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ARTIST IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

LAURA AURICCHIO

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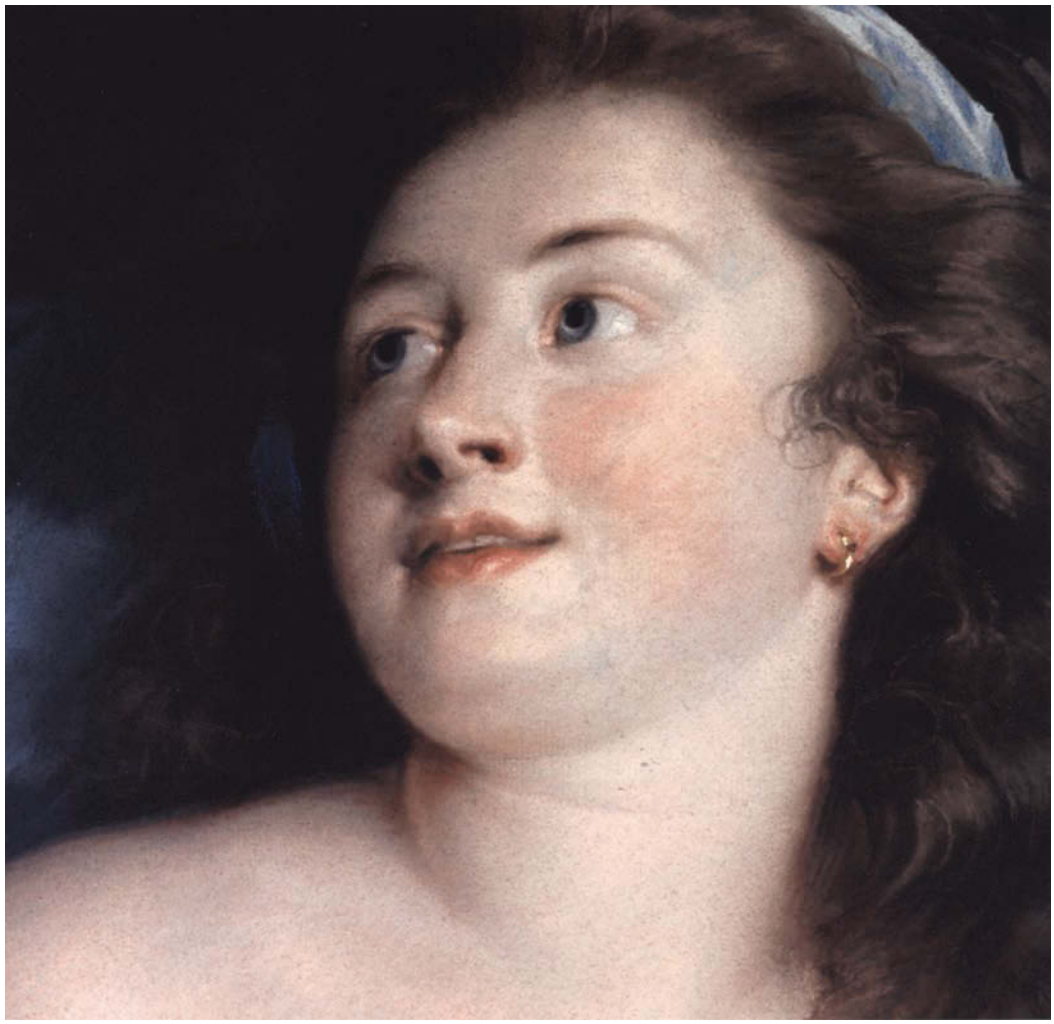

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THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM LOS ANGELES

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On the front cover:
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils, Mademoiselle Marie Gabrielle Capet (1761–1818) and Mademoiselle Carreaux de Rosemond (d. 1788)*, 1785 (detail). Oil on canvas, 210.8 × 151.1 cm (83 × 59½ in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 53.225.5.

Frontispiece:
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Head of a Young Woman (Delightful Surprise)*, 1779 (detail). Pastel on blue paper, 54.6 x 44.5 cm (21½ x 17½ in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 96.PC.327.

On page vi:
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Louise-Élisabeth of France, Duchess of Parma, and Her Son*, 1788. Oil on canvas, 275 x 160 cm (108 1/4 x 63 in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, M. V. 3876. Photo: RMN / Art Resource, New York.

Note on orthography: spelling was not fully regularized in eighteenth-century France. Words and proper names were often spelled differently by different people or by the same people at different times. All quotations and titles have been left with their original, variable spellings.

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INTRODUCTION

Although Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803) was the only female member of the Parisian Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture to contribute to the reinvention of France and its artistic culture during the French Revolution, this is the first English-language book devoted to her paintings and career.[1] A nonconformist in many respects, Labille-Guiard elicited both glowing admiration and virulent criticism from contemporaries throughout her thirty years in the public eye. The dearth of scholarship on Labille-Guiard stands at odds with her innovations as a portraitist, her prominence as a teacher in the 1780s, and her notoriety as a politically active woman in a revolution that, despite claims to liberty and equality, paradoxically silenced female voices.

As a woman, Labille-Guiard was something of an anomaly in the art world of late-eighteenth-century Paris, but examining her career sheds light on important aspects of the era's artistic production that have often been overlooked. Scholarship on the period before the Revolution has tended to emphasize such artists as Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), who established his reputation at the biennial Salon exhibitions sponsored by the Royal Academy, where he won public acclaim for grand history paintings—large narrative compositions that ranked at the top of the Academy's codified hierarchy of genres. Yet, the accomplishments of David notwithstanding, most artists of the time worked in the ostensibly lesser genres of portraiture, still life, landscape, or scenes of everyday life. Portraits, which were Labille-Guiard's specialty, were in fact more salable and often more profitable than the history paintings that have received the lion's share of scholarly attention.[2] Likewise, although Labille-Guiard mastered oil painting, she continued to produce works in miniature and pastel, media widely used in the period but relatively little studied today. Moreover, as she carved a path from student to teacher to member of the Academy, she took

advantage of opportunities offered by alternative exhibition venues operating at the margins of official sanction—a career arc pursued by numerous artists, both male and female, with varying degrees of success.

Labille-Guiard's choices regarding artistic practices, training, and sites of display were driven, in part, by necessity, as the avenues of learning and advancement open to women were generally quite limited. Following the trajectory of Labille-Guiard's career enables us to appreciate the possibilities and prohibitions that shaped the experiences of female artists in this era. The final decades of the eighteenth century witnessed unprecedented growth in the quantity and quality of professional women artists, yet they faced a unique conundrum: while success as an artist was increasingly determined by public acclaim, reigning societal norms required virtuous women to value modesty above all else. How could a female artist call attention to her professional work without jeopardizing her personal honor? Labille-Guiard offers one model.

Since the late 1990s, scholars have devoted considerable attention to eighteenth-century women artists. Mary D. Sheriff's justly influential accounts of Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842)—who was often cast as Labille-Guiard's rival both by eighteenth-century critics and by art historians—explore the deft self-presentations that enabled Vigée-Lebrun to triumph over gender-based limitations.[3] In 2002, Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744–1818), an Academician best known for her still lifes, was the subject of a groundbreaking exhibition seen at three venues in the United States. The accompanying catalogue presented several important essays, including one by Melissa Hyde mapping the varied contributions of female artists in the age of Marie-Antoinette.[4] Most recently, Angela Rosenthal's monograph on the Swiss-born portraitist and history painter Angelica Kauffmann (1741–1807) has shed light on Kauffmann's pan-European career and raised broader questions concerning the visual and psychological relationships among portrait painters, sitters, and viewers.[5]

Labille-Guiard's story overlaps, to some extent, with these previous studies of female artists. But the differences are crucial. Unlike the women named above, Labille-Guiard was not born into a family of artists or artisans and thus had to find her own way into an artistic community. An examination of the personal and professional alliances that she cultivated over time makes clear the breadth of such networks, as well as their significance in shaping her career. While remaining mindful of Labille-Guiard's particular position as a woman artist, the discussion that follows situates her within shifting systems of

support, influence, and competition that cut across genders and institutions, as well as styles and media.

