait faire un mausolée à Reillanne présupposant qu’un de ses ancêtres, distingué dans les armes, l’avait ainsy ordonné, qui lui coûte 4 mille livres. On ne voulut point dans la paroisse. Il l’a campé au milieu de l’église des Cordelliers dudit Reillanne. » *Livre de raison de Pierre-César de Charleval de 1728 à 1762*, Bibliothèque Arbaud, MF 79, 103.

for the overt claims to social superiority made in the genealogy and the mausoleum: this was self-seeking plain and simple, and some of them reacted very strongly against it. Small implicit claims proved more valuable than explicit great ones. The responses of Gueidan's contemporaries to the published genealogy and the mausoleum make clear the limits of and the proper means to social mobility.

While, Rigaud's portraits contributed to Gueidan's social mobility, the genealogy and mausoleum seem to have marked its limits; however, this is not to say that resistance to Gueidan's ambitions began in 1757 with the appearance of the latter two works. From the time Gueidan began aggressively seeking to better the social standing of his family – around the time of his father's death in 1734 – he met with resistance. His efforts to have his sons accepted in to the Order of Malta, and the protracted dispute over their proofs of nobility, exemplify this resistance. The false and very public assertions of the *chevalresque* origins of the Gueidan family articulated through the published genealogy and the mausoleum gave Gueidan's critics an easy target for their anger and their wit, thus the most caustic criticism of Gueidan appeared after 1757. These criticisms figure Gueidan as a character akin to Molière's Monsieur Jourdain in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, a social climber unable to perform *les bienséances* of the elevated position to which he aspires.

### **The Mausoleum of the Gueidan Family**

The steps toward the eventual construction of the mausoleum began soon after the death of Gaspard's father, Pierre, in February of 1734. On the twenty-sixth of November of that year Gaspard reminded the Observantins of Reillanne of his family's generosity toward them, and they established an annual mass at the convent in observance of the anniversary of the death of his grandfather, Gaspard I. In exchange for Gueidan's continuing generosity, the

convent made to him a gift, three years later, on the sixth of September 1737, of a chapel in their sanctuary for the construction of a mausoleum to his grandfather, Gaspard I.<sup>235</sup> In the two decades that intervened between this gift and the delivery of the actual mausoleum, Gaspard de Gueidan accrued considerable political and social capital: he left his position as *avocat général* to become *président à mortier* in the *parlement*; three of his sons were accepted in to the Order of Malta; and the king had declared one of his estates, Castellet, a marquisate – and Gaspard, the Marquis de Gueidan. As his position in society changed, so too did his conception for the mausoleum.

Gueidan chose a young unknown local sculptor to build the mausoleum. Jean-Pancrace Chastel was born in Avignon the twelfth of May 1726. He served his apprenticeship in that city under Jean-Baptiste II Peru (1709-1790) from February 1744 to February 1747. In October of 1754, having married an *aixoise*, Suzanne Touche, he settled in Aix. In April of that same year he received the first of several payments from Gaspard de Gueidan for the construction of a mausoleum. While working on the mausoleum, Chastel was also receiving important commissions in the city of Aix. In 1756 the municipality of Aix formed a commission to bring drinking water to the new quarters of the city, to build several fountains, and to mend the ancient roman aqueducts that once fed the city.<sup>236</sup> The first of these fountains, on the place de l'Hôtel de Ville (fig. 91), was decorated by Chastel in that same year. The second, on the place des Precheurs, completed in 1758, was entirely the work of Chastel (fig. 92). In 1758 Chastel provided decoration for a third and much smaller fountain, at the corner of the rue de la Mule Noire and the rue des Jardins (fig. 93). In 1764

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<sup>235</sup> Joseph Billioud, « Le mausolée et la chapelle de Reillanne, » *Arts et livres de Provence* 29 (1956), 87.

<sup>236</sup> Honoré Gibert, *J.-P. Chastel, Sculpteur Provençal* (Aix-en-Provence : Achille Makaire, 1873), 9-10; René Breton, « Jean-Pancrace Chastel, sculpteur aixois né en Avignon (1726-1793), » *Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse*, eighth series, volume 6 (1997), 99.

Chastel produced sculpture for the decoration of the new façade of the Halle aux Grains on the place de l'Hôtel de Ville (fig. 94). Concurrent with his work for Gueidan, Chastel was becoming the most important sculptor to the city of Aix. When in 1771 the Duc de Villars, the last governor of Provence, died leaving funds for the foundation of an *école de dessin* in Aix-en-Provence, Chastel was named director of the school of sculpture.<sup>237</sup> Chastel's ambitions did not extend far beyond his work in Aix-en-Provence and his school of sculpture produced no notable artists. Yet he is the sculptor who more than any other in the eighteenth century, through his own work and that of his imitators, left his mark on the built environment of Aix and the bastides and gardens of the surrounding countryside

The commissions Chastel received were, and are today, prominent monuments to the city's history. Regarding the place de l'Hôtel de Ville and place des Precheurs fountains and the façade of the Halle aux Grains, René Breton writes: "These three public works, in Aix itself, manifest the fidelity of the town to its Roman past, its kings, and the cult of waters from which it was born."<sup>238</sup> The Place de l'Hôtel de Ville and the Place des Precheurs are, and were in the eighteenth century, two of the most important public squares in the city. The Hôtel de Ville - which housed the *Etats de Provence* - and the Halle aux Grains - the grain market for the city - both face the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville. The Place des Precheurs was flanked by the Eglise de Madeleine - one of three parish churches of Aix in the eighteenth-century - and the Palais de Justice - the seat of the governor and the *parlement de Provence*. The Precheurs fountain was decorated on each side with a medallion and inscription devoted to a powerful figure in the history of the city. The fountain was altered during the Revolution

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<sup>237</sup> Gibert, 82.

<sup>238</sup> Ces trois œuvres publiques, à Aix même, manifestaient la fidélité de la ville à son passé romain, à ses rois, au culte de l'eau d'où elle était né. » Breton, 101.

and the current state most likely has some relation to the original: on the east is the proconsul Sextius Calvinus who founded the city, then known as Aquae Sextius, in 120 BCE; on the west is Charles III d'Anjou, the last sovereign count of Provence; on the south is Louis XV of France; and on the north is the titular count of Provence, Louis XVIII. This fountain gives a semblance of continuity to the various powers – Roman, Provençal, French – that shaped the history of the city and the region.

Though he was trained and worked exclusively in his native Provence, Chastel is very much an artist of his time; that is, his work – pleasant and diminutive – is rococo. His lions, a ubiquitous figure in his work, one of which appears on the Gueidan mausoleum, are relatively small and he gives them a variety of facial expressions, from smiles to pouts. They resemble pets more than symbols of power. This playfulness is found also in the sculpture on the Halle aux Grains, in which the figure of Cybele lets her leg hang down, thus stepping out of the contained space of the pediment (fig. 95).<sup>239</sup> Gueidan's patronage of Chastel is not surprising. The *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette* would seem to presage it; as do the works Gaspard added to the collection of paintings he inherited from his father, including Rigaud's *La Meneuse* (fig. 96), and an *Education of Cupid* from the hand of Jean-Baptiste Van Loo (fig. 97).

The fragments of the mausoleum, reclaimed by the Gueidan family when the monastery was disbanded in 1780 and given to the Musée Granet in three gifts over the course of the nineteenth century are: the gisant (a reclining figure with his feet on the back of a lion) (fig. 98), two bas reliefs (figs. 99 & 100), and a Latin inscription (fig. 101). A terracotta modello of the mausoleum, also given by the Gueidan family to the Musée Granet,

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<sup>239</sup> René Breton identifies the two figures in the pedimental sculpture as Saturn and Cybele, representing the two main rivers of Provence, the Rhône and the Durance. Breton, 100.

provides a partial picture of how these elements fit together (fig. 90). The gisant lay on top of the mausoleum and the two bas reliefs were affixed to either side. The Latin inscription was apparently affixed to a wall of the chapel. It offers an explanation of what is figured in marble:

In this splendid mausoleum rests the eminent and mighty Prince Guillaume II, Baron de Gueidan, son of Guillaume, Lord of Pierrerie, Saint-Etienne, and Gueidan, third son of the most serene Prince Bertrand I, Count of Forcalquier, and of Alice, Countess of Die, married in 1024. Having several times battled the infidels in Palestine with success and renown, he returned to the land of his forefathers, the Counts of Forcalquier, thereby fulfilling a vow, and he founded, built, and magnificently endowed this basilica and this monastery in 1215, in the lifetime of Saint Francis of Assisi. His son, Guillaume III, having received the oriflamme from the hand of Saint Louis, King of France, he valiantly carried it before his prince at the siege of Damiette, in combat along the Nile, and in other fearsome engagements led by this great monarch during his first overseas campaign. He chose this haven for himself, and beneath this superb monument that he erected to his illustrious and well-loved father, he wished to lie with him and with their people.<sup>240</sup>

