

LIVING TOGETHER: REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS AND THE
PERFORMANCE OF ELITE IDENTITIES IN FRENCH SPACES OF SOCIABILITY,
1700-1789

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ABSTRACT

Joanna M. Gohmann: Representations of Animals and the Performance of Elite Identities
in French Spaces of Sociability, 1700-1789
(Under the direction of Mary D. Sheriff)

This dissertation analyzes the complex bonds between humans and animals as they were represented in eighteenth-century French art and material culture. I argue that despite scientific, philosophic, and social efforts to firmly separate the categories of human and animal, the creatures that elites encountered on a daily basis were intimately entwined with expressions of refined, cultivated identities. As a result, visual depictions of animals – associated with nature and the natural world – became integral to the understanding and expression of the human, cultural world. Indeed, the distinction between humans and animals was positively blurred in the visual arts. In my analysis of the muddled categories, I explore four iterations of the animal form: (1) animals as *compagnie* (company), (2) animals as *cuisine* (food), (3) animals as *couture* (clothing) and (4) animals as *conseillers* (guides). Aristocrats would regularly encounter these forms of animals in spaces of sociability (such as the dining room, salon, and boudoir), locations that proved central to performances of identity and expressions of the most astute forms of culture.

Turning to works of art by well-known (such as Jean-Honoré Fragonard, François Boucher, and Jean-Siméon Chardin), understudied (such as François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie), and unknown artists, I analyze how the visual landscape represented an alternative view of the world described and catalogued in Enlightenment texts. My study

combines art historical analysis with both a close attention to eighteenth-century discourses on nature and insights drawn from the field of animal studies. This project reveals the profound cultural work performed by representations of animals, argues that eighteenth-century animal encounters were not limited to interactions with living creatures, and introduces an alternative understanding of the French Enlightenment's interpretation of animals.

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For Hank, my little mirror

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: COMPAGNIE: POMPADOUR’S PETS: THE VISUAL WORK OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR’S BELOVED DOGS, MIMI AND INÈS.....	21
I. The Dog in Eighteenth-Century France.....	24
II. A New Image for Pompadour.....	29
III. Pompadour’s Doggie Dependents.....	42
IV. A Living Allegory of Friendship.....	55
V. Still a Worthy Friend.....	65
CHAPTER 2: CUISINE: ANIMALS AT THE REFINED TABLE	
I. The Diners: Animal Nature and Human Refinement.....	71
II. Procuring Food: Brutish Butchers and Kitchen Maids.....	74
III. Cullinary Arts and their Complexities.....	82
IV. Setting the Stage: Ornament Obscuring Biological Need.....	88
V. Serving and Consuming: The Predictability of Service à la Française.....	106
VI. The Problem of Digestion – Animals inside the Human Body.....	113
CHAPTER 3: COUTURE: PAINTED FUR AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIABLE IDENTITY.....	119
I. Towards a Philosophy of Fur Garments.....	120
II. The Fur <i>Manchon</i> : Visualizing Sexuality.....	130
III. Fur as a Social Organizer.....	156

IV. Fur as a Mark of Otherness.....	162
CHAPTER 4: CONSEILLERS: DECORATIVE MONKEY BUSINESS: THE AFFECTING ROLE OF PAINTED MONKEYS IN <i>SINGERIE</i> INTERIORS.....	174
I. The Monkey in the Eighteenth-Century French Imagination.....	178
II. The Monkey as an Artistic Device.....	193
III. Christophe Huet’s Mocking Monkeys.....	201
IV. Monkey Behavior in Singerie Interiors.....	207
V. Monkeys in a Private Space.....	228
CONCLUSION.....	237
FIGURES	242
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	351

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Cesar Ripa, <i>Fidelity</i>	242
2. François Boucher, <i>Madame de Pompadour</i>	243
3. François Boucher, <i>Madame de Pompadour</i>	244
4. François-Hubert Drouais, <i>Madame de Pompadour</i>	245
5. 5. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, <i>The Swing</i>	246
6. 6. Detail of Jean-Honré Fragonard, <i>The Swing</i>	246
7. Francois-Robert Ingouf, after Sigmund Freudenberg, <i>La soire d'hyver</i>	247
8. Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, <i>Les biens viennent tous ensemble</i>	247
9. Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, <i>Madame de Pompadour en Amitié</i>	248
10. Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, <i>L'Amour embrassant l'Amitié</i>	248
11. Madame de Pompadour, <i>Plate 42: La Fidelle Amitié</i>	249
12. Detail of Madame de Pompadour, <i>Plate 42: La Fidelle Amitié</i>	249
13. Madam de Pompadour after François Boucher, <i>Plate 59: Un Chien</i>	250
14. Madam de Pompadour after François Boucher, <i>Plate 61: Un Chien</i>	250
15. Jean-Baptiste Oudry, <i>Misse and Lutline</i>	251
16. Étienne Fessard after Christophe Huet, <i>La Fidelité: Portrait de Inès</i>	252
17. Étienne Fessard after Christophe Huet, <i>La Constance: Portrait de Mimi</i>	252
18. Christophe Huet, <i>Portrait of Mimi</i>	253
19. "L'Epagneul," from Comte de Buffon's <i>Histoire Naturelle</i>	253
20. "Bichon," from Comte de Buffon's <i>Histoire Naturelle</i>	254
21. "Le Grand Danois," from Comte de Buffon's <i>Histoire Naturelle</i>	254
22. François Guérin, <i>Madame de Pompadour et sa fille, Alexandrine</i>	255

23. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, <i>The Good Mother</i>	256
24. Detail of Jean-Honoré Fragonard, <i>The Good Mother</i>	256
25. Claude I Sené, <i>Dog Kennel</i>	257
26. Dog Collar with Inscription.....	257
27. Jean-Paul Morel, <i>Dié Gendrier</i>	258
28. Joseph-Stiffred Duplessis, <i>Portrait of Madame Freret Déricour</i>	258
29. Louise Élisabeth Vigée Lebrun, <i>Marie Antoinette and her Children</i>	259
30. Francois Andre Vincent, <i>Portrait of Mother and Child</i>	259
31. Henri Gascard, <i>Madame de Montespan reclining in front of the Hall of Château de Clagny</i>	260
32. Jean-Frédéric Schall, <i>The Beloved Portrait</i>	260
33. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, <i>A Woman with a Dog</i>	261
34. Carrogis Louis Carmontelle, <i>Madame la comtesse de Rochechouart</i>	261
35. Antoine Vestier, <i>Madame Vestier with her Child at her Feet</i>	262
36. William Hogarth, <i>The Painter and his Pug</i>	262
37. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Lundi 21 Juin 1751” from <i>Voyage du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la Table de sa majesté</i>	263
38. Octavien François, <i>Le déjeuner à la campagne</i>	264
39. Carle van Loo, <i>The Hunt Breakfast</i>	264
40. Detail of Carle van Loo, <i>The Hunt Breakfast</i>	265
41. <i>Repass servi sur une Terrasse</i>	265
42. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Jeudi 2 7bre,” from <i>Voyage du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la Table de sa majesté</i>	266
43. Plate I of the “Boucher” entry of <i>l’Encyclopédie</i>	267

44. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Lundi 16 Aoust 1751,” from from <i>Voyage du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la Table de sa majesté</i>	268
45. Detail of François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Lundi 16 1751”	269
46. Jeaurat Étienne, <i>Intérieur de cuisine</i>	269
47. Jacques Gamelin, <i>Intérieur de cuisine</i>	270
48. “Galère, ce que c’est” from Menon’s <i>Traité historique et pratique de la cuisine</i>	270
49. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Jeudi 18 Novembre 1751,” from <i>Voyage du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la Table de sa majesté</i>	271
50. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mercredi 29 Septembre 1751,” from <i>Voyage du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la Table de sa majesté</i>	272
51. Detail from François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mardi 28 Septembre 1751,” from <i>Voyage du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la Table de sa majesté</i>	273
52. Detail from François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mardi 28 Septembre 1751,” from <i>Voyage du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la Table de sa majesté</i>	273
53. “Plats” from Menon’s <i>Le Nouveau Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois</i>	273
54. “Modelle des Plats, tant Grands, moyens, que petits, qu’il faut pour bien server une Table” in Vincent Chapelle’s <i>Le Cuisinier Moderne</i>	274
55. Jean-Baptiste Oudry, <i>Le Forhu à la fin de la curée</i>	274
56. “Table de trente-cinq à quarante couverts, Servie à quarante-neuf” from Massialot’s <i>Le Nouveau Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois</i>	275
57. “Modele pour une Table de quatorze à quinze Couverts, servie à un grand Plat, deux moiens, six petits, & quatre Assiettes” in François Massialot’s <i>Le Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois</i>	275
58. Illustration from François Massialot’s <i>Le Confiturier Royal</i>	276

59. “Table de Trante Couverts” from Vincent La Chapelle’s <i>Le Cuisiner Moderne</i>	276
60. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Jeudi 16 Mars 1752,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1752</i>	277
61. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mercredi 17 Aoust 1757,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1757</i>	277
62. <i>Carte de la forêt de Sénart</i>	278
63. Detail of <i>Carte de la forêt de Sénart</i>	279
64. Detail of <i>Carte de la forêt de Sénart</i>	279
65. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mardi 22 Juin 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	280
66. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mercredi 23 Juin 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	281
67. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Lundi 16 Aoust 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	282
68. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mercredi 18 Aoust 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	283
69. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Jeudi 19 Aoust 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	284
70. François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Vendredi 3 Septembre 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	285
71. Detail of François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Lundi 21 Juin 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	286

72. Detail of François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mercredi 18 Aoust 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	286
73. Detail of François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mercredi 18 Aoust,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	286
74. Detail of François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Lundi 21 Juin 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	286
75. Detail of François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Jeudi 19 Aoust 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	287
76. Nicolas Lancret, <i>Le Déjeuner de jambon</i>	287
77. Detail of François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mercredi 23 Juin 1751,” from <i>Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751</i>	288
78. Sceaux Factory, <i>Tureen in the form of a Pigeon</i>	288
79. Strasbourg Manufactory, <i>Tureen in the form of a Capercaillie</i>	289
80. <i>Tureen</i>	289
81. Jean Siméon Chardin, <i>The Silver Tureen</i>	290
82. Philibert-Louis Debucourt after Claude-Louis Desrais, <i>The Palais Royal – Gallery’s Walk</i>	290
83. Diagram of Philibert-Louis Debucourt after Claude-Louis Desrais, <i>The Palais Royal – Gallery’s Walk</i>	291
84. Plate V of the “Fourreur” entry in <i>l’Encyclopédie</i>	291
85. Plate I of the “Fourreur” entry in <i>l’Encyclopédie</i>	292
86. Plate II of the “Fourreur” entry in <i>l’Encyclopédie</i>	292
87. Attributed to François Hubert Drouais, <i>Portrait of a Young Lady in a Blue Silk Dress with Fur</i>	293
88. Joseph Ducreux, <i>Madame Elisabeth and her pug</i>	293

89. Jean Marc Nattier, <i>Louis Henriette de Bourbon-Conti with Muff</i>	294
90. François Boucher, <i>The Four Seasons: Winter</i>	294
91. Louise Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun, <i>Portrait of Madame Molé-Reymond</i>	295
92. François-Hubert Drouais, <i>Portrait of Madame de Pompadour with a Fur Muff</i>	296
93. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, <i>Girl with a Dog</i>	296
94. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, <i>L'Hiver</i>	297
95. François Boucher, <i>La Toilette</i>	297
96. Nicolas Lavreince, <i>Young Woman at Her Toilette</i>	298
97. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, <i>L'Printemps</i>	298
98. Jean-Baptiste Chardin, <i>The Morning Toilette</i>	299
99. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, <i>La Gimblette</i> (also known as <i>Girl with a Dog</i>).....	300
100. Maurice Quentin de la Tour, <i>Portrait de Nicole Ricard</i>	300
101. Jean-Honoré Fragonard, <i>The Two Sisters</i>	301
102. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, <i>Boy with a Dog</i>	301
103. François-Hubert Drouais, <i>Boy with a House of Cards</i>	302
104. Attributed to Maurice Quentin de la Tour, <i>Portrait de Mme. De Rozeville</i>	302
105. Louis Vigée, <i>Portrait of a woman in blue with a muff</i>	303
106. François-Hubert Drouais, <i>Madame Sophie de France</i>	303
107. Jean Mariette (publisher), <i>Officer en manteau</i>	304
108. Bernard Picart, <i>Cavalier en manchon, coiffé d'un tricorne, un gant à la main</i>	304
109. Jacques-Charles Bar, <i>Chevalier français, de l'ordre royal militaire de St. Louis, costume paré de 1787</i>	305

110. <i>French Fashion Plate</i>	305
111. Jean Florent Defraigne & A.B. Duhamel, <i>Mode vestimentaire féminine et masculine</i>	306
112. Henry William Bunbury, <i>View on Pont Neuf at Paris</i>	306
113. Hyacinthe Rigaud, <i>Louis XIV</i>	307
114. Hyacinthe Rigaud, <i>Louis XV</i>	307
115. Antoine-François Callet, <i>Louis XVI, King of France and Navarre</i>	308
116. Detail of Antoine-François Callet, <i>Louis XVI, King of France and Navarre</i>	308
117. Nicolas Dupin after Pierre Thomas, Cashier des Costumes Français, <i>Lévite pelisse à [arement et Colet garni d’hermine le jupon de Satin blanc à poix noir le manchon de même garni de bandes d’hermine et la Ceinture aussi d’hermine, le Pouf surmonté de fleurs de batiste et de plumes. Cette Robe a été portée par une Dame de qualité pendant le Deuil de M. Thérèse d’Autriche mere de l’Empereur et de la Reine de France</i>	309
118. Augustin de Saint-Aubin after Charles Nicolas Cochin, <i>Benjamin Franklin</i>	310
119. Jean Baptiste Nini and Thomas Walpole, <i>Benjamin Franklin</i>	310
120. Allan Ramsey, <i>Jean-Jacques Rousseau</i>	311
121. Jacques-André-Joseph Aved, <i>Portrait of Said Effendi, Ottoman Ambassador to France</i>	312
122. Jean-Étienne Liotard, <i>Self Portrait</i>	312
123. Marquis Charles de Ferriol, “Fille Turque,” from <i>Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant</i>	313
124. Antoine de Favray, <i>Dames levantines en coiffure d’intérieur</i>	313
125. Jean-Baptiste Greuze, <i>Portrait of a Lady in Turkish Dress</i>	314
126. Jean-Marc Nattier, <i>Marie Leszczyńska</i>	314
127. Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , in the Château de Chantilly.....	315

128. Christophe Huet, <i>Petite Singerie</i> , in the Château de Chantilly.....	315
129. Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , in the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	316
130. Christophe Huet, <i>Grand Cabinet</i> or <i>Salon Chinois</i> , in the Château sur Marne...	316
131. “Le Jocko” from Comte de Buffon’s <i>Histoire Naturelle</i>	317
132. “Chimpaneze” from Abbé Prévost’s <i>Histoire Générale des Voyages</i>	317
133. Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, <i>The Fair at Bezons</i>	318
134. Detail of Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, <i>The Fair at Bezons</i>	318
135. Carrogis Louis Carmontelle, <i>Mlle. Desgots de Sainte Domingue avec son nègre Laurent</i>	319
136. Antoine Watteau, <i>Eight Studies of Heads</i>	319
137. Carrogis Louis Carmontelle, <i>Narcisse, nègre du duc d’Orleans</i>	320
138. <i>La Belle Hottnetote</i>	320
139. “Comparative Skulls” from Petrus Camper’s <i>Treatise on the Natural Difference of Features in Persons of Different Countries</i>	321
140. Outfit for a Monkey.....	321
141. David Teniers II, <i>Meetings of Monkeys at the Tavern</i>	322
142. Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, <i>Pomade pour les levres</i>	322
143. François Boucher, <i>Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de Pompadour</i>	323
144. Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, <i>Il part pour hanovre</i>	323
145. Louis Desplaces after Antoine Watteau, <i>La Peinture</i>	324
146. Jean-Siméon Chardin, <i>Le Singe Peintre</i>	324
147. Jean-Baptiste Deshays, <i>The Monkey Painter</i>	325
148. Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, “Title Page” in <i>Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes</i>	325

149. Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, “Title Page” in <i>Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes</i>	326
150. Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, “Le Maître d’Ecole” in <i>Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes</i>	326
151. Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, “L’Organiste Ambulant” in <i>Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes</i>	327
152. Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, “Le Lavement Rendu” in <i>Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes</i>	327
153. Pierre Bullet and J.B. de Chamblain, <i>Château de Champs, Plan du rez-du-chaussée</i>	328
154. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois</i> , at the Château Champs sur Marne.....	328
155. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois</i> , at the Château Champs sur Marne.....	329
156. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois</i> , at the Château Champs sur Marne.....	329
157. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois</i> , at the Château Champs sur Marne.....	330
158. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois</i> , at the Château Champs sur Marne.....	331
159. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois</i> , at the Château Champs sur Marne.....	331
160. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois</i> , at the Château Champs sur Marne.....	332
161. Floor Plan of the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	332
162. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	333
163. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	333

164. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	334
165. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	334
166. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	335
167. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	336
168. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	336
169. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	337
170. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	337
171. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Chambre de Singe</i> , at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg.....	338
172. Nicolas Lancret, <i>The Four Times of Day: Afternoon</i>	338
173. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , “America,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	339
174. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , “China,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	339
175. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , “Europe,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	340
176. Giovanni Battista, Detail of <i>Apollo and the Continents</i> , in the stairwell in the Würzburg Residenz.....	340
177. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , “North Africa,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	341
178. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , at the Château de Chantilly.....	341
179. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , at the Château de Chantilly.....	342

180. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , at the Château de Chantilly.....	342
181. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , at the Château de Chantilly.....	343
182. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , at the Château de Chantilly.....	343
183. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , at the Château de Chantilly.....	344
184. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Grande Singerie</i> , at the Château de Chantilly.....	344
185. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Petite Singerie</i> , “She-Monkeys Hunting,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	345
186. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Petite Singerie</i> , “She-Monkeys Cherry Picking,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	346
187. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Petite Singerie</i> , “She-Monkeys Playing Cards,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	347
188. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Petite Singerie</i> , “She-Monkeys Skating,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	348
189. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Petite Singerie</i> , “She-Monkey Bathing,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	349
190. Detail of Christophe Huet, <i>Petite Singerie</i> , “She-Monkey at her Toilette,” at the Château de Chantilly.....	350

INTRODUCTION

Despite eighteenth-century French scientific, philosophic, and social efforts to define and preserve a clear boundary between humans and animals, the categories of human and animal were intimately entwined in the visual arts. Turning to portraits, genre painting, prints, porcelain wares, illustrated menus, the material objects of pet ownership, and interior design, I demonstrate the many ways in which brutes were central to the definition and presentation of a refined, elite human self.¹ Two questions frame my project: how did individuals encounter the animal in their daily lives and how did these encounters reaffirm, mediate, or blur the distinction between humans and brutes? To pursue this inquiry, I investigate animal imagery in four thematic groups that represent the different ways in which animal and human bodies were put into direct contact in polite, social spaces: (1) animals as *compagnie* (company), (2) animals as *cuisine* (food), (3) animals as *couture* (clothing) and (4) animals as *conseillers* (guides).

In devoting considerable attention to scientific discourse, especially the writings of the century's most esteemed naturalist, Georges-Louis Leclerc, the Comte de Buffon (1707-1788), my work builds on existing scholarship in the history of science and literary

¹ Throughout this dissertation, I use the term "brute" in the eighteenth-century-French context. By mid-century both intellectuals and the general French population used the term to refer to animals that did not possess reason. This term was more specific than "animal," for it was widely understood that humans were animals. Humans were animals that possessed reason and brutes were animals that simply did not have it. See: *L'Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1762), available online via the University of Chicago's ARTFL Encyclopédie Project in association with the *Projet d'informatisation du Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>. The 1762 edition, defines brute as: "BRUTE. s.f. Animal privé de raison. Il tient moins de l'homme que de la brute. Il n'a pas plus de raison qu'une brute. L'instinct tient lieu de raison aux brutes. La raison fait une différence essentielle entre les hommes & les brutes. On dit d'Un homme qui n'a ni esprit ni raison, que C'est une vraie brute."

studies. I focus on images and objects that were used and seen in interior spaces that hosted a myriad of performative, social activities such as dining, gaming, dressing, and socializing. These communal gatherings were highly ritualistic and important to the daily lives of the most refined, civilized, and culturally astute segment of eighteenth-century French society. My analysis places the animal within this environment and thereby enriches studies of sociability and comportment.

Most significantly, this dissertation contributes to the new and growing field of animal studies, as there has been a notable absence of scholarship focusing on animals in eighteenth-century France, the period in which the “animal question” (what is the difference between human and animals?) first received sustained attention.² In *Man and Beast in French Thought of the Eighteenth Century* (1936), Hester Hastings analyzes the period’s philosophic, scientific, and literary writings on animals, and illuminates the patterns, contradictions, and complexities of the century’s relationship with animals.³ Expanding upon Hastings’s work, I consider the eighteenth-century French discourse on animals in relation to the visual arts and demonstrate that artistic representations of brutes were an important element in the century’s intellectual conversations on the meaning of brutes.

I also build upon Nicolas Milovanovic’s *La Princesse Palatine* (2012) and Louise Robbins’s *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots* (2002) whose texts focus on animals in the long eighteenth century; but, whereas these works explore the practices of

² This lacuna has also been noted by the journal *French History*, which released a special issue on “Animals in French History” in 2014 as a “a *ratrappage*, a catching-up, of French animal studies in relation to Anglophone scholarship.” See: *French History* Vol. 28, Issue 2 (June 2014).

³ Hester Hastings, *Man and Beast in French thought of the eighteenth century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936).

aristocratic pet keeping and the symbolic meaning of companion animals, I am interested in the many other iterations of animals in eighteenth-century France, the patterns that emerge in varied representations of animals, and the way artists responded – knowingly or not – to new interpretations of brutes.⁴ My analysis demonstrates that encounters with animals extended beyond interactions with living creatures. In *The Human Animal in Western Art and Science* (2007), Martin Kemp pursues a similar line of inquiry, as he explores how philosophy and science informed representations of animals from the Renaissance forward.⁵ However, whereas Kemp sees eighteenth-century intellectual theories and visual representation of animals as working in tandem, I believe that the contents and use of specific depictions of animals did not always affirm the century’s intellectual understanding of the natural world and humanity’s position within it.

I focus on intellectual and artistic creations between 1700 and 1789, as after the French Revolution and the founding of the Republic, animals assumed an entirely different role in society. At the advent of the eighteenth century, the relationships between humans and animals assumed a new complexity, for it was common knowledge that man was in fact a type of animal. This fact proved problematic in relation to the popular text of seventeenth-century philosopher René Descartes (1596-1650), *Les Passions de l’âme* (1649) in which he contends that animals functioned like machines, reacting only to external stimuli. Descartes argues that although beasts have the same “centralized gland” as people, that “centralized gland” stimulates different things. In

⁴ Nicolas Milovanovic, *La princesse Palatine: protectrice des animaux* (Paris: Perrin; Versailles: Les métiers de Versailles, 2012); Louise Robbins, *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots: Exotic animals in eighteenth-century Paris* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

⁵ Martin Kemp, *The Human Animal in Western Art and Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

people, the brain produces “passions” or feelings, allowing humans to think then act.⁶

The ability to experience emotions and exercise thought was, according to Descartes, ultimately bound to the presence of a soul, an abstract, otherworldly entity that dwelled inside the human body. Animals, as Descartes defined them, only acted with the physicality of their bodies. Animals did not experience emotions or thought; rather, the “centralized gland” in animals only “stimulated nerve and muscle movements.”⁷

Following Descartes’s conclusions, the philosopher and social critic Pierre-Sylvain Régis (1632-1707), in his *Système de Philosophie* (1690), suggested that animals functioned like hydraulic machines, with muscles, nerves, and tendons comparable to pipes, pumps, and water flow functions.⁸ For Régis, animals and machines had a one-to-one correspondence. Cartesians such as J.F. Vallade (1701-1767), M. Letellier, and l’Abbé Macy (1625-1695) also contended that animals existed simply for themselves, as they believed that brutes had no knowledge or relationship with God. As a result of these conditions, Cartesians concluded that animals were irrational beings that lived without emotions or souls.

New eighteenth-century scientific studies of animals, the surge in pet keeping, and an increased awareness that man was in fact a type of animal highlighted the point that despite Cartesian conclusions, humans and animals were actually quite similar. For the majority of eighteenth-century French thinkers, the evidence that Cartesians used to maintain the animal/human binary was neither accurate nor stable; animals appeared to

⁶ René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*, trans. Stephen Voss (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1989), 48.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Pierre-Sylvain Régis, *Système de philosophie, contenant la logique, metaphysique, physique & morale par Pierre Sylvain Régis*, 3 Volumes (Lyon: Chez Annisoon, Posuel, & Rigaud, 1610).

think and feel. This notion led to several questions: if animals and humans were indeed so similar, how was humanity superior? Because animals seemingly experienced emotions and thoughts, did they actually possess a soul? What defined humanity? And what distinguished humans from the broader world of animals?

Throughout the eighteenth century, and particularly among French philosophes, these questions received increased attention. While the Cartesians did not disappear completely, eighteenth-century intellectuals who argued that animals were indeed sentient, soul-bearing creatures outnumbered them. Building from the foundation of John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), a diverse group of theologians and philosophers – such as Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), David Renaud Boullier (1699-1759), J.B. d'Argens (1704-1771), Father Bougeant (1690-1743), Julien Offray de la Mettrie (1709-1751), and Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715-1780), to name only a few – grappled with Descartes's philosophy, disputed elements of his conclusions, and ultimately complicated his simplistic treatment of animals. For example, in his 1727 *Essai Philosophique sur l'âme des bêtes*, the Protestant theologian David Renaud Boullier (1699-1759) emphatically stresses that animals have souls, feelings, and thoughts and these phenomena can be observed in human interactions with brutes.⁹ Boullier explains that through an animal's body language, one can identify the pain of a beaten dog or the fear of a lamb running from a wolf.¹⁰ Condillac explains the existence of an animal soul, declaring: "The similarity between animals and us proves that they

⁹ Hastings, 31.

¹⁰ Ibid., 35.

have a soul.”¹¹ Claude Yvon, in the *l'Encyclopédie* entry on animal souls, shares his experience of animal emotions, explaining that:

I see a dog come running when I call, cuddle with me when I praise it, tremble and flee when I threaten it, obey me when I order it, and give all other exterior marks of the various feelings of joy, sadness, pain, fear, and desire of the passions of love and hate.¹²

Yvon observes the dog expressing a wide range of emotions in response to his actions; the animal chooses the appropriate emotional response, thereby revealing to Yvon that the dog is a rational, feeling being. In his monumental *Histoire Naturelle, générale et particulière* (1749-1788), the Comte de Buffon also observes animals experiencing emotions and argues that animals are prone to feelings and thoughts similar to those of humans.¹³

In his *Amusement philosophique sue le langage des Bêtes* (1737), Bougeant suggests the ridiculousness of animals functioning like automatons:

Imagine to yourself a man who should love his watch as we love a dog, and caress it because he should think himself dearly beloved by it, so as to think when it points out 12 or 1, it does so knowingly and out of tenderness to him.¹⁴

¹¹ Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*, trans. Hans Aarsleff (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 39.

¹² “Je vois un chien accourir quand je l'appelle, me caresser quand je le flatte, trembler & fuir quand je le menace, m'obéir quand je lui commande, & donner toutes les marques extérieures de divers sentimens de joie, de tristesse, de douleur, de crainte, de desir, des passions de l'amour & de la haine” in Yvon, “Ame des bêtes,” in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers ...*, 17 vols. eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (Paris: 1751-1777), 1: 343-351. Unless otherwise noted, all references to the *Encyclopédie* will be from the first Pairs edition, available online via the ARTFL Encyclopédie Project at the University of Chicago (Spring 2013 Edition), ed. Robert Morrissey, <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>.

¹³ Count de Buffon, *Natural History, General and Particular by the Count de Buffon, Translated into English* 9 Vols, 2nd Edition, ed. William Smellie (London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell in the Strand, 1785). All references to Buffon will be from the 2nd edition. On animal feelings and thoughts, see for example: 2:2 & 4:2.

¹⁴ Guillaume Hyacinthe Bougeant, *A Philosophical Amusement upon the Language of Beasts* (London: T. Cooper at the Globe in Paternoiter Row, 1739), 4.

According to Bougeant, such would be the case if Descartes's conclusions were true. Bougeant continues to dispute Cartesian beliefs, explaining that a dog "...give[s] all outward signs of many different sentiments. I conclude from hence, that a dog has in him a principle of knowledge and sentiment."¹⁵ Like that of Yvon, Bougeant's experience of the animal reveals creatures' ability to exercise mental faculties and experience feelings. In *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les homes* (1754), Rousseau complicates Cartesian beliefs as he boldly states: "All animals must be allowed to have ideas, since all animals have senses; they even combine their ideas to a certain degree ..."¹⁶ According to Rousseau, animals must mentally process the information they receive through their sensory experiences in order to act; animals, therefore, do not simply respond to external forces like machines. Buffon, who analyzed hundreds of animals for *Histoire Naturelle*, focused on creatures' biological interiors, recognizing that the internal workings of animals were so excellent that they alone allow animals to "differ from ... automaton[s]."¹⁷ Boullier, Buffon, and Yvon, like many of the aforementioned authors, question the idea that animals were like machines, responding only to external stimuli, and endowed the animal with some type of soul and limited mental faculties and, in so doing, brought the animal away from a purely instinctual existence.

Although Julien Offray de la Mettrie aligned himself with the Cartesian philosophy in the title of his *L'Homme Machine* (1748), the text actually champions

¹⁵ Ibid., 5. Although Bougeant mentions a dog specifically, he applies his conclusions to all animals throughout his larger text as he praises animals' language abilities.

¹⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (New York: Dover Publications, 2004), 9.

¹⁷ Buffon, 4: 2.

animals as sentient, thought-possessing creatures fundamentally different from machines. While la Mettrie begins his treatise suggesting a machine model for both animals and humans, he concludes the text by emphasizing that animals have a soul, like man, which provides the stimulus for their reactions.¹⁸ He also identifies feelings within brutes:

But to decide whether animals that cannot speak have received a knowledge of the law of nature, we must for the same reason rely on the signs that I have... mentioned, supposing they exist. The facts seem to prove it. A dog, which [bites] its master, who was annoying it, seems to repent the moment afterwards. [The dog] appears sad, upset, not daring to show itself and admitting its guilt by its cringing, humble attitude.¹⁹

This quotation reveals that la Mettrie identified sentiments - quite similar to those of humans - within a dog's experience, suggesting that animals are capable of experiencing and expressing emotions. Later in the text, the author explains that any sense of repentance or emotive regret – like that of the dog feeling sad –, act of remembrance, and ability to communicate reveals a being to have a soul and thereby in possession of intelligence.²⁰

By embracing the idea of animals as sentient beings and by recognizing animal souls, la Mettrie, Boullier and even Buffon's ideas threaten the fragile binary of humans and animals. La Mettrie goes so far as to declare, "nature has only used one dough, merely changing the yeast" when animals and humans were first formed.²¹ As indicated through quotations such as this one, the division between these two parties became

¹⁸ Julien Offray de la Mettrie, "Machine Man" in *Machine Man and Other Writings*, trans. Ann Thomson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Hastings, 44; la Mettrie, 11. La Mettrie places the most emphasis on animals' ability to communicate and develop a language amongst them. Mettrie also emphasizes animals' ability to learn.

²¹ la Mettrie, 20.

blurred, thereby threatening the supremacy of humanity. If both were made of the same “dough,” were animals actually man’s equal?

To account for this challenge to human dominance, the majority of philosophers simply declared man’s distinction from and superiority over brutes.²² For example, both Boullier and Buffon accounted for human superiority by suggesting an indescribable difference in the existence between humans and brutes.²³ Boullier proposed that one must avoid the extremes of pure mechanism and granting animals immortal souls, and simply accept that animals are responsive, mentally aware beings that are different – and inferior to – humans.²⁴ In the 1786 text *l’Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Lacretelle (1766-1858) argued for a different idea, concluding that animals have an unusual type of soul.

According to Lacretelle, animals have a material soul – rather than an immortal one – that is only capable of experiencing emotions and mental processing. Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698-1759), a French mathematician and philosopher, also proposed that humans and animals have different types of souls, but he describes the difference in terms of degrees. According to de Maupertuis, God distributes souls, intellect, and reason according to a creatures’ position in the Great Chain of Being; humans are at the top of the Chain, thus they received more advanced and superior allotments of souls and abilities.²⁵

²² There were those like the Marquis d’Argens and Morfouace de Beaumont, who argued that it was too difficult for humans to understand animal souls, especially when humans did not even understand their own souls. Both men suggest that humans and animals could actually have the same type of soul and the same abilities.

²³ Hastings, 44.

²⁴ Ibid., 34.

²⁵ Ibid., 50.

Rousseau, too, describes the difference between human and animal as one of gradations; for him, the ideas that people form in comparison to those formed by animal are different “only in a matter of degrees.”²⁶ In his *Essay on the Origin of Human Understanding*, Etienne Bonnet de Condillac (1714-1780) also argues for the difference between human and animal souls by identifying humanity’s intellectual superiority:

... we begin to perceive the superiority of our soul over that of the animals. For, on the one hand, it is certain that they cannot attach their ideas to arbitrary signs; on the other, it would seem that this inability does not altogether stem from the nature of their organism. Is their body not as well suited as ours for the language of action?²⁷

According to Condillac, animals do not use their abilities to their fullest potential, thereby regulating them to a lower status than humanity. Nor do animals engage in complex thoughts. Condillac explains that animals can “only recall [an] idea when it is associated with a need,” rather than engaging with complex, more abstract thoughts. Humans employ “Instituted Signs,” or tangible things that individuals have “... chosen and only have meaning to [him or her], and give the ability to recall ideas through these signs.”²⁸ Condillac continues, explaining: “For by the assistance of signs, [a person] can recall at will, he revives, or is often able to revive the ideas that are attached to them.”²⁹ Humans can develop thoughts whenever they please. While animals do possess thoughts, their ideas operate on a lower, less-complex register than humans; animals do not recall thoughts at will.

²⁶ Rousseau, 9.

²⁷ Condillac, 40.

²⁸ Ibid., 32.

²⁹ Ibid., 40.

In *L'homme Machine*, La Mettrie proposes yet another way to maintain human supremacy by exploring the potential of education. He explains that animals do indeed surpass man in terms of intelligence, but only in relation to human babies. Demonstrating that a human child must be taught to eat, whereas an animal immediately seeks out food, la Mettrie asks the reader, “[w]hich animal would die of hunger in the middle of a river of milk?”³⁰ Because humans have organized systems for teaching information, la Mettrie argues that humans outgrow and surpass animals, thereby claiming authority in the natural world. According to la Mettrie animals do have intelligence, but it is a limited kind, one that cannot develop to the same extreme as humanity’s.³¹ Thus, like the majority of the philosophers grappling with this complex issue, la Mettrie identifies a distinction between man and animal, maintaining humanity’s superiority and upholding the ideal human/animal binary.

The French elite further supported the ridged distinction between people and brutes through an intense commitment to highly scripted protocols, manners, and artful displays. While interest in polite conduct first emerged in the early sixteenth century with Baldassare Castiglione’s (1478-1529) *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), the ideals of artful bodies and graceful movement were even more pronounced and rehearsed in eighteenth-century France. Many scholars credit the century’s intense devotion to sociability and politesse to the growth of the French aristocracy, which ballooned when families purchased elite privileges and titles, honors that were once obtained exclusively through bloodlines. As a result, money, property, and access to the King were no longer

³⁰ la Mettrie, 15.

³¹ Ibid. See also: la Mettrie, 77-88.

the marks of the established nobility; consequently, the old aristocracy distinguished themselves from the new aristocracy through highly scripted and studied comportment.³² While this was certainly the case, the rhetoric used to describe and delineate behavioral codes reveals that another fundamental component in the aristocratic commitment to politesse was a deeply rooted desire to solidify refined culture's separation from and superiority over the natural world.

In his monumental text on the development of civility in Western Europe, *The Civilizing Process*, Norbert Elias traces how and when cultures began to practice behaviors labeled as polite and proper. He contends that manners worked to place “animalic human activities ... behind the scenes of men's communal social life.”³³ Animalic behaviors include, but are not limited to, acts that the body must do in order to function (such as excrete waste, reproduce, perspire, sneeze, cough, eat, drink, breathe, and sleep) and behaviors that preserve life (such as sex, violence, child birth, and lactation). Over time, bodily functions and preservation have become increasingly invested with “feelings of shame” because they are acts that violate standards of self-discipline and, therefore, betray humanity's animal condition.³⁴ People who do not control their natural, physical impulses come frightfully close to being animals. Elias's

³² There are far too many studies on comportment to annotate here, however these are the works that most strongly influence my argument: Sarah Cohen provides a sharp analysis of manners and their influence on the human body in *Art Dance and the body in French culture of the ancien régime* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Daniel Gordon explores the eighteenth-century discourse on polite behavior and argues that manners played a central role in maintaining individual liberties, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670-1789* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). Antoine Lilti takes her readers to the salon and analyzes the ways in which sociability and polite behavior were enacted and performed in, *The World of Salons: sociability and worldliness in eighteenth-century Paris*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), see especially 1, 2, and 6.

³³ Norbert Elias, *Power and Civility: The Civilizing Process* Vol. 2, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 230.

³⁴ Ibid.

conclusions certainly align with eighteenth-century French philosophies of sociability, which called for elites to precisely execute challenging behavioral rules in an effortless manner.

These rehearsed behaviors transformed their natural bodies and surroundings into art forms that were entirely different from the natural world, its animal inhabitants, and those of the lower classes who were seen as more closely related to the natural world. Mentors of manners and behavioral guides coached their students in how to disguise their bodily habits through extreme self-control and awareness. Sociable behavior, though, called for more than controlling the biological body, for as a person conquered the natural state, polite customs altered the human form into something entirely new and required highly studied comportment.

Fashionable garments, for example, such as men's coats, breeches, ladies' panniers, and heeled shoes – to only suggest a few – forced the body into unnatural postures and transformed the human shape. Donning these garments changed a person's carriage and required practice, as perfect comportment mandated confident, intentional movements. When a lady wearing two-foot panniers or a bustled sack gown needed to rest and sit down, she was obligated to know how to maneuver her fashionably altered body so that she could land her derriere on a seat and not fall to the ground. The act of sitting in a gown required balance, an awareness of her natural body, an understanding of her altered statue, and the mental acuity of the landscape of objects with which she interacted. What was a relatively simple bodily action became one of grace and art. Fashions transformed and hid the biological body, requiring fine ladies and gentlemen to internalize their new state. Pushing beyond control of the natural body, polite

comportment completely obscured and hid the true body and its natural needs. Whereas physiological needs determined brute behaviors, humanity could rise above their natural bodily functions by suppressing or transforming them into artful displays. Indeed, aristocratic manners and polite protocol supported the animal/human binary.

Surprisingly, eighteenth-century French visual arts present an alternative understanding of humans and animals. Deliberately or not, well-known artists (such as François Boucher (1703-1770), Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), and Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779)) and under-studied artists (such as Christophe Huet (1770-1759), Brain de Ste. Marie, and Etienne Jeaurat (1699-1789)) pictured a world in which the distinction between man and brute is decidedly blurred. Even artists who were commissioned to produce illustrations that augmented texts such as Denis Diderot's (1713-1784) and Jean-Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert's (1717-1783) *L'Encyclopédie* and Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*, large works that seemingly separated the categories of human and animal, produced images that muddled the classifications. So too did engravers who produced fashion plates, the metal smiths who rendered exquisite dog collars, and furniture makers that created appropriately sized animal furniture. Indeed, these artistic objects are quite peculiar, as they were commissioned and consumed by an aristocratic society that was seemingly committed to upholding humanity's distinction.

In the chapters that follow, I analyze the ways in which the visual world complicated and disrupted the animal/human binary by drawing on Jacques Derrida's notion of "limotrophy," a study originating in his posthumous text, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, which concerns "... what sprouts or grows at the limit [between man and animal], around the limit, by maintaining the limit, but also what *feeds the limit*,

generates it, raises it and complicates it.”³⁵ Derrida arrives at the idea of “limotrophy” after reflecting on his daily encounters with his housecat and concluding that the animal is not so different from himself.³⁶ He does not contest the conclusions of hundreds of years of philosophy, which posit that there is a fundamental separation between man and animal, yet Derrida proposes that it is not a clean separation; he sees that the divide is in a constant state of change, as “... this abyssal rupture [of human and animal] doesn’t describe two edges, a unilinear and indivisible line having two edges, Man and the Animal in general.”³⁷ For Derrida, the categories are deeply entwined and are continuously being negotiated. In fact, he believes that sometimes the human and animal cannot be neatly separated, as he concludes when looking at his kitty: “But cannot this cat also be, deep within her eyes, my primary mirror?”³⁸ I contend that the opposing categories of humans and animals in eighteenth-century France were quite similar to Derrida and his cat, as animals were fundamental components in the performance and presentation of the aristocratic self. I demonstrate that animals as *compagnie*, *cuisine*, *couture*, and *conseiller* were both natural and cultural creatures.

Through a sustained analysis of Madame la Marquise de Pompadour’s (1721-1764) and her pet spaniels’ visual relationship, chapter 1 explores how animals kept as *compagnie* were an important component of their master’s identity. Until now, scholars have passingly mentioned Pompadour’s dogs – who are featured in Boucher’s 1757 Salon

³⁵ Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I am*, ed. Marie-Louise Mallet and trans. David Wills. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 29.

³⁶ Ibid., 31.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 51.

portrait of the Marquise, François-Hubert Drouais's (1727-1775) 1764 portrait of Pompadour that was exhibited at the Tuileries Palace, prints rendered by Étienne Fessard and shown at the Salon of 1757, and Boucher's 1759 portrait that hung in Pompadour's apartments at Versailles – as little more than emblems of her fidelity to Louis XV. I demonstrate that the animals were complex figures whose well-known existence and repeated presence in the world of representation played a fundamental role in Pompadour's self-imaging project.³⁹ I contextualize the dogs, Mimi and Inès, in the century's rather complex scientific, religious, and philosophical discourse on the fidelity of dogs. In turn, I demonstrate that Mimi and Inès were creatures whose symbolic and scientific characteristics allowed Pompadour to visualize and legitimize her role as King Louis XV's (1710-1774) confidant and political advisor. By tracing the evolution of Pompadour's dog imagery, I suggest how the animals functioned as her “primary mirrors,” evoked their mistress in her absence, and functioned as allegories grounded in reality.

In chapter 2, I explore issues relating to animals as *cuisine* and the animal implications of consuming nourishment, including food preparation, the display of foodstuff, dining practices, and artful objects that cover and surround the table. Framing my argument with Norbert Elias' conclusions about the origin of polite manners, I argue that rituals surrounding the act of eating in eighteenth-century France worked to discipline the natural human body and disguise biological functions that could possibly reveal humanity's animal condition. My analysis of the period's cooking books, comportment manuals, and advice books for *maîtres d'hôtel* demonstrates that an anxiety

³⁹ For example, see: Colin Jones, *Madame De Pompadour: Images of a Mistress* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 70.

relating to the human potential to falter and expose their animal-like proclivities defined aristocratic dining experiences. *Voyages du Roy au château de Choisy avec les logements de la Cour et les menus de la Table de Sa Majesté* (1744-1759), a multi-volume collection of hand-illuminated menus, serves as the focus object for this chapter. I argue that this series of menus, like many pieces of tableware, embodies the tension and unease that surrounded polite consumption, as it gestures to both humanity's animal-like qualities and people's ability to transcend and transform those baser conditions.

In chapter 3, I analyze animals in the form of fashionable *couture* objects, specifically fur garments – such as fur muffs, hats, and caplets – and fur trims. Although fur fashions were essentially de-natured animal bodies, in that *fourriers* (merchants who sold fur apparels) and *peletiers* (laborers who acquired and prepared skins) transformed organically shaped pelts into regularized, culturally disciplined shapes designed for the human body, these objects retained their connection to the animal. The manner in which these fashions were worn, their texture, the pleasurable sensations they inspired, and their artistic depictions reveal the many ways in which fur garments gesture to their animal origins. There has been an increasing interest in the materiality of painted fur and what it suggests about the social and intellectual status of the animal; while this chapter certainly builds on those studies, I am more interested in what the materiality of artistically rendered fur can suggest about human consumers and those pictured wearing fur.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Recent scholarship on painted fur includes: Sarah Cohen, "Chardin's Fur: Painting, Materialism, and the Question of the Animal Soul" in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004), 39-61; Joseph Monteyne, "Enveloping Objects: Allegory and Commodity Fetish in Wenceslaus Hollar's Personifications of the Seasons and Fashion Still Lives" in *Art History* Vol. 29, is. 3 (June 2006), 414-443; and Tom Balfe, "Fake Fur: The Animal Body between Pleasure and Violence" (Paper Presented, Musée de la chasse et de la nature & l'Institut National de l'Histoire de l'Art, Paris, International Colloquium, "L'Animal ou la nature morte à ses limites"), 16 May 2014.

Because fur strongly evoked the natural world, it acted as a material conduit through which humanity could safely explore its animality. I argue that although fur fashions embodied characteristics of animals, they were instrumental to the expression of human identities, specifically sexual, social, and cultural selves. I divide the chapter into three main sections, each of which explores fur's role in the visual expression of these various components of humanity's existence. To explore fur in relation to human sexuality, I turn to works such as Chardin's *The Morning Toilette*, Louis Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun's (1755-1842) *Madame Molé-Reymond*, and fashion plates presenting the *honnête homme*. I turn to the well-studied coronation portraits of Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI to highlight the role of fur in the visual organization of social hierarchies. And, to analyze fur's role in communicating different cultures, I turn to portraits of Turks, travel literature, and portraits of Benjamin Franklin rendered by Augustin de Saint Aubin and Jean Baptiste Nini. I argue that the fur objects in each of these images are animal bodies that participate in the expression of their owner's public identity.

Chapter 4, the final chapter, delves into the domestic interior and investigates artistic representations of monkeys and their role as behavioral *conseillers*. I divide the chapter into two sections, the first of which explores how eighteenth-century audiences understood living monkeys and artistic representations of these animals. I begin by contextualizing the artistically rendered monkey within the period's scientific and racial discourse on simians, demonstrating that the monkey was an animal that people both identified with and kept at a distance; monkeys were simultaneously embraced as familiar but rejected as different. With this idea in mind, artists employed monkeys as satirical devices that mocked those who did not embody the ideal characteristics of aristocratic

society. In my analysis of both academic paintings – such as Jean-Baptiste Deshayes’s *Le Singe Peintre* – and the private drawings of Gabriel de Saint Aubin (1724-1780), I argue that viewers were conditioned to see the monkey figure in relation to humanity and their bad behaviors. Indeed, people would be quite embarrassed to identify with or delighted to recognize others in representations of monkeys. Simian creatures were *conseillers* in how not to behave.

The second portion of this chapter focuses on Huet’s *singerie* interiors – paneled rooms that were highly ornamented with paintings of clothed monkeys, performing human acts – at the Château sur Marne, Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg, and the Château de Chantilly. I argue that the monkey figures in these interiors were powerful, affecting presences that had the potential to shape viewers’ behavior. While the simian imagery was likely humorous to the rooms’ original occupants, my analysis demonstrates that the creatures also played a more serious role. The animals represent what might become of individuals who did not adhere to the century’s behavioral standards. I argue that the simian imagery of *singerie* spaces surprisingly points towards humanity’s animality, which always lies beneath the guise of manners, sociability, grace, and fashion. Animals and the fear of animality, therefore, affected elite human behaviors in *singerie* interiors.

This project contributes to studies of the Enlightenment and affirms the period’s cultural complexity. Many Enlightenment thinkers attempted to classify the world in strict categories, however, eighteenth-century cultural practices and daily realities reveal the fragile and superficial quality of systems of organization. Each chapter advances the notion that although social practices, scientific theories, and philosophic writings attempted to erect firm boundaries between humans and animals, the categories simply

could not hold. Animals as *compagnie*, *cuisine*, *couture*, and *conseillers*, were important elements in the expression and performance of aristocratic identities. By analyzing artistic representations in which these iterations of animals are present, my project illuminates the profound and pervasive role played by animals in eighteenth-century French society. These representations of animals were found in polite, sociable spaces – such as the salon, dining room, and boudoir – that hosted the most culturally symbolic exchanges of the period. In doing so, I reveal how animals, creatures of the natural world, were integral to the cultural realm of polite society. Humans and animals were certainly entwined – and sometimes indistinguishable – categories of being.

CHAPTER ONE

Pompadour's Pets: The Visual Work of Madame de Pompadour's beloved dogs, Mimi and Inès

Compagnie

Dogs have been identified as man's most faithful companion since Pliny the Elder (29-79) wrote his *Natural History* between 77-79.⁴¹ Yet, the dog would wait for more than a millennium before it was recognized officially within the iconography of fidelity. In his monumental emblem book of 1603, *Iconologia*, Cesare Ripa (1560-1622) solidifies the dog's connection to fidelity, declaring: "The dog is the most faithful animal in the world, and beloved by men."⁴² In his emblem of fidelity, a dog stands to the right of a classically dressed woman and, while gazing upward at her, the animal makes a sign of allegiance by raising its front right paw to its chest (fig. 1). The woman holds a seal in her left hand and dangles a large key from her right "because [these objects] lock up and conceal secrets."⁴³ The image suggests a kinship of sorts between the dog and key, as the metaphoric head and teeth of the key align with those of the animal. The dog, like the key, faithfully protects secrets as its lips are always sealed. Ripa's inclusion of the animal in the iconography of fidelity persisted through time and many artists employed the

⁴¹ Pliny the Elder reported on the faithful dog named Hyrcanus who would not leave his master's corpse, introducing the figure of the dog to the notion of friendship. See: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History, Volume III: Books 8-11*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library with Harvard University Press, 1940), 101.

⁴² Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, or, Moral Emblems; Translated into English by unknown Author* (London: Benjamin Motte, 1709), 31.

⁴³ Ibid.

animal on its own, without the classically dressed female figure, to convey the notion of loyalty.

Belief that dogs symbolized fidelity became so widely accepted that by the eighteenth century, the fourth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* includes the animal within the definition of friendship: “FRIEND also said of animals to mark the affection they have for men. There are animals that are friends of man. The dog is man’s friend.”⁴⁴ The animal that embodies the virtue of fidelity exemplifies friendship; friendship and fidelity therefore are intimately entwined. Consequently, the definition suggests that the dog in eighteenth-century France was more than a symbol of fidelity and a visual icon of an abstract principle; rather, dogs were actually admirable friends. The dog’s ability to engage in and demonstrate friendship was no light matter, as the period understood friendship to be a “commerce in which the heart takes an interest” that produces “... a freedom in feeling and language expansive enough that neither one of the two is superior or inferior.”⁴⁵ Friendship does not recognize differences in rank. Thus, this explanation of friendship suggests that if “the dog is man’s friend,” man and dog must be in some sense equals. This concept of the dog as man’s friend placed dogs in the middle of a pan-European discourse that challenged René Descartes’s belief that animals were like machines, only reacting to external stimuli. The dogs’ ability to give and receive friendship suggested that animals were sentient beings, capable of internal responses and thought.

⁴⁴ “AMI: Se dit aussi des Animaux, pour marquer l'affection qu'ils ont pour les hommes. Il y a des animaux qui sont amis de l'homme. Le chien est ami de l'homme.” In *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (1762).

⁴⁵ “... une liberté de sentiment & de langage aussi grande, que si l'un des deux n'étoit point supérieur, ni l'autre inférieur.” In *L'Encyclopédie*, 1: 362.

When Madame de Pompadour (1721-1764), *maîtresse-en-titre* to Louis XV (1710-1774) from 1745 until her death in 1764, acquired her own dogs around 1750, she certainly knew of the animals' multifaceted relation to the notion of friendship. In fact, I believe that she acquired her dogs, Mimi (a black and brown King Charles spaniel) and Inès (a black and white Bichon) *because* of their complex connection with friendship and fidelity. While Pompadour likely owned other dogs in addition to Mimi and Inès, these four-legged creatures became tightly entwined with their mistress's visual identity. Both Mimi and Inès, like their Mistress, became public figures featured in salon paintings, print culture, and porcelain figurines. Indeed, Pompadour's little creatures seem to have been the most pictured dogs in eighteenth-century France.

In this chapter I explore the function of the many artistic renderings of Mimi and Inès. Unlike the art historian Claude d'Anthenaise, who declared, "from paint to porcelain, the rococo dog has little ambition other than to decorate," I believe that Mimi and Inès, two prominent rococo dogs, were not merely decorative elements.⁴⁶ Rendered in what some might classify as the most iconic rococo paintings -- Francois Boucher's 1756 and 1759 portraits of Madame de Pompadour (figs. 2 & 3) and Francois-Hubert Drouais's portrait of Pompadour at a tambour frame (fig. 4) -- the dogs were both physical and artistic devices that the Marquise employed to present herself publicly. Until now, scholars have glossed over the dogs, identifying them as devoted creatures that mirror Pompadour's loyalty to Louis XV or simply making note of their company at

⁴⁶ Claude d'Anthenaise, "Faire le Beau" in *Vies de Chiens*, ed. Emmanuel Duchamp (Paris: Arthaud, 2000), 17.

the favorite's feet.⁴⁷ It seems that Mimi and Inès's existence as real, living creatures and their pervasive presence in Pompadour's visual world has gone unnoticed. While the works of art I analyze are open to many interpretations, my study focuses on the dogs' contributions to the visualization of their mistress's identity. Consequently, I nuance the understanding of the animals' artistic presence and Pompadour's use of the iconography of friendship, thereby revealing the intellectual, political, and deeply personal cultural work performed by Pompadour's pets.

I. The Dog in Eighteenth-Century France

The dog complicated the eighteenth-century paradigm of human superiority. In virtually every eighteenth-century text written on the nature of animals, dogs are identified as the ideal creature and most evolved animal in the natural world. According to Buffon, the dog "reigns at the head of the flock" of all other animals because of its relationship with people.⁴⁸ Buffon continues, noting: "Without the dog, humans could have never conquered or tamed other animals. Nor could man hunt or protect himself."⁴⁹ Human superiority over the natural world evolved, it seems, with the help of dogs. Dogs and people, therefore, were dependent on one another, for humans could neither master

⁴⁷ For example, in the description of Drouais's 1763 portrait, Xavier Salmon only identifies the animal at Pompadour's side, stating: "En compagnie de l'une de ses chiennes favorites, Mimi, Mme de Pompadour est assise devant un métier, tenant une aiguille de bois destinée à la broderie ..." in "Madame de Pompadour et la peinture" in *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, (see note 47), 162. When exploring how Pompadour "entangled" herself and "imprinted" herself on the contents of Boucher's 1756 portrait, Ewa Lajer-Burchard only mentions Mimi when directing viewers to the sheets of music, strewn across the floor. See "Pompadour's Touch: Difference in Representation" in *Representations*, Vol. 73. no. 1 (Winter 2001): 54-88. In her description of Boucher's Munich portrait, Elise Goodman also neglects to mention Mimi. The only mentioning of a dog in relation to Pompadour occurs in her analysis of Boucher's Wallace Collection portrait, when she simply identifies the animal as Inès. See: Elise Goodman explores this idea in *The Portraits of Madame de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 16, 22 – 27, and 55.

⁴⁸ Buffon, 4: 5.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

nor cultivate the world without dogs. This particular animal helped fulfill people's essential concerns – protection and acquiring food – and opened up the possibility for humans to become more advanced. It seems, therefore, that the most esteemed naturalist in eighteenth-century France represented the dog as a noble animal whose presence was essential in the foundation and advancement of human society.

While dogs had long been symbolically linked to fidelity, the eighteenth century witnessed a wave in scientific and philosophic treatises and dissertations that carefully observed, identified, and catalogued the behaviors that revealed dogs' loyalty. During this century, animals' symbolic ties to fidelity were strengthened and scientifically validated. Madame de Pompadour likely shared in this understanding of dogs, as she acted as the patron for multiple scientific projects, including Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* and Diderot and d'Alembert's *l'Encyclopédie*.⁵⁰ Several texts note dogs' unwavering faithfulness and even suggest that humans should emulate dogs' behavior. Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton's (1716-1800) entry in *l'Encyclopédie*, provides a detailed description of the animals' faithfulness:

The traits we admire most, because our self esteem is so flattered, is the fidelity with which a dog remains attached to its master. The dog follows everything; the dog defends the master against all forces; the dog stubbornly tries to find the master if he loses sight; the dog does not abandon the master's footsteps. We often see that a dog remains on the tomb of the master; the dog can't live without his master.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Beyond acting as a patroness for scientific projects, she amassed a small collection of natural history texts over her lifetime. The inventory of her apartments, taken after her death, includes works by the scientists M. Pluche, Buffon, M. Gautier, Carlier, Dertham, Goedart, Reaumur, and Merian. While there is no way to know if she actually read the contents of these different texts, we do know that she was interested in appearing interested in modern advancements in scientific and philosophical knowledge. See *Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque de Feue Madame la Marquise de Pompadour, dame du Palais de la Reine* (Paris: J.M. Malzieu- 15 rue de la Banque, 1984).

⁵¹ "Celles que nous admirons le plus, parce que notre amour propre en est le plus flatté, c'est la fidélité avec laquelle un *chien* reste attaché à son maître; il le suit par - tout; il le défend de toutes ses forces; il le cherche opiniâtrément s'il l'a perdu de vûe, & il n'abandonne pas ses traces, qu'il ne l'ait retrouvé. On en

Not only does the dog display deep loyalty when its human companion is present, but the animal continues to do so when the master has died or left its sight. Buffon also illuminates the intense loyalty expressed by dogs, explaining that once a dog becomes attached to a person, it becomes forever faithful. Like Daubenton, Buffon contends that even death cannot quell the dog's affection; he observes that a pooch expresses for its master "more fidelity and steadiness in his affections" and actions than any other animal on earth.⁵² In the painting *The Swing* (fig. 5), Jean-Honoré Fragonard points towards the admirable faith of dogs. He places a little white spaniel (fig. 6) on the right side of the canvas in front of the swinging woman's faithful cuckold who propels her into flight. The dog, mirroring the behavior of the loyal man, excitedly gazes up toward the young woman who deceitfully plays with a secret lover lying below in the bushes. Fragonard divides this rather small canvas into two portions: one – occupied by the older companion and dog – gestures to notions of fidelity while the other – filled by a hidden liaison and a sculpture reminiscent of Étienne Maurice Falconet's (1716-1791) *Amour Menaçant* – references duplicity. Happily, the woman swings between these two realms, leaving the men in her life obscured in shadows. Fragonard casts a light source upon the woman and dog and encourages his viewer to ponder the relationship between the animal and woman. Perhaps the young lady could learn from the doggie's unwavering fidelity? Indeed, the theologian, l'abbé Saunier de Beaumont suggests that all people should study the ways of

voit souvent qui restent sur le tombeau de leur maître, & qui ne peuvent pas vivre sans lui." In *l'Encyclopédie*, 3: 328.

⁵² Buffon, 4:5.

the dog, declaring, “the fidelity of the dog towards his master has shamed the fidelity of men.”⁵³

In *Free Thoughts upon the brute-creation* Father Bougeant (1690-1743) expresses a similar notion when he reports on his encounter with a lady and her lap dog, upon which she bestowed “a Torrent of Kisses and tender Speeches.” Bougeant tells how at first he found the woman’s affection puzzling, but upon hearing an explanation, he understood her actions. She said: “I love my little Dog, because he loves me; and when I can meet with any one of your Sex, that has so much Gratitude and Sincerity as my poor Totty, he shall never find me insensible or ungrateful.”⁵⁴ Little Totty was intensely loyal to her mistress, never judgmental or dismissive. As a result of his encounter with Totty’s owner, Bougeant concludes: “Truth, Ingratitude and Insincerity seem to be Vices of mere human Growth, seldom or never to be found among the Brute-Creation.”⁵⁵ Bougeant’s quotation suggests that a dog’s behavior exemplifies these noble traits. Buffon clarifies that dogs are exceptional in behaving this way, explaining that they are faithful because they are “not corrupted with ambition” or “by interested views.”⁵⁶ Buffon and Bougeant contend that flaws such as ambition, insincerity, ingratitude, desire, and revenge are the sentiments that prevent humans from displaying true fidelity; both men champion the animals’ ability and offer dogs’ behavior as a prescription for how humans can execute

⁵³ “La fidélité du Chien envers son Maître, fait honte à celle des homes.” In Abbé Saunier de Beaumont, *Lettres philosophiques, sérieuses, critiques, et amusantes* (Paris: Chez Saugrain, du côté de la Cour des Aydes, à la Providence, 1733), 113.

⁵⁴ Bougeant as cited in John Hildrop, *Free Thoughts upon the Brute-Creation: Wherein Father Bougeant’s Philosophical Amusement, &c. is Examined* (London: Printed for Jacob Loyseau, 1751), 88-89.

⁵⁵ Bougeant as cited in *Ibid.*, 89.

⁵⁶ Buffon, 4: 8.

true fidelity and loyal affection. Indeed eighteenth-century writers used the dog as a foil to critique human weakness.

Not only does a dog's fidelity make it worthy of emulation, but it also makes the animal perfectly able to participate in the human world. Daubenton explains: "...dogs [are] worthy of the companionship of men. They rest at our tables, share our lodgings, accompany us when we go out, they know how to please to the point that some [men] carry the dogs and have them sleep in the same bed."⁵⁷ Thus, dogs participate in intimate, emotional relationships with their human master's, for a dog's great display of loyalty earns it a reciprocal expression. Yet, dogs do not demand acts of faithfulness, affection, or kindness in exchange for their fidelity. Buffon explains, stating that the dog is "... more apt to recall benefits than outrage, he is not discouraged by blows or bad treatment, but calmly suffers and soon forgets them ... he licks the hand from which he received the blow."⁵⁸ Even when abused, the dog's devotion to its master does not waiver.

Eighteenth-century thinkers believed that even if harshly treated by their masters, dogs were intensely protective of their humans. According to period texts, dogs went out of their way to protect their human companions, alerting them to threats, dangers, and deceit. Buffon explains that "barking or other marks of passion" alert people to the arrival of strangers, evildoers, and people lurking in the shadows.⁵⁹ Dogs have an intense drive to call attention to individuals or events that might displease their owners.

⁵⁷ "...rendu les chiens dignes de la compagnie des hommes; ils vivent des restes de nos tables; ils partagent avec nous nos logemens; ils nous accompagnent lorsque nous en sortons; enfin ils savent plaire au point qu'il y a bien des gens qui en portent avec eux, & qui les font coucher dans le même lit." In *L'Encyclopédie*, 3: 328.

⁵⁸ Buffon, 4:3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

The little dog pictured in Francois Robert Ingouf's engraving *La Soiree d'Hyver* (fig. 7) embodies this concept. In this evening scene, two women and a gentleman caller gather around a hearth. The light from the fire and elegant lamp are the interior's only light sources; shadows fill the interior and set the stage for devious behaviors. The mistress of the home lounges with her feet stretched in front of her, and speaks with the tall, elegantly dressed gentleman who gazes at her and lifts his hand to his chest, pledging loyalty. In the shadows, behind his back, this seemingly trustworthy gentleman receives a wax-sealed letter from the other woman. The handsome spaniel, seated opposite his mistress, disapproves of the couple's secrecy. He snarls and snaps at the hand of the woman passing the note. The animal's mouth, however, has not yet made contact with the woman's hand. The artist, thus, presents an intense moment, leaving the viewer to anticipate what happens next. Will the dog bite the woman, cause her to scream and drop the letter, thereby revealing her dishonesty? This loyal spaniel, acting as the ideal dog, looks out for, defends, and protects his mistress's integrity.

II. A New Image for Pompadour

It seems likely that Pompadour viewed Mimi and Inès as thoughtful, sentient creatures with which she engaged in a meaningful friendship. This friendship was certainly well planned and curated, as Pompadour obtained Mimi and Inès around the same time in which she became deeply invested in presenting herself as the personification of Friendship. It remains unclear where or from whom Madame de Pompadour acquired Mimi and Inès, but the 1749 inventory from Versailles indicates that when she received her new lodgings on the *rez-de-chaussée* (ground floor), immediately below the King's chambers, she possessed an elegant dog niche, which had "three little

arched doors.”⁶⁰ Thus, Pompadour likely acquired Mimi and Inès shortly after her installment in her new apartments, around the same time that her sexual relationship with the King ended.⁶¹ Multiple choking seizures and a persistent weakness of breath led Pompadour to terminate her sexual relationship with Louis XV, yet their friendship continued. The King did not dismiss Pompadour and send her away, as had been the tradition with earlier mistresses. Instead, Pompadour became a close confidant and advisor to Louis XV, occupying a new courtly role.

Many members of court and the French public at large took great offense at the mistress’s new power. Consequently, Pompadour was the unfortunate target of numerous scathing jokes, which criticized her sexuality, health, family origins, and unprecedented relationship with the King.⁶² Through the late 1740s and 1750s, limericks and songs, humorously referred to as “Poissonnades,” circulated throughout Paris and unabashedly

⁶⁰ Milovanovic, 65.

⁶¹ Katherine Mac Donogh argues that Madame de Pompadour acquired the dogs in 1753, when the mistress and the King publicly acknowledged the change in their relationship. Mac Donogh believes that Louis XV’s tender relationship with his little dog Filou inspired Pompadour’s own dog ownership. It was in 1753 that Madame de Pompadour abandoned her pigeon coup; did she abandon it to focus on her new dogs? MacDonogh sees the dismissal of Pompadour’s birds as evidence of such. A final piece of evidence MacDonogh highlights relates to Pompadour’s patronage of Meissen doggie figurines. For MacDonogh’s full argument, see “Chiens de Cour” in *Vies de Chiens*, ed. Emmanuel Duchamp (Paris: Arthaud, 2000), 33-65. I believe, however, that Pompadour probably already had the dogs in 1753. The 1749 inventory of Versailles and the contents of Pompadour’s project *Suite d’estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour d’après les pierres gravées de Guay, graveur du Roi* – in which engravings of Mimi and Inès are included – lead me to believe that the dogs were a part of Pompadour’s daily life before 1753.