The most significant insight to be gained by studying Labille-Guiard may be the unique perspective that her experience offers on the French Revolution. When the Bastille fell on July 14, 1789, Labille-Guiard and Vigée-Lebrun were both readying portraits of royal family members for display at the Salon, but the responses of these two artists to the crisis were diametrically opposed. Vigée-Lebrun fled the country and, in exile, became a sought-after portraitist to the royalty and nobility of Europe. Labille-Guiard, however, stayed behind and crafted a new political and artistic identity as a painter whose work would help to reimagine the nation. Had the Revolution concluded with the creation of a constitutional monarchy, as Labille-Guiard and her reform-minded allies hoped it would, she might well have been tapped as a court painter to the new regime. The radical Jacobin republic that emerged, however, had little tolerance for an outspoken woman who had once served as First Painter to the king's aunts. The subsequent silence surrounding Labille-Guiard's career results, in part, from her politics; neither republicans nor royalists ever claimed her for posterity.

This book proposes that Labille-Guiard's art, career, and posthumous reception can best be understood by attending to questions of history and politics as much as to those of style and technique. It offers a contextualized analysis that aims to explain how Labille-Guiard charted a course through a constantly changing, and frequently hostile, cultural landscape. Chapter 1 examines Labille-Guiard's training and early exhibitions and considers the untoward, and even eroticized, connotations that accrued to the figure of the woman artist in eighteenth-century France. Chapter 2 follows Labille-Guiard into the Royal Academy, addresses the sexualized slander that marred her Salon debut, and argues that Labille-Guiard ultimately harnessed her notoriety to best advantage.

Chapter 3 sees Labille-Guiard building new alliances and altering her aesthetic strategies in order to meet the demands of changing circumstances. Close examinations of key paintings, viewed within their historical, social, and personal contexts, reveal Labille-Guiard to be not only technically skilled but also—and sometimes more importantly—socially savvy. By the end of the 1780s, she could claim as patrons such diverse figures as the aunts of Louis XVI and the future American president Thomas Jefferson. Few artists of either sex could boast of such achievements.

The interaction between politics and aesthetics becomes central in chapter 4, which looks at the revolutionary years 1789–94. In the early part of this period, Labille-Guiard enjoyed considerable success by adopting reformist stances that have largely dropped out of the art-historical narrative. Unlike some of her more radical colleagues, she supported the Royal Academy's alteration but not its destruction. At the 1791 Salon, she exhibited portraits of fourteen deputies to the National Assembly, thirteen of whom were members of the Feuillants—a faction that opposed the Jacobins' outright rejection of the monarchy. Thanks, in part, to this allegiance, Labille-Guiard received a remarkable commission for a painting depicting Louis XVI showing the constitution to the dauphin.

By 1793, however, the dream of a constitutional monarchy had evaporated, and Labille-Guiard had wisely retreated to a refuge in the countryside. In the village of Pontault-en-Brie, she waited out the bloody Reign of Terror from the comparative safety of a house shared with fellow painter François-André Vincent (1746–1816), Vincent's brother, and two of Labille-Guiard's students. Meanwhile, many of her patrons were carted off to the guillotine in the center of Paris. The artist survived, but suffered financial and professional losses: several of her most ambitious paintings were fed to the flames by order of state agencies.

Chapter 5 opens in 1795, after the downfall of Maximilien Robespierre, leader of the Terror. Once again, Labille-Guiard attempted to reinvent herself by adopting a new iconography and forging a new style that suited the era. This time, however, the challenge proved to be too great. The book concludes with a posthumous portrait of Labille-Guiard by Marie-Gabrielle Capet (1761–1818), her longtime student and companion. This singular image captures many of the triumphs, failures, and tensions that defined Labille-Guiard's turbulent career.

CHAPTER 1

PAINTING IN THE MARGINS
1774–1783

On August 25, 1774, twenty-five-year-old Adélaïde Labille-Guiard introduced herself to the critics and patrons of Paris by exhibiting a miniature self-portrait (fig. 1) and a pastel entitled *Portrait of a Magistrate*.[6] The diminutive size of this self-portrait belied the young artist's bold professional aspirations. Wearing a white satin gown trimmed with bows and lace, and with her hair coiffed into an elaborate confection of curls, ribbons, and flowers, Labille-Guiard appears to be a stylish woman of leisure engaged in the appropriately feminine diversion of painting miniatures, with two small tablets, a charged palette, and a narrow paintbrush signaling that she is in the process of painting. The furnishings are delicate: she sits in a low-backed *fauteuil à la reine* placed before a graceful Louis XV writing table. Wildflowers stand in a blue and white porcelain vase at the far end of the desk. Perhaps the flowers are models for the works in progress, or perhaps Labille-Guiard is tracing the features of an absent loved one, represented by the terracotta bust. Whatever her subject may be, Labille-Guiard has turned away from it and is seen at a moment of rest. Perched adroitly in her small chair, her stiff bodice supporting a supremely upright posture, the artist turns to greet the approaching viewer with the stirrings of a smile.

Figure 1
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), *Self-Portrait*, exhibited at the 1774 Salon de Saint-Luc. Watercolor on ivory, 10.3 × 8.4 cm (4 1/16 × 3 5/16 in.). Celle, Germany, Foundation Miniaturensammlung Tansey, 10418. Photo: Birgitt Schmedding.

Figure 2
Anonymous, *Portrait of a Miniature Painter*, German(?) school, ca. 1740. Watercolor on ivory, 7.2 × 5.7 cm (2 13/16 × 2 1/4 in.). Celle, Germany, Foundation Miniaturensammlung Tansey, 10958.

Figure 3
Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), *Self-Portrait of Rosalba Carriera*. Tempera on ivory, 9.7 × 5.8 cm (3 13/16 × 2 5/16 in.). Bucharest, Romania, National Museum of Art, 23759. Photo: Réunion des musées nationaux (RMN)/ Art Resource, New York.

What is the viewer to make of this studied nonchalance? Compared to an anonymous self-portrait by a male miniaturist dated to around 1740 (fig. 2), Labille-Guiard's *Self-Portrait* seems to privilege hospitality and refinement over focused labor. Whereas Labille-Guiard is at rest and seems to engage the viewer, her male counterpart appears to be absorbed in the purposeful endeavor of recording a likeness, looking directly outward with his brow slightly furrowed. His hands are not visible, but the active bend in his right arm and deep folds in his sleeve suggest that the arm is in use, presumably drawing or painting. His profession is given such prominence that a sloped working surface occupies the entire foreground, partially obstructing the artist's body. Indeed, this functional stand presses so close to the picture plane that the glass of water (used in the application of water-based paints) hanging over the stand's edge seems almost to project into the viewer's space.

While some of the differences between these self-portraits may reflect no more than the passage of time, gendered expectations surrounding self-presentation and artistic identity also play a large role.[7] Self-portraits of eighteenth-century female artists were rare before the 1770s, but the notion that they may have followed a distinct set of conventions finds support in a

revealing precedent, a miniature *Self-Portrait* by the Venetian artist Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757) (fig. 3). Widely recognized as one of Europe's foremost practitioners of pastel and miniature, Carriera is generally credited with initiating the use of ivory as a support for independent portrait miniatures (as opposed to miniatures designed to be mounted on jewelry or small boxes) and with generating enthusiasm in France for her areas of specialty during her triumphant visit in 1720.[8] Like Labille-Guiard, Carriera appears seated, with her hair pulled back, in front of works in progress. Unlike the anonymous male miniaturist, both women have depicted themselves during a pause; Labille-Guiard's right arm is limp and inactive, while Carriera's right hand rests on her drawing paper in a gentle arc, holding a *porte-crayon* with its tip aloft.

Yet, in Carriera's miniature, quiet markers of labor and ambition complicate the initial impression of effortless femininity. Reminding viewers of the messy realities of manipulating pigments, Carriera has placed a protective white smock over her pale blue dress and gathered her hair under a muslin cap. Furthermore, the work that has been interrupted is not the miniature that we might expect, but rather a red chalk drawing of a face—a meaningful choice in an era when the dominant theory in the Academy privileged drawing as the more intellectual, and more masculine, aspect of the painter's art. Moreover, in claiming red chalk as her medium, Carriera aligned herself with the Renaissance masters, who often worked out their figures and compositions in chalk.