The siege of Damiette and the combat along the Nile (the Battle of Al Mansurah), events from the seventh crusade, that Louis IX launched from Aigues-Mortes in Provence in 1248, are figured in the two bas reliefs. In both of these reliefs Saint Louis is attired in a costume more ancient than medieval, and in both reliefs Guillaume de Gueidan rides near the king and carries his standard. The main compositional element in both reliefs is a mass of combatants that recedes diagonally into the distance, the one along the banks of the Nile, the other toward the gates of a walled city. The flow of these figural groups, as well as a wispy palm

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<sup>240</sup> In hoc splendido mausoleo quiescit/altissimus et potentissimus crinceps/guillelmus II baro de gueydan oriundus/a guillelmo domino de petrarua de sto/stephano et de gueydan teertio filio/serenissimi principis bertrandi I cimitis/forcalquery et alixiae comitissae de dia/donjugum anno 1024. Post mulat bella in/palestina contra infideles praeclare ac/mirabiliter gesta reverses apud avos suos/comites forcalquery, votum implendo, hanc/basilicam cum monasterio anno 1215 et/termore sti francisci de assisia, magnifice/aedificavit, fundavit, dotavit. Guillelmus/III filius ejus oriflammam e manu divi ludovici/francorum regis susceptam, generosissime/tulit ante illum in obsidione damietae,/in pugna prope nilum, et in aliis fortissimis/bellis a tam magno principe in suo/primo ultra mare itinere peractis, hunc/sibi portum elegit, et sub hoc superbo marmore quod perillustri et amantissimo/patri suo erexerat, cum illo et suis/dormire voluit.

tree in The Battle of Al Mansurah, creates a sense of frenzied animation that is more characteristic of seventeenth and eighteenth century painted battle scenes than of the gothic sculpture this purports to be. Regarding the gisant, Joseph Billioud has pointed out the inconsistencies between the inscription and the armor worn by the figure of Guillaume II: had he served in the fourth crusade he would have worn mail, which only came to be replaced by armor over the course of the subsequent century, and the epaulieres and cuissards can be dated no earlier than the reign of Henri IV (1589-1610).<sup>241</sup> The scrolls on the corners of the tomb – evident in the modello – like the bas reliefs, lend to the late baroque style of the ensemble. It is difficult to conceive of how, even at a time before the development of archaeology brought a degree of historical accuracy to the representation of past eras, Gaspard de Gueidan could believe that this edifice was in accord with the inscription that asserted it was built in the thirteenth century. In the years immediately following the installation of the mausoleum in the chapel at Reillanne, as works in Chastel's characteristic and recognizable style appeared throughout Aix and the surrounding countryside, it must have been increasingly evident that this monument was not what it claimed to be.

### **Gueidan's invented genealogy and the discourse on nobility**

Gaspard de Gueidan began constructing his illustrious, and false, genealogy with two immediate goals in mind: to have his country estate Valabre declared a marquisate, and to have his son Pierre-Claude-Secret accepted into the Order of Malta. In general, he was effective in using his social capital to better the status and privileges of his family: those for whom he had served and for whose benefit he had exercised his political power in the

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<sup>241</sup> Billioud, 90.

*parlement* were willing to look none too closely at the proofs he presented as a necessary prerequisite to these honors. The genealogy Gueidan published and the cenotaph he erected to his invented ancestors were different in that they were not produced to satisfy the requirements for favors of institutions whose leaders were already well-disposed toward him; rather they were calculated to place him in a specific position within the social hierarchy. Even before he began his campaign of social mobility, Gueidan's status within this hierarchy was somewhat ambiguous: like many of his colleagues in the *parlement*, he was just three generations out of his family's commercial dealings: perhaps a gentleman, and if so, just barely. As this was the status of a great many families in Aix, his assertion of the *chevalresque* origins of his family was doubly bold – shocking both for the breadth of the leap and for the number of people in his own social milieu over whom it presumed to step.

The ambiguous status of three degrees of nobility is explored at length in Gilles-André de la Roque's *Traité de la Noblesse et de toutes ses différentes espèces*.<sup>242</sup> In addition to seeking to identify the varieties of nobility, their origins and the means by which they are attained – aspects of La Roque's work that I examined in chapter 1 - he also weighs their particular merits and places them in a hierarchy. A particularly important question La Roque addresses – to which there was no one clear answer in his time – is what constitutes a long suite of ancestors, or, more precisely, how many generations of nobility must one prove in order to enjoy the honors and privileges of that state and to make it transmissible to one's heirs? La Roque elaborates the various opinions on this matter of who may claim the title of gentleman (*gentilhomme*). He begins with the ancients: Cicero asserts that one who is born into a family that has always been free, having never known any servitude, is called *gentilis*. La Roque notes that the same standard applies in his day, and as this state of immemorial

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<sup>242</sup> Gilles-André de la Roque's *Traité de la Noblesse et de toutes ses différentes espèces* (Rouen, 1735).

exemption from any servitude is difficult to prove, the French follow the practice of the ancient Romans: to claim the title of *gentilhomme* and enjoy the privileges of nobility one must prove that one's father and grandfather lived nobly. He points out, however, that there is disagreement and uncertainty regarding this matter: some say that three degrees of nobility (two generations beyond the person claiming the privileges and title of *gentilhomme*, that is, one's father and grandfather) make the gentleman, while others assert that four are required. The salient point for most people seeking the privileges of nobility in *ancien régime* France is the point at which personal nobility – that is, nobility conferred by the king or accompanying a position purchased in the service of the crown – becomes transmissible to one's heirs. This uncertainty was particularly relevant to Gaspard de Gueidan's situation: his grandfather and father had both served in the *Cour des Comptes* in positions that brought with them personal nobility; Gaspard's career in the *parlement* brought him personal nobility; so, by the more lenient standard, the nobility of the family had become immemorial – that is, Gaspard's sons could claim the title of *gentilhomme* without serving in the courts (the *Parlement* and *Cour des Comptes*). However, by the stricter standard of the day – that which determined who was entitled to favors at court (Versailles, that is) – Gaspard could not claim the title of *gentilhomme* and, if the family's nobility were to become immemorial, one of his sons would have to serve a minimum of twenty years in an ennobling position, in, for example, the *Parlement* or the *Cour des Comptes*. Gaspard de Gueidan's campaign of social ascendancy was calculated to lift him out of this ambiguous social standing and into the upper ranks of the nobility, and to ensure that his sons would not have to pursue careers as magistrates – work that he himself found taxing and tedious – in order to enjoy the privileges of nobility.

Gaspard de Gueidan represents the third degree of nobility in his family and therefore occupies the uncertain position explored by La Roque: he is by some standards a gentleman, and yet by those of the king's court he is not entitled to favors, nor is it certain that his nobility is transmissible to his sons. This situation is not at all unusual; in fact, the third and fourth degrees of nobility are the most commonly recurring among the magistrates of the *Parlement de Provence* in the eighteenth century.<sup>243</sup> In his campaign of social ascendancy Gueidan's goal is not simply to lift himself out of this middling position among his fellow magistrates, rather he seeks to lift himself – and future generations of Gueidans – entirely out of the social and political milieu into which he was born, namely that of the *aixoïs* robe nobility, a social group whose elite status derived almost entirely from generations of service in the *Parlement* and *Cour des Comptes*. The genealogy Gueidan fabricated asserts that he is *un gentilhomme de nom et d'armes*; that is to say, as long as his name has been known it has been associated with nobility. Gueidan's critics would have conceded this point, but adding that it has not been known very long.

La Roque notes that among gentlemen there are several gradations of nobility. The most venerable is the *gentilhomme de nom et d'armes*. This applies to someone who takes his family name from a fief granted to his ancestors by the king, and that name, as long as it has been known, has been associated with nobility; and arms, La Roque explains, because those ancestors were conquerors and never subjects. This, the highest degree of nobility, is what Gueidan claimed. In the eleventh century, so Gueidan wrote in his genealogy, Bertrand, Comte de Forcalquier, was granted the land of Gueidan, from which he took his

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<sup>243</sup> Of all the people who served in the *parlement* over the course of the eighteenth century, 23.4% represent the third degree of nobility in their family, 18.1% the fourth degree, 14.6% the second degree, 12.9% the fifth, followed by the sixth through tenth degrees all with less than 10% each. Monique Cubells, *La Provence des Lumières: Les parlementaires d'Aix au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris : Maloine, 1984), 28.

name, and passed both on to his descendants. Having established the name, the genealogy then turns to arms; in fact much of the genealogy is devoted to making one point abundantly clear: the Gueidans were warriors, conquerors whose only servitude was to fight alongside and bear the arms of kings. Gaspard's forebears were always in the right place at the right time and seen with the right people: Godefroy de Bouillon, Raimond Dupuy, Philippe-August, Saint Louis, Philippe le Hardi, Philippe le Bel, King Robert of Naples and Sicily, King Jean, King Charles IV of Naples and Sicily, Louis XI, King Rene of Provence, Francis I, Charles IX, Henri IV. In short, there was never a significant military campaign undertaken in the name of Provence, France, or Christendom at which an ancestor of Gaspard de Gueidan was not fighting courageously at the side of his sovereign. Gueidan establishes that the origin of his family is linked to the origin of nobility - his nobility is immemorial and military.