⁶² The spite directed at Pompadour only intensified as she gained obvious political power, advising the King, meeting with ambassadors, and endorsing individuals for political positions. Thomas E. Kaiser traces the favorite’s political endeavors and suggests the ways in which the French public took great offense in “Madame de Pompadour and the Theaters of Power” in *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1996): 1025-1044.

spread negative images of the mistress.⁶³ One Poissonnade, “Les Trembleurs,” mocked her appearance, supposed vulgarity, and amoral influence on the King:

That Lowly Slut
Governs him insolently.
And its she who for a price
Selects the men
For top positions.
Everyone kneels before this idol.
The courtier humiliates himself,
He submits to the infamy
And yet is even more indigent.⁶⁴

While this stanza certainly belittles Pompadour, it also criticizes the men – especially the King – who surround her. Another Poissonnade, which likely originated at Versailles, more explicitly mocked the King, taking aim at his virility:

Well then, reckless bourgeoisie,
You say that you have been able to please the King
And that he has satisfied your hopes.
Stop using such subtleties;
We know that evening
The King wanted to give proof of his tenderness,
And couldn't.⁶⁵

This little ditty not only reports the King's sexual failures, but it also suggests that this sexual malfunction was the fault of the bourgeois Pompadour. As a result of songs like this one, Louis XV sent numerous people to the Bastille for *mauvais propos* (bad talk) and even exiled one individual – the Comte de Maurepas (1701-1781) – from the court

⁶³ The term “Poissonnade” is a play-on-words that uses Pompadour's true family name, Poisson (fish) for inspiration. In their lyrics, Poissonnades made vulgar references to the sound and vernacular meaning of poisson as a way to mock the favorite. Furthermore, the word “Poissonnade” makes reference to the satirical songs that circulated during the Fronde called Mazarinades, which mocked Louis XIV's Cardinal-Minister Mazarin (1602-1661).

⁶⁴ As quoted in Robert Darnton, *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 183.

⁶⁵ As quoted in *Ibid.*, 188.

and Paris, accusing him of penning multiple Poissonnades and spreading unfounded rumors about Pompadour.⁶⁶

In addition to these gossipy songs, judgmental whispers that questioned Pompadour's loyalty to the King and criticized her political power filled the halls of Versailles. Even those who were close to Pompadour and demonstrated the outward signs of friendship crudely mocked the favorite. The artist and royal embroider Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin (1721-1786), for example, appeared to enjoy the company of the mistress in public, dedicating publications to Pompadour and accepting her personalized gifts of furniture, watercolors, and porcelain.⁶⁷ Despite being one of the mistress's favorites, Saint-Aubin – along with the rest of his artistic family – compiled a highly secretive collection of drawings, the *Livre de Caricatures tante Bonnes que mauvaises*, many of which irreverently ridiculed the mistress. One particularly offensive drawing (fig. 8) criticizes Pompadour's involvement in the ecclesiastical promotion and then expulsion of her friend the Abbé Bernis (1715-1794).⁶⁸ Aubin's drawing presents a bare-bottom Pompadour perched on the back of a chair, pooping into the mouth of the sleeping holy man. While Pompadour never saw this drawing – if she had, the Aubin family would have surely been sent to the Bastille – the image attests to the widespread criticism

⁶⁶ Ibid., 33-35; Emily Richardson, "Tu n'as pas tout vu!: seeing satire in the Saint-Aubin *Livre de Caricatures*" in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Elizabeth C. Mansfield and Kelly Malone (Oxford: Voltaire University with University of Oxford, 2013), 93. The well-known writer Mathieu-François Pidansat de Marobert was another public figure accused of slandering Madame de Pompadour. Unlike Maurepas, de Marobert was not exiled. Rather, he was sentenced to the Bastille for having "one of the nastiest tongues in Paris." After arresting him for speaking publicly against Pompadour in the crudest of manners, the police frisked him only to discover fragments of Poissonnades in his pocket. See Darton, 68-71.

⁶⁷ Colin Jones and Emily Richardson, "The Other Cheek" in *History Today* (November 2011): 20.

⁶⁸ For an account of Bernis' expulsion, see: François-Joachim de Pierre de Bernis, *Mémoires et lettres de François-Joachim de Pierre, cardinal de Bernis (1715-1758): Publiés avec l'autorisation de sa famille d'après les manuscrits inédits par Frédéric Masson* (Paris: E. Plon et cie, 1878), 2: 476 - 488 and 88 - 96.

aimed at the favorite and suggests her extreme vulnerability. While she was not privy to the full extent of condemnations against her, she indeed knew of the public's distaste and understood her precarious position. If public opinion affected Louis XV and she fell out of favor, "she would ... plunge into the abyss."⁶⁹ Consequently, Pompadour felt immense pressure to defend her position against the disparaging eyes of court, dignitaries, and the greater French public.

To deflect negative opinions and establish her legitimacy, Pompadour embarked on an extensive artistic program inspired by the notion of friendship, which affirmed that her relationship with Louis XV had indeed changed, while their attachment to one another had strengthened.⁷⁰ In the early 1750s, Pompadour commissioned Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714-1785) to create a pair of large-scale garden sculptures, one depicting the education of love and the other a figure of friendship. While Pigalle completed the sculpture of *L'Amitié* (fig. 9) around 1774 and installed it in the garden of Bellevue, he never completed a final version of *l'Éducation de l'Amour*. A two-foot plaster model of the unfinished sculpture (now lost), however, appeared in the salon of 1751 and presented Mercury and Venus instructing their son, Cupid, in the art of love through a careful study of the written word.⁷¹ The mythical couple instilled a sense of sublime, intellectual love into their young son, rather than a physical, bodily passion. The French public understood the work in relation to the King and Pompadour, as their likeness defined the sculpted

⁶⁹ Jones and Richardson, 20.

⁷⁰ In further attempt to improve her image, Pompadour also presented herself as a *femme savant*. Goodman, especially chapters 1 and 2.

⁷¹ Katherine K. Gordon, "Madame de Pompadour, Pigalle, and the Iconography of Friendship" in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 50, No.3 (Sep. 1968): 250.

figures' faces. Resembling the mythical gods, Louis XV and his favorite based their love on pleasures of the mind, rather than those of the flesh.

In *l'Éducation de l'Amour's* companion piece, *L'Amitié*, Pigalle presents Madame de Pompadour as the personification of friendship. Pigalle uses elements from traditional emblem books, such as Ripa's *Iconologia*, by rendering Pompadour in a standing position and revealing her bare breast as a way to visualize her honesty and truthfulness.

Presented with *l'Éducation de l'Amour*, this sculpture revealed another dimension of her new relationship with the King: its dependence on friendship. As Pigalle transformed Pompadour into the personification of friendship, he shows her as the ultimate, ideal friend. He did so again in Pompadour's 1754 commission *l'Amour embrassant l'Amitié* (fig. 10), another large-scale marble piece depicting the images of love and friendship in a tender embrace. By the mid-1750s, as a result of Pigalle's sculptures, the amitié figure became widely associated with Madame de Pompadour, as artists – such as Falconet and François Boucher (1701-1770) – incorporated the mistress's likeness into multiple works of art that related to the ideals of friendship.⁷² The French court and wider public, therefore, was conditioned to look for the mistress in this allegorical role.

Pompadour continued to emphasize her close ties to the idea of friendship through her large engraving project published in 1755: *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour d'après les pierres gravées de Guay, graveur du Roi*.⁷³ Between

⁷² Ibid., 258 -262.

⁷³ In 1751 Pompadour had a small press installed in her apartments at Versailles and employed Boucher to tutor her in the art of engraving. For a brief history of Pompadour's engraving project, see: Pascal Torres Guardiola, "Remarques sur la Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour d'après les pierres gravées par Jacques Guay" in *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts* (see note 47), 215-224. Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet provides a survey of Madame de Pompadour's gemstone collection in "Madame de Pompadour et la glyptique" in *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts* (see note 47), 253-267; Donald Posner addresses elements of Pompadour's artistic relationship with Guay and her interest in the glyptic arts in

1750 and 1752, she completed the majority of the fifty-two engravings working from drawings by Boucher and Joseph Marie Vien (1716-1809), of the cut gemstones that Jacques Guay (1715-1787) had carved for her personal collection. Upon the project's publication in 1755, Pompadour distributed a limited number of copies to members of the court as well as her friends and family.⁷⁴ As the engravings were ultimately a public display of her personal collection and her artistic abilities, they participated in the favorite's larger self-imaging project.

While Madame de Pompadour's final publication did not present all the gems in her collection, she likely planned which gemstones to include. Indeed, the chosen gems reveal what Pompadour believed her public needed to know about her and became instruments of her self-fashioning. The majority of the engravings can be divided into three major categories: profile portraits of her friends and members of the royal family (e.g. Major Jacquot Tambour and Louis XV), commemorative vignettes memorializing historic events (e.g. the Triumph of Fontenoy and Victory of Lawfelt), and emblems of arts and virtues (e.g. Apollo and Cupid). Viewed together, the engravings portray Madame de Pompadour as respectful, politically informed, virtuous, and deeply committed to the ideals of love and friendship. Images referring to love and friendship are by far the most repeated motifs; ten images relate to themes of love, while five relate to friendship, with two images referencing both motifs. Because of the repetition of these themes, viewers certainly understood that Madame de Pompadour placed great value upon these virtues. One engraving, *La fidelle Amitié* (fig. 11), dramatically stands out

"Mme. De Pompadour as a Patron of the Visual Arts" in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (Mar., 1990), 100-102.

⁷⁴ Guardioli, 216.

from others relating to friendship, as it depicts the only stone that Pompadour, rather than Guay, carved herself. She carved the original white coralline gemstone and Boucher completed a large-scale drawing from which Madame de Pompadour executed the engraving.

La fidelle Amitié, completed around 1750, is one of the earliest instances of Pompadour incorporating a dog into her own imagery and suggests her personal investment in the animal and its symbolic potential. Set in an oval frame, a small, seated dog gazes upward toward a classically dressed, young woman who holds a garland of flowers. She stands upon a white mask and, like Pigalle and Ripa's visualizations of friendship, bares her left breast to foreground her truthful and honest state. Her head tilts slightly forward as she looks past the seated dog and offers herself to someone beyond the frame. Despite the woman's lack of acknowledgement, the animal expresses devotion to his mistress. It wears no collar around its neck or restraint to stay in place; rather, the dog chooses, like the pooch in Ripa's emblem of 1603 (fig. 1), to sit at the woman's feet. As an additional sign of the animal's fidelity, the little dog raises his left paw to its chest, pledging his devotion.⁷⁵ The animal, therefore, serves as a parallel to the woman's behaviors; as she offers herself to another outside the picture plane, the dog offers himself to her.

Through her name, Pompadour transforms *La fidelle Amitié* from an emblem of friendship to an imaginative self-portrait. Along the ledge upon which the young woman and small dog are perched, Pompadour declares her ownership of the image by etching "Pompadour fecit." While she placed her name on all three engravings of the gemstones she designed, her signature in *La fidelle Amitié* differs from the rest (fig. 12). In this

⁷⁵ For a summary of the history and development of this iconography, see Katherine Gordon, 253.

engraving, Pompadour integrates her name into the figural composition instead of placing it below the scene. The dog's downward-pointing paw and the woman's slender foot and leftward orientation lead the viewer's eye toward the signature. Her name, compositionally connecting the dog and woman, serves as a base upon which the figures act, thereby allowing her to become part of the emblem of friendship. Visually, Pompadour's signature is more than a word denoting her artistic creation; rather its prominent placement allows the signature to become a label through which she identifies herself as the figures and equates herself with the emblem.

Pompadour's use of this image also suggests that she understood *La fidelle Amitié* as a self-portrait, for in her final testament she bequeathed the image – both the engraving and original carved gemstone – to the Prince de Soubise (1715-1787) to “give [him] fond memories of her.”⁷⁶ The art historian Katherine K. Gordon argues that Pompadour believed her gift to the Prince would manifest ideas beyond the emblem itself and evoke her presence.⁷⁷ Indeed her treatment of the image and her artistic composition suggests that Pompadour saw herself in the actions of both figures and hoped that others close to her would come to do the same.

After 1755, Madame de Pompadour augmented the original publication of *Suite d'Estampes gravées par Madame la Marquise de Pompadour* with eleven supplementary engravings that illustrated additional gemstones in her collection, two of which introduced her dogs, Mimi and Inès, to the public.⁷⁸ Each dog appears in its own image,

⁷⁶ Ibid., 254.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Guardiola, 217.

revealing both the animals' character traits and representing Pompadour's deep attachment to the dogs. While scholars have identified plate 59 (fig. 13) as an image of Mimi, plate 61 (fig. 14) has, until now, been generically referred to as *Portrait d'un Chien de Madame de Pompadour*.⁷⁹ I believe that the animal in plate 61 is likely Inès, as the creature's character traits resonate with the dog in portraits that have been identified as Inès. The dog rendered in plate 61, seems apprehensive and more controlled in its behavior. Furthermore, the fur cuffs on each ankle, bushy ears, heavily haired brow, and general body shape suggest that the dog is a young Inès, the bichon. With tall and contained posture, the little dog stops mid-stride to look back over its shoulder, as if hearing a noise. She turns only her head, keeping her body and feet pointing forward, suggesting that she will continue onward. Inès demonstrates no interest in participating in whatever occurs beyond the picture frame.

Loose, wavy hair, flowing ears, arched eyebrows, and a pronounced snout mark plate 59 as an engraving of Mimi, Pompadour's King Charles spaniel (fig. 13). Crouched down and leaning forward on her front paws, Mimi looks out of the picture plane. Her body extends across the horizontal platform and her weight rests in her front paws, as if in the next second she will take off running. With wide, open eyes she parts her mouth, perhaps barking excitedly. Whereas Mimi playfully and firmly pushes her toes into the ground to propel her body forward, Inès's delicate feet only make slight contact with the ground, revealing her to be daintier and more reserved (fig. 14). Pompadour's engravings move beyond simply recording likeness and report characteristics of each animal's "personality," thereby allowing the viewer to consider the engravings as portraits.

⁷⁹ Pascal Torrès Guardiola, "Madame de Pompadour et l'estampe" in *Madame de Pompadour et les Arts*, ed. Xavier Salmon (see note 47), 234-235.

The engravings align with the academy's standards for portraiture, which were eloquently outlined by Louis Tocqué (1696-1772) in *Le Discours de Tocqué sur le Genre du Portrait* (1750). While explaining the successful elements of portraiture, Tocqué identifies Hyacinthe Rigaud's (1659-1743) portraits of *Desjardins* and *Mignard* as ideal examples of the genre. According to Tocqué, Rigaud "... not only renders the traits of the person, but also his character."⁸⁰ Tocqué continues, clarifying that when he views commendable portraits, he can "see the soul painted on the [sitter's] face."⁸¹ The ideal portrait moves beyond simply rendering a sitter's likeness. In her analysis of Tocqué's text, Hannah Williams argues that the author champions portraits that allow the viewer "to imagine personal connections with men they had never met." The best portraits, therefore, not only record an exact likeness, but they also evoke the sitter's *caractère* (personality), and "radiate[d] the warmth of a human interaction."⁸² Capturing both the animals' likeness and character, Madame de Pompadour's engravings of Mimi and Inès align with the period's standards for an effective portrait. Yet, unlike the portraits discussed by Tocqué, Pompadour's creations are obviously not of people, giving rise to the question: what does it mean to render a portrait of an animal sitter? How does one understand a portrait of an animal that exemplifies the same qualities as successful portraits of humans?

Mimi and Inès were by no means unique in having their portraits rendered, as several other dogs – and also cats – of wealthy French men and women had their likeness artistically captured. For example, Louis XV commissioned Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686-

⁸⁰ Louis Tocqué, *Le Discours de Tocqué sur Le Genre du Portrait* (Paris: Jean Schemit Libraire, 1930), 28.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁸² Hannah Williams, *Académie Royale: A history in Portraits* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 136 -139.

1755) to execute portraits of his prized hunting dogs, preserving their individual character traits and physical appearances for posterity. In *Misse and Lutline* (fig. 15), Oudry presents two female dogs in a pastoral landscape at the base of a column. Lutline – the dog with curly, black hair – stops her companion, Misse – an elegant white dog with liver spots on her face and rear – in mid-stride. Misse turns around with an expression of annoyance; Lutline, with a pleading look in her eye, seems like a very needy animal. Oudry gives his viewer clear insight into the character of each royal dog, their relationship, and their physical features. He further identifies each animal by painting its name in bold, gold lettering beside each creature’s body and ensures that his viewer knows that these dogs were not generic creatures painted because of their aesthetic beauty. These are specific, individualized, and prized animals. The art historian Robert Rosenblum argues that dog portraits like those of Oudry demonstrate a crossing of the “boundary between the generic and the individual, the human and the canine” and compares the golden inscription of the dogs’ names to the aristocratic tradition of human sitters adding “an official stamp of authority to their painted effigies.”⁸³ By painting the name on the canvas, Oudry transformed his portrait into more than a heartwarming or nostalgic remembrance of a pet; the portrait became an image that immortalized a dog in history, ensuring that its individuality would never be forgotten. Portraits of the royal

⁸³ Robert Rosenblum actually discusses the work of Alexandre-François Desportes, an animal painter who captured the likenesses of both Louis XIV and Louis XV’s dogs prior to Oudry. When Desportes dies in 1743, Oudry assumed his duties in dog portraiture. Oudry carefully followed the pattern in royal dog portraiture established by Desportes, capturing the animal’s likeness in pastoral scenes and using golden letters to label each dog. Robert Rosenblum, “From the Royal Hunt to the Taxidermist: A Dog’s History of Modern Art” in *Best in Show: The Dog in Art from the Renaissance to Today* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 41. For an analysis of Oudry’s animal portraits and paintings, see: Hal N. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry in Two Volumes* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), especially 1:39-106 and 1: 473-474; Hal N. Oppermann, *J.-B. Oudry: 1686-1755* (Seattle: University of Washington Press with Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1983), 51 and 124-128.

dogs – and really of any animal whose detailed existence we know of today, Mimi and Inès, for example – force viewers to acknowledge animals as real, living, feeling beings who led individual lives.

Oudry's mode of animal portraiture certainly resonates with how the influential seventeenth-century art theorist Roger de Piles (1635-1709) conceived of portraiture. In his *Cours de Peinture par Principes* (1766), de Piles declares: "If painting be an imitation of nature, 'tis doubly so in a portrait; which not only represents a man in general, but such as one as may be distinguished from all others."⁸⁴ While he likely speaks of portraits with human sitters, animal portraits, such as *Misse and Luttine*, certainly present precise creatures who possess character traits and physical features that "distinguished [them] from all others."⁸⁵ By presenting the animals as individuals, artists and their human patrons carried forth the emerging belief that animals embodied souls, experienced sentiments, and possessed some type of mental ability. By conveying the exactness of her dogs' characters, Madame de Pompadour revealed that she embraced the little creatures as individual beings as well as living emblems of friendship.

Both engravings of the dogs, like most of the other pieces included within *Suite d'Estampes gravées par Madame la Marquise de Pompadour*, include visual references to the carved gemstones that inspired the engravings. Outside the oval frame of the images, Pompadour rendered two smaller, identically shaped ovals that indicate the size (to the left) and material (to the right) of the stones. Through these references to her source material, she notes that the Mimi image originally appeared as an onyx gemstone

⁸⁴ Roger de Piles, *The Principles of Painting* (London: Printed for J. Osborn at the Golden Ball, in Paternoster Row, 1743), 158.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

and Guay's stone portrait of Inès was a cameo in bas-relief. By including the visual indexes in her engravings, Pompadour not only refers to her inspiration but also foregrounds her very personal, physical connection with these images in the form of engraved precious stones. An art form dating back to antiquity, carved gemstones were highly personal pieces known intimately by their owners and were worn as jewelry, kept safe in a pocket, or simply collected or treasured as a source of inspiration.⁸⁶ Typically depicting people and emblems of noble ideas, carved gemstones were reminders to think about close relations and ideas that one saw as important.

By including Mimi and Inès within the same project as engravings of Louis XV, the Dauphin, and the Triumph at Fontenoy, Pompadour bestows great importance upon her dogs. Yet surely the portraits of Mimi and Inès stood out amongst the other engravings, as the dog images do not fit easily into any of the categories: portraits of royals and notables, vignettes of historic events, and emblems of arts and virtues. The dogs appear as dogs, rather than as merely abstract ideals or public, courtly connections that declare Pompadour's position in Louis XV's world. Neither animal appears as part of an emblem or expresses any grand ideas; rather, the engravings emphasize the reality of the dogs in Pompadour's life, Inès and Mimi's individual character traits, and Madame's belief in these real dogs' involvement in the formation of her public image.

III. Pompadour's Doggie Dependents

A pair of prints, *la Fidélité: Portrait d'Inès* (fig. 16) and *la Constance: Portrait de Mimi* (fig. 17), produced by Étienne Fessard (1714-1774) between 1756 and 1758,

⁸⁶ Ernest Babelon provides an extensive account of the history and development of French carved gemstones in *Histoire de la gravure sur Gemmes en France, depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine* (Paris: Société de Propagation des Livres d'Art, Siège Social, 1902). For his description of Pompadour's collection, see chapter 9.

continue to suggest Madame de Pompadour's desire that not only the French public know she owned dogs but that the French public know her dogs. Like Pompadour's engraving project, the contents of these prints came from objects in her personal collection: a pair of painted portraits depicting Mimi and Inès (fig. 18) rendered by Christophe Huet (1745-1811). One can see several discrepancies, both in form and content, between the original paintings and Fessard's widely circulated prints. These differences suggest what Pompadour hoped to achieve by, once again, releasing her dogs to the public. While the Inès portrait has been lost, the painting of Mimi provides some clues as to how its companion piece might have looked.

Huet renders Mimi in the foreground of the composition, walking through a bucolic landscape. As in Pompadour's engraving, something beyond the picture plane has caught Mimi's attention. She turns her head as a beam of sunshine lights up her face, revealing the particular features: her softly arching, reddish eyebrows, dark chocolate eyes, and the moisture of her little wet nose. The changing autumnal trees, defined thoughtfully by loosely applied orange, yellow, and red brush strokes, neatly frame the dog and help bring attention to her face. Mimi fits naturally into the landscape, as her chestnut brown fur resonates with the tree colors and the exposed earth in the foreground. Formally, Mimi comfortably inhabits the landscape. Beyond the tree line, a river flows through the center of the composition and mountains rise on the horizon against a blue, cloud-filled sky. Mimi, however, does not seem keen to explore the open landscape; rather she stays by the trees. As she looks back, her brow furrows, expressing uncertainty and confusion. She hesitates in her steps, stretching her back leg behind her. Thus, while Mimi's physical appearance suggests a sense of naturalness in the landscape, her behavior

betrays a hint of discomfort. In Huet's painting, Mimi appears more mature and cautious than she does in Pompadour's engraving.

Based on what we know of Inès's coloring – mostly white with black fur on her ears, back, and face – and the general contents of Fessard's print, Inès's formal relationship with the natural world was different from Mimi's. Whereas Mimi blended into and harmonized with her surroundings, Inès would have boldly stood out from the landscape. Her white and black fur would have contrasted with what we can imagine were the greens and browns of a natural terrain. Being that the general composition of Mimi's portrait did not dramatically change from painting to print, we can look to Fessard's print and conclude that the formal features used to define Inès's body were likely the same in the painting. Huet probably rendered Inès with several graceful "S" curves, defining the outline of her body, the individual follicles of hair, and her plume of a tail. Like the branches and leaves behind her, the dog's wagging tail gently curled upward and pieces of hair gently swooped downward, like a soft falling fountain. Sitting on her back legs and flipping her tail, Inès relaxes in the landscape and appears at ease.

One can surmise that both portrait paintings presented the dogs as specific animals that did not seamlessly fit into the natural world. While Mimi formally blended into the landscape, she seemed uncomfortable in it; Inès, on the other hand, did not harmonize with the terrain but demonstrated great comfort in the outdoor setting. Each dog's inability to fully or easily inhabit the landscape setting foregrounds their status as companion pets, creatures of the interior, cultural world.

In *L'Encyclopedie*, the author of the "chien" entry describes Mimi's breed, the small spaniel, by reporting:

The small spaniel has a small, short nose in proportion to its longer head. It has big, protruding eyes and hair as smooth as silk. Of all dogs, it has the most beautiful head. It is esteemed for its soft coat, long tail, and long ears. It is faithful and affectionate.⁸⁷

Certainly, the author could have focused on the animal's biological features, yet by introducing the idea of beauty and describing the small spaniel's character traits, the author suggests that the animal's importance extends beyond its body. The author connects the animal to beauty, a concept that philosophers saw as something indescribable, otherworldly, and incredibly pleasing.⁸⁸ In doing so, the small spaniel comes to embody this larger, indefinable cultural ideal. The small spaniel – like Mimi – firmly resides inside, in the realm of refinement away from the natural, baser terrain.

The illustrations from Buffon's *Natural History* further suggest that Madame de Pompadour's animals were positioned in the cultural world. The illustrations of the bichon and small spaniel (figs. 19 & 20), in contrast to those of large dogs such as the Great Dane (fig. 21), reveal that dogs like Mimi and Inès were delicate creatures that needed the attention devoted towards fragile art objects. Placed in front of and on top of dressing tables, the dogs are pictured as fine pieces of art; their slight, graceful bodies are kept off of the ground. One can observe this pattern of treating small dogs like prized gemstones by simply taking stock of the many dog portraits; little breeds – like the bichon, King Charles spaniel, Italian greyhound, and pug – are frequently presented on

⁸⁷ “L'épagneul de la petite espece a la nez plus out que le grand à proportion de la grosseur du corps; les yeux sont gros & à fleur de tête, & la cravat est garnie de soie blanche. C'est de tous les chiens celui qui a la plus belle tête; plus il a les soies des oreilles & de la queue longues & douce plus il est estime. Il est fidel & caressant.” In *L'Encyclopédie*, 3: 329.

⁸⁸ For example, Diderot, the author of the “Beau” (beautiful) entry in *l'Encyclopédie* asks: “How is it that almost all men agree that there is a *beautiful*; that some of them can experience it strong where it lies, yet so few know what it actually is?” from *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alibert Collaborative Translation Project*, trans. Philippe Bonin (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2006): <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.609>.

fine velvet cushions, “displayed like an offering of jewels.”⁸⁹ The dogs’ bodies should be marveled at and admired like the other decorative elements seen throughout the engraved interiors. The small spaniel and bichon are animals that live inside by the side of their master, not outside in the wide-open natural world. In Huet’s portraits, the dog’s discomfort with the natural world reminds the viewer of the animal’s rightful placement in the cultured interior, alongside Madame de Pompadour, who like her dogs was a creature of beauty and cultural refinement.

Buffon’s illustrations remind the viewer that the animals’ beauty and delicateness should be understood as a reflection and component of their mistress’s beauty. The engravings present the small dogs as features within the daily toilette ritual in which a woman would publicly perform her grooming, dressing, and daily presentation of herself in front of an assembled group. Dogs were such an established fixture in this ritual that the author of the satirical publication *Le Papillotage: ouvrage comique et moral* described the toilette as such: “One went to women’s toilettes as if to the theater, and petites-mâitres, chamber maids, dogs, and abbés make up the decoration.”⁹⁰ Dogs were one of the many beings whose presence made the lady’s daily performance possible. In fact, little dogs underwent their own *toilette*, which shocked an Irish traveler who

⁸⁹ Rosenblum, 54. See for example: Anne Vallayer-Coster, *Les Petits Favoris* (1763, private collection); Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Portrait of the Spaniel of the Infanta Maria Josefa de Bourbon* (1763, private collection); François-André Vincent, *Portrait of Diane, Greyhound of Bergeret de Grandcourt* (c. 1774, Musée de Beaux-Arts et d’Archéologie, Besançon); Clodion, *Model for a Mausoleum for Ninette* (1780 – 85, Musée Lorrain, Nancy); Jean-Baptiste Huet, *A King Charles Spaniel* (1778, Private Collection); Manufacture de Meissen, *Modèle de Johann-Joachim Kaendler, Épagneul assis sur un cousin* (c. 1745, Musée Cognacq-Jay); Dominique Doncre, *Petite Chien jouant avec un soulier* (1785, Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature); Oudry, *Small Terrier Seated on a Blue Cushion* (1733, Private Collection) and *Portrait of a King Charles Spaniel* (c.1730; Present Location Unknown); and Desportes’s possibly melancholy tribute to a lost animal, *Study for Red Cushion* (no date; Musée de la chasse et de la nature).

⁹⁰ As quoted in: Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, “Dressing to Impress: The Morning Toilette and the Fabrication of Femininity” in *Paris: Life & Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Charissa Bremer-David (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011), 55.

described how the French pampered their pooches: “ little lap-dogs [were] shorn in a most whimsical manner, and have trinkets and bells for ever jingling about their ears.”⁹¹ The dogs, like their master, are made up. Buffon’s illustration of the small spaniel certainly expands upon this idea as the dog stands on an upholstered surface in front of a dressing table – the central object in the toilette ritual – laden with books, fancy bottles, and delicate jars. The animal’s curving tail perfectly blends with the serpentine drapery folded over the dressing table mirror, thereby creating a formal unity between the dog and table. The dog is an object of beauty.

Buffon’s image of the bichon also emphasizes a connection between the animal and the daily toilette, as the bichon sits upon the dressing table, among the many accoutrements for performing one’s daily dressing; the bichon functions like the small jars, poised and ready for the mistress to employ in her self-fashioning. The dogs’ placement on and near the toilette table points toward the creatures’ connection to this ritual of personal presentation, thereby encouraging individuals to understand the small dogs as factors in their mistress’s overall identity and carefully calculated presentation. Dogs like Mimi and Inès, therefore, were not only decorative pieces tended to by Madame de Pompadour but could also be understood as fundamental tools in the performance and display of her public identity.

Fessard’s prints make the dogs’ role in Madame de Pompadour’s life even more apparent. Each print contains the portrait of the dog, surrounded by a white border on three sides. Textual information – denoting the artist, the original painting, and the print maker – and Pompadour’s large heraldic seal fill the two-inch-wide spaces below the

⁹¹ Chrisman-Campbell, “Beauty and the Beast: Animals in the Visual and Material Culture of the Toilette” in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Vol. 42 (2013): 161.

images. The text transforms the portraits from personal reminders of her pets to bold, public declarations about their existence. Fessard reveals Pompadour's centrality in the animals' actual existence and symbolic potential by framing her heraldic seal with the title of each print and dedicating the engravings to her through an inscription that reads: "a Madame de Pompadour, Dame du palais de la Reine."

Not only does this dedication textually link the portraits and dogs to Madame de Pompadour, but it forces the viewer to interpret the images in relation to the favorite's new courtly role as a lady-in-waiting to the Queen, the most prestigious position a woman could hold. To the surprise of the court, Louis XV and Queen Marie Leszczyńska (1725-1768) granted Madame de Pompadour this honor – typically reserved for the ladies of the highest rank and reputation – on February 8, 1756, declaring Pompadour the thirteenth dame du palais de la Reine, a supernumerary position – as the role was traditionally occupied by twelve women – that afforded her the honors, rather than duties of such a demanding title.⁹² Through the portraits' dedication, Fessard forces the viewer to consider the creatures in relation to Pompadour's new courtly role, a connection that Boucher also promoted by picturing one of the dogs in his 1757 salon portrait of the favorite, which was done to commemorate Pompadour's new title (fig. 2).

In his engravings, Fessard assigns an allegorical feature to each portrait, as the image of Inès stands for *fidelité* (fidelity) and Mimi as *constance* (constancy). Inès's seated stance illustrates the unwavering, ever-present dimension of fidelity. Constancy, however, was rarely associated with dogs and is something entirely new in Fessard's engraving. In the eighteenth century, constancy referred to something akin to

⁹² Christine Pevitt Algrant, *Madame de Pompadour: Mistress of France* (New York: Grove Press, 2002), 187.

perseverance, “a virtue by which the soul is strengthened against that which are able to shake it – pain, adversity, torment, etc.”⁹³ Perhaps Fessard placed the uncomfortable Mimi outside in the landscape to suggest her ability to grow through difficult experiences. Regardless of how the dog evokes constancy, Fessard wisely connected each animal to a virtue as a way to sell more prints, making the personal images more relatable and desirable for a larger public.

Simultaneously, however, the allegorical nature of the portraits made the images more personal and closely tied to Louis XV’s favorite. Mimi and Inès’s ability to express constancy and fidelity was entirely dependent upon their mistress’s expression of these virtues. Buffon explains this concept in his *Histoire Naturelle*: “[the dog], like other servants ... is haughty with the great and rustic with the peasant.”⁹⁴ The dog’s behavior mirrors the behaviors of its master. Following this logic, one must conclude that Mimi and Inès modeled their admirable traits on Madame de Pompadour’s. *L’Encyclopédie* reports that “... there are good qualities that seem to come from education of the dog,” such as “... the way in which the dog, who has grown to know its master, can pick up on your moods, or know if the master is angry, or to obey the signal of a glance.”⁹⁵ The author makes it clear that an animal learns to experience emotions through human intervention and interaction. Over time and through repeated exposure to humans, dogs

⁹³ “CONSTANCE. s.f. Vertu par laquelle l’ame est affermie contre les choses qui sont capables de l’ébranler, tels que la douleur, l’adversité, les tourmens, &c.” In *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*.

⁹⁴ Buffon, 3:4.

⁹⁵ “... mais il a d’autres qualités qui semblent venir de l’éducation & qui prouvent combien il a d’instinct, même pour des choses qui paroissent être hors de sa portée; c’est par exemple, de connoître à la façon dont on le regarde, si on est irrité contre lui, & d’obéir au signal d’un simple coup d’oeil, &c.” In *L’Encyclopédie*, 3: 328.

learn to express their feelings. Mimi and Inès, therefore, learned to express fidelity and constancy through repeated interactions with Pompadour.

François Guérin's (1751-1791) drawing *Madame de Pompadour et sa fille Alexandrine* (fig. 22) visualizes Mimi and Inès's inheritance of their mistress's traits. This drawing, likely a study for an unrealized portrait, presents Madame de Pompadour lounging on a day bed surrounded by her daughter and dogs. Mimi rests beside her mistress on the bed, while Inès sits next to Alexandrine on the floor. All four individuals look directly at the viewer, as if greeting and welcoming him/her into the favorite's private apartments. Madame de Pompadour has paused from her reading to pat Mimi on the head, while Alexandrine shows off a pet songbird on her finger. The bird, like Mimi and Inès, sits untethered and has been well trained to stay put on the young girl's finger. In fact, we cannot imagine any of the animals stirring as a viewer enters into the scene. Pictured next to Alexandrine, Guérin presents the dogs as Pompadour's other children, and, like biological children, the dogs reflect the character traits of their "mother." With a facial expression and pose similar to her mother, Alexandrine presents her pet songbird to the viewer, just as her mother gestures to Mimi. And as Madame de Pompadour looks confidently at the viewer and gracefully lifts her arm, Inès meets the eye of the viewer and gracefully raises her little paw. These behavioral parallels remind the viewer that Mimi and Inès, like Alexandrine, are reflections of Pompadour.

Viewing pets as the children of their human master was not unusual in eighteenth-century France. Not only were children and animals both seen as beings primarily driven

by sensory experiences, but they were also treated similarly.⁹⁶ Jean-Honoré Fragonard highlights the shared needs of children and pets in his painting *The Good Mother* (fig. 23), an image that presents a rosy-cheeked mother caring for her infant, toddler, and fluffy white cat. Just as the toddler at the mother's side craves tender affection, so too does the little white cat that cuddles against the woman's neck (fig. 24). Indeed, neither the animal nor child could fend for itself if the parent/owner were to meet an untimely end. Just as parents secured care for their children in the event of death, so too did pet owners. For example, upon her death in 1780, the Marquise du Deffand (1697-1780) bequeathed her famously nasty dog, Tonton, to her close friend Horace Walpole (1717-1797) and even assigned a stipend for the creature's care.⁹⁷ In addition to providing for the animal's future, little animals, especially cats and dogs, were treated like children in that they were provided with appropriately proportioned furniture (for example, see fig. 25) and accessories (for example, see fig. 26).

These animal objects, like those belonging to children, closely resonated with those of their "parent" or owner. While young offspring slept in properly sized beds that accommodated their exact needs – for example, babies slept in cradles equipped with rocking feet, so that the child would be lulled to sleep –, so too were dogs. Elite pet owners provided their animal charges with finely upholstered and gilded beds commonly referred to as a *niche de chien*. Specifically designed with the animal's small body in

⁹⁶ Scientists believed that both beings were primarily driven by the sensations. In fact, La Mettrie suggests that in the early phase of life, animals are more advanced than humans because their senses are more developed and their instincts more refined. See la Mettrie, 15.

⁹⁷ Horace Walpole, John Wright, and George Agar-Ellis Dover, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford: Including numerous letters now first published from the original Manuscripts* (London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1840), 6: 120-121.

mind, these little beds provided a cozy escape from the sociability of cultural life. Depending on where the *niche de chien* was located, the furnishing could assume a variety of shapes, ranging from a miniature canopied bed to a tabouret-shaped chair to a tent; animal parents, like those of human children, provided their charges with the appropriate furniture in specific interiors.⁹⁸ And, just as children were gifted with fashionable accessories in miniature size – like fur muffs (fig. 100) – dogs were showered in luxuries such as golden collars and jingling bells that “closely resembled the fashionable pearl chokers worn by women.”⁹⁹ Indeed, there was so much love and attention devoted to these animal children that the social critic Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814) bitingly points out how one’s biological, human children were sometimes neglected in favor of the dogs. Mercier asks, “Have you never observed our affected and conceited dames taking their dogs under their arms to give them an airing, while the children are left at home to the care of a servant?”¹⁰⁰ Sometimes it seems that one’s favorite child was the dog.

Beyond the affection and things showered upon animal children, the striking visual similarities between master and pet, as revealed through portraiture, further emphasized how the creatures were understood as and treated like children. Jean-Paul

⁹⁸ By the time of Louis XVI, *niches de chiens* were incredibly architectural, fashioned in such shapes as miniature alcoves, theater boxes, and noble domed temples. Claude d’Anthenaise, “Bien-être et Paraître” in *Vies de Chiens*, 84 – 88.

⁹⁹ Chrisman-Campbell, “Beauty and the Beast”, 161; d’Anthenaise reports that the use of bells on dog collars was a Chinese-inspired tradition that became ingrained in European custom by the sixteenth century. By the eighteenth century, bells were typically strung around a dog’s neck with a velvet ribbon. Madame de Pompadour, however, spared no expense for her dogs and strung their bells – that were engraved with each dog’s name – upon golden chains. Although these golden chains are not rendered in any of the dogs’ portraits, we know of these chains through probate inventories. See: d’Anthenaise, “Bien-être et Paraître,” 73.

¹⁰⁰ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Paris Delineated: From the French of Mercier, Including a Description of the Principal Edifices and Curiosities of that Metropolis* (London: C. Whittingham, Dean-Street, Fetter-Lane, 1802), 209.

Morel's (1759–1810) pastel portrait *Dié Gendrier* (fig. 27), for example, points to a kinship between the well-known bridge engineer and his pooch. Not only are both master and animal rendered in a similar three-quarter pose, but also their coloring and hairstyle are quite harmonious. Even the details of their faces resonate with one another; rendered on the same visual axis, Dié Gendrier's eyes and his companion's are both marked by a heavy, pronounced upper lid and their lips are similarly pursed and pink.

A comparable resemblance can be seen in Joseph-Stiffred Duplessis's (1725–1802) *Portrait of Madame Freret Déricour* (fig. 28), which captures the likeness of the elite owner and her small white dog. Both mistress and doggie have soft pink skin framing their dark, penetrating eyes, which are keenly focused on the viewer. Softly arching brow bones further frame the animal's eyes in an arch that resonates with Madam's neatly plucked eyebrows. Both sitters' slightly parted lips – pink and relaxed – are prominently defined against the white sheen of their skin/fur. Indeed their parallel facial features, like those of the master and animal in Morel's pastel, suggest a familial relationship. Furthermore, the animals in this type of portraiture fill the laps of their masters, a place in portraiture typically reserved for children (see, for example, figs. 29 & 30). While it is impossible to know if the animals truly resembled their owners in such an obvious way, the sheer number of portraits that suggest a familial resemblance between master and pet suggests society's overwhelming acceptance of pets as offspring and the way pets mirrored owners. As a result of this popular mindset, Mimi and Inès's role as surrogate children would not have been lost on eighteenth-century viewers.

The formal features of Fessard's *La Constance: Portrait de Mimi* and *La Fidélité: Portrait d'Inès* emphasize the exact traits the dogs inherited from their motherly owner.

In *La Fidelite: Portrait d'Inès* the shape of Pompadour's seal resonates throughout the composition and forms a formal connection between her, the dog, and the landscape. The little dog sits at the center of the composition. Her body forms a gentle pyramidal shape, beginning at the base of her tail, curving up her back until it peaks at the crown of her head, and comes to an end at the point of her front paws. The white fur pattern on her forehead mimics the stable shape of her body and leads the eye back to her thick, albeit graceful, body. The pyramidally composed Inès rests between two other elements rendered in the same shape: Madame de Pompadour's seal and a mountain on the horizon. Inès and the heraldic insignia are on the same visual axis, thereby formally suggesting a connection between the two parties; through her emblem, Pompadour, like Inès, becomes an expression of fidelity. The mountain, a symbol of strength and persistence, further emphasizes the notion of steadfastness.

The subject matter and composition of *La Constance: Portrait de Mimi* continues to establish an intimate, visual relationship between Pompadour and her dogs. In *La Constance: Portrait de Mimi*, Mimi stands on a raised piece of earth and lifts her front paw. The dog softly gazes out of the picture plane, curling her mouth up around the edges, almost as if she is smiling. Mimi's body, similar to Inès's, forms an arch that resonates with the rounded shape of Pompadour's seal. Mimi raises her foot, pointing to or reaching out toward the heraldic emblem, further establishing a visual connection between the dog and mistress.

Ultimately, Fessard's portraits performed three main roles: the images alerted the French world to the animals' reality, they associated the animals with the ideals of friendship and constancy, and established a very clear connection between the dogs and

Pompadour's identity. The animal portraits conditioned their audiences – primarily the French court – to see Mimi and Inès as expressive of Madame de Pompadour and indicative of the favorite's most important character traits. The portraits therefore worked to combat gossiping and scheming courtiers and to craft an image fit for a dame du palais de la Reine.

IV. A Living Allegory of Friendship

In 1757, Fessard's engraving *La Fidelite: Portrait d'Inès* hung at the annual Salon, introducing audiences beyond the French court to Pompadour's little animals.¹⁰¹ As Mimi also appeared at the same Salon in Boucher's *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour* (fig. 2), 1757 was certainly the year of Pompadour's dogs. Together, the print and painting presented the favorite's noble character and new positions to the French public at large. In fact, they reinforced one another and led audiences to consider the visual work performed by Pompadour's little dogs.

Whereas Madame de Pompadour's participation in the creation of Fessard's engravings remains unclear, she certainly contributed to Boucher's portrait. In fact, we can conceive of the portrait as the result of an extensive collaboration between patroness and artist. Scholars have repeatedly demonstrated the ways in which Pompadour played a large part in the production of her images, not only in sitting for the artists, but also in crafting the works' larger political and social meanings. For example in 1756, when Boucher's Salon portrait was almost complete, Lazare Duvaux (1703-1758), a Parisian art dealer, brought the painting from the artist's studio in Paris to Pompadour's apartments at Versailles, only to return it back to Boucher once she finished reviewing

¹⁰¹ "Salon 1757" in *Collection des Livrets des Anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800*, vol. 3 (Nogent Le Roi: J. Laget, 1990), 35.

the canvas. The art historian Ewa Lajer-Burcharth argues that the transport of the portrait to Versailles evidences the mistress's active engagement in the process of crafting the portrait, for other artists refused to accommodate Pompadour's wish for works to be brought to her for review.¹⁰² Her involvement in Boucher's portrait encourages one to consider Pompadour's earlier artistic collaborations with Boucher, especially the *Suite d'estampes gravées par madame la marquise de Pompadour d'après les pierres gravées de Guay*, as Boucher advised her on the project and its contents helped promote the same vision of Pompadour as Boucher's 1757 portrait.

In 1756, the thirty-four-year-old Pompadour laid out the commission for Boucher to render a portrait in commemoration of her new title as supernumerary lady-in-waiting to Queen Maria Leszczyńska. Displayed on its own dais at the Salon of 1757, two years following the Salon at which Maurice-Quentin De Latour (1704-1788) exhibited the poorly received, pastel portrait of Pompadour as a philosophe, the new portrait attracted a lot of attention, both positive and negative.¹⁰³ Roughly measuring 6.5 feet by 5.5 feet,

¹⁰² Lajer-Burcharth, 59.

¹⁰³ The *Mercure de France* reviewer, Baron de Grimm, reported: "The Portrait of Madame la Marquise de Pompadour, by M. Boucher, is indeed worthy of his brush! What graces! What richness! What ornaments! Books, drawings and other accessories indicate the taste of Madame la Marquise de Pompadour for the sciences and the arts that she loves and cultivates with success, those whose study she knows how to consecrate her useful moments." But, despite these wonderful praises, the same author declares that Boucher was the "Painter of Graces [who] has only rendered nature, without taking the trouble of embellishing or glittering his model." In *Mercure de France, dédié au Roi*, (October 1757, 2:159) as quoted in Goodman, 35. Another critique of Boucher's portrait, albeit a private one, appears in the Aubin family's *Livre de Caricatures tant bonnes que mauvaises* in the form of a satirical drawing, titled *La Verite Surmonte l'Autorité*, that presents Boucher as a satyr inspecting his portrait, standing on top of a book labeled "Les Moeurs" (morality). His grand portrait stands next to another painting commissioned by Pompadour, Boucher's *Rest on the Flight to Egypt*. While the other paintings are unidentifiable, the clear pairing of Boucher's two pieces for Pompadour is clearly a jab at the patroness's artistic choices and her sincerity. In depicting Boucher as a satyr, Aubin questions the artist's abilities and mocks Pompadour's selection in artist. For a full analysis of this image, see: Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour*, 82-84; Katie Scott, "Framing Ambition: The Interior Politics of Mme. De Pompadour" in *Art History* Vol. 28, No. 2 (April 2005): 255-256; and Waddesdon Manner, "La Verite Surmonte l'Autorité" in Collection Database, available at: <http://collection.waddesdon.org.uk/search.do?view=detail&page=1&id=41811&db=object> (consulted 21 December, 2015).

Boucher's portrait presents a life-sized Pompadour, reclining on a couch with Mimi devotedly sitting at her feet. Bedecked in an extravagant green, satin *robe à la française* (or sack-back gown) adorned with pink bows and rosettes, Pompadour dresses to receive her new title publicly; however, she rests in a private chamber with a book. Boucher hints at her former role as the King's sexual partner by posing Pompadour in a reclining posture that resonates with the visual tradition of showing the King's favorite lounging on a daybed, as in the portrait of Louis XIV's mistress, Madame de Montespan (1640-1707) (fig. 31).¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, her posture, private location, and the presence of Mimi subtly refer to the erotic visual and literary genre in which women pleasure themselves while reclining on a daybed in the presence of their pet dogs (for example, see fig. 32). While the portrait makes subtle reference to Madame de Pompadour's earlier sexual role at court, it foregrounds her new role as an educated, accomplished woman who serves as a friend and confidant to both the King and Queen. Rather than pleasuring her body, Boucher pictures her stimulating her mind intellectually.

I would like to suggest that the painting also pictures Pompadour's desire to be seen as the embodiment of friendship. This painting, through its content and composition, makes subtle allusions to the allegorical emblem of friendship, *La Fidelle Amitié* (fig. 11), which I have argued Pompadour conceived of as a self-portrait. Boucher alludes to the *Suite d'Estampes gravées par Madame la Marquise de Pompadour*, as not only are two engravings from this project poking out of the red portfolio in the left corner of the

¹⁰⁴ Lajer-Burcharth, 60-61.

canvas but also Pompadour's engraving tools are scattered in the foreground. These visual allusions encourage the viewer to think of Pompadour's creations.¹⁰⁵

The clock, reflected in the mirror behind her head, tells the viewer it is 8:20 in the evening, almost time for formal dinner service at Versailles; alone with her dog Mimi, Pompadour takes a moment for herself before her courtly obligation. Boucher renders the favorite in her private room, away from the rituals of court, presumably letting her guard down, and allows the viewer to explore visually Pompadour in a relaxed state, where she is free to be herself. In this sense, Pompadour appears in a manner similar to the young woman that she rendered in *La fidelle Amitié*. Instead of exposing her breast as a way to suggest her truthfulness, Pompadour does something as intimate and honest by opening up her private space to the viewership of the Salon.

In fact, Pompadour has left the drawer of her writing table open – even leaving the key in the lock – emphasizing that she keeps no secrets. According to both Dena Goodman and Carolyn Sargentson, locked drawers in eighteenth-century France reflected concerns about personal possessions and suggested a level of secrecy. Key holes, such as the one in the portrait, were marked with elaborate golden escutcheons (keyhole surrounds) and seemed to declare that mysteries lay within the locked compartment.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Two of Madame de Pompadour's newest engraved stones, which she commissioned from Guay, were displayed at the same Salon of 1757. One was a profile-portrait of *le duc de Bourgogne*, later used in a bracelet, and the other was *un Enfant Jardinier*, which was later used in a ring. While these stones do not align with Pompadour's friendship imagery, they were part of Pompadour's well-known collection of gemstones. Featured at the same exhibition, these stones could help viewers to recall Pompadour's engraving project that featured her collection. See: "Salon 1757" in *Collection des Livrets des Anciens expositions depuis 1673, jusqu'en 1800; 3 Salons de 1750-1752-1753-1755-1757-1759-1761*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Nogent le Roi, J. Laget, 1990), 35.

¹⁰⁶ Carolyn Sargentson, "Looking at Furniture Inside Out: Secrecy and Security in Eighteenth-Century French Furniture" in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century: What Furniture can tell us about the European and American Past*, eds. Dena Goodman & Kathryn Norberg (New York: Routledge, 2007), 205-221; Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 240-243.

Keys and locks were also metaphorically associated with dogs, as in *Iconologia*, Ripa suggested that the dog acts as a locked safe for a person's secrets. In this portrait, though, there are no secrets; Mimi does not know more than the viewer. Pompadour reveals the contents of her table – an inkwell and small blotting papers – exposing the objects kept from view. Furthermore, she leaves her letter unsealed, nor does she plan to close it anytime soon; the candle has not been lit and Pompadour leaves the wax lying on the table next to her seal. Like the woman in *La fidelle Amitié*, Madame de Pompadour is as open as the book in her hand.

To highlight further her natural, honest state, Pompadour surrounds herself with elements reminiscent of the natural world.¹⁰⁷ She dons blue violets and miniature roses in her hair, harmonizing with the fresh roses, violets, and small white flowers pinned as a corsage to her left breast. Two fresh roses lay at her feet, while two others rest on top of stacked books underneath her writing table. Small pink rosettes line the décolletage and mark the other edges of her sack-back dress, framing the numerous rosettes that line the ruffles of Pompadour's skirt. She rests her left elbow upon a sumptuous satin pillow covered in a striped pattern of pink and light blue flowers; a pillow in a similar design appears on the right, poking out from beneath her dress. A golden garland of flowers wraps around the gilding of the mirror, and resonates with the fresh flowers delicately pinned in Pompadour's hair and on her chest. While she may be inside, relaxing in the privacy of her own apartment, the room's contents and Pompadour's costume evoke the natural world and suggest her predilection for things of that variety. As the young woman

¹⁰⁷ In her analysis of the complex architectural spaces that Pompadour navigated, Katie Scott discusses the “disarming openness” of Boucher's 1757 portrait. Scott suggests that the drapery to the left and right of Pompadour represent actual curtains and stand as a metaphor for revelation. See: “Framing Ambition: The Interior Politics of Mme de Pompadour” in *Art History* Vol. 28, no. 2 (April 2005): 251.

in *La fidelle Amitié* offers a garland of flowers as a metaphor for her genuine friendship, Pompadour surrounds herself with the fruits of the natural world as a way to suggest her honest state.

The similarities between *La fidelle Amitié* and Boucher's portrait are cemented when we consider Mimi, the faithful companion. Pompadour, lost in thought, gazes out of the composition and takes no notice of her little friend, but like the dog in *La fidelle Amitié*, Mimi loyally waits at the feet of her mistress. The dog slightly turns her head upward and opens her eyes widely, as if she has heard a sound in the distance. Unlike the way an untrained dog might respond, Mimi does not chase the noise; she stays at Pompadour's feet and remains still. The animal's good behavior conversely suggests Pompadour's refinement, for as *L'Encyclopédie* noted, a dog's refined behaviors result from training and the repeated observation of the master's behavior. Mimi functions like the mirror hanging behind Pompadour by reflecting her mistress's behaviors. In the mirror at Pompadour's back, the viewer sees the reflection of a sculpted, fleshy cupid, while the mirror – Mimi – at Pompadour's feet imitates the favorite's loyalty and devotion. Her carnal, physical passions – once spurred on by a menacing cupid – are behind her as a thing of the past. Loyal friendship is the reality in front of her and is the mirror she chooses to face. Pompadour appears to be a loyal friend, as Mimi, who bases her behavior on Pompadour's, sits untethered and chooses to stay alongside her mistress. Nothing forces Mimi's – or Pompadour's – friendship.

A clever chiasmus further binds Pompadour and Mimi, revealing Pompadour to be a worthy companion and to be worthy of companionship. While flowers, freshly picked from the natural world, are pinned to Pompadour's chest, Mimi, a creature of the

natural world, dons a crimson ribbon strung with golden bells, a fancy accessory from the human, cultural world. The natural ornamentation – flowers – mark Pompadour as a natural individual. Mimi's beautiful collar, likely a gift from Pompadour herself, is an acknowledgement of the dog's devotion to her mistress. The flowers and collar allow the viewer to trust in both the dog and Pompadour's fidelity. The chiasmus, thus, emphasizes Pompadour's ability to be an excellent confidant.

Mimi's reality as a flesh-and-fur dog continues to position Madame de Pompadour as an ideal friend. Mimi and Inès were well known in the eighteenth-century French world. The salon-going public and French courtiers knew the dogs' names and could likely identify them upon sight. As a result, upon seeing Boucher's grand portrait not only could viewers recognize Madame de Pompadour but they could also identify Mimi, an identification Boucher ensured by rendering the dog in a three-quarter view. The hanging of Fessard's engraving *La Fidelite: Portrait d'Inès* (fig. 16) nearby at the same Salon further ensured that audiences would recognize – or be reminded of – the actual existence of the little animals. The identification of Mimi proves central to any interpretation of the portrait, for the dog's reality makes Pompadour's relationship with the dog possible. Mimi could dote on her mistress; she could be the animal who loyally and consistently stays with Pompadour. Consequently, Pompadour could really be the living emblem of friendship, thus, the perfect friend. Mimi makes the allegory's reality possible.

Inès, Pompadour's Bichon, performs a similar function in Boucher's 1759 portrait of Pompadour (fig. 3), in London's Wallace Collection. Commissioned by Pompadour to hang in her apartments at Versailles, the painting likely had a large viewership. The

image continues to promote the mistress as a worthy friend. Wearing a light-pink *robe à la française*, bedecked with ribbons and ruffles, Madame de Pompadour stands in an unidentifiable garden and leans lightly against a marble statue depicting the figure of friendship embracing Cupid, a piece similar to the one Pigalle completed for Pompadour in 1750 (fig. 10). Inès perches on the edge of a garden bench and concentrates carefully on her mistress's left hand, as if waiting for a command. Numerous scholars, especially Katherine K. Gordon, have argued that both the statue and Inès recall Pompadour's role as the King's ideal friend.¹⁰⁸ I believe, however, that it does more than that; rather, like Boucher's 1757 portrait, this painting emphasizes the reality of Madame de Pompadour's allegorical association with friendship. The 1759 portrait, again, reveals Pompadour to be a flesh-and-blood embodiment of a noble virtue. The painting informs the viewer that Pompadour actually possessed the qualities of an ideal friend and those qualities extended from her affiliation with the dogs to her connection with Louis XV and to her relation with the King's subjects.

While the painted garden sculpture does not perfectly correspond to the Pigalle piece commissioned in 1754, its form and content nevertheless resonate with the sculpture, consequently calling to mind the conditions of Pigalle's initial work. Both Boucher's painting and Pigalle's marble pieces present a seated friendship – bedecked in her traditional classical dress with exposed breast – in the process of lifting an unarmed cupid onto her lap. Amour and Amitié gaze lovingly at each other in acknowledgement of their intimate bond. Recall that Madame de Pompadour's original commission called for the figure of Amitié to share in her likeness. Viewers of Boucher's 1759 portrait, mostly members of the court and Madame de Pompadour's entourage, had likely seen Pigalle's

¹⁰⁸ Gordon, 257-258.

sculpture for the park at the Château de Bellevue or one of its many copies, and had also encountered the proliferation of visual materials linking the figures of friendship and Madame de Pompadour. Certainly, by 1759 viewers – both critical and supportive of Pompadour’s presence at Versailles – were ready to look for Pompadour in the figure of friendship. Therefore, it is quite likely that period viewers understood the personification of friendship in Boucher’s painted garden sculpture as an allegorical portrait of Pompadour. Thus, the 1759 painting can be understood as a double portrait.

Boucher’s composition further encourages the viewer to see the figure of Amitié in relation to Madame de Pompadour. A strong, dramatic diagonal arrangement pulls across the entirety of the canvas – forming in the lower left portion of the favorite’s dress and extending across the canvas to the face of Friendship, thus linking the two figures’ bodies compositionally. Furthermore, both Pompadour and Amitié’s postures align, as the heads are positioned along the same diagonal and Pompadour’s graceful right arm lines up with the curve of friendship’s right leg. Both figures continue to converge, as they lean toward one another; Madame rests her body’s weight on her right leg, while the sculpted Amitié lifts Amour and rotates left. Both Pompadour and Amitié’s garments flow together and establish a visual harmony that further binds the two figures. Madame de Pompadour and Amitié physically mesh together and create a united unit on the left side of the composition. Formally, Boucher encourages his viewers to understand the represented women in relation to one other so that Amitié and Pompadour become one and the same.

While Pompadour and Amitié are certainly equated within the composition, Madame de Pompadour, rather than the allegorical statue, holds greater significance in

the painting. Not only does she inhabit the foreground, but she also occupies the light, while shadows envelop the statue. Boucher also emphasizes Pompadour's presence as a living being by highlighting the obvious distinctions between her painted likeness and that of her allegorical representation. Madame de Pompadour looks out to the viewer, while Friendship looks down toward Amour. Boucher also reveals her presence as a living being by highlighting the pale, pink skin of her arms, chest, and face. The artist prominently places Pompadour's right wrist parallel to Friendship's ankle, encouraging the viewer to compare the figures' physicality. While Friendship's surface is dull and gray, Pompadour's is soft, delicate, and pink, reminding the viewer of the blood pumping beneath her pale skin. Her rosy cheeks, while likely bedecked with rouge, further betray a sense of warmth and pulsing blood, suggesting a sense of life. In contrast to the allegorical sculpture, Pompadour is present and full of life.

Boucher foregrounds her liveliness as a way to suggest Pompadour's potential to live as her allegorical counterpart. While Boucher indicates her real presence, he surrounds Pompadour with things that are also grounded in reality, but have the symbolic potential to transform Pompadour into the living allegory of Friendship. Inès, a dog whose existence was known throughout court and the French public at large, sits proudly at her mistress's side, awaiting a command. Like Mimi in Boucher's 1757 portrait and the dog in *La Fidelle Amitié*, Inès is untethered, loyally seated at the woman's right side. Madame de Pompadour reveals her open, honest state, with her arms extended at either side, openly facing the viewer. She clutches a closed fan, a tool women frequently used to disguise and deceive.¹⁰⁹ Rather than fluttering the fan, it dangles idly in her right hand.

¹⁰⁹ Hyejin Lee, "The Shield of Gaze and the Mask of Seduction in Eighteenth-Century European Painted Fans" (paper given at Southeastern College Art Conference, 2013, Greensboro, NC).

Pompadour, in a natural environment, open and free of secrets, elegantly confronts the viewer with Inès loyally by her side. These elements – a natural state, openness, and Inès – grant Pompadour the ability to be seen as the living embodiment of Friendship, thereby naturalizing her role as the King's trusted friend and the Queen's Dame de palais de la Reine.

V. Still a Worthy Friend

Although François-Hubert Drouais's 1764 portrait of Madame de Pompadour continues to picture the mistress as a woman worthy of her courtly positions, the manner in which the viewer recognizes Pompadour as such is quite different from the ways in which Boucher conveyed the same notion (fig. 4). While one of her beloved dogs still accompanies Madame de Pompadour, the creature rendered by Drouais – Mimi – is quite active. In Boucher's portraits, Mimi and Inès sat calmly at their mistress's feet. In the 1764 portrait, Mimi excitedly wags her tail and lunges forward, attempting to jump onto the loom and into her mistress's arms. By the time Drouais was painting this portrait, Mimi and Inès were certainly part of the visual imagery associated with Madame de Pompadour. Yet, there is something fundamentally different in the way the dog operates in this painting. What does her behavior tell us about Madame de Pompadour's condition at the end of her life?

Drouais began working on the painting in 1763, around the same time in which Madame de Pompadour's chronic illness came back in full force. But, in spite of Pompadour's failing health, Drouais renders her as a healthy, rosy-cheeked matron seated in her apartments behind a tambour frame. She behaves properly for a woman of forty-two, engaged in craft work donning a conservative dress and cap. It was widely know

that Pompadour had given up her public toilette in 1756 and began receiving audiences while she worked at her loom, as this was a more appropriate place for a woman of her age and position.¹¹⁰ Drouais arranges the composition as if a caller has entered, interrupting Pompadour's work and letting Mimi into the room. Madame de Pompadour calmly and confidently meets the viewer's eye, addressing her company while her dog eagerly springs toward her mistress and balances on the side chair with paws resting on the tambour frame. Mimi, like the viewer, cannot access her mistress because the furniture blocks her way.

Drouais emphasizes the restricted access to Madame de Pompadour by highlighting the gilded elements of the furniture. Sparkling in the dark interior and literally surrounding the favorite on all sides, the gilded furniture immediately strikes the viewer's attention and emphasizes the separation between Pompadour and the viewer. She sits on an armed sofa and her loom jets across her torso, firmly cutting her off from the larger interior. Although the sewing table and bookcase are positioned so that she can access her materials, the furniture seems clustered too tightly. Pompadour could not stand up nor could a caller comfortably approach her. The interior of this room is tight and difficult for Pompadour, her caller, and the dog to navigate. Could the compositional

¹¹⁰ The duc de Croÿ explains that Pompadour gave up her public toilette and began receiving visitors and ambassadors while seated at her embroidery around the same time that she was made a dame de palais de la Reine. Shortly before she was granted this prestigious title, she declared her religious devotion. The duc de Croÿ seems to suggest that one should understand Pompadour's decision to abandon the public toilette and take up embroidery was part of her attempt to appear more religious and appropriate for her age and new title. See: Emmanuel de Croÿ, *Journal inédit du duc de Croÿ (1718-1784)*, ed. E. Flammarion (Paris: Ernet Flammarion, Editeur, 26 Rue Racine, 1906), 1: 335-336. Melissa Lee Hyde provides an enlightening analysis of the way in which Pompadour's needlework did not entirely improve her public image, as Saint-Aubin mocked her new pastime in *Livre de caricatures tant bonnes que mauvaises*. See Melissa Lee Hyde, "Needling: Embroidery and Satire in the hands of Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin" in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*, 107 – 130. And, for an analysis of Pompadour's popular public toilette ritual before she abandoned it in 1756, see Pierre de Nolhac, *Louis XV et Madame de Pompadour, d'après des documents* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1904), 335-336.

confinement be a visual metaphor for the physical, sexual separation between her and Louis XV, caused by her advancing age and failing health?¹¹¹

The arrangement of the interior forces Mimi to behave in an unusual way that differs from how other dogs interact with their aging mistresses. As a general pattern, dogs appearing with older women are typically more subdued and calm, tight within their owner's embrace. For example, in Fragonard's *Portrait of a Woman With a Dog* (fig. 33), a woman, identified as Marie Emilie Coignet de Courson (1727-1806), poses with her small, white lapdog. At forty-two years old, the same age as Pompadour in Drouais's portrait, Madame de Courson firmly grips her dog around its stomach, as if holding the animal out for inspection. Bedecked with a large satin bow that flows into a long, blue satin leash, the dog appears as an extension of its mistress; its curling tail blends into Madame's white cuffs and its leash not only matches the mistress's clothing but it is wrapped around her arm, entwined with her body.

One also finds several older women with their dogs in Carmontelle's numerous gouache portraits. The majority of Carmontelle's matrons wear bonnets like Drouais's Pompadour and have dogs nestled in their laps. For example, Carmontelle's *Portrait of Madame la Comtesse de Rochechouart* (fig. 34) presents the Comtesse comfortably seated in a plush, ornamented chair with three dogs dispersed around her upper body. One animal rests atop her knees, another cozies into the crook of her elbow, and the third props itself up on her upper arm; certainly, the animals surround her from all sides. The animals touch the Comtesse de Rochechouart's body and her garments obscure the

¹¹¹ Elise Goodman smartly interprets the compositional confinement in relation to Pompadour's desire to "underscore her high status." Indeed this works in tandem with my interpretation of the pictorial arrangement. Indeed, Pompadour had failing health but was desperate to maintain her status. See Goodman, 30.

entireties of their little frames. While the black, brown, and white colored dogs visually stand out against the pastel garments of their mistress, they – like the small dog rendered by Fragonard in *Portrait of a Woman with a Dog* – appear as tender, sweet, sentimental extensions of their owner's body.