Labille-Guiard is unlikely to have seen Carriera's miniature, yet she, too, included subtle hints of high professional aspirations in her seemingly modest self-portrait. A large easel and canvas are barely discernable in the center left of the background, partly obscured by a blue curtain. Discreetly presented though they are, these items announce that the artist paints not only in miniature but also in the more highly esteemed medium of oils. Labille-Guiard's flat palette, dotted with multiple colors, bolsters her credibility as an oil painter, as it is more closely associated with oils than with the watercolor and gouache used in this miniature. Water-based paints were generally mixed in small, shallow containers or in the individual compartments of store-bought pigment boxes. In fact, one key element of miniature practice is missing from this image: the glass of water used to moisten dry blocks of pigment that features so prominently in the miniature self-portrait by the anonymous man (fig. 2).

Considered in light of these hints at professional ambition, other features of Labille-Guiard's *Self-Portrait* may be bolder than it first seemed. For instance, the artist depicts a wide range of surface textures—such as the close pairing of a solid, terracotta portrait bust with a diminutive group of wispy flowers—quite likely meant to demonstrate her impressive range of technical skills. The bust, seen in sharp profile against the soft fabric that sweeps across the easel and canvas, serves more than a representational function; it also invokes the *paragone*, or age-old rivalry, between painting and sculpture.[9] Since antiquity, distinguished painters had pointedly chosen to portray three-dimensional sculptures on two-dimensional supports as a means of demonstrating the superiority of their medium and their skills; although a painting can replicate a sculpture, a sculpture cannot mimic painting. Rarely did miniaturists make such lofty claims. But Labille-Guiard, an ambitious female artist caught between the demands of her career and the expectations of her gender, had few exact precedents to follow. Inventive reworkings of established tropes became prerequisites for her professional success.

COMMUNITIES

Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, née Labille, was born in Paris on April 11, 1749. Daughter of Marie-Anne Saint-Martin and Claude-Edme Labille, she was raised in a home on the eastern stretch of the rue Neuve des Petits-Champs, in the parish of Saint-Eustache (fig. 4).[10] Her father was a successful *marchand du corps de la mercerie*; his clothing shop, La Toilette, was located on the same street.[11] In the early 1760s, Labille's boutique was renowned for its elite clientele and for its salesgirls: it was there that Jeanne Bécu, an employee, is reputed to have met the comte du Barry, who took her as his mistress, putting an end to her need for wages.[12] As Madame du Barry (the wife of her lover's brother), she became the last mistress to King Louis XV. Young Adélaïde, however, lived a more troubled life. Her mother, who had been sickly throughout the artist's childhood, died in 1768. According to a letter written by Labille-Guiard in 1783, she was one of eight children, and the only one then alive.[13]

Labille-Guiard's early years revolved almost entirely around the street where she was born. The rue Neuve des Petits-Champs was a mixed-use thoroughfare of elegant boutiques, government office buildings, luxuri-

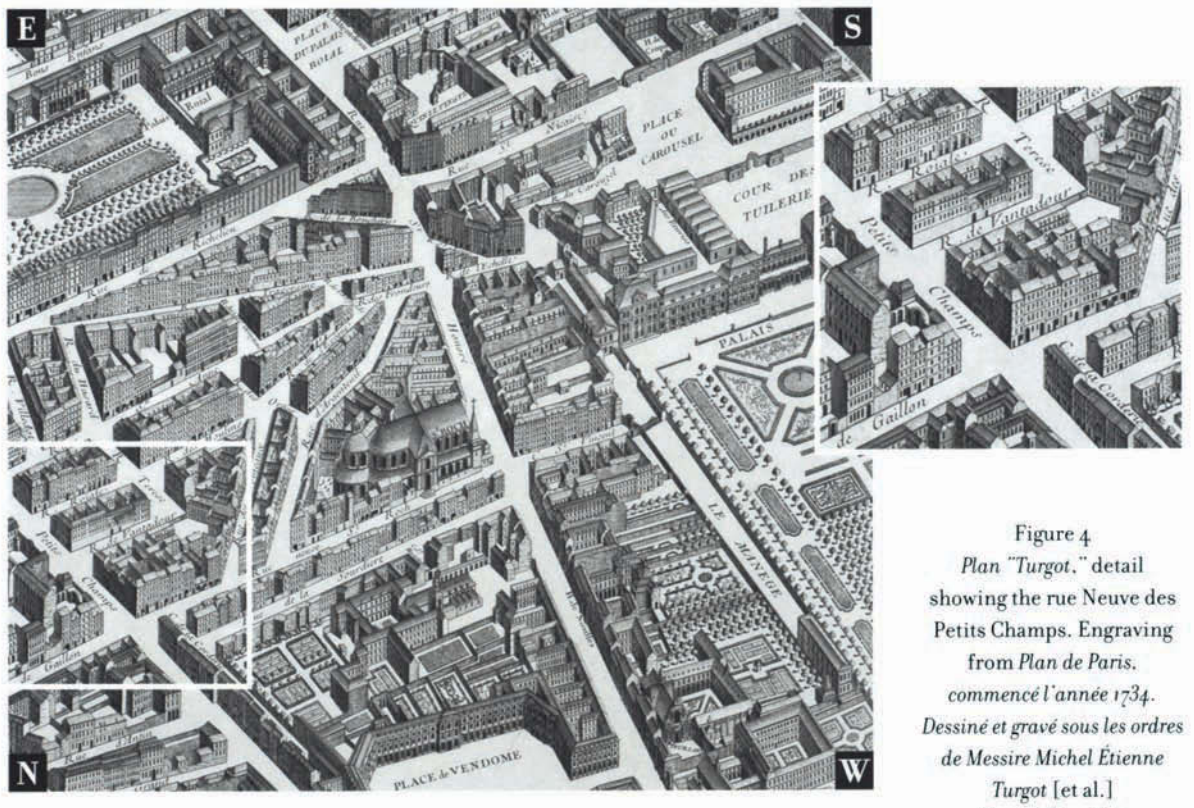

Figure 4
Plan "Turgot," detail showing the rue Neuve des Petits Champs. Engraving from *Plan de Paris, commencé l'année 1734. Dessiné et gravé sous les ordres de Messire Michel Étienne Turgot* [et al.] (Paris [?], 1739).

ous townhouses, and humbler, yet still respectable, residences. Its character was influenced, in part, by the adjacent Palais Royal. This complex, the seat of the duc d'Orléans, had been an important center of theater, music, and dance since the seventeenth century. In the 1780s, it would see its peristyle converted into one of Paris's preeminent sites of shopping and amusement.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the rue Neuve des Petits-Champs was home to a large number of professional artists. Some of the street's appeal was surely its proximity to the Louvre, where the Royal Academy maintained its headquarters and France's most favored painters and sculptors enjoyed studios and lodgings. The neighborhood also housed artists with no institutional affiliation, as well as many members of the Academy of Saint Luke, a group of fine artists who belonged to the city's trade guild of painters and sculptors but considered themselves more intellectually ambitious than other guild members.

Figure 5
Maurice-Quentin de La Tour (1704–1788), *Gabriel Bernard de Rieux*, 1739–41. Pastel and gouache on paper mounted on canvas, 200.7 × 149.9 cm (79 × 59 in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 94.PC.39.

Left largely to her own devices, the young Adélaïde turned to her neighborhood's dynamic community of artists for instruction and support. She was in her teens when she began studying with the Swiss Protestant miniaturist François-Élie Vincent (1708–1790), a resident of the rue Neuve des Petits-Champs and an officer in the Academy of Saint Luke. By 1769 Labille-Guiard had been admitted to her teacher's institution. By 1774 she was working in pastel, having received instruction from Maurice-Quentin de La Tour (1704–1788; fig.5), the Royal Academy's foremost pastelist, whose Louvre studio was just a few blocks from Labille-Guiard's home. An introduction to the aging master may well have come from La Tour's student Alexander Roslin (1718–1793), a Swedish portraitist living on Labille-Guiard's street. Roslin, who was admitted to the Royal Academy in 1753, was particularly supportive of female artists; his wife, Marie Suzanne Giroust (1734–1772), was a pastelist who joined the Academy in 1770. In fact, it would be Roslin who formally nominated Labille-Guiard for membership in 1783.