### **The *Virelay en vers provençaux***

Two documents preserved in the Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud in Aix-en-Provence offer some insight into what Gueidan's detractors found objectionable about his behavior, and the terms in which they articulated their criticism: one is an unpublished poem, the *Virelay en vers provençaux*, that began circulating in manuscript among the nobility of Aix-en-Provence around the first of the year 1761; the other is the *livre de raison* of Pierre-César de Charleval, the son of Gueidan's sister, Catherine. These two documents, like Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, of which they are both redolent, purport to demonstrate what results when a man steps out of the social position into which he was born. Gaspard de Gueidan is characterized as, like Monsieur Jourdain, incapable of filling the role which he has claimed for himself, a role to which he was not born; he has claimed an *état* far above that to which

he is entitled – and presumably suited – and he is completely incapable of performing the behaviors appropriate to his new rank for the simple reason that they are beyond his comprehension and abilities. Having stepped outside of his *état*, everything about him appears ridiculous. Having disregarded the principal *bienséance* - that he conform to his given role in society - nothing he does is *bienséant*: nothing suits him; nothing makes him pleasing; he is graceless and disagreeable.

The *Virelay en vers provençaux* was not the first poem of its kind to circulate among the nobility of Aix-en-Provence; beneath the title is written: “another satire against the Gueidan family of Aix, written after the death of Estienne Blégier.”<sup>244</sup> In the handwritten *Recueil des pieces provençal* in the Bibliotheque Arbaud it appears after a poem by Blégier from 1730, a tirade against the precipitous rise of several *aixoïs* families. Honoré d’Estienne Blégier was a lawyer and poet who worked in the *Cour des Comptes*. Born in 1664, he was of the generation of Gaspard de Gueidan’s father, Pierre de Gueidan, who also held a position in the *Cour des Comptes*. The assertion that Blégier would be surprised to find Gaspard de Gueidan risen so high in society is quite justified: Blégier would have known Gaspard’s father; known him to be, much like himself, ensconced by birth, profession, and marriage alliances within the social milieu of the newly ennobled, who owed their gradually rising status to service in the law courts of Aix: the *Cour des Comptes* and the *Parlement de Provence*. By invoking the name of Blégier, the author of the *Virelay* indicates that he, his audience, and the views he expresses in his poem all belong to the social milieu of the Gueidan family. What the people of this set object to is Gaspard’s sudden appearance as

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<sup>244</sup> « c’est encore une Satyre contre la famille Gueidan, d’Aix, mais postérieure à la mort d’Estienne Blegiers. » Bibliothèque Arbaud, MO99, 17-29. The poem states that “Constans, il y a quinze ans et demi, lui (Gueidan) vendit une seigneurie.” On June 3, 1746 Gaspard de Gueidan bought the fief Castellet from Christophe and Jean-Baptiste Constans. If taken at face value, the poem would have been written in early December 1761 - or the *demi* may be inserted simply to rhyme with *seigneurie*.

their social superior – when they knew his father to be their equal. Gueidan's behavior is not in accord with what they know of his family. The *Virelay* asserts that were Blégier alive he would be amused to find Gueidan a marquis, *président à mortier*, and his sons chevaliers.

He fancies himself descended  
From one Bertrand, whom he styles  
The first Count of Forcalquier,  
And one Countess de Die.  
Tell me, who wouldn't laugh a little?  
Then his son, Guillaume the First,  
Called the Baron de Gueidan.  
What fool is going to believe that?  
As if one didn't know  
That Constans, fifteen and a half years ago,  
Sold him this seigneurie  
(De Castelet, a barony),  
That no one in the region  
Knew by this name...  
Then taken by the fantasy  
That if this land bore his name  
It would be more honored,  
He acquired papers and documents  
From his faction, and the King declared  
That Castelet would be Gueidan  
And Gueidan would be a Marquis.

Following the genealogy,  
Next came Guillaume the Second who,  
One makes the founder of the convent  
Of the Cordeliers at Reillanne.  
Above it, great coats of arms  
In stone, in wood, in gypserie,  
Lift their shoots as high as the bell-tower,  
In the church and the sacristy,  
In the dormitories and the infirmary,  
In the refectory and in the cellars,  
In the hayloft, in the hen-house,  
On all the hangings and wallpaper,  
In short, from the cellar to the attic  
One finds praises by the thousands.  
Tell me, is there nothing here at which to laugh?<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> « Il se fait descendre.../D'un Bertrand et le qualifie/Premier comte de Forcalquier/Et d'une comtesse de Die/Dites-moi un peu qui ne rirait ?/Puis son fils, Guillaume premier,/Baron de Gueidan se disait/Quel est le sot/qui va le croire ?/Comme si l'on ne savait/Que Constans, il y a quinze ans et demi,/Lui vendait une

The Author of the *Virelay*, like Blégier a generation before him, knew the facts of the arrival in Aix of the Gueidan family and the sources of their modest noble status; thus the accusations made in the *Virelay* are for the most part factually correct: the genealogy of the Gueidan family published in Artefeuil's *Histoire héroïque et universelle de la noblesse de Provence* is almost entirely a fabrication; the nobility of the family cannot, as the genealogy asserts, be traced back to the eleventh century; and it was, in part, based on these false proofs of nobility that Louis XV declared Gueidan's recently-purchased fief a marquisate. The author of the *Virelay* also makes reference to the fact that the fabricated genealogy played a major role in gaining admittance into the Order of Malta for three of Gueidan's sons; and that the thirteenth-century cenotaph to Gueidan's forebears was in fact sculpted in the studio of Jean-Pancrace Chastel in Aix-en-Provence.

The *Virelay*, though it was never published and circulated only in manuscript, is evidence that the facts of Gaspard de Gueidan's middling origins and shameless ambition were not particularly well-kept secrets in the Aix-en-Provence of his day. Nonetheless, his fief *was* declared a marquisate, and his sons *were* welcomed into the Order of Malta. He also enjoyed the friendship of members of old noble families including the Princesse de Carignan and her brother the Marquis de Suze, and he had held the ear of the king's ministers through his position as *avocat général* in the *Parlement de Provence*. The cenotaph to his fictional

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seigneurie/(De Castelet la baronnie)/Que personne dans le quartier/Sous ce nom-là connaissait.../Puis se porta en fantasie/Que si son nom sa terre avait,/Cela plus d'honneur lui ferait,/Acquit et parchemins et papiers/Dans le camp, le roi lui écrivait/Que Castelet *Gueidan* serait/Et qu'un marquis de lui ferait./Suivant la généalogie,/Guillaume II qui vient après,/A Reillanne, des Cordeliers/On lui fait fonder le couvent./Là-dessus, grandes armoiries/En pierre, en bois, en gypserie,/Elèvent leur pousses jusqu'au clocher,/A l'église, à la sacristie,/Au dortoirs, à l'infirmerie,/Au réfectoire, dans les celliers,/Au grenier, au poulailler./Dans tous ses tapisseries./Enfin de la cave au grenier, /On trouve louanges par milliers/Dis-moi un peu s'il n'y a pas de quoi rire ? » *Virelay en vers provençaux*, Bibliothèque Paul Arbaud, MO 99: 18-23. French translation, *Arts et livres de Provence* 29 (1956), 43-44, 89.

ancestors *was* placed in a chapel of the convent the Observantins in Reillanne, and Hyacinthe Rigaud, portraitist to Louis XIV and Louis XV, their ministers and court, painted his portrait three times. The fact that his true origins were known did not interfere with the acceptance of his false proofs of nobility by powerful people and institutions. But all of this took place before he pressed the issue of the social rank to which he was in fact entitled by publishing his genealogy. Gaspard de Gueidan's social status was in the few decades following the death of his father somewhat difficult to determine. Nobility in the *ancien régime* was measured both by social and juridical standards, and a surfeit of the one in some cases compensated for a lack in the other. In the view of the Crown, the Church, and certain contemporaries of his in Aix he was the Marquis de Gueidan; to others he was the upstart great-grandson of a livestock merchant. He enjoyed privileges that his family history did not warrant, and yet he enjoyed them nonetheless. He was the Marquis de Gueidan; being recognized as such by others – important and powerful others – made it so.