The rapport between older sitter and dog in both Fragonard and Carmontelle's works contrasts greatly with how Drouais presents the same type of relationship in Pompadour's portrait. The tambour frame separates Mimi from Pompadour, forcing the dog to try frantically to access her mistress. With a wagging tail and slightly raised ears, she is excited and earnest in her attempts. Mimi wants a position like those of Fragonard and Carmontelle's painted dogs, held in her mistress's arms. I believe, therefore, that Mimi's behavior reminds viewers that Madame de Pompadour is still desirable, despite the restrictions placed upon her aging, failing body. Rather than sitting quietly at her mistress feet, as she did in Boucher's 1757 portrait, Mimi no longer exemplifies Pompadour's refined abilities, but her relevancy. A dog, an animal that the eighteenth century believed exemplified friendship, behaves in a way that identifies Madame de Pompadour as a worthy friend, whose companionship could understandably be desired by the King and Queen. Displayed after her death in the Tuileries, Drouais's portrait was the last painting of the favorite to be publicly exhibited.¹¹² Mimi proved central to the interpretive power of the portrait and her presence in the painting emphasized her

¹¹² The exhibition was reported in *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot*: "M. Drouais le fils, peintre de l'Académie, vient d'exposer dans une salle du palais des Tuileries, le portrait de madame de Pompadour, de grandeur naturelle, travaillant au métier dans un cabinet où l'on voit d'un côté une large draperie formée par des rideaux, de l'autre des livres, des instrumens de peinture et de musique, etc. Devant le métier est un petit épagneul regardant sa maîtresse qui a suspendu son travail et qui paraît méditer. Ce tableau, qui est un chef-d'œuvre, a été achevé depuis la mort de cette femme célèbre, a été achevé depuis la mort de cette femme célèbre." (Paris: Chez Furne, Libraire, 37 Quai des Augustins, 1829), 37.

mistress's virtuosity. In a sense, Mimi's presence justified Pompadour's presence at court and Louis XV's great sadness over her death.¹¹³

Mimi and Inès were not simply decorative elements, sprinkled throughout Madame de Pompadour's visual world; rather they were powerful tools that the mistress wielded in the later years of her life to propagate her new identity. The dogs were fundamental to Pompadour's vision of selfhood, as they foregrounded her noble virtues, revealed her desirability, and helped to justify her new position at court. Pompadour's relationship with her dogs evidences the complication of the period's animal/human binary, as the distinctions between the mistress and her lap dogs were positively blurred. The dogs' existence was interwoven with their mistress's highly visible roles as the King's confidant and one of the Queen's *dame de palais de Reine*.

The differences between humans and animals that philosophers – like Diderot, Condillac, and Buffon – worked so hard to maintain in their texts, were not so clear when it came to creatures like Pompadour's lapdogs, who were intimately entwined with human identities. By no means were Mimi and Inès the only animals that became wrapped up in their owners' expression of selfhood. The celebrated portrait painter, Antoine Vestier (1740-1824), for example, certainly believed that his droopy-eyed dog was an important component of his identity, as he features the creature, perched upon a tambouret, in the foreground of his family portrait (fig. 35). The saloniere Madame du Deffand's (1697-1780) great affection for her angora cats was known throughout Paris

¹¹³ Upon Pompadour's death, the dogs were given to Buffon and the Duchess de Choiseul, yet it is unclear which dog went with whom.

and, surely, the cats' sociable nature was understood as a reflection of their mistress.¹¹⁴

The European public also recognized William Hogarth's (1697-1764) pug, Trump, as Hogarth rendered the plump pug alongside his own likeness in *The Painter and his Pug* (fig. 36). Animals like Mimi, Inès, Trump, and du Deffand's cats came to occupy a role suspended between the categories of human and animal, culture and nature. While the animals came to symbolize and evoke elements of their masters' character, they simultaneously acted as their scientific, biological, animal selves. In this capacity, these animals had paws in two worlds, that of the natural animal and that of the cultured human. Consequently, animals became something fundamentally strange and powerful.

¹¹⁴ Horace Walpole describes the cats as “les plus jolis du monde; c’était une race d’angoras gris, et tellement sociable, qu’ils s’établissaient au milieu de la grande table de lot, poussant de la patte, avec leur grâce ordinaire, les jetons qui passaient à leur portée. J’ai souvent eu l’avantage de faire leur partie.” As quoted in: Simone Gougeaud-Arnaudeau, *Les Chats de noble compagnie: Anthologie Littéraire du XVIIIe Siècle* (Grandvilliers: La Tour Verte, 2012), 278-279.

CHAPTER TWO

Animals at the Refined Table

Cuisine

On Monday 21 June 1751, King Louis XV dined with twenty-one of his closest courtiers at the Château de Choisy, a royal hunting residence located southeast of Paris. The assembled party dined on a sumptuous three-course dinner, complete with fifty-three excellently prepared dishes ranging from hearty stews to sweet creams (fig. 37). Marked by witty conversation and revelry, the meal began around 10:00 in the evening and lasted well into the wee hours.¹¹⁵ This particularly refined and lavish meal was not unusual for the Château de Choisy, as it was a site devoted to pleasure and conviviality amongst familiar company. It was a relaxed setting, freed from the constraints of royal ceremony, where the King could surround himself with those he knew well and whose company he enjoyed.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Melissa M. Wittmeier, “The Art of the Table in Eighteenth-Century France” in *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 38 (2010): 101; Claire Josserand, “Les soupers de Louis XV et les menus de Choisy,” *Mémoire d’étude* (École Louvre, Mai 2008), 17.

¹¹⁶ The group who regularly accompanied Louis XV on his trips to Choisy was composed primarily of men close in age to the King, some being his childhood companions. Those who made frequent journeys and dined repeatedly with the King included: the Marquis de Gontaut, the Maréchal de Richelieu (later the duc d’Ayen), and after 1745, Madame de Pompadour. Pompadour frequently invited la comtesse d’Estrade, the Duchess de Brancas, and the Marquise de Livry. Unquestionably, it was a great honor to be invited to join Louis XV at the Château de Choisy. Josserand, 48.

Although Choisy was unencumbered by the daily traditions and formalities of Versailles, politesse and civility still reigned supreme, especially at the dining table.¹¹⁷ In highly visible moments when groups of people gathered to feast, diners could display a mastery of manners and artful conversation, thereby presenting themselves as well developed, refined human beings fit for the King's company. Graceful and polite behaviors were not only revelatory of a person's civility and inner self, they were also fundamental components in differentiating humanity from the world of animals. Polite individuals learned manners and artful comportment to manage their bodies and hide physical acts that resembled those of animals.

When dining, individuals did not simply satisfy natural needs and appetite; rather they regulated simultaneously the demands of biology and expectations of polite society. This was no easy task, since without a moment's notice exhaustion, extreme hunger, indigestion, or gas could interrupt the diner's social performance and reveal her animal-like state. Furthermore, the very act of sitting at a dining table drew attention to bodily needs, as one seemingly came to the table with eating as the primary goal. Perhaps more troublesome and more elusive was the basic premise of eating animal protein. When consuming meat, a diner assimilated animal flesh, sometimes rather violently, through the mouth and absorbed it into the human body. Without a doubt, anxiety relating to animality plagued the dining table. Curiously, the material objects used in the act of dining did not fully assuage the discomfort; rather, they embodied it by simultaneously affirming and denying humanity's distinctiveness.

¹¹⁷ Jossierand, 50. While the majority of daily rituals were abandoned at Choisy – such as public suppers with an audience of courtiers – the daily *Levee* and *Coucher* ceremonies were held daily at the King's balustrade.

Through analysis of conduct books, dining practices, food preparation, and eighteenth-century French depictions of dining, this chapter argues that the categories of human and animal were muddled around the act of eating. I take a series of handwritten, illuminated menus produced for Louis XV's meals at the Château de Choisy – *Voyages du Roy au château de Choisy avec les logements de la Cour et les menus de la Table de Sa Majesté* (hereafter cited as VRC) – as a central case study to explore the many ways the animal/human binary collapsed at aristocratic dining tables. Produced between 1744 and 1759 by François-Pierre Brain de Ste. Marie, a self-taught artist and officer in *le Garde-Meuble de la Couronne*, VRC contains hundreds of pages reporting the sleeping arrangements of the King and his guests in addition to the specific dishes served at formal meals during each royal visit to the château.¹¹⁸ In contrast to our modern use of menus, Ste. Marie's creations were not circulated or used for ordering. Rather, the officers of the household – under the supervision of the *maître d'hôtel* and the kitchen's cook – initially used the menus for meal planning, and then, just before guests arrived to eat, the menus would be taken to the dining room and displayed, so that guests could peruse the meals' contents before service began.¹¹⁹ The menus guided servants in food preparations and provided guests an idea of what to expect on the table, thereby allowing diners to better navigate the meal's many courses and maintain self-control within the feast's framework.

Although the menus were an instrumental component of the meals' sociable atmosphere, they complicated the ideals and expectations of politesse by gesturing

¹¹⁸ Josserand recounts Ste. Marie's possible family history, suggesting that his family had historically been officers in *La Bouche*, the organization responsible for all the King's meals. Ste. Marie, however, was part of the *Garde-Meuble de la Couronne*. Between 1744 and 1759, the years Ste. Marie produced menus, Ste. Marie had a brother working in La Bouche. *Le Bouche*, however, did not control meals prepared at Choisy. Ibid., 27-30.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 35.

towards traits that people shared with brutes, the very qualities that diners diligently attempted to obscure. The menus' roles in meal preparation and service, their elegant calligraphy, creative naming of foodstuff, and artful borders direct the beholder's attention to more pleasing concepts that affirm the animal/human divide. The menus' allusions to the slaughterhouse and the kitchen, representations of irrational hunters, and references to the digestive process, however, problematize the rigid division. Ultimately, I demonstrate that these menus are multifaceted and multivalent objects that embody the complexities of refined, cultured dining in eighteenth-century France. I begin the chapter by defining the goals and problems of eating politely and then move my analysis, mimicking the path of food, from the slaughter house, to the kitchen, to serving dishes, to the dining room, and finally into the consumers' bellies.

I. The Diners: Animal Nature and Human Refinement

While interest in polite conduct first emerged in the early-sixteenth century with Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (1528), the ideals of artful bodies and graceful movement were even more pronounced and rehearsed in eighteenth-century France. Many scholars credit the century's intense interest in sociability and politesse to the growth of the French aristocracy, which ballooned when families purchased elite privileges and titles, honors that were once obtained exclusively through bloodlines. As a result, money, property, and access to the King were no longer the marks of the established nobility. The old aristocracy "erected an invisible social barrier of manners" and highly cultivated comportment to maintain distinction from the new nobility.¹²⁰ The

¹²⁰ Alicia M. Annas, "The Elegant Art of Movement" in *An Elegant Art: Fashion & Fantasy in the Eighteenth Century* (New York / Los Angeles: Harry N. Abrams Publishers with Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, 1983), 36.

rhetoric used to describe and delineate behavioral codes, however, reveals that another fundamental component in the elite commitment to politesse was a deeply rooted desire to solidify refined culture's separation from and superiority to the natural world.

In his monumental text on the development of civility in Western Europe, *The Civilizing Process*, Norbert Elias traces how and when cultures began to practice behaviors he labeled as “polite” and “proper.” He contends that manners worked to place “animalic human activities ... behind the scenes of men’s communal social life.”¹²¹ Animalic behaviors include, but are not limited to, acts that the body must perform in order to function (e.g. excrete waste, perspire, sneeze, cough, eat, drink, breathe, and sleep) and behaviors that preserve life (e.g. sex, violence, child birth, and lactation). Over time, bodily functions and preservation became increasingly invested with “feelings of shame” because they were behavioral acts that violated standards of self-discipline and, therefore, betrayed humanity’s animal condition.¹²² People who did not control their natural, physical impulses came frightfully close to the animal. Elias’s conclusions certainly align with eighteenth-century French philosophies of sociability, which called for elites to precisely execute challenging behavioral rules in an effortless manner.¹²³

In the opening of his treatise on politesse, *Les Mœurs* (1748), François-Vincent Toussaint (1715-1772) clearly articulates the basic expectations of civility:

The art of decorum consists in two parts: 1. Perform no action that is not stamped which the characteristics of rectitude and virtue, 2. Do not perform even

¹²¹ Elias, *Power and Civility: The Civilizing Process* 2: 230. See also, Elias, *The History of Manners*, 1: 58-59.

¹²² Ibid., 272.

¹²³ Annas, 37.

those actions with the law of nature permits or requires, otherwise than in the manner and under the limitations prescribed.¹²⁴

The ideal, polite person's behavior expresses goodness and never acquiesces to or exposes physical needs. In another text on comportment, *The Rules of Civility*, published in the seventeenth century and subsequently reprinted throughout the eighteenth century, Antoine de Courtin (1622-1686) links humanity's natural functions to the animal kingdom:

In other actions, where nature not being so positive, has left us at liberty with other creatures (as in coughing, sneezing, eating, drinking etc.) as reason does naturally dictate, that the farther we keep from the practice of beasts, the nearer we come to that perfection to which nature directs. So good breeding and civility require that those actions are naturally indispensable, yet we should perform them with as much decency and as little conformity with the beasts as it is possible.¹²⁵

Highly codified and symbolic manners became the primary means through which bodily functions were suppressed and humanity's animal body – one that defecates, eats, sneezes, and procreates – could be transformed into a cultivated art form that seemingly existed free from the demands of nature. Those who chose not to adhere to these standards and “live[d] without reflection” or self-control were akin to animals, as they were “brutish and impolite.”¹²⁶

¹²⁴ François-Vincent Toussaint, *Manners: Translated from the French of Les Moeurs, Wherein the Principles of Morality, or social duties, piety, wisdom, prudence, fortitude, justice, temperance, love, friendship, humanity &c: are described in all their branches, the obligations of them shewn to consist in our nature; and the enlaargements of them strongly enforced* (Dublin: Printed for James Esdall at the Corner of Copper-Alley on Cork Hill and Matthew Williamson at the Golden Ball, 1751), 84.

¹²⁵ Antoine de Courtin, *The Rules of Civility: or the Maxim of Genteel Behavior as they are practis'd and observ'd by Persons of Quality, upon several Occasions* (London: Printed for Robert Clavell and Jonathan Robinson in St. Paul's Church Yard, 1703), 10.

¹²⁶ Abbé de Bellegarde, *Reflections upon Ridicule; or what it is that makes a man ridiculous and the means to avoid it* (London, 1707), 13.

To implement these highly contrived behaviors, elites employed their version of our modern day's Miss Manners for personal instruction or they purchased precisely written behavioral manuals. In his monumental publication, *Le Tableau de Paris*, Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740-1814) describes how instructors would guide their pupils and help them shape their bodies into "artful pictures":

... we have these gentlemen who instruct their pupils before the mirror, teaching them to smile fashionably, take snuff gracefully, use the eyes subtly, and bow elegantly. They teach them to talk at the back of the throat, like our actors, who must be imitated but never copied; to show their teeth when they laugh just enough and not too much. They practice these invaluable airs and graces, pupil and master together, two or three hours at a time.¹²⁷

Students learned to be impressively self-aware and conscious of their physical presence by perfecting graceful conduct. By referring to the actor's craft, Mercier emphasizes the unnatural quality of exemplary comportment, pointing toward its imposed rather than innate quality. Humans have a proclivity to behave like animals – freely, unreservedly, and naturally – and must make great efforts to transcend these impulses.

Behavioral instructors and handbooks on manners devoted considerable attention to protocol related to eating, for this natural bodily function, perhaps more so than others, proved difficult to conceal and to differentiate from animal practices. Because of the frequency of eating, the "effectiveness" of cooperative food preparation, the convenience of eating together, and the financial benefit of eating communally, the consumption of food was – and remains – a collective act.¹²⁸ Furthermore, it was not a bodily function that could be easily hidden with perfume, glossed over with fashionable garments, or

¹²⁷ Mercier, 67.

¹²⁸ Paul Rozin, "Food is Fundamental, Fun, Frightening, and Far-Reaching" in *Social Research* vol. 66, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 11.

relegated to a closet or a cabinet. Eating was a public behavior that many people witnessed. Fellow consumers could see into one another's mouths and "observe the [beginning process in the] transformation of food."¹²⁹ Thus, when eating – be it seated at a table or around a picnic blanket – individuals had to be acutely aware of their actions and their bodily needs, so that others were not repulsed.

In the century's most popular conduct manual, *The Rules of Christian Decorum and Civility* (1703), Jean Baptiste de la Salle (1651-1719), astutely identifies the major challenge to eating politely: "...it is very difficult to eat without offending God. Most people eat like animals, to satisfy their appetite."¹³⁰ La Salle acknowledges that people do not simply eat because they are looking for something to do; rather they ingest food because they feel the pangs of hunger. The challenge when eating, therefore, was to appear as if one did not have an appetite or a desire to consume. Courtin clarifies this concept, instructing his pupils that:

You must not by any awkward gesture show any signs that you are hungry, nor fix your eyes upon the meat, as if you would devour it all. You must not be the first to put your hand in the dish, unless you be desired to help your neighbor; in that case you must give the best piece and keep the worst for yourself.¹³¹

In this passage, Courtin provides a tactic for his polite student, suggesting that in serving others she can deflect attention from her cravings. One did not want to appear like an over-eager, ravenous animal, resembling the little spaniel hungrily eyeing the sausages in Octavien Francois's (1695-1732) *Le Déjeuner à la campagne* (fig. 38). The eager dog

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Jean Baptist de la Salle, *The Rules of Christian Decorum and Civility*, trans. Richard Arnandex, ed. Gregory Wright (Romeoville: Lasallian Publications, 1990), 57.

¹³¹ Courtin, 86.

wags its tail and stands on a marble step with its back to the audience. The animal's little nose points directly at the plate of meat perched on the edge of the table and inhales its tasty aroma. There is no question of what the animal wants and, with four paws firmly planted against the marble, the dog is not moving until he gets a taste. The well-mannered people, however, pay no attention to the remaining food. Instead, they politely converse and enjoy one another's company. If one of the diners lusts after the last bites, he does not show it.

To obscure hunger further, Courtin commands his students to feast slowly and quietly, as even the sounds of "scraping of [one's] knife against the dishes, or clattering with [one's] plate" draw attention to one's "greedy stomach."¹³² Delicately slicing food and gently placing it in the mouth, chewing softly, and swallowing silently are essential to concealing consumption. In fact, diners should avoid making noises altogether by sitting still and tall in their chairs. Ideally, they hid their excitement when presented with a favorite food. In his treatise on manners, La Salle encourages his pupils not to discuss the food which others eat or which they themselves feast upon. He explains that it is "... improper to give exaggerated praise to the food and those who prepared it, trying to show by signs and by such remarks that you know the best foods, for this simply shows that you are greedy and a slave of your stomach."¹³³ Continuously talking about food drew attention the act of eating and also implied that the diner had a deeply rooted passion for and knowledge of cuisine. Those around the table would believe that the food enthusiast was famished and lacked self-control. In fact, La Salle advises that his pupils not

¹³² Ibid., 92.

¹³³ La Salle, 69.

cultivate predilections for different tastes, encouraging them to become “accustom[ed] ... to eating [all] kind[s] of food.”¹³⁴ In so doing they never will appear overly excited by specific foodstuffs, nor will they be predisposed to discuss the merits of different delicacies. To disguise cravings, a diner should always take a little bit of what is offered, but never request anything to be passed from across the table. And, even if something on someone else’s plate looks irresistible, never reach to try it. When dining, a polite person never summons a taste or requests a drink; it should be offered, but only out of a serving dish and not off another person’s plate.¹³⁵ Finally, diners should always have a napkin in their lap, so food will not stain clothing and betray eating habits.¹³⁶

Not only did treatises on manners teach people how to disguise their body’s functions, but also they explicitly instructed their pupils in how to eat so as not to resemble specific animals. For example, Courtin cautions his reader to cut meat into small bits and “not to put great gobbets into [her] mouth that may bunch out [her] cheeks like a monkey.”¹³⁷ La Salle, also warns against stuffing the mouth, suggesting that a person who does this look like a pig.¹³⁸ He also discourages rushed eating, equating the hurried eater to a horse: “There are some who eat themselves out of breath and will pant like a broken-winded horse; they are not to be endured.”¹³⁹ La Salle describes a particular

¹³⁴ La Salle as quoted in Sandrine Krikorian, *Les rois à table: Iconographie, gastronomie et pratiques des repas officiels de Louis XIII à Louis XVI* (Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2011), 69-71.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 70.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Courtin, 93.

¹³⁸ La Salle, 71.

¹³⁹ Courtin, 96.

way to position the mouth, so that people will not sound like animals whilst eating, instructing: “You must always keep the lips shut while eating so that you do not slurp as pigs do.”¹⁴⁰ Later in *The Rules of Christian Decorum*, he instructs people to use cutlery, warning: “It is very disgusting for you to gnaw at bones, holding them in both hands as dogs do in their front paws.”¹⁴¹ La Salle and Courtin identify animals as the opposite of sociable, polite individuals. Their behaviors are uncivilized, “disgusting,” and “not to be endured.” However, in delineating these rules that refer to animals, these masters of manners suggest that people naturally are apt to slurp like pigs, gnaw on tasty bones like dogs, and even stuff their cheeks like monkeys. People must fight these inclinations and control themselves.

In contrast to polite human consumers, animals were free to be loud, greedy, eager eaters that did not hold back or feign disinterest. Several artistic representations of dining scenes feature animals, especially dogs, as a way to foreground the civility and distinction of those humans gathered to eat. For example, in the lower left corner of Carle van Loo’s (1705-1765) *The Hunt Breakfast* (fig. 39) we see three dirty dogs gathered around a fashionably dressed woman eating her meal. One dog balances on its hind legs, attempting to climb closer to the woman and her plate, another sits calmly, watching a servant pour a glass of wine, and the third gnaws on a bone stabilized between its front paws (fig. 40). The shape of all three dogs’ front legs cleverly echoes the woman’s tastefully positioned right arm. Her posture most clearly resonates with that of the bone-chewing dog, as both she and the pup spread their arms around the source of their nourishment.

¹⁴⁰ La Salle, 71.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 76.

Van Loo, however, clarifies the woman's superiority and civility by positioning her above the animal, bathing her in a warm light, and placing an unidentifiable piece of cutlery in her little hand. Whereas the elegant woman can manipulate specialized tools for eating, the dog, occupying the shadows and resting on the ground, must use its filthy paws for a variety of purposes, which the other dogs pictured in the composition demonstrate. Brutes lack the dexterity and the refinement needed to manipulate delicate tools and must lower their heads to their food. People, like those pictured in *The Hunt Breakfast* and the anonymously rendered print *Repas servi sur un terasse* (fig. 41), sit tall, keep their elbows off the table, and bring food to their mouths with the help of cutlery. They certainly adhere to the teachings of La Salle and Courtin as none of them stare at the cuisine nor consume it hastily. The dogs, on the other hand, gaze at their food and are resigned to lowering their bodies and quickly lapping up their grub.

II. Procuring Food: Brutish Butchers and Kitchen Maids

Refined diners had their work cut out for them, as maintaining constant control and awareness of their bodies was no easy task. The dining table was indeed a tense landscape defined by anxieties relating to biological functions. Curiously, the menus used at the Château de Choisy did little to assuage those worries, as their visual imagery and text evoke ideas that challenge humanity's self-regulation and expose food's preparation and acquisition. For the culturally elite diner, food simply appeared on the table; the intense labor in its procurement and cooking were obscured, as those acts were unrefined and associated with brutish professions. The diners at Choisy, however, were acutely aware of these concepts because of the contents of Ste. Marie's menus.

When perusing a menu's contents, a diner would take note of the many dishes outlined across the page, the majority of which resulted from the slaughtering, abstracting, and dismembering of animal bodies. For example, the menu for *souper* on Thursday 2 September 1751 (fig. 42) reports more than twenty dishes – out of the forty-six presented – that consisted primarily of animal flesh. Furthermore, the majority of the meal's delicacies were created using a bouillon base, a broth rendered from boiling several cuts of meat down to a liquefied state.¹⁴² Thus, while the name of the dish might not indicate the presence of animal protein, remnants of creatures from the natural world, were likely there. Indeed the death of several animals at the hands of people certainly can be interpreted as demonstrating the power of humans over the natural world it simultaneously suggests humanity's bestiality. In *L'Encyclopédie's* entry describing butchers, Diderot notes the hazards associated with the trade:

I think that in a large city especially, it is necessary that butcher shops and slaughter houses be dispersed. One can identify a lot of reasons; but the one that strikes me most is [the] posterity of public tranquility. Each butcher has four men, several even have six; they are all violent, undisciplined, and their eyes and hands are accustomed to blood. I think there is danger in putting them in one place. If we bunch eleven or twelve hundred in three or four places, it would be very difficult to contain them and prevent them from rising up.¹⁴³

¹⁴² In the cookbook *Des Dons de Comus*, François Marin's recipe for bullion – or *consommé* – calls for two pounds of beef, two pounds of veal, two partridges, a large chicken, couple of slices of ham, carrots, turnips, a parsnip, and a celery root plus seasonings and *consommé* made previously from additional meats and vegetables. See: *Des Dons de Comus, ou l'art de la cuisine, d'après l'édition de 1742*, 4 Tomes (Paris: Chez La veuve Pissot, Quai de Conti, à la Croix d'or, à la descente du Pont-Neuf, Didot Quai des Augustins, près le Pont S. Michel, à la Bible d'or, et Brunet fils, Grand'Salle du Palais, à l'Envie, 1742); and Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine, 1650-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 171 and 178.

¹⁴³ “Malgré la justesse de ces observations, je croi que dans une grande ville sur - tout, il faut que les boucheries & les tueries soient dispersées. On peut en apporter une infinité de raisons: mais celle qui me frappe le plus, est tirée de la tranquillité publique. Chaque *Boucher* a quatre garçons; plusieurs en ont six: ce sont tous gens violens, indisciplinables, & dont la main & les yeux sont accoutumés au sang. Je croi qu'il y auroit du danger à les mettre en état de se pouvoir compter; & que si l'on en ramassoit onze à douze cents en trois ou quatre endroits, il seroit très - difficile de les contenir, & de les empêcher de s'entrassommer...” In *L'Encyclopédie*, 2: 352.

The quotation suggests that repeated slaughter and evisceration of animals makes a person violent, uncontrollable, and even unreasonable, traits commonly used to describe brutes. Jean-François Féraud's *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française* (1787-88) further reveals that butchers frequently were associated with danger and animal-like uncontrollability, as the text notes that people use the term "figuratively" to describe "a man who is cruel and bloodthirsty."¹⁴⁴

In *L'Encyclopédie* plate "Boucher" (fig. 43), the artist foregrounds the butchers' ease with death. Five butchers are arranged parallel to the picture plane, with one positioned firmly in the center. Each figure performs a separate job: the butcher on the right holds the live animal; the man in the center renders the cow unconscious; the two butchers behind the execution rest with their sharpened tools; and the fifth man disembowels the creature. The cow – bound by ropes and steadied by one of the men – anticipates its fate, tightening its body and pushing backward. Its slaughtered comrades are flayed and hung to the animal's right, revealing the cow's future condition. With open eyes and mouth, the animal is terrified. The butchers, however, are unaffected. As the steer tenses with fear, the butcher at center with the mallet stands confidently with a wide stance. The two men, who soon will decapitate the animal, remove its testis, amputate its front forelegs, and slice the animal's hind-leg tendons – very bloody, visceral acts – are lost in conversation and relaxed with hands on their hips; they do not react to the violence occurring in front of them or ponder the violence they soon will perform. The butchers

¹⁴⁴ "BOUCHER, s. m. BOUCHÈRE, s. f. BOUCHERIE, s. f. [*Bou-ché, chère, che-rîe*; 2^e é fer. au 1^{er}, è moy. et long au 2d; e muet au 3^e, dont la 3^e est long.] *Boucher* est celui qui tûe des boeufs, des moutons, etc. = *Figurément*, homme cruel et sanguinaire." In *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française* (1787-1788) University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project, <http://encyclopedia.uchicago.edu/>. All citations of *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française* are from this edition and repository.

are unaffected; this lack of sensitivity could lead to the irrational behaviors referenced in *L'Encyclopédie* and place humanity alongside brutes

Simultaneously, the artist suggests a kinship between the figure of the butcher and the livestock. The flayed carcasses in the background resonate with the central butcher's stance; with legs and arms spread out from the main meat of the body, the butcher's build echoes that of his victim. The hacked-off front legs of the dead sheep echo the position of the butchers' arms and tools, hanging by their side. As these appendages are rendered along the same vertical axis, the artist establishes another physical connection between human and animal bodies. On the left side of the composition, a butcher peels away a sheep's skin that further connects the butchers and the livestock, as the animal's skin gently drapes in a manner similar to the cloth aprons tied around each man's neck and waist. The visual cues of the *L'Encyclopédie* image not only reveal the butchers' ease with violence and, consequently, their potential unpredictability, but the image reveals the butchers to be animals themselves, as their physicality resonates with the animals who pass through their *butcheries* (slaughterhouses).

It is important to note that butchers only were permitted to deal in the slaughter of domesticated animals such as cattle, sheep, and pigs. Many of the dishes served at Choisy include poultry – lovebirds, partridges, chickens, and turkeys – and small mammals – such as rabbits – that were likely raised at the château. The cook and his assistants, therefore, were tasked with the responsibility of slaughtering and eviscerating the smaller animals served at the table. While the authors of *L'Encyclopédie* and the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* do not employ frightful, destabilizing vocabulary to describe the role of the cook, there certainly was violence in the kitchen. Cooks had blood on their

hands. Under the supervision of the head cook, bodies were slashed into smaller cuts of meat, hacked into pieces, beat into different textures, stuffed, pulled, pressed, plucked, and ultimately abstracted into entirely new conditions. As members of the lower classes, cooks and butchers were already – from the elite, aristocratic point of view – closer to the animal state, as they were unmannered laborers, but their trades made them even more animal like. Just as people avoided the frightful and bloody slaughterhouse, elite diners rarely descended to the depths of the mysterious and sometimes dangerous kitchen. Those gathered to eat at Choisy, however, were encouraged to imagine this strange place.

Nestled within the ornamental border framing the contents of *souper* Monday 16 August 1751 (fig. 44), one clearly can identify three of the cook's most valuable tools (fig. 45): an iron caldron, a long handled *grilloir à café* (coffee roaster), and copper *porte diner* (food transport vessel).¹⁴⁵ Diners would be very familiar with the *porte diner*, as they would see the *maître d'hôtel* and the officers of the household carry a slew of these vessels to the table at the beginning of each course. While the intricacies and functions of the caldron and *grilloir à café*, sooty objects that never left the confines of the kitchen, were likely lost on the refined diners, they undoubtedly recognized that the objects were part of the *batterie de cuisine* (pots and pans) and belonged in the kitchen.

Typically consigned to the basement of grand *hôtels* and *châteaux*, kitchens were not part of the interior's public landscape, thus visitors and masters rarely saw them. They were hot and smelly spaces that were often the source of various accidents that

¹⁴⁵ Catherine Arminjon, *Objets civils domestiques: vocabulaire* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1984), 28 and 34. Sean Takats analyzes the cook's tools and their monetary value in *The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2011), especially chapter 3. Sara Pennell provides an excellent analysis of the multiple uses of kitchen equipment and the early modern kitchen in eighteenth-century Britain in "'Pots and Pans History': the Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England" in *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 3 (1998), 201-216.

brought both bodily harm and property damage.¹⁴⁶ The genre painting *Intérieur de cuisine* (fig. 46), rendered by Etienne Jeaurat (1699-1789), presents the kitchen as a dark, cavernous, furtive space. Six figures occupy themselves, preparing for a meal. Two men gather by the hearth as a seated woman oversees a roast, diligently turning a spit. A bonneted woman retrieves supplies from a cabinet in the background and another cook, clothed in a red top, scrubs a cauldron. A man, holding a knife cuts open his delivery from the butcher shop, revealing a leg of mutton and long stalks of vegetables. The viewer can only see the visage of the deliveryman; the faces of the kitchen workers, like those of the butchers in *L'Encyclopédie* are obscured. Workers in the *cuisine* are faceless.

Like the slaughterhouse, the kitchen is dark, illuminated only by the fire and one window. Light pours in through the kitchen's little window and onto the mutilated animal body (in the form of a mutton leg); indeed the butchers' live bull and the cooks' leg of mutton are centerpieces of the profession, an idea that Jeaurat and *L'Encyclopédie* artist foreground through a spot-light ray of sunlight shining on the animal forms. More meat hangs above the kitchen's workspace – a freshly plucked goose and a side of an unidentifiable animal – and its placement resonates with the flayed cows at the slaughterhouse. Dead or dying bodies are the focal point of both the cook and butcher and add to the ominous nature of their spaces.

The visual record suggests that cooks had the capacity to act like animals. For example, in his comic genre painting of the kitchen interior (fig. 47), Jacques Gamelin (1738-1803) draws a parallel between the *cuisinière* and the brutes playing in the kitchen. He presents a male servant and four animals – two cats and two dogs – gazing at a female

¹⁴⁶ For a discussion of the eighteenth-century French kitchen and its cultural associations, see: Takats, 41-73.

cook who kneels on all fours whilst fileting a fish. In a pose similar to that of the dog on the right, the cook shows off her derriere and gives a knowing glance to the servant behind her. The cook's posture – arms spread out in front and weight concentrated on her back legs – also aligns with the stance of the small gray cat at the end of the stool, while her task of preparing the fish cleverly binds her to the other kitty, who clenches a fish in its mouth. Gamelin presents this cook as animal-like in her sexuality and her culinary endeavors.

The extravagantly prepared, meat-heavy meals at Choisy were sourced from spaces – slaughterhouses and kitchens – and individuals – butchers and cooks – colored with notions of uncontrollable, mysterious behavior and likened to the animals they prepared. Through the meals' contents and Ste. Marie's imagery, these brutish professions are present during the feasts' consumption and draw attention to foodstuff's violent, animal-like preparation and acquisition. Furthermore, parallels can be drawn between the polite behaviors of the diners and the chef or butcher, as the ladies and gentlemen who gathered around the table used their cutlery and mouths – albeit through quiet, graceful, controlled actions – to rip, cut, lance, gnaw, chew, and pull apart animal bodies. These behaviors and the professions with which they resonate should be counted among the challenges that polite, sociable behavior attempted to contrast.

III. Culinary Arts and their Complexities

Food origins certainly had the potential to reveal the kinship of animals and humans. Indeed the diners indulged in the same foodstuff as brutes, and in acquiring that food, humans competed with the wider world of animals. In his *Histoire Naturel*, the Comte de Buffon explains this idea:

We may ... maintain that the taste for flesh is an appetite common to all animals and that it is exerted with more or less vehemence or moderation according to their particular conformation; for this appetite is apparent not only in man and the quadrupeds, but in birds, fishes, insects, and worms ...¹⁴⁷

Not only do the behaviors of human consumers resonate with those of animals, but also the actual foodstuff that people crave and feast upon align with the tastes of beasts. The act of cooking, however, draws a distinction between the two parties. When criticizing the practice of eating meat in his novel *Émile, ou l'Éducation* (1762), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1740-1814) suggests that the act of preparing one's food is unique to humanity. Speaking through the character of the tutor, Rousseau challenges people's consumption of animals, declaring dramatically:

O unnatural murderer! If you persist in the assertion that nature has made you to devour your fellow creatures, beings of flesh and blood, living and feeling like yourself, stifle if you can that horror with which nature makes you regard these horrible feasts; slay the animals yourself, slay them, I say, with your own hands, without knife or mallet; tear them with your nails like the lion and the bear, take this ox and rend him in pieces, plunge your claws into his hide; eat this lamb while it is yet alive, devour its warm flesh, drink its soul with its blood. You shudder! You dare not feel the living throbbing of flesh between your teeth? Ruthless man ... You turn against the dead flesh, it revolts you. It must be transformed by fire, boiled and roasted, seasoned and disguised with drugs; you must have butchers, cooks, turnspits, men who will rid the murder of its horrors.¹⁴⁸

While this complex quotation certainly criticizes the human consumer's practice of disguising the slaughter of animals – or murder, according to Rousseau – through cooking, it simultaneously reveals a major difference in the eating practices of people and animals. Brutes pull things apart with their paws and claws, eating flesh from bones, whereas people feast upon flesh that has been cooked, using knives and forks. Rousseau

¹⁴⁷ Buffon, 1:194.

¹⁴⁸ John Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, Or On Education*, trans. Barbara Foxley (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons with New York: E.P. Dutton, 1921), 120.

declares that cooking “disguises the dead [animal] bodies so that the taste deceived by these disguises will not reject what is strange to it, and will feast on corpses, the very sight of which would sicken you.”¹⁴⁹ This quotation suggests that the act of cooking transforms animal bodies into something entirely new, allowing people to feel better about what they eat.

The idea of disguising animal flesh undoubtedly was important to people beyond the extremist Rousseau, as the artful presentation of animal protein was a feature in multiple cooking books. In the illustrated cooking text *Traité historique et Pratique de la cuisine* (1758), for example, the author presents a recipe for *hors d'oeuvres* called *Galère, ce que c'est*, a ragoût served in a boat constructed entirely out of meat.¹⁵⁰ The image accompanying this recipe (fig. 48) depicts what the final product should look like: a miniature ship, complete with two sails, a central mast, and twelve oars built out of various types of prepared meat, but mostly small sausages. The creative arrangement for *Galère, ce que c'est*, a dish that contains more than six different types of animal bodies, obscured the extreme number of animal lives that contributed to the meal's preparation. The physical alterations imposed on animal protein work to maintain the human/animal distinction both by hiding the slaughtered animal bodies and transforming human food into something entirely different from that of animals.

Perhaps the written words of the Choisy menus are the most significant elements that maintain the division between men and brutes, as words transform foodstuff into something only humans can devour. In *Essay on the Origin of Human Understanding*

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Menon, *Traité historique et pratique de la cuisine. Ou, Le cuisinier instruit, de la connoissance des animaux, tant volatiles, que terrestres, aquatiques, & amphiboles; de la façon, de préparer les divers alimens & des les server* (Paris: C.J.B. Bauche, 1758), 385.

(1746), Etienne Bonnet de Condillac (1714-1780) argues that because human beings are rational, they can employ complex signs, a skill that animals simply lack. The written words labeling the contents of the Choisy meals and the century's many cookbooks are such signs, as they change food into arbitrary marks and letters that communicate meanings specific to human consumers. For example, "*un Dindon gras*" (a fat turkey) appears as a dish for *souper* on Tuesday 22 June 1751 and the words "*un Dindon gras*" serve as a linguistic sign that stands in for and calls to mind the turkey body cooked and seasoned to perfection. By transforming nourishment into language, people make elements from the natural world – such as animal protein, vegetables, and spices – part of the world of culture, and something comprehensible only to human consumers.

Being stylish and civilized, the Choisy diners would have understood that all the dishes elegantly listed across the pages of the VRC were representative of *nouvelle cuisine* or *cuisine par excellence*, a style of mid-century French cookery that transformed food from nourishment into pleasurable, intellectual stimulus. The culinary historian Susan Pinkard perfectly describes *nouvelle cuisine*, noting that "... it possessed a distinguished pedigree and flattering historical antecedents, it was scientific and artistic, healthy to eat, a mark of social distinction, and conferred pleasure and contributed to moral development."¹⁵¹ This mode of cooking replaced the heavy, fatty dishes that were widely popular in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries and criticized for having an amoral, corrupting influence on human civilization.¹⁵² According to authors of

¹⁵¹ Susan Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste: The Rise of French Cuisine, 1650-1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 162. See also E.C. Spary's description of *nouvelle cuisine* in *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and the Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 197.

¹⁵² Spary, 27.

nouvelle cuisine cookbooks – such as Vincent la Chapelle (1690 or 1703-1745) and François Marin –, the earlier mode of food preparation was closely related to the nourishment animals consumed, as it simply satiated bodily pleasure.

Although eighteenth-century French society desired physical, sensory gratification, it was the lowest form of pleasure. The “Plaisir” (pleasure) entry of *L’Encyclopédie* notes that there are four types: physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual.¹⁵³ While the other three forms are human-specific, requiring advanced intellect, reason and a connection to a spiritual dimension, physical pleasure “...extends to other living creatures who can smell and taste ...”¹⁵⁴ Buffon clarifies this concept:

Animals have but one mode of enjoying pleasure; the satisfying their appetite by the exercise of their sensations. [Humans] likewise enjoy this faculty, and have another mode of acquiring pleasure, the exercise of the mind, whose appetite is knowledge.¹⁵⁵

Animals are confined to the realm of physical pleasure, while humans have the ability to transgress the sensory world and to find pleasing inspiration in abstract forms. In their respective works, scientists and philosophers such as Claude Yvon, Bougeant, and Buffon provide ample empirical evidence of the similarities between the ways in which humans and animals achieve physical sensory pleasure; like a person who seeks out an

¹⁵³ *L’Encyclopédie*, 12: 689.

¹⁵⁴ When describing physical pleasure, the unknown author of the “Plaisir” entry in *l’Encyclopédie* notes that all creatures with the ability to smell things and taste things can experience “nature’s law” of pleasure. He only mentions taste and smell in this particular quotation, but in the rest of the section he outlines how the law applies to all the senses, thereby suggesting physical pleasures relation to *all* living creatures. The cited quotation reads: “... cette même loi s’étend apparemment aux êtres qui sont à portée d’agir sur l’odorat & sur le goût.” *Ibid.*, 12: 690.

¹⁵⁵ Buffon, 5: 33.

embrace, a dog obeys its master so that the master will caress the animal, and as people turn to nourishment to quite the pains of hunger, so too do wild brutes.¹⁵⁶

The qualities of *nouvelle cuisine*, however, granted more than physical, bodily pleasure; rather, *nouvelle cuisine* engaged history, stimulated the mind, and expressed nationalism, thereby providing more advanced, human-specific forms of delight. In *L'Encyclopédie*, Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt (1704-1799) notes that *nouvelle cuisine* can be linked to ancient Rome, when civilization first “tasted the art of fine dining.”¹⁵⁷ Adhering to Roman tradition, cooks and household officers served and prepared *nouvelle cuisine* in multiple courses that were based on a featured taste (e.g., salty, spicy, or sweet). Furthermore, cooks retained characteristics of early Roman food by presenting a group of diverse dishes made with a few ingredients that retained their individual flavors and magnified the others. Indeed, this fashion of cookery was a return to simpler, lighter tastes that originated in the beginning of Western civilization. Thus, when consuming *nouvelle cuisine*, diners were positioning themselves in relation to Ancient Rome, which by mid-century was celebrated and idealized as a highpoint in human history. *Nouvelle cuisine*, therefore, was not entirely about nourishment; rather, it connected consumers to the great history of humanity. Eating became an act of historical significance rather than an act of biological sustenance.

While *nouvelle cuisine* presented simple arrangements of food and clean tastes, in the style of the cuisine of the Romans, its preparation was incredibly involved. *Filet de boeuf a la glace* (gelled filet of beef), for example, was “an all day affair” that called for

¹⁵⁶ For example, see: *l'Encyclopédie*, 1:4; and Buffon, 5: 30-34.

¹⁵⁷ Over time, however, the Romans gave in to the “sensuality of the table” and became corrupt and slaves to physical pleasure. See: *L'Encyclopédie*, 4: 537-538.

larding, braising, and chilling a filet of beef that was covered with a bouillon aspic, which itself was a complex feat of cookery. When the cooks plated the dish, however, their labor was obscured and the intricately prepared *filet de boeuf a la glace* appeared as a plain slice of cold beef covered with a thin layer of clear jelly and sprinkled herbs.¹⁵⁸

Nouvelle cuisine was ultimately based on the skill of artful combination, as none of the simple, originating ingredients could be easily recognized and no single flavor dominated the palate. In this fashion, cooks “produced an entirely new compound flavor, forming a harmoniously balanced whole” that provoked bodily and intellectual pleasures. After a bite of *nouvelle cuisine*, diners wanted to consume more, so they could ponder the different tastes and attempt to decipher the many ingredients. In *Science du Maître d’Hôtel* (c.1749), Menon champions this preparation as an intellectual stimulant:

Cookery subtilizes the coarse part of foods, [and] strips the compounds it uses of the earth juices they contain: it perfects, purifies, and spiritualizes them in some degree. The dishes it prepares must therefore bring a greater abundance of spirits into the blood, which will be purer and freer. Hence, more agility and vigor in bodies, more liveliness and fire in the imagination, more breadth and strength in the genius, more delicacy and finesse in our tastes.¹⁵⁹

This type of food certainly did more than nourish the biological body. Unlike the raw, unrefined food of animals, this advanced foodstuff made its consumers more intelligent, rational, and refined. One simply did not consume *nouvelle cuisine* to appease the pangs of a bodily function; rather a diner ate to edify herself and become more civilized.

Several practitioners of *nouvelle cuisine* created additional intellectual stimuli by bestowing imaginative, witty titles on their dishes. At the Château de Choisy, for example, diners frequently feasted upon *Poulets à la Reine*, a chicken roasted, stuffed

¹⁵⁸ Pinkard, 174.

¹⁵⁹ Menon, *Science du Maître d’Hôtel*, (Paris: Paulus-du-Mesnil, 1750), xvij, as quoted in Spary, 204.

with aromatics and bacon, and smothered in a white cream sauce.¹⁶⁰ By assigning the label “Poulet à la Reine” rather than “stuffed chicken smothered in cream sauce” to this particular dish, the food becomes something exciting and whimsical that diners could use as an inspiration for conversation. Some dishes were granted humorous names that played with the recipes’ materials. A cook named the popular, spicy sauce composed of aphrodisiac ingredients “sauce nonpareil” (unparalleled sauce), and ingeniously titled a potage consisting of only white ingredients the “sauce vestal” (vestal sauce).¹⁶¹ In her thesis “Cuisine, Customs, and Character”, Meghan Trewin argues that creatively named dishes like “Hareng Saur de la Ste. Meneshould,” “Cod Provençale,” “Poulet à la Genovaise,” and even “Poulet à la Reine” were imaginatively evocative: “These recipes represent a culinary venture into the emerging culture of cosmopolitanism, intellectualism, and romanticism.”¹⁶² Dishes cooked to perfection refined the intellect and provided entertainment.

Consuming *nouvelle cuisine* also could be an expression of French nationalism. In *Cuisinier Royal*, one of the founding works on France’s *nouvelle cuisine*, François Massialot explains that this form of cookery produces artful food specific only to France:

If [travel] accounts are to be believed, there are whole Peoples, who, far from having the least understanding of how to awaken appetite through ways of preparing the Foods which are suitable to nourish them, are ignorant of the excellence & goodness of most of them; and often even prefer the dirtiest [of foods] to these, or only eat them in the most disgusting manner. Only in Europe do cleanliness, good taste, & skill in the seasoning of the Meats & foods that are

¹⁶⁰ For the recipe for “Poulets à la Reine entrée,” see: Menon, *Les Soupers de la Cour, ou l’art de travailler toutes sortes d’alimens* (Paris: Chex L. Cellot, Imprimeur-Libraire, rue Dauphine, 1778), 2: 43 – 44. The recipe directs the cook to 1: 139.

¹⁶¹ Spary, 201.

¹⁶² Meghan Trewin, “Cuisine, Customs, and Character: Culinary Tradition and Innovation in 18th Century France,” Master’s Thesis (University of Victoria, 2001), 43.

found there reign, & only here is justice done to the marvelous gifts that are made available to the fortunate situation of other Climates; & in France, above all, we may boast of beating all other Nations in this regard ...¹⁶³

Massialot seems to suggest that in France, food is an art form resulting from the good taste and the skill of the country's inhabitants. Whereas other nations are content to eat foods in their most basic, "dirtiest," and brutish of forms, the French transform food into delectable delicacies akin to edible works of art. Cooks improved upon the natural world by elevating and refining foodstuff into superior forms that revealed nature's "excellence and goodness." These abilities were unique to France and were indeed something to celebrate; *nouvelle cuisine* feasts could not be consumed anywhere else. Thus, when eating sustenance prepared in this manner, the diners of Choisy were expressing their Frenchness by feasting upon edible art forms. *Nouvelle cuisine* transformed food into something entirely new and strange, thereby disguising and displacing the real purpose of eating.

IV. Setting the Stage: Ornament Obscuring Biological Need

When staying at the Château de Choisy, Louis XV and his guests would gather to consume feasts of *nouvelle cuisine* for *diner* (lunch) and/or *souper* (supper) in one of the property's two dining rooms.¹⁶⁴ Ste. Marie prepared a menu for every formal meal consumed by Louis XV at Choisy and displayed each one for guests to view before

¹⁶³ Massialot as quoted in Spary, 27.

¹⁶⁴ It is incredibly difficult to imagine what Choisy's dining rooms looked like in the mid-eighteenth century, as the King and Pompadour were continuously renovating the château. In the main château plans for a complete renovation are dated to 3 May 1751; the *Salle de Buffet*, the anterior room located adjacent to the dining room, was complete in August of 1751. Construction on the dining room began in December 1751, however, it is not clear what exactly was done. In 1753 construction began on the Château de Choisy's Petite Château, the smaller building adjacent to the main building. This smaller building was "modernized" and a smaller dining room, complete with a *table volante* (flying table), was installed. It is ultimately unclear where each meal was consumed at the château. For a full account of the construction and renovation projects at Choisy, see: Renaud Serrette, "Décor Interieur et Ameublement du Château de Choisy-Le-Roi sous Louis XV et Louis XVI" *Mémoire d'étude* (Université de Paris IV, La Sorbonne, 2001-2002), 64-65.

taking their seat. While all Ste. Marie's creations are visually stimulating, the menus prepared between 1750 and 1753 are the most extravagantly decorated, as there is more variety in color, design, and calligraphic script. The watercolor illustrations, intricate patterns that frame each page, and elegant writing embody notions of beauty present the biological act of eating as one of artful, cultural refinement.

Although François-Pierre Brain de Ste. Marie wrote and illuminated all the menus, there is no unifying iconography. All the illustrations, however, have a rococo aesthetic defined by graceful, sensuous curving lines and delicate naturalistic forms. For example, on the page for Thursday 18 November 1751 (fig. 49), burgundy, light blue, green, and yellow organic forms, reminiscent of swags of greenery and curving vines twist around the edges of the menu, while clearly identifiable flowers bloom in the page's four corners. On the menu for Monday 29 September 1751 (fig. 50), a stencil-like border of repeating pink flowers and green stems neatly frames the text. Arching brushstrokes define the stalks and the leaves of each flower, while a mixture of curving lines and precisely applied dots form the blooms. The varying application of ink and the soft curves of the lines certainly resonate with the same serpentine lines. By embodying the notions of grace and beauty, the ornamental forms surrounding the text visually obscure the violence implicitly and explicitly revealed through the menus' text and overall existence.

The stylized script used to create the menus' words further obscures and displaces the biological dimension of mealtime. On all the pages, Ste. Marie executed two types of script: one upright and linear (fig. 51), similar to what the *maître écrivain* Charles Paillasson (1718-1789) described as *la écriture ronde* and the other done in the style

Paillasson identifies as *la écriture coulée* (fig. 52).¹⁶⁵ To designate each course, Ste. Marie uses large letters – primarily capital lettering – rendering them in the bold *ronde* style, while he creates the words identifying the dishes in a smaller *coulée* fashion. It is quite significant that Ste. Marie chose to employ the more elegant, flowing *coulée* writing style to list each category’s contents – the foodstuff itself – as this form of writing embodied notions of refinement.

In his treatise on writing styles, *L’art d’écrire* (c.1750), Charles Paillasson (1718-1789) explains that the *coulée* style is the most beautiful and graceful. Not only do its curving, flowing lines resonate with the elegance of the serpentine line, but this writing style also embodies the ideals of civility.¹⁶⁶ To perfect this style and fully capture its elegance, a writer must practice. Many people in the period chose to pursue this mode of handwriting, as it was seemingly the quickest, yet Paillasson cautions his students, explaining that this belief results in “the bad writing we see everyday.”¹⁶⁷ This mode of script was not easy; rather, *coulée* required discipline, repetition, proper comportment – specific for ladies and gentlemen – and alignment with one’s writing tools. Correctly rendered *coulée* – legible, regularly spaced, a consistent size in letters and a proportional slant –, like that of Ste. Marie, reveals the writer’s training and, therefore, understanding

¹⁶⁵ Charles Paillasson, *L’Art d’écrire, réduit a des demonstrations varies et faciles, avec des explications claires pour le dictionnaire des artes* (Paris: 1760), 1-13. For an analysis of Paillasson’s instruction and career, see: Jean-Gérard Lapacheirie, “Paillasson, expert écrivain, ou de l’art d’écrire” in *Littérature* Vol. 73, no. 1(1989), 116-128. Marcel Cohen and Jérôme Peignot provide a survey of the history of handwriting in *Histoire et art de l’écriture* (Paris: R. Laffont, 2005), especially chapter 4.

¹⁶⁶ Paillasson, 13. The author notes that this style of writing requires great practice, but when one writes it should never appear labored.

¹⁶⁷ “D’où viennent cette negligence et ces mauvaises écritures que l’on voit tous les jours, sinon du peu de cas qu’on fait d’un art qu’on fait d’un art qu’on ne peut disconvenir être une des parties essentielles de l’éducation.” In Paillasson, 13.

of polite society.¹⁶⁸ By employing *coulée* style in such a precise, elegant way, Ste. Marie converts the menus' foodstuff from nourishment into expressions of refined sociability. Like the manners that diners would perform around the table as a way to hide their animalistic traits, the menus' script disguises food's role in satisfying the biological demands of the human body.

IV. Serving and Consuming: The Predictability of Service à la Française

After viewing the menus, diners would take their seat around the dining table, where the *maître d'hôtel* and officers of the household would transport the *nouvelle cuisine* from the kitchen to the table in a series of courses served *à la Française*, a style of service popular from the mid-sixteenth through early-nineteenth centuries in which courses were served one at a time. Meals *à la française* were overseen by the château's *maître d'hôtel* and presented in a series of three or four courses that each consisted of an arrangement of approximately nine different categories of dishes: *oilles* (stew-like mix of meat and vegetables); *potage* (liquid soup); *hors d'oeuvres* (small bits offered at the beginning of a meal to dull hunger); *entrées* (a hearty dish consumed early in meal); *roast* (roast); *relèves* (dish accompanying the roast); and *grande, moyen, and petite entremets* (small dishes, comparable to side dishes). When creating and presenting the meal, the cook and *maître d'hôtel* diligently followed dietary and cultural regulations that provided a framework in which diners more confidently could mask their appetite and gracefully navigate the table's landscape. *Service à la française* transformed the act of eating into a

¹⁶⁸ William Hogarth also understood elegant handwriting as an expression of well-mannered comportment, explaining, "...The nature and power of habit may be fully conceived by the following familiar instance, as the motions of one part of the body may serve to explain those of the whole." Hogarth suggests that a habit, like posture or handwriting, reveals the complete quality of an individual. Proper penmanship affirms an individual's civility and membership in polite society. *The Analysis of Beauty: written with a view of Fixing the fluctuating Ideas of Taste*. (London, Printed by W. Strahan, for Mrs. Hogarth, and sold by her at her House in Leicester-Fields, 1772), 141.

regularized, predictable, and refined ritual that allowed diners to display their well-rehearsed manners and self-control; there was no need to fumble, question, or hesitate during a meal's service.

Meals always began with a soup course consisting of *oilles* and *potage*. So that diners could consume something a bit more substantial and keep their appetite in check, *hors d'oeuvres* and *relevés* often accompanied the first course. While *entrées* were a diverse group that could vary in terms of the main ingredient, method of preparation, and arrangement on the plate, they were always presented between the soup course and the roast, which came at the meal's midpoint. There were, however, expectations surrounding the *entrées* offered with each meal. The preface to François Massialot's (1660-1733) *Cuisinier royal et bourgeois* 1750-1751 edition explains that:

... with respect to *entrées*, half of them must consist of large joints that are butcher's cuts and other meats like beef, veal, mutton, veal organs, lamb trotters, tongues and tails, fresh pork sausages, andouilles, and blood pudding; while the other half must consist of lighter selections such as delicate meats – chickens, hens, pigeons, turkeys, ducks, and ducklings – or game, partridges, quail, pheasant, or hares.¹⁶⁹

This quotation not only points toward the carefully planned distribution of meat in the *entrée* course but also in the meal at large. In his analysis of eighteenth-century cookbooks and menus, Jean-Louis Flandrin argues that meat regulation extended beyond the *entrée* and the *rost*, suggesting that “organ meats were used only for *hors d'oeuvres*

¹⁶⁹ François Massialot, *Le Cuisinier royal et bourgeois, ou cuisinier modern qui apprend à ordonner toutes sortes de repas ...* (Paris: Claude Prudhomme, 1750-1751), 3 vols. As quoted in Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Arranging the Meal: A History of Table Service in France*, trans. Julie E. Johnson with Sylvie and Antonio Roder (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 16.

and entrées or entremets” and that “domestic fowl and especially furred or feathered game were essential for roasts.”¹⁷⁰

Roasts, or large pieces of meat “roasted on the spit” in kitchen fireplaces, were the most expensive and eagerly awaited dishes.¹⁷¹ Sirloin, lamb shoulder, veal loin, quarters of boar, deer, fowl, and game and small birds were the most common roasts featured at Choisy. While minimal steps were required in their preparation, these humungous slabs of flesh took hours to cook. The cookbook *Le Cuisinière bourgeoise* (1746) explains the simple process, noting that one must lard the meat – either barded (coated) or studded (inserted) – and “cook [it] on the spit and serve when nicely browned.”¹⁷² The *maître d’hotel* and head cook would ensure variation in the roast, always offering “... half white meat and half dark meat, game and fowl, and studded and barbed preparations.”¹⁷³ Just because meat was roasted, however, did not always place it in the roast course. Smaller pieces of meat – such as pigeons, quail, and lovebirds – were typically cooked on a spit, however, they were served with sauces and ragouts, toppings that smothered the protein and transformed the dish from a roast to an *entrée* or *relevé*. Whereas *entrées* and *relevés* had sauces, creams, and stuffing, roasts were plain hunks of meat.

Relevés, in contrast to *entrées*, typically were presented alongside the roasts, which servants placed in the center of the table. Servers would replace the tureens used in the soup course with dishes holding *relevés*. Until the early nineteenth century, there were always an equal number of *relevés* and soups. Sometimes *entremens*, similar to

¹⁷⁰ Flandrin, 17.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 12.

¹⁷² Menon, *La Cuisinière bourgeoise* (Paris, 1774): 217, 220, 225, and 229. As quoted in Johnson, 14.

¹⁷³ Massialot, *Cuisinier royal et bourgeois*, as quoted in Johnson, 16.

what modern consumers might refer to as sides, were served during the second course alongside the roast. Like entrées, *entremens* were an incredibly diverse category of foodstuff that ranged from savory to sweet, meat to vegetable, aspics to custards, and fritters to softly baked dough.¹⁷⁴ *Entremens*, though, were consistently smaller than all the other delicacies presented on the table and served cold. There were, however, variations in the size of *entremens* dishes presented throughout the meal: *grand*, *moyen*, and *petit*. *Grandes* and *moyens entremens* potentially could make up their own stage of the meal, depending on how the *maître d'hôtel* composed the service. The last course of the meal, however, always was entirely composed of *petits entremens* (i.e., desserts).

While the order of service and categories of foodstuff included within each course remained consistent, the specific dishes served changed daily and diners might not recognize the food placed before them. To provide some guidance, each category of food received its own specific plate type. Roasts always went on the largest of plates, and *entrées* on the next largest. The publisher of the 1735 edition of *Le Nouveau cuisinier royal et bourgeois* delineates the different expectations for each course by including a didactic image that outlines the proper plate dimensions for the three sizes of *entremets* and *hors d'oeuvres* (fig. 53). The “scale of nine feet”, noted at the bottom of the page, contributes a sense of scientific authority and imposes a rational order upon the meals consumed *à la française*. Many eighteenth-century cookbooks of the period include a similar diagram (for example, see fig. 54), thereby revealing the universal understanding that different plate sizes were indicative of different categories of nourishment. Diners could identify different foodstuffs based on the size of plates and their placement on the

¹⁷⁴ Johnson, 21-31.

table; once a consumer knew the code, she could easily retrieve the desired food from the different plates without hesitation.

Service à la française provided an order to the act of eating which simply did not exist in nature. Whereas animals have to fight for their food, shouldering out competitors, diners can sit calmly at a well-ordered table and easily retrieve their food. In *Le Forhu à la Fin de la Curée* (fig. 55), J.B. Oudry presents a glimpse into disorderly, rude animal eating. Oudry renders a *valet de chines* offering up the warm, freshly extracted *curée* (entrails) as a snack for the dogs, rewarding their hard work in the *grande chassé*. The viewer can imagine the dogs' cacophony of barks and whimpers as they jump into the air, balance on their hind paws, open their mouths, feverishly gaze, and drool uncontrollably at the tasty sight. Unlike proper, sociable diners, the dogs are not reassured by order or regularity; the animals fend for themselves.

To impose more order upon polite meals, the *maître d'hôtel* maintained a constant symmetrical arrangement of the various platters. The period's cooking handbooks present menus and table diagrams for different numbers of guests. While none of the illustrations are exactly the same, they all retain an essential pattern. The officers of the household would set the table prior to the meal, evenly dispersing diners around the perimeter of the table and providing each an individual plate. Roasts, the largest dishes, would lay in the center of the table, flanking an elevated centerpiece; *entrées* ring the table just in front of the diners; and *relevés* and all sizes of *entremets* would be placed on an inner ring (for example, see figs. 56 & 57). The dessert course, so thoroughly described and illustrated by Massialot in his *Le Confiture Royal*, also would assume an artfully balanced arrangement at the meal's conclusion (fig. 58). While the dishes are not labeled in the

illustrations, they typically correspond to the number of dishes served in pre-planned menus. For example, in the 1735 edition of *Le cuisinier moderne*, the forty-three serving plates carefully arranged on the table in *Table de Trente Couverts* (fig. 59) corresponds to the specified number of dishes needed to serve the food outlined on Chapele's "Menu d'une Table de trente Couverts (menu for a table with 30 settings)."¹⁷⁵ Just as dishes were not labeled in the cookbook images, they were not identified with labels in actual dining encounters. Although the VRC menus outlined contents of each course, diners were not guaranteed to recognize specific delicacies. Because the landscape of a meal served *à la française* was predictable, consumers were more apt to find what they desired without drawing attention to their appetites.

The content and the organization of Brian de Ste. Marie's menus for Louis XV confirms this style of service for the meals at Château de Choisy. The menus reporting lunches and dinners consumed between the years of 1744 and 1756 assume a vertical orientation with the type of meal and date elegantly penned across the top of the page (for example, see fig. 60). The artist lists the many dishes prepared by the kitchen and sorts them into the eight different categories of food, each written on the page in a bold, rectilinear script. The *oilles* and the *potages* classifications are always near the top of the page, as *petites entremets* are regularly at the bottom. Underneath each category of foodstuff, Ste. Marie employs a small, flowing lettering to write the specific dishes that will be served from each category. The classification of foodstuff and their ordering on the page verify that these meals followed *service à la française*, always beginning with soup and concluding with desserts.

¹⁷⁵ Vincent La Chapelle, *Le Cuisinier Moderne, qui apprend à donner toutes sortes de repas* (Paris: A la Haye, imprimé chez Antoine de Groot, aux dépens de l'auteur, & se vend chez Antoine van Dole, 1735), 4: 348.

The menus created after 1756, the majority of which assume a circular composition (see for example, fig. 61), more obviously confirm this form of service. Ste. Marie presents the contents of these meals inside a large circle divided into three or four sections. Within the segments, the viewer can identify food categories – written in the same block lettering as the pre-1756 menus – and specific dishes listed underneath each heading. On the round menus, Ste. Marie adds further classifications – such as *hors d'oeuvres* and *salads*, types of dishes that were often included under the *entrée* and *entremets* categories – making the circular menus more specific than the rectangular. Additionally, Ste. Marie labels each wedge of the round menus, designating them as first, second, third, and fourth services. As a result, these menus more boldly declare the order of the meal and confirm that they were presented *à la française*.

The three – or four – courses composing *service à la française* in the dining rooms of Choisy were composed of multiple categories of food that are defined by several guidelines and expectations. Roasts had to be plain, *entremets* ideally were small and cold, *entrées* were accompanied by sauce, meat types systematically were distributed throughout a meal's sequence, and tables systematically arranged. Polite society imposed a series of rules upon the meal that made the consumption of food more regular and maneuverable. Indeed these efforts to systematize a meal must be understood in relation to sociable society's broader effort to disguise and to transform bodily acts into artful comportment. Standardized systems of eating allowed the diner to navigate the table and to consume with ease, as humanity's animality was less likely to surface in such a controlled environment.

V. Challenging Human Control: The Unpredictable and Problematic

An enormous painting, measuring almost 14-by-10.5 feet, *Carte de la Forêt de Sénart* (fig. 62), hung in Choisy's main dining room and functioned as a focal piece that established the tone for this interior. Just as the many predictable components of *service à la française* assisted in and magnified humanity's control over the biological body, *Carte de la Forêt de Sénart* assisted and magnified humanity's control of the natural world.¹⁷⁶

Likely inspiring conversation related to the day's hunt on the château's grounds, the large painting presents a birds-eye view of the property, including the Forest of Senart, neighboring châteaux, and the meandering Seine. Bold, gold leaf lettering identifies each neighboring property, some roads, and several landmarks that people have imposed upon the landscape as a way to order and to discipline the unwieldy terrain (fig. 63). The gold labels not only allow viewers to discuss more clearly and to describe their surroundings, but also naming and mapping integrates the wilderness into the refined, cultural world; indeed, they were acts and signs of humanity's power over the natural world. On the lower edge of the canvas, the artist renders a triumphal hunting scene, foregrounding another way in which humanity exercises its dominance (fig. 64). The viewer sees six mounted hunters and a pack of dogs in pursuit of a large stag that is only moments away from its demise, as the poor creature only runs a few strides ahead of the pack.