It appears that Labille-Guiard began painting in oils around 1777.[14] In this, her teacher was François-André Vincent, the son of her first instructor and, at the time, a provisional member (*agréé*) of the Royal Academy.[15] This relationship would prove to be the most important of her life. Labille-Guiard was a married woman when she began studying with Vincent *fils*. She had wedded Louis-Nicolas Guiard, an official in the Treasury of the Clergy and a neighbor on the rue Neuve des Petits-Champs, at Saint-Eustache on August 25, 1769.[16] When the childless couple legally separated in 1779, Labille-Guiard's name was already linked romantically to that of Vincent, and malicious rumors alleged that Vincent was painting works that Labille-Guiard signed.[17] This relationship, whether or not it was a fact in the 1770s, culminated in marriage in 1800.[18]

POSSIBILITIES AND PROHIBITIONS

Vincent and Labille-Guiard had grown up in the same milieu, but gendered expectations dictated that they pursue different educational routes and professional goals. Vincent progressed through a well-established course of study leading to membership in the Royal Academy. Having received private training in draftsmanship, possibly from his father, the nineteen-year-old

Vincent obtained the required letter of support and was admitted to the Royal Academy's prestigious school in March 1765.[19] He proceeded through the school's rigid set of stages and contests, which focused exclusively on drawing: students entering the program began by copying prints after ancient sculptures and, after surmounting a series of requisite challenges, concluded by studying male nudes in the Academy's life-drawing classes. Other drawing lessons covered such topics as perspective, expression, and anatomy—all of which had to be mastered in order to produce history paintings.

Royal Academy students additionally worked in the private studios of Academicians, where they learned such practical matters as how to prepare pigments for use in oil and aqueous media and other hands-on skills that were deemed more manual than intellectual and thus not addressed in the classroom. Vincent's teacher was Joseph-Marie Vien (1716–1809), one of the earliest and most influential French proponents of Neoclassicism—a broad movement that advocated a return to the styles, subjects, and values of antiquity. In Vien's studio, Vincent worked alongside other emerging artistic talents, including, most notably, the young Jacques-Louis David, who joined the studio in 1766.[20] In 1768, Vincent won the coveted Prix de Rome, and in 1771, after preparing at the École royale des élèves protégés, he embarked on a four-year term at the Palazzo Mancini, the French Academy's school in Rome. He returned to Paris in 1775 and participated in the biennial Salon exhibitions from 1777 forward. Vincent was made a full Academician in 1782 upon submission of a large and dramatic history painting that rendered the Rape of Orythia, a scene from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, in bold chiaroscuro (fig. 6).[21]

Unlike her future husband, Labille-Guiard was barred from the Royal Academy's schools and competitions. Although the Academy permitted female members in limited numbers, girls and women were banned from its classrooms. In a memo to Louis XVI dated May 14, 1783, the comte d'Angiviller, *directeur des bâtiments du Roi* (the nation's arts minister), defended the traditional prohibition on female students, noting that *décence* (modesty or propriety) should prevent women "from being able to study from life and in the public school established and authorized by Your Majesty."[22] For artistic instruction, girls had to pursue other options. Girls born into families of artists or craftsmen generally learned their métier in the ateliers of relatives, but this alternative was unavailable to Labille-Guiard. Monsieur Labille was a merchant, not a painter, and while his deluxe inventory surely sharpened his daughter's eye for

fabrics and fashions, he could not teach young Adélaïde to replicate the colors, forms, and textures of his stock.

Circumstances had led Labille-Guiard to François-Élie Vincent, a choice in keeping with both opportunity and precedent. Not only was Vincent *père* a neighbor, but his specialization—miniature painting—had long been seen as particularly suitable for female artists. Although the most prominent miniaturists of the eighteenth century were men, several guides to the medium featured instructions written with women, and especially female hobbyists, in mind.[23] As early as 1693, Cathérine Perrot, one of the first female Academicians, had published *Traité de la Miniature*, in which she personified the miniature as a royal woman—the "queen of painting."[24] Describing the practice of miniature painting as "cherished by all people of quality," Perrot explained that its water-soluble, odorless pigments would not mar even the most well-appointed surroundings. As evidence, Perrot boasted of having taught the art to no less a figure than the French-born queen of Spain, Marie-Louise d'Orléans.[25]

In Labille-Guiard's time, Claude Boutet decorously described his 1782 treatise *École de la mignature* as an aid for "nuns, and many others" who "wish to pass several hours of the day at this pleasant exercise."[26] Boutet imagined his ideal readers as virtuous country women who took up the art as "a passing amusement" that demanded neither dedicated workspace nor large expanses of time. Its implements, he stressed, were easily transported; "you work anywhere whenever you please, with no preparation; you can put it down and pick it up whenever and however many times you want."[27] Flowers, birds, landscapes, portraits, saints—even precise directions for painting a halo—these are the subjects that Boutet taught, and all could be studied within the private sphere. Indeed, the connotations of miniature painting

Figure 6
François-André Vincent (1746–1816), *The Rape of Orythia*, 1782. Oil on canvas, 260 × 195 cm (8½ ft. × 76¾ in.). Chambéry, France, Préfecture de Savoie (on deposit with the Musée du Louvre, inv. 8449). Reproduced in *Les peintres du roi, 1648–1793*, exh. cat. (Paris, RMN, 2000), cat. no. 51, p. 205.

as a private activity enhanced its appeal to well-mannered women; painted on tablets just a few inches wide, and often incorporated into pieces of jewelry or palm-sized boxes, miniatures were often given as personal tokens of affection, not sold in the unseemly public marketplace.[28]

The private functions of miniatures cannot be overemphasized, for privacy was a crucial component of feminine decorum—one that professional women artists flouted but hobbyists did not. Pierre-Joseph Boudier de Villemert's widely read conduct book, *Le nouvel ami des femmes*, spelled out this distinction.[29] The author believed that young women should possess some knowledge of painting, music, and poetry, which could serve "as a resource against boredom"; he suggested that painting and women were similar, with both being "embellished by the most brilliant coloring."[30] Yet, he implicitly warned women against exhibiting their creations in public, observing that "The glory of women is to make themselves little talked about. Quite different from men—who play, unmasked, all the roles that their passions grant them on the grand stage of the world—women must perform, as it were, only behind the curtain."[31] The philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau adopted a similar stance. Writing in *Émile*, his 1762 treatise on education, Rousseau allowed that a girl's education might include drawing, "which is closely connected with taste in dress."[32] He made clear, however, that girls should practice art only as an aid to personal adornment. "I would not have them taught landscape and still less figure painting," he wrote; "leaves, fruit, flowers, draperies, anything that will make an elegant trimming for the accessories of the toilette, and enable the girl to design her own embroidery if she cannot find a pattern to her taste; that will be quite enough."

Labille-Guiard did not confine herself to such gender-appropriate studies. Rather, she transgressed the reigning norms by learning to render figures in oil paint. Not only would she later turn to her female students as models for figure studies (fig. 7), but she also became one of the many women, as recent scholarship has demonstrated, who trained in the private studios of male Academicians. There, women mingled with Royal Academy students and raised the hackles of propriety's self-appointed guardians. In a 1775 letter d'Angiviller complained of Academicians' posing nude male models in their studios, thereby circumventing the restrictions governing the Academy's life-drawing class. More specifically, d'Angiviller criticized "the entrée given to girls or women artists in these private schools, to draw after the nude model."[33] "This is essentially a moral concern," he noted. Yet, d'Angiviller objected to

Figure 7
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Study of Marie-Gabrielle Capet*, 1789. Red, black, and white chalk, 51.1 × 40.4 cm (20⅛ × 15⅞ in.). New York, private collection.

more than women drawing from life; he was fundamentally opposed to the mixing of young men and women in artists' studios. Jacques-Louis David and Joseph-Benoît Suvée (1743–1807), a fellow student of Vien, were among those who accepted female students in their Louvre studios—at least until 1787, when d'Angiviller insisted that they banish from the premises all girls and women who were not members of their families.[34]

Labille-Guiard's most serious breach of decorum, however, might have been the act, required of professional artists in this era, of exhibiting her work in public. Throughout the 1780s, women who exhibited art were routinely criticized for their immodesty. For instance, a critic writing for the *Journal Général de France* in 1785 praised the talents of the young women—mostly Labille-Guiard's students—participating in the annual outdoor exhibition at the place Dauphine, but he lamented that so many girls were pursuing careers as painters.[35] Linking professional artistic pursuits to wanton behavior, he asked whether "the rules of propriety will be respected by women whose unashamed eyes will have become accustomed to seeing a man completely naked every day?" He also railed against "the praises of connoisseurs, that is to say flatterers," which "will not encourage the taste for retirement so important for a mother, nor that for fidelity and conjugal love."