The criticism which the author of the *Virelay* makes of the appearance of the Gueidan coat of arms at the convent at Reillanne – an institution which the Gueidan family endowed but most certainly did not found – invokes the main criterion upon which the success of Gueidan's performance was based, and by which it was criticized and has been criticized up to our own day: namely, decorum (*bienséance*). The convent at Reillanne was disbanded in 1780 and there is no evidence as to the places in which the Gueidan coat of arms appeared there but it is safe to say that when the author of the *Virelay* asserts that it appeared in the storeroom, the granary, and the henhouse he is not stating fact but satirizing Gueidan's alleged pride and lack of a sense of proportion. The coat of arms in the henhouse stands for all that is wrong with Gueidan's ambition: he is no longer in his proper place and in filling a

place that is above him he has no sense of how to order things within it. His pride and ambition have led him to claim a position in society far beyond that into which he was born (itself a breach of decorum) and he lacks the sense of decorum requisite to the position he claims. What is one to do but laugh?

### **Pierre-Cesar de Charleval's *livre de raison***

Gaspard de Gueidan's nephew, Pierre-Cesar de Charleval, did not find his ambitions humorous; writing in his *livre de raison*, he gave vent to his anger:

Monsieur de Gueidan is an upstart, a duplicitous and faithless man, vain and haughty as the clouds, descended from a cattle merchant from Reillanne. By the luck and penny-pinching of his ancestors he was able to buy the position of *président à mortier* in the *Parlement de Provence*. This was not enough to satisfy his vanity, so he sought to make his sons *Chevaliers de Malte*, an effort that cost him a great deal of money as his mother, whose name was Tretz, was Jewish, a fact that presented a serious obstacle to his sons' acceptance into the order. [...] Desiring always more and more to erase the memory of his lowly origins and to satisfy his vanity, he fancied that he was descended from the counts of Forcalquier, and as no one opposed his fatuity, he took their title and coat of arms.<sup>246</sup>

Charleval's anger may have been provoked less by the titles Gueidan claimed than by the situation in which he had claimed them. Gueidan paid an annual pension of 440 *livres* to his sister Catherine, Charleval's mother. After her death the question arose as to whether Gueidan would continue to pay the pension, but to Catherine's son. Charleval called Gueidan in front of a notary to sign a *quittance* – Charleval says nothing in his *livre de raison*

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<sup>246</sup>« M. de Gueidan, homme double et sans foy, vain et haut comme les nues, qui issu d'un marchand de bœufs a Reillanne est parvenu. Par les lésines et les guineries de ses ancêtres à avoir une charge de président a mortier au parlement d'Aix. Retrouvant pas sa vanité remplie jusque à ce qu'il eut fait ses fils Chevaliers de Malthe, a mangé un argent infini pour parvenir a cela parce que sa mère qui etois de Tretz, de race juive y mettoit obstacle. [...] Voulant toujours de plus en plus faire oublier sa basse extraction et contenter sa vanité, qui n'a point de borne, il veut se faire descendre des comtes de Forcalquier, il en prend le titre et les armes, personne ne s'opposant à sa fatuité. » *Livre de raison de Pierre-César de Charleval de 1728 à 1762*. Bibliothèque Arbaud, MF 79, 103.

regarding the content of this document - which Gueidan signed “le seigneur chevalier marquis de Gueidan des Comtes de Forcalquier.” Charleval relates that when the notary read him the act he was stunned to hear the titles that Gueidan had claimed, stunned “by so much misplaced splendor.”<sup>247</sup> The following year it was Gueidan who called Charleval before the notary over this matter of the pension, which Gueidan still refused to pay. The act was written up and Charleval watched as Gueidan signed as he had before. Charleval then wrote on the document “protestant contre le Comte de Forcalquier.” The notary shouted, objecting that one is not permitted to write in the registers. Gueidan’s representative placed a notice in the register stating that Gueidan had only taken the titles due to him, as had been granted by the King.<sup>248</sup>

Charleval is stunned by so much misplaced splendor; that is to say, there is a place for such splendor, however, that place is not beside the name of his uncle. Once again the critique is grounded in a sense of what is fitting to a particular role in society. Charleval’s choice of the word stunned gives the impression of his having come quite suddenly upon something unexpected; he is arrested by the incongruity of Gueidan’s behavior with the sense of order that nature and society ordinarily present. He is criticizing Gueidan for a gross violation of decorum.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> « Je fus abasourdi de tant de faste si mal placé. » Charleval, 103.

<sup>248</sup> This notice is referenced in Augustin Roux, « La famille de Gueidan » in *Arts et livres de Provence* 29 (June 1956), 42.

<sup>249</sup> That Charleval, unlike many elites including the King himself, was unable to overlook his doubts about the validity of Gueidan’s proofs of nobility may have a great deal to do with factionalism within elite *aixoïs* society. Charleval’s mother, Catherine, took a great interest in Jansenism, as did her father Pierre de Gueidan. The inventory of the contents of Pierre’s house on the *Cours*, written upon his death, when Gaspard inherited the house, indicate that he collected mostly books on religious matters and that he took great interest in the controversies around Jansenism. Gaspard, perhaps because he went to great pains to show his loyalty the Crown and the Church, rejected the sectarian leanings of his relatives. *Le Rapport d’estimation générale des biens de Pierre de Gueidan, mort le 3 Fev. 1734*. Archives Municipales d’Aix-en-Provence, BB218, 516.

### **Pierre-Claude-Secret de Gueidan, Chevalier of the Order of Malta**

The bold claims to a very elevated social rank made in the genealogy and the inscription on the mausoleum provoked the harsh criticism of Gaspard de Gueidan's contemporaries. That is not to say that he did not have his critics before the appearance of these works. While social mobility was essential to the vitality of the nobility in *ancien régime* France, and was much more common in Aix than anywhere else in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was also policed and controlled both by institutions and individuals, and it took place within very particular constraints, which were more often than not articulated through the concept of *bienséance*. Gueidan was helped by powerful institutions, but his efforts to better the social status of his family also met with resistance at every step. This point is exemplified by the protracted dispute over the proofs of nobility that Gueidan presented to the Order of Malta so that his sons might become chevaliers.

March 17, 1738 a council of the Order of Malta convened and considered the proofs of nobility of Gaspard de Gueidan's second eldest son Pierre-Claude-Secret de Gueidan, the first step toward his acceptance into the order. April 30 Gaspard de Gueidan wrote two letters, one to the Bishop of Malta thanking him for a decree in his favor, and the other to Father Duquet, Jesuit, for his role in the matter. Gueidan does not specify exactly what Duquet has done for him, but he does say, "I cannot admire enough the hand that so ably steered such a difficult maneuver. I kiss it with respect."<sup>250</sup> Gueidan adds that the money he owed Duquet will arrive by the next ship. The difficult maneuver was most likely getting around the fact that the family name of Gueidan's mother, Madeleine de Trets, appeared on a list of neophytes, of recent converts to Christianity. Gueidan's mother was Jewish, and were

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<sup>250</sup> « je ne puis assez admirer la main qui a conduit si heureusement un si difficile manœuvre. Je la baise avec respect. » *Lettres du Président de Gueidan*, Bibliothèque Arbaud MF 59, 438

this confirmed by the council, Gueidan's sons would have been excluded from the order. Gueidan and his emissaries were able to satisfy the council, and the Grand Master of the order, Ramon Despuig, accepted their verdict. The following April, Pierre-Claude-Secret became the Chevalier de Gueidan. However, this was not the end of the matter. In June of 1741 the Arles chapter of the Order requested a further inquiry into the Trets family; moreover, they demanded that Gueidan submit original titles of nobility for his mother and both his grandmothers. Gueidan wrote to the new Grand Master of the Order, Emmanuel Pinto, demanding that this enquiry be stopped. Gueidan argued that the request to prove the "pureté" of his mother had already been filled in accord with the rules of the order. Six witnesses, "without a doubt six of the most qualified gentlemen in the province," had spoken on behalf of Gaspard's mother and their testimony was received without question by the order.<sup>251</sup> Gueidan reiterated that considering the close relation of Madeleine de Tres to Gaspard, there is no chance that these six men could have been mistaken. He also argued that presenting original proofs of nobility would involve summoning various notaries, a step that would require trouble and expenses that, as the matter had already been settled, he deemed unnecessary. Gueidan also asserted that this inquiry was an affront to the authority of the Order and to that of Pinto's predecessor. In a document accompanying his letter to the Grand Master, Gueidan reiterated the argument that had been presented on his behalf to the 1738 commission:

The president de Gueidan had the honor of presenting to him (Despuig) an entreaty in which he set forth that the name of his mother, *Madeleine de Tres*, has a kind of conformity with that of the family *de Trets*, which is in the list of neophytes; but are nonetheless two different families, since the name of that which is suspected of impurity is written in French with two Ts, *Trets*, and in