Unquestionably, the hunters at the Château de Choisy are in charge of the natural terrain.

Illustrations of Ste. Marie's menus, however, present a different view. Rather than

¹⁷⁶ Serrette analyzes multiple eighteenth-century guidebooks and pamphlets written about the interior of Choisy. A pamphlet published in 1742 notes: "... commande à Oudry un grand tableau pour la salle à manger du Roy à Choisy représentant la forêt de Senart, le cours de la Rivière de Seine et quelques sujets de chasse dans le bas." Serrette identifies the large map, *Carte de la Forêt de Sénart*, housed in the BNF Département des Cartes et plans, as the painting discussed in the 1742 pamphlet. The BNF, however, no longer credits the work to Oudry. The BNF does assert that this large painting hung at Choisy. See: Serrette, 56.

championing dominance over nature, Ste. Marie's vignettes depict hunters in precarious situations that suggest humanity's inability to be always in control of themselves and their environment.

Six menus from 1751 – *souper* on Monday 21 June (fig. 37), *souper* on Tuesday 22 June (fig. 65), *médianoche*¹⁷⁷ on Wednesday 23 June (fig. 66), *souper* on Monday 16 August (fig. 67), *souper* on Wednesday 18 August (fig. 68), *souper* on Thursday 19 August (fig. 69), and *souper* on Friday 3 September (fig. 70) – feature illustrations of hunters, hunting dogs, and prey (such as stags, boars, and birds of prey), which depict humanity's instability in the natural world. To further emphasize this unpredictability, Ste. Marie surrounds, dwarfs, and conceals objects that express human's ability to dominate the natural world – e.g., musical instruments, cooking tools, and lattice garden structures – with winding vines, blooming flowers, and leafy stems. The natural world appears stronger than humanity and their tools. The six menus from 1751 reminded the diners that they were never in total control of their biological bodies or the natural world they inhabited.

Ste. Marie cleverly arranges his hunting illustrations around the written words by nestling them into the menus' ornate, organic borders. The viewer immediately recognizes the whimsical nature of the illustrations, as Ste. Marie plays with scale by dwarfing human figures with oversized blooming flowers and leafy stems. While this pictorial scale can simply be interpreted as fantastical and playful, it also reads as rather threatening. The humans' position and security in Ste. Marie's natural world is unstable. For example, on the menu for *souper* 21 June 1751, the right-most figure in the hunting

¹⁷⁷ A *Médianoche* was a meal served in the middle of the night, usually after a religious fast or a late-night party.

scenes at the bottom of the page (fig. 71) stands next to a pink tulip with petals that could fall and smother him. The large pink and red flower at the bottom of the menu for *souper* 18 August 1751 (fig. 72), almost trips the stick-wielding hunter. Furthermore, Ste. Marie's figures walk on delicately rendered tiny feet (see for example, fig. 73), balancing like tightrope walkers upon the narrow braches of curving swags, billowing flower forms, and wispy branches. Here, hunting becomes dangerous when hunters are too refined; graceful comportment cannot assist them in their precarious perches. The people in Ste. Marie's composition do not confidently or comfortably inhabit the natural world.

Ste. Marie's hunting vignettes also reveal individuals who have not mastered control of their behaviors. In the scenes on the menu for Monday *souper* 21 June 1751, the gun-toting hunter on the bottom of the page (fig. 71) fires his gun at a wild boar, but misses and shoots his hound instead. Ste. Marie renders short, red staccato lines extending from the barrel of the gun to suggest that a shot has been fired. Yet, the hunter aimed poorly and shot his dog, as below the animal's snout one can see widely spaced dashes of red pigment that look like the animal's blood. The bullet grazes the head of the loyal dog, who hoping to please its master, was in pursuit of the wild animal. A hunter also has shot his dog in the scene at the top of the page (fig. 74), where the hound stands between the firing gun and wild beast. Have these hunters fatally wounded their hunting dogs, prized animals that were valued not only for their athleticism but also for their deeply rooted loyalty?

Not only were hunting dogs essential tools in the hunt, pursuing and catching game, but they were also intimately – and emotionally – connected to their masters. In fact, dogs were seen as reflections of their masters' behavior, an idea that the Comte de

Buffon clarifies, stating: “[the dog], like other servants ... is haughty with the great and rustic with the peasant.”¹⁷⁸ Rendered in portraits, showered with hearty meals and lavish sleeping quarters, and bedecked in noble collars that declared their masters’ ownership, affection and respect, hunting dogs were more than servants or behavioral mirrors of their masters; these hounds were treated as noble family members.¹⁷⁹ Indeed the death of a faithful hound at the hands of its master, whilst engaging in the activity in which the animal was so astutely trained, would be a traumatic event that violated not only the emotional bonds between master and animal, but also what was understood to be the natural order of the world. A chance shooting reveals humanity’s inability to achieve complete physical mastery; no matter how much training or practice, accidents do happen. Ste. Marie’s vignettes, therefore, suggest the ultimate unpredictability of human competence. As a result, diners who peruse this menu are reminded that at anytime over the course of the meal, one may slip up and lose polite control. Will the mask of sociability crack, as the wayward shot missed its mark?

Other animal and hunting vignettes found in VRC continue to question humanity’s ability to maintain physical control. The central hunter in the lower scene of the menu for *souper* 21 June 1751 (fig. 71) problematizes mankind’s position in the natural world. Rendered mid-stride, the hunter sprints with his arms outstretched, clenching a sharpened spear and running away from the large, brown and white hound

¹⁷⁸ Buffon, 3: 4.

¹⁷⁹ To see the emotional attachment that eighteenth-century hunters had to their hunting dogs, one need look no further than the portraits of Louis XIV’s and Louis XV’s of their dogs, done by Alexandre-François Desportes (1661-1743) and J.B. Oudry. Pierre Jacky explores these dog portraits, noting that the specificity suggests a deep connect with the animal and a desire to preserve them for posterity, in *Alexandre-François Desportes: Tableaux de Chasse* (Paris: Mona Bismark Foundation and Musée de la Chasse, 1998), 41-49. Philippe Salvadori explains the importance of hunting dogs in *La Chasse sous l’Ancien Régime* (Fayard: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1996), 91-98.

that lunges behind him. Typically dogs take the lead in the hunt and humans only catch up with them when the prey has fallen. In this scene, Ste. Marie positions the hunter in the place of the wild animal. While fleeing the dog, the hunter runs up the same slope of greenery that a brown boar mounts from the other side. Will the boar run into the spear? Does the hunter know that the boar is coming? Will the hunter unintentionally lance the wild creature? Is the hound hunting its master? So much remains uncertain in this little scene, suggesting that the outcome will be left up to chance, rather than the skill of the human hunter.

The third figure in *souper* 21 June 1751's lower illustration (fig. 71) further confuses the overall scene. Dangerously – and humorously – the hunter balances upon a flowing vine in the menu's border and sounds his trumpet, sending a signal to the other hunters. Unbeknownst to the man, a fox stretches his body, extending its nose and sniffs the musician's coattails. Is the fox hunting the trumpeter? While in reality a fox never would be brave enough to do such a thing, in the confines of Ste. Marie's wilderness, the human has become the prey of a nimble fox. Additionally, on the menu for *souper* 18 August 1751 (fig. 72), a seven-point stag readies itself to leap upon a distracted hunter who swats an enormous dragonfly with a stick. Will the stick-wielding hunter be able to turn around in time to defend himself against this energetic stag? On the menu for *souper* 19 August 1751 (fig. 75) the viewer sees a huge, colorful bird offering a pink flower to a curious red fox. Behind the bird, one sees a dog, crouching on its back legs, sitting nose-to-nose with a six-point stag. Unlike the other dogs seen in the VRC, this canine does not display the violent impulses of the hunt; nor does the stag run. The animals calmly make eye contact and, like the fox and bird, engage in some sort of shared communication.

While these animals participate in what seems to be rational behaviors, the humans rendered on the page act senselessly, shooting randomly into the air and miss-firing their weapons. Ste. Marie invites his audience to laugh at the hunters' lack of control and raises questions about humanity's relationship to and place in the natural world. His hunters certainly violate the overall pattern of control – of the biological body and natural world – that defined the polite, eighteenth-century experience of eating. This incongruence causes great laughter at the expense of Ste. Marie's silly hunters and simultaneously reminds viewers to monitor their own behaviors so as to avoid being laughed at. While it is fun to laugh at others, it is offensive to be laughed at. Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) reminds us:

That the laughter of others at what we do or say seriously offends us so keenly depends on the fact that it asserts that there is a great incongruity between our conceptions and the objective realities...The laugh of scorn announces with triumph to the baffled adversary how incongruous were the conceptions he cherished with the reality which is now revealing itself to him.¹⁸⁰

Laughter happens because of and draws attention to an individual's failure. The laughter provoked by Ste. Marie's unfortunate hunters, thus, reminds diners of what will happen if they fail to exercise manners and embody ideal comportment.

Ste. Marie's menu illustrations were not the only eighteenth-century dining objects that presented humorous depictions of people violating expectations of the table. Indeed, this was a rather common, albeit curious, subject that illuminates the risk of losing self-control whilst dining. Nicolas Lancret's (1690-1743) *Le Déjeuner de jambon* (fig. 76), which Louis XV commissioned for the dining room in his newly

¹⁸⁰ Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, Vol. 2, trans. R.B. Haldane and John Kemp (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1906), 281.

renovated *petits cabinets* of Versailles, certainly betrays the irrational, wild, and animal-like qualities of diners.¹⁸¹ Lancret presents a group of seven elite individuals finishing their ham luncheon in a garden. In addition to eating, the group has consumed over fifteen bottles of wine, strewing the empties across the foreground. Undoubtedly the group is intoxicated; they all have ruddy cheeks, the men have taken off their wigs, dishes have shattered, a chair has toppled over, and the central reveler steps upon the table. The diners have abandoned self-control and any sense of politeness. The men rest their elbows on the table, spread their legs, and slouch. The only woman – likely somebody’s mistress or paid companion – strokes one of the gentleman’s face and pulls him towards her; are things getting a bit sexy? These elites neglect to control themselves, giving into the bodily craving of food and drink, and descend to an irrational state.

The animals in the foreground are unsure of their human masters. The large brown dog looks up as if shocked by the man standing on the table. The dog, like the servants gathered to the left, is surprised. The other dog sits next to a wine cooler and stares confusedly at broken shards of porcelain. He does not search out table scraps; rather, with a flat tail, drooping ears, and downcast posture, the animal timidly tilts his head and inspects the mess. In fact, the pooch does not even react to the grumpy gray cat that emerges from its once-safe refuge under the table. Like the dog, the cat has been disturbed by the diners’ loud, raucous behavior. Lancret’s animals are surprised and disturbed by their humans’ uncivilized condition. In fact, the animals in *Le déjeuner de jambon* are more polite and civilized than the people. This painting suggests that people do not always act as humans or uphold the ideals of civility, especially when they have

¹⁸¹ Mary Taverer Holmes, *Nicolas Lancret: 1690-1743*, ed. Joseph Focarino (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. published in association with The Frick Collection, 1991), 78.

given into their bodily appetites. The hilarity of Lancret's painting, like Ste. Marie's hunting illustrations, promotes the viewers' self control and desire to distinguish themselves from animals. Was this desired distinction simply too difficult? Were all efforts futile? Indeed, the century's scientific understanding of digestion reveals this to be the case.

VI. The Problem of Digestion – Animals inside the Human Body

Writing in the nineteenth century, the well-known epicure Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755-1826) declared: "Tell me what you eat: I will tell you what you are."¹⁸² While it remains uncertain if the gastronome was being clever or if he actually subscribed to the belief that the types of food consumed influenced peoples' character, his words resonate with the eighteenth century's scientific authority on digestion: the Scottish physician Archibald Pitcairne (1652-1713). Pitcairne believed that the human body digested food through trituration, a system of interconnected vessels that pulsed and throbbed. Through trituration, food passed through the body in a multi-step process: vessels pounded nourishment into a milky bodily fluid called chyle, blood absorbed chyle, and blood became a vapor that nourished the brain. Food underwent a series of transformations, yet retained its organic qualities that ultimately provided the necessary elements to make the brain function.¹⁸³ Pitcairne suggested that the body assimilated the food it consumed, incorporating foodstuff into human flesh; his assertions, therefore, revealed eaters to be men and women composed of whatever they put in their mouths.

¹⁸² Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste: Or Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy*, trans. M.F.K. Fisher (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 15.

¹⁸³ Edward Theodore Withington, *Medical History from the Earliest Times: A Popular History of the Healing Art* (London: Scientific Press, Limited, 1894), 317-318; and Spary, 28-30.

While Pitcarine's writings prompted a great response from members of the scientific community who hoped to prove distinction between humans and the animals they consumed, his ideas persisted through the century and held great implications for humanity's relationship with the brutes they consumed.¹⁸⁴

In *Le Rêve de d'Alembert* (1769), Denis Diderot presents an interpretation of digestion that certainly resonates with Pitcairne's theory, as he posits that food products are integrated into and merge with the human body. In a textual dialogue with d'Alembert, Diderot describes that whatever a person consumes becomes part of her body. He asks, "What do you do when you eat? You remove the obstacles that were preventing the emergence of active consciousness in the food. You assimilate the food and make it part of yourself. You make flesh out of it."¹⁸⁵ This quotation suggests that the act of eating integrates foodstuff – the inactive mater – into the active system of human corporality. What individuals consume becomes part of their physical presence. Diderot elaborates on his idea, explaining that marble – which, according to him, is the antithesis of living, human flesh – can be biologically converted into flesh. He proposes an idea that begins with the pulverization of a Falconet statue, whose powder he uses to create "humus" in which he plants vegetable seeds. He states: "I'll plant seeds in the humus – peas, beans, cabbages and other garden vegetables. The plants will get their food from the

¹⁸⁴ Pitcairne's scientific ideas provoked great anxiety regarding the makeup of humanity, as his conclusions had great theological and philosophical implications about the distinction between humanity and the animal kingdom. To maintain the division, Philippe Hecquet, a doctor at the Paris Medical Faculty, poses a new take on trituration in his 1712 text *De la Digestion et des maladies de l'Estomac, suivant le system de la Trituration et du Broyement*. He suggests that digestion is "a disunion, a separation, a dissolution of materials" that once formed parts of animals. Through digestion those materials become appropriate and distinct for the human body. See Spary, 41.

¹⁸⁵ Diderot, *Rameau's Nephew and Other Works*, trans. Jacques Barzun and Ralph H. Bowen. (Indianapolis: Hacket Publishing Company, 2001), 94.

earth and I will get mine from the plants.” To which d’Almbert replies: “Your notion may or may not be true, but I like the idea of this transition from marble to humus, from humus to vegetable, and from vegetable to animals – in the end to flesh.”¹⁸⁶ Throughout this chain of consumption the marble persists, as in the various phases it simply manifests itself in different forms.

Diderot’s conclusions have important implications for the consumption of animals: if, through eating, marble becomes part of the human body, then so do the animals prepared and served as fine food. When convivial diners gathered around the dining table at Choisy and feasted upon artfully prepared dishes, they were absorbing animal bodies into their own. No matter how much effort cooks put into the hiding and transforming animal flesh, it was there, like the marble of Falconet’s statue. Whilst correctly executing and displaying the sociable manners that obscured humanity’s animal-like behaviors, the diners were actually becoming more animal-like by consuming large quantities of meat.

Animal protein and its consumption were of special significance during the *médianoche* of 25 June 1751, a meal consumed around midnight that broke a religious fast of meat honoring Christ’s sacrifice of flesh. Indeed, this particular meal highlighted meat as a luxury and equated it with the sacrifice of Christ. Ste. Marie’s illustrations place further emphasis on animal protein by forcing the diners to confront the fact they feast upon what were once living, breathing animals. Two tables draped in pink cloth fill the bottom of the page. Where deliciously cooked dishes should be placed, stand a giant blue bird and a proud, bushy-tailed, red fox; the food has come alive (fig. 77).

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 95.

A brown cat with long whiskers balances on its rear legs and rests its front paws along the edge of the table, peering at the bird. On the other side, a small black-and-white dog jumps up to see the fox. Both domesticated animals – the cat and dog – are paired with their prey from the natural world, yet neither appears aggressive. Rather, with wide eyes and extended paws, the cat and dog are curious about their quarry. Even the creatures that are typically preyed upon are interested in their predators, as both the bird and fox step forward to investigate their visitors. Ste. Marie asks his viewers to identify with the cat and dog, as these domesticated animals occupy the human position next to the table. In assuming the place of these animals, the diners recognize that their meal was once a living, breathing animal capable of looking back. Although sociable individuals took great strides to distinguish their meals from those consumed by animals, Ste. Marie's exposes the intricately cooked dishes listed on his menus as what they really are: animal flesh. No recipes, fancy presentations, or artful words disguise the delicacies' contents. The diners must see their food for what it is: an animal staring back at them. Ste. Marie reminds the viewer that they are eating animals, becoming animals, and also acting like animals by consuming flesh.

Ste. Marie's image is not unique, as other dining objects encouraged diners to contemplate the reality of their food. Tureens realistically rendered in the form of living animals, such as the Sceaux Manufactory's *Tureen in the form of a Pigeon* (fig. 78), perform a similar function as Ste. Marie's illustrations by bringing consumers face-to-face with animals on the table. Widely popular across Europe, vessels like the Sceaux pigeon were life-size tureens designed to hold a variety of foodstuff, some of which could contain protein from the creatures the vessels actually represented. The majority of

animal tureens assume the form of living birds, such as ducks, pigeons, chickens, and game (see for example, figs. 79 & 80). One can imagine these vessels symmetrically distributed across a dining table, staring at diners, and passed at the beginning of each course. As diners opened the vessel, usually separating the head of the sculpted animal from the legs, they were reminded of the cooked dish's animal contents and their own animal-like tendencies; like brutes, diners feasted upon flesh.

Jean Siméon Chardin's *The Silver Tureen* (fig. 81) also exposes the shared tastes of man and animal. A curious cat gazes upward at a dead game bird and a hare resting in front of a large silver tureen. Chardin, like Ste. Marie establishes a connection between the cat and human; rendered in the foreground, close to the viewer, and in a three-quarter perspective, the brown and white cat in *The Silver Tureen* is a surrogate for the human viewer. The cat has found a tasty snack that is equally as delectable to the viewer, especially when the animals are cooked and served as stew in large tureens, like the one Chardin renders in the background. While drawing parallels between the foodstuff of humans and animals, Chardin exposes the contents of exquisitely prepared dishes and encourages his viewers to ponder the implications of their appetites.

Indeed, the scientific understanding of digestion threatened polite consumers' attempt to distinguish themselves from the world of animals. By emphasizing the reality of food, artists like Ste. Marie, the Sceaux Manufactory sculptor, and Chardin challenge diners' ability to control themselves and rise above their animality; these images reminded the diners that no matter how diligently they worked to distinguish themselves from brutes, when eating they were acting like and continuously becoming more similar to animals. Thus, whilst at the eighteenth-century dining table, one could never be too

careful in their execution of fine manners, as even the slightest crack in a polite façade could expose a person for what they really were: an animal.

In the context of cuisine, animals – both their defining characteristics and physical bodies – are without a doubt integral to the performance of human identity. Diners shaped their behaviors, rituals, and tastes against those of beasts. Consequently, formal dining experiences were defined by a deeply rooted fear of and disgust for human traits that resonated with those of animals. This repulsion affected how cooks prepared, *maîtres des hotels* served, and diners ate food. All three parties erected superficial systems – *nouvelle cuisine*, *service à la française*, and graceful comportment – that attempted to obscure humanity’s brutish ways and improve upon the natural world. These civilized procedures, though, were challenged by the ways in which people procured meats, the period’s scientific understanding of digestion, and the reality that people cannot always maintain control of their biological or animal-like behaviors. Ste. Marie’s illustrated menus bring these issues to the foreground, exposing the complexities of eating politely and the impossibility of completely eradicating humanity’s animality. Like refined dining, the menus of the VRC perform complex cultural work that simultaneously foregrounds and obscures people’s true animal condition. Despite the diligent efforts of polite consumers, around the dining table the categories of human and animal were entwined; people depended upon the idea of the animal to express themselves and the physical animal for nourishment.

CHAPTER THREE

Painted Fur and the Construction of Sociable Identity

Couture

In eighteenth-century Paris, furrier workshops were hubs of great economic activity, as fur fashions were very much in vogue for both men and women. With their trade concentrated along the Rue Saint Honoré and Rue Saint Denis, *Pelletiers-Haubaniers* or *Fourreurs* cut, sewed, and sold a myriad of fur accessories ranging from muffs to caplets, trims and hats.¹⁸⁷ *Manchons* (muffs), however, were the most popular fur accessory and, as the etching *The Palais Royal – Promenade de la Galerie du Palais Royal* (fig. 82 & 83) reveals, men and women of all social classes carried the winter accessory in a variety of shapes, sizes, and fur types.¹⁸⁸ The entry for “Peau” (animal hide) in *l’Encyclopédie* explains that pelts used in garments included “...marten skins, ermines, beavers, tigers, otters, vultures, swans, gray martens, bears, skunks, rabbits, hares, foxes, cats, dogs, sheep &c whose hair is preserved, preparing them in a special way.”¹⁸⁹ There were certainly many types of animal skins used to embellish fashionable clothing and accessories!

¹⁸⁷ Madeleine Delpierre, *Dress in the Eighteenth Century*. Translated by Caroline Beamish (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 133.

¹⁸⁸ Chrisman-Campbell, ““He is not dressed without a muff”: Muffs, Masculinity, and *la mode* in English Satire” in *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*, 131.

¹⁸⁹ “... peaux de martres, d’hermines, de castors, de tigres, de loutres, de vautours, de cygnes, de petits gris, de fouines, d’ours, de putois, de lapins, de lievres, de renards, de chats, de chiens, d’agneaux, &c. dont on conserve le poil, en les préparant d’une manière particulière” in *Encyclopédie*, 12: 220.

In this chapter, I investigate how eighteenth-century French audiences understood visual representations of fur garments. I argue that fur fashions were much more than symbols of humanity's power over the natural world. Fur wares embodied characteristics of animals, yet despite these associations, furs were integral to the expression of refined human identities. *Manchons* (fur muffs), while certainly accessories promoting warmth, were closely associated with the female sex, as they embodied ideas relating to feminine sexuality, maturation, and sexual activity. Curiously, though, fur muffs were also integral to visualizations of French masculinity. Beyond *manchons*, fur garments of all types played an important role in the visual arts, suggesting an individual's actual and desired social ranking. Like today's consumers, those in the eighteenth century could wear exquisite furs to signify their affluence, while those of lesser status could don fake furs in hopes of looking posh. Additionally, furs could also signify social difference, as some pelts and types of fur garments were culturally specific and, when worn in a French context, differentiated individuals. As a material, fur was invested with great semiotic potential and, indeed, artists appealed to this symbolic value.

I. Towards a Philosophy of Fur Garments

Furriers denatured pelts by converting them from animal skins to fashionable ornaments protecting the human body from the cold. Although furriers sewed fur into designs that no longer resembled the animal body, furs used in the production of fashionable garments retained their association with the natural world. The public's understanding of the furrier trade and the sensual materiality of fur helped maintain fur's connection to nature.

The didactic plate accompanying the “Fourreur ou Pelletier” entry of *l'Encyclopédie* presents the furrier showroom as an organized, well appointed, and fashionable interior (fig. 84). The intricately engraved image shows the space as comfortably heated by a central stove, suggesting the warmth offered by the shop’s furs. The stove’s *chinoiserie* ornamentations and the matching upholstery covering the stools declare the showroom’s refinement. The carved wooden counter is the shop’s focal point and further magnifies the sophistication of the *fourreur*. Rendered in beautifully carved wood with a central medallion and pilaster forms marking the corners, the counter fills the left corner of the room, adjacent to a wall of windows. The light from outside spills across the counter and reflects off the large ornately framed mirror hanging behind it. Topped by a centrally carved drape of swag, the mirror dominates the rear wall, embellishing the sales area and conveniently providing customers with a glimpse of themselves donning the shop’s wares. Clearly visible on the surface of the mirror is the reflection of the well-pannied woman; perhaps she is inspecting the fit of the fur-trimmed cape draped around her shoulders. Certainly this warm, well-furnished, ornamented showroom is appropriate for the two fashionably dressed customers being served at the counter. The sales woman who presents an enormous muff to the gentleman also looks quite stylish as she wears a little bow atop her head and fine, long cuffs on her dress. The people who shop for and the individuals who sell furs are stylish cultured members of Parisian society.

Despite all of the shop’s refinement, the image also calls to mind the baser, material origins of the furrier’s fashionable objects. The man in the right portion of the picture plane, clad in trousers and an apron, dramatically swings his rod and strikes the

animal hide, which is resting on his knee. He engages in one of the final steps in preparing an animal pelt: beating the leather side to make it malleable.¹⁹⁰ Once he has completed this step in what is an incredibly involved process of tanning, a furrier can then cut and sew the fur into a desirable object that will be offered for sale. The tanner's presence and his dramatic, intense action reminds the viewer of not only the extreme labor that went into the production of beautiful fur garments but also of the violence at the clothes' origins. Indeed the pose in which the artist rendered the tanner resonates with that of the butcher pictured in another plate of *l'Encyclopédie* (fig. 43). Like the butcher, the tanner beats the animal body so that it can be reshaped, albeit in a less gruesome way. By including the figure of the tanner within the showroom, a place in which he would not actually conduct his work, the artist reveals the process of producing fur goods and the violent transformation imposed upon animal bodies.

The objects pictured in the showroom highlight the conversion of the animal pelt from its natural condition into a cultural form. Unlike the finished fur muffs that are sewn into contained, round sleeves, and displayed on the shop's counter, the leather draped across the tanner's knee echoes the form of the animal, as the viewer can identify what would have been the skin covering the animal's front limbs. The unsewn pelts hanging from the ceiling further remind the viewer of the animal origins of the garments. Strung up like pieces of meat in a stockyard or butcher shop, nine pelts hang limply from the showroom's exposed beams. Their organic forms dramatically contrast with the rigidity and regularity of the cylindrical paper boxes that also hang from the rafters and indicate the cultural shapes – muffs and hats – the furs will assume. The artist pairs the before and

¹⁹⁰ For a full description of the process, see: "Fourreur ou Pelletier" in *Encyclopédie*, 7: 254 – 262.

after shapes of the animal material, foregrounding the physical change of animal bodies from curvaceous, natural forms into disciplined, regularized garments. This image seems to suggest that one cannot possess or see the final product – a fur garment – without recalling the process of its production; the object embodies polite society and gruesome labor, the cultural world in which it is used and the natural world from which it originates.

The main text of *l'Encyclopédie*'s "Fourreur ou Pelletier" entry also emphasizes physical transformation, as it outlines the many material changes involved in the rendering of a fur garment. The author begins by describing the tools of the trade and then delves into a step-by-step account of the complicated process of dressing skins, rendering them soft, clean, and prepared for cutting garment patterns, while also making note of the different requirements for specific animals (dog, fox, rabbit etc.).¹⁹¹ Each creature has a fur that calls for customized treatment. For example, to enhance the luster of a fox pelt, one must soak the fur in a bath of eggs, while the luster of dog hair relies on a bath containing a "limestone the size of a hat."¹⁹² In delineating the different ways to prepare animal pelts, the author acknowledges the individuality of each species and, perhaps unintentionally, gestures to their individual lives.

Diderot continues to allude to the animal origins of fur when referencing the plates illustrating patterns for a *manchon* (figs. 85 & 86) and specifying the different cuts and stitches required in its fabrication. For example, when orienting the reader in the production of a muff, the author suggests: "To comfortably work on a muff cut a pattern

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 7: 254.

¹⁹² Ibid., 7: 259.

as you see in figure 2, folding your skin from head to tail – leather facing in ...”¹⁹³ In producing a desirable cultural object, used in polite society, the author orients the reader by reference to the animal body. Thus, Diderot reveals the natural origins of the muff while also suggesting a complex encounter between polite society and the animal kingdom.

The “Fourreur ou Pelletier” entry concludes with a discussion of Paris’s Six Corporations of Merchants and its regulation of the fur market. Formed in the twelfth century and endorsed by the crown, the organization comprised six groups of merchants - *drapiers* (drapers), *epiciers* (grocers), *merciers* (textile traders), *pelletiers* (furriers), *bonnetiers* (hosier & bonnet maker), and *orfevres* (gold & silversmiths) – and defined rules controlling what each type of retailer produced and sold. The Six Corporations of Merchants participated in governmental councils and held an authoritative presence in the social and economic world.¹⁹⁴ By the eighteenth century, the regulations of the Six Corporations of Merchants specified that merchants could not manufacture goods; rather they were simply permitted to finish wares for sale. This regulation, introduced at the turn of the century, separated the practice of furriers -- merchants who specialized in the sewing and sale of fur garments -- and pelletiers -- laborers who acquired and prepared the furs.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ “Pour travailler commodément le manchon coupé sur le patron de la *figure 2*. vous pliez votre peau de la tête à la culée, le cuir en – dedans ...” In *Encyclopédie* 7:261.

¹⁹⁴ See Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum; Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996), 7 – 9; and Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, “The Marchande de Modes” in *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 50 – 69.

¹⁹⁵ Sargentson, 9-13.

Although the Six Corporations of Merchants mandated the distinction between these two professions, *l'Encyclopédie* textually and visually blurs them. In the vignette of the showroom, the worker who beats the leather indicates the more physical pelletier industry, while the woman behind the counter is a member of the more polished furrier profession. Although the plate does not depict an animal being trapped or hunted, the artist calls attention to the violence at fur's origin by picturing members of the two contrasting – but dependent – corporations inside the same shop. Similarly, the author of the entry does not separate the two fur-related professions until the passage's concluding paragraph. He clouds the lines between the two parties and pushes the reader to remember both the animalistic – in material origins and in the violent human actions of production – and cultural – as a highly desirable and fashionable product – dimensions of the refined fur garment. Fur embodies or gestures towards the duality between the wild, natural world of the animal and the controlled, cultural world of humanity.

The manner in which fur garments, especially muffs, were worn had the potential to conjure associations with a consumer's daily encounter with animals. Tucked under the arm, attached to the body with a satin cord or sash, or securely grasped with two hands, *manchons* were held just like companion animals. In fact, some larger *manchons* were actually used to hold small pets within the warm grasp of their owners.¹⁹⁶ The *manchon*'s similarities and associations with companion animals extended to the world of representation. In portraits, artists frequently rendered soft little animals and muffs in a comparable position: resting on the sitters' lap, firmly secured in their hands. Compare for example, François Hubert Drouais's *Portrait of a young lady in a blue silk dress with fur trim and muff* (fig. 87) and Joseph Durceux's *Portrait of Madame Élisabeth* (fig. 88);

¹⁹⁶ Delpierre, 42.

both the dog and muff are rendered in the sitters' laps, immediately in front of their torsos, and are framed by the models' hands and arms. Because this compositional arrangement was frequently reiterated, it is plausible to conclude that viewers would have been conditioned to think of the muff as an animal and the animal as a muff.

The feeling of actual fur against skin also had the potential to remind consumers of fur's natural origins. Animal hairs rubbed against skin produces a very specific tactile experience that foreground the differences in human skin and animal pelts. Soft, fibrous, and warm, fur dramatically contrasts the firm, smooth, and – sometimes – cold feeling of skin. According to Etienne Bonnot de Condillac's interpretation of the senses, it is this obvious dissimilarity between skin and fur that makes fur so appealing and pleasurable to humans. Pleasure was widely valorized in eighteenth-century France and understood as a “force driving individual action and constituting the essence of existence” that was generated by a desire to experience pleasing – as opposed to painful – feelings.¹⁹⁷

Unfortunately though, the sense of touch frequently brought more pain than pleasure, at least according to Condillac. He, therefore, contends that when one finds a pleasing tactile surface, one repeatedly seeks it out.¹⁹⁸ Condillac identifies the most

¹⁹⁷ Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Enlightened Pleasures: Eighteenth-Century France and the New Epicureanism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 1. Indeed there are hundreds of sources that explore the cultural role of pleasure in eighteenth-century France and I cannot list them all. For a review of eighteenth-century French texts that explore the meaning, role, and presence of pleasure, see: Robert Mauzi, “Le Mouvement et les Plaisirs” in *L'idée du Bonheur dans la littérature et la pensée françaises au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Colin, 1969): 386-431. For an analysis of pleasure's role in literature see: Catherine Cusset, *No Tomorrow: The Ethics of Pleasure in the French Enlightenment* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999). For a description of the positive effect of pleasure on human life and society, see: Jean-Baptiste-François Hennebert, *Du Plaisir, ou de Moyen de se rendre heureux ...*, 2 vol. (Lille: Henry, 1764), 1: 2-3. Hennebert suggests that pleasure not only allows a person to feel personal fulfillment, but it also brings an individual out into the world where he/she can learn about those different from him/her self. Also, pleasure contributes to an individual's talent and genius.

¹⁹⁸ Condillac “A Treatise on the Sensations” in *Philosophical Writings of Etienne Bonnot, Abbé de Condillac*, trans. Franklin Philip with the collaboration of Harlan Lane (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1982), 238.

pleasing textures as those that are most different from skin because “...the more they contrast, the more they attract attention.”¹⁹⁹ He continues to expound upon pleasing tactile sensations by noting that encounters, which alleviate pain or discomfort, are sources of tangible pleasure. Without a doubt the texture of animal hair embodies these pleasing qualities, especially by providing relief and protection from the nip of cold air.

The *Portrait of Louise Henriette de Bourbon, Duchess de Chartres and Orléans* (fig. 89) conveys the pleasures of fur, both actual and painted. Rendered by an unknown hand, the canvas presents the Duchesse bundled up in luxurious, warm layers. But, it is the glowing sheen of the fur composing her muff, cuffs, and scarf that attract our attention. Positioned on the edge of the canvas and illuminated by a ray of light, the muff is positively glowing. The artist carefully rendered numerous fur fibers, distinguishing the material’s texture from the smooth velvet of the black capelet and satin of the longer, brown garment. Like other painted representations of fur, such as Boucher’s *Winter* (fig. 90), Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun’s *Portrait of Madame Molé-Reymond* (fig. 91), and Drouais’s *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour* (fig. 92), the most visible brushstrokes are in portions of the canvas representing fur. The brush marks, themselves traces of the animal fur used in the bristles of the painter’s brush, allow the viewer to imagine both the artist’s physical touch as he or she stroked the canvas to render the luscious fur garments and also the feeling of the brush’s fur tip. By foregrounding his or her own sensual encounter with the canvas, the artist prompts the viewer to contemplate both her own desire to touch the painted fur and the sitter’s tactile encounter with the object. Yet, because it’s a painted surface, one cannot touch the fur; thus, pleasure is vicarious and the viewer must envy the painted figure’s contented state.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

With rosy cheeks, a coy smile, and hands deeply burrowed inside the cavern of the muff, Louise Henriette de Bourbon looks quite satisfied. The artist encourages the viewer to consider the sitter's sweet visage in relation to the fur objects, for the lightly colored fur leads the gaze through the composition, creating an elegant "S" curve of strikingly light colors, which ends at the Duchesse's face. Like the fur garments, her face is bright and illuminated. Perhaps the tactile pleasure of the fur, which eases the bite of the chilly weather, has contributed to her pleasurable state? Indeed the artist encourages viewers to imagine the bodily pleasures of being enveloped in warm fur.

In portraits of sitters and their companion animals, artists such as J.B. Greuze (1725 – 1805) and J.S. Duplessis (1706-1790) gesture to the shared sensory experiences of humans and animals by suggesting parallels between hands and paws. In Duplessis's *Portrait of Madame Freret Dericour* (fig. 28) and Greuze's *Girl with a Pet Dog* (fig. 93), for example, the sitters tenderly embrace their animals and position their hands parallel to the animals' petite paws. In Greuze's painting, the little spaniel rests his paw softly upon the girl's arm with a toenail extending downward, just like the little girl who extends the pinky on her resting hand.²⁰⁰ Similarly, Madame Freret Dericour wraps her hands around the little brute who rests on her knees, just as the white dog wraps his paws around her and drapes its left paw in the same firm - but graceful – style as its mistress's left hand.

It is quite obvious that the human sitters find great tactile pleasure from the soft warmth of their companion animals' fur. Madame Freret Dericour entwines the fingers of her right hand into the animal's hair, so much so that her thumb is almost entirely obscured by the dog's soft, curling pelt, while Greuze's girl folds herself around the tiny

²⁰⁰ An interpretation of Greuze's painting can also relate to the fact that in eighteenth-century France children and animals were understood in similar terms. See la Mettrie, "Machine Man," 15.

spaniel and rests her cheek on its soft, furry backside. Both the grown woman and young girl's subtle smiles and soft gazes emphasize their satisfied state. Yet it isn't just the human sitters who take pleasure in this touching; both dogs gaze peacefully out of the composition and seem to burrow into their mistress's body, engaging in their own pursuit of tactile delight. Both Greuze and Duplessis remind their viewers that the pleasure of touch – and all physical pleasures for that matter – is not exclusively human.

Thus, while fur and artistic representations of fur conjure up notions of sensual pleasure, metaphysical experiences that remind a person of her human existence and participation in society, the pleasures that fur affords are primarily confined to the physical realm. Although humans can engage with more complex, cerebral, and abstract forms of pleasure such as reading (mental pleasure), benevolence and charity (emotional), and prayer (spiritual), fur and its tactile delights tapped into a realm in which human and animal abilities and bodies collide.²⁰¹ Both artistically rendered and actual fur could, therefore, conjure up notions of the pleasures shared by people and animals alike.

Although *pelletiers* and *fourreurs* reworked and transformed fur into culturally specific shapes – hats, muffs, caplets etc. – formed to specific parts of the human body, associations with the animal body and natural world persisted. The violence associated with animals themselves and the acquisition of fur from the natural world was very much a part of how the public imagined and understood how fur garments were produced. Although animal bodies were morphed into new shapes, they were still animals. Consumers did not generically identify the material as fur. Instead they labeled it *fox* fur, *ermine* fur, *rabbit* fur, or *dog* skin; the specific type of animal was very much a part of the final garment. Even in relation to the pleasures readily provided by fur material,

²⁰¹ Refer to page 92 of this dissertation.

animalistic associations endured. When rendering fur garments in paint, drawing, and print, visual artists surely knew the many ways in which fur objects conjured up associations with the animal body.

II. The Fur *Manchon*: Visualizing Sexuality

Given the material's associations with sensual pleasure, it is not surprising that in eighteenth-century French society fur as a material, and especially fur muffs, had sexual connotations. In his influential "Fetishism" essay of 1927, Sigmund Freud suggests that fur is one of the oldest sexually fetishized objects:

... the foot or shoe owes its preference as a fetish – or a part of it – to the circumstance that the inquisitive boy peered at the woman's genitals from below, from her legs up; fur and velvet – as has long been suspected – are a fixation of the sight of the pubic hair, which should have been followed by the longed-for sight of the female member.²⁰²

Because of its similarities to the pubic hair surrounding the area where a child imagines his mother's phallus to be, fur becomes a substitute for the mother's penis. Freud explains that a fetish - like fur or a foot - is person-specific and is the target of enthusiastic attention previously directed at the penis; a person's fetish, which is known to nobody else, readily produces sexual arousal for only that person.²⁰³ Freud seems to say that finding sexual potency in fur is a natural, primal impulse that hinges on an individual's early visions. The initial fetishistic process or impulse, according to Freudian principles, revolves around sight and drawing parallels between objects – such as fur and pubic hair - that resemble one another.

²⁰² Sigmund Freud, "Fetishism" in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. J. Strachey (London: Hogarth and the Institute of Psychoanalysis, 1927), 14:155.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 152.

When considering Freud's logic in the development of a fetish, it seems unsurprising that fur muffs have a history of being viewed in relation to female genitals. Because the ovular, soft form of the muff and its opening for the hands resonates with the shape of the female sex organs, eighteenth-century French artists, musicians, and the public at large employed the word and image of *manchon* as a way to refer humorously and euphemistically to a woman's sex. Indeed, the word *manchon* became a slang reference to female genitals and pubic hair.²⁰⁴ The animal body – in the form of fur – therefore, became emblematic of the female body and its use.

An Index of Sexual Maturity

Jean-Honoré Fragonard and Jean-Baptiste Simone Chardin explore the symbolic and formal potential of the *manchon*, thereby allowing their viewers to consider female sexuality in relation to animality. In this context, the animal body – figured as a fur muff – lifts the veil of cultural sociability and draws attention to the biological mechanics of the female body. Simultaneously, the artistic renderings of fur muffs provided the opportunity for viewers to indulge their intellectual curiosity and demonstrate one of the defining traits that separate humans from the larger world of animals: the ability to understand abstract signs and produce a complex train of thought.

In his *Essay on the Origin of Human Understanding*, Condillac argues that humans are intellectually superior to animals:

...It is certain that [animals] cannot attach their ideas to arbitrary signs; on the other, it would seem that this inability does not altogether stem from the

²⁰⁴ Pierre Guiraud, "Le Sexe de la Femme" in *Dictionnaire historique, stylistique, rhétorique, étymologique, de la littérature érotique: précédé d'une introduction sur les structures étymologiques du vocabulaire érotique* (Paris: Payot, 1978), 35 – 36; M. Dumersan, *Chansons Nationales et Populaires de France* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1866), 158 – 159 ; Alfred Delvau, "Manchon de la Femme" in *Dictionnaire Érotique Moderne par Un Professeur de Langue Verte* (Bale: Imprimerie de Karl Schmidt, 1891), 247.

nature of their organism. Is their body not as well suited as ours for the language of action? ²⁰⁵

According to Condillac, animals do not use their abilities to their fullest potential, thereby relegating them to a lower status than humanity. Nor do animals engage in complex thoughts. Condillac explains that animals can “only recall [an] idea when it is associated with a need,” rather than engaging with advanced, more abstract thoughts. Humans employ “Instituted Signs,” or tangible things that people have “... chosen and only have meaning to [him or her], and give the ability to recall ideas through these signs.”²⁰⁶ Condillac continues, explaining that: “For by the assistance of signs, [a person] can recall at will, he revives, or is often able to revive the ideas that are attached to them.”²⁰⁷ People can develop thoughts whenever they please. While animals do possess thoughts, their ideas operate on a lower, less-complex register than humans; animals do not recall thoughts at will. People, unlike brutes, can identify the sexual innuendo of a fur *manchon*. Curiously, though, in this intellectual exercise that separates humans from the world of beasts, animal bodies act as the lynch pin.

Fragonard’s painting *L’Hiver* of 1755 (fig. 94) demonstrates perfectly the ways in which the animal body – as a *manchon* – can be understood in relation to the female body. Part of a series of *dessus-de-porte* (overdoor painting) from l’Hôtel Matignon that depict the seasons, *L’Hiver* presents a mother and her two young children in a barren, wintry landscape. A storm rolls in and the young mother quickly flees, accidentally taking a tumble on the ice. While she recovers, her two children skate over to help. Even the pet

²⁰⁵ Condillac, 40.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 32.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 40.

spaniel – bedecked in a blue satin collar and golden bell – has stopped midstride to inspect his unfortunate mistress, who lies on her stomach with splayed arms and legs. Fragonard suggests the great importance of the fur muff, for not only is this winter accessory carefully rendered in the foreground, but also it is illuminated by a ray of light and precisely framed by the young woman’s gloved arms and hands that rest on either side. Clearly Fragonard intended his viewer to take notice of this prominently positioned object and consider the muff’s role within the painting’s narrative.

Like many other allegorical representations of the seasons, the contents of *L’Hiver* appear as narrative devices and seasonally appropriate accessories, but are actually intellectually stimulating, iconographic elements that position seasonal characteristics in relation to the human body. For example, the white fur muff gestures both to the cold weather and to the barren, wintery condition of the woman’s body. The muff’s visual alignment with the young boy’s hat held over his mother’s head reinforces the sexual pun of the muff. The hat, like a bonnet or wig, was an iconographic symbol that alluded to a woman’s sexual parts. In her analysis of *The Wander*, another of Fragonard’s painted allegories of winter, Mary Sheriff explains the widespread artistic use of the hat as an allusion to the female sex, declaring that a *chapeau* (hat) was commonly referred to as the “chapeau enfoncé” (inward hat) that was pulled down on the ‘tête du pénis’ (head of the penis).²⁰⁸ Contemporary viewers would likely identify the small boy’s hat, rendered in such a way that the open, rounded part of the hat faces outward to the viewer, as an additional allusion to his mother’s genitals.

²⁰⁸ Mary D. Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 105.

L'Hiver hung as a *dessus-de-porte* in the richly ornamented, grand salon of the Hôtel Matignon in Paris and functioned as a source of intellectual amusement rather than sexual arousal.²⁰⁹ The image and its iconographic symbolism functioned like a visual puzzle, posed for elite viewers to untangle and discuss.²¹⁰ Audiences would have been accustomed to engaging with works of art through discussion, as public exhibitions – especially at the Académie's Salons – and art theorists readily encouraged viewers to make judgments, look for visual associations, and search for multiple interpretations when viewing artistic creations.²¹¹ The atmosphere of private salon gatherings, marked by witty banter, double entendre, humor, and spirited, entertaining conversation, further conditioned and encouraged audiences to discuss works of art with the goal of discovering potential double meanings within seemingly straightforward compositions.²¹²

²⁰⁹ *L'Hiver* was part of an ensemble of four *dessus-de-porte* commissioned for the salon at the Hôtel Matignon. Penelope Hunter-Stiebel and Philippe Le Leyzour, *La Volupté du Goût: La Peinture Française au Temps de Madame de Pompadour* (Paris: Somogy editions d'art with French Regional & American Museum Exchange, 2008), 138.

²¹⁰ Mary Vidal analyses the didactic writings on proper conversation and how people were engaged, entertained, and intellectually captured in relation to Watteau's oeuvre in *Watteau's Painted Conversations: Art, Literature, and Talk in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. chapter 3.

²¹¹ Jennifer D. Milam, *Fragonard's Playful Paintings: Visual Games in Rococo art* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 117 – 118. Milam explains that eighteenth-century aesthetic response was not limited by the image or text; rather, beholders and their imaginations contributed to an image's meaning. She points to Rousseau who criticized the conclusion of La Fontaine's fables because he believed that put restrictions on readers' reactions and interpretations. Diderot, too, did not like when artists or writers supplied all the details and spelled out specific meanings; he shamed readers of *Jacques le fataliste* who wanted the text to provide the entire narrative and encouraged those readers to think about and enjoy the many different conclusions.

²¹² Antoine Lilti calls for a reevaluation of the expression "Salon littéraire" as he explores the multiple linguistic elements at work in these gatherings. In chapter six, "Jeux de Mot: literature et sociabilité mondaine," he draws attention to the spirit of play, which he argues, was characteristic of salon culture. He points to linguistic play in conversation, impressions, theatrical performances, poetry, and letters. The interest in playful conversation certainly applied to discussion about fine arts. Lilti, 273-315. For a discussion the *jeu de mot* typical of salon life, see: Edward Nye, "Bilboquet, calembours, and modernity" in *French Social History: Games in the Eighteenth Century & Happiness in Duclos and Rousseau*, ed. Anthony Strugnell (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), 179 – 186. For a discussion of the nature of French salon conversation and how its subject matter typically functioned on multiple symbolic planes, see:

Uncovering and comprehending alternative interpretations in works like *L'Hiver* depended on a complex train of thought in which many ideas came together. The Comte de Buffon explains that this ability to connect thoughts is human specific, declaring that animals “can neither join nor separate ideas.”²¹³

By uncovering the sexual innuendos imbedded within what appears simply to be a seasonal scene, a viewer exercised and demonstrated the defining traits of humanity: intellectual acumen, rational faculties, and the ability to share these abilities with other humans. Buffon believes that conversation and the ability to exchange ideas are skills unique to humanity, as he explains that some animals, like monkeys, have the organs to speak; however, those animals, according to Buffon, do not talk because they lack complex thoughts:

If the train of [the animal's] thoughts were analogous to that of ours, it would speak the language of men; and supposing the order and manner of its thinking to be peculiar to the species, it would still speak a language intelligible to its neighbors. But apes have never been discovered conversing together. Instead, therefore, of thinking in a manner analogous to man, they seem not to have the smallest order or train in their thoughts. As they express nothing that exhibits combination or arrangement, it follows, either that they do not think, or that the limits of their thinking are extremely narrow.²¹⁴

Developing a train of thought and sharing those ideas with others was something specific to humanity, and the enjoyment of paintings like Fragonard's *L'Hiver* depended on those abilities. Curiously, the ideas embodied by the muff, the remains of an animal body, proved central to this particular demonstration of humanity's distinction.

Benedetta Craveri, *The Age of Conversation*, trans. Teresa Waugh (New York: New York Review Books, 2005), 363 – 365.

²¹³ Buffon, 2:364.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 2:363.

However, in *L'Hiver*, Fragonard also uses the animal body to gestures to the animality of the woman,. The white muff's bold placement in the foreground and its positioning between the young mother's splayed hands, gives rise to questions: did the muff, an object that materially invokes the animal body, throw off the woman's balance, causing the woman to fall? With her hands carefully tucked inside the fur cuff, did she lose her balance and slip? Spread out across the ice in the painting's foreground, the woman's pose evokes that of her companion dog: on all fours with weight concentrated on the front hands. The dog's blue collar echoes the blue of the woman's caplet and the pristinely tied bow that caps the muff. Even the dog's ears blow in the wind, aligning with his mistress's billowing garments that whip around with the wind and expose the multiple layers of her garment. Through these visual cues, Fragonard suggests that destabilizing events - like slipping on the ice or fleeing from a winter storm – force polite humans to drop the shield of sociability and expose their animality. Such situations call forth particular types of human physicality – throwing arms out for balance, running, breaking a sweat, or falling – that draws attention to the human form and biological body. Not only does the fallen woman's bodily positioning reveal her physicality, but also her confused, blank expression reveals a lack of rational understanding, one of the major factors that distinguish humans from the broader world of animals. A kinship between the two parties – animal and woman – is undeniable and is achieved as a result of the muff's destabilizing affect on the young mother.

The muff further points to the woman's animality, by concretizing a specific phase in her reproductive cycle and forcing the viewer to acknowledge the scientific, biological workings of her human body. Like the animals rendered in images such as

Francois Boucher's *La Toilette* (fig. 95) and Nicolas Lavreince's *Young Woman at Her Toilette* (fig. 96), the muff in *L'Hiver* visually symbolizes and directs attention towards the woman's genitals. Throughout the century, elites went to great efforts to transform their physical bodies, controlling biological impulses and hiding bodily functions. In so doing, people distanced themselves from the broader world of animals, as animals had no sense of self-control. Fashion, manners, and customs disguised the needs and weaknesses of the human body. Fragonard, however, cleverly directs attention towards the workings of a woman's body by invoking it through the fur muff and revealing her sexual state. He reveals that like the winter landscape, the young mother's womb is barren, as the *manchon* lies empty, abandoned in the foreground. The child's bare hat, placed on the same visual axis as the muff, further emphasizes the vacant state of the *manchon* and the mother's womb. The young children who rush to their mother's aid remind the viewer that the mother has been fruitful in the past; just as the storm clouds pass and blue sky peaks over the horizon, so too will the seasons change and the young mother will be productive once more, for in the adjacent *dessus-de-porte*, *Le Printemps* (fig. 97), the blooming flowers surround the mother as a sign of her fertility.

Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin's depiction of a fur muff in *The Morning Toilette* (fig. 98) also evokes the female reproductive cycle, albeit a different phase. In this genre scene, an elegantly dressed governess helps her young charge with the finishing touches of her wardrobe. The girl stands patiently beside a toilette table and holds a fur-trimmed muff. She takes notice of herself in the mirror and carefully watches how her companion pins the bonnet in place. The girl appears to be about ten or eleven years old, approaching the cusp of puberty, a biological phase that the Comte de Buffon poetically describes as a

time in which young people are “... possessed of a stock, sufficient not only for [their] own being, but enabling [them] to bestow existence upon others.”²¹⁵ Chardin encourages his viewer to consider changes in the girl’s life, as he surrounds her with emblems of the passage of time: a golden clock, a burning candle, a cloaked mirror, and her similarly dressed governess who stands over her as an educator, mentor and guide, responsible for the girl’s future. While these pieces of the composition can be interpreted in relation to a moralizing vanitas theme, they can also be understood in relation to the young girl’s impending physical transformation; undeniably, the girl is not far from puberty, as in the eighteenth century young girls began to “awaken” around ten years of age.²¹⁶ Buffon explains that at this time, girls undergo significant biological changes, specifically synchronized developments in “the womb, the breasts, and the head.”²¹⁷ Above all, however, puberty was traditionally associated with the growth and appearance of pubic hair, as the Latin etymology of *puberté* is: “to become downy or hairy.”²¹⁸

The white-fur trimmed muff, which the girl lightly grasps in her right hand, also refers to her impending sexual maturation. Just as the fur muff was a way to evoke the female genitalia humorously, the term was also employed in vernacular language to describe pubic hair. For example, in the popular song “La Petite Frileuse” (The Little

²¹⁵ Ibid., 3:400

²¹⁶ Mary Mcalpin, *Female Sexuality and Cultural Degradation in Enlightenment France* (New York: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013), 35. For a discussion of the vanitas theme as represented in Chardin’s *The Morning Toilette*, see: Paula Radisich, *Pastiche, Fashion, and Galanterie in Chardin’s Genre Subjects: Looking Smart* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2014), 131.

²¹⁷ Buffon, 3:400 – 401.

²¹⁸ Mcalpin, 37.

Timid One), the lyrics report a young maiden's sexual ripeness and her subsequent encounters with the male sex by referencing her "little muff." The first verse proclaims:

What good is it to have merit,
The demeanor and the charms?
In the village, when one is small,
The men did not pay any attention to you.
Growing up, the gifts of nature,
Attach a bit of finery,
Now, at fifteen,
For me, it gives more pleasing parts.
I have a little, cute muff,
I have a little muff.²¹⁹

Certainly, the lyrics of "La Petite Frileuse," a song likely heard at popular city fairs and entertainments, attest to both the widespread sexual innuendos of this winter accessory and its association with a girl's developing body.²²⁰ A woman's "little muff," her pubic hair, signifies her sexual awakening and her attractiveness. However, animal hair, be it used in a muff or not, visually came to evoke puberty and the growth of pubic hair, as several artists rendered erotically charged images of nude, pubescent girls holding a dog between their legs. Perhaps the best know of these images is Fragonard's *La Gimblette* (fig. 99), in which a rosy cheeked girl holds a dog between her knees, while the animal's fluffy white tail caresses her genitals. The animal's soft, hairy tail innocently, albeit sexually, stimulates the girls genitals while also calling to mind the girl's own hair. Using the dog's hair, Fragonard unites two major traits of puberty: the emergence of sexual desire and pubic hair. Animal fur – in the form of winter garments or on the live

²¹⁹ "A quoi sert d'avoir du mérite, / De la tournure et des appas?/ Au villag' quand on est petite,/ Les garçons ne vous r'gardent pas./ En grandissant, aux dons de la nature,/ Il faut joindre un peu de parure;/Or, à quinze ans,/ Pour me donner plus d'agréments,/ J'avais un p'tit manchon mignon/ J'avais un p'tit manchon." As quoted in: Dumersan, 158-159.

²²⁰ In 17th-century England, the English word "muff" became slang for female genitalia. Simultaneously, the word could also refer to a Frenchman. By the 18th century, these vernacular associations were widely known. Chrisman-Campbell, "He is not dressed without a muff," 139.

animal's body – was sexually evocative and embodied many notions relating to the sexual, human body.²²¹

In *The Morning Toilette* the girl does not have a strong hold on the fur edge of the muff, grasping it only with one hand. It dangles in front of her and rests against her partially lit, light-pink skirt. Cleverly, Chardin only illuminates the upper corner of the muff, while the majority of it hangs in shadow. The formal rendering of the object resonates with the child's emerging maturity; she is on the brink of puberty, thus her "little muff" is only beginning to come into view.

As in our modern culture, puberty was a difficult phase for children and parents alike. Child rearing manuals explain that girls' mental instability was incredibly common in addition to "chlorosis, languor, nausea, loss of appetite [and] melancholy."²²² Pubescent girls are not in a rational, sound state of mind; rather, they needed the constant moral and rational guidance of their mother or governess, especially in matters of the flesh. Advice books encouraged caretakers to feed developing young ladies a diet appropriate to their changing humors and to nourish their "moral diets." Texts like Martin Schurig's *Parthenologia historicomedica* (1729) cautioned mothers to restrict kissing, indecent conversations, consumption of novels, and any other activities that might lead a girl to mature too quickly.²²³ Similarly, in *Principes d'institution ou de la manière d'élever les enfans des dux sexes* (1774), Abbé le Moré describes the birth of "passions"

²²¹ See Jennifer D. Milam, "Rococo Representations of Interspecies Sensuality and the Pursuit of Volupté" in *Art Bulletin*, 97(2): 192-209.

²²² Guillaume Diagnan, *Tableau des varieties de la vie humaine, avec les avantages et les desavantages de chaque constitution et des avis très-importans aux pères et aux meres sur la santé de leurs enfans, de l'un & de l'autre sexe, sur-tout à l'âge de puberté*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, 1786), 198, quoted in Mcalpin, 39.

²²³ As cited in Mcalpin, 42.

in the pubescent child and cautions against any stimulation that might stir sexual feelings and set the young girl in an amoral direction.²²⁴

While the child in *The Morning Toilette* may be experiencing the onset of puberty and, consequently, the awakening of her “passions”, the governess shelters her in a moral, orderly environment. Chardin presents the toilette, a ritual that was typically pictured as a decadent practice, embellished with ribbons, lace, makeup, and an audience, as a quiet, orderly, and private activity. The *service de toilette* are closed and neatly arranged across the surface of the table, further revealing the girl’s structured upbringing. The caretaker has organized the morning ritual and protected the young woman’s morality from the amoral threats of beauty and fashion.²²⁵ In rendering a church missal on the chair and noting such an early hour (just before seven) on the clock, Chardin tells his viewer that the ladies are readying for mass. In the midst of the girl’s emerging sexuality, church and God steady her moral compass. The governess’s larger, brown muff lies beside the missal. The muff’s close proximity to the religious book suggests her sexual purity and fitness for instructing the maturing girl. Chardin, however, does not provide a clear message for the girl’s outcome. Rather, as the literary historian Lesley H. Walker suggests, Chardin wanted his viewer to contemplate the girl’s vulnerable state by placing her between the mirror and burning candle, emblems of vanity and virtuosity.²²⁶

²²⁴ As cited in *Ibid.*, 42.

²²⁵ Many engravings, like that of Chardin’s *The Morning Toilette* and Boucher’s *The Milliner* were accompanied by moralizing verses that warned against the amoral perils of fashion and the ritual of the toilette. So too did authors in the *Mercure de France*, who suggested that the idle time in front of the mirror could breed *amour propre* and gossip. See Chrisman-Campbell, “Dressing to Impress,” 54 – 56. The eighteenth-century social critic Sébastien Mercier dismissed the toilette ritual as the work of vanity, gossip, and coquetry. See Mercier, 2: 111-112.

²²⁶ Lesley H. Walker, *A Mother’s Love: Crafting Feminine Virtue in Enlightenment France* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 56.

When Philippe le Bas produced an engraving of *The Morning Toilette*, a verse by Charles-Étienne Pesselier accompanied the image, reading:

Before reason enlightens her,
She takes from the mirror seductive advice
On desire and the art of pleasing;
Beautiful women, I see, are never children.²²⁷

This verse certainly suggests that the young girl is in a precarious position: on the cusp of womanhood.

While puberty certainly presented challenges for parents, a pubescent girl was socially valuable. When a girl sexually blossomed she could finally live out her “natural” destiny: marriage and motherhood. When aristocratic girls were very young, usually around four or five and sometimes even earlier, marriages were planned and negotiated; as a girl got her menses, grew pubic hair, and reached sexual maturity, society considered her ready for her major duty in life. In fact, the fourth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1762) defines puberty as: “A jurisprudence term. The age at which the law allows to get married.”²²⁸ Because the “principal object of this union [of marriage] is the procreation of children,” a woman’s sexual maturity was of utmost concern.²²⁹ In his seminal treatise *Essai sur la santé des filles nubiles* (1779), P. Virard explains that after puberty, a young lady becomes highly desirable to the opposite sex,

²²⁷ Gabriel Naughton, *Chardin* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1996), 33.; See also Colin B. Bailey, Philip Conisbee, and Thomas W. Gaehtgens, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, ed. Colin Bailey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 200.

²²⁸ “PUBERTÉ: s.f. Terme de Jurisprudence. L'âge auquel la Loi permet de se marier. *L'âge de puberté pour les garçons est à quatorze ans, & pour les filles à douze. Elle n'est pas encore dans l'âge de puberté. Quand il aura atteint l'âge de puberté.*” *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (1762).

²²⁹ Antoine-Gaspard Boucher d'Argis. “Marriage.” *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, vol. 10.

stating that post-puberty: "... young girls never possess such a glorious complexion, more brilliant eyes, are never gayer or more intelligent, or more disposed to love, in a word, never more lovable, then they become at this point"²³⁰ He continues, declaring:

From this moment on, all the young girl's charms reach their highest degree of perfection. Her countenance is more noble, her bearing more assured, her mind is more open and reflective, her voice more melodious, her gaze more tender, her manner more attractive; at last, by the happy conjunction of all the qualities of body and mind that she has taken on, she possesses the playfulness, the grace, and the laughter that captivate hearts.²³¹

Virard's enthusiastic descriptions of a girl's transformation through puberty suggest that this phase in a woman's life is something to savor. Like the scientist Pierre Roussel (1723-1782), Virard sees puberty as a "brilliant epoch of [a young woman's] triumph."²³²

A young girl's maturity was something to celebrate, as she was not only biologically ready to assume the role of wife and mother, but she also became socially appealing. Securing a husband for one's daughter was deeply tied up in understandings of family honor and worth, as Antoine-Gaspard Boucher d'Argis explains in *l'Encyclopédie*: "It is considered the *duty* of the father to marry [off] his daughters and to endower them according to his means."²³³ Having a daughter who was able and ready to carry a child was essential to a father's personal success. Perhaps Le Prince de Beaumont expresses this sentiment best in her popular novel *Lettres de Madame du Montier à la Marquise de ****, when the main character's daughter laments her impending marriage,

²³⁰ Mcalpin, 54.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Pierre Roussel, *Système physique et moral de la femme* (Paris: Vincent, 1775), 78.

²³³ Boucher d'Argis. "Marriage," *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, vol. 10.

declaring: “I hoped that my father would have more regard for my taste in making this commitment than the natural desire of all men to aggrandize themselves: what a vain hope!”²³⁴ Madame’s eldest daughter certainly captures the nature of aristocratic marriages in the century; marriage was a tool for fathers to build their own reputations and public images.

Maurice-Quentin de la Tour’s pastel portrait of Nicole Ricard (fig. 100), a young girl holding a muff, represents the value fathers placed upon their mature daughters. La Tour created the portrait in Dijon sometime between 1748 and 1750 as a token of thanks for the model’s father, Joseph Ricard, who had been a lawyer and the first secretary of the Intendance de Bourgogne.²³⁵ The little sitter was no more than five years old - not anywhere near the age of puberty - when she sat for La Tour, yet the artist rendered her in a mature manner. Unlike the majority of portraits of children – for example, Fragonard’s *The Two Sisters* (fig. 101), Greuze’s *Boy with Dog* (fig. 102), Drouais’s *Boy with a House of Cards* (fig. 103), and also Chardin’s *The Morning Toilette* – that present youngsters engaged in child-like activities (playing, cuddling with animals, and learning), La Tour presents Nicole confidently staring and smiling at the viewer with her hands stuffed inside a small, fur-trimmed, blue velvet muff. Albeit both the chair upon which she sits and the muff are proportional to her small size, the general composition resonates

²³⁴ Jeanne Marie Le Prince de Beaumont, *Lettres de Madame du Montier à la Marquise de ***, sa Fille, avec les Réponses* (Lyons: Bruyset Ponthus, 1756), 6-7. As quoted in Walker, 62.

²³⁵ According to the Musée de Louvre’s exhibition label, La Tour rendered this portrait for the “grand-père du modèle, en remerciement de services qu’il lui aurait rendu en tant que secrétaire de l’Intendance de Bourgogne.” I was unable to locate notes regarding this conclusion. It seems probable, though, that the pastel was actually intended for her father - rather than grandfather -, who was both a lawyer and first secretary to the Intendance de Bourgogne. My argument, though, remains the same if in actually the pastel was intended for the grandfather. For additional information on Nicole Ricard’s portrait gift, see: Jules Comte, *La Revue de l’Art Ancien et Moderne*, vol. 12 (Paris: 28 Rue du Mont-Thabor, 1908), 226. Nicole Ricard was the mother of Jean-Marie Claude Alexandre Goujon, a well-known politician during the French Revolution. For a biography of Ricard’s son, see: Thénard et R. Guyot, *Le Conventionnel Goujon (1766-1793)* (Paris: Librairies Félix Alcan et Guillaumin Réunies, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain, 1908).

with several portraits of older women who self-assuredly gaze out of the picture plane (e.g. La Tour's *Portrait of Mme. De Rozeville* (fig. 104), Louis Vigée's *Portrait of a Woman* (fig. 105), and Drouais's *Madame Sophie of France* (fig. 106)). In each of these portraits, a mature woman sits against a muted background, poses in a three-quarter view, looks directly at the viewer, and buries her hands into an exquisite *manchon*. The fur muff in such images suggests the leisured and elegant lifestyles of the non-working aristocrat, but it also gestures to a stable, luxurious existence secured through a good marriage. The full-sized muffs, held in each woman's lap, could read as a visual reference to their fully formed, matured sexual state, which likely brought them to their secure life of luxury. What would this mature framework for a portrait mean in relation to a child, specifically Nicole Ricard?