Returning to Labille-Guiard's 1774 miniature *Self-Portrait*, then, we can understand its protective fiction a bit more fully. Although the work portrays Labille-Guiard as an elegant woman painting suitable subjects in an appropriately feminine medium, its very reason for being ran counter to gendered norms of decency. Far from an elite hobbyist, Labille-Guiard was an unhappily married Parisienne who needed to earn a living. And despite its intimations of private accomplishment, this miniature was for sale at a public, commercial exhibition organized by the Academy of Saint Luke. In fact, it was nothing less than an advertisement. By donning the guise of a modest female painter, pictured in a double portrait with a terracotta bust possibly representing a loved one, Labille-Guiard enabled prospective patrons to envision themselves with their wives, daughters, or mistresses in just such a tender scene. Indeed, although it arrived several years later, Labille-Guiard appears to have received a commission for a double portrait inspired by the *Self-Portrait*—a miniature portraying a woman putting artistic pursuits to virtuous use by capturing her husband's likeness on a small canvas (fig. 8).[36]

Further troubling its pictured ideal of quiet femininity, Labille-Guiard's *Self-Portrait* was displayed at a venue awash in controversy. Although the Saint Luke academicians were members of the painters' and sculptors' guild, they saw themselves not as manual workers but as practitioners of the liberal arts, like their brethren in the Royal Academy, whom they repeatedly angered by sponsoring exhibitions, running a school, and claiming other prerogatives formally restricted to the royally sanctioned institution.[37] In this age of height-

ened public debate, such institutional disputes routinely spilled into the Paris newspapers, which aired arguments for and against the striving artists throughout the years of Labille-Guiard's membership. The arguments ended abruptly in 1776, when finance minister Jacques Turgot shuttered the institution as part of his efforts to dissolve the nation's guilds.[38] Although dismantling the guilds was cast as a free-market triumph over the stranglehold of corporatism, the loss of the Academy of Saint Luke actually secured the Royal Academy's monopoly on exhibitions—at least for a time.

COMMERCE AND CURIOSITY: PAHIN DE LA BLANCHERIE

In the wake of the guild's demise, several enterprising businessmen devised schemes for new, profit-driven exhibiting venues. All, however, met with resistance from the comte d'Angiviller, who did everything in his power to protect the supremacy of the Royal Academy. In 1777, for instance, he accused the sponsors of a commercial exhibition held at the Colisée—a pleasure palace on the Champs-Élysées—with seeking to revive the defunct guild.[39] Bristling at the Colisée's unsavory reputation as a site of commercial entertainment, d'Angiviller termed the exhibition "dishonorable for the arts in every respect" and ushered through the king's State Council a prohibition on further exhibitions at the site.[40]

Yet one entrepreneur, a bourgeois protected by powerful friends, was undeterred. Evincing both noble and academic pretenses, he went by several variations on the name Claude-Mammès Pahin de Champlain de la Blancherie Newton. In 1777, Pahin established the Bureau de la Correspondance in a suite of rented rooms on the rue de la Harpe.[41] From 1779 to 1788 (with multiple

Figure 8
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Young Woman Painting the Portrait of a Man (Presumed Portrait of M et Mme Le Franc)*, 1779. Watercolor on ivory, heavy ormolu frame with inner beaded border, DIAM: 66 mm ($2^{9}/_{16}$ in.). Sold at Christie's, London, May 24, 2000, lot 82. Photo: © Christie's Images Ltd.

interruptions necessitated by financial difficulties), he welcomed "men of letters and artists" to a weekly gathering that he came to call the Salon de la Correspondance.[42] Equal parts intellectual meeting place, art exhibition, music room, cabinet of curiosities, and novelty shop, each assembly invited visitors to examine and discuss fifteen to seventy-five "books, paintings, mechanical devices, specimens of natural history, sculptural models, and, ultimately, all types of ancient or modern works."[43] Pahin also published a weekly newsletter, which, adopting the high-minded vocabulary of Enlightenment discourse, he titled *Les Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts* (*NRLA*). In addition to presenting developments in science, literature, and the arts with "details of interest for curiosity and commerce," each issue included a supplement that listed, and lavished praise upon, the objects on view.[44] Not incidentally, the newsletter also featured occasional reminders that all exhibited works were for sale.

Despite d'Angiviller's repeated objections, Pahin's institution served as both a supplement to, and a staging ground for, the Royal Academy. Paintings by Academicians, including Jean-Bernard Restout, Anne Vallayer-Coster, and Guillaume Voiriot, could be seen from time to time; some were newly completed, while others were lent by collectors hoping to find buyers or otherwise wishing to call attention to their holdings. As Pahin himself observed, the Salon de la Correspondance played a still more significant role in the careers of artists with no institutional affiliations, providing a forum where they could achieve recognition and, ideally, be shepherded toward Academy membership.[45] Exhibiting at the Salon de la Correspondance did not always end so happily; Joseph Ducreux was three times denied Academy admission despite multiple appearances in Pahin's rooms. Yet, Labille-Guiard and her fellow portraitists Antoine Vestier and Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun were among those for whom the opportunity provided a stepping-stone to the Academy.[46]

On May 1, 1782, Labille-Guiard exhibited with Pahin for the first time. She displayed three pastels: a mid-length *Portrait of the Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre* and two life-size *têtes d'étude* (head studies)—one depicting a young man and the other a young woman. These appeared for two weeks amid several pieces of fine art as well as objects that included a fast and efficient kitchen stove and a pair of waterproof leather shoes.[47] As usual, Pahin lauded each and every item displayed. Discussing the *têtes d'étude*, he praised the "variety" of

"touch" that enabled Labille-Guiard "to render linen, wool, or silk" convincingly, and asked viewers to observe how "constant and thoughtful study has rendered her familiar with nature."[48]

The whereabouts of these pastels is uncertain, but Pahin's description suggests that one might be *Head of a Young Woman (Delightful Surprise)* (fig. 9). A bust-length depiction of a nude pubescent girl, the pastel carefully replicates varied fabrics and surfaces—a rumpled swath of white linen, a brightly highlighted silk hair ribbon, and a bolster with a matte surface, possibly worsted wool—all echoing Pahin's claims for Labille-Guiard's *têtes d'étude*. Other delicate surfaces are evoked as well—a gold earring, aqueous eyes, and pale skin, with glimpses of blue paper shining through the thin layers of pastel, like veins infusing a supremely delicate complexion.[49] Other characteristics lead to the supposition that the work could have belonged to a pair, the missing half of which—the study of a young man—would have hung to the left of the image (the figure's right). Not only does the young woman gaze in that direction, but the heightened finish on the left side of the composition further encourages the viewer's eyes to linger there; whereas the white fabric at the lower left is so fully realized that it appears almost sculptural, the handling at the lower right is comparatively loose, its forms unresolved. Finally, *Delightful Surprise* bears a date of 1779, and so could have been in Labille-Guiard's collection when she exhibited the two *têtes d'étude* in 1782.