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<sup>251</sup> « six gentils hommes sans contredit des plus qualifiés de la province. » *Lettres du Président de Gueidan*, 212.

the records in Latin *de Tritis*, while the name of his mother has but one t, *Tres*, and in Latin is written *de Tresis*.<sup>252</sup>

Manoeuver is perhaps the right word: diverting the argument to the Latin spellings of these two names distracts from the fact that Gueidan's mother's name was Trets; however, it is not a particularly compelling argument. The council was inclined to do Gaspard de Gueidan the favor of accepting his sons into their order, so they did not look too deeply into the matter. Some indication of why the order was so kindly disposed toward Gueidan is suggested in a letter he wrote to the Grand Master in September of 1738, soon after Pierre-Claude-Secrets proofs had been accepted:

My late father had the honor to contribute to the success of some considerable matters in the cause of religion; as for myself, I have had occasion in various encounters to mark my zeal and respect. In future, religion will have no concerns that will not be mine as well. How strong these bonds are, Monseigneur, how lasting, when they are formed by duty, gratitude, and common interest!<sup>253</sup>

The Order of Malta rewarded him for his service, and that of his father, by declaring three of his sons chevaliers, just as the crown would reward Gueidan for his service in the *parlement* by declaring Castellet the marquisate de Gueidan. In addition to rewarding Gueidan for services rendered, such favors secured his future loyalty. As Gueidan himself remarked in his letter to the Grand Master: he was not only indebted to the order; the interests of the order had become his own.

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<sup>252</sup> « Le président de Gueidan avoit eu l'honneur de lui présenter une supplique ou il exposoit que le nom de Madeleine de Tres sa mère avoit une espèce de conformité au celui de la famille de Trets qui est dans la liste des néophytes ; que c'étoient néanmoins deux différentes familles, puisque le nom de celle qui est soupçonnée d'impureté s'écrit en François avec deux T, Trets, et dans les actes latins de Tritis, au lieu que le nom de sa mère n'a qu'un T, Tres, et s'exprime en latin de Tresis. » *Lettres du Président de Gueidan*, 214.

<sup>253</sup> « Feu mon père avoit eu l'honneur de contribuer au succès de quelques affaires considérables pour la religion ; de mon cote j'ai eu occasion de lui marquer en différentes rencontres mon zèle et mon dévouement. Désormais elle n'aura plus d'affaire qui ne soit la mienne. Que ses liens sont forts, Monseigneur, qu'ils sont durables, quand c'est le devoir, la reconnaissance et le propre intérêt qui les forment ! » *Lettres du Président de Gueidan*, 199.

One opportunity for Gueidan to mark his zeal and respect for religion, and in particular for the Order of Malta, had arisen a decade before he wrote to the Grand Master to thank him for accepting his son's proofs of nobility. Another opportunity arose in 1745 when Gueidan's role in this matter was reiterated with the publication of the third volume of his *Discours*, a volume he sent to Grand Master Pinto.<sup>254</sup> In December of 1728 a dispute between the Church of Saint Jean of Malta (The Order of Malta) and the Church of Saint Sauveur (the archbishopric) was brought before the *parlement de Provence*. Gaspard de Gueidan presented the case before the *parlement*, arguing in favor of the Church of Saint Jean. Gueidan began this *plaidoyer* with a summary of the events that precipitated the dispute.<sup>255</sup> In his will Le Sieur de Leidet du Sambuc stated that he wished to be interred alongside his brother, Commander de Calissane, in a chapel of the Church of Saint Jean of Malta. He died December 22, 1728 and his family contacted the clergy of the Church of Saint Sauveur, in whose parish they lived, who began the funeral rites by removing the body and proceeding with it toward the Church of Saint Jean. Meanwhile the clergy of the Church of Saint Jean heard of this and waited at the door of their church to receive the body. When the clergy of Saint Sauveur arrived they wished to enter the church bearing the cross aloft (*la croix levée*), a mark of their jurisdiction and preeminence. Le Sieur Bailli d'Oppede, receiver general of the Order of Malta, met them at the door, demanded reparation for the offense committed by beginning the funeral rites, and insisted that they leave the body and go. The clergy of Saint Sauveur returned to their church with the body. When, the next day, the clergy of Saint Jean came to collect the body, they were told that it would be returned as

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<sup>254</sup> *Lettres du Président de Gueidan*, 81.

<sup>255</sup> Gaspard de Gueidan, « Discours sur un privilège de l'Ordre de Malte, » in vol. 3 of *Discours prononcés au parlement de Provence par un de messieurs les avocats généraux* (Paris: Quillau, 1745), 196-245.

soon as the Prior of Saint Jean recognized the rights and preeminence of the archbishopric. The Prior then turned to the *parlement*, demanding that it uphold the right of the order to conduct the funeral rites of anyone interred in its church, that it deny the right of the clergy of Saint Sauveur to enter the Church of Saint Jean bearing the cross aloft, and that the body of Le Sieur de Sambuc be returned without conditions. The archbishopric also approached the *parlement* demanding that it defend their right to perform the funeral rites of anyone within the diocese and to transport the body into the Church of Saint Jean with all marks of distinction and preeminence.

Gueidan's argument takes the form of many of his *plaidoyers*: he presents the arguments in favor of each party in the dispute and demonstrates the superiority of one over the other. He cites the precedent of a case decided by the *parlement* in 1716 in which the rights of two of the three parishes in Aix, Saint Madeleine and Saint-Esprit, to perform funeral rights on parishioners interred in the Church of Saint Jean were denied. Gueidan suggests that the case of the third diocese in Aix, Saint Sauveur, the archbishopric, may be different, as it is "the mother church of the town and of all the diocese."<sup>256</sup> The religious orders, of which the Order of Malta is arguably one, have no authority but that granted by the archbishopric. Furthermore, the funeral rites are a function of the parishes, which are under the authority of the bishops. The prior of Saint Jean has no parish; he looks after only the members of his order, and he does not know if those interred in his church died in communion with the church. Gueidan then returns to the position of the Order of Malta, citing a series of papal bulls stating that the order answers to no authority but the pope. He cites in particular a bull of pope Sixtus IV that grants authority to the order in recognition of

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<sup>256</sup> "c'est l'Eglise mère de la Ville et de tout le Diocèse." Gueidan, vol. 3 of *Discours*, 207.

the church's debt to the order. Gueidan quotes the bull, arguing that the pontiff himself saw these privileges as a sort of indemnity: "Indemnitatibus eorum providere dignum, imo debitum reputamus." Gueidan adds, in his own words, an elegy to the chevaliers: these privileges "are the fruits of their sword and the price of their blood which they shed daily in the defense of Christendom."<sup>257</sup> In his closing remarks Gueidan recommends that the demands of the Order of Malta be upheld, and he adds: "Justice, whose rules have been greatly transgressed by this irregular conduct, demands satisfaction. Satisfaction is due to the prior of Saint Jean and to his clergy to validate their conduct, so moderate and restrained. It is due to the memory of the deceased for the fulfillment of his last wishes. Finally, it is due to this celebrated Order whose incomparable valor is the strongest bulwark of the Christian world against its most fearsome enemy."<sup>258</sup>

Ultimately, Gueidan's case in favor of the Church of Saint Jean rests on the fact that numerous papal bulls uphold the place of the Order of Malta in the hierarchy of the church: unlike other religious orders, which are placed under the authority of the bishops, the chevaliers answer directly to the pope, and they may perform themselves all of the rites that the other religious orders must turn over to the diocese. When Gueidan commends the valor of the Order and suggests that it is the greatest force protecting Europe from the encroachment of Islam, he adds a rhetorical flourish but contributes nothing to his legal argument. This is in fact a rather grand flourish: by the eighteenth century the role of the Order in the Mediterranean had been reduced, in part due to cordial relations between France

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<sup>257</sup> "c'est le fruit de leur épée et le prix de leur sang qu'ils répandent journellement pour la défense de la chrétienté." Gueidan, vol. 3 of *Discours*, 216.

<sup>258</sup> « Cette satisfaction est due à la Justice dont les règles ont été si hautement violées par tant de procès irréguliers. Elle est due au Prieur de Saint Jean et à son clergé pour autoriser ses démarches pleines de modération et de retenue. Elle est due à la mémoire du mort pour l'exécution de ses volontés derniers. Enfin elle est due à cet Ordre célèbre dont la valeur incomparable est le plus ferme rempart du monde chrétien contre son ennemi le plus redoutable. » Gueidan, vol. 3 of *Discours*, 243-244.

and the Ottoman Empire, to protecting merchant ships from piracy.<sup>259</sup> Gueidan was an articulate and persuasive orator, and yet the numerous papal bulls he cites would seem to be enough to uphold the rights of the Order. What this speech demonstrates, and in its published form documents, is Gueidan bringing the force of his oratorical talent not only to the defense of the Order but also to its edification. He goes beyond presenting the legal basis of the privileges enjoyed by the Order; this dispute becomes an opportunity to praise the Order and associate it with the highest values. The case itself might seem quite trivial. In his opening remarks Gueidan acknowledges this and goes on to assert that what is in fact at stake in the case is the proper ordering of society itself:

Messieurs,

To look at this case only from the outside and by appearances, one would conclude that the parties would have acted more wisely had they buried this dispute rather than showing it in the light of day. If self-interest were the motive, or some hope of honors, it would be to the credit of one party or another to scorn these vain objects of human passions.