Undoubtedly, La Tour wants viewers to take note of the fur muff. It holds major significance in the composition, as several elements – such as the wrinkles on the girl's satin caplet, the arrow-like darts of her bonnet, and the soft arching of the lace cuffs – pull the gaze downward towards the accessory. The muff's bold, icy blue color immediately grabs the viewer's attention as it stands out amongst the palette of creams, greys, and browns; because of its boldness, it seems that La Tour wants the viewer to linger on the muff and contemplate its relationship to the sitter. The fine, expensive garments are certainly visual allusions to her father's ability to provide for his family. The fur muff, however, with its popular association with female genitalia, pubic hair, and maturity, has the potential to suggest more than Nicole Ricard's refinement and her father's abilities.

Surely, though, this portrait was not meant to be titillating or humorous, as the intended audience was the sitter's father. What would the muff and its sexual associations mean to him? It seems plausible, with the high value fathers placed upon their daughter's sexual maturity, that La Tour boldly rendered the little muff as an allusion to Nicole's future ripeness as a woman. By picturing her in a mode and composition typically reserved for older, more established women, La Tour represents the young girl's bright, fertile future, something that her father would dream of, especially in a time when childhood mortality was alarmingly high.²³⁶

Intentionally or not, the fur *manchons* rendered by Fragonard, Chardin, and La Tour refer to sexual and social identities. The winter accessory acts as a visual sign that suggests a woman's place in maturation and the reproductive cycle. While muffs gesture to their owner's membership in the fashionable, cultural world, they simultaneously evoke the animal-like condition of each girl and woman. These objects foreground the changing feminine bodies and emerging sexual impulses, biological conditions that people shared with the broader world of animals, and consequently, sought to disguise. In his treatise on manners, Francois-Vincent Toussaint reminds his readers of the need to control biological urges:

The art of decorum consists in two points: 1. To do nothing but what carries along with it the stamp of rectitude and virtue; 2. Not even to do what the law of nature permits or commands, but in the manner and with the limitations by that very law prescribed.²³⁷

²³⁶ See Dorothy Johnson, "Engaging Identity: Portraits of Children in Late-Eighteenth-Century European Art" in *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity*, ed. Anja Müller (New York: Ashgate, 2006), 101-115.

²³⁷ Toussaint, 85.

One cannot simply act in the way her body commands; rather, a person overcomes instincts and controls herself in accordance to cultural expectations. The muff, as a denatured animal body, cleverly echoes the circumstances of each of the women, especially the girl in *The Morning Toilette*; their animal-like impulses and bodies must be shaped and monitored by polite traditions and manners. As used by Fragonard, Chardin, and La Tour, fur muffs are visual guides signaling the different phases of a woman's life.

An Index of Sexual Pursuits

In Louise Elizabeth Vigée Le Brun's life-sized portrait of Madame Molé-Reymond (fig. 91), the muff continues to foreground female sexuality. Rather than revealing a particular biological phase of the sitter's life, the accessory can be understood as a meaningful prop gesturing to the sitter's sexual maturity and power. While Madame Molé-Reymond's true identity evades modern scholars, we do know that her mother, Mademoiselle d'Epinau, was a popular actress in the Comédie Française.

Vigée Le Brun presents Madame Molé-Reymond as a powerful woman, in charge of her own sexuality. Bathed in a warm light, the *manchon* commands the viewer's attention, as its golden hue dramatically contrasts the cooler shades used to render the other garments. She dons clothing appropriate for a bourgeois woman, sporting a blue satin dress, overcoat, and matching hat complete with a bow and a feather. The crook of her elbow, the soft arch of the white scarf, and the downward slope of the satin hat direct the viewer's gaze towards the muff. Madame Molé-Reymond suggestively stuffs her left hand deep into the accessory's cavity. Certainly the muff's sexual symbolism and potency as a fetishized object invests this portion of the portrait with great erotic meaning. Not only does the muff symbolize the female genitals, but also the formal

qualities used to render this particular muff boldly resonate with the overall appearance of the pudenda: a soft, ovular shape covered in hair that surrounds a dark, mysterious cavity. The actress boldly and happily buries her hand deep inside her own muff, as if declaring her sexual mastery and power. She controls the phallic form – her own arm – that plunges into her *manchon*. Vigée Le Brun renders the fur in a painterly manner, evoking the overall sensual experience of touching the soft fur and encouraging the viewer to imagine the pleasing, erotic nature of manipulating one's own muff. As the viewer, one can project herself into the painting and imagine the tactile experience and power of sexual control.

In Vigée Le Brun's painting, the animal body – in the form of a muff – again highlights a trait shared by humans and animals alike: sexual proclivities. Polite society called upon manners and fashion to suppress and disguise natural impulses, especially those of a sexual nature. Society did not condemn an individual for acting upon those inclinations; rather, society condemned individuals who did so without modesty and women who did so on their own or without the help of a masculine partner. Medical and philosophic doctrines, like D.T. Bienville's *La Nymphomanie; ou Traité de la fureur utérine* and Diderot's and d'Alembert's *L'Encyclopédie* describe female masturbation as a dangerous act that threatens social stability.²³⁸ Women who pleased themselves fell victim to nymphomania, a disease Arnulphe d'Aumont (1720-1800), the writer of *l'Encyclopédie*'s "Fureur utérine" entry, describes as "... a disease which is a kind of delirium that is ascribed to those for whom sex is a violent, insatiable appetite that leads

²³⁸ For an extensive analysis of the cultural implications of *fureur utérine* and its role in the visual arts, see: Sheriff, *Moved by Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), esp. chapter 4.

people to shamelessly look to satisfy this sexual hunger in any way possible.” He continues, noting that those women experiencing this delirium “act only to obtain relief” and think obsessively about how to satisfy their sexual desire.²³⁹ D’Aumont declares that this condition is a “wound of animal functions” that are out of control. Women who masturbate become irrational, unpredictable, and animal-like. Indeed women, such as Madame Molé-Reymond, who controlled phallic power and their sexual pleasure, threatened eighteenth-century cultural norms. Sexually independent women could descend into an unreasonable, brutish state and expose humanity’s true animal condition. The magnificently large *manchon* in Vigée Le Brun’s portrait allows viewers to imagine that possibility.

An Index of French Masculinity

Manchons, though, were not simply a feminine fashion object capable of expressing female sexuality. By the mid-eighteenth century muffs became one of the “highly portable status symbols” and accessories that both men and women carried with pride. When describing the previous winter season, the *Mercure de France* reports: “Last winter, women carried muffs as big as those of men.”²⁴⁰ In the hands of both sexes, though, the muff retained its vernacular and visual ties to the female body. What, then, did a superb *manchon* mean in the hands of a man? How did the muff’s symbolic potential influence or shape the perceived identity of its gentleman wearer? In several

²³⁹ “... c’est une maladie qui est une espece de délire attribué par cette dénomination aux seules personnes du sexe, qu’un appétit vénérien demésuré porte violemment à se satisfaire, à chercher sans pudeur les moyens de parvenir à ce but ...” ; “Si l’observation avoit fourni des exemples d’hommes affectés d’une envie déréglée de cette espece, poussée à une pareille extrémité, on auroit pû appeller la lésion des fonctions animales qui en seroit l’ef. fet, *fureur vénérienne*.” In *l’Encyclopédie*, 7:377.

²⁴⁰ “Les Dames portoient l’Hyver dernier des Manchons aussi grands que ceux des hommes ...” in *Mercure de France: dédié au Roy*, vol. 10 (Paris: October 1730), 2315.

fashion plates, artists transform the muff into a sign of virile masculinity and consequently complicate the overall meaning of this winter accessory, while simultaneously revealing the contradictions and complexities of French masculinity. Essentially, the *manchon* blurs gender binaries and foregrounds how eighteenth-century femininity shaped the period's masculine ideal.

The gentlemen who carry muffs in fashion plates are expressions of the period's ideal form of masculinity: the *honnête homme* (honorable man). Contemporary scholars and eighteenth-century social critics alike have penned thousands of pages, delineating the various components and moral dilemmas of a *honnête homme*'s behaviors, revealing the complexity of this identity, which came to fruition during the absolutist reign of Louis XIV and remained a social influence through the advent of Revolution. Yet at the root of the notion of the *honnête homme* lies the idea of a noble man who gracefully manages himself with ease and behaves with a polite, polished, pleasant demeanor. Elegant and pleasing to the eye, he masters social exchanges; he deflects attention from his body and defers to the needs and interests of others. The *honnête homme* also became a symbol of virility, as his social graces made him exceptionally pleasing as a husband and lover.²⁴¹

²⁴¹ There have literally been thousands of pages penned on the subject of the *honnête homme*, making it impossible to outline them all. The first treatise written on the concept dates to the seventeenth century: Nicolas Faret, *L'Honnête Homme: Ou l'art de plaire a la cour* (Strasbourg: Welper, 1664). For an eighteenth-century French perspective on the concept, see: *L'Encyclopédie* 8:287. Many of Montesquieu's writings also reference the ideal qualities of the *honnête homme*, see especially: Montesquieu, "Les Lettres Persanes," in *Ouvres Complètes* vol. 1 (Paris: Chez Firmin Didot Frères, 1843), 1 – 110. For modern analyses of what it meant to be a man in eighteenth-century France, see: Anne C. Vila, "Elite Masculinities in Eighteenth-century France" in *French Masculinities: history, culture, and politics*, ed. Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 15 – 30; Jay M. Smith, *Nobility Reimagined: The Patriotic Nation in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 26 -66. For an analysis of the *honnête homme* in literature, see: Domma 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); Emmanuel Bury, *Littérature et politesse: l'invention de l'honnête homme (1580 – 1750)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), esp. 179-195.

The officer rendered elegantly by Jean Mariette in the plate titled *Officer en Manteau* (fig. 107) visually aligns with these traits. The gentleman is part of polite society, as a marble balustrade extends from the side of a strong, elegantly fashioned building and separates the officer from the natural landscape rendered in the distance. His stance, reminiscent of a ballet dancer, further reveals the man's refinement and grace. With one foot forward he places his weight in his back leg and rotates his upper torso, forming a pleasing 'S' curve and embodying the period's graceful ideals of comportment. Although elegant, the plate's title, the military uniform, and sword foreground the man's bravery and strength, all imagined as masculine qualities.

The sword and walking stick also function in the matrix of objects declaring his sexual authority as a husband and lover. Both phallic objects form a framing device that contains the viewer's gaze and directs it to the sizable *manchon* hanging from a large satin ribbon around the officer's hips. Acting like a codpiece, the muff aggrandizes the officer's genital area and foregrounds phallic power. Almost all elements of his dress – e.g. the drapery of the mantle, the triangular gap in the fabric across his torso, the giant ribbon on top of the *manchon*, and even the braid resting upon the officer's shoulder – direct the viewer's gaze towards his genitals, rendered at the center of the composition. In other plates of gentlemen officers – such as in Bernard Picart's early eighteenth-century engraving *Cavalier avec manchon* (figs. 108) and Bar Jacques-Charles's later engraving of *Chevalier français de l'ordre royal militaire de St. Louis* (fig. 109) – the muff assumes a similar visual role, proclaiming the sexual prowess of its wearer.

Even in fashion plates presenting non-military men, the fur *manchon* plays a central role in visualizing masculine power. An engraving in the Victoria and Albert

collection, dating to the early 1780s (fig. 110), presents a stylish gentleman donning all the trappings of a fashionable lifestyle: a striped overcoat, a red jacket, ruffled shirt, light blue trousers, and striped stockings. In his hands he holds a tricorne hat and a giant black muff with a satin red bow, likely used to secure the accessory around his waist or neck. His stance suggests an air of confidence, as he nonchalantly rests his weight in his right hip, gracefully extends his right arm, and delicately dangles the large fur muff at his side. Both the *manchon*'s size and its fur material point to the small fortune the gentleman invested in its purchase and proclaim his financial power and ability to potentially provide as a "husband and gallant lover." Undeniably this fellow embodies the graceful, polite ideals of masculinity. His virility, however, might not be as obvious as that expressed in *Officer en Manteau*, as no muff or phallic sword highlights his manly region. His treatment and handling of the *manchon*, however, suggest a degree of sexual prowess, especially if one considers the *manchon*'s vernacular connotation with the pudenda and the muff's pairing with an empty hat. The *manchon* tucked neatly under a gentleman's arm in Jean Florent Defraîne's plate (fig. 111) also calls to mind the object's associations with the female form, as its oblong shape more boldly aligns with women's genitalia. These forms are under the secure grip of men, suggesting their virile authority over the female body.

Defraîne's composition, however, subtly suggests that men do not completely control the opposite sex. The women who frame the central muff-carrying man possess some degree of influence over masculine sexuality, as a blue ribbon matching the ladies' gowns has been neatly tied around the handle of his sword. In this visualization of the *honnête homme*, the ideal man, the viewer curiously sees the mark of the feminine. Do

not all the plates of men carrying muffs reference the female body's connection to the powerful phallus? In most plates of muffed men, the *manchon* rests on top of or in front of the phallic region. Can this placement be a visual allusion to copulation and the masculine use of the female body?

While notions of “male” and “female” remained philosophical binaries, the categories of man and woman in practice were interdependent and interrelated, as becoming an *honnête homme* was dependent upon the presence of women. The historian Peter France identifies the ways in which women contributed to a man's ability to perfect an identity as an *honnête homme*, citing the writings of the Abbé Bellegarde and the Abbé Trublet. In his *Reflections sur le Ridicule et sur les moyens de l'éviter*, Bellegarde contends that men achieve the status of *honnête homme* through their interchanges with women. Women, according to Bellegarde, are more beautiful, pleasing, polite, and accommodating; these behaviors are models for men to copy. Conversely, in his essay ‘De la Politesse’, Trublet believes that these behaviors are inherent in men; however, they are only used in the presence of women. Trublet credits women with eliciting the behavior of the *honnête homme*.²⁴² Both Trublet and Bellegarde smartly bestow great power on women, crediting them as stimulus and example. Masculinity, a concept that the fourth edition of *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* defined as “the character, the quality of the male,” was therefore deeply dependent on interactions with women.²⁴³ Masculinity as an ideal concept and practice was not separate from the world of femininity.

²⁴² Peter France, *Politeness and its Discontents: Problems in French Classical Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 56.

²⁴³ “Masculinité” in *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (1762).

Just as the behaviors and presence of women provided a framework for masculinity, fashion plates celebrating masculinity, like those picturing men with muffs, were steeped in notions of femininity. Fashion plates were culturally associated with women, as *marchands de modes* (fashion merchants) were typically women and women were also the principle consumers of fashion images and later fashion magazines like *Gallerie des modes*. Female tastes and interests determined developments in the world of *la mode* (fashion), to such an extent that the word *la mode* was gendered etymologically as feminine. In *Le Tableau de Paris*, Louis-Sébastien Mercier explains that fashion was a domain for women:

[Women] cannot figure in the law, at the foot of altars, or in the army. They do not wear the ribbons, the crosses, the external decorations that augment men; they cannot flaunt those marks of honor that satisfy pride, or reward services in the eyes of citizens. So what remains to them? Adornment and trimmings. That is what brings them joy and glory. Why envy them this moment of brilliance and happiness, this little domestic kingdom?²⁴⁴

According to Mercier, fashion, adornment and trimmings brought French women happiness. Whereas in the seventeenth century fashion choices were largely driven by men, specifically Louis XIV, all forms of dress in eighteenth-century France were governed by feminine taste. When discussing the relationships between consumer and *marchande de modes*, Mercier continues to affirm women's profound power over the world of fashion when he somewhat sarcastically asks: "Who knows from which feminine head comes the fertile idea that will change all the bonnets in Europe, and,

²⁴⁴ "Elles ne peuvent figurer, ni dans la robe, ni au pied des autels, ni dans les armées. Elles ne portent point les cordons, les croix, les decorations extérieures, qui rehaussent les hommes; elles ne peuvent étaler aux yeux des citoyens ces marques honorables qui font l'orgueil, ou récompensent les services. Que leur reste-t-il donc? La parure, les ajustements. Voilà ce qui fait leur joie & leur gloire. Pourquoi leur envier ce moment d'éclat & de Bonheur, ce petit regne domestique?" in Mercier, *Tableau de Paris* 2: 195.

more, submit portions of America and Asia to our high collars?”²⁴⁵ Without a doubt, one cannot overlook the feminine influence in French fashion plates, especially in images of ideal masculinity, which reference the female form through depiction of the fur muff.

The feminine influence on French manhood was not lost on international audiences. While dismissing one’s competitor as feminine is an age-old tradition, the muff played a central role in British satires of the French. British cartoonists working in the second half of the eighteenth century, such as Sir Henry William Bunbury (1750-1811), presented the French as foppish, effeminate, and overly styled. While fashionable Englishmen carried muffs in the early half of the century, the accessory became outdated for men and closely tied to female dress. Frenchmen, however, wore them throughout the century and as time passed their muffs became larger and more decorated; the muff was a staple in the French gentleman’s wardrobe, so much so that the Englishman William Cole said that Frenchmen are not “dressed without a Muff and that a good large one.”²⁴⁶ The *manchon* became an object through which the English could criticize the French obsession with fashion and its effeminizing effect on society.

British satirists also took note that the muff was a popular accessory with all social classes, and consequently, came to see the fur muff as a sign of Frenchness. In his engraving *View on the Pont Neuf at Paris* (fig. 112), Bunbury visualizes the pervasiveness of this accessory in French society, as almost all of the figures rendered on the thoroughfare carry some version of a *manchon*. A coachman, a *perruquier* (wigmaker), and a soldier each sport a muff. The tradesmen humorously attempt to

²⁴⁵ Mercier as quoted in Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims*, 67.

²⁴⁶ William Cole as quoted in Chrisman-Campbell, “He is not dressed without a Muff,” 137.

balance their tools and *manchons*. The *perruquier*, for example, stuffs his gigantic muff under his arm while carefully toting a shaving pot in one hand and curling tongs in another. Indeed Bunbury mocks the Frenchman's desire to be fashionable at the expense of efficiency and ease of moment.

III. Fur as a Social Organizer

While the fur muff was an accessory carried by all classes, the quality of fur used in fashioning *manchons* was not all the same. William Cole described the numerous types of manchons he encountered in Paris, observing: "The Gentry wear Sables & fine skins; whereas the coachmen & more ordinary people are contended with those of their common rough Dog's skins. Even beggars & Mumpers in the Street had their muffs on."²⁴⁷ Furriers produced different types of muffs to suit different budgets. It seems plausible to conclude, then, that fur types were a visual signs of social positions. Animal bodies – in the form of fur fashions – were therefore an integral component in the public expression of social identity. Curiously, though, fur's function in the organization of society has garnered little attention.

Scholars have repeatedly identified ermine's role in the representation of French kingship. Certainly the glowing white fur dramatically stands out amongst the rest of the coronation regalia depicted in such portraits as Hyacinthe Rigaud's paintings of Louis XIV (fig. 113) and Louis XV (fig. 114) and Antoine-Francois Callet's of Louis XVI (fig. 115). Most studies of these important paintings inventory the numerous symbols of kingly power, taking note of the ermine in addition to the scepter, blue velvet cape,

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

crown, shoes, and the images' architectural setting.²⁴⁸ While the cape emblazoned with the royal symbol of the fleur-de-lis and the golden crown are more obvious signs of French regality, the ermine leads to many questions. Although ermine's place in the tradition of visualizing power pre-dates the eighteenth century, this fur assumed a new, bolder, more tactile presence in the portraits done by Rigaud and Callet: why was ermine fur so central to the expression of absolutism of the French Kings?

In a painted sea of jewel-tone colors the white fur glows and dominates each royal portrait's composition. It surrounds the King, reflecting light and making his body glow; the swaths of ermine illuminate the royal figure in such a way that it appears to be the portrait's light source. The lower edges of the cape lead the viewers into the painting, up the raised platform to the King's body. The fur undulates across the composition and leads viewers across the canvas, directing them to inspect each of the carefully rendered and highly symbolic details. For example, in the lower-left corner of the portrait of Louis XV, Rigaud positioned the ermine close to the viewers as a way to pull them into composition. The viewers follow the graceful curves of the fur up the carpeted stairs to Louis XV's red-heeled shoes, another sartorial mark of distinction. From there, the fur brings the viewers' gaze upward to an elegantly gilded, golden table upon which rests the royal crown and the golden hand of justice. The white ermine continues to direct the audience through the composition, drawing them to the King's visage, the marble column, and downwards to the royal scepter and elaborately upholstered throne. The

²⁴⁸ For example, see: *Louis XIV: L'Homme & le Roi*, eds. Nicolas Milovanovic and Alexandre Maral. (Dijon: Éditions Faton, 2009; Exhibition at Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, dans les salles d'Afrique et de Crimée, du 19 octobre 2009 au 7 février 2010), esp. 142-233 & 166 – 169; Emmanuel Coquery, "Le Portrait de Louis" in *Visages du Grand Siècle: Le portrait français sous le règne de Louis XIV, 1660 – 1715* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 1997), 74 -89. Marc Sandoz provides an account of the numerous copies and engravings of Callet's portrait of Louis XVI in *Antoine-François Callet (1741-1823)* (Paris: Éditart-Les Quatre Chemins, 1985), 96-103.

elegantly rendered fur possesses great formal power within Rigaud's portrait of Louis XV – and the other coronation portraits as well – ensuring that the viewers take notice of the many symbols of power.

Rigaud and Callet also place great emphasis on the furs' materiality, carefully suggesting the individual follicles of hair and rendering the seams where the pelts were sewn together. Although commonly overlooked, this area shows the many individual ermine skins in the pattern of the capes. In Callet's *Portrait of Louis XVI*, for example, the viewer can clearly see where four pelts are stitched together, forming an uneven, rippled surface (fig. 116). Each black patch of fur draws more attention to the many bodies used in the rendering of the King's mantle, as in life, every ermine, or short-tailed weasel, had a dark spot on the tip of its tail.²⁴⁹ Measuring in around nine and one half inches from nose to end, the short-tailed weasel was a little creature whose pelt was even smaller.²⁵⁰ Consequently, ermine-lined garments, like the King's mantle in the coronation portraits, called for hundreds of animal skins. Acquiring this material, however, was no easy task.

While ermines could be found year round throughout northern Europe, the white ermine was not readily available. Ermines are only white in the winter, as their fur changed with the seasons, allowing the critter to cleverly blend into its surroundings and evade predators. An ermine's winter season – when it grew the highly desirable white fur that was “finer and fairer than [that] of a white rabbit” – was short, occurring between

²⁴⁹ The L'Encyclopedie entry on ermine tells us that sometimes the black spots would be embellished with wool, so as to make the white fur look more radiant. “La peau de l'hermine est une riche fourrure; les pelletiers la tavelent ou parsement de mouchetures noires faites avec de la peau d'agneau de Lombardie, pour en relever la blancheur.” In *L'Encyclopédie*, 8:172.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 8:171.

December and March.²⁵¹ Mother Nature added an additional challenge to the acquisition of this fur, in that captive short-tailed weasels did not experience changes in fur color; they retained a rusty brown color all year long. In his *Histoire Naturelle*, Buffon laments this discovery after keeping an ermine captive in an iron cage for almost a year.²⁵² White, ermine fur – such as that used in the Kings’ coronation robes – had to be acquired in the wild.

Tracking the little creatures was also incredibly challenging, for not only did they blend into their natural forest habitat, but they were also unpredictably swift and strong. The ermine moved so fast that “it [was] impossible to follow them with the eye” and it was so strong and well equipped with sharp teeth that it could wound and kill large animals like reindeer and bear.²⁵³ The animal was, however, endowed with a gland at the base of its tail that would release “a very strong odor” when the ermine felt threatened.²⁵⁴ While they might be difficult to track visually, the hunter could definitely smell the little animal, but risked being doused in the stench if he got too close. Catching these little beasts was without a doubt a challenging task.

Consequently, it was only kings and royal families who could afford large quantities of ermine fur, as the rarity of white ermine and the intensive labor required in its acquisition certainly contributed to its high price and value. When describing the fur, *L’Encyclopédie* designates the material’s exclusivity, stating: “ermine fur is for lining the royal mantles of Kings of France, their Princes, and Dukes used in major ceremonies.”

²⁵¹ “... d'un blanc plus mâle que celles du lapin blanc.” Ibid., 8:172.

²⁵² Buffon, 6:198.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ “L’hermine a une très - mauvaise odeur.” In *L’Encyclopédie*, 8:172.

L'Encyclopédie clarifies that people other than royals could wear ermine, but when it is done, ermine was used sparingly, only appearing on the lining or edges of muffs, bonnets, capes, and collars.²⁵⁵ For example, in a fashion plate presenting an upper-class woman dressed for the funeral of Maria Theresa (fig. 117), mother of Queen Marie Antoinette, one can see a more restrained use of ermine fur. The caption reports that while the levite gown is lined with fur, the ermine pelts are confined to the border of the skirt, the belt, and muff. Through observing the sparing use of this highly desirable fur, the viewer knows the woman's place in society; while not a member of the royal family or upper nobility, she was an aristocrat.

In elite circles, dark black and brown pelts of the squirrel, fox, marten, and beaver were the most common furs worn on a daily basis, while the lesser nobility and middle classes donned beaver, otter, hare and dog fur. Commoners wore garments lined with woolens, wolf fur, and goatskin.²⁵⁶ The pelts from readily available creatures were typically worn by the lower classes, while those furs that were scarcer and required more skill to obtain were, like ermine, highly prized and sought after.

The class-specific nature of different types of fur, however, was not a consistent visual index of society. The "Fourreure" entry in *L'Encyclopédie* suggests that there was a significant market for forged furs that were dyed and cut to resemble more coveted types. Ermine, for example, could be imitated cheaply by using white rabbit hair and dark wool, while marten could be fabricated with weasel fur and multiple dye washes. Even dog fur, perhaps one of the more common skins, could be altered to resemble rare,

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ François Boucher, *20,000 years of fashion: the history of costume and personal adornment* (New York: Abrams, 1967), 214.

expensive, and exotic animal pelts such as tiger and panther. The author of the

Encyclopédie entry provides detailed directions for such a fabrication:

Take a limestone the weight of a book, soak it in urine: then add water with a bit of alum, a half pound or about that – you will boil for one hour. Watch that your mixture does not exceed the amount of three pints. Take the skins you want to look like tiger; give the skins one layer of this mix on all of the hairs without damaging them, always rubbing your brush down from the skins' head to rear end. This should all be done in the sun; the skins must be dried and beaten the same day or before preparation has been given to them. When you have beaten the mixture out of the skin, beating more than you do with dust, brush well to arrange the hair ... then form beauty spots on the skin with a brush dipped in glaze. You should take notice to make the marks as small as possible; when the fur is dry, the mark will spread and the marks will appear larger. When you want to spot the fur again, dry it, beat it well, and always paint in the direction of the hair so that the speckles do not change place; apply a second, third, and fourth time until they appear dark enough ... for a good lasting shade, one commonly applies three layers.²⁵⁷

These precise guidelines not only reveal the public's interest in fabricated pelts, but also the enthusiastic desire to have and wear rare exotic furs, real or artificial.

²⁵⁷ "Prenez une pierre de chaux du poids d'une livre, éteignez - la dans de l'urine: ajoutez ensuite de l'eau avec un peu d'alun, une demi - livre ou environ que vous ferez bouillir pendant une heure; observez que tout votre mélange n'excede pas la quantité de trois pintes. Prenez les peaux que vous voulez tigrer: donnez - leur une couche de cette drogue par - tout, sans déranger le poil, & frottant toujours avec votre brosse en descendant de la tête à la culée. Cela fait, exposez au soleil; il faut qu'elles soient sechées & battues le même jour où la préparation précédente leur a été donnée. Quand vous les aurez battues jus, qu'à ce qu'il n'en sorte plus de poussiere, brossez – les bien afin d'arranger le poil; prenez de la composition: lustrez; mais avant que de lustrer les dernieres peaux, séparez dans un pot une portion de ce lustre, qui vous servira à tigrer toutes vos peaux. Pour cet effet ayez un pinceau: étendez votre peau sur une table, commencez par la tête; si la peau étoit si longue que vous ne pussiez y atteindre commodément, vous la feriez pendre devant vous à une distance convenable; vous vous ceindriez d'un tablier blanc de lessive, afin qu'en frottant vos habits, votre estomac, vos manches sur la peau, vous n'engraissassiez pas la pointe du poil. Ces précautions prises, vous formerez vos mouches sur la peau avec votre pinceau trempé dans le lustre. Vous observerez de les faire les plus petites possibles; lorsque le poil sera sec, il s'écartera, & les taches ne paroîtront toujours que trop grandes. Quand elles auront été mouchetées une fois, vous les ferez sécher, les battrez bien, les brosserez toujours selon la direction des poils, afin que les mouchetures ne changent point de place; vous repasserez le pinceau sur elles une seconde, troisieme, quatrieme fois, jusqu'à ce qu'elles vous paroissent assez noires. Alors vous laisserez sécher, battrez, passerez dans le tonneau au sable pour dégraisser: & si les mouches vous paroissent avoir perdu de leur nuance, vous leur redonnerez encore une couche. Mais quand le lustre est bon, on ne donne communément que trois couches." From *L'Encyclopédie* 7: 259-260.

Consumers frequently dressed beyond their social status, donning re-fashioned furs that appeared luxurious and expensive.²⁵⁸ Fashion could work as a mask, hiding one's true social standing and confusing visual distinctions between classes. Cheaper furs that resembled expensive elite fashions allowed the lower orders to elevate their image by appearing wealthy and cultured. Painted furs functioned similarly; obviously, to be pictured artistically in fur garments, one did not need to own those objects. Furthermore, in painting one cannot clearly discern if a particular fur is authentic or dyed. Nor can a learned viewer always identify the specific type of fur that an artist has pictured; in painted pigment, many furs look alike. Artistically rendered furs, like physical fur garments, allowed sitters to masquerade above their social circle. Authentic or artificial, painted fur garments were a popular element of eighteenth-century-French portraiture and were integral elements in the expression of the sitter's social identity.

IV. Fur as a Mark of Otherness

While some employed fur garments as a visual sign of their place in society, others used fur to differentiate themselves from the French. The texture and appearance of furs certainly reminded both the viewer and wearer of fur's origin in the natural world. Fur garments, therefore, gesture to the strangeness of the animal kingdom and the wild, untamed, unexpected, and somewhat incomprehensible nature of brutes. Fur's associations with the animal world endowed the material with great symbolic potential; fur embodied notions of otherness and exoticism. It is not surprising then, that fur – both painted and real – appears in sartorial experiments with otherness.

²⁵⁸ Even when not intending to do so, Parisians and the French public at large dressed in styles beyond their social standing. Most people acquired clothing from second-hand clothing vendors, who had garnered their wares from wealthy nobles. See: Mercier, 2: 156-158.

The great American intellectual, Benjamin Franklin employed fur fashions to express his exteriority from Parisian society. When he first came to France in 1767, Franklin donned the clothes of a polite, fashionable Frenchman – a fine European suit and powdered wig – as a way to show respect and form allegiance with the French court. When he returned in 1776 as the American Ambassador to France, he abandoned all the decorum of French dress and instead donned a simple, homespun brown suit, spectacles, and a large fur hat. He cleverly adopted this style as a way to garner attention and appeal to the French for support of the American cause.²⁵⁹ When writing to his Anglo-Irish friend Emma Thompson he excitedly reported his appearance, explaining:

Figure me in your mind as jolly as formerly, and as strong and hearty, only a few years older; being very plainly dress'd wearing my thin gray strait hair, that peeps out from under my only coiffure, a fine Fur Cap, which comes down to my Forehead almost to my spectacles. Think how this must appear among the powder'd heads of Paris! ²⁶⁰

This quotation certainly suggests that Franklin reveled in his sartorial difference and intentionally contrasted the artificially powdered Parisians by styling himself naturally.

More so than any of his other unusual fashion choices, Franklin's hat garnered a lot of attention. In his letter to Emma Thompson, as quoted above, Franklin takes great care to specify how he wore his hat, describing the manner in which he pulls it down to the rim of his spectacles. The anonymously written *Mémoires Secrets* reported Franklin's return to France, making note of his unusual appearance, stating: "He has a beautiful

²⁵⁹ Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims*, 165-166.

²⁶⁰ Benjamin Franklin, Letter to Emma Thompson, 8 February 1777. Digital Ben Franklin Project, Yale University with The Packard Humanities Institute and The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. Consulted 15/07/2015. (<http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp?vol=23&page=296c>).

physiognomy, some hair, and a fur cap, which he constantly wears on his head.”²⁶¹ In a letter to Horace Walpole, Mme. du Deffand also spoke of Franklin’s hat, noting that he wore the fur hat while he was at her home.²⁶²

Unsurprisingly, the topper plays a major role in Franklin’s French portraiture. The hat boldly stands out in the composition of the most popular French image of Franklin: Augustin de Saint Aubin’s 1777 engraving after Charles Nicholas Cochin’s drawing from the previous year (fig. 118). The engraving presents Franklin’s likeness in an architectural, oval frame suspended above an inscribed plaque that reads: Benjamin Franklin / Né à Boston, dans la nouvelle Angleterre le 17 Janvier 1706.” The artist emphasizes the fur cap by positioning it at the apex of the portrait’s pyramidal composition. Thrown into high relief against a dark background, the fur headpiece stands out within the architectural frame and greatly contrasts the smooth textural surfaces of the other elements in the composition. The ridged forms of the frame, Franklin’s soft suit, and his smooth skin are dramatically juxtaposed with the hairy, irregular shape of the hat, thereby pulling further attention towards the cap.

The portrait medallion *B. Franklin, American*, commissioned by Jacques Donatien le Ray de Chaumont, Franklin’s host and enthusiastic supporter, and rendered by Jean

²⁶¹ *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l’histoire de la republique des lettres en France, depuis MDCCLXII jusqu’à nous Jours; ou Journal d’un Observateur...*, Vol. 10 (London: Chez John Adamson, 1778), 33.

²⁶² “31 Décembre, 1776 à 6 heures, du matin M. Franklin à côté avec un bonnet de fourrure sur sa tête ...” in *Letters of the Marquise Du Deffand to the Hon. Horace Walpole: afterwards Earl of Orford, from the year 1766 to the year 1780. To which are added letters of Madame Du Deffand to Voltaire, from the year 1759 to the year 1775*. Published from the originals at Strawberry Hill (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 39 Paternoster-Row, 1810), 214-215. For discussions and analyses of additional references to Franklin’s appearance, see: Alfred Owen Aldridge, *Franklin and his French Contemporaries* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), esp. 235 – 236; Betty-Bright P. Low, *France Views America, 1765 – 1815: An Exhibition to Commemorate the Bicentenary of French Assistance in the American War of Independence* (Wilmington: Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, 1978), 55; Charles Coleman Sellers, *Benjamin Franklin in Portraiture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962). Chrisman-Campbell discusses Franklin’s impact on the French fashion in *Fashion Victims*, 165-170.

Baptiste Nini, an Italian sculptor working in Paris, continues to reveal the major role the fur hat played in the formation of Franklin's identity in France. While several versions of the medallion were proposed, the final piece presents Franklin in profile, donning a suit and stylized fur cap (fig. 119).²⁶³ The hat, however, is not the type Franklin wore; rather, the fur hat in the medallion more closely resembles that J.J. Rousseau sported in Allen Ramsey's portrait and prints of the philosopher (see for example, fig. 120). Scholars have argued that the change in Franklin's hat was a way to declare that he, like Rousseau, was a cutting-edge intellectual.²⁶⁴ Indeed this seems a credible reading of the medallion, as many eighteenth-century men adopted a fur hat as a way to proclaim their intellectual sensibility.

An alternative interpretation of Nini's rendition of Franklin's fur hat can relate to the artist's formal attempt to suggest that the hat was a part of its owner's body. Franklin looks quite comfortable in this particular adornment; in fact, the cap resonates with the rest of the sitter's build. Nini employs a similar arching line to define Franklin's shoulder, upper cheekbone, and the crown of the fur cap. By repeating this shape across the figure's body, Nini suggests the hat is not simply an accessory; rather, it is a natural part of the ambassador. The French public had ample opportunity to contemplate the hat as an extension of Franklin's own body, as the medallion was surprisingly popular and reproduced in the form of jewelry, snuffboxes, engravings, and other household objects.

²⁶³ For an account of Nini's process, see: Charles Coleman Sellers, 103-107.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 68; Mungo Campbell, "A Rational Taste for Resemblance: Redefining Ramsay's Reputation" in *Allan Ramsay: Portraits of the Enlightenment*, ed. Mungo Campbell with Anne Dulau (New York: Prestel, 2014), 41. While Campbell does not explicitly state that Franklin intentionally looked to Rousseau's images, he does suggest state that Franklin and Ramsey shared similar political views and were friends. Rousseau, too, Campbell notes, was surprisingly sympathetic to the American cause. Ramsey, Rousseau, and Franklin were thus connected in one way or another.

Franklin himself commented on the popularity of Nini's image, writing to his daughter that the spread of this image "made [his] face as well known as that of the [man in] the moon."²⁶⁵

While there is some scholarly debate regarding the specific type of fur used in Franklin's hat, it is likely that the French public believed that the cap was made of beaver fur, a material intimately associated with the French experience of North America.²⁶⁶

Until 1763, when France ceded its North American territories to the Spanish and English at the end of the Seven Years War, beaver pelts were the primary export from Colonial New France. This was a very lucrative commodity, as around the beginning of the seventeenth century, the European beaver became incredibly rare while the popularity of the tricorne hat – an accessory fashioned out of felted beaver fur – was skyrocketing.²⁶⁷

While the British colonies were also exporting beaver skins, the French pelts were a far superior product, as beavers with a thicker fur inhabited their North American territories; markets as far as Russia were eager to trade with the French to acquire their coveted

²⁶⁵ Benjamin Franklin, Letter to Sarah Bache (Sally), 3 June 1779. Digital Ben Franklin Project, Yale University with The Packard Humanities Institute and The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, consulted 15/07/2015. (<http://franklinpapers.org/franklin/framedVolumes.jsp>).

²⁶⁶ For economic histories of the French fur trade in North America see: Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: an introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Marc Egnal, *New World Economies: The Growth of the Thirteen Colonies and Early Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), esp. 139 -143; Dietland Müller-Schwarze and Lixing Sun, *The Beaver* (Ithaca: Comstock Publishing Associates, 2003), 145 – 146; Ann M. Carlos & Frank D. Lewis, "Fur Trade (1670-1870)". EH.Net Encyclopedia, edited by Robert Whaples. March 16, 2008. URL <http://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-economic-history-of-the-fur-trade-1670-to-1870/>.

²⁶⁷ For a discussion of the tricorne hat, see: Madeline Ginsburg, *The Hat: Trends and Traditions* (London: Studio Editions, 1990), 66. Natalie Hawkins discusses the felt hat industry in Britain, outlines the production of felted tricorne hats, and analyzes the French impact of the English market in "From Fur to Felt Hats: The Hudson's Bay Company and the Consumer Revolution in Britain, 1670-1730" MA Thesis University of Ottawa, 2014, esp. 68 & 83 – 84. The French, and English for that matter, could only keep up with the major demand for North American beaver skin because of their contact with Native Americans. For a discussion of the Native American role in fur trapping, see: Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Roles as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the lands Southwest of Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

pelts.²⁶⁸ From the late seventeenth through the mid-eighteenth century, the French held a virtual monopoly over the beaver fur used to produce the felts for tricorne hats.

Although by the time Franklin arrived in France wearing his memorable cap in 1776 the French fur trade had been disbanded, fur on the head of a notable American likely reminded the French of their North American glory days. For the French, beaver fur was synonymous with the New World and was indicative of the continent's natural abundance. Franklin's topper, however, did not visually align with how the French employed beaver skin to fashion hats; rather than a felted tricorne, Franklin's hat had a more natural, shapeless appearance and was fashioned out of an untreated pelt. It was certainly rough looking in comparison to the refined, regularity of a tricorne beaver hat. The relaxed quality of Franklin's cap resonated with French imaginations of the simple, bucolically pure American continent.

By dressing in this modest manner, fur hat and all, Franklin intentionally confirmed what the French imagined America to be like: a nation composed of honest, simple individuals who "led [the] rustic life for which the human race was originally intended" and did so with "health and fecundity."²⁶⁹ The writer Michel René Hilliard d'Auberteuil (ca. 1740-1789) recognized the meaning of Franklin's sartorial choices, declaring:

Everything [on] him announced the simplicity and innocence of primitive morals ... Franklin had laid aside the wig which formerly in England hid the nudity of his forehead and the useless adornment that would have left him at the level of other English.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Innis, 70.

²⁶⁹ Raynal in *Histoire philosophique* of 1770, as quoted in Durand Echeverria, *Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 32.

²⁷⁰ Michel René Hilliard d'Auberteuil as quoted in Sellers, 73.

Franklin's clothing foregrounded the American "rustic" lifestyle and the nation's practicality.

The topper's physical links to the natural world and America, its well known association with Benjamin Franklin in his daily Parisian life and his French portraiture, and its material significance with France's encounter of the New World cement the fur hat's embodiment of America. In fact, the French public readily adopted the hat's symbolic potential, for not only did Frenchmen sympathetic to the American Revolution don fur caps, women began to fashion their hair in coiffures *à la Franklin*, a style that mimicked the shape of Franklin's famous hat.²⁷¹ Both Franklin and the French world used the fur hat as a way to evoke America and the hopeful nation's cause.²⁷²

Fur also became a medium through which the French could evoke the East. Costumers, for example, frequently added fur embellishments to European theatrical costumes and popular, daily dress as a way to make clothing and wearers look Eastern or Turkish.²⁷³ In the Ottoman Empire, there was a rich tradition of using furs in ceremonial dress and as sartorial marks of distinction. In fact, there were numerous "sultanic commands" and laws that regulated how, when, and where fur could be worn.²⁷⁴

Europeans, especially the French who had an active diplomatic presence in

²⁷¹ Ibid., 99; Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims*, 169. Also in *Fashion Victims*, Chrisman-Campbell dedicates her eleventh chapter, "Fashions à la Américaine," to the ways in which the French used their fashionable adornments to support and declare allegiance to the American cause.

²⁷² In a letter to Walpole, Mme. du Deffand wrote about Franklin's appearance, taking special note of his "white hat," which was likely a pale golden brown. She astutely asked, "Is that white hat a symbol of liberty?" Even Mme. du Deffand, whose anti-American sentiments were well known, understood the symbolic nature of Franklin's fur fashion. See: Walter Isaacson, *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003), 348.

²⁷³ Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims*, 242 & 249.

²⁷⁴ Hülya Tezcan, "Furs and Skins owned by the Sultans" in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 64.

Constantinople, were fascinated by Turkish dress and learned of the style through travel literature, costume prints, engravings, and portraits of the Ottoman diplomats stationed in Europe. In these images, fur played a central role. For example, in Jacques-André-Joseph Aved's *Portrait of Said Effendi, Ottoman Ambassador to France* (fig. 121), the crisp ermine fur and speckled pelt function as did the ermine in French royal portraiture, arresting the viewer's gaze and leading her through the composition.

Even images that were purported to have been rendered "from life" by European artists living in the Levant, continue to prominently picture fur. In the popular costume book illustrated with engravings by Jacques de le Hay, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant* (1714), the majority of the images present Eastern men and women, clad in long, flowing caftans and capes fashioned out of sumptuous embroidered fabric and trimmed, lined, and accentuated with various types of fur. One cannot help but associate the material with Levantine fashions, as fur – along with the rich jewel tones of fabric, tall hats, and pointed shoes – is one of the visual motifs that connects the many engravings. While the specific meanings and uses of the different furs in the calendar year might have been lost on the French consumer, fur – of all types – was an integral element of how Turks were imagined in Europe to such an extent that when the Franco-Swiss painter Jean-Étienne Liotard pictured himself as the Turkish Painter, he donned a fur turban and fur-lined caftan (fig. 122).²⁷⁵

²⁷⁵ Sheriff provides an insightful analysis of Liotard's *Self-Portrait as the Turkish Painter*, while suggesting that the artist's choice to don a fur caftan and beard was more than a marketing ploy to promote his identity as a painter of Turkish life. "The Dislocations of Jean-Etienne Liotard, Called the Turkish Painter" in *Cultural Contact and the making of European Art since the Age of Exploration*, ed. Mary D. Sheriff (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 97-121.

The tactile quality of fur both aligned with and bolstered the European belief that Levantine cultures were overtly sensual and soft. Jacque de la Hay's engraving *Fille Turque* (fig. 123) perfectly visualizes the heightened sensory experience of the Ottoman Empire and places fur within the myriad of materials in which one might find sensual pleasure. A young, rosy-cheeked woman sits cross-legged and faces the viewer, donning a loose fitting, red velvet dress with a linen underskirt and matching turban. She drapes a blue velvet cape, lined and trimmed with white fur, around her shoulders as she holds a little cup of coffee. The viewer can imagine the warmth of the cup against the woman's cold skin and the many textures – velvet, linen, fur, ceramic – and sensations she experiences perched upon her upholstered platform. A maid faces the seated woman, offering her a plate of snacks, while holding a steaming pot of coffee in the other hand, thereby conjuring up not only the flavors that soon will grace her mistress's lips, but also the aromas and warmth that fill the interior. In his painting *Femmes Turques* (fig. 124) Antoine Favray also places fur within the assemblage of Levantine sensual experiences by visually exploring the many tactile dimensions of Turkish dress.²⁷⁶ He carefully renders each material – lace, linen, silk, embroidered silk, metals, and at least two types of fur – and suggests the rich tactile sensations at work in the culture's garments.

While some French consumers were not so receptive to Turkish fashions, seeing their overt sensual elements as encouraging amoral lifestyles, the broader French public was widely captivated by fashions *à la turque* and *à l'Orient* with the promise that “even a Sultana” would find it captivating. *Marchandes de modes* began to sell and the *Gallerie*

²⁷⁶ For a survey of Favray's work see: Stephen Degiorgio & Emmanuel Fiorentino, *Antoine Favray (1706-1798): A French Artist in Rome, Malta, and Constantinople* (Malta: Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti Publishing Division, 2004).

des modes began to picture a new type of gown that presented a variation on robes à l'anglaise and à la française: the robe à la turque.²⁷⁷ This new type of ladies' garment grafted elements of Turkish style – short sleeves, rich fabrics, layers, and “exotic trimmings” – on top of European styles – an inverted “V” bodice and outer and under garments. Fur was one of these exotic trimmings and one of the key pieces that transformed a European fashion into a foreign, Turkish style.

The elegant woman presented by Jean-Baptiste Greuze in *A Lady in Turkish Fancy Dress* (fig. 125) wears one of these innovative garments. The soft brown fur trimming the blue satin outer robe is part of the constellation of embellishments – feathers, pearls, embroidered silk, lace, a tied sash – that proclaim the overall look's sensual nature and, therefore, Levantine associations. In fact, the fur trim outlines the entire outer robe, thereby highlighting the garment's short sleeves and ensuring the viewer takes note of the layered sleeves of the inner and outer robes, a feature of many Ottoman gowns.²⁷⁸ The fur, therefore, in Greuze's composition was not only a material evoking the East, but it was a formal device that directed the viewer's gaze and recognition of the clothing's Turkish influence.

In her portrait of 1748 (fig. 126), Queen Marie Leszczinska (1703-1768) used the formal and symbolic potential of fur to gesture to her Polish, and hence eastern, origins. Leszczinska commissioned Jean Marc Nattier (1685 - 1766) to execute the painting however, she was very active in the process, choosing her garments and pose in addition

²⁷⁷ Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims*, 242-243.

²⁷⁸ Dramatically layered garments were a feature of Ottoman dress that heavily influenced Western-European fashions. See: Charlotte Jirousek, “Ottoman Influences in Western Dress” in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, ed. Suraiya Faruqi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), 247-248.

to the painting's setting. She wanted the French salon-going public to see her individuality as a Franco-Polish woman and as a French Queen unlike any other.²⁷⁹ In the portrait, her "town dress" – as opposed to court gown – is instrumental in the visual expression of her Polish heritage. As an open robe, tied with a sash, and trimmed in brown sable fur, the garment closely aligns with how the French imagined Polish fashions. The dark fur proves central to one's identification of this particular style, as it visually highlights the garment's openings and informs the viewer of the particular cut of the dress. Without the fur acting as a bold outline, guiding the viewer in a close examination of the robe, one would miss the Polish element of her garment, for the rest of her clothing is French in style.

The black *mantelet* – a small cape –, a French fashion, covering Leszczinska's head dramatically arrests the viewer's gaze, as it is the boldest element in the composition. While it highlights the Queen's soft facial features, it also pulls the viewer through the composition, downward towards the dark fur; in fact, the black cloth of the *mantelet* subtly merges with the lines of sable fur and the two sartorial elements merge into one form. The Polish and French fashion forms entwine themselves around the body of the Queen, materializing her hybrid identity as a French Queen of Polish birth. The fur proves central to Nattier and Leszczinska's expression of the Queen's identity and her distinction from the broader French world. Without the artful rendering of sable fur, viewers would miss the allusions to Polish style and Leszczinska's complex identity.

²⁷⁹ Jennifer Grant Germann, "Figuring Marie Leszczinska (1703-1768): Representing queenship in Eighteenth-Century France," diss. (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2002), 61- 62.

In the world of representation, fur was endowed with great symbolic potential. Artfully rendered fur must be understood in relation to daily encounters with the actual material and the many ways in which it retained its associations with the animal kingdom. Intentionally or not, several eighteenth-century depictions of fur and fur objects reveal the complex nature of the material's place in French society. While fur embodied qualities of the natural world, it was widely used as a visual device that professed membership in the world of cultural sociability. Paradoxically, the natural material proved instrumental in the visual landscape of skillfully crafted, ritualized, and refined French society by revealing individuals' sexual, social, and cultural identity.

Artfully rendered fur, though, was clearly not fur. It is another abstraction of the animal body and move away from – or above – the animal kingdom. Humanity, unlike the world of animals, has the mental and physical dexterity to produce two-dimensional, artful representations of fur. Certainly, the representations of fur objects discussed within this chapter gesture towards the fact that humanity does not depend on the natural world for the production of *all* types of fur. In fact, humanity can produce its own more refined, cultural version of this naturally occurring material. Can fur created at the hands of artists, then, be understood within the complex, eighteenth-century pursuit to distinguish humanity from the broader world of animals? Indeed, animals cannot produce painted fur.

CHAPTER FOUR

Decorative Monkey Business: The Affecting Role of Painted Monkeys in *Singerie* Interiors

Conseillers

On May 23, 1782 the Baronne d'Oberkirch, Henriette Louise de Waldner de Freundstein (1754-1803), attended the opera and then supped with her dear friend Laure-Auguste de Fitz-James (1744-1804), the Princess of Chimay and lady-in-waiting to Queen Marie Antoinette. Almanzor, the Princess's mischievous pet monkey, however, interrupted their elegant evening. Whilst the two ladies were enjoying Parisian entertainments, the monkey broke free from the chain confining him to his mistress's boudoir and scampered into her dressing room where he tried to perform the *toilette*, just as he had seen his mistress do everyday. Unfortunately, though, he left a "massacre of boxes, powder puffs, combs, and curling pins" in his wake and made a mess of the daily dressing ritual.²⁸⁰ Instead of transforming himself into an artful being, Almanzor covered his entire body in powder, rouged his nose, and applied multiple beauty marks to his forehead. He finished his ridiculous look by sticking his head through a powder puff, crafting a fanciful collar for himself. When the little creature was done dressing, he fled into the dining room, jumped on the table, and scared the ladies causing them to "utter frightful cries and flee, as if they had seen the devil in person!"²⁸¹ Once the Princess

²⁸⁰ Baronne Henriette Oberkirch, *Mémoires de la Baronne d'Oberkirch*. Tome Premier (Paris: Charpentier, Libraire-Éditeur 19 Rue de Lille, 1853), 206-208.

²⁸¹ "Les dames poussèrent des cris affreux et s'enfuirent; elles crurent que c'était le diable en personne." In *Ibid.*, 208.

recognized her little charge, she laughed at his unfortunate attempt to mimic her behavior and indulged him with lots of treats.

The Baronne d'Oberkirch, however, was not amused. In her memoirs, she reported: "As for me, I do not partake of the general enthusiasm [for Almanzor's behavior]. From a distance, I find monkeys very funny, but not in apartments where they wreak havoc and spread filth."²⁸² This anecdote about Almanzor gestures to a duality of sorts that was characteristic of eighteenth-century encounters with monkeys: the monkey's behavior and physicality resonated with that of a person, but despite this resonance, monkeys were entirely distinct from mankind because they are "very funny" and "cause havoc" and "filth." Almanzor *tried* to act like his mistress but humorously failed. Indeed, the monkey was a fascinating creature precisely because the animal was both similar to and different from a person. Like the Princess of Chimay, many people were drawn to the species because of their curious relationship to humanity, leading merchant marines and explorers to import several species of monkeys and apes to Europe.²⁸³

²⁸² "Quant à moi, je ne partageai pas l'engouement general. Je trouve les singes fort drôles de loin, mais non pas dans les appartements, où ils commettent toutes sortes de dégâts et où ils apportent de la malpropreté." Ibid.

²⁸³ There are far too many primary and secondary sources relating to the importation of exotic animals to the European continent, but Louise E. Robbins provides an excellent synthesis in her analysis of multiple travel accounts from the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. She highlights menagerie and scientific collections as the motivating force for not only the import of monkeys but also multiple exotic animals. Robbins, 9-36. Éric Baratay and Élisabeth Hardouin-Fugier examine the ways in which exotic, rare animals were displayed and the different symbolic values of exotic fauna from antiquity through the mid-twentieth century in *Zoos: histoire des jardins zoologiques en Occident (XVIe-XXe siècle)* (Paris: Éditions la Découverte, 1998), especially chapters 1 and 2. For a brief and informative discussion of importing monkeys to Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see: Eman P. Fridman & Ronald D. Nadler, *Medical Primatology: History, Biological Foundations and Applications* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2002), 23. H.W. Janson explores the monkey's role in Europe during the Middle Ages and Renaissance in *Apes and Ape-Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London: Warburg University, 1952). Desmond Morris provides a brief summary of the history of keeping monkeys as pets, beginning in Tudor England. See: *Monkey* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 62-83.

Kept as pets and rare specimens for natural history collections since Antiquity, monkeys were still seen as exotic animals, but became more common sights in eighteenth-century Paris as they were kept in the “homes of a relatively large number of people.”²⁸⁴ Their popularity led to a deeper understanding of the creatures, which problematized humanity’s relationship with the natural world. Not only did these animals look like people, they also seemed to act in ways familiar to humans. The animals’ natural behaviors aligned with mankind’s practices and the creatures were eager to ape human behaviors. As a result, eighteenth-century philosophers, artists, and scientists realized that simians were incredibly sharp and, in some cases, more intellectually advanced than other animals.

One of the places that monkeys were the most visible was in the form of artistic representation in *singerie* (monkey play) interiors, intricately decorated rooms found in aristocratic dwellings that featured clothed monkeys performing human behaviors alongside a mix of culturally diverse humans. While these rooms were once widely popular across France, appearing in royal residences, *hotels particuliers*, and country châteaux, today they are quite rare; these interiors were painted over as styles changed or were destroyed during the Revolution. There are only four remaining *singerie* interiors: the *Grande* and *Petite Singerie* (figs. 127 & 128) at the Château de Chantilly, the *Chambre de Singes* at the Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg in Paris (fig. 129), and the *Grand Cabinet* at the Château sur Marne in Champs sur Marne (fig. 130). All four were designed and painted by Christophe Huet (1700-1759), a renowned animal painter who also produced three well-received print series featuring monkeys similar to those in his painted interiors.

²⁸⁴ Robbins, 130.

While the *Petite Singerie* at Chantilly lies deep within the private apartments, the three other remaining *singerie* rooms were part of the interior's public enfilade. Two of the *singerie* rooms, the *Grand Cabinet* and *Chambre de Singes*, were the most exclusive spaces along the enfilade; they were the most decorated and the deepest in the floor plan. The *Grande Singerie*, while not the most restricted interior, was also a superior place along the public enfilade, serving as an *entrée* and transition space into the most elite interior: the prince's private chamber. The small size, low ceiling, elaborate decorative scheme, and its restricted access within the private apartments at the Château de Chantilly, point toward the *Petite Singerie*'s distinction and importance. Undoubtedly, all the *singerie* interiors were extraordinary places within their larger floor plans. The *singerie* rooms also share decorative motifs: the rooms paneling divides the walls into grid-like registers; complex compositions encourage viewers to look closely; Turkish, Chinese, and European people are formally rendered in a way that encourages viewers to relate to the figures; human figures pursue popular aristocratic activities; and subtle details betray the clothed monkeys' animality. In the public *singerie* rooms, Huet relegates the monkey figures to lower registers and smaller sizes, while in the *Petite Singerie*, the monkeys are the most important figures. Indeed, these were multifaceted, intricate spaces that performed some type of cultural work.

Until now, scholarship on *singerie* interiors has described the decorative schemas and identified the monkeys' humorous antics.²⁸⁵ While these monkeys were certainly

²⁸⁵ See for example Nicole Garnier-Pelle, Anne Forray-Carlier, and Marie-Christine Anselm, *The Monkeys of Christophe Huet: Singeries in French Decorative Arts* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011); and Nicole Garnier-Pelle, *Les Singeries* (Paris: Éditions Nicolas Chaudun, 2008); and *The Monkey Rooms du Chateau de Chantilly*. Eds. Nicole Garnier and Monella Hayot. (Chantilly: Domaine de Chantilly with Panhard Group, 2013).

entertaining, this chapter argues that they did more than delight and investigates the cultural function of the monkeys inside *singerie* interiors. To grasp how the original occupants of these chambers comprehended their surroundings, I ask: How were actual monkeys understood and encountered in eighteenth-century France? And, how did perceptions of the biological, scientific animal influence artistic representations? With what discourses did Huet engage? What patterns emerge in simian imagery and how do they resonate with Huet's *singerie* interiors? In pursuing answers to these questions, I demonstrate that Huet's painted monkeys are powerful embodiments of the period's scientific and artistic experience with simians and that his painted monkeys once served as *conseillers* (guides) for human behavior inside *singerie* rooms.

I. The Monkey in the Eighteenth-Century French Imagination

The fourth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* reports that a monkey is an “[a]nimal with four feet, strong & flexible, very agile, and of all animals the one that most outwardly resembles humans.”²⁸⁶ This definition points to a key element in the French understanding of the animal: unquestionably, simian and human similarities are superficial. Diderot and d’Almbert’s *L’Encyclopédie* “Singe” entry more clearly identifies shared features, stating:

The majority of [monkeys] are more similar to humans than any other quadruped, with – all the teeth, ears, nostrils etc., eyelashes on both lids, and two breasts on the chest. The female monkeys menstruate like women. [All Monkeys’] front feet have a lot in common with human hands. The back feet are also in the form of hands, but the five fingers are longer than those on the front hand and the thumb is long, big, strong, and separated from the other fingers; also, they help – like those fingers in the front – to grasp &

²⁸⁶ “SINGE. s.m. Animal à quatre pieds, fort souple & fort agile, & celui de tous les animaux qui ressemble le plus extérieurement à l’homme.” *Dictionnaire de l’Académie* (1762).

grab.²⁸⁷

The animals' physicality was undeniably comparable to that of humans, and their resemblance to small humans was a driving force in the intense curiosity exerted upon monkeys of all shapes and sizes.

Pongos, or the animals that modern science identifies as great apes (gorillas, orangutans, chimpanzees, and bonobos), attracted the most attention, as eighteenth-century scientists identified them as the monkeys who most closely resembled the human species.²⁸⁸ The knowledge about these creatures was transferable to smaller monkeys, animals that the century perceived as less developed simians that over time would become as advanced as the pongos. Large apes had been known throughout Europe since the English travel writer Samuel Purchas (c.1577-1626) published *Purchas, his Pilgrimage: or, Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages* in the early seventeenth century. In this text, which came to be heavily quoted in the "Pongo" entry of *l'Encyclopédie*, Purchas excitedly reports on the creatures' behaviors that boldly resonate with those of humans. He tells his readers that pongos "build their own shelters,

²⁸⁷ "La plupart de ces animaux ont plus de rapport avec l'homme que les autres quadrupèdes, sur - tout pour les dents, les oreilles, les narines, &c. ils ont des cils dans les deux paupières, & deux mamelles sur la poitrine. Les femelles ont pour la plupart des menstrues comme les femmes. Les piés de devant ont beaucoup de rapport à la main de l'homme; les piés de derrière ont aussi la forme d'une main, car les quatre doigts sont plus longs que ceux du pié de devant, & le pouce est long, gros & fort écarté du premier doigt; aussi se servent - ils des piés de derrière comme de ceux de devant pour saisir & empoigner. Il y a des *singes* qui ont dans la mâchoire d'en - bas une poche ou sac de chaque côté où ils serrent les aliments qu'ils veulent garder." In *L'Encyclopédie*, 15: 208.

²⁸⁸ Pongo was somewhat of a catchall category, in that eighteenth-century scientists essentially used this term to categorize all types of large simians, including what modern science know as members of the family Pongidae: orangutans, gorillas, chimpanzees, and bonobos. During the eighteenth century there were no distinctions made between these different animals. Difference in appearance was accounted for in terms of diet, geography, and climate. See: Jean-Luc Guichet, "Animality and Anthropology in Jean-Jacques Rousseau" trans. Richard Byrne, in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Matthew Senior (New York: Berg, 2007), 145-156.

live on [gathered] fruits and plants, and cover their dead with leaves and branches.”²⁸⁹

Not only do these actions relate closely to those of people, but they also suggest that the animals have mental and emotional responses like humans. These creatures have the foresight to plan ahead and have poignant responses to their dead, thereby revealing that pongos possess a degree of internal processing. While there was indeed a distinction between man’s and pongos’ abilities (for example, the animals’ shelter consisted of branches and leaves, rather than stone and mortar) the animals’ behavioral instincts were remarkably similar to human customs.

The similarities in how man and monkey interact with the environment around them were more apparent in illustrations accompanying natural history texts and travel narratives. These prints and engravings of pongos and other large apes were the primary way that French society experienced and learned about these animals. Although the images grossly exaggerated the parallels between the two beings by picturing apes standing upright and using human tools such as ropes and walking sticks, the images confirmed the shared traits of human and ape. The engraving titled *Jocko* (fig. 131) from Buffon’s *Histoire Naturelle*, for example, presents a large human-like simian, standing completely erect and looking directly at the viewer. He walks with the support of a crudely crafted walking stick with leaves sprouting off the side. While the creature’s tool lacks the refinement of a cane or a walking stick sold by *marchands merciers* in Paris, the animal employs a tool that resonates with one used in the human world *and* wields it like a person would. One can identify the same general behavioral characteristics in the *Chimpaneze* (fig. 132) engraving from the Abbé Prévost’s (1697-1763) *Histoire générale*

²⁸⁹ Mary Efrosini Gregory, *Evolutionism in Eighteenth-Century French Thought* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 5.

des voyages, as the creature stands tall, firmly grasping a walking cane for support. While these images embellished the behavioral capabilities of simians, making them appear more in line with those of humans than they actually were, the illustrations also encouraged French audiences to believe that simians, large and small, were shockingly similar.

In Paris, where many small monkeys were kept as pets and performers, owners trained the little creatures to execute more specialized human-like actions. Monkeys were reportedly interested in learning people's behaviors and in some cases tried to mimic their human masters. Monkeys performing human tasks or amazing feats of gymnastics became a widely popular entertainment genre and attracted the attention of thousands. For example, Signor Spinacuti and his monkey, the Chevalier de Singes, entertained Louis XV and his court with a choreographed performance that included the clothed monkey dancing and tumbling on a slack and tight rope, balancing a hoop and tobacco-pipe on the tip of his nose, and an exciting melodramatic exit timed to a firework display.²⁹⁰

Monkey shows in the Parisian Fairs, however, were not as dramatic and usually featured clothed monkeys doing acrobatics on tight ropes and parade platforms or simply copying their master's actions. The artist Jean Baptiste Joseph Pater (1695-1736) presents such a performance in the middle ground of his painting *The Fair at Bezons* (fig. 133). A well-dressed man donning a maroon coat, necklace, and golden medallion stands in the center of a raised, wooden platform alongside his talented monkey. The master dressed his animal star in a fashion similar to his own, complete with a miniature maroon suit, an elegant blue cap, and medallion necklace (fig. 134). Both the monkey and man strike a

²⁹⁰ Morris, 75.

similar pose as they raise their right hands into the air and grasp a silver stick. The audience seems captivated by the shared resemblance of human and animal, opening their mouths in wonder and cocking their heads to the side. One woman in a mobcap twists her body away from the stage but continues to look at the duo; perhaps she has become uncomfortable with the closeness between the human and animal, but cannot bring herself to quit marveling at the sight.

Pater's clothed monkey points toward the major quality that defines how eighteenth-century French society understood simian creatures: in addition to acting like humans, monkeys also look like humans. More so than behavioral parallels, the physical similarities shared by people and monkeys spurred intense interest in the little animals, leading the general public to flock to monkey shows and the very wealthy to keep simian animals as pets. In his *Dictionnaire critique, pittoresque, et sentiencieux* (1768) Louis Antoine de Caraccioli (1719-1803) stresses the appeal of the simian/human resemblance by defining Capuchin Monkeys as "little [animals] that people have for show, or because they resemble them."²⁹¹ The modern historian Louise Robbins argues that in the *Affiches de Paris* (papers that advertised goods for sale), monkey vendors emphasize the human characteristics of the different animals offered for sale as a way to make the creatures more appealing. For example, the *Affiches de Paris* advertises one monkey as an "arabic monkey, large-sized, very gentle, and serving as a domestic," while another advertisement presents a "monkey of a very small species, aged around ten months,

²⁹¹ As quoted in Robbins, 143.

brown fur, with the face and hands of a *Nègre*.”²⁹² While these quotations certainly emphasize the appeal of monkeys’ physical resonance with humans, the *Affiches de Paris* advertisements also point toward another fundamental component of how eighteenth-century France understood monkeys. While the animals looked like people, they resembled a specific type of people: the *Nègre* of Sub-Saharan Africa, who were often kept as servants clothed in Arabic-styled turbans (for example, see fig. 135).