Risqué though it may seem, *Delightful Surprise* is precisely the type of work that a budding female portraitist might have been expected to produce. Its medium, like miniature painting, was considered eminently suitable for hobbyists and women; pastels employ crayons of ground pigment that issue no odor, clean up easily, and require little space or equipment. Presaging Boutet's claims for miniatures, Louis de Jaucourt's entry on pastels in the *Encyclopédie* describes this manner of painting as "the easiest and the most convenient, in that it can be put down, taken up, retouched, and finished whenever one wants."[50] A 1788 *Traité de la Peinture au Pastel* further asserts that "pastel can rescue so many young women from the tedium of solitude."[51] In fact, the author casts pastel as an aid to female virtue: "This type of painting has so many charms that nothing is better suited to furnishing [young women] with resources against idleness, the source of so many indiscretions." Although he grants that girls may be "put off by all of the equipment involved with painting,"

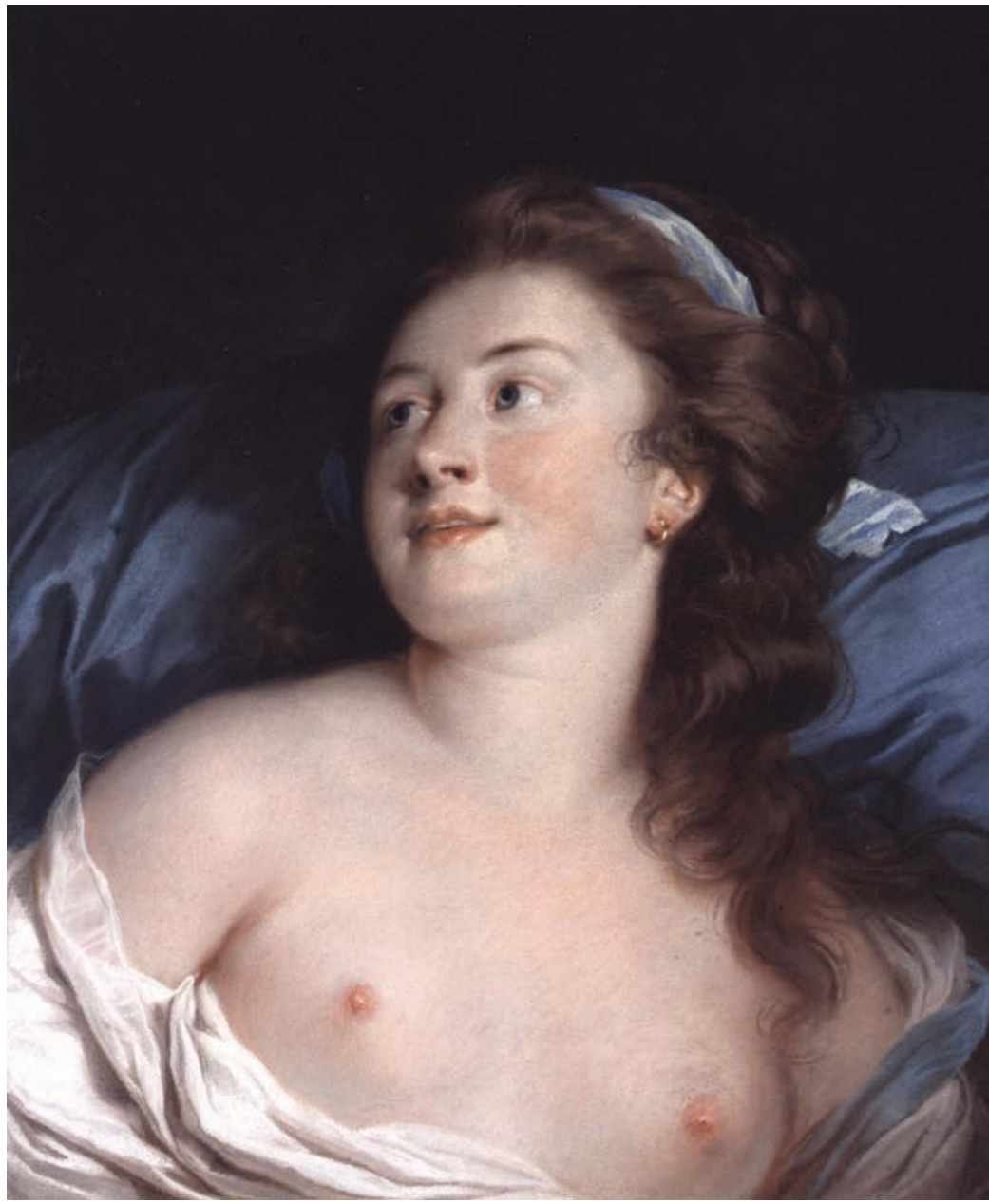

Figure 9
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Head of a Young Woman (Delightful Surprise)*, 1779.
Pastel on blue paper, 54.6 × 44.5 cm (21 ½ × 17 ½ in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 96.PC.327.

he insists that nothing suits them better than rendering a flower or a landscape, or recording their parents' likeness. "Pastel gives them the simplest means. It is, so to speak, only a game."

Delightful Surprise, however, suggests more than a hobbyist's amusement; it evinces the more complex project of conveying emotion through such features as the tilt of the head, the shape of the mouth, and the orientation of the pupils. Its genre, the *tête d'expression* (expressive head), has roots in the practice of history painters, who, needing to represent actions and narratives through gestures and faces, had long prepared preliminary sketches

Figure 10
François-André Vincent, *Study for The Rape of Orythia*, 1782. Chalk on paper, 50.8 × 39.1 cm (20 × 15 3/8 in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.37.
Photo: Art Resource, New York.

Figure 11
Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), *Simple Admiration*, ca. 1688. Pen and ink and chalk on paper, 24.5 × 19.1 cm (9 5/8 × 7 1/2 in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Arts graphiques, 28314 recto. Photo: Madeleine Coursaget/ RMN/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 12
Rosalba Carriera, *A Muse*, mid-1720s. Pastel on blue paper, 31 × 26 cm (12 3/16 × 10 1/4 in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003.17.

Figure 13
Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806), *Fantastical Figure, Portrait of the Abbot of Saint-Non*, ca. 1769. Oil on canvas, 80 × 65 cm (31 1/2 × 21 1/2 in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, M11061. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

of expression (fig. 10). In France, the means of conveying expression had been codified most famously by Charles Le Brun, who delivered a lecture on the subject, illustrated with original drawings, at the Royal Academy in 1688 (fig. 11).[52] Known as the *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*, Le Brun's lecture, accompanied by instructive engravings, was published in more than sixty editions throughout the eighteenth century. But the *tête d'expression* had also been treated as an independent genre, divorced from any larger narrative, by Rosalba Carriera and others (fig. 12). This free-standing use of the *tête d'expression* had reached its apogee in the middle of the century with Jean-Honoré Fragonard's *figures de fantaisie* (fantasy portraits), which hover between traditional portraiture and evocations of states of mind (fig. 13).[53]

The expression conveyed by *Delightful Surprise* might best be described as sensual awakening, embodied, appropriately, in the figure of a girl on the cusp of adolescence.[54] Gentle movement, implied throughout the composition, enhances the illusion that the viewer is glimpsing a fleeting portion of an ongoing process. The girl seems to be twisting away from the supporting bolster; her proper left shoulder still leaves an impression on the soft fabric,

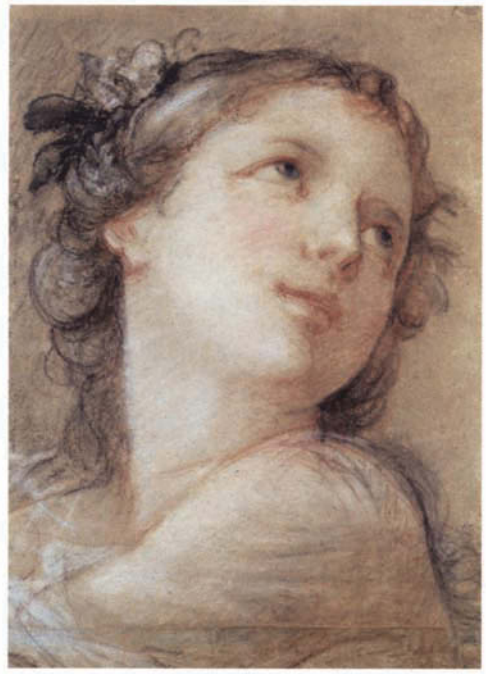

Figure 14
Charles-Joseph Natoire (1700–1777), *Head of a Bacchante*, 1741. Black and red chalk, heightened with white chalk and blue and pink pastels on blue-gray paper, 32.7 × 23.5 cm (12⅞ × 9¼ in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003.85.

Figure 15
Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842), *Bacchante*, 1785. Oil on canvas, 73.3 × 54.9 cm (28¾ × 21⅝ in.). Williamstown, Mass., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1955.954.

but her right shoulder is already lifted. Her head and gaze are directed up and to her right. Even her hair seems to be in motion, with unruly tresses, having escaped from the loosened ribbon, cascading down her neck and shoulder. Indeed, each of the five senses is suggested here: varied textures evoke tactility; crimson lips, flecked with white highlights, are slightly parted as if to suggest taste or sound; the eyes sparkle; the nostrils are flared; even the ear is fully visible, its lobe reddened and inflamed.