However, when one comes to consider that order is necessary in all things and that order is disrupted when all those who must cooperate in it do not carefully contain themselves within their limits; when one considers that each in his condition (*état*) is obliged to uphold his rights and to defend his prerogatives; that impartiality and Christian humility it not this indolent complicity that disregards everything, that lets everything dwindle, then this case seems no less important in itself than for the excellence of the persons concerned.<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> Roderick Cavaliero, *The Last of the Crusaders: the knights of St. John of Malta in the eighteenth century* (New York: Tauris Parke, 2009).

<sup>260</sup> « Messieurs,

A ne regarder cette cause que par les dehors et l'apparence, on seroit porte à juger que les parties auroient agi plus sagement d'ensevelir cette contestation, que de la produire au grand jour. Que ce soit l'intérêt qui en soit le motif, ou quelque préséance d'honneur, elles tiennent à gloire de part et d'autre de mépriser ces vains objets des passions humaines.

Mais quand on vient à considérer que l'ordre est en toutes choses si nécessaire, et que l'ordre est trouble si tous ceux qui doivent y concourir, ne se contiennent soigneusement dans leurs bornes ; quand on considère que chacun dans son état est obligé de maintenir ses droits et de défendre ses prérogatives ; que le désintéressement et l'humilité chrétienne ne sont pas cette molle condescendance qui neglige tout, qui laisse tout deperir, cette cause ne nous paroît pas moins importante en elle-meme qu'elle l'est par la qualite des personnes qui y sont interessees. » Gueidan, vol. 3 of *Discours*, 196-197.

Gueidan is asserting that the chevaliers, in pursuing this case, are not engaging in petty self-interest, rather they are fulfilling their duty to defend their rights and thus uphold the proper ordering of society. Christian humility, for the Knights of Malta, is not retreat from worldly concerns; rather it is the taking of one's proper place within the world – in their case, an elevated place. They do not shed their blood daily in the defense of Christendom to then invite disorder into their own affairs. Gueidan's treatment of the Order of Malta, much like Rigaud's portraits of Gueidan, appeals to the value placed on the filling of one's role in society. Just as Rigaud attributes value to Gueidan by figuring his likeness among visual references to moderation and decorum, and Gueidan furthers his own interests by having himself depicted in this way; or as Gueidan valorizes the magistrate by comparing his renunciation of self-interest to that of Tacitus' *Agricola*; so too does Gueidan valorize the Church of Saint Jean's pursuit of this case by characterizing their ambition as a humble sense of duty. Justice, not the Prior, demands satisfaction. Satisfaction is the due of the Prior, whose conduct has been so moderate and restrained (*pleines de modération et de retenue*). And satisfaction is the due of Gaspard de Gueidan, who not only uses his eloquence and political power to uphold the privileges of the Order but also publishes his praise of them. Ultimately, it was not Gueidan's pedigree but his willingness to put his political influence at the disposal of the Order that gained his sons the title *chevalier*.

Gaspard de Gueidan commemorated the acceptance of his son Pierre-Claude-Secret into the order of Malta, and gave visual form to the social capital that came with this achievement, by commissioning a portrait of his son from the *aixois* painter Claude Arnulphy (fig. 102). Six-year-old Pierre is figured wearing a pink dress, a soldier's breastplate, and the cross of Malta around his neck. In one hand he holds a helmet and in the other he holds a

sword aloft. He is figured again in the background; wearing the same costume, and sitting astride a white horse, he leads a cavalry charge toward a besieged European city. The riders under the child's command wear eighteenth century costumes – also pink – and their regalia includes a coat of arms, illegible but presumably that of the Gueidan family. Bernard Terlay asserts that this portrait deploys the means of depicting children of royal blood; he points in particular to Nicolas de Largillierre's *Portrait of Louis XV* (fig. 103) in which the child wears a breastplate and pink garment.<sup>261</sup>

The most important element in this painting is perhaps the cross of Malta. This detail does what the inscription accompanying the mausoleum could not: it effectively embodies the distinction of the Gueidan family, setting them apart from the middling noble status of many in their social milieu. The cross of Malta represented in this portrait is an effective assertion of elevated status because it is a sign of distinction that has been conferred by a powerful institution: one need not look into the sitter's proofs of nobility; the portrait tells the viewer that the Order of Malta has already done that. Arnulphy's *Portrait of Pierre-Claude-Secret de Gueidan* works as an assertion of elevated status because the distinction that it references has been institutionally sanctioned. To question the veracity of the assertion is to question the authority of the institution that conferred the distinction. The mausoleum had no such institutional sanction: it embodied a bold assertion that Gaspard de Gueidan made with no such protection.

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<sup>261</sup> *Portraits d'Aixois au siècle des lumières* (Musée du Vieil Aix, Musée Arbaud, 2005), 19. Terlay further speculates that the architecture in the background would seem to indicate a city in the northeast of France, and as this portrait was painted during the War of the Austrian Succession, the background scene may refer to a battle in that war.

### *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*

Gaspard de Gueidan miscalculated when he sought to solidify his status as a gentleman with the construction of a mausoleum to his fictional ancestors; however, his social ascendancy up to that point was not simply a comic romp into aspects of elite culture that were beyond his understanding. Unlike Molière's Monsieur Jourdain, he seems to have understood a great many things. In fact, he seems to have treaded carefully, maximizing the benefits of his position as *avocat général* in the *Parlement de Provence* through a meticulously respectful but nonetheless assertive correspondence with the king's ministers. He also courted editors to encourage favorable reviews of each successive volume of his *Discours*, and he provided legal advice and personal assistance to the high nobility. In short, he understood the law and the political mechanisms of the *ancien régime* and he used this knowledge to accrue considerable political and social capital. His knowledge of the arts seems to have been less extensive, yet he compensated for this lack by patronizing the most prominent portraitist of his day, Hyacinthe Rigaud, who guided him in the fashioning of his public image.

With regard to the mausoleum he commissioned from Jean-Pancrace Chastel, Gueidan would have benefitted immensely from the kind of advice he received from Rigaud regarding his portrait as a magistrate. All three of Rigaud's portraits of Gueidan masterfully attribute noble qualities to the sitter without making any claims to noble status beyond those to which his actual *état* entitles him. Appropriation, that is, the demonstration – or illusion of – the internalization of qualities associated with works of art, is essential to the way in which Rigaud's portraits of Gueidan function. Moderation, effortless grace, taste, wit, humility, a sense of duty, and moreover a nobility of mind and spirit akin to that of the

ancients are given pictorial form and attributed to Gueidan by placing his likeness among these forms. Chastel's mausoleum, on the other hand, gives visual form to historical events onto which the Gueidan name is grafted. The mausoleum is derived from and makes reference to medieval funerary art and it is to be understood within the discourse on nobility as found, for example, in La Roque's *Traité de la Noblesse*. With the Latin inscription that accompanied Chastel's sculptures, the means of Gueidan's self-fashioning crosses over from the figurative and metaphorical into the literal; the subtle implications of the visual are abandoned in favor of bold assertions clearly stated. The performance of nobility gives way to the blunt declaration of one's own nobility. With this inscription Gueidan gave to his contemporaries something to refute, and that is exactly what the author of the *Virelay* did. The poet stated clearly what many in Gueidan's social milieu knew to be true: despite the favors he had earned through his service to the crown he was still one of them. Only successive generations and service could lift his family from *la noblesse moyenne*. But exemption from this service for his sons is precisely what Gueidan's social climbing was intended to attain. These efforts, in the end, seem to have contributed more to the obscurity than to the notoriety of his descendants. It was service in the *parlement* and the publication of his *Discours* that brought notoriety to Gueidan; his son and grandson seem to have had no such means of accruing power and status. His eldest son, Joseph-Leon-Gaspard *marquis de Gueidan, des comtes de Forcalquier*, lived at Valabre, married a noblewoman, Henriette de Felix-d'Ollieres, who in 1783 bore him a son, Louis-Joseph-Alphonse. Against the wishes of his mother, Louis married a commoner, a *roturier*, Francoise-Josephine Sibilot. Louis, the last of the Gueidan, died in 1853.<sup>262</sup> His widow, in bequeathing much of the family's art

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<sup>262</sup> Augustin Roux, "La famille de Gueidan, » in *Arts et livres de Provence* 29 (1956), 50.

collection to the Musée Granet, did more to preserve the memory of the family than did any of Gaspard's descendants.