The *Affiches de Paris*’s comparisons between monkeys and *Nègres* did not equate the two. While no less discriminatory in intent, the paper’s claims seem more to emphasize the animal’s exteriority to elite French culture. Black people in eighteenth-century France held a complex, multifaceted position in society, as the ideas of racial hierarchy were not clear and the definition of race was continuously evolving. Philosophers and scientists debated how humanity should be classified and understood, proposing monogenetic and polygenetic theories of origin. These theories held major implications for the meaning of race and how people of different colors were related to one another. The Comte de Buffon maintained that all mankind belonged to the same group, regardless of skin color: “... the human species is not composed of species essentially different from each other, but rather the contrary, there was originally but one species [of men.]”²⁹³ He used the term species to designate a class of animals that could reproduce only among themselves; because all colors of humans could procreate with each other, Buffon and other monogenetic supporters, like the German anatomist Johann

²⁹² “Singe d’une très-petite espece, âgé d’environ 10 mois, poli-brun, ayant la figure & les mains d’un Nègre. S’adr. Le matin à M. Hubert, Huissier-à-cheval, rue Bourg-l’Abbé” in *Affiches, Annonces, et Avis Divers: Ou, Journal General de France*, 23 Février 54 (1778), 540; and Robbins, 131.

²⁹³ Buffon, 3: 206-207.

Blumenbach (1752-1840), believed in the unity of humanity. Differences in skin color were not indicators of different species of humans; rather the variances were the effects of climate acting on the same species. As humanity dispersed, moving north and south, people “degenerated,” becoming paler or darker, ugly, less rational, more animal like, and closer to nature. Buffon contended that those living in temperate climates – “natives of the northern parts of the Mogul and Persian Empires, the Armenians, the Turks, the Georgians, the Mingrelians, the Circassians, the Greeks, and the people of Europe in general” – were the most perfect, beautiful, and advanced people on Earth.²⁹⁴ In this region, according to Buffon, human civilization was at its peak. The peoples of the earth, according to monogenetic theories, were arranged on a scale with European civilization in the temperate regions on one end and at the other peoples living to the extreme North and South in civilizations barely removed from the natural world.

Those supporting polygenesis, like Voltaire, also believed that the ideal type of person lived in the European temperate zone. Polygenesis theories, however, asserted that each skin tone signaled a different species of humanity. Specific behavioral and physical characteristics differentiated each group. According to the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711-1776), one can suppose the “...negros to be naturally inferior to the whites” because they lacked sophisticated behavior. Hume places the Negro race in close proximity to animals, declaring that this group of people has “no ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences.”²⁹⁵

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 117-118.

²⁹⁵ David Hume, “Of National Characters” in *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007), 213.

Indeed both advocates of monogenetic and polygenetic theories relegated the *Nègre* race to a lowly status through degeneration or by the race's supposed innate qualities. Both theories, however, maintained that the *Nègre*, although a cultural outsider to the dominant white European, was not an animal. While European intellectuals identified the black race as degenerate, it is important to note that, unlike nineteenth-century racial scientists, the majority of philosophers maintained distinctions between *Nègres* and animals, especially monkeys. Blumenbach, for example, argued that there were no bodily characteristics specific only to black people and simians. Even Petrus Camper (1722-1789), the Dutch anatomist whose teachings were unfortunately misinterpreted and used as the foundation for Phrenological and racial science, maintained that Africans and the black race at large were humans and not in any way related to monkeys. The "Nègre" entry of *l'Encyclopédie* discusses the broad spectrum of blacks in the world, emphasizing that their general skin color – as it too varies dramatically around the world – is the only uniting aspect of this race of people. By discussing the variations within this broad category of people, the entry's author, Johann Heinrich Samuel Formey (1711-1797), reveals that the century recognized the diversity of this broad cross-section of humanity. There was a scale within the *Nègre* race, just as there was in the white race. Each specific *Nègre* culture possessed its own unique customs and characteristics. In contrast to the dominant beliefs and attitudes of the nineteenth century, eighteenth-century France generally recognized that the *Nègre* race was not monolithic.

Artistic representations of black people during this period further point toward the century's understanding that *Nègres* were indeed human. Drawings such as Watteau's

Eight Studies of Heads (fig. 136) present the black figure in a sensitive, individualized way. Of the eight heads rendered across the expanse of the page, three are of young black boys. Each boy's defining facial traits are naturalistically rendered, giving the viewer a sense of the model's actual appearance. In fact, their features do not greatly contrast with heads of the white figures also captured on the page. All have downcast eyes, missing the viewer's gaze and they possess blank expressions. The black figures' hair and skin tone are the major distinguishing characteristics. One can see the same specificity and sensitivity in Louis Carrogis Carmontelle's portraits of *Narcisse, Nègre du duc d'Orléans* (fig. 137) and *Mlle Desgots, de Saint Domingue, avec son Nègre Laurent* (fig. 135). While there is an implied racial hierarchy, as both boys "belong" to an elite, white aristocrat, and despite each boy's costumes, Carmontelle captures the particular likeness of each young man – their variations in skin tone, distinct profiles, and posture – and, in doing so, points toward their humanity. The personalized and thoughtful treatment of these *Nègre* figures dramatically contrasts the generalized, grotesque representations of black people that came in the following century (see for example fig. 138). During this period of French history, while the *Nègre* was understood as different, he was unquestionably human.

Camper attempted to prove scientifically the belief that *Nègres* were human. In his widely translated treatise on racial color, *Redevoering over den oorsprung en de kleur der zwarten* (Oration on the origin and color of blacks) he stresses that blacks and whites share anatomical distinction from the world of animals. In the explanatory text accompanying his chart of comparative skulls (fig. 139), Camper admonishes those who might mistakenly conclude that blacks and simians were similar. Rather than seeing

likeness between the ape and African skulls or the Grecian sculptural bust and the European skull, Camper wants his viewer to identify discrepancies. He believed that in finding the differences, his reader would then see the commonalities between Africans and Europeans and the absolute distinction between human and animal.²⁹⁶

Maintaining distinction between all races of people and monkeys was significant, as the human/simian relationship was paramount in drawing the boundary between mankind and animal. The simian aptitude to acquire and produce language was at the center of intellectual efforts to define the separate categories of monkey and person, as the century's philosophy maintained that the use of words to communicate was a distinguishing characteristic of humans. In the "Nègre" entry of *l'Encyclopédie*, Formey notes this defining trait and explains that "[e]ach people, each nation has its shape as well as its language."²⁹⁷ Simians, though, no matter how closely they resembled humans or how well they mimicked human behaviors, never spoke.

A speaking simian, though, seemed to be a possibility, as it was well known that large simians (like pongos) and smaller monkeys (like Capuchin Monkeys) had a larynx and pharynx just like humans. La Mettrie, along with many other materialists such as Diderot, believed that monkeys would not possess biological features fundamental to the production of speech sounds if the animals could not speak. While nobody observed the animals using speech on their own, La Mettrie expressed faith in the idea that they could potentially acquire this skill through instruction: "In a word, would it be absolutely

²⁹⁶ David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 203-205.

²⁹⁷ "Chaque peuple, chaque nation a sa forme comme sa langue; & la forme n'est elle pas une espece de langue elle-même." In *L'Encyclopédie*, 1: 76.

impossible to teach the ape a language? I do not think so.”²⁹⁸ According to La Mettrie, the animals have the biological makeup, and therefore capacity, to speak; they simply need human instruction. In this way pongos and the simian community at large were dependent on humanity to achieve their full potential. If simians could speak, la Mettrie posited, were they to be embraced as humans? Diderot humorously addresses this notion at the conclusion of *Suite de l’entretien* (1769), when one of the main characters, Bordeu, asks his companion: “Have you seen in the King’s Garden, inside a glass cage, an orangutan that looks like St. John preaching in the desert? Cardinal de Polignac said to him one day, “Speak, and I will Baptize you!”²⁹⁹ While certainly a comical story, one must read this as a philosophical point. Diderot – through his character Bordeu – suggests that speech is the only thing separating the animal from humanity; the creature possesses thoughts, it simply must express them verbally to earn recognition as something akin to human. According to these thinkers, the distinction between the two types of beings is only a matter of degrees.

The Comte de Buffon, who embraced parts of Cartesian dualism, held firm to his belief that monkeys would never speak. According to him, simians, like all animals, were not endowed with a godly soul, a metaphysical entity believed to grant access to reason, God, and heaven.³⁰⁰ According to Christian and Cartesian principles, speech was a product of the soul; because God creates beings in their most perfect, evolved state,

²⁹⁸ As quoted in Gregory, 57.

²⁹⁹ BORDEU. - Avez-vous vu au Jardin du Roi, sous une cage de verre, cet orang-outan qui a l'air d'un saint Jean qui prêche au désert ? BORDEU. - Le cardinal de Polignac lui disait un jour: “ Parle, et je te baptise.” In Diderot, “Le Rêve de d’Alembert” in *Œuvres Complètes de Diderot*, Tome Deuxième, ed. Assézat-Tourneux (Paris: Garnier Frères, Libraires-Éditeurs, 6 Rue des Saints-Pères, 1875), 190.

³⁰⁰ Gregory, 208.

monkeys would never, according to Buffon, become more advanced, suddenly secure a soul, and learn to speak. In *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1755), more commonly known as *The Second Discourse*, J.J. Rousseau suggests an entirely different reason for the lack of monkey language. He believes that apes simply do not speak because they have no need, not because they lack a soul.³⁰¹ Over time and as the need developed, these creatures would acquire language skills and their kind would become more advanced.

Simians' inability to execute human actions properly further distinguishes the creatures from the world of humanity. While human and monkey behaviors resonated with each other, Buffon credits the similarities to the simple fact that monkeys have a body structure like that of humans; these creatures do not willfully choose the way they act and do not have "any idea of copying [human] example." He contends that the simian body responds to its materiality and the environment it occupies, while internal reasoning drives all human action. Buffon explains that the monkey cannot intentionally copy or learn human actions because this "... requires a train of thoughts and judgment; for this reason, man, if he chooses, can imitate the ape, but the ape cannot even have an idea of imitating man."³⁰² Buffon maintains that while simians may visually resemble and act similarly to people, these creatures will never fully master human behaviors. Even when trained to execute actions akin to those of people, monkey behavior will always fall short because the animal lacks reason and advanced thought.

³⁰¹ Ibid., 209-210.

³⁰² Buffon, 9:146.

Although monkeys and man possess comparable physiques, they undeniably have different behavioral abilities. For example, Purchas reports that pongos are “very pleased with burning embers of [man’s] campfires but cannot conceive of throwing wood into them to keep the embers burning.”³⁰³ He suggests that the animals were attracted to human creations, but lacked the rational intelligence to problem solve and attain those facilities. No matter how curious the animal became, it could not start a fire. In addition to lacking the rational abilities to perform such an action, many contemporary anecdotes about monkeys reveal that these animals could not perfect the human behaviors they did perform. Despite the efforts of Princesse de Chimay’s monkey, the little creature failed miserably in his execution of the *toilette*, making a huge mess of both himself and his mistress’s home.³⁰⁴ While the monkey possessed the bodily elements to perform this task – hands for grasping, feet for standing, and a face proportional to that of a person – he could not artfully manage his behaviors. William Hogarth explains this idea in his *Analysis of Beauty*, stating: “the monkey from his make hath it sufficiently in his power to be graceful, but as reason is required for this purpose, it would be impossible to bring him to move genteelly.”³⁰⁵ Thus, while the animal looks like a person, its lack of reason and consequent inability to behave in accordance with human ideals, perpetually distinguishes it from the world of humanity.

In addition to the creatures’ failure to perform gracefully, Buffon suggests that they actually have no interest in those behaviors or domestic life at large. He explains that

³⁰³ As quoted in Gregory, 5.

³⁰⁴ Refer to pages 174-5 of this dissertation.

³⁰⁵ Hogarth, 141.

monkeys are “always sullen, stubborn, or making grimaces” when in civilized society; unlike other animals, monkeys always misbehave.³⁰⁶ In fact, in the conduct manual *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité*, Antoine de Courtin identifies the monkey as a figure whose behavior was deplorable. He instructs his reader to define herself against the ill, ungraceful ways of the monkey, encouraging the reader to cut meat into small bites and “not to put great gobbets into your mouth that may bunch out your cheeks like a monkey.”³⁰⁷ Humans, regardless of race or family origin, have the ability to learn how to control their bodies, act artfully and perform behaviors with elegance and grace, elements that separate them from simians and the world of animals at large.

Even those monkeys who are carefully trained to perform in fairs and domesticated as pets could not control their behaviors. As monkeys age they become unpredictable and dangerous. As juveniles, monkeys are affectionate and attached to their human companions; however, something changes inside them around the time they reach maturity, sending the animals into a terrible behavioral state.³⁰⁸ In 1787, seventeen years after acquiring her pet monkey, Madame Elisabeth (1764-1794), sister to Louis XVI, could no longer care for her little monkey because its behavior scared her family. Madame Elisabeth wrote to the Marquise de Bombelles (1744-1822), the woman who gave her the animal, lamenting that she had to give up the little creature. She apologizes for not returning the monkey to the Marquise, but excuses her actions, noting: “What consoles me is that because [you have] children, perhaps you'd [also] be forced to dispose

³⁰⁶ Buffon, 9:147.

³⁰⁷ Courtin, 93.

³⁰⁸ Milovanovic, *La princesse Palatine*, 99.

of it, because [the monkey] could be dangerous.”³⁰⁹ As they matured, simians of all types were unpredictable and became a threat to their human masters. Monkeys were like ticking time bombs, whose biological makeup transformed them into demonic, intolerable beings.

Although people were attracted to simians because of their resemblance to humans, these creatures were certainly not little civilized people. There was a short period of time in which the animal could be trained to mimic the behaviors of polite society delightfully, albeit incorrectly. Monkeys, though, continuously measured short of high culture’s standards. While the Middle Ages saw the creatures’ human resemblance and imperfectability as a manifestation of the devil, eighteenth-century audiences saw the creatures as an embodiment of difference and humorous parody.³¹⁰ The comparisons of the animal to a member of the *Nègre* race – people outside elite, French society – emphasize the monkey’s distinction and exteriority to the cultural world. The monkey’s difference, however, was also emphasized in less racist ways. In polite society, owners placed their monkeys in situations where the creature’s differences were amusingly magnified by dressing them in stylish fashions fit for the most esteemed courtier (for example, see fig. 140) or training them to perform activities they would surely fail to execute elegantly. Hogarth explains that humor arises from “a joining of [these] opposite ideas” and a monkey is nature’s joke: “A monkey too, whose figure, as well as most of

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ Garnier-Pelle, Forray-Carlier, and Anselm, 15.

his actions, so oddly resembles the human, is also very comical; and he becomes more so when a coat is put on him, as he then becomes a greater burlesque on the man.”³¹¹

When Louis XV entrusted the care and display of his prized pet monkeys to an officer of the household who was a dwarf, he highlighted the simians’ role as hilarious figures that measured short of cultural values and norms.³¹² Dwarfs, like monkeys, were bought and sold, collected as part of natural history menageries, forced to perform for audiences, and laughed at because of their inability to behave in accordance with society’s ideals.³¹³ As a result of their biological makeup, simians and dwarfs both embodied notions of difference and humor. In the eighteenth-century imagination, though, dwarfs were like the *Nègre* race in that they were conceived as people that were similar to monkeys, but fundamentally distinct from these animals because they were indeed human, exercising language and a degree of reason.³¹⁴ While associated with groups of people who did not align with elite European norms, monkeys were always a separate entity. The simian species is similar, but always less-than human.

II. The Monkey as an Artistic Device

In the seventeenth century several Flemish artists, such as Pieter Brueghel II (1564/65-1637/38) and David Teniers II (1610-1690), employed artistic representations of the monkey in satirical paintings and prints that mocked polite society. Their *singerie* images present clothed and unclothed monkeys and sometimes cats – animals also

³¹¹ Hogarth, 32.

³¹² Milovanovic, *La Princesse Palatine*, 98.

³¹³ For an analysis of dwarfs in history, see: Betty M. Adelson, *The Lives of Dwarfs: Their Journey from Public Curiosity towards Social Liberation* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), especially chapter 1.

³¹⁴ See: *L’Encyclopédie*, 11:8.

perceived as lowly and sometime devilish – engaging in human endeavors to the best of their abilities. Some simians, like the two beady-eyed Capuchin Monkeys who sit with their feet on the stools in the foreground of Teniers’s *Meeting of Monkeys at the Tavern* (fig. 141), behave impolitely. These images are not about animals or the variation of human races; rather, these genre paintings featuring monkeys as the principal players are about the “vanity and folly” of the “wealthy Flemish bourgeoisie,” the same group that commissioned the majority of these paintings.³¹⁵ These images playfully and gently mock bourgeoisie pursuits and interests such as banqueting, gambling, and dressing fashionably.

Eighteenth-century French artists continued the Flemish tradition by representing little monkeys that don human clothes and perform human behaviors. The French, however, amplified the *singerie* genre by picturing monkeys that were clothed more elegantly and pursued more diverse types of human activities. Perhaps French artists were inspired by the widespread and ever-growing interest in keeping monkeys as companion animals and entertainers, as the contents of French *singerie* imagery – especially the monkeys’ dress and activities – certainly called to mind the many ways people interacted with the little creatures. I believe that these representations of monkeys (subhuman creatures associated with peoples perceived as different) performing aristocratic human behaviors are depictions of people whose behavior did not embody the human-specific qualities of control and reason. Essentially these images visualized the state of refined culture when these traits are ignored.

³¹⁵ Garnier-Pelle, Forray-Carlier, and Anselm, 16-18. For further reading on Flemish monkey paintings, see: Ingrid Roscoe, “Simic without mind: Singerie in Northern Europe” in *Apollo* (August 1981), 96-103; Bert Schepers, “Monkey Madness in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp: Some Afterthoughts” in *The Rubenianum Quarterly* 4 (2012), 3-4; and Albert P. de Mirimonde explores animal concerts in “Concerts parodiques chez les maîtres du Nord”, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (November 1964), 253-284.

For Gabriel de Saint Aubin (1724-1780), the monkey was a pictorial device that stood in for and mocked specific individuals whom he believed did not uphold the ideals of polite culture. In his enormous *Livre de Caricatures tant bonnes que mauvaises*, he collaborated with his friends and brothers – Charles Germain (1721-1786) and Augustin de Saint Aubin (1736-1807) – for over forty years in producing almost four hundred drawings that critiqued, mocked, and sometimes celebrated eighteenth-century French society. The book remained a secret within the Saint Aubin family, as the majority of the drawings lampooned France’s highest elite – primarily the King and his court – and, if discovered, would land the artists in the Bastille prison. Some of the most prominent figures, such as Louis XV’s mistress Madame de Pompadour and the great military leader the duc de Richelieu (1696-1788), were among those whom Saint Aubin represented as monkeys. While Saint Aubin’s drawings from *Livre de Caricatures tant bonnes que mauvaises* never circulated, they attest to a popular pattern of picturing as monkeys those who behaved in a manner perceived as wrong, illicit, or irrational.

In the ink and watercolor drawing *Pomade pour les levres* (fig. 142), Saint Aubin presents a bonneted monkey standing on a chair in front of her toilette table with her derrière facing the mirror. The monkey turns her head, inspecting the reflection of her posterior as she applies rouge to her genitals, her other lips. Although the caption reads “Pomade for the lips, invented by Madame the Marquise of Cr...”, most scholars have understood the monkey to be Madame de Pompadour because of the drawing’s similarities to Boucher’s 1750 portrait of Pompadour at her toilette (fig. 143). Her daily toilette was highly criticized and associated with licentious sexual behaviors. Her critics, Saint Aubin being one of them, believed that Pompadour used the daily ritual as a way to

position herself politically as the King's advisor. Many said that Pompadour exchanged sexual favors to establish alliances that would support her ideas and encourage the King to do the same. Thus, we see the monkey Pompadour readying her other lips with pomade, preparing for her public toilette and her sexual dalliances. To add to the matter, the greater French public saw the King's mistress as a bourgeois monkey of sorts, aping the nobility with her purchased title and her expensive, fashionable lifestyle.³¹⁶ As I demonstrated in Chapter 1, in the critical eyes of the court and French public, Madame de Pompadour was certainly less than human, on par with a devious monkey, an image that she attempted to dispel with her pet dogs.

In another drawing from Saint Aubin's secret book, *Il Part pour hanovre* (fig. 144), one finds a monkey representation of the duc de Richelieu. Saint Aubin presents the monkey Richelieu, sporting a military sash of the Order of Saint Louis and tricorne hat, is in quite a rush, as he hurriedly pulls on his boots that overflow with leaves and flings his riding crop and marshal's baton to the side. This little image refers to Richelieu's military exploits in Germany. While he was widely praised for his clever military tactics and expertise, his greedy proclivity to pillage and plunder the lands he conquered was highly suspect. As if martial honor were not enough, the duc de Richelieu sought financial glory and "stuffed his boots," just as the monkey duc does in Saint Aubin's drawing – in a

³¹⁶ For an analysis of *Pomade pour les levres*, see: Jones and Richardson, 23; Melissa Hyde notes that the drawing should be interpreted in relation to François Boucher's 1750 portrait of Pompadour at her toilette in *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute Publications Program, 2006), 123; and Humphrey Wine further argues that this particular image is a jab against Madame de Pompadour, rather than criticism of makeup in "Madame de Pompadour" in *The Saint-Aubin 'Livre de caricatures': Drawing satire in eighteenth-century Paris*. Eds. Colin Jones, Juliet Carey, and Emily Richardson (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012), 182.

dishonest manner.³¹⁷ Indeed, Saint Aubin could have chosen to render Richelieu in a human form, but he and his artistic circle condemned the duc – an apparent lowlife operating outside the framework of society – to the status of a monkey. By picturing the duc de Richelieu as a monkey, Saint Aubin marks Richelieu, like Pompadour, as different, as an outsider, and an individual who should be excluded from the polite world of humanity.³¹⁸

While Saint Aubin's monkey drawings were kept secret, there were several satirical prints and paintings of monkeys that had a wider viewership. In the hands of academic artists, representations of anthropomorphic monkeys became figures that lampooned those who neglected to uphold academic ideals. The artistic theories espoused by the likes of Roger de Piles (1635-1709) and l'abbé du Bos (1670-1742) called for artists to move beyond the simple imitation of nature. De Piles pushes artists to improve upon nature, as it "... is generally defective in particular objects."³¹⁹ By combining nature's most beautiful elements, the artist creates something more perfect and beautiful. Du Bos also discouraged the simple aping of nature and demanded that artists develop keen eyes and diligently select "principal objects" worthy of imitation. An artist cannot just paint what lies in front of his eyes, he must be selective so not to bore the viewer. Art does not simply ape nature.

³¹⁷ Valerie Mainz, "Gloire, subversively" in *The Saint-Aubin 'Livre de caricatures,'* 170-173. The Saint-Aubin *Livre de caricatures* features Richelieu as a monkey in at least two other drawings, which make reference to his salacious personality. For a lively account of Richelieu's political rise and fall, see Le Barre de Raillcourt, *Richelieu: Le Maréchal Libertin* (Paris: Tallandier, 1991).

³¹⁸ The duc de Richelieu was linked to Madame de Pompadour. One could potentially interpret the pink ribbon pinned to the monkey Richelieu's hat as a sign of allegiance to the King's notorious mistress. See: Waddesdon Manner, "Curatorial Commentary for *Il part pour hanovre*, 675.300," <http://collection.waddesdon.org.uk/search.do?view=detail&page=1&id=41802&db=object>, (accessed January 14, 2016)

³¹⁹ De Piles, 14.

In the early 1700s Watteau produced *La Peinture*, now lost and known only through an engraving, which depicted a monkey artist (fig. 145). In this rather complex image, Watteau positions a Capuchin Monkey in front of an easel, sitting comfortably in a finely upholstered, damask chair and studying a prop model staged adjacent to the canvas. The monkey artist fitted the model with a loose cap, white collar, and dark shirt. Curiously, the model's dress resonates with one of the figures in the painting that hangs behind the artist. In this painting in a painting – one that recalls Watteau's earlier theatrical *oeuvre* – three *commedia dell'arte* characters – Pierrot, Scaramouche, and one unidentifiable persona – perform on a shallow stage. Is the monkey artist copying the painting that hangs behind him? Has he staged an element of the composition so that he can more carefully study this particular costume?

Helen Weston argues that the painting in a painting's resonance with Watteau's earlier *oeuvre* constitutes evidence that *La Peinture* is a humorous and critical self-portrait of the artist, similar to Chardin's *Le Singe Peintre* (fig. 146).³²⁰ While indeed a possibility, an alternative understanding of the painting within the composition relates to the specific type of actors and characters with which Watteau associates his monkey painter: clowns. Pierrot, the sad clown, and Scaramouche, a clown burlesquing Italian nobility, certainly resonate with monkey behaviors, as they act irrationally, imitate others, and make audiences laugh.³²¹ By representing *commedia dell'arte* stock characters,

³²⁰ Helen Weston, "Gables and Follies: Florian's 'The Monkey showing the Magic Lantern' and the Failure of Imitation" in *Articulate Objects: Voice, Sculpture and Performance*, ed. Aura Satz and Jon Wood (New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 53.

³²¹ Bernard Jolibert, *La commedia dell'arte et son influence en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), 26-27 and 34-36. Jolibert provides a thorough analysis of the *Commedia dell'arte* in eighteenth-century Paris, 56-71. For a political history of the *Commedia dell'arte* in France, see: F.W. Hemmings, *Theater and State in France, 1760-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 21-23. Robert Henke investigates the oral and textual sources of the early *Commedia dell'arte* in sixteenth-

Watteau gestures to a style based on distortion, exaggeration, and excessive copying. Thus, the monkey artist carefully copies a painting of actors – copiers in their own right – playing characters immersed in a world of mimicry; Watteau’s image is a meditation on copying. The cheeky verse below the engraved image casts the notion of imitation in a negative light:

It is necessary to use the brush for reputation,
It is horrifying to see a subject without embellishment, to lift the cloth,
And to paint at will many an ugly woman,
You must be clever as a monkey.³²²

Artists who act like monkeys, coping without thought or improving their subject matter, create ugly works of art.

Still life painters were certainly the type of artist most often panned for aping rather than improving nature. As a well-known member of the Académie who was admitted as a still life painter, Chardin surely resented such criticism. At the Salon of 1740 he exhibited *Le Singe Peintre* (fig. 146), a canvas that could be understood as a witty reply to the negative opinions of still life. In this humorous image, Chardin transforms the monkey into a figure that could encourage his viewer to become self-reflective. The artist presents a well-dressed monkey painter, donning a fashionable burgundy coat and feathered tricorne hat while standing in front of his easel. It appears that someone has interrupted the monkey, leading him to look away from his canvas with maulstick and brush in hand. He has only made preliminary marks on the canvas, outlining the general shape of his composition. Has the monkey simply copied the studio

century Italy and analyzes the role of the buffoon and clown characters in *Performance and Literature in the Commedia dell'arte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), especially chapters 7 and 8.

³²² “La Peinture: Telle doit au Pinceau ce qu’elle à de renom/ Qui fait horreur à voir sans fard et sous le linge:/ Et pour peindre à son gré mainte laid Guenon,/ Il faut être adroit comme un singe.”

props arranged beside him? Will he only mimic the world and neglect to embellish and improve? It is impossible to say, as the painter has only begun his work. Regardless of the phase in the artistic process, the artist has already been pictured as a monkey. Does Chardin suggest that the public is predisposed to denigrate still life painters to the status of monkeys, even before viewing their completed pieces?

Chardin's monkey painter appears quite successful, despite his monkey status. Wearing fashionable clothing, he has certainly earned a hefty commission or two. Indeed, the animal artist is quite similar to Chardin himself: a still life painter who was widely sought after, yet the classification of the majority of his oeuvre made him prone to being labeled an ape. Chardin reclaims the figure of the monkey and seems to critique the viewer's response. At Chardin's brush, the simian creature had the potential to encourage viewers to evaluate themselves and their proclivity to form unsubstantiated judgments. Of course it is impossible to know if viewers actually understood Chardin's clever commentary on still-life audiences or if Chardin actually intended such a witty message. Regardless, at Chardin's brush the monkey is a figure that forces the viewer to look critically at the world she inhabits.

So too is the ridiculous Capuchin Monkey artist in Jean-Baptiste Deshayes's *Le Singe Peintre* (fig. 147). The monkey that perches upon a stool and paints the bizarre muscular model posing in front of him mocks artists who blindly follow academic rules. Between 1740 and 1750 the Académie became more rigid and formal, tightening expectations and placing more regulations on students and members alike. Tension arose around new academic policies, especially that banning nude female models. Deprived of the study of feminine bodies, artists were forced to pursue the female form secretly

outside the Académie or simply to work with male models styled as women.³²³ In Deshays's painting, the monkey fashions his muscular male model in the guise of a woman, placing him in a feminine pose and styling his long hair into a bun. Indeed Deshays presents a ridiculous, nonsensical situation. The monkey painter does not challenge the institution's rules; he paints using whatever he can access. Deshays mocks those artists who, unlike himself, acquiesce to the commands of the academic institution. The dopey looking monkey lampoons artists, who in Deshays's opinion, do not behave rationally. Because the animal looks quite silly painting the female form in this way, Deshays concurrently uses the animal to encourage artists to challenge academic rules and expectations.

Artistic depictions of humanized monkeys are indeed critical reflections on humanity. Both Chardin and Watteau's paintings of monkeys were quite well known and incredibly popular, as they not only hung at public exhibitions, but they were also copied in paint and circulated in print. Although Aubin's simian drawings remained private among his innermost circle, his images attest to a widespread impulse to depict those who behaved contrary to human society's ideals as monkeys. The proliferation of this type of image certainly conditioned audiences to consider images of humanized monkeys as critical of society's wrongdoings and figures who could promote self-reflection.

III. Christophe Huet's Mocking Monkeys

Christophe Huet - the decorative painter who was one of the most sought-after *singerie* artists in eighteenth-century France – produced several engravings that featured

³²³ "Musée des Beaux-Arts "Collections, La peinture de genre en France au XVIII^e, Le Singe Peintre," <http://mbarouen.fr/fr/oeuvres/le-singe-peintre> (accessed January 14, 2016). See also: Wendy Wassyng Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: regarding the body in the art of Angelica Kauffman" in *Femininity and masculinity in eighteenth-century art and culture* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 43.

monkeys dressed like little aristocrats engaging in upper-class behaviors. In the early 1740s Huet commissioned the artist Jean Baptiste Guélard (1719 -c.1755) to produce engravings after his drawings of monkeys. The duo completed and published three print series – *Trofées de chasse dessinez par C. Hüet et gravez par Guélard* (1741), *Singeries: ou différentes actions de la vie Humaine Représentées par des Singes* (1741-1742), and a series dedicated to Monsieur Delorme, the purveyor of the Royal Menagerie (c.1743) – that were well received and quite popular.³²⁴ Like Chardin, Watteau, and Aubin, Huet's monkey images criticized and lampooned French society.

The Bibliotheque Nationale de France's edition of Huet's *Singeries: ou différentes actions de la vie Humaine Représentées par des Singes* clearly reveals that Huet wanted his audience to draw parallels between themselves and his monkeys. This particular version, published in the early 1740s, combines the contents of Huet's *Singerie* and Royal Menagerie series. The collection contains 24 engraved plates made after Huet's drawings and two dedicatory poems written by Guélard, which are placed within the publication to define the beginning of each print series. There are also two frontispieces and both contain the same bibliographic data, including the title of the series, the names of the artists, and the publisher's information. Indeed, the inclusion of two pages with the same information seems quite superfluous; however, the redundancy certainly drives home the major point that these images are mocking people.

In the first frontispiece (fig. 148), an organically inspired *rocaille* frame with vine forms and parrots perched on either side, defines a central oval space in which the series's bibliographic text appears. The text inside the frame reads:

³²⁴ Garnier-Pelle, Forray-Carlier, and Anselm, 62-69.

Singeries / Ou Differentes Actions / De La Vie Humaine / Représentées/ Par
Des Singes / Dediées au Public. / Gravées sur les desseins de C.. Huet par J.
Guélard/ A Paris / Chez Guelard rue de Charonne / Avec Privilege du Roy.³²⁵

The parrots, animals whose behavior resonated with monkeys and were known for their amusing ability to copy and repeat human speech and song, set the tone for the images included within the collection by foregrounding the idea of mimicry. The owl, a traditional symbol of wisdom and the occult, reminds readers of the project's intellectual vigor and its multiple layers of meaning; the viewer must move beyond the project's humor and consider its deeper implications.

Spread out over ten lines, the words of the frontispiece appear in different sizes and scripts; indeed some words and phrases seem more important than others. Although the word "Singeries" appears at the apex of the composition, it is dwarfed by the bolder and larger phrase "De La Vie Humaine," thereby encouraging the viewer to consider the monkeys in relation to humans. Beyond the materiality of the words, the formal qualities of the frame also highlight the importance of this phrase. The gentle curving lines that outline the frontispiece pull the viewers' gaze and attention upward, toward the upper portion of text, while two shell shapes focus the eye on the key phrase by forming a bracket of sorts around the words.

In case the reader misses the importance of this phrase, the second frontispiece (fig. 149), appearing on the third page of the copy at the Bibliotheque Nationale, continues to emphasize the value of the phrase "De La Vie Humaine." Again the publication text fills the center of an oblong ovular shape; however, this particular form is winged rather than neatly framed. The phrase, though, remains the largest and boldest of

³²⁵ Christophe Huet and Jean-Baptiste Guélard, *Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes, gravées sur les desseins de C. Huet par J. Guélard*. (Paris: Guélard, rue de Charonne, 1741-1742), 1.

all the words. Three monkeys are positioned around the large, central shape and further emphasize the importance of the words. A painter monkey kneeling in front extends his brush and points just below the key phrase, while another monkey with two feathers in his hat pops out from behind the sculptural frontispiece and further emphasizes the significance of these words by pointing to them. Certainly the text and the monkeys' hand positions lead the reader to discover that she should consider all of Huet's monkey engravings in relation to her own experience. The viewer must move beyond the delight and humor of the image.

Sandwiched between the two frontispiece pages, the reader discovers a dedicatory poem written by the engraver Guélard and titled "Au Public." Like the title pages, the poem declares the connection between the representations of monkeys and human life. He asks his reader to

Accept the tribute of our allegory,
And deign to welcome it with a sympathetic reception;
Contemplate how your name suitably espouses it,
And that our dedication is a *Singerie*,
Who is missing from this collection?
You have provided us with the subjects of the work,
In your eyes it must, therefore, have some appeal
To deserve your election...³²⁶

In something of a biting tone, Guélard encourages his readers to find themselves within the images of *singeries* and think of other members of society who relate to the animals

³²⁶ "Arbitre des talents; Vous en qui chaque Auteur, / Par un assortiment bizarre et necessaire, / Trouve à la fois son Juge et son Solliciteur, / Son Patron et Son Adversaire/ Vous que l'on peut critique sans original/ Mais que l'on peut aussi louer sans flatterie, / Acceptez le tribute de notre allégorie, / Et daignez l'honorer d'un favorable accueil;/ Songez que vôtre nom à propos s'y marie, / Et qu'une dédicace, est une *Singerie*/ Qui manqueroit à ce Recueil / Vous nous avez fourni les sujets de l'ouvrage / Il doit donc à vos yeux avoir quelques attrait / Pour meriter vôtre suffrage, / Nous nous sommes promis de rendre traits pour traits pour traits; / Mais si dans ces graves portraits / Nôtre burin vous estropie, / C'est que l'art est borné; pourquoi s'en attrister? / Que chaque original achette sa copie, / Et nous n'en aurons plus bien-tôt à débiter." In Huet and Guélard, 2.

pictured. If audiences are offended by the work, they cannot blame Guélard or Huet, as they have simply worked from life, recording the foolish pursuits of French society.

The engravings depict monkeys doing typical human activities in an overly confident and stupid way. In *Le Maître d'École* (fig. 150), we see a power-thirsty schoolteacher who commands his cat student to focus on its lessons. This headmaster could not have a more pointless student on his hands; eighteenth-century cats, like our modern kitties, were notoriously unmanageable and could never be instructed or trained. Buffon explains that “even the tamest cats are not under the smallest subjection, but may rather be said to enjoy perfect liberty; for they act to please themselves only and it is impossible to retain them a moment after they choose to go.”³²⁷ He raises a switch in his left hand, as if readying to strike his cat pupil and force education upon the animal through corporal punishment. This pedagogical tactic will certainly not inspire the cat. In the background, a younger monkey witnesses the teacher’s extreme actions and cowers on a stool, intensely focused on reading. The majority of these scenes, however, are nonsensical and rather bawdy. *L’Organiste Ambulant* (fig. 151), for example, presents an unclothed monkey on all fours with a clothed monkey playing a precariously balanced organ on its back. The crawling animal blows air into the organ through a pipe, which runs from his mouth to the backside of the instrument. A third monkey, clothed in human garments, comes after the duo and shoves a bellows in the nude, crawling animal’s anus, whilst exchanging a knowing glance with the organist. What is this mischievous animal doing to his companion? And why is the rider in cahoots?

In another image, *Le Lavement Rendu* (fig. 152), Huet depicts two clothed monkeys with their pantaloons around their knees, pooping over a cooking fire and,

³²⁷ Buffon, 3: 53.

consequently, extinguishing the flame. One animal gazes confidently at the viewer as he sits upon a cooking stand and balances his foot upon a pot with food inside it, while the other monkey looks into the distance, concentrating on his business. A third monkey rushes to the scene with a large napkin in hand. Is this linen for the defecating animals to use in cleaning their posterior or shall it cover the vat of food? Did the monkeys eat the food from the cooking pot? Did it make them sick? The title of the work, *Le Lavement Rendu*, French for “enema rendering,” certainly suggests so. Or, will the animals’ filthy behaviors give rise to an enema-like episode of diarrhea – like the monkeys’ – to whoever consumes this food? Huet provides no clear answers for the interpretation of these lewd, confusing images.

In the past, scholars have discussed Huet’s engravings in relation to the popular *Cris de Paris* prints, a series depicting the various types of street vendors and hawkers across the city.³²⁸ While these image types are indeed compositionally similar, I believe the key resemblance rests in the idea that both Huet’s *singerie* prints and the *Cris de Paris* depict generic types of people rather than specific individuals. By choosing this form of representation, Huet not only opened his images up to a wide audience of consumers, but also provided the opportunity for his viewers to identify themselves or others with the monkey figures. Those studying these prints could potentially identify some of their actions within the vignettes and become critical of their own behaviors. Indeed it would be embarrassing to recognize one’s own behavior or quite delightful to see an enemy’s actions in the nonsensical and unsophisticated activities of Huet’s monkeys. These images, consequently, encourage the viewer to amend his/her ways and

³²⁸ Garnier-Pelle, Forray-Carlier, and Anselm, 68.

fully embody the rational, polite ideals of human society. One can therefore conceive of Huet's printed monkeys as affecting presences that influence human social behaviors.³²⁹

IV. Monkey Behavior in *Singerie* Interiors

The painted monkeys that appear in Christophe Huet's interior *singeries* closely resonate with those in his *singerie* prints. It remains unclear what exactly came first in Huet's oeuvre, the drawings of monkeys that were engraved in the 1740s or Huet's painted interiors, which he likely began in the 1730s. Some of the monkey figures – such as the monkey artist, the drummer, and the dancer, to name only a few – appear in Huet's drawings, prints, and interiors, thereby confusing any sort of origin point for the animals. It seems likely that Huet worked in a fashion similar to his mentor, Watteau, in that he kept an ever-expanding sketchbook of simian figures that he would insert into his compositions wherever he saw fit.³³⁰ While the meaning of each repeated figure changes in different contexts and media, I believe that the figures retain their critical spin on human culture, especially in *singerie* interiors. Furthermore, when encountering Huet's decorative panels, a viewer would bring her experience with other simian imagery, which conditioned her to see the animal as lampooning human foibles. To ensure the audience related the monkeys to human beings, Huet establishes large-scale compositions that entice his viewer to make comparisons between the acts of monkeys, her own behavior, and the people painted on the walls of the decorative interior.

³²⁹ In using the word "affecting," I am drawing from Robert Plant Armstrong's idea that that objects have the power to illicit an emotional (or affected) response. He says, "affecting presence acts as a subject, asserting its own being, inviting the preceptor's recognition and, in culturally permitted ways, structuring that subsequent relationship which someone has called "transaction" in recognition of the fact that while the presence informs the man, the man, in his unique way, to some extent and in some fashion informs the presence." The object and beholder, therefore, play off of one another; the object's meaning and purpose depends on the beholder's presence. *The Affecting Presence: An Essay in Humanistic Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 24-25.

³³⁰ Garnier-Pelle, Forray-Carlier, and Anselm, 68.

Of the four remaining, in situ *singerie* interiors, three are located along the public enfilade. They are integral elements of the formal processional that architecturally and decoratively contrast the other ceremonial rooms. Generally, *singeries* are brighter, more intimate, and more ornate than the other spaces. The three examples provide a glimpse into how these interiors functioned in different architectural settings: a country chateau, a *hôtel particulier* in the city, and a château of a Prince of the Blood. In these different residences, the *singerie* rooms were bold cabinets that punctuated the formal interior and marked changes in expected social decorum. The monkeys and their relationship with the viewer and other painted figures communicated behavioral cues for the viewer to follow.

The Grand Cabinet, or Salon Chinois, at Château sur Marne

Château sur Marne, also known as Château Champs sur Marne and the Château de Champs, lies to the east of Paris in a rural, park-like setting along the Marne River. Between 1703 and 1708 the successful architect Jean-Baptiste Bullet de Chamblain (1665-1726) designed and supervised the construction of what was then considered a modest *château de campagne*. The magnificent setting and the many outdoor activities that one could pursue on the grounds made the Château sur Marne very appealing. Chamblain took great care to integrate the garden and river views into the plan of the structure. For example, rather than placing a grand staircase in the center of the symmetrically planned château, obstructing sweeping vistas of the landscape, he constructed a vestibule that ran almost the full length of the façade and installed a staircase in the left-most wing of the entry. In so doing, Chamblain merged the vestibule and the central, oval-shaped salon. The enfilade arrangement of the grand salon and long

entry hall forces the breath-taking garden vistas, seen out the large windows in the oval room, upon the visitor and entices her deeper into the interior.³³¹

When the château came under the ownership of Louis-César, duc de la Vallière and duc de Vaujour (1708-1780), in 1739 he continued to emphasize the magnificent setting of the country châteaux through interior décor. Sometime in his early tenure at the Château sur Marne, he commissioned Huet to refashion the assembly room located at the end of the formal enfilade on the *rez-de-chaussée* (figs. 130 & 153). This assembly room, known in the architectural plans as the *grand cabinet*, filled the eastern corner of the structure and served as the ending point of formal *appartement de parade*. Located off the ceremonial bedchamber, at the end of a four-room string of chambers, the *grand cabinet* was indeed the most exclusive of the interiors. Katie Scott explains that “[t]he significance of the *enfilade* lay primarily in the fact that by providing an hermetic conduit through the building it also offered a gauge against which to measure distinction.”³³² If one was actually invited to process through the entire enfilade and share the duc’s company in the *grand cabinet*, she was certainly privileged and prestigious. Whereas the previous room was reserved for receiving formal audiences, the *grand cabinet* hosted more intimate gatherings. A third door in the *grand cabinet*, opposite the grand garden vista, opens into the duc’s private bedchamber; thus, this interior serves as a bridge of sorts, connecting the private and ceremonial realms. As a result of its positioning between the two areas of the interior, the room likely liaised a myriad of activities ranging from

³³¹ Runar Strandberg, “Le Chateau de Champs” in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* Vol. 61, 6 (February 1963): 82-83.

³³² Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 106.

intellectual conversations to card games. One of the windows in the *grand cabinet's* northeast window functioned as an additional door, as stone steps on the exterior lead a visitor out to the garden.³³³ Indeed, the joys of the outdoors were readily accessible from this particular interior.

Huet's wall paintings contributed to the playful atmosphere of this room and, like the plan of the château at large, emphasized the allure of the Château sur Marne's riverside landscape. Working within the original wall paneling and mirrors, Huet executed a series of 28 individually painted panels that depict the joys of the outdoors. Animals, including dogs, oceanic birds, and monkeys figure prominently on the ceiling and the panel work below the chair rail. Four doors – one faux, one for service, and two for actual passage – dominate the visual landscape and act as the organizing framework for the large decorative scheme. Huet painted each door and *dessus-de-porte* (over door painting), corresponding to a different outdoor activity: gardening, playing, hunting, and fishing. Between each set of doors and flanking the four windows that line the two garden-view walls, Huet completed eight vignettes that depict people clothed in Chinese, Turkish, and European fashions playing at various country pastimes, such as shuttlecock and archery.

The mix of cultures gracing the walls of the *grand cabinet* at Château sur Marne is typical of Huet's larger oeuvre. The Chinese, Turkish, and European figures, differentiated only by their dress, are members of what thinkers saw as the most elite, refined cultures. Buffon, for example, believed that the groups of people dwelling in the most temperate climates – Persians, Turks, Circassians, Greeks, and Europeans – are the

³³³ Strandberg, 86.

“most beautiful, the whitest, best-formed people on the whole of earth.”³³⁴ Of course, though, he contended that white Europeans should be the race against which all others are measured; Europeans were the most civilized and beautiful. The Turks, he notes, were not too far behind, describing them as “a people in some degree civilized and commercial, fond of spectacles, and other ingenious novelties.”³³⁵ Despite the despotic nature of Chinese government and the common belief that the people of China were not as beautiful as the Europeans, Europeans granted China a special status. Voltaire, in *L’Encyclopédie*, explains the extraordinary condition of Chinese society, stating: “... what places the Chinese above all other peoples of the earth is that neither their laws nor their customs, nor the language spoken by men of letters, has changed for roughly four thousand years.” Voltaire continues, noting that this culture “invented practically all of the arts before [Europe] had even learned a few.”³³⁶ In the eyes of eighteenth-century thinkers, China was ahead of everyone because its culture had a deep history and innovative spirit. Buffon also identifies the progressive condition of Chinese society, crediting “the excellence of the soil, the mildness of the climate, and their vicinity to the sea” as influencing factors in China’s success.³³⁷ Like the Turks and Europeans, the Chinese lived in the temperate zone, a climate that facilitated the development of ideal civilizations. Indeed, the culturally diverse figures that grace the walls of Huet’s *singerie* are members of humanity’s most enlightened, admirable group. For Huet’s viewer, the painted figures were the *crème de la crème* of humanity.

³³⁴ Buffon, 3: 117-118.

³³⁵ Ibid., 268.

³³⁶ François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire, “History.” *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d’Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*.

³³⁷ Buffon, 3: 213.

To further emphasize the society's advanced state, Huet rendered them in the same skin tone, a peachy white. French society certainly recognized the various gradations in skin coloring across the globe; thus, Huet made a meaningful decision when he whitewashed his figures. In so doing, he unites the cultures to a greater extent. Beyond simply thinking of them as progressive, superior societies, Huet imagines them as a group also bound by the color of their skin, a color that eighteenth-century Europe understood as the most beautiful. Furthermore, those occupying Huet's *singerie* were mostly white, European elites. Even though the painted figures were from different cultures with which viewers might have had little first-hand experience, the painted people were still relatable. Indeed, the white figures can also be interpreted in relation to the common, aristocratic pastime of masquerading in costumes and disguises.³³⁸ The specificity of facial types reminds the viewer that Huet's figures are not actually masked Europeans, but the familiar custom of masquerade made it easier for a viewer to identify with the white-skinned, exotic races and project herself into the image. Huet, therefore, prompted his viewer to visualize her part in the most esteemed group of humans.

The hybrid nature of the landscape further allows European viewers to connect to the images, as they can easily identify elements of European garden architecture – marble urns, masonry walls, and finely rendered marble statuary – alongside different, Asian structures that resemble pagodas. Even the vegetation blends elements of the European and foreign; full, leafy trees that might grow in France appear beside exotic plants – palm trees and pineapples – that evoke the vegetation of China and the Ottoman Empire. For

³³⁸ Sarah Cohen notes the many social functions of masquerade and the multiple types of costumes – different social classes, cultures, and characters – partygoers would wear to social masquerades. Cohen also postulates that because of their familiarity with masquerading, aristocratic viewers would be apt to project themselves into images and identify with artfully rendered figures in fashion prints. Indeed, viewers could do the same with Huet's painted figures. *Art, Dance, and the Body*, 147-151.

Huet's viewers, the foreign figures and unusual flora become less strange and easier to understand when figured alongside familiar European features.

In the *grand cabinet* at Château sur Marne, Huet confines the monkeys to the lower sections of three doors. The animals' placement and their behaviors are quite meaningful in relation to the human figures that are representative of advanced civilizations. The monkeys are not part of the civilized, human world and each simian occupies a similarly painted space, reminiscent of decorative arabesques: a white background framed by abstract, flowing forms evocative of garden structures and plants. Huet equips some of the monkeys with tools appropriate to the undertakings of the people rendered in the upper registers. However, the monkeys misuse their props and harass birds. On the door depicting small vignettes related to the pleasures of gardening one can see humans equipped with shovels, watering cans, and plant boxes as they happily care for the garden's vegetation. In the door's lower panels, one monkey (fig. 154) holds a rake by the wrong end and cocks it back behind his shoulder, as if readying himself to swat the large gray bird perched above him. The other monkey (fig. 155), in the door's neighboring panel, pulls a bird's tail, causing the creature to open its mouth and squawk loudly.

Such behaviors certainly contrast the ways in which Huet's painted humans calmly and lovingly interact with small birds. Rather than harassing the winged creatures, people train them and indulge them with comfortable cages and perches. On the door relating to the pleasures of the hunt, one can clearly see a falconer with his hooded bird proudly perched on his arm. Indeed, training the animal to obey the master's commands, find and kill prey, and return to its master's arm was no small task; the master cares for

the falcon and provides for it, developing a mutual trust. The lute player, who plays a song for his little songbirds resting upon a bronze perch in the garden, develops a similar relationship with his animals. The birds, knowing their master cares for them, mimic his melody. In the panel opposite the lute player, one can see the early stages of bonding with a captive, pet bird. The Chinese man touches the cages, hoping to allow the bird, which timidly backs away, to become familiar with his presence. Indeed, developing a rapport with a winged creature depended on patience, something the monkeys painted on the lower panels lack. Rather than calmly approaching the birds, they harass and scare the avian creatures.

Pet birds, especially parrots, were quite a financial investment; birds were not superfluous playthings. They were delicate, jewel-like creatures kept as status symbols that required constant care and attention. As a way to teach young girls responsibility and hone their gentle manners, many were entrusted with the care of songbirds. In fact, a well-trained and happy little bird revealed its young mistress's refined, polite nature. Squawking, crying, distressed birds, like those pictured around the monkey figures, were a poor reflection on their human companions. One must conclude, therefore, that the monkeys surrounded by wild, untamed birds, are themselves untamed and unrefined.

Huet renders two additional nonsensical monkeys on the lower panels of the door relating to play in the garden. One has fallen victim to a red-squirrel thief who has taken a bud from the well-dressed monkey's flower arrangement (fig. 156). With a wide-eyed, stupefied look the monkey turns away from the pesky squirrel and takes his flowers away. The squirrel has humorously offended the monkey. The simian in the other panel (fig. 157), accompanied by his dog, bothers a large, gray and red parrot. From a

ridiculously close range, the monkey uses a blowpipe to fire pebbles at the poor bird, which spreads its wings to take flight. Certainly the parrot will escape unharmed; however, the unfortunate bird on the lower-left panel of the fishing door will not be so lucky. In that panel, a mischievous little simian (fig. 158) dangles a fish in front of the bird's face, teasing him and attempting to entrap the poor creature. Who knows what might happen to the parrot if he is caught in the monkey's paws? Beyond the gray-chested parrot that hungrily gazes at the fish, three additional birds congregate around the monkey. Will the birds soon swarm around the animal, overwhelm him, and nab the fish? Will the birds outsmart the trickster? Opposite this panel, another not-so-clever monkey attempts to catch a fleeing mallard with his fishing net. Indeed, these monkeys are behaving quite strangely, incorrectly hunting birds and pursuing the wrong avian species; rather than nobly mounting a steed to hunt an ostrich – as depicted in one of the *dessus-de-portes* (fig. 159) – or tracking smaller birds with a falcon (fig. 160). The monkeys swing whatever tools they have on hand, attempting, in vain, to slay fowl.

Huet's print projects remind the viewer that these poorly behaved animals, consigned to the lowest register, are visual lampoons of misbehaving humans. These creatures demonstrate how *not* to behave, especially in the château's garden, the most celebrated element of the property. The monkeys, therefore, serve as an "other" of sorts that polite company defined their behaviors against. Huet emphasizes the painted creatures' role in affecting human actions by rendering the animal on doors, areas of passage and movement. Yet, he only places the animal on the three doors central to the room's social landscape; the fourth door, to the right of the fireplace, leads to a servants' passage. The three doors that were part of the social landscape were symbolic

touchstones that organized an inhabitant's behavior, as the doors marked the main line of the enfilade and the entrance to the château's private apartments. These doorways and their painted monkeys oriented a person within the interior and gave material form to their prestige. As part of these doors, the monkeys of Château sur Marne reminded occupants that rational behavior and artful movement were central to maintaining a sociable identity within the château's processional and garden landscape.

The Singerie at Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg

L'Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg stands in the Marais district of Paris along rue Vieille-du-Temple, nestled beside other grand buildings. The architect Pierre-Alexis Delamair (1676-1745) oversaw the construction of the mansion in 1705 for Armand Gaston Maximilien de Rohan (1674-1749), a clergyman and politician. The structure's second inhabitant, Francois-Armand de Rohan (1717-1756), the cardinal de Soubise and prince-bishop of Strasbourg, however, oversaw the installation of the *singerie* interior. When the cardinal came into possession of the Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg in the late 1740s, he oversaw a massive renovation of the *appartements de parade*, spending £41,172 to commission work from thirteen artists and artisans. This enormous project saw a complete overhaul of the first floor, the hôtel's most public and ceremonial rooms (fig. 161).³³⁹ In his *L'Architecture grandiose* (1752), Jacques-Francois Blondel (1705-1774) describes the major renovation project, noting:

Since Monsieur the Cardinal de Soubise has occupied [Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg], all of the upstairs apartments have been redecorated with an extraordinary magnificence; only the large antechamber has been restored; all of

³³⁹ The arrangement of this hôtel is somewhat unusual in that the public rooms are not on the *rez de chaussée*. Rather, one finds these rooms on the first floor.

the other rooms have been changed or embellished with paint, gilt, mirrors, and furnishings in the most modern style.³⁴⁰

Christophe Huet was a central player in the modernization of Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg's interior, as he was responsible for the most precious, prestigious room along the enfilade of the processional landscape: the *singerie* room (fig. 129).

As at Château sur Marne, the enfilade of public rooms terminates with the *singerie*. To reach this particular room, one must pass through a *grande antechamber*, the dining room, and the *salle de compagnie*. One can only access Huet's *singerie* through one door, making it the most isolated and removed space in the floor plan. The *singerie* is certainly the most exclusive room and its occupants were only the most prestigious.

Under the Cardinal's direction the room preceding the *singerie* became a music room, which hosted and artfully framed musical concerts. Delicately carved musical instruments crown each pilaster framing the room's three giant mirrors, while carved medallions featuring allegorical depictions of the four types of music occupy the room's four corners. This was an interior for watching rather than participating; performances were artfully framed and formally enjoyed from a distance. The music room differed greatly from its adjoining space, as the activities pursued in the *singerie* were participatory and merry.

Immediately upon entering the *singerie*, one spies an image of a monkey, isolated on top of a parade platform and wailing away on a snare drum (fig. 162). Painted where

³⁴⁰ "Depuis que M. le cardinal de Soubise l'occupe, on a décoré à neuf tous les appartements du premier étage avec une magnificence extraordinaire; il n'y a que la grande antichambre qu'il n'a pas restaurée; toutes les autres pièces ont été changées ou embellies de peinture, de dorures, de glaces et de meubles dans le goût le plus moderne." In Jacques-François Blondel, *Architecture française, ou Recueil des plans, elevations, coupes et profiles des églises, maisons royales, palais, hôtels & edifices les plus considerables de Paris*, Tome 2 (Paris: Chez Charles-Antoine Jombert, 1752-1756), 162-163.

a *dessus-de-porte* would be if the enfilade continued, this small painting establishes the general tone of this interior. Unlike the other simians found in this space, the drummer monkey – and his four other musical monkey comrades dispersed around the room’s upper perimeter – is naked. The viewer sees this creature for what he is: a wild animal deprived of reason and manners. One can imagine that the painted monkey’s music dramatically differs from the soundtrack encountered in the music room; in the *singerie* a silent soundtrack of wildness and frivolity fills the air.

The thirteen vignettes, painted in the central register of the floor-to-ceiling wainscoting, further emphasize the relaxed nature of the *singerie* and enhance the room’s intended functions. It was “a setting for evenings devoted to play and leisure conversations,” for it was here that the cardinal hosted gaming parties, served tea and coffee, and refereed discussion.³⁴¹ The spirited entertainments held within the room certainly resonated with the scenes of outdoor recreations carefully rendered across the center of the room’s walls. Gazing upward toward the vignettes, the viewer encounters a mix of Turks, Chinese, and European revelers, just like those at the Château sur Marne, pursuing a gamut of activities: a maypole dance, a mother blowing bubbles with her children, a magic show, a wrestling match, a group making a dog perform tricks, a game of hot hands, a pastoral concert, boys playing at a balancing beam, a lively game of blind man’s bluff, children on a seesaw, a game of cards, a game of leapfrog, and a shuttlecock match.

Like in the *grand cabinet* at the Château sur Marne, Huet places each leisure pursuit within the separate gilded framework of the interior, but unites them through a consistent, hybridized landscape that combines Asian and European features. This mix of

³⁴¹ Béchu and Taillard, 442.

elements makes it quite difficult to ground the scenes in reality; however, the familiar aspects –garden pavilions, domestic plants, and common outdoor games – would have been very relatable to audiences, so much so that viewers could picture themselves in Huet’s painted vignettes. The vignettes encouraged viewers to let loose and enjoy themselves, just as the painted people did. While these images did not depict the exact gaieties that occurred in the *singerie* space, they resonated with the room’s activities and contributed to the general joviality of this interior.

Although the monkeys, pictured just above the chair rail, are physically separated from the playful vignettes by a gilded frame, they engage in activities that clearly relate to the pastimes presented in those scenes. Underneath the figures training a dog (fig. 163), for example, the monkeys are also teaching dogs to perform exciting tricks (fig. 164). One monkey successfully instructs a dog to stand on its front paws, while the other encourages a little mutt to leap through a hoop (fig. 165). The monkeys use wooden sticks –just like the woman depicted above them – as a tool to command the canines’ attention. On another section of the wall, two monkeys dance below human merrymakers that have completed the maypole dance (fig. 166). A pair of monkeys, rendered below the blind man’s game (fig. 167), mimics the humans above them and plays their own version of the game (fig. 168). Although these animals perform behaviors that complement those of the human figures painted above them, there are visual subtleties that distinguish these anthropomorphized creatures from humanity. Like Huet’s other monkeys, these simians are mocking people who function outside the framework of polite society.

The clothed monkeys at the Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg behave quite stupidly. While the animals’ actions resonate with those of the people, these creatures are crude,

careless, and irrational. While the monkeys under the scene of blind man's bluff do play the game, they do so quite dangerously. The blindfolded monkey is sure to trip, as he precariously extends his front paw around a curved, arabesque form. The other monkey does nothing to help his comrade; instead, he lures him forward by playing the flute, encouraging his pal to take one more step. The masked monkey is sure to end up injured. The monkeys below the neighboring vignette, a depiction of a pastoral concert in which all listening are entranced by the flute's music, make sounds – albeit quite crude sounds – using wind. One monkey drops his red breeches, holds up his tail and farts (fig. 169). Indeed the viewer knows it was a forceful toot, as the flame of the candle positioned behind his anus falls to the other side of the wick. His monkey friend looks up to the concert scene and readies his candle for his own musical performance. The monkeys below the scene of hot hands (fig. 170), however, do not mimic the communal hand game. As the viewer can see in the vignette, hot hands was a social game that strengthened bonds in the group; there were many variations of the game, but it typically involved quickly passing an object or quickly slapping hands before time was up.³⁴² The monkeys reject the collective spirit of the game pictured above them, sitting with backs turned to each other (fig. 171). The monkey on the right annoys his companion by ringing a triangle instrument. With frowns and wide eyes, these monkeys are antisocial, the total opposite of how the *singerie*'s occupants were expected to behave.

An inventory taken on 31 July 1756, shortly after the death of Cardinal Soubise reveals the important, valuable objects in the *singerie*. For this interior, the notary lists the following objects: "...a corner table in marquetry, an office-style table for playing

³⁴² Hot hands, or *la main chaude*, was part of an emerging, mid-century fascination with *jeux champêtres*. See: Jennifer D. Milam, *Fragonard's Playful Painting*, 35-36.

backgammon, and a lacquer cabinet like the one in the neighboring salon, with services for tea, chocolate, and coffee made of porcelain of Saxony...”³⁴³ The room’s contents certainly suggest that the Cardinal ensured that all occupants of the *singerie* enjoyed themselves. While it proves difficult to imagine the specific nature of the gaming table at Hôtel de Rohan, Nicolas Lancret’s painting *The Four Times of Day: Afternoon* (fig. 172) provides some clues as to what it might have been like to sit at such a table. In Lancret’s image we see a man and woman seated for a game of backgammon; the man turns around to consult with two standing women, as if asking for their ruling on a turn. Backgammon would go on for quite some time, thus players frequently sat alongside the table. The actual game board, as we see in Lancret’s painting, would have been recessed inside the surface of the table and – if one were seated in a normal chair – would likely skim the knees of the players seated around the edges. The gentleman in *The Four Times of Day: Afternoon* cannot fit his knees under the table and, therefore, spreads his legs widely to comfortably position himself, while his partner sits upon a low stool that accommodates her figure perfectly. In addition to sitting low to the ground, it was important for players to sit upright with arms pulled away from the game field, so that one was not seen as a cheater. Indeed, a person had to be aware of one’s physical self when gaming.

Whilst sitting at the backgammon table inside the Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg’s *singerie* room, the clothed monkeys would be at the eyelevel of the players. Seated in a place and a position where one became acutely aware of one’s body and social protocol, the troubling monkeys acted as visual reminders of how *not* to behave. The added stress

³⁴³ “... une table de piquet en marqueterie, d’une table de bureau ‘servant de tric-trac’ et d’un cabaret de laque lidentique à celui du salon de compagnie voisin) portant des services à the, à chocolat et à café, le tout en porcelain de Saxe” in Philippe Béchu and Christian Taillard, *Les Hôtels de Soubise et de Rohan-Strasbourg: Marchés de construction et de décor* (Paris: Somogy editions d’art, 2004), 442.

of the game table and the physical effects of consuming coffee, tea, or chocolate certainly made adhering to social protocol more difficult.³⁴⁴ The misbehaving, illogical, and crude little creatures were laid out in front of the chamber's occupants as threatening images of what could become of a person who did not abide by social expectations and maintain his cultural body: he could fall to the status of a monkey and lose social prestige which had afforded him entry into this interior space in the first place. The century's numerous guidebooks on manners and decorum suggest that maintaining self-control was both challenging and essential; giving into one's whims and bodily instincts would earn ridicule, social ostracism, and disgrace. An impolite person was an outsider, akin to a monkey. Huet's monkeys remind the viewer of her behavior's high social stakes.

Grande Singerie, Château de Chantilly

The *Grande Singerie* (fig. 127) at Chantilly can be found on the first floor, along the formal enfilade interior connecting the *Galerie des Batailles*, a long hall designed by Jules-Hardouin Mansart (1646-1708) to feature eleven great battle scenes, and a *grand cabinet*, where smaller formal audiences could be received. During the 1730s, Louis Henri, Duke of Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1692-1740) oversaw an extensive restoration of the interiors along the *appartements de parade*. The *singerie* room was the only room to be completely refashioned, floor to ceiling, and boldly contrasted the other interiors.

³⁴⁴ *L'Encyclopédie* reports that the consumption of chocolate can lead to sensual excess, disrupt the body's humors, and increase sexual feelings, 3: 359-360; the author of the "thé" entry in *L'Encyclopédie* notes that one must pay careful attention to the color and strength of tea, 16: 223-226. Spary explores the development of the coffee trade in eighteenth-century France and its place in society in relation to other exotic beverages, such as tea and chocolate, 51-145. Rose-Marie Herda-Mousseaux, Patrick Rambourg, and Guillaume Séret's recent exhibition catalogue analyzes the impact and role of coffee, tea, and chocolate in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France and the objects that accompanied their service. They argue that while these delicacies were seen as therapeutic and medicinal, eighteenth-century consumers believed they needed to be consumed carefully; overconsumption of coffee, tea, or chocolate could lead to excessive abandon. *Thé, Café, ou Chocolat?: Les Boissons Exotiques À Paris au XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris: Paris Musees, 2015).

This little room served as an antechamber of sorts, hosting small gatherings and holding audiences until the Prince was prepared to receive them in the following room. The *singerie* either prepared visitors for entry into the most private and exclusive space of the public interior, or magnified a caller's disappointment in not receiving access to the most exclusive cabinet. Whereas the *Galerie des Batailles* foregrounded the magnificence of his family, the cabinet was about the Prince as an individual, serving as a space where he received visitors and showcased his fantastic collection of oriental porcelains and lacquer furniture.³⁴⁵ The *Grande Singerie*, the smallest room on the enfilade, acted as a bridge of sorts, physically connecting the spaces that told the story of his family and of him as an individual.