As Joseph Baillio has suggested, the pastel's evocation of female sensuality echoes the period fashion for painted bacchantes—the unbridled women of antiquity said to have abandoned home and family to indulge in the wild revels of the wine god Bacchus (figs. 14, 15).[55] Vigée-Lebrun painted at least two bacchantes in the 1780s, one of which might have been commissioned by a collector of erotica. By contrast, *Delightful Surprise*, with no classicizing attributes to indicate historical or literary context, yields an image of a seemingly modern girl whose external appearance hints suggestively at interior sensations.

Over the next eleven months, Labille-Guiard exhibited ten additional works at the Salon de la Correspondance, and Pahin did his best to

Figure 16
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Madame Labille-Guiard*, exhibited at the Salon de la Correspondance, 1782. Pastel. Location unknown.

heighten interest in all of them. Praising Labille-Guiard, he referred to her as a student (*élève*) of La Tour, seeing in her pastels "that expression and that truthfulness which, brought to the highest level by her master, give him rights to immortality."[56] Further observing the strong compositions, robust lines, and assured manipulation of hues that characterize Labille-Guiard's pastels, Pahin declared the artist's handling of this notoriously delicate medium to be "*mâle* and firm, quite rare in this type of painting."[57]

Pahin continually reminded readers that Labille-Guiard was uncharacteristic not only in her handling of pastel but also in her gender. In fact, his publication was among the first to link Labille-Guiard and Vigée-Lebrun under the rubric of "women artists." In June 1782, works by Labille-Guiard and Vigée-Lebrun were exhibited side by side at the Salon de la Correspondance (fig. 16). The women had shared an exhibition before, when both showed with the Academy of Saint Luke in 1774. Nevertheless, Pahin trumpeted the occasion with characteristic flair.[58] As reported in *NRLA*, "The self-portraits of two women artists, which chance has brought together as pendants, have created a highly *piquant* spectacle, which has excited the whispers and applause of two assemblies." Pahin also compared and contrasted the women's paintings, and even the women themselves, in terms that would be adopted by critics for centuries to come. Responding in part to Vigée-Lebrun's appealing combinations of and high-toned colors, Pahin lauded the artist's "charming productions" and "personal graces," while he praised Labille-Guiard for "perfect resemblance" and notable "vigor."

Style was only one of the many differences that separated Labille-Guiard and Vigée-Lebrun in this period. The Lebruns were living a fashionable life in the Hôtel de Lubert on the rue de Cléry, which they had purchased in 1779.[59] There, in the gallery run by

Figure 17
Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Peace Bringing Back Abundance*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 102.5 × 132.5 cm (40 3/8 × 52 1/4 in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, 3052. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

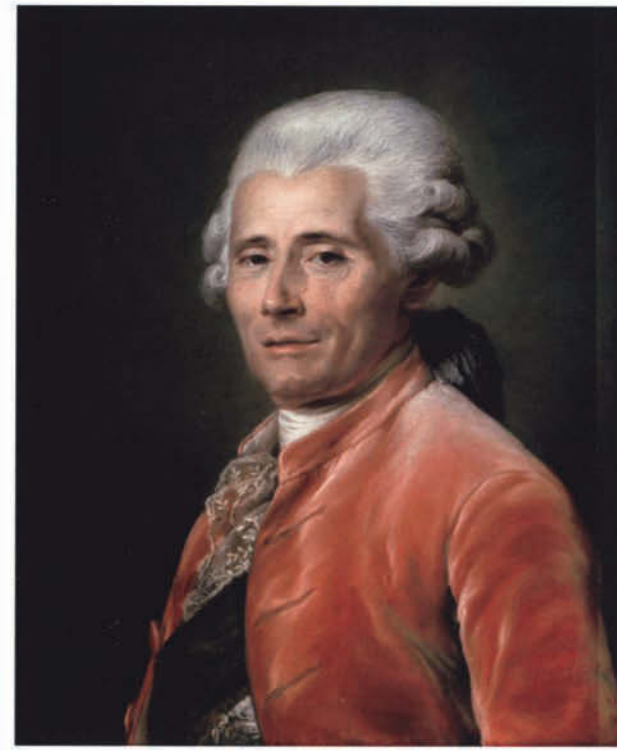

Figure 18
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of François-André Vincent*, 1783. Pastel, 60.8 × 50 cm (23⅞ × 19¾ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, 27027. Photo: Michèle Bellot/RMN/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 19
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien*, 1782. Pastel, 58.5 × 48.2 cm (23 × 19 in.). Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre, 51–11–1. Photo: © Musée Fabre, Montpellier Agglomeration/ Frederic Jaulmes).

her husband, the prominent art dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun, Vigée-Lebrun exhibited such important works as a portrait of Queen Marie-Antoinette and several large allegorical paintings that won considerable acclaim (fig. 17).[60] In contrast, Labille-Guiard, having left her husband, was renting modest lodgings at the "house of M. Roches, *serrurier* [lockmaker] to the king, rue de Grammont."[61] Both women, however, were paving paths to the next level of professional recognition.

For Labille-Guiard, achieving visibility meant, among other things, establishing and announcing membership in a group of well-placed male Academicians. Between May 1782 and March 1783, she exhibited six pastels portraying painters and sculptors who either had played, or soon would play, important roles in her life and career: François-André Vincent (fig. 18); Vincent's teacher, Joseph-Marie Vien (fig. 19); the flower specialist turned history painter, Jean-Jacques Bachelier; the painter of the influential *Oath of Brutus* (1771), Jacques-

Figure 20
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Jacques-Antoine Beaufort*, 1783. Pastel on blue paper, 58 × 47 cm (22¾ × 18½ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, 27036 recto. Photo: Michèle Bellot/RMN/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 21
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of the Sculptor Augustin Pajou Modeling the Bust of J.-B. Lemoyne*, 1782. Pastel, 71 × 58 cm (28 × 22¾ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Arts graphiques, 27035. Photo: Michèle Bellot/RMN/Art Resource, New York.

Antoine Beaufort (fig. 20); the sculptor Augustin Pajou (fig. 21); and the portraitist Guillaume Voiriot, who, like so many other artists, had once lived on the rue Neuve des Petits Champs.[62] In January 1783, *NRLA* boasted of "the confidence in her talents demonstrated by these distinguished men."[63] Continuing, Pahin averred that the paintings of so many honorable artists "completely destroy the false opinion that envy or ignorance has hastened to spread... that the merit of her works was owed to a foreign hand." (Presumably, Pahin did not believe that reminding readers of Labille-Guiard's alleged improprieties would harm his sales.)

Multiple lines of influence and connection course through these pastels. The portrait of Voiriot, for instance, was painted for Vincent, and the portrait of Vincent for the history painter Joseph-Benoît Suvée, a student of Bachelier's who also enjoyed the support of Vien.[64] Additionally, Labille-Guiard collected, and presumably studied, works by these men, as evidenced

by an *Académie*—a nude drawn from life of a male nude—by Suvée that she sent to Pahin's exhibition of June 27, 1782.[65] In fact, the theme of affiliation forms the very subject of one of the works that Labille-Guiard exhibited, the *Portrait of the Sculptor Augustin Pajou Modeling the Bust of J.-B. Lemoyne* (fig. 21). Commemorating the 1759 Salon exhibition, where Pajou had displayed a bust of his teacher Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, Labille-Guiard's pastel offers a double portrait and an image of artistic heritage. Just as she presents Pajou in the process of honoring his patrimony, so, too, does Labille-Guiard inventively add her own name to an illustrious lineage of male artists and foreground the ambitious notion of the *paragone*, already hinted at in her miniature self-portrait of 1774.

Most significantly, perhaps, this double portrait played a literal role in establishing an artistic community for Labille-Guiard. On May 31, 1783, the portraitist Alexander Roslin presented Labille-Guiard for membership in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture.[66] When the assembled Academicians voted her into their group, they accepted the portrait of Pajou (fig. 21) as the first of her two required reception pieces.