Gaspard de Gueidan's efforts to raise the status of his family, in particular his patronage of Hyacinthe Rigaud, have made him the most notable person among his relatives, and the most memorable among those in his social milieu. The portraits in the Gueidan bequest, in particular the *Portrait de Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*, are presented as highlights in the Musée Granet's collection of early modern European paintings. Rigaud's portrait of Gueidan as the faithful shepherd is frequently reproduced in printed promotional materials as well as on the museum's website. Gaspard de Gueidan is today the most visible and well-known representative of the *aixoïs* elite of the *ancien régime*. What would perhaps in all of this be most pleasing to Gueidan is that today the portraits of himself and his family, along with the other works he commissioned, collected, and inherited, works that attest – never mind the veracity of these assertions – to the innate noble qualities of the Gueidan family, hang in the halls of the edifice whose doors he worked so hard to open: the Priory of the Order of Malta in Aix-en-Provence, home of the Musée Granet.

## Illustrations



Fig. 1. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan*, 1719.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 2. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Louis XIV*, 1701.  
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 3. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Self-Portrait*, 1698. Musée Hyacinthe Rigaud, Perpignan.



Fig. 4. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux*, 1704. Private collection.



Fig. 5. Studio of Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Robert de Cotte*, 1713. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 6. Studio of Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Jean de la Fontaine*, 1690. Private collection.



Fig. 7. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of the Marquis Neri Maria Corsini*, 1710. Palazzo Corsini, Florence.



Fig. 8. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Lucas Schaub*, 1722. Kunstmuseum, Basle.



Fig. 9. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Antoine Bouhier*, 1713. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon.



Fig. 10. Anthony Van Dyck, *Lucas and Cornelis de Wael*, c. 1627. Capitoline, Rome.



Fig. 11. Anthony Van Dyck, *George Gage with Two Men*, 1622 or 1623. National Gallery, London.



Fig. 12. Anthony Van Dyck, *Self-Portrait*, c. 1623. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.



Fig. 13. Anthony Van Dyck, *Jacomo de Cachiopin*, 1634. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Fig. 14. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Everhard Jabach*, 1688. Chateau de Bussy-Rabutin.



Fig. 15. Jacob Coelmans (1697), after Hyacinthe Rigaud (1690),  
*Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Boyer d'Eguilles.*  
 Musée Paul Arbaud, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 16. Gerard Edelinck (1689) after Hyacinthe Rigaud (1688),  
*Portrait of Frédéric Léonard.* Musée Hyacinthe Rigaud, Perpignan.



Fig. 17. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Maximilien Titon*, 1688. Private collection.



Fig. 18. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Charles de la Fosse*, 1682. Brandenburg Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin.



Fig. 19. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Jules Hardouin-Mansart*, 1685. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 20. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Martin Van den Bogaert dit Desjardins*, c. 1683. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.



Fig. 21. Titian, *Man with a Blue Sleeve*, c. 1510. National Gallery, London.



Fig. 22. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait at the Age of 34*, 1640. National Gallery, London.



Fig. 23. Charles Le Brun, *Self-Portrait*, 1683. Uffizi, Florence.



Fig. 24. Anthony Van Dyck, *Self-Portrait* from the *Iconography*, c. 1630.



Fig. 25. Raphael, *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, c. 1514-15. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 26. Studio of Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of a Man*, c. 1720. Private collection.



Fig. 27. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of François Gigot de La Peyronie*, 1743. Musée d'Histoire de la médecine.



Fig. 28. Anthony Van Dyck, *King Charles I at the Hunt*, c. 1635. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 29. Jacques Coelemans, *Frontispice to volume 1, Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.



Fig. 30. Jacques Coelemans, *Frontispice to volume 1, Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.



Fig. 31. Jacque Coelemans, after Anthony Van Dyck, *Regina Angelorum*, from *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanes, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.



Fig. 32. Jacques Coelemans, after Valerio Castelli, *Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist*, from *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.



Fig. 33. Jacques Coelemans, after Tintoretto, *Pieta*, from *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.



Fig. 34. Jacques Coelemans, after Correggio, *Virgin and Child*, from *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.



Fig. 35. Jacques Coelemans, after Nicolas Loir, *The Archangel Michael appearing to Hagar*, from *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.



Fig. 36. Jacques Coelmans, after The Master of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, *Jacob and Laban*, from *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelmans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.



Fig. 37. Jacques Coelemans, after Nicolas Poussin, *the Triumph of David*, from *Recueil des plus beaux tableaux du cabinet de Mess. J.-B. Boyer d'Aguilles, conseiller au Parlement de Provence* (Aix : J. Coelemans, 1709). Bibliothèque Mejanès, Patrimoine Fonds Ancien. C. 6918.



Fig. 38. Unknown artist, French, 17th century, *Choc de cavalerie*.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 39. Roman School, mid-17th century, *Landscape*.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 40. Roman School, mid-17th century, *Landscape*.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 41. Unknown artist, Italian, 17<sup>th</sup> century, *Magdalen*.  
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Fig. 42. Unknown artist, Italian, early 18th century, *Spring*.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 43. Studio of Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan, avocat général au parlement de Provence*, 1723. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 44. Radiography of *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan, président à mortier au parlement de Provence*.



Fig. 45. Hyacinthe Rigaud and Claude Arnulphy, *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan, président a mortier au parlement de Provence*, 1723- 1740. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 46. Philippe de Champaigne, *Portrait of Pomponne de Bellièvre, Premier Président of the Parlement of Paris*. C. 1650. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 47. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Pierre de Bérulle*, 1709.  
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 48. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Pierre Cardin Le Bret*, 1710.  
Private Collection.



Fig. 49. Claude Arnulphy, *Portrait of Michel Antoine d'Albert de Saint-Hippolyte*, c. 1767.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence



Fig. 50. Jean-Baptiste Van Loo, *Portrait of Jean-Baptiste d'Albertas*, c. 1745.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 51. Les Jardins d'Albertas, Bouc-Bel-Air.



Fig. 52. Hôtel d'Albertas, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 53. Place d'Albertas, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 54. Hôtel d'Eguilles, Aix-en-Provence.  
(Hôtel d'Albertas is on the left)



Fig. 55. Jean-Baptiste Van Loo, *Portrait of Louis XV*, c. 1730.  
Versailles, Musée national du château.



Fig. 56. Jean-Baptiste Van Loo, *Portrait of Marie Leszczyńska*, c. 1730. Versailles, Musée national du château.



Fig. 57. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Samuel Bernard*, 1726, Versailles, Musée national du château.



Fig. 58. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Marguerite Le Bret de La Brisse, Comtesse de Selles*, 1712. Private Collection.



Fig. 59. Nicolas de Largillierre, *Portrait of Madame de Gueidan as Flora*, 1730. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 60. Nicolas Poussin, *The Triumph of Flora*, 1627-28.  
Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 61. Claude Arnulphy, *Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan*.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 62. Claude Arnulphy, *Portrait of Madame de Gueidan as a naiade*. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 63. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Gaspard de Gueidan en jouant de la musette*, 1735.  
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Fig. 64. Anthony Van Dyck, *Philip, Lord Wharton*, 1632.  
National Gallery, Washington, DC.



Fig. 65. Anthony Van Dyck, *François Langlois as a Savoyard*, 1634-7.  
National Gallery, London.