The small scale of the room, in comparison with the rooms on either side, invites the occupant to explore the painted walls and prepares her for a potential encounter with the Prince. Six large-scale panels, which extend from the chair rail to the ceiling, dominate the decorative scheme. Four of the large panels, those lining the interior walls, present allegorical representations of the four corners of the world – America, China, Europe, and Northern Africa – and evoke the five senses.³⁴⁶ Two well-dressed monkeys attend each figurative representation of the four geographic regions and the animals' actions evoke the senses. Huet represents America (fig. 173) as a white woman with an exposed breast, donning a leopard undergarment and flowing blue and white robes. Her monkey attendants emphasize the sense of touch by extending their hands; one, dressed

³⁴⁵ Garnier, "The Monkey Rooms in Christophe Huet's Work" in *Les Singeries – The Monkey Rooms du Chateau de Chantilly*, ed. Nicole Garnier and Monella Hayot (Chantilly: Domaine de Chantilly and Panhard Group, 2013), 36.

³⁴⁶ There are four monochromatic gray cartouches that line both sides of the mirrors, which depict the animals that, since the late Renaissance, were commonly associated with the four corners of the earth, hence scholars and curators have often identified the larger panels as representations of the four corners of the earth.

as the master of the hunt, ceremoniously presents America with the “honor of the foot”, while the other monkey proudly delivers a wax-sealed letter. The China panel (fig. 174) appears next to America and in this panel the viewer finds a jolly Chinese man, swinging in a hammock, shaking a rattle, and beating his drum. Two monkeys playing musical instruments kneel on either side and musically accompany the man’s rhythms, thereby evoking the sense of sound. Huet presents Europe (fig. 175) as a modest white woman, similar to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo’s (1696-1770) winged allegory of Europe in the Würzburg Residenz (fig. 176). The monkeys attending Europe ceremoniously bow and offer her smoking pots of burning incense and envelop her in a sweet aroma. An alchemist cloaked in a cape and fancy hat represents Northern Africa (fig. 177). This figure occupies a laboratory of sorts, with jars of preserved animals, a burning stove, and porcelain vases. The two monkeys flanking the alchemist are busy at work, respectively painting a porcelain vase and a decorative wall similar to the ones Huet has painted in the *Grande Singerie*. Scholars suggest that the actions of these little monkeys reference the sense of sight, as both creatures are engaged in careful, close looking as they craft their artistic objects.

The final two panels, which are quite different from the rest, are affixed to the exterior wall and flank the *Grande Singerie*’s only window. Unlike the other panels, the images framing the window present little humans venerating large monkeys. The panel to the right of the window (fig. 178) presents an elegantly dressed female monkey who has left her sewing table in the foreground to play a lap lyre. Two human children flank the monkey musician and accompany her with bells and a tambourine. To the left of the window, one finds a panel with a joker monkey (fig. 179), sitting cross-legged and

holding a jester's scepter with a human face. Again, two children accompany the animal; one presents the animal with a whirligig, while the other offers him a drum. Indeed Huet has created a complex iconography, blending monkeys and humans in the large panels and sprinkling other animals – boars, birds, deer, and dogs – on the ceiling.

The monkeys, however, dominate the iconography, as they appear the most frequently. Not only do they act as attendants and main figures in the room's six large panels but also monkeys appear in isolated vignettes on the room's three doors. On the door leading to the *Galerie des Batailles*, one finds a musician and a tightrope walker (fig. 180). A monkey soldier (fig. 181), holding the flag and wearing the colors of the House of Condé – dun and amaranth – and a monkey artist (fig. 182), who has poured himself a glass of red wine, grace the doors leading into the Prince's cabinet. The third door, which leads to a servant's passage, presents a monkey astronomer (fig. 183), perched on top of a globe, and a monkey sculptor (fig. 184) who prepares to chisel his masterpiece. Curiously, the monkeys in the *Grande Singerie*, unlike those rendered in Huet's prints and in his other *singerie* interiors, perform rather politely. Nobody engages in anything obscene or overtly irrational, leading one to ask if these animals, like Huet's other monkeys, are lampooning society.

The modern-day curators at the Domaine de Chantilly suggest that the monkeys rendered on the walls of the *Grande Singerie* are more restrained than their counterpoints in other *singeries* because this interior served a prince of the royal blood.³⁴⁷ This *singerie*, unlike the others, had a more direct affiliation with the French government and called for more refined subject matter. Although the monkeys in this particular *singerie* do not fart or harass innocent animals, they are consigned to a lowly outsider status in their formal

³⁴⁷ Garnier-Pelle, Forray-Carlier, and Anselm, 118.

positioning, lower than the human allegorical figures, and confinement to the realm of sensory experiences. One possible understanding of these artistic choices would be to see the animals, like Huet's other clothed monkeys, as creatures lampooning a particular type of visitor: those who only experience the world through their senses.

Without a doubt the senses of a visitor would be dramatically stimulated when appearing before the Prince, as she would bear witness to the great collection that the *Livre de dessins chinois* (1735) reports was widely envied and copied.³⁴⁸ Although the majority of the objects were showcased in the *Grand Cabinet*, the probate inventory taken in 1740, the year of the Prince's death, indicates that several items from the collection spilled into the *Grande Singerie* as well.³⁴⁹ The Prince's collection was a chief focus of this room and the following one. Indeed, the amalgamation of Asian objects captured the attention and imagination of the *singerie* interior's occupants. It seems logical, then, to consider the painted monkeys' relationship to the collection. The clothed creatures are in fact dispersed among a collection of sorts – an allegorical assemblage of the world's geography – and interact with its many parts. The North African vignette makes explicit references to the Prince's own collections, picturing chinoiserie porcelain – like that produced in his own porcelain factory and displayed in his cabinet – in addition to preserved animals – like those found in his well-known natural history collection found at the other end of the château – kept in jars.³⁵⁰

The monkeys' interaction with the collection, though, was entirely mediated through the animals' senses, effects on the body that well-mannered members of cultured

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 51.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

society were trained to ignore. Do the monkeys demonstrate the incorrect way to enjoy or explore a collection? Certainly the *Grande Singerie*'s occupants were exposed to a myriad of other monkey figures – both living and representational – in their daily existence and were conditioned to see the clothed monkey figure as a comical trope that criticized people. When confronted by the monkeys of the *Grande Singerie* audiences, therefore, looked for a biting message. Indeed the animals' embodiment of the different senses could be seen as a warning or reminder of the correct, polite protocol. One could easily be overcome and give in to the beauty of the objects; cultural decorum, though, encouraged people to rise above the excitement of their senses. Mimi Hellman argues that an eighteenth-century individual's reaction to the objects she encounters in the social landscape defines her status in society. One could cave to the excitement of encountering beautiful, exciting objects; rather, one had to constantly exercise "self surveillance." Hellman explains that "the practices of containment, adjustment, and apparent ease" drove all proper, polite encounters with objects.³⁵¹ Fawning over the exquisite nature of objects was outside the bounds of polite behavior. A well-mannered individual maintained her artful, contrived presence and suppressed overt sensory reactions. The two panels in which children venerate monkeys suggest that those callers who do give into their sensory experiences and embrace a lifestyle akin to a monkey will only garner the attention of children, humans who have not grown into their fully rational selves.

Huet's painted monkeys in the *singerie* interiors of the Château de Chantilly, l'Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg, and the Château sur Marne inspired the correct form of participation in polite society. The little creatures did not outwardly reflect cultural ideals.

³⁵¹ Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France" in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 4 (Summer 1999), 435.

Rather, they were impolite animals that audiences could use to define themselves against and to construct their own public identity. Curiously, though, in the case of Huet's painted *singerie* cabinets, animals are instrumental in shaping human identities, the very same animals that eighteenth-century scholars and scientists emphatically distanced from humanity. Even though humans went to great lengths to differentiate themselves from the animal kingdom – perfecting artful behavior, donning fashionable clothing, executing highly practiced manners, and employing refined language –, the animal, in the form of artful representation, was a part of shaping elite human identity.

V. Monkeys in a Private Space

Members of polite eighteenth-century society certainly walked a fragile line when attempting to separate themselves from the broader world of mammals. Maintaining this difference was no easy task, for the navigation of sociable landscapes and participation in polite exchanges presented numerous opportunities for individuals to falter and expose their animality. Controlling one's physicality and disguising bodily functions were fundamental to successfully participating in the cultural landscape. Those acts that obviously revealed humanity's animal state – bathing, defecating, dressing, undressing, relaxing, and sexual intercourse, to only mention a few – were relegated to private rooms, separate from the *appartements de parade*, and often hidden from view. For women, boudoirs, the “most interior of interior rooms,” were the spaces that accommodated these behaviors.³⁵²

The English poet Jonathan Swift's satirical poem *The Lady's Dressing Room* (1732) references the numerous bodily acts that women perform in their boudoirs. In

³⁵² Joan Dejean, *The Age of Comfort: When Paris Discovered Casual – and the Modern Home Began* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009), 178-181.

Swift's poem the main character, Strephon, sneaks into his lover Celia's dressing room and the sights shock him to his core, for when he typically sees her, she is a "goddess Arrayed in lace, brocades and tissues." In the dressing room, though, Strephon finds soiled, smelly undergarments, oily combs, and basins where "she spits, and ... spews" and, consequently, sees her animal qualities. Swift sums up Strephon's encounter in the dressing room, stating:

Thus finishing his grand survey,
Disgusted Strephon stole away
Repeating in his amorous fits,
Oh! Celia, Celia, Celia shifts!³⁵³

Poor Strephon has lifted his beloved's veil and has seen her for what she actually is: a human body that performs biological functions. The dressing room, unlike the interiors along the formal enfilade, serves the human body and its animality. Smaller, fitted with fewer windows – sometimes with none –, and designed with limited access, this room protected its occupants when they were in their most vulnerable state.

The decoration of one boudoir in particular, the *Petite Singerie* at the Château of Chantilly, emphasizes this type of room's role as a space for a woman's animal-like behaviors.³⁵⁴ The *Petite Singerie* (fig. 128) is the smallest room in the private apartments and roughly measures 8 feet by 12 feet. In fact, this little room was essentially constructed inside a larger room; the boudoir is an independent interior that was sectioned off from the *garde-robe*, which lies on the other side of the *Petite Singerie's* interior walls. Around 1735 Huet completed the painted interior for Caroline de Hesse-

³⁵³ Jonathan Swift, "The Lady's Dressing Room" in *Poetical Works of Jonathan Swift, With a Life by Rev. John Mitford*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1879), 250-251.

³⁵⁴ In a collection of drawings made for the son of Catherine the Great, *Album du Comte du Nord*, the *Petite Singerie* is described as a boudoir. See: Garnier-Pelle, Forray-Carlier, and Anselm, 71.

Rheinfels (1714-1741), the second wife of Louis Henri.³⁵⁵ Based on current knowledge of the *singerie* tradition, it is difficult to determine if there were other boudoirs fitted with similar motifs or if this room at Chantilly is unique. Regardless, it presents a dramatic contrast to the other known *singerie* interiors; it defines a personal space and its monkeys execute their cultural behaviors with great refinement. The images, though, are still about humans and suggest that humanity's animality is never fully obscured. Beneath a person's sociable exterior, animality lingers and can be exposed without a moment's notice.

The monkeys of the *Petite Singerie* represent the same individuals who would be occupying the space: the duchess of Bourbon and her most intimate friends. Donning aristocratic fashions and pursuing the activities of "high society ladies" of Chantilly, the monkeys were visual surrogates for their audience.³⁵⁶ The six panel paintings that cover the room's three interior walls present she-monkeys hunting, picking cherries, taking a bath, playing cards, sledding on a frozen pond, and performing the daily toilette. The images contain details that relate the scenes to specific parts of daily life at the château, further cementing the associations between the viewers and monkey figures. In the hunting image, for example, the two mounted monkeys, wearing the colors of the House of Condé, approach a stone table similar to the many ceremonial tables scattered throughout the château's forest. Huet references the Grand Degré – Chantilly's great water work – in the sledding image, while alluding to one of the château's best-known

³⁵⁵ The duchess of Bourbon is also known as Princesse Caroline of Hesse-Rheinfels-Rotenburg. She married Louis Henri on 24 July 1728, during the time when the Duke was banished and commanded by Louis XV to remain at the Château of Chantilly. During his banishment, the Duke pursued many decorative improvements to the Château; he may have commissioned the *Petite* and *Grande Singeries* during this time.

³⁵⁶ Garnier-Pelle, Forray-Carlier, and Anselm, 72.

delicacies in the cherry-picking panel, Chantilly Cream. Huet certainly wanted his viewer to see her life at Chantilly spread across the interior.

The current scholarship on the *Petite Singerie* suggests that the panels depict activities corresponding to the seasons. While this is certainly true, I believe that the panels' subject matter also references the difficulties in hiding one's animality. The panel depicting the she-monkey hunters (fig. 185), reminds the viewer of the inescapable, biological need to consume food. The elegant monkeys, who confidently ride sidesaddle, approach a stone table, laid with wine, cheese, and sausage. The creature on the right gestures to the distance, as making plans for after the meal; for the time being, though, the ladies must take a break from the elegant ceremony of the hunt in order to nourish their bodies. Indeed, eating was a risky business that could readily reveal the crude, biological workings of the body. The pains of hunger, a natural function of the body, interrupt refined activities – such as hunting –, thereby revealing the contrived nature of those ceremonial behaviors.

The cherry-picking panel presents a precarious activity that could go terribly wrong for the monkeys and expose them as the animals they are (fig. 186). One animal, donning red-soled high heels, delicately balances on a ladder, while gracefully extending her arm to retrieve juicy, ripe cherries. She shows off the delicate S curve of her body and her artful form by elongating herself with a pointed toe and lifted pinky. At present, she is an image of controlled elegance; however, one false step on the ladder and she'll come tumbling down into a heap of unsightly chaos. Her companion, a monkey clothed in a pink sack gown, has neglected to arrange herself in a refined posture, and instead spreads her legs, rests her silver spoon on her knee, and stares off, lost in thought. Perhaps she

enjoys the Chantilly Cream a touch too much, thus losing control of her senses and forgetting proper decorum.

The card game and sledding panels (figs. 187 & 188) present pastimes in which people could lose a firm grasp on reason. Three monkeys – a male and two females – gather inside a well-lit salon around a wooden game table and play a game of cards. One she-monkey clutches her cards against her chest, while the others fan them out in front of themselves. Based on the arrangement of the deck, the monkeys are likely playing Brehan, a high-stakes game quite similar to modern-day poker.³⁵⁷ Brehan was a fast-paced game that involved bluffing, illusion, and rapid changes in fortune. Diderot describes it as “... the most terrifying yet most attractive” of all card games. He continues, noting that “... one cannot play it without becoming obsessed by it, and once taken with it one loses all taste for other games.”³⁵⁸ Undeniably, it was an addictive game that suspended its players in a state “between paranoia and euphoria.”³⁵⁹ According to many social critics – like the Catholic Church, Jean Barbeyrac (1674-1744), and Jean Joseph Dussault (1765-1850) – gambling sports like Brehan “threatened an individual’s sovereign exercise of reason.” In *De la Passion de Jeu* (1779), Dussault explains that a gambler is “a monster whose actions defy rational analysis.”³⁶⁰ Around the card table, one certainly risked descending into an animal-like state, devoid of reason and intellect.

³⁵⁷ For a clear description of Brehan and its rules, see: Kavanagh, “The Libertine’s Bluff: Cards and Culture in Eighteenth-Century France” in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 33, No. 4 (Summer 2000): 508-511.

³⁵⁸ “Il est difficile d’y jouer sans en prendre la fureur; & quand on en est possédé, on ne peut plus supporter d’autres jeux.” In *L’Encyclopédie*, 2: 411.

³⁵⁹ Kavanagh, “The Libertine’s Bluff,” 511.

³⁶⁰ Kavanagh, *Enlightenment and the Shadows of Chance: The Novel and the Culture of Gambling in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993): 36. Jennifer D. Milam discusses the alarming aspects of gambling in eighteenth-century France, identifying the fear of losing

Skating and sledding, like swinging, were destabilizing activities that temporarily suspended a person's balance and order.³⁶¹ One wrong move and a skater could lose all physical control and end up flat on her face, like in Fragonard's *L'Hiver* (fig. 94). In Huet's winter scene the viewer gazes upon a group of elegantly muffed she-monkeys, seated cozily inside a golden sled (fig. 188). A monkey gentleman, perched on the back, steers the vehicle and whips the horse, pushing the animal faster. Not only are the aristocratic monkeys on unpredictable ice but also their movement depends upon a hoofed animal that is likely unaccustomed to trotting across a frozen pond. While gliding effortlessly among a winter wonderland was an exquisite backdrop for displaying one's artful body, things could go awry; one could slip, fall through the ice, or spin out of control.

Huet's bathing and toilette images (figs. 189 & 190) remind his audience of the great amount of work that went into perfecting the sociable body and preparing it for public display. When describing potpourri vessels, Mimi Hellman notes that throughout the century "bodily odor was increasingly considered socially unacceptable," thereby requiring immersion bathing.³⁶² Body orders drew attention to the physical body hidden beneath fashionable clothing, polite manners, and artful behavior; a nasty smell revealed the very thing that one attempted to hide. In Huet's painting, the viewer sees a monkey kicking off her red-heeled shoes and climbing into a copper bathtub with the assistance of a well-dressed monkey servant. One can identify several accouterment used in the

control as the primary malady. *Jeux champêtres*, according to Milam, were promoted as a healthier, more rational alternative. See: 35-37.

³⁶¹ For an analysis of the destabilizing quality of swinging in eighteenth-century France, see: Milam, 52-70.

³⁶² Hellman, "Domesticity Undone: Three Historical Spaces" in *Undomesticated Interiors*, ed. Linda Muehlig (Northampton: Smith College Museum of Art, 2003), 20.

bathing process: smoking potpourri containers, ceramics holding soaps and oils, a bidet with a sponge, and a warmer. Many of these objects were likely found among the actual furniture of the *Petite Singerie*, especially the bidet.³⁶³ Like the monkey rendered on the wall, the Duchess de Bourbon would wash her body and surround herself with thick aromas, obscuring the smells that would draw attention to her stinking body.

In Huet's toilette panel (fig. 190), the viewer can clearly pinpoint the aristocratic monkey, identifiable by her red heels, seated at the toilette table. Formally, Huet draws attention to the many objects needed to complete the toilette and prepare a woman for the day. The red lacquered *service de toilette* immediately arrests the viewer's gaze as it stands out against the blues of the interior. One of the aristocratic monkey's attendants wears a red-sleeved dress that links her to the lacquered accessories and reinforces her role in helping the mistress craft her elegant appearance. The other attendant, hunched over and seated on a stool, trims the mistress's claws, transforming her paws into soft, artful forms. The clock above the monkeys reports that it is almost twelve o'clock, time for the lady's public toilette with an audience to begin. There are two empty benches flanking the *table de toilette*, which are ready for the mistress's callers. The first toilette was where the real work began, dressing the aristocratic woman and transforming her into a tasteful state that was appropriate for receiving visitors and competing the dressing ritual. By referencing the two toilettes, Huet emphasizes the multiple phases in crafting one's public persona. Indeed all the steps of the toilette – perfecting a hairstyle, trimming nails, powdering the face, washing, affixing jewelry, putting on the multiple layers of

³⁶³ Katherine Arpen analyzes the many accouterments of bathing and bodily care in "Pleasure and The Body: The Bath in Eighteenth-Century French Art and Architecture" PhD diss. (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2015), especially chapters 3 and 4.

clothing – obscures the woman’s animal traits and transforms her into an artful, polished being.

Each of Huet’s painted panels presents an opportunity for the monkey to expose its true nature as an animal; consequently, the artistic representations remind the viewer of the pressure to maintain her own public persona. In Huet’s panels, the viewer finds clothed aristocratic beings, pursuing polite behaviors in a correct manner, but that aristocrat is a monkey at its core. It seems, then, that in the *Petite Singerie*, Huet suggests that despite all the manners, fashion, and social codes, the human is always an animal at his/her core. The animal nature of humanity is ready to show itself at any moment the polite guise might falter. Certainly the boudoir was the only appropriate place to express this idea, for it was in this interior that an individual both exposed her animal nature and crafted a disguise of manners to cover that animality. In the *Petite Singerie*, Huet boldly destroys the human/animal binary and forces his viewer to confront the reality of her condition; the animal is forever part of polite, human identity.

Huet’s painted *singerie* interiors are incredibly complex and powerful spaces that encouraged their original occupants to contemplate their place within the natural and sociable, cultural world. The visual record, in addition to philosophical and scientific discourse on monkeys, race, and sociability in eighteenth-century France, informs the modern viewer that during this time, polite society linked groups and individuals who did not uphold social standards with monkeys. Similar to the period’s understanding of simians, social outcasts were humorously similar but fundamentally distinct from the ideal form of humanity. Those who were identified as behaving badly or stupidly, outside

the bounds of reason – such as the duc de Richelieu, Madame de Pompadour, and academicians who drew the female form from male models – were sentenced to being artistically rendered as monkeys. Guélard’s poem at the beginning of Huet’s engraving series, dedicated “Au Public,” more boldly establishes a connection between people behaving badly and representations of the monkey; Guélard instructs his viewer to see the animal’s actions in relation to her own.

When entering one of Huet’s *singerie* rooms, viewers would certainly be conditioned to see depictions of monkeys as critical of people who neglect to uphold social values. Rendered in interiors that hosted social displays – games, conversation, and consumption of exotic beverages – and actions that readied an individual for those displays – bathing, defecating, and dressing – Huet’s monkeys were rather threatening images that reminded a viewer what could happen if she neglected to embody and uphold polite, cultural ideals; if she faltered, lost control of herself, and exposed her animal-like traits, she could be condemned to monkeyhood. Huet’s artful representations of simian creatures acted as *conseillers*, inspiring their beholders to act wisely. In so doing, the animal becomes intimately entwined with the proper performance and display of polite humanity.

CONCLUSION

By the end of the eighteenth century, the term “animal” covered a range of meanings, as Jean-François Féraud demonstrates in his *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française* (1787-1788) where animals are:

Beings composed of an organized body and a sensitive soul. Anything that has life, feeling and movement. It is a being that feels, that is capable of performing the duties of life. “Man is a reasonable animal”; ANIMAL, the first is a generic term that suits all organic, living beings. The animal lives, acts, and moves himself. Beast is often taken by opposition to man. “The man has a soul, but Cartesians say that beasts are not accorded one.” Brute is a term of contempt, which is used to describe bad things. “He lives like the brute.” We insulted him by calling him an animal, a clumsy man, a rude man, a stupid man.³⁶⁴

Although in Féraud’s *Dictionnaire* the term “animal” is both broad and multivalent in its inclusion of all beings that could feel sensations and perform “the duties of life,” reason set humankind apart from other animals. Those who failed to embody this trait or who did not live in a way that revealed humanity’s distinction and superiority, however, were relegated to the status of the general population of animals. Ideally, humans were graceful, civilized, and rational, while animals were “clumsy,” “rude,” and “stupid.”

This dissertation, however, has demonstrated that the “human” and “animal” were interrelated not only as categories but also as sentient beings. Animals played a vital role in aristocratic acts of social civility and expressions of selfhood. In eighteenth-century France, like today, there were multiple iterations of the animal. Brutes were not just

³⁶⁴ “Être, composé d'un corps organisé et d'une âme sensitive. *Acad.* Tout ce qui a vie, sentiment et mouvement. *Trév.* Être qui a du sentiment, et qui est capable d'exercer les fonctions de la vie ... ‘L'homme est un *animal* raisonnable.’ ... Le 1^{er} est un terme générique, qui convient à tous les êtres organisés vivants. *L'animal* vit, agit, se meut de lui-même. *Bête* se prend souvent par opposition à l'homme. “L'homme a une âme, mais les Cartésiens n'en accordent point aux *Bêtes*. — *Brute* est un terme de mépris, qui ne s'applique qu'en mauvaise part. ‘Il vit comme la *brute*.’ On appelle par injure *animal*, un homme lourdaut, grossier, stupide.” In *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française*.

living, breathing creatures; rather, they were also companions, food, clothing, and exemplars of how not to appear. In the various forms of *compagnie*, *cuisine*, *couture*, and *conseillers*, animals appeared in, contributed to, and witnessed the lived expression of polite society's daily rituals. They were endowed with great symbolic meaning in daily, human life and were not easily seen as merely the antithesis of the human. Brutes were not simply "clumsy," "rude," or irrational, "stupid" beings. In the context of polite, aristocratic interiors, animals became creatures that straddled the worlds of nature and culture, wildness and refinement, animal and human.

As *compagnie* animals became their master's intimate friends and components of their identity. As we saw in chapter one, Mimi and Inès, Madame de Pompadour's pet spaniels, inhabited the worlds of nature and culture by expressing their own innate, biological feelings of fidelity and their mistress's capacity to be a desirable friend. By owning the animals and picturing herself with them, Pompadour smartly engaged the period's philosophical and scientific understanding of dogs to create and recreate her identity. The animals highlighted Pompadour's noble character traits and played a fundamental role in the legitimization of her presence as the King's political advisor and the Queen's *dame de palais de Reine*. The dogs, appearing alongside Pompadour at court and in the visual world of representation, became so well known and widely associated with Louis XV's favorite that Mimi and Inès could evoke Pompadour in her absence.

Around the table as *cuisine*, animals nourished the human body and shaped diners' behaviors. The act of eating threatened an individual's refined identity, as eating was a physical act that drew attention to one's biological body and animal nature. Under the tutelage of masters of manners, elites devoted considerable time to perfecting artful

behaviors that obscured biological, animal-like acts. Decorous identities certainly depended on the animal, as brutes served as foils against which people crafted polite conduct. Whereas animals lacked rational control over their bodies, self-discipline and regulation formed the basis of polite human manners. Undeniably, polite diners were anxious about revealing their animal nature, and François-Pierre Brain de Ste. Marie's illuminated menus from *Voyages du Roy au château de Choisy avec les logements de la Cour et les menus de la Table de Sa Majesté* embody that anxiety. The menus simultaneously allude to the frightful, animalistic exploits that went into preparing a meal and the regularized rituals – of cooking, meal service, and eating practices – that imposed order and worked to obscure the brutish acts associated with consumption. All these attempts to hide and to suppress biological behaviors, however, mattered little in relation to the period's interpretation of the digestive process. As diners consumed artfully cooked animal flesh, their bodies absorbed that of the animal. Animal bodies indeed played a major role in civilized, polite eating.

As fashionable fur accessories or *couture* objects, animals were instrumental in the visual expression of social identity. Fur objects retained their connection to the animal body and natural world. These associations endowed the material with great symbolic potential, and it became a medium through which humans could express their animality, social organization, and exoticism. *Manchons*, for example, came to symbolize the female sex organ, and several artists presented these objects as indexical signs of sexual availability, maturity, and potency. In the world of representation, fur muffs invited viewers to consider the physiological acts common to both people and animals. Animal pelts also served as a sartorial organizer of society; types of fur used in fashionable

garments indicated the wearer's social standing and relationship to French culture. In this iteration of the animal, the brute conveys information about individuals' sexual, social, and cultural identities, thereby muddling the clear distinction between nature and culture. Animal bodies expressed the organization of eighteenth-century French society.

For eighteenth-century audiences, the monkeys in Christophe Huet's *singerie* prints and interiors acted as *consillers*, shaping and guiding human actions. Simians occupied a complex place within the eighteenth-century French world, as they were concurrently fascinating creatures that resembled people and disgusting, irrational animals that were nothing like humans. Monkeys were simultaneously relatable and repulsive. In the visual arts monkeys became a satirical device that mocked those who did not embody the ideals of rational, polite civilization. By the time Huet rendered his monkeys on the walls of salons, audiences were conditioned to see representations of simians as critical comments on humanity. The ill-behaved and the sensually stimulated simians illuminated what became of a society that neglected to regulate itself and ignored social ideals. These crude creatures inspired occupants of *singerie* interiors to behave politely. Indeed, the she-monkeys in Chantilly's *Petite Singerie* remind viewers always to control their behaviors and to remember that beneath the mask of fashion and sociable manners, rested an animal, waiting to appear. The monkeys in Huet's *singeries* straddle the realms of human and animal; but in accordance with scientific texts describing the biological monkey, Huet's painted simians do not behave properly in human society, yet the simians' actions encouraged ideal, polite behaviors central to the refined world of the French aristocracy.

Humans were not so distinctive from the animal kingdom at large, as brutes were surprisingly fundamental to humanity's expression of that difference. Animals – creatures that were “clumsy,” “rude,” and irrational – were instrumental to eighteenth-century French displays of grace, civility, and reason. *Manchons* and companion animals were devices that people used to display grace and civility; *nouvelle cuisine*, which exemplified humanity's intellect, was made of animal bodies; the similarities between people and animals inspired graceful dining rituals; fashionable animal pelts, accessories that marked civility and refinement, pointed towards the impulses humanity shared with brutes; fur garments expressed membership, exteriority, and position within civilized society; and simians and their irrational acts stirred people to act politely. In these encounters, the categories of humans and animals were interwoven and indistinguishable. In eighteenth-century France, like today, humans and animals truly lived together.

FIGURES



Figure 1: Cesare Ripa, *Fidelity*, from *Iconologia overo Descrittione Dell'imagini Universali cavate dall'Antichità et da altri luoghi*, ca. 1603.



Figure 2: François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour*, 1756,
Oil on Canvas, 201 x 157 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



Figure 3: François Boucher, *Madame de Pompadour*, 1759, Oil on Canvas, 91 x 68 cm, Wallace Collection, London.



Figure 4: François-Hubert Drouais, *Mme de Pompadour at her Tambour Frame*, 1763-1764, Oil on Canvas, 217 x 156.8 cm, National Gallery, London.



Figure 5: Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Swing*, 1757, Oil on Canvas, 81 X 64.2 cm, Wallace Collection, London.



Figure 6: Detail of Fragonard, *The Swing* (fig. 5).



Figure 7: Francois-Robert Ingouf, after Sigmund Freudenberg, *La soiree d'hyver*, 1744, Engraving, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 8: Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Les biens viennent tous ensemble*, c. 1758, Watercolor, Ink, and Graphite, 18.7 x 13.2 cm, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire.



Figure 9: Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *Madame de Pompadour en Amitié*, 1750-3, Marble, 166.5 x 62.8 x 55.5 cm, Musée de Louvre, Paris.



Figure 10: Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, *L'Amour embrassant l'Amitié*, 1758, Marble, 142 x 80.8 x 77 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 11: Madame la Marquise de Pompadour after François Boucher, "Plate 42: La Fidelle Amitié," from *Suite d'estampes d'après les pierres gravées de Guay graveur du Roi*, c. 1753, Engraving, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 12: Detail of Pompadour, "Plate 42: La Fidelle Amitié" (fig. 11).

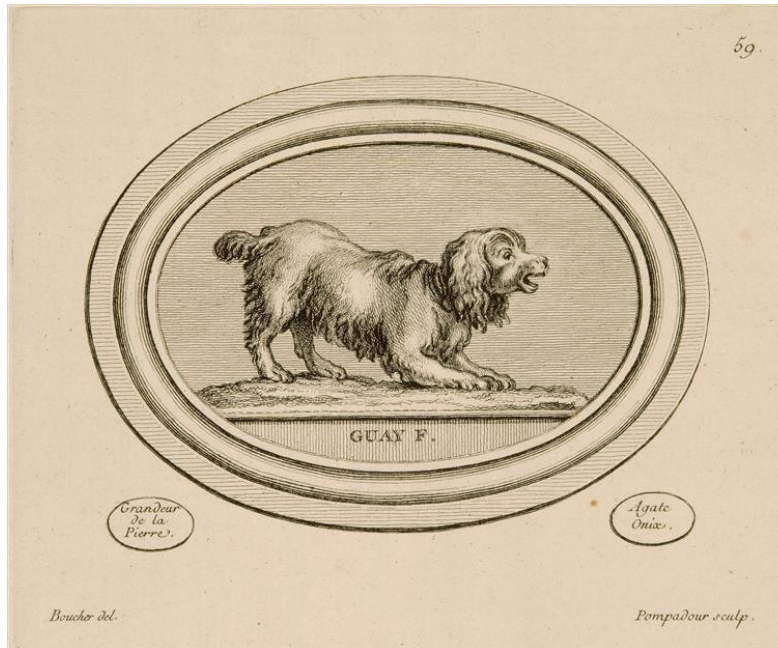


Figure 13: Madame la Marquise de Pompadour after François Boucher, "Plate 59: Un Chien," from *Suite d'estampes d'après les pierres gravées de Guay graveur du Roi*, c.1753, Engraving, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

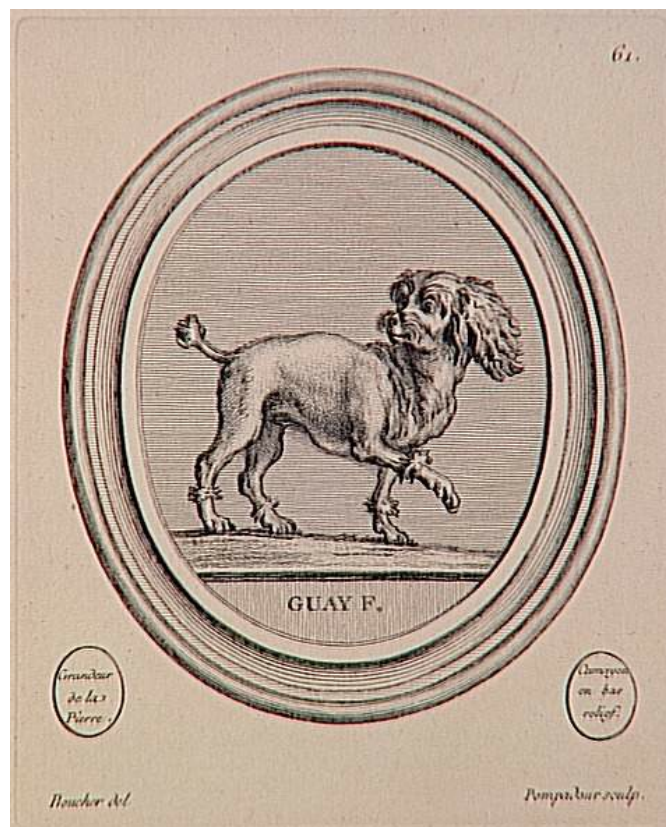


Figure 14: Madame la Marquise de Pompadour after François Boucher, "Plate 61: Un Chien," from *Suite d'estampes d'après les pierres gravées de Guay graveur du Roi*, c.1753, Engraving, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 15: Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *Misse and Luttine*, 1729,
Oil on Canvas, 97.8 x 131.5 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 16: Étienne Fessard after Christophe Huet, *La Fidelité: Portrait de Inès*, c. 1756, Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collections d'Estampes, Paris.



Figure 17: Étienne Fessard after Christophe Huet, *La Constance: Portrait de Mimi*, c. 1756, Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collections d'Estampes, Paris.



Figure 18: Christophe Huet, *Portrait of Mimi*, c. 1750, Oil on Canvas, 81.3 x 100.3 cm, Private Collection.



Figure 19: *L'Epagneul*, from the Comte de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, Vol. IV, 1749-1788, Engraving.



Figure 20: *Bichon*, from the Comte de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, Vol. IV 1749-1788, Engraving.



Figure 21: *Le Grand Danois*, from the Comte de Buffon's *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, Vol. IV, 1749-1788, Engraving.



Figure 22: François Guérin, *Madame de Pompadour et sa fille, Alexandrine*, c. 1755, Drawing, Private Collection.



Figure 23: Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Good Mother*, Eighteenth Century, Oil on Canvas, 65.1 x 54.0, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 24: Detail of Fragonard, *The Good Mother* (fig. 23).



Figure 25: Claude I Sené, *Dog Kennel*, 1775-80, Gilded beech and Pine, Silk and Velvet, 78.1 x 54.6 x 21.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 26: Dog Collar with the inscription: "*À Mr Deruault de St. Christophe,*" Eighteenth Century, Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, Paris.



Figure 27: Jean-Paul Morel, *Dié Gendrier*, 1759, Pastel on Blue Paper, 59.1 x 49.8 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 28: Joseph-Stiffred Duplessis, *Portrait of Madame Freret Déricour*, 1769, Oil on Canvas, 81.28 x 64.77 cm, Nelson Atkins Museum, Kansas City.



Figure 29: Louise Élisabeth Vigée Lebrun, *Marie Antoinette and her Children*, 1787, Oil on Canvas, 275 x 215 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 30: François André Vincent, *Portrait of Mother and Child*, 1782, Oil on Canvas, 78.74 x 66.04 cm, Private Collection.



Figure 31: Henri Gascard, *Madame de Montespan reclining in front of the Hall of Château de Clagny*, c.1670, Oil on Canvas, 222x 318 cm, Private Collection.



Figure 32: Jean-Frédéric Schall, *The Beloved Portrait*, 1783, Oil on Panel, Private Collection.



Figure 33: Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *A Woman with a Dog*, c. 1769, Oil on Canvas, 81.3 x 65.4 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 34: Carrogis Louis Carmontelle, *Madame la comtesse de Rochechouart*, 1759, Watercolor, Gouache and Lead, 27 x 17 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly.



Figure 35: Antoine Vestier, *Madame Vestier with her Child at her Feet*, Eighteenth Century, Oil on Canvas, 176 x 134 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 36: William Hogarth, *The Painter and his Pug*, 1745, Oil on Canvas, 90 x 69.9 cm, Tate Britain, London.



Figure 37: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Lundi 21 Juin 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 38: Octavien François, *Le déjeuner à la campagne*, Eighteenth Century, Oil on Canvas, 137 x 106 cm, Musée Jeanne d'Aboville, La Fère.



Figure 39: Carle van Loo, *The Hunt Breakfast*, ca. 1737, Oil on Canvas, 59.1 x 49.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 40: Van Loo, Detail of *The Hunt Breakfast* (fig. 39).



Figure 41: *Repas servi sur une Terrasse*, Late-Eighteenth Century, Print, 25 x 17 cm, Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée, Marseille.

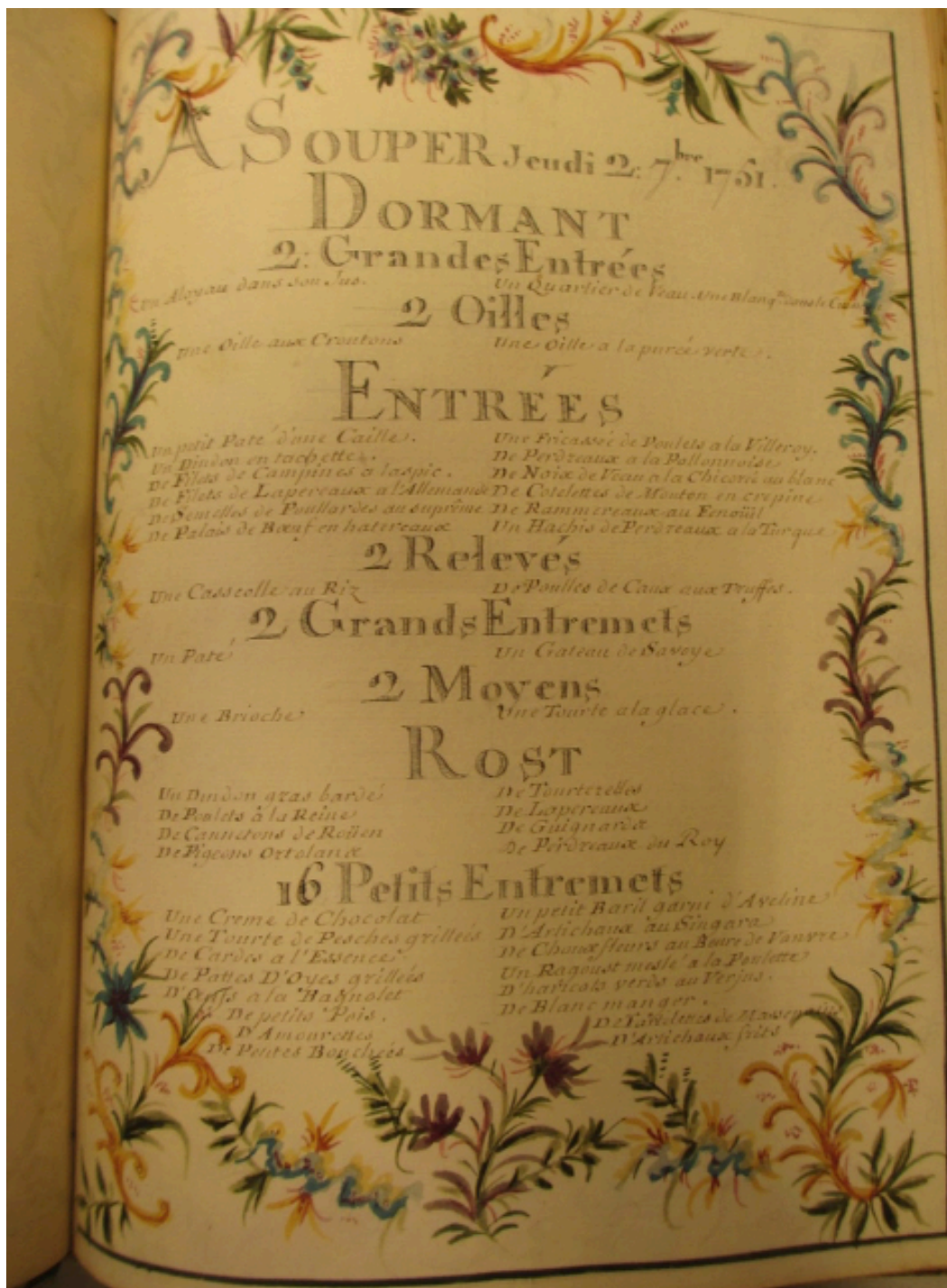


Figure 42: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Jeudi 2 7bre," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 43: Plate I of the “Boucher” entry in *L'Encyclopédie*, Second Half of Eighteenth Century, Engraving.

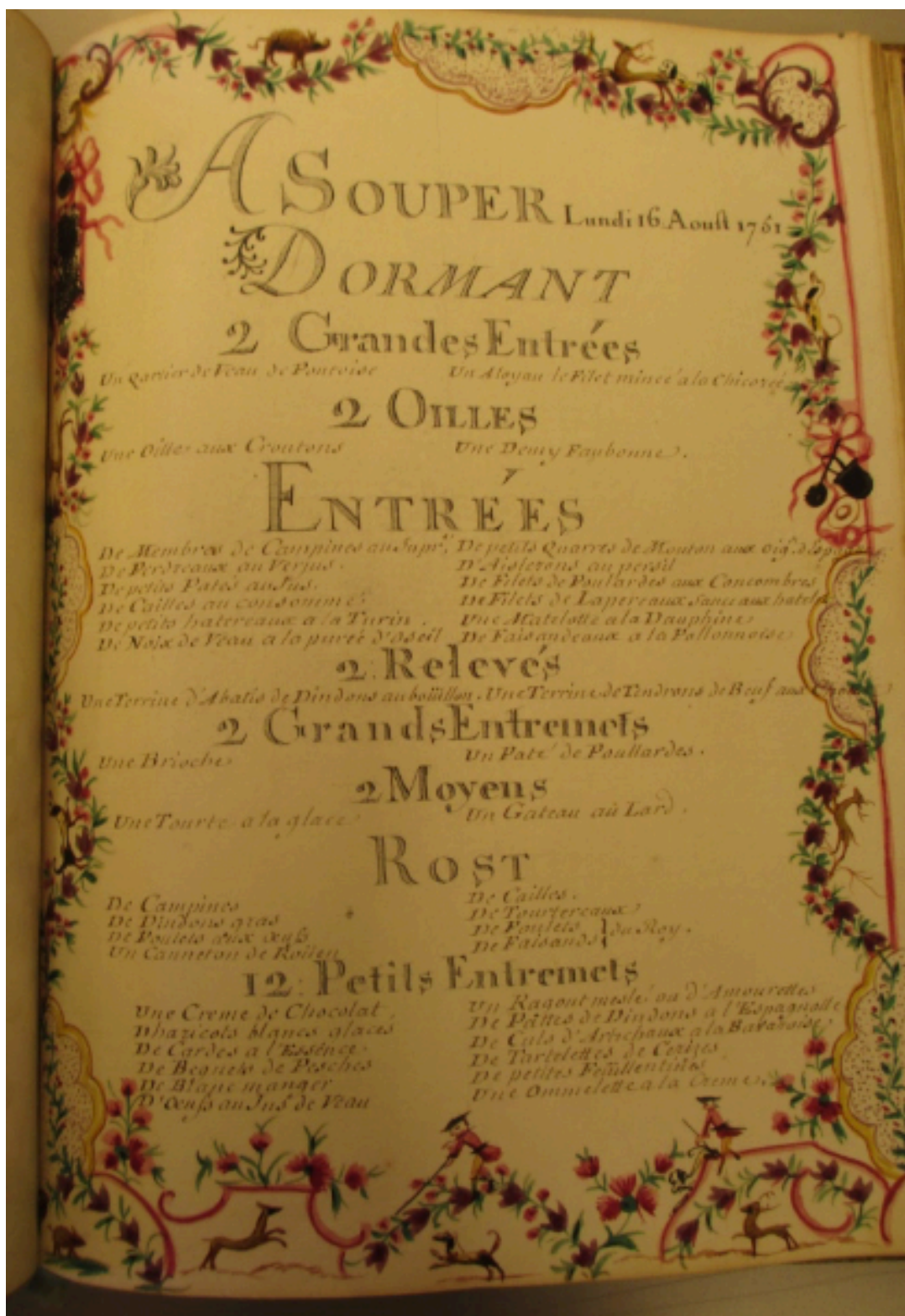


Figure 44: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Lundi 16 Aoust 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

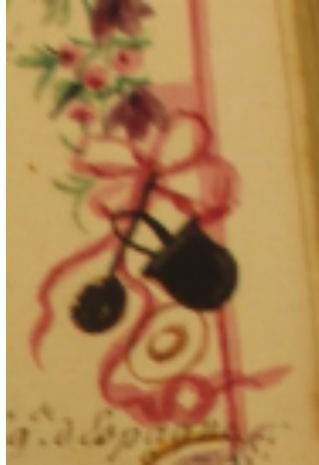


Figure 45: Sainte Marie, Detail of “Lundi 16 Aoust 1751” (fig. 44).



Figure 46: Jeaurat Étienne, *Intérieur de cuisine*, Eighteenth Century, Oil on Canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans.



Figure 47: Jacques Gamelin, *Intérieur de cuisine*, Late-Eighteenth Century, Oil on Wood, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Carcassonne.



Figure 48: “Galère, ce que c’est” from Menon’s *Traité historique et pratique de la cuisine*, Tome III, page 385, 1758, Library of Congress, Washington , D.C.

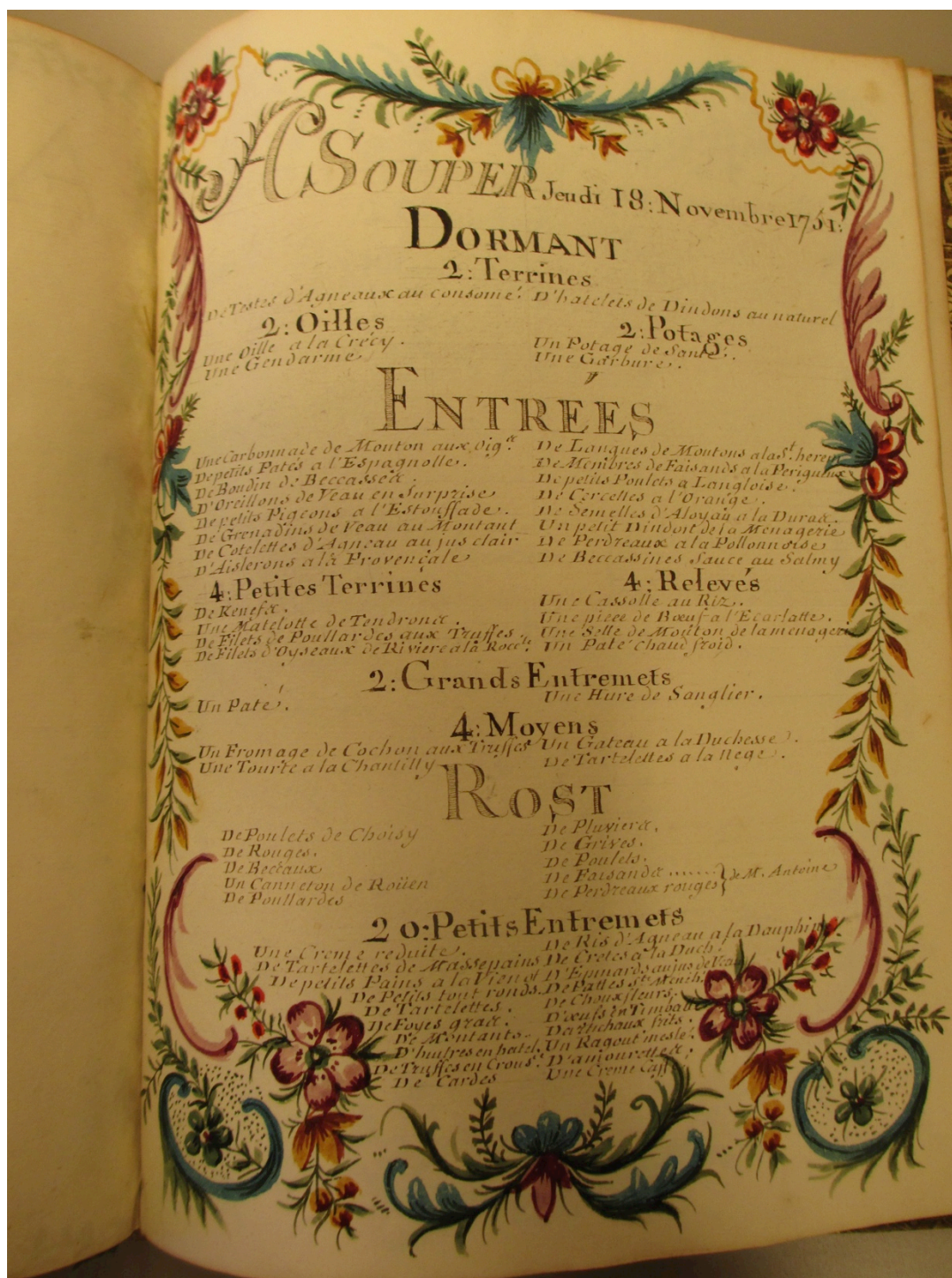


Figure 49: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Jeudi 18 Novembre 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

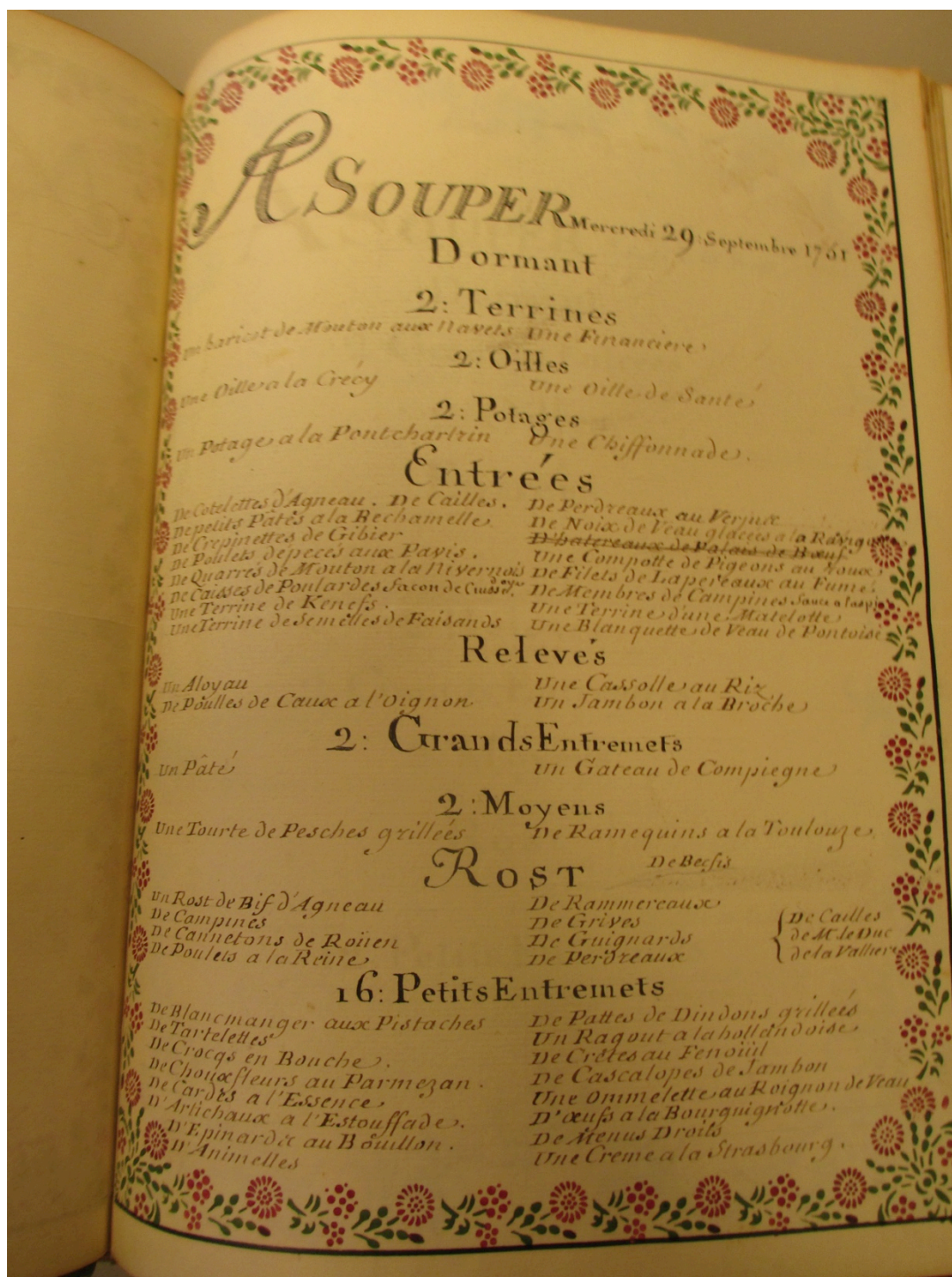


Figure 50: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Mercredi 29 Septembre 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

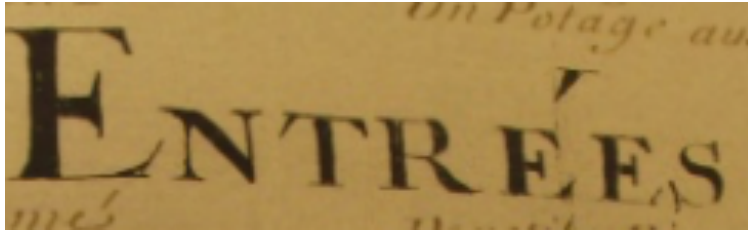


Figure 51: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, detail of “Mardi 28 Septembre 1751,” From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

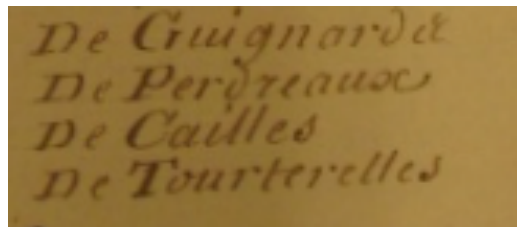


Figure 52: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, detail of “Mardi 28 Septembre 1751,” From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

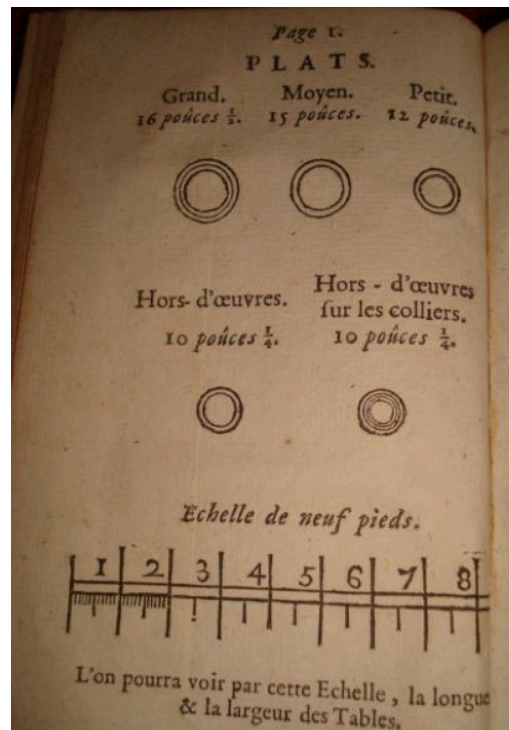


Figure 53: “Plats” from François Massialot’s, *Le Nouveau Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois*, Tome 1, page 1, 1735, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

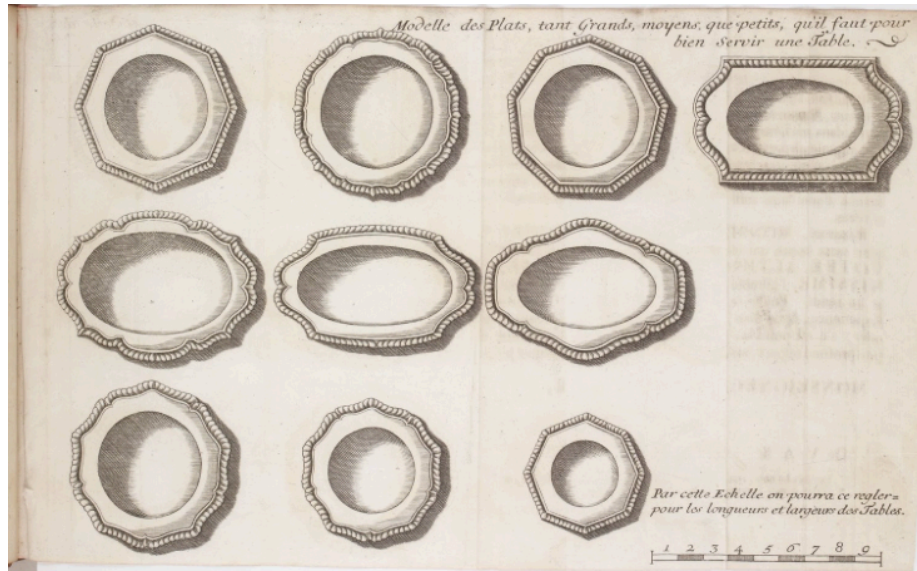


Figure 54: "Modelle des Plats, tant Grands, moyens, que petits, qu'il faut pour bien servir une Table" in Vincent La Chapelle's *Le Cuisinier Moderne*, Tome I, 1735, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 55: Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *Le Forhu à la fin de la curée*, 1746, 340 x 280 cm, Oil on Canvas, Château de Fontainebleau, Fontainebleau.

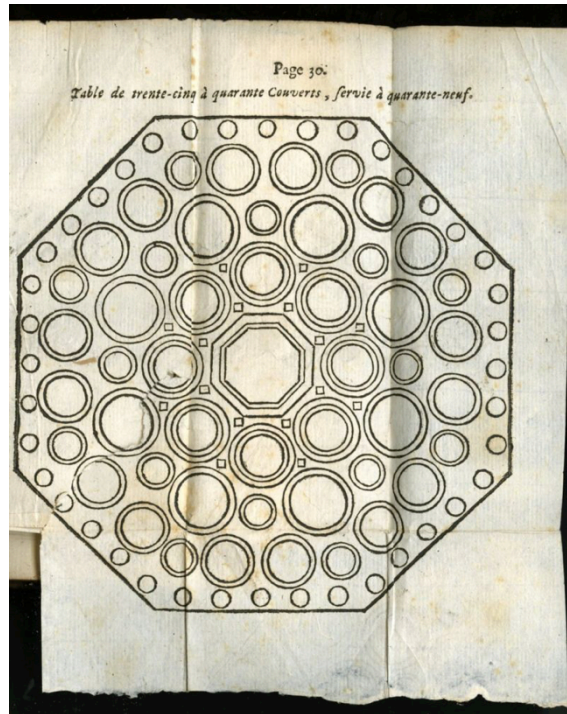
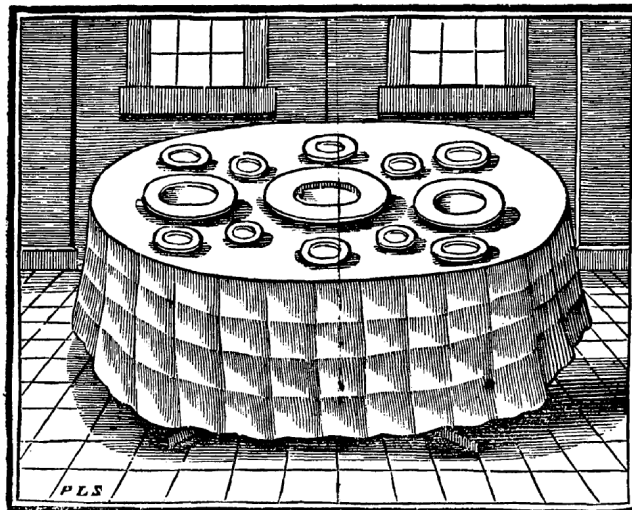


Figure 56: "Table de trente-cinq à quarante couverts, Servie à quarante-neuf," in François Massialot, *Le Nouveau Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois*, Tome I, Page 22, 1735, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Modele pour une Table de quatorze à quinze Couverts, servie⁵
à un grand Plat, deux moiens, six petits, & quatre Assiettes.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 57: "Modele pour une Table de quatorze à quinze Couverts, servie à un grand Plat, deux moiens, six petits, & quatre Assiettes" in François Massialot, *Le Cuisinier royal et bourgeois*, Page 5, 1705, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

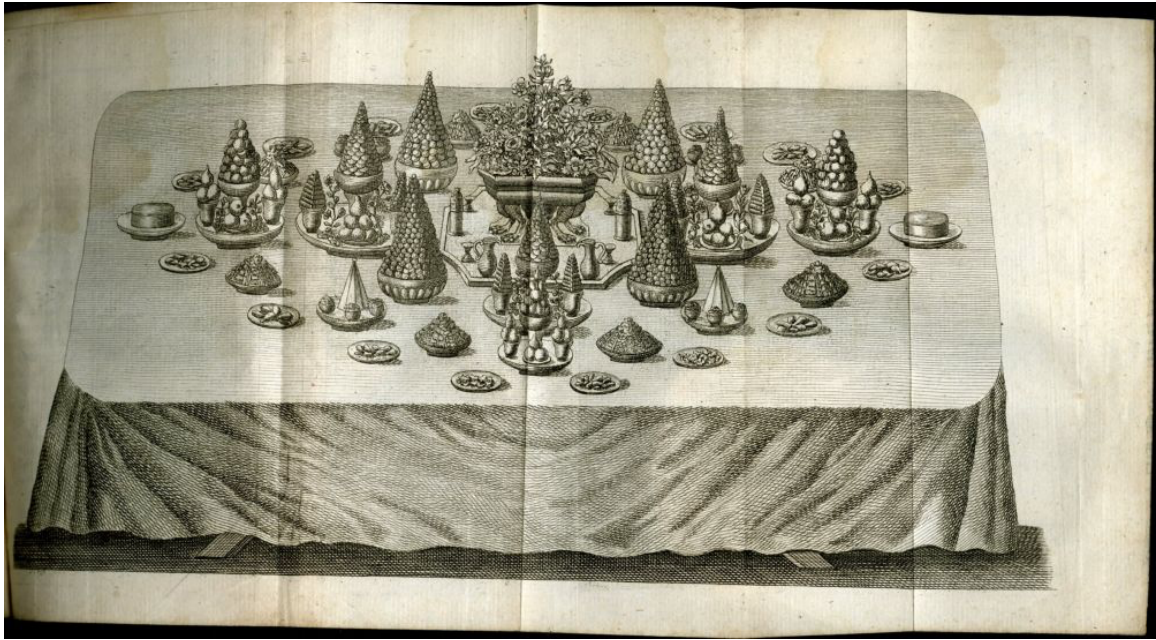
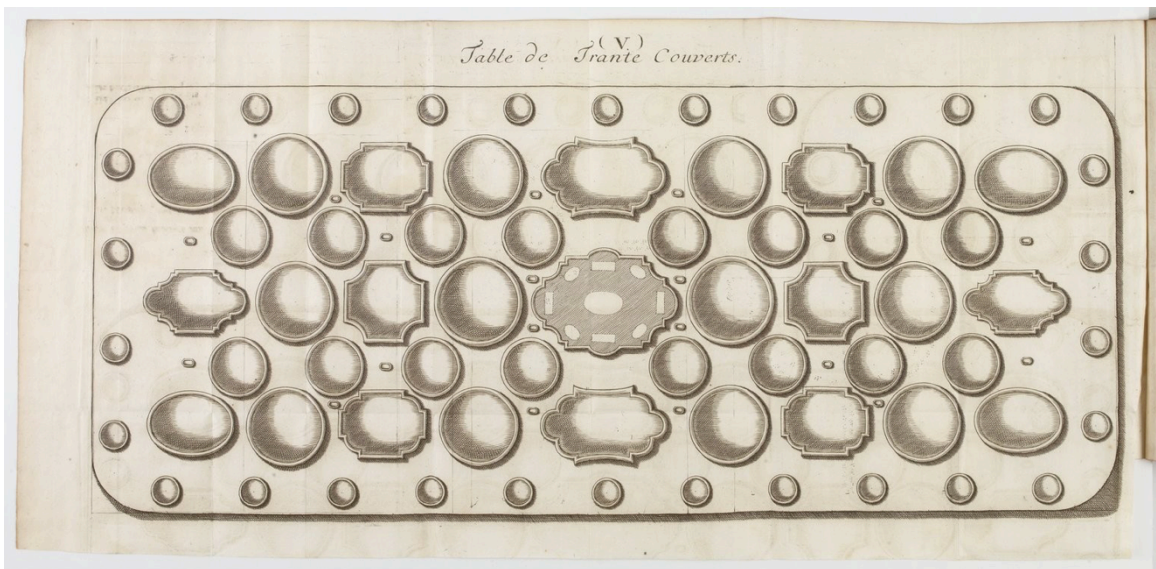


Figure 58: From François Massialot, *Le Confiturier Royal, ou Nouvelle Instruction pour les Confitures, Les Liqueurs et les Fruits*, Fourth Edition, 1765.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 59: “Table de Trante Couverts” in Vincent La Chapelle’s *Le Cuisiner Moderne*, Tome IV, page V, 1735, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

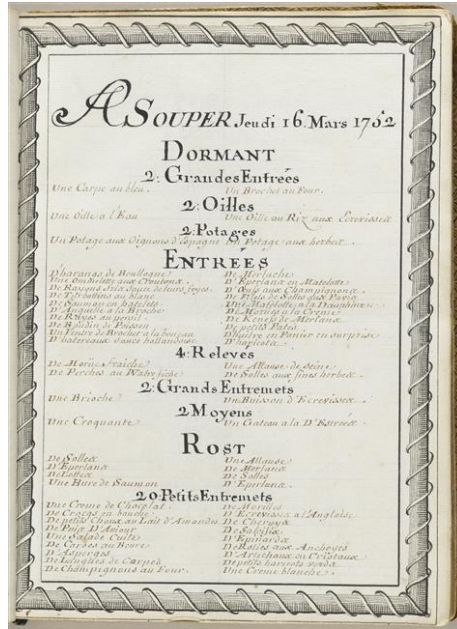


Figure 60: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Jeudi 16 Mars 1752,” From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

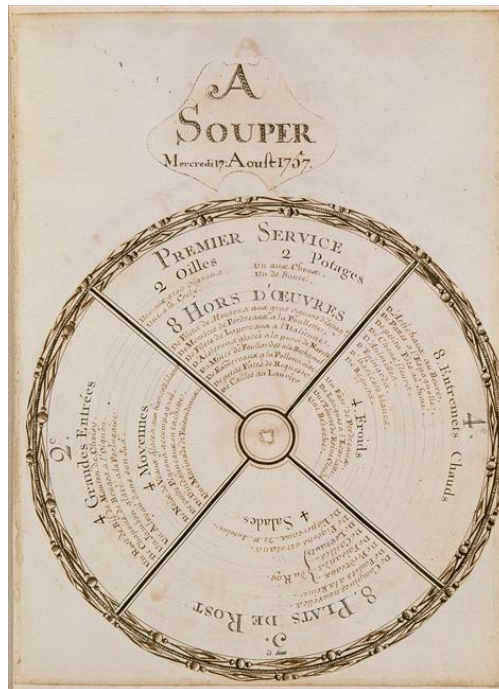


Figure 61: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, “Mercredi 17 Aoust 1757,” From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 62: *Carte de la forêt de Sénart*, 1742-43, Oil on Canvas, 4.25 x 3.2 m, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Department des Cartes et Plans, Paris.