CHAPTER 2

NOTICE, NETWORKS, AND NOTORIETY 1783–1787

The Royal Academy's register of May 31, 1783, includes an unusual signature: Adélaïde des Vertus—Adélaïde of the Virtues—a name that Labille-Guiard was using for the first time. Although the origins of the name are unknown, Labille-Guiard was likely aware that the virtues and vices of women artists were burning issues on that historic day, which also saw the admission of Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Added to the current female members—the still-life and genre painter Anne Vallayer-Coster and the miniaturist Marie-Thérèse Réboul (Madame Vien)—the new *Académiciennes* brought the number of women to the traditional limit of four, much to the chagrin of the comte d'Angiviller.[67] In the weeks leading up to the women's admission, d'Angiviller sought and obtained a royal decree affirming the cap on female membership.[68] Concerned, as always, about the specter of indecency, he argued that four women would be "sufficient to honor the talent" of female artists, who "can never be useful to the progress of the arts."[69] By the time the king signed the proclamation, however, Labille-Guiard and Vigée-Lebrun were en route to their Salon debuts. There, they would be greeted most indecorously.

THE SALON OF 1783

The exhibition that opened in the Louvre's Salon Carré on August 25, 1783, offered Labille-Guiard an unparalleled opportunity to attract critics, patrons, and that all-important commodity—attention.[70] In the 1780s, as the court of public opinion grew increasingly significant in shaping artists' reputations, the Salons reached the apogee of their influence; more numerous and more diverse visitors attended each exhibition, and disparate voices were being

Figure 22
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Joseph-Benoît Suvée*, 1783. Pastel, 60.5 × 50.5 cm (23¾ × 19⅞ in.). Paris, École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, MU 1505.

heard as never before. As one contemporary put it, "Five or six thousand people go every other year to enjoy the spectacle of the Salon. Each one has a right to critique the artists."[71] Of course, unprecedented exposure to so many wagging tongues meant moving ever farther from the proscriptions on bourgeois female modesty as codified by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Boudier de Villemert, and others. Accordingly, Labille-Guiard put her best foot forward but was careful to tread lightly.

In part, this meant selecting pieces that affirmed her network of support. Notably, though, while she reexhibited five of the portraits of Academicians already seen in Pahin's rooms, Labille-Guiard omitted the *Portrait of François-André Vincent* (fig. 18). It seems likely that the removal of this work was meant to banish any scent of scandal from her Salon debut. Certainly, it does not appear to have been caused by lack of access to the painting: its owner, the painter Joseph-Benoît Suvée, sat for the sixth artist's portrait that Labille-Guiard showed at the Louvre (fig. 22). The seventh and final portrait of an Academician depicted Étienne-Pierre-Adrien Gois, a sculptor best known for allegorical and religious works.[72]

Figure 23
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Madame Mitoire with Her Children, Breast-Feeding One of Them*, 1783. Pastel, 90.3 × 71 cm (35⅝ × 28 in.). Paris, private collection, as of 1973.

Figure 24
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Madame Mitoire with Her Children*, 1783. Miniature on ivory, DIAM: 7 cm (2¾ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 4301. Photo: RMN/Art Resource, New York.

An eighth pastel, while not part of the series of artists' portraits, offers an inventive, and uniquely feminine, variation on the theme. Measuring nearly three feet in height, the *Portrait of Madame Mitoire with Her Children, Breast-Feeding One of Them* (fig. 23) depicts some of the youngest descendants of the prolific Van Loo family of painters. Although Madame Mitoire was not herself an artist, she was the granddaughter of Carle van Loo and the niece of Amédée van Loo—both renowned history painters; here, we see her nurturing the next generation. One might perceive an analogy between the childless artist and the motherly sitter, for Labille-Guiard was widely known for her dedication to her students, to whom she transmitted an artistic inheritance.

Nourishing connections unite Madame Mitoire's family. Individualized though they are, the three figures are intimately bound together in a circle of physical and emotional links. The mother all but envelops the nursing infant while turning her gaze to the standing child at the left. This child, in turn, completes the circle with his outstretched arms; the left arm reaches around his mother's back, and the gentle curve of his right forearm is continued by his mother's similarly bared right arm, which cradles the baby at her breast.[73]

A small round table and glass of water echo this circular composition, which is further emphasized in a round miniature painted after the pastel (fig. 24).

More broadly, this family portrait gives visual form to the virtues of maternal breast-feeding, championed in the era as a route to domestic bliss and national well-being. Perhaps the pastel was also meant to appeal to the desirable clientele of elite mothers who, prompted by the writings of Rousseau, were abandoning the long-standing practice of dispatching infants to wet nurses. A proponent of all things natural, Rousseau had hailed maternal nursing not simply as a public health measure but also as a cure for the degeneracy of elite society. In *Émile*, he predicted that "when mother's deign to nurse their own children, then will be a reform in morals; natural feeling will revive in every heart, there will be no lack of citizens for the state; this first step by itself will restore mutual affection."[74]

Labille-Guiard's painting seems to have been the first portrait of a contemporary, nursing mother to appear at the Salon in the Louvre, but it was far from the first image of breast-feeding seen there.[75] In 1759 the genre painter Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805) had exhibited a picture of rural family life that centered on a woman holding a robust infant at her exposed breast, and history paintings of the 1780s had incorporated lactating women. An exemplary scene from antiquity in which Cimon, sentenced to death by starvation, is saved by his virtuous daughter, who breast-feeds him in prison—had been rendered several times under the title *Roman Charity*. Labille-Guiard's sitter Jean-Jacques Bachelier had exhibited the subject at the 1765 Salon, after submitting the canvas as a reception piece that contributed to his reclassification as a history painter (he had been received initially in the category of still life).[76] One other portrait of a nursing mother does seem to have been produced in 1783, although perhaps not exhibited in public; interestingly, it is by another of Labille-Guiard's sitters, Guillaume Voiriot, who painted the *Portrait of Madame Coquebert de Montgret Feeding Her Child*.[77]

Although closely tied to the traditions and communities of French painting, Labille-Guiard also enjoyed support from other areas of Parisian society, where she was slowly earning the trust of influential figures. Affiliates of the Comédie-Française had counted among her sitters since at least 1776, when she painted a pastel portrait of the actor known as Lekain (Henri Louis Cain).[78] In 1783 she exhibited the *Portrait of the Actor Brizard in the Role of King Lear* (fig. 25), which referenced one of the year's most written-about new

Figure 25
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of the Actor Brizard in the Role of King Lear*, 1783. Pastel, 98.5 × 80 cm (38¾ × 31½ in.). Paris, Théâtre national de l'Odéon. Photo: Jean-Pol Stercq.

Figure 26
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Jean-François Ducis*, 1783. Pastel, 101 × 81 cm (39¾ × 31⅞ in.). Paris, Comédie-Française. Photo: © Collections de la Comédie-Française/ Patrick Lorette.

plays, *Le Roi Léar*, by Jean-François Ducis of the Académie française, whose portrait Labille-Guiard painted in the same year (fig. 26).[79] After opening at Versailles on January 16, 1783, *Le Roi Léar*, one of a suite of Shakespeare plays reinterpreted by Ducis, began its run at the Théâtre français on January 20.[80] Although reviews were not uniformly positive, the production had been discussed repeatedly in newspapers, with a March issue of the daily *Journal de Paris* devoted almost entirely to comparing the staged production with the written text.[81]

Labille-Guiard's treatment of this topical subject adapts the *tête d'expression* to explicitly narrative ends. As the *livret* for the Salon indicates, the artist has selected the emotional moment when the dispossessed Lear awakens in a barren cave. Apparently unaware of his dire circumstances, the wronged monarch seems capable of perceiving only goodness, exclaiming "O the sweet light!" Labille-Guiard's rendering of this instant of awakening might be seen as a tragic reworking of *Delightful Surprise*, with age and infirmity supplanting the youthful expectation of the earlier pastel. Whereas the gentle movement of the girl in *Delightful Surprise* seems effortless, as she almost floats away from her blue fabric support, the white-haired Lear appears to struggle to lift

himself into a seated position, with his left hand tensed in an attempt to bear his weight. As his stiffened body forms a powerful diagonal across the rural landscape, his head, eyes, and right hand are all raised in a single gesture of dawning consciousness, while his barely open lips and faraway gaze fix him in a state of absorbed delirium.

Like *Delightful Surprise*, the portrait of Brizard does not so much point to a single emotional state as emphasize the very idea of physiognomic expression—a vital tool for both actors and painters.