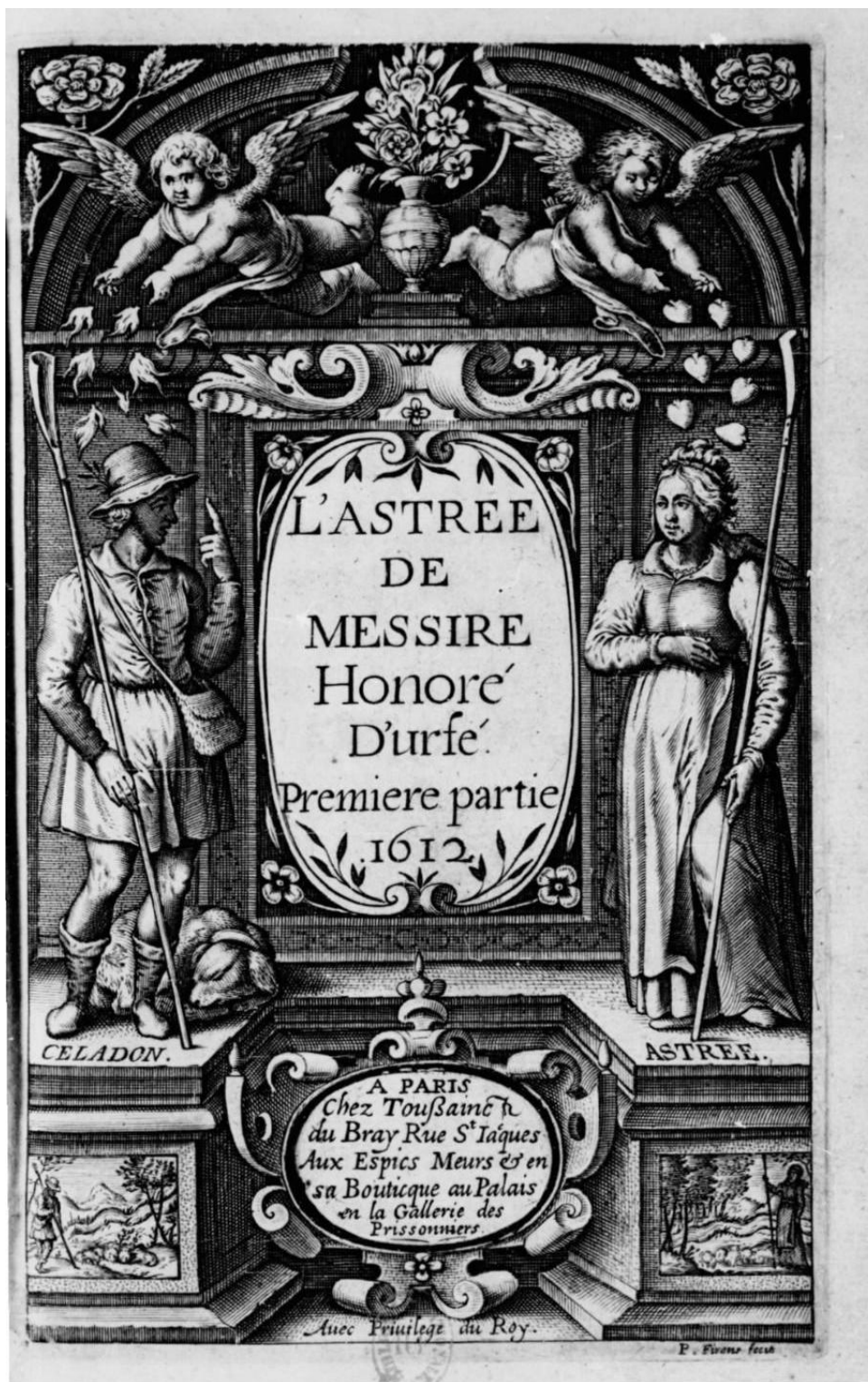


Fig. 66. Frontispice to Honoré d'Urfé, *L'Astrée*, Paris, 1612. Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig. 67. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Study of hands and draperies*, c. 1730-1735.  
Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco.



Fig. 68. Antoine Watteau, *Fêtes vénitiennes*, 1717.  
National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.



Fig. 69. Antoine Watteau, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 70. Antoine Watteau, *Recreation italienne*, c. 1715. Staatliche Museen, Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.



Fig. 71. Antoine Watteau, *Homme debout*, from *Figures de mode*. Etching.



Fig. 72. Antoine Watteau, *Mezzetin*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 73. Antoine Watteau, *Gilles*, 1718-19.  
Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 74. Antoine Watteau, *The Cajoler*,  
Jean Cailleux Collection, Paris.



Fig. 75. Antoine Watteau, *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera*, 1717. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 76. Nicolas Lancret, *Concert at the home of Crozat*, c. 1720-24. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



Fig. 77. Nicolas Lancret, *La Camargo Dancing*, c. 1729-30.  
National Gallery, Washington DC.



Fig. 78. Nicolas Lancret, *La Camargo Dancing*  
The Wallace Collection, London. C. 1730



Fig. 79. Nicolas Lancret, *Portrait of the actor Grandval*, c. 1742. Indianapolis Museum of Art.



Fig. 80. Nicolas Lancret, *The Picnic after the Hunt*, c. 1740. National Gallery, Washington DC.



Fig. 81. Nicolas Lancret, *A Hunter and his Servant*, c. 1737-40. Private Collection.



Figure 82. Nicolas Lancret, *The Luxembourg Family*.  
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.



Fig. 83. Nicolas Lancret, *The Game of Pied-de-Boeuf*, c. 1743. Private Collection.



Fig. 84. Nicolas Lancret, *The Outdoor Concert*, c. 1743. Private Collection.



Fig. 85. Claude Arnulphy, *Tambourinaire*, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure. 86. Pavillon, Valabre.



Fig. 87. Mouret, *Portrait de M. de Carignan*.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 88. Mouret, *Portrait de Mme de Carignan*.  
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Fig. 89. After Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait de Cardinal de Fleury*. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 90. Jean-Pancrace Chastel, Modello for the Tomb of Guillaume de Gueidan, c. 1754. Terracotta. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence



Figure 91. Jean-Pancrace Chastel, fountain, 1756. Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 92. Jean-Pancrace Chastel, fountain, 1758. Place des Precheurs, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 93. Jean-Pancrace Chastel, fountain, 1758.  
Rue de la Mule Noire, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 94. Facade of the Halle aux Grains, sculpture by Jean-Pancrace Chastel, 1764. Place  
de l'Hôtel de Ville, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 95. Jean-Pancrace Chastel, Saturn and Cybele, 1764. Halle aux Grains, Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 96. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *La Menasseuse*, 1708. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 97. Jean-Baptiste Van Loo, *The Education of Cupid*. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 98. Jean-Pancrace Chastel, gisant for the Mausoleum of Guillaume de Gueidan, c. 1757. Marble. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 99. Jean-Pancrace Chastel, The Battle of Al Mansorah, c. 1757. Marble. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 100. Jean-Pancrace Chastel, The Siege of Damiette, c. 1757. Marble. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.

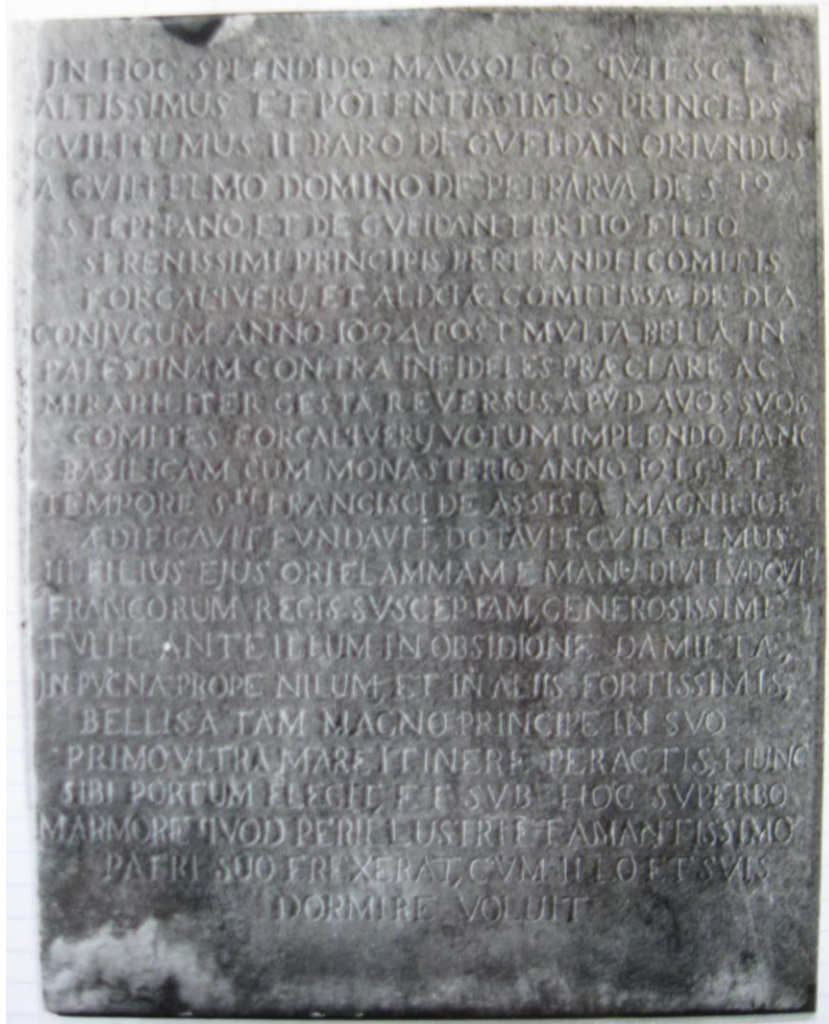


Figure 101. Jean-Pancrace Chastel, epitaph for the Mausoleum of Guillaume de Gueidan, c. 1757. Marble. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 102. Claude Arnulphy, *Portrait of Pierre-Claude-Secret de Gueidan*, c. 1739. Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence.



Figure 103. Nicolas de Largillierre, *Portrait of a child*, possibly Louis XV, 1714. The J. Paul Getty Museum.

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