Figure 63: Detail of *Carte de la forêt de Sénart* (fig. 62).

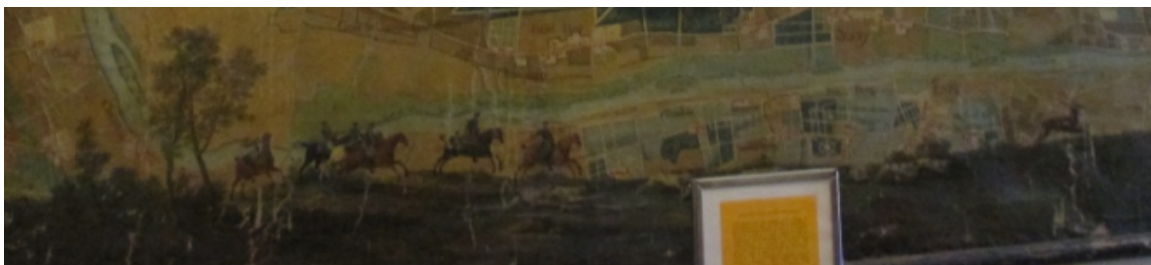


Figure 64: Detail of *Carte de la forêt de Sénart* (fig. 62).

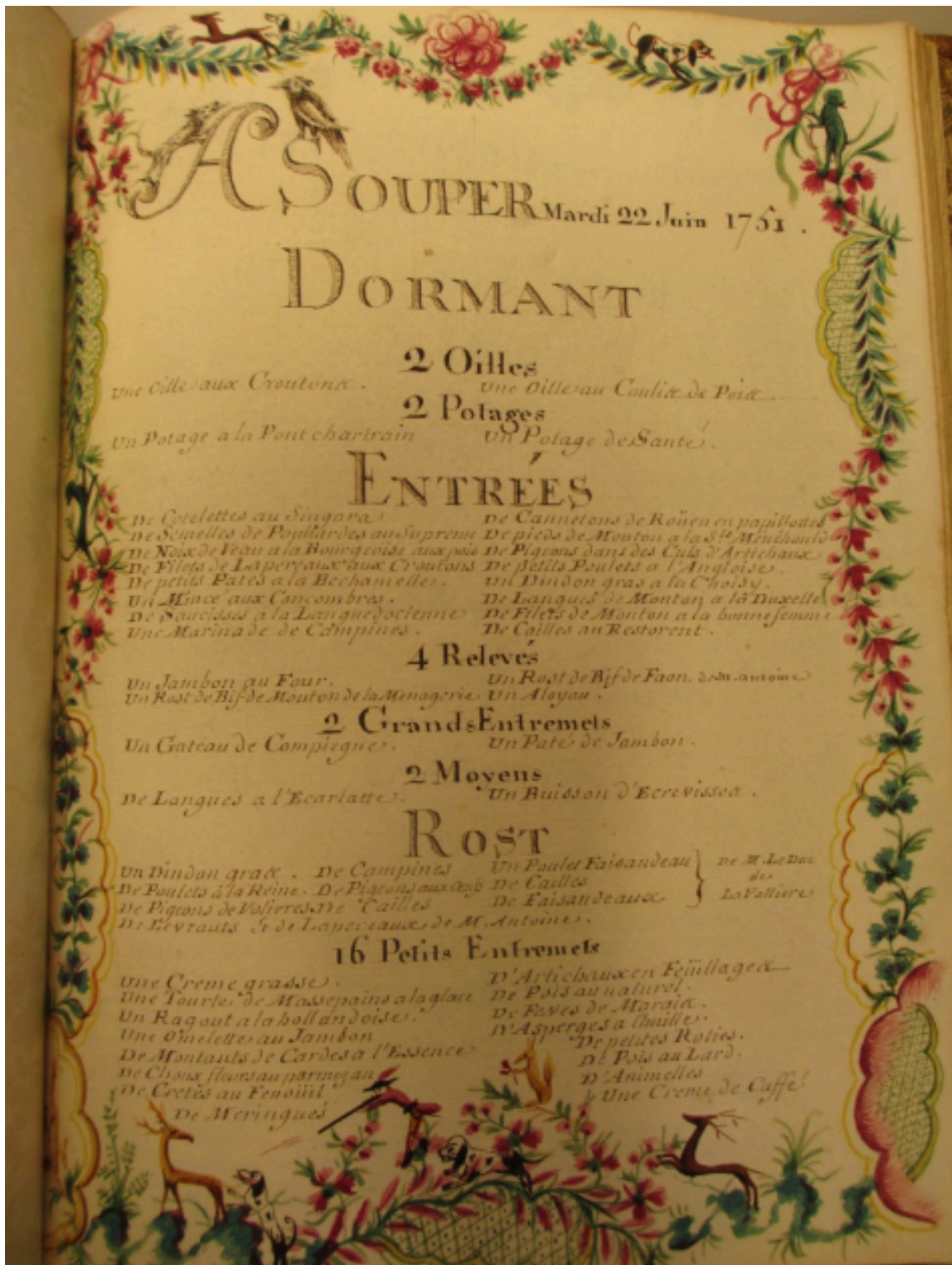


Figure 65: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Mardi 22 Juin 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté* – Année 1751, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

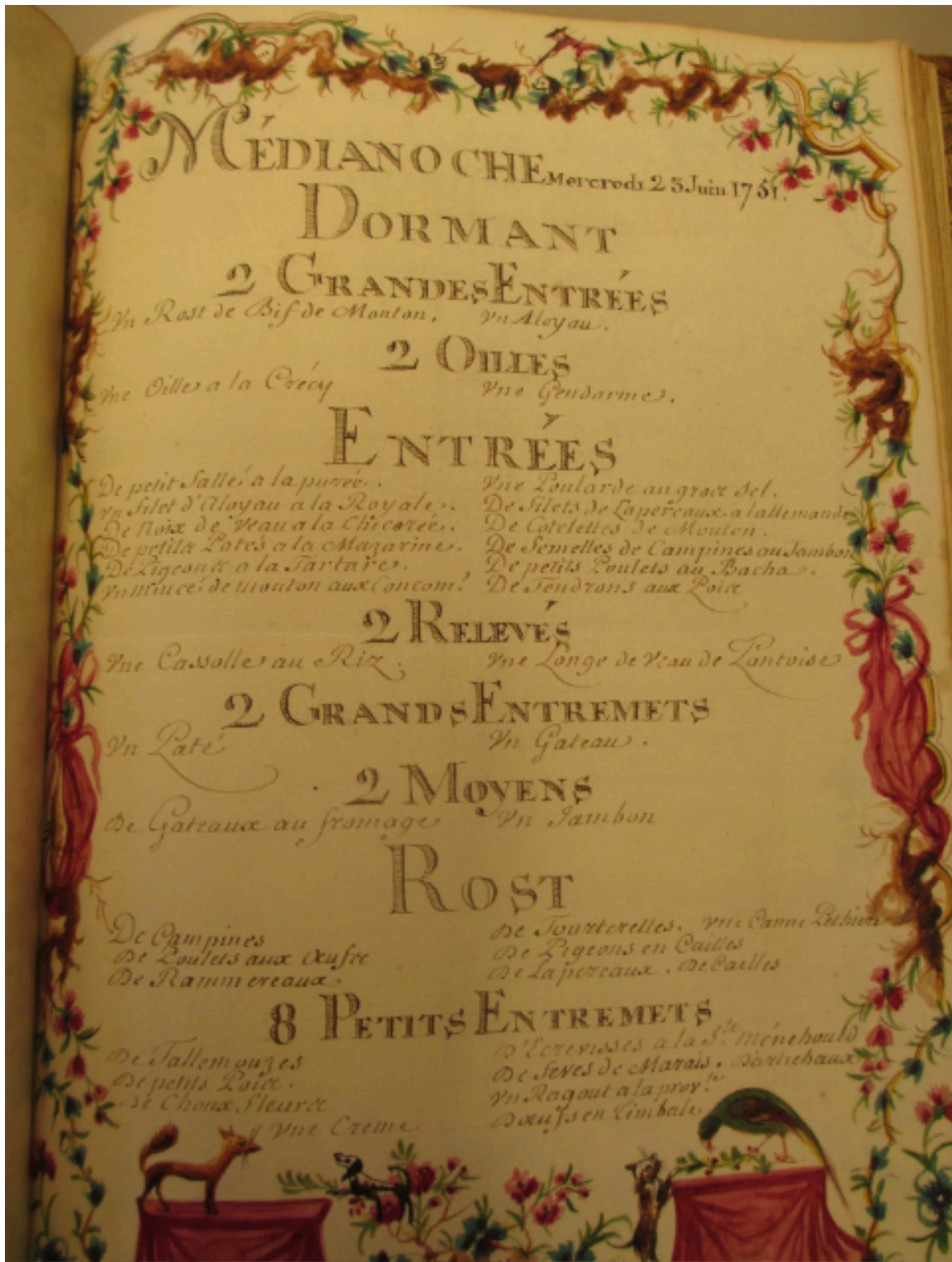


Figure 66: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Mercredi 23 Juin 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

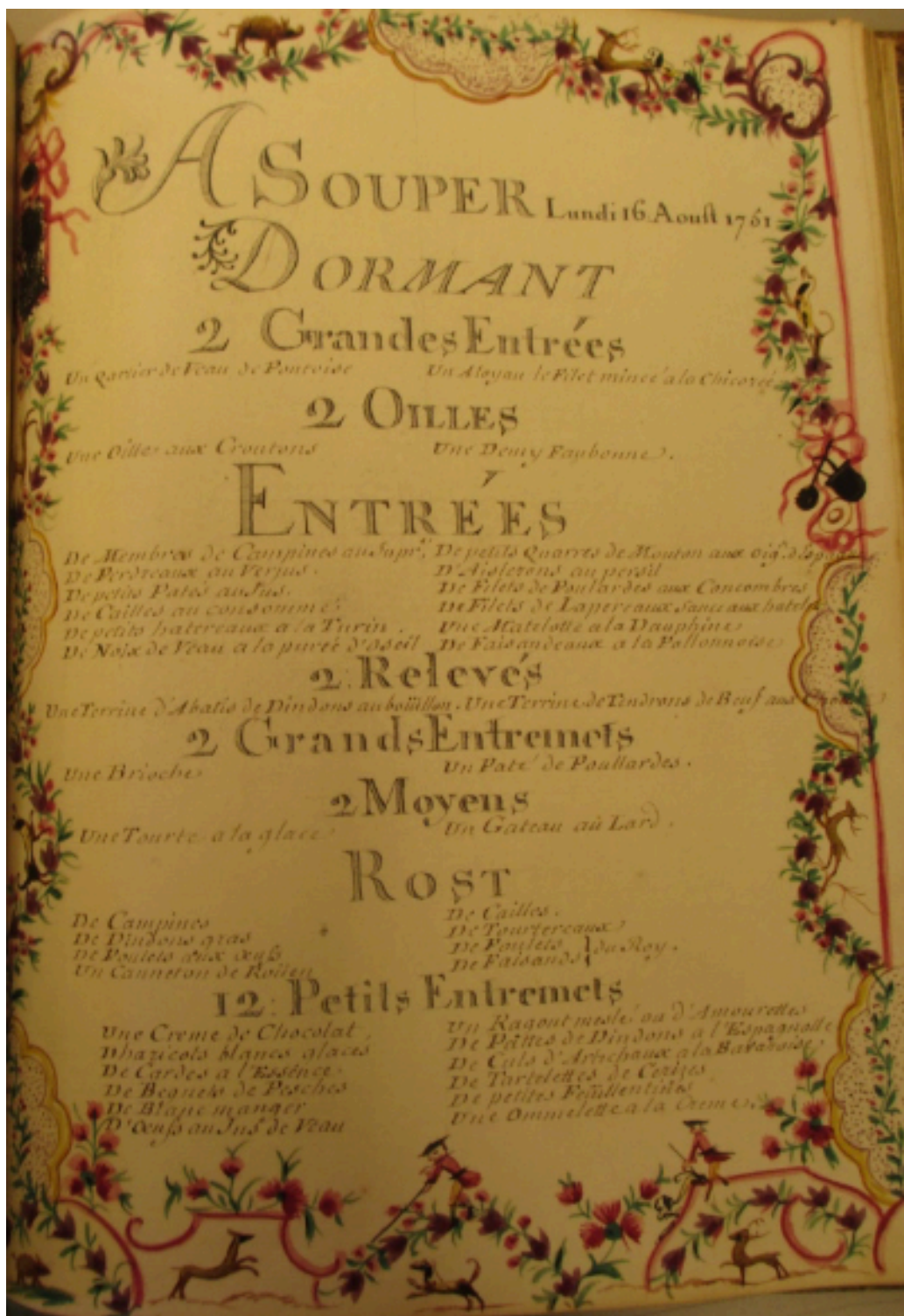


Figure 67: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Lundi 16 Aoust 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

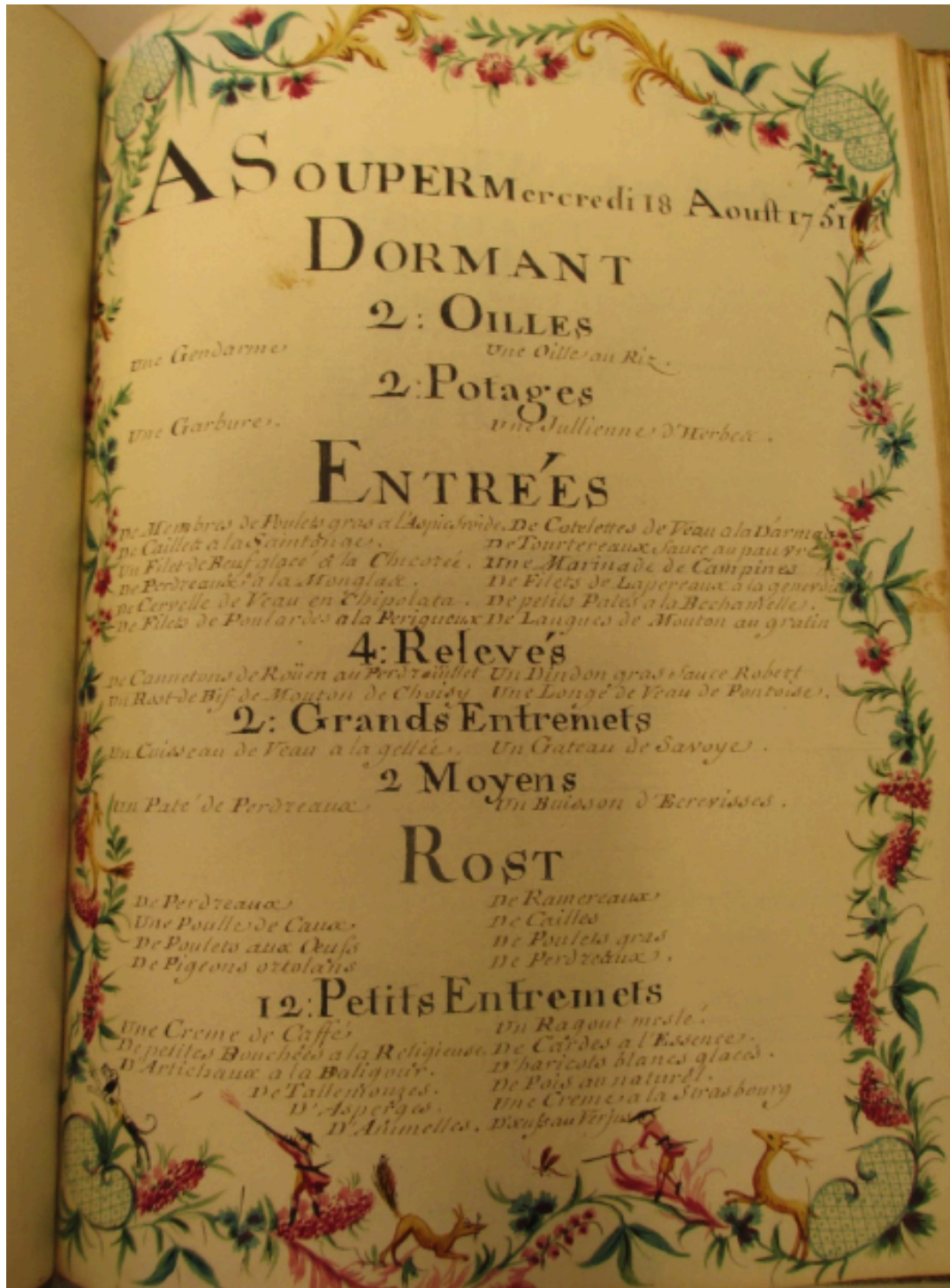


Figure 68: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Mercredi 18 Aoust 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

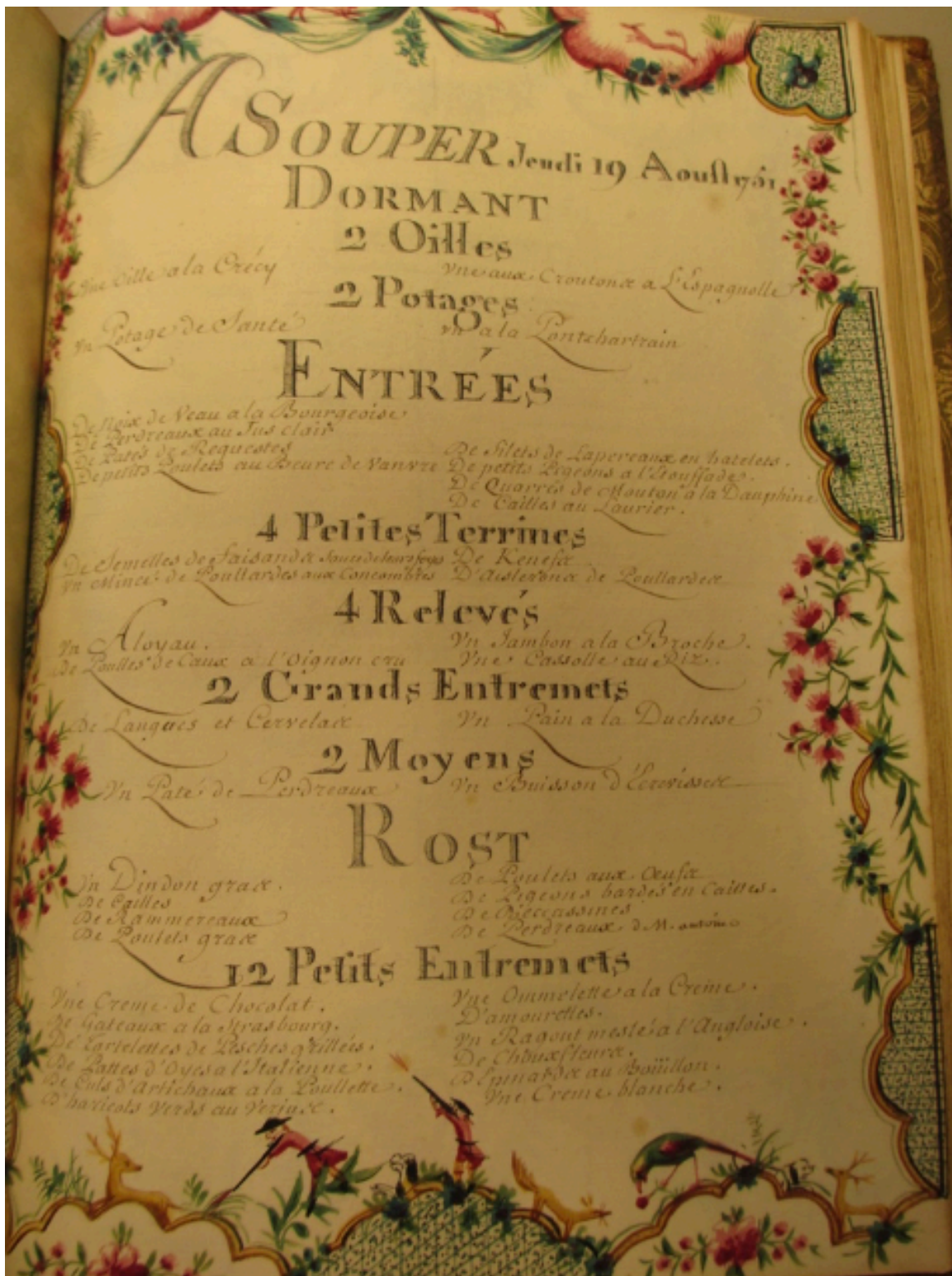


Figure 69: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Jeudi 19 Aoust 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

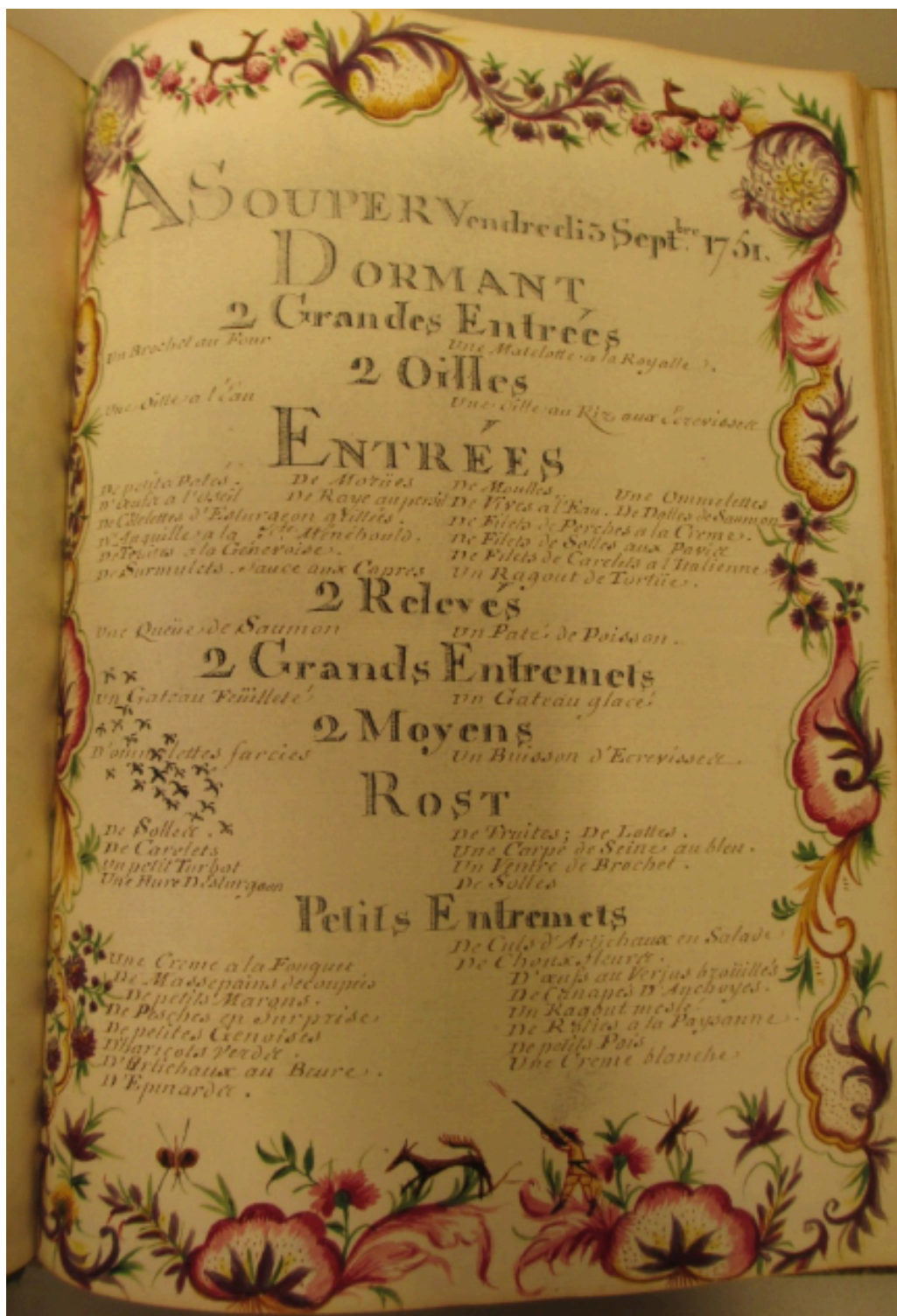


Figure 70: François-Pierre Brain de Sainte Marie, "Vendredi 3 Septembre 1751," From *Voyages du Roi au Château de Choisy avec les Logements de la Cour et les Menus de la table de sa majesté – Année 1751*, 1751, 25.2 x 19.2 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 71: Sainte Marie, Detail of "Lundi 21 Juin 1751" (fig. 37).



Figure 72: Sainte Marie, Detail of "Mercredi 18 Aoust 1751" (fig. 68).



Figure 73: Sainte Marie, Detail of "Mercredi 18 Aoust 1751" (fig. 68).



Figure 74: Sainte Marie, Detail of "Lundi 21 Juin 1751" (fig. 37)



Figure 75: Sainte Marie, Detail of *Jeudi 19 Aoust 1751* (fig. 69).



Figure 76: Nicolas Lancret, *Le Déjeuner de jambon*, 1735, Oil on Canvas, 188 x 123 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly.



Figure 77: Sainte Marie, Detail of “Mercredi 23 Juin 1751” (fig. 66).



Figure 78: Sceaux Factory, *Tureen in the form of a Pigeon*, c. 1760, Tin-Glazed Earthenware with Enamel, 26.7 x 29.9 x 14.8 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.



Figure 79: Strasbourg Manufactory, *Tureen in the form of a Capercaillie*, c. 1750, Tin-Glazed Earthenware, 52.1 x 46.4 x 36.2 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 80: *Tureen*, c. 1750-1760, Tin-Glazed Earthenware, 17.2 cm tall, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 81: Jean Siméon Chardin, *The Silver Tureen*, ca. 1728-30, Oil on Canvas, 76.2 x 108 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 82: Philibert-Louis Debucourt after Claude-Louis Desrais, *The Palais Royal – Gallery's Walk*, 1787, Etching and Wash, 29.2 x 55.9 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 83: Debucourt, *The Palais Royal* with Muffs Highlighted (fig.82).

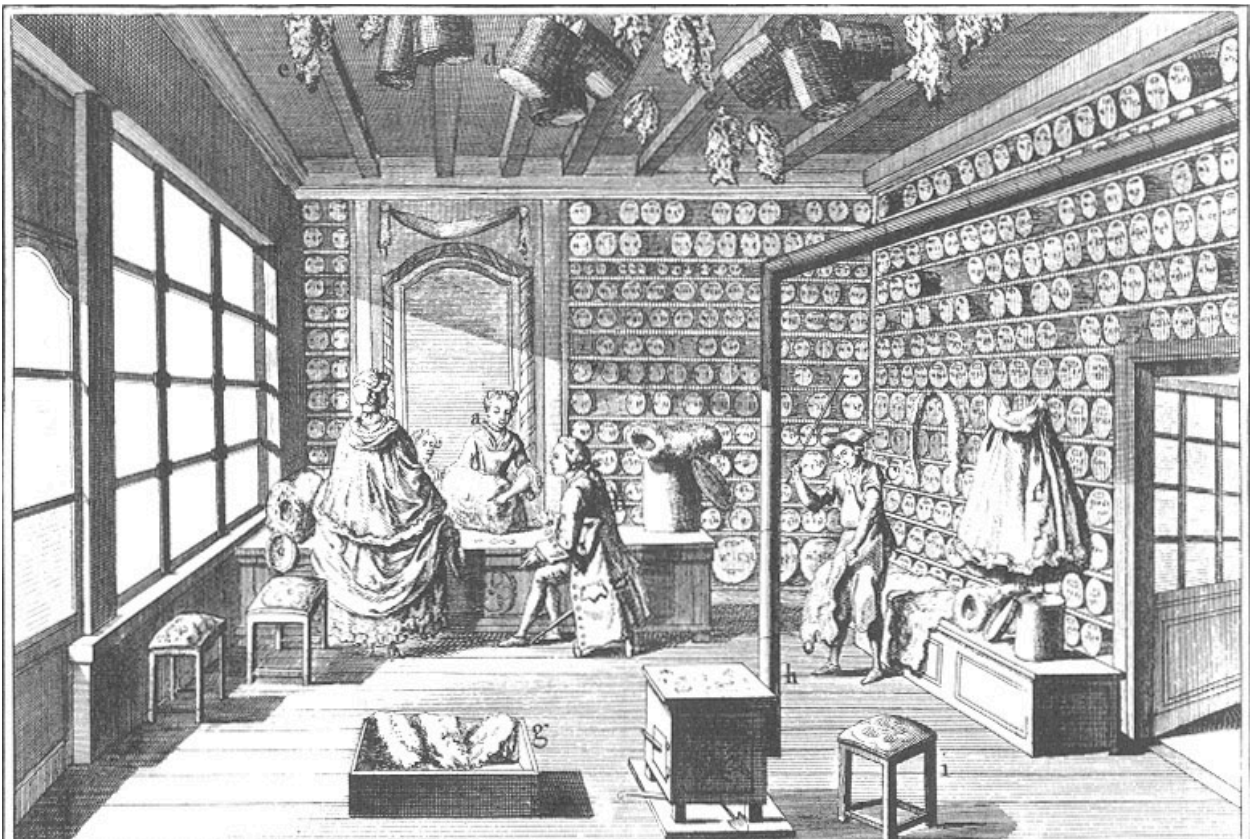


Figure 84: Plate V of the “Fourreur” entry in *L’Encyclopédie*, Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, Engraving.

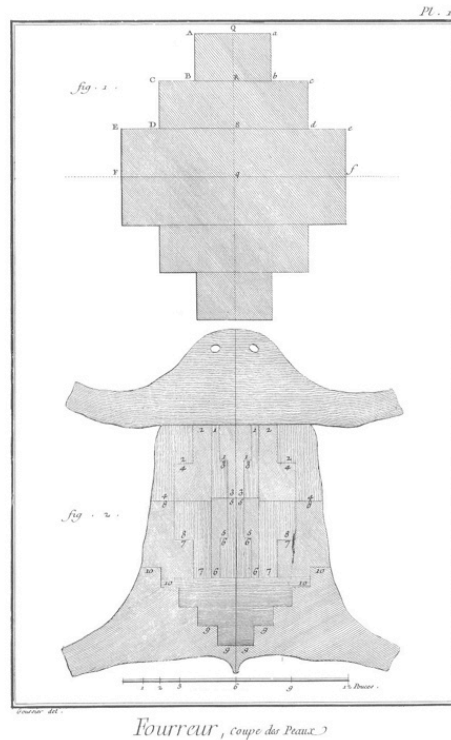


Figure 85: Plate I of the “Fourreur” entry in *L’Encyclopédie*, Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, Engraving.

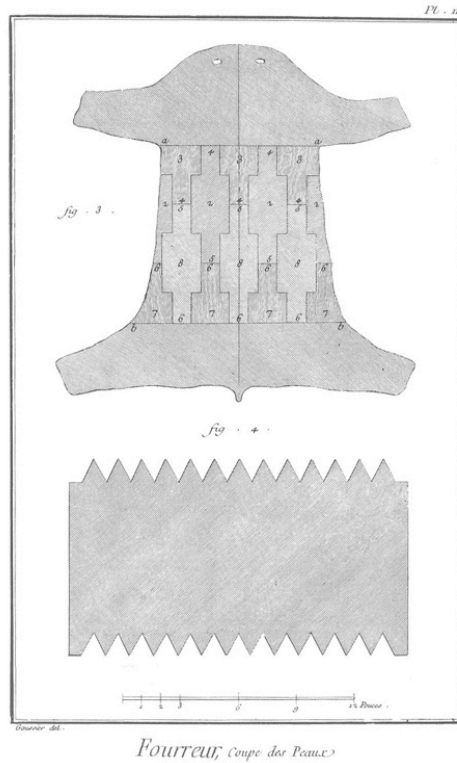


Figure 86: Plate II of the “Fourreur” entry in *L’Encyclopédie*, Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, Engraving.



Figure 87: Attributed to François Hubert Drouais, *Portrait of a Young Lady in a Blue Silk Dress with Fur*, Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, Oil on Canvas, 81.7 x 65.1 cm, Private Collection.



Figure 88: Joseph Ducreux, *Madame Elisabeth and her pug*, 1770, Oil on Canvas, 81 x 63.5 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 89: Jean Marc Nattier, *Louise Henriette de Bourbon-Conti with Muff*, 1750, Oil on Canvas, Musee des Beaux-Arts, Orléans.



Figure 90: François Boucher, *The Four Seasons: Winter*, 1755, Oil on Canvas, 56.8 x 73 cm, The Frick Collection, New York.



Figure 91: Louise Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun, *Portrait of Madame Molé-Reymond*, 1786, Oil on Panel, 104 x 76 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 92: François-Hubert Drouais, *Portrait of Madame de Pompadour with a Fur Muff*, c. 1763, Oil on Canvas, 53 x 64 cm, Private Collection.



Figure 93: Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Girl with a Dog*, Eighteenth Century, Oil on Canvas, 45.72 x 38.1, Private Collection.



Figure 94: Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *L'Hiver*, 1755,
Oil on Canvas, 80 x 168.8 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles.



Figure 95: François Boucher, *La Toilette*, 1742,
Oil on Canvas, 52.5 x 66.5 cm, Museo Thyssen, Madrid.



Figure 96: Nicolas Lavreince, *Young Woman at Her Toilette*, 1780s, Oil on Canvas, Unknown Location.



Figure 97: Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *L'Printemps*, 1755, Oil on Canvas, Hôtel Matignon.



Figure 98: Jean-Baptiste-Simon Chardin, *The Morning Toilette*, 1740, Oil on canvas, 39 x 49 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



Figure 99: Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *La Gimblette*, also known as *Girl with a Dog*, 1777, Oil on Canvas, 89 x 70 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



Figure 100: Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Portrait de Nicole Ricard*, c.1748-50, Pastel, 44 x 34 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 101: Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Two Sisters*, 1769-70, Oil on Canvas, 71.8 x 55.9 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 102: Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Boy with a Dog*, 1760, Oil on Canvas, 60 x 50.5 cm, The Wallace Collection, London.



Figure 103: François-Hubert Drouais, *Boy with a House of Cards*, Eighteenth Century, Oil on Canvas, 71.1 x 58.4 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 104: Attributed to Maurice Quentin de la Tour, *Portrait de Mme. De Rozeville*, Eighteenth Century, Pastel, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 105: Louis Vigée, *Portrait of a woman in blue with a muff*, Eighteenth Century, Pastel, 64.8 x 54 cm, Private Collection.



Figure 106: François-Hubert Drouais, *Madame Sophie de France*, 1762, Oil on Canvas, 65.1 x 53 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 107: Jean Mariette (publisher), *Officier en manteau*, c. 1690, Hand-Colored Engraving, 20 x 30.2 cm, Brown University Library, Providence.



Figure 108: Bernard Picart, *Cavalier en manchon, coiffé d'un tricorne, un gant à la main*, c. 1770, Engraving, 11.5 x 7.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 109: Jacques-Charles Bar, *Chevalier français, de l'ordre royal militaire de St. Louis, costume porté de 1787*, 1787, Colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 110: Unknown, *French Fashion Plate*, 1780s, Hand-Colored Engraving, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 111: Jean Florent Defraigne & A.B. Duhamel, *Mode vestimentaire féminine et masculine*, 1789, Colored Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 112: Henry William Bunbury, *View on Pont Neuf at Paris*, 1771, Etching, 25.5 x 35.8 cm, Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington.



Figure 113: Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Louis XIV of France*, 1701,
Oil on Canvas, 277 x 194 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 114: Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Louis XV, King of France*, 1730,
Oil on Canvas, 271 x 194 cm, Château de Versailles et Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 115: Antoine-François Callet, *Louis XVI, King of France and Navarre*, 1789, Oil on Canvas, 280 x 196 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.

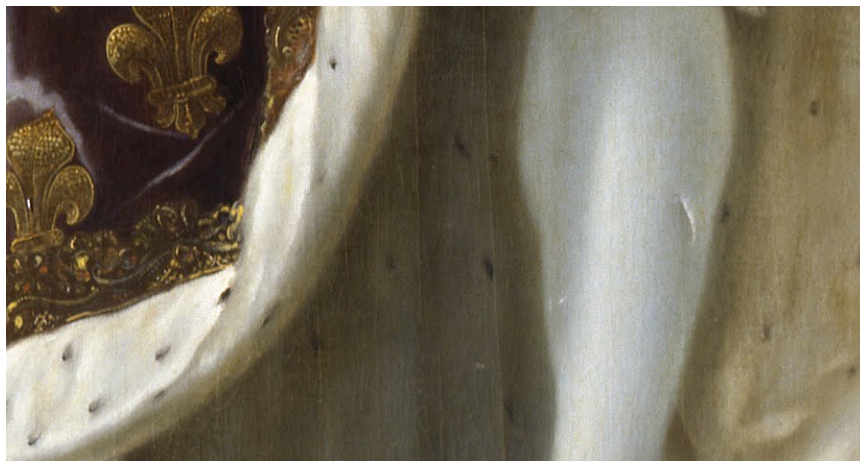


Figure 116: Callet, Detail of ermine fur, *Louis XVI* (fig. 115).

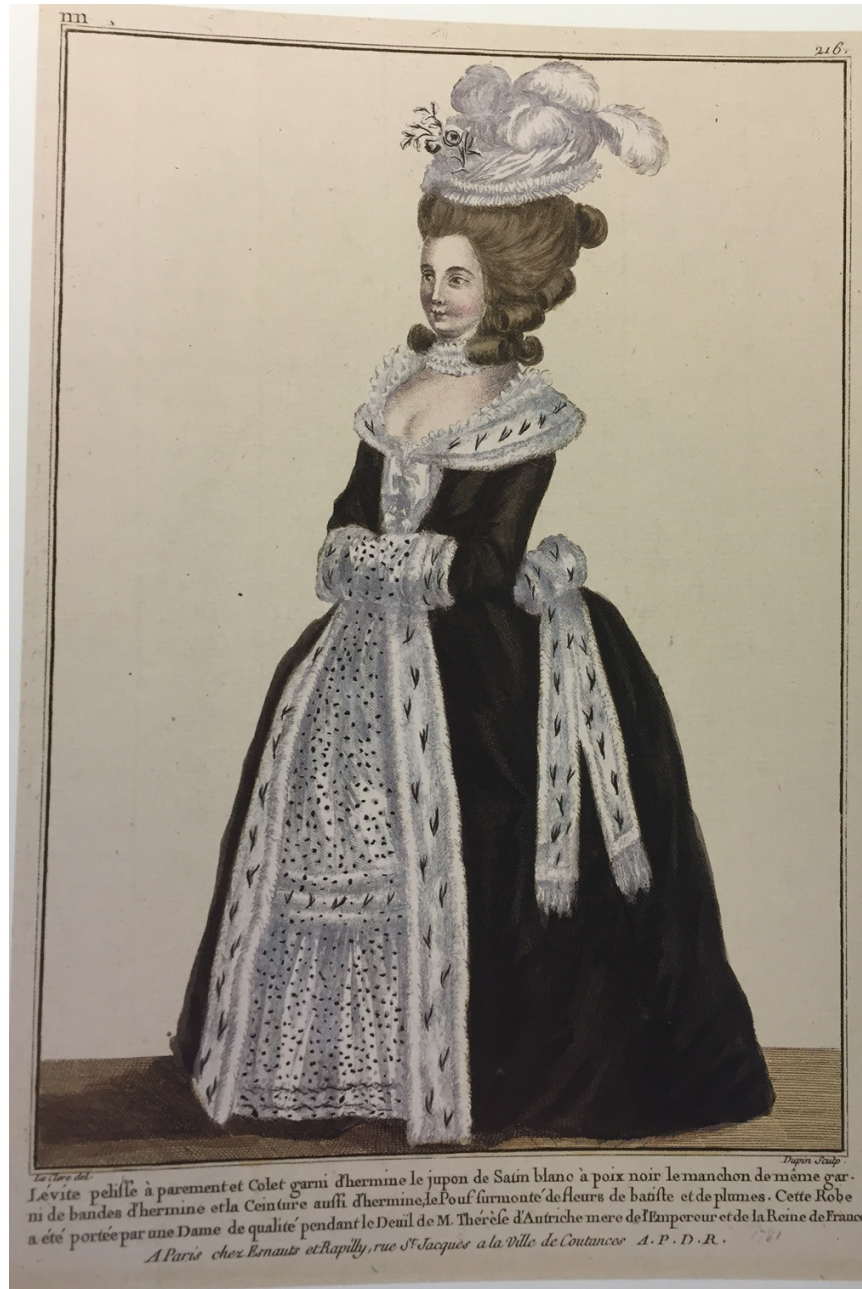


Figure 117: Nicolas Dupin after Pierre Thomas, Cashier des Costumes Français, *Lévite pelisse à [arement et Colet garni d'hermine le jupon de Satin blanc à poix noir le manchon de même garni de bandes d'hermine et la Ceinture aussi d'hermine, le Pouf surmonté de fleurs de batiste et de plumes. Cette Robe a été portée par une Dame de qualité pendant le Deuil de M. Thérèse d'Autriche mere de l'Empereur et de la Reine de France*, 29e Suite d'Habillemens à la mode, nn.216, 1781, Colored Engraving, 38.7 x 25.4 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 118: Augustin de Saint-Aubin after Charles Nicolas Cochin, *Benjamin Franklin*, 1777, Engraving, 20.6 x 14.9 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 119: : Jean Baptiste Nini and Thomas Walpole, *Benjamin Franklin*, 1777, Terra Cotta, Diameter of 11.7 cm, Benjamin Franklin Cabinet, Chevy Chase, MD.



Figure 120: Allan Ramsay, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1766,
Oil on Canvas, 75 x 62 cm, Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh.



Figure 121: Jacques-André-Joseph Aved, *Portrait of Said Effendi, Ottoman Ambassador to France*, 1742, Oil on Canvas, 239 x 162 cm, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 122: Jean-Étienne Liotard, *Self-Portrait*, 1737, Pastel, 38 x 24.7cm, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva.



Figure 123: Marquis Charles de Ferriol, “Fille Turque” from *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant*, 1714, Colored Engraving, Staaliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.



Figure 124: Antoine de Favray, *Dames levantines en coiffure d'intérieur*, 1764, Oil on Canvas, 124 x 93 cm, Musée des Augustins, Toulouse.



Figure 125: Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Portrait of a Lady in Turkish Dress*, c. 1790, Oil on Canvas, 116.8 x 90.8 cm, Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, Los Angeles.



Figure 126: Jean-Marc Nattier, *Marie Leszczyńska*, 1748, Oil on Canvas, 172 x 137 cm, Château de Versailles et Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 127: Christophe Huet, *Grande Singerie*, the Château de Chantilly, c.1735 Chantilly.



Figure 128: Christophe Huet, *Petite Singerie*, the Château de Chantilly, c.1735, Chantilly.



Figure 129: Christophe Huet, *Chambre de Singe*, the Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg, Late 1740s, Paris.



Figure 130: Christophe Huet, *Grand Cabinet* or *Salon Chinois*, the Château sur Marne, c. 1739, Chaps sur Marne.

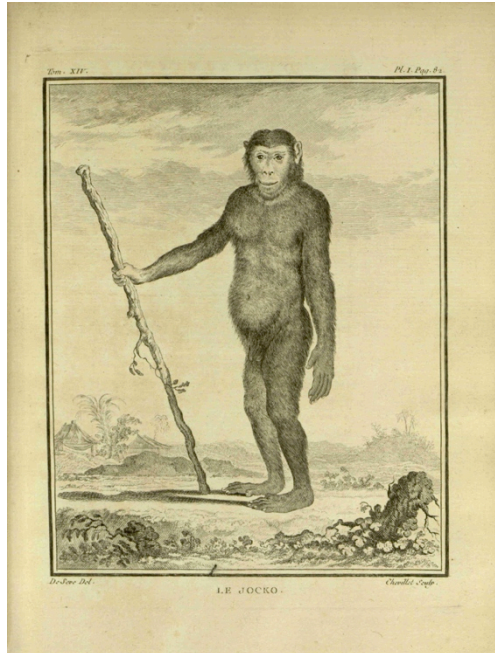


Figure 131: *Le Jocko* from Comte de Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière, avec la description du Cabinet du Roi*, Vol XIV, Plate I, 1766, Engraving.

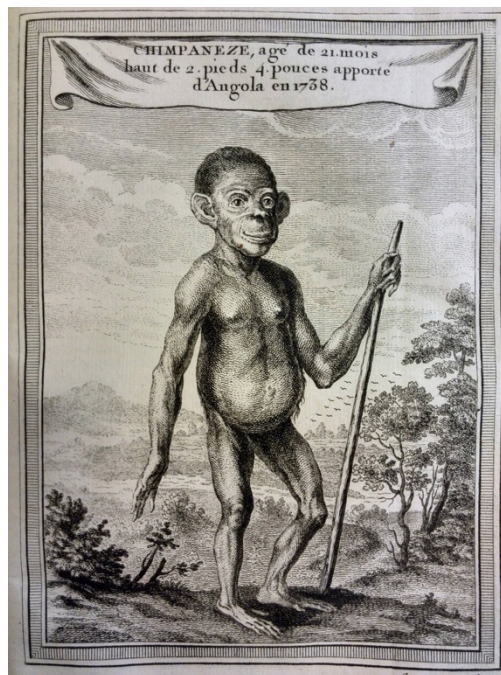


Figure 132: *Chimpaneze*, from Abbé Prévost, *Histoire Générale des Voyages, ou Nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre*, Volume 11, Plate 4, 1746-1753, Engraving.



Figure 133: Jean-Baptiste Joseph Pater, *The Fair at Bezons*, 1733, Oil on Canvas, 106.7 x 142.2 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 134: Detail of Pater, *The Fair at Bezons* (fig. 133).



Figure 135: Carrogis Louis Carmontelle, *Mlle. Desgots de Saint Domingue, avec son nègre Laurent*, 1766, Water Color and Pencil, 29.3 x 20.5 cm, Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



Figure 136: Antoine Watteau, *Eight Studies of Heads*, c. 1715-16, Chalk on Paper, 26.7 x 39.7 cm, Musée de Louvre, Paris.



Figure 137: Carrogis Louis Carmontelle, *Narcisse, nègre du duc d'Orleans*, Eighteenth Century, Watercolor and Pencil, 32 x 18 cm, Musée Condé, Chantilly.



Figure 138: *La Belle Hottnetote*, c.1814, Colored Engraving, 34.5 x 42.3 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

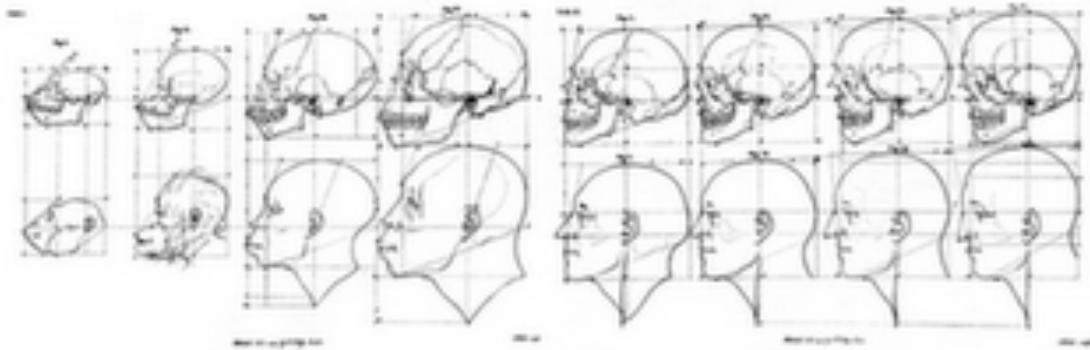


Figure 139: “Comparative Skulls,” from Petrus Camper’s *Treatise on the Natural Difference of Features in Persons of Different Countries*, 1775.



Figure 140: Outfit for a Monkey, Eighteenth Century, Silk Taffeta, Musée de la mode et du Textile, Paris.



Figure 141: David Teniers II, *Meeting of Monkeys at the Tavern*, Date Unknown, Oil on Wood, 22 x 17 cm, Private Collection.



Figure 142: Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Pomade pour les levres*, c. 1740 -1775, Watercolor and Pencil, 18.7 x 13.2 cm, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire.



Figure 143: François Boucher, *Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de Pompadour*, 1750, Oil on Canvas, 81.2 x 64.9 cm, Fogg Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 144: Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, *Il part pour hanovre*, 1758, Watercolor and Ink, 18.7 x 13.2 cm, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire.

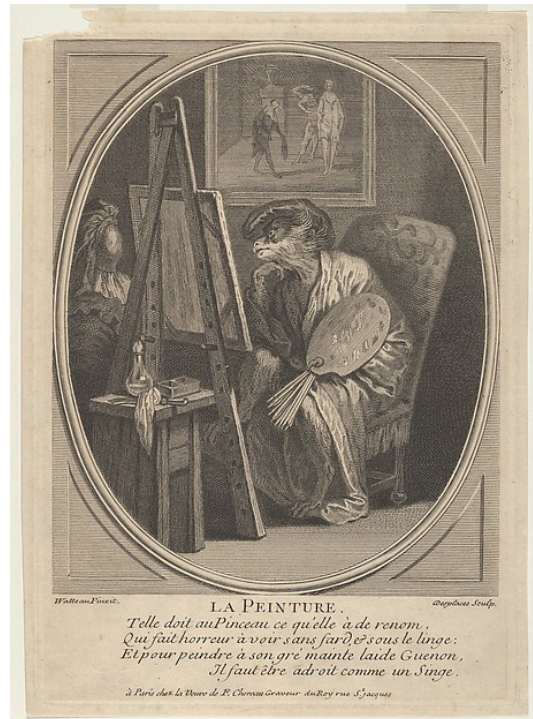


Figure 145: Louis Desplaces after Antoine Watteau, *La Peinture*, ca 1700-1739, Etching and Engraving, 25.6 x 18.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 146: Jean-Siméon Chardin, *Le Singe Peintre*, c. 1739-1740, Oil on Canvas, 73 cm x 59 cm, Musée de Louvre, Paris.



Figure 147: Jean-Baptiste Deshays, *The Monkey Painter*, c.1750, Oil on Canvas, Le Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.

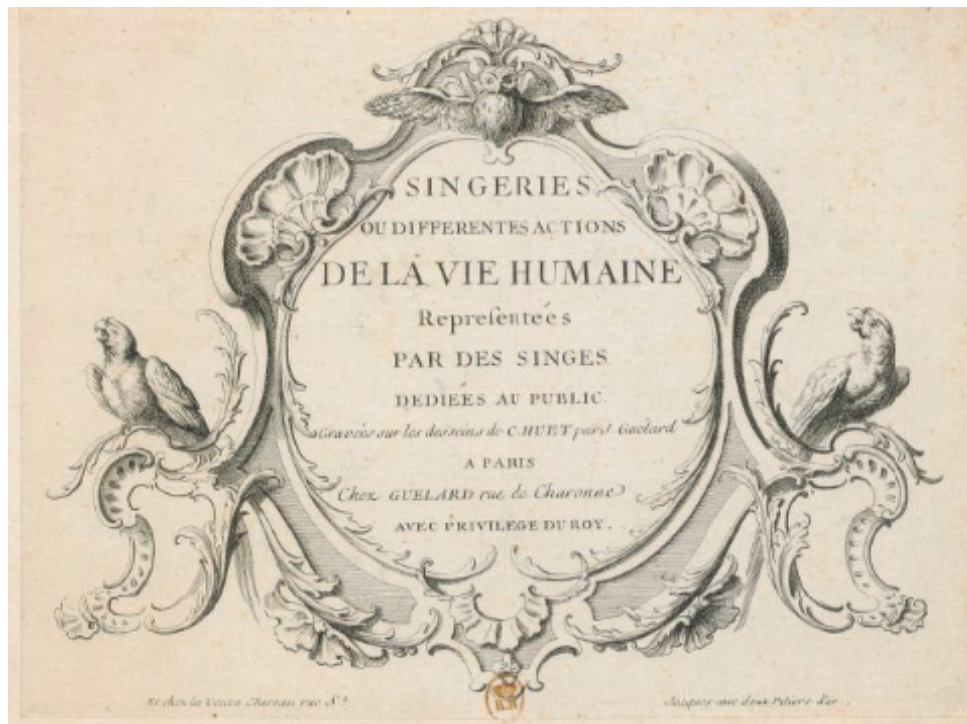


Figure 148: Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, "Title Page" in *Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes*, 1741-1742, Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 149: Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, “Title Page” in *Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes*, 1741-1742, Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 150: Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, “Le Maître d'Ecole” in *Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes*, 1741-1742, Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 151: Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, “L’Organiste Ambulant” in *Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes*, 1741-1742, Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Figure 152: Jean-Baptiste Guélard after Christophe Huet, “Le Lavement Rendu” in *Singeries, ou différentes actions de la vie humaine représentées par des singes*, 1741-1742, Engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

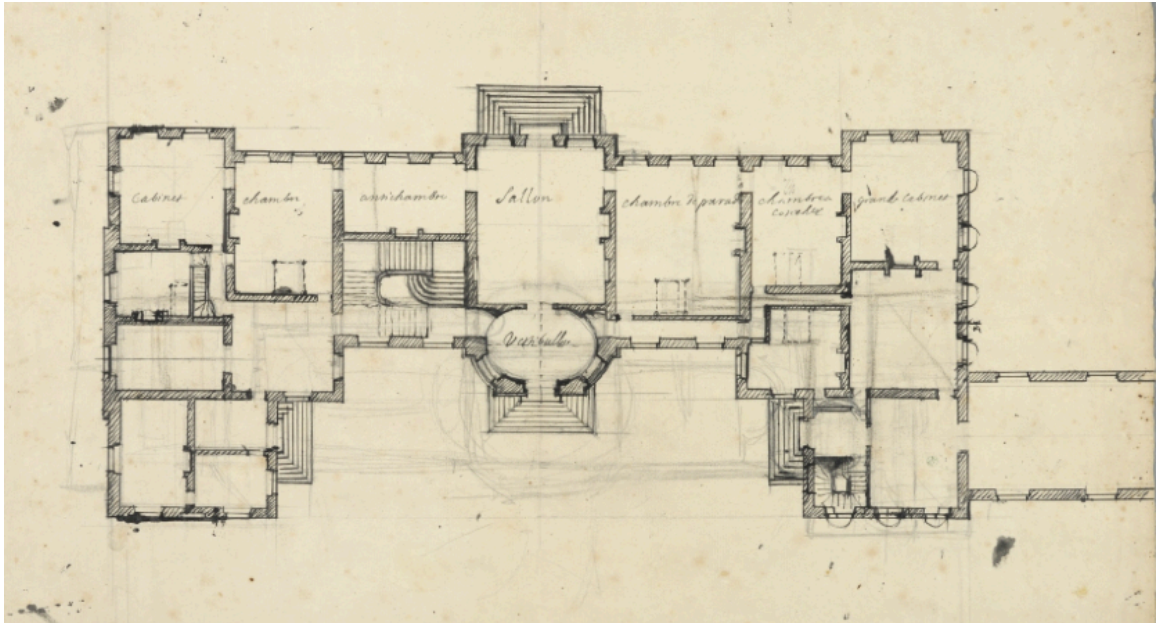


Figure 153: Pierre Bullet and J.B. de Chamblain, *Château de Champs, Plan du rez-du-chaussée*, c.1716, Ink on Paper, 40 x 55 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



Figure 154: Detail of Huet, *Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois* (fig. 130).



Figure 155: Detail of Huet, *Grand Cabinet* or *Salon Chinois* (fig. 130).



Figure 156: Detail of Huet, *Grand Cabinet* or *Salon Chinois* (fig. 130).



Figure 157: Detail of Huet, *Grand Cabinet* or *Salon Chinois* (fig. 130).



Figure 158: Detail of Huet, *Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois* (fig. 130).



Figure 159: Detail of Huet, *Grand Cabinet or Salon Chinois*, *Ostrich Hunt* (fig. 130).



Figure 160: Detail of Huet, *Grand Cabinet* or *Salon Chinois* (fig. 130).

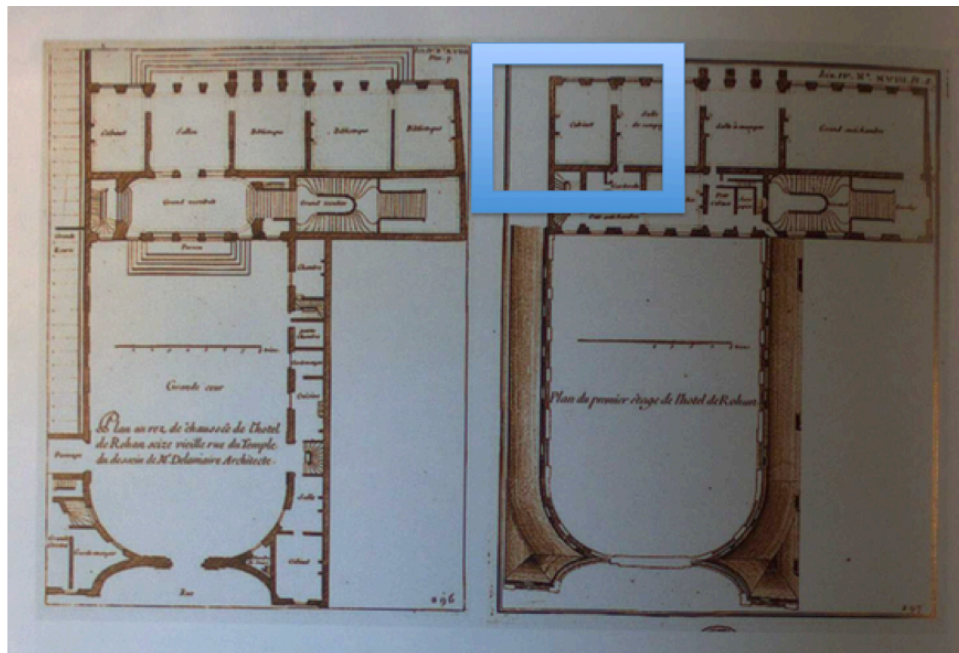


Figure 161: Floor Plan of l'Hôtel Rohan-Strasbourg, *Singerie* is highlighted in blue, c.1740.



Figure 162: Huet, Detail of *Chambre de Singe*, in Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg (fig. 129).



Figure 163: Huet, Detail of *Chambre de Singe*, in Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg
Training a Dog, (fig. 129).



Figure 164: Huet, Detail of *Chambre de Singe*, in Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg (fig. 129).



Figure 165: Huet, Detail of Monkey Training Dog, from Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg (fig. 129).



Figure 166: Huet, Detail of *Chambre de Singe*, The May Pole Dance in Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg (fig. 129).



Figure 167: Huet, Detail of *Chambre de Singe*, in Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg
Blind Man's Bluff (fig. 129).



Figure 168: Huet, Detail of *Chambre de Singe*, in Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg (fig. 129).



Figure 169: Huet, Detail of *Chambre de Singe*, in Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg (fig. 129).



Figure 170: Huet, Detail of *Chambre de Singe*, A Game of Hot Hands in Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg (fig. 129).



Figure 171: Huet, Detail of *Chambre de Singe*, in Hôtel de Rohan-Strasbourg (fig. 129).



Figure 172: Nicolas Lancret, *The Four Times of Day: Afternoon*, 1739-1741, Oil on Copper, 28.8 x 36.7 cm, The National Gallery, London.



Figure 173: Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “America” (fig. 127).



Figure 174: Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “China” (fig. 127).



Figure 175: Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “Europe” (fig. 127).



Figure 176: Giovanni Battista, Detail of *Apollo and the Continents*, in the stairwell of the Würzburg Residenz, 1751-53, Fresco, Würzburg Residence, Würzburg.



Figure 177: Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “North Africa” (fig. 127).

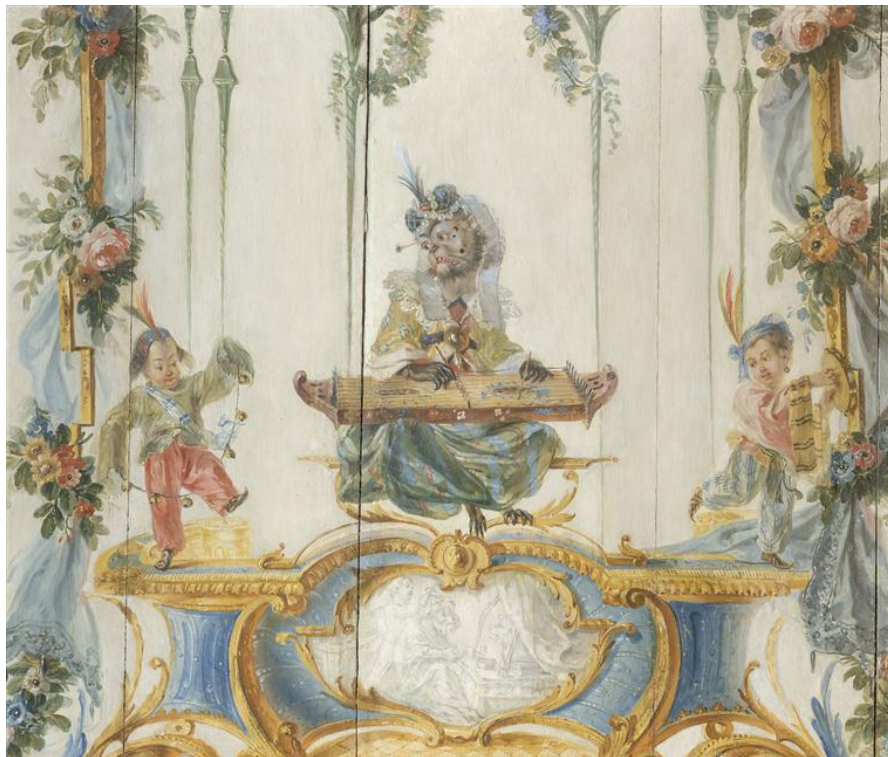


Figure 178: Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly (fig. 127).



Figure 179 Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly (fig. 127).



Figure 180: Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly (fig. 127).



Figure 181 Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly (fig. 127).



Figure 182: Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly (fig. 127).



Figure 183: Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly (fig. 127).



Figure 184: Huet, Detail of *Grande Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly (fig. 127).



Figure 185: Huet, Detail of *Petite Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “She-Monkeys Hunting” (fig. 128).



Figure 186: Huet, Detail of *Petite Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “She-Monkeys Cherry Picking” (fig. 128).



Figure 187: Huet, Detail of *Petite Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “She-Monkeys Playing Cards” (fig. 128).



Figure 188: Huet, Detail of *Petite Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “Monkeys Skating” (fig. 128).



Figure 189: Huet, Detail of *Petite Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “She-Monkey Bathing” (fig. 128).



Figure 190: Huet, Detail of *Petite Singerie* at the Château de Chantilly, “She-Monkey at her Toilette” (fig. 128).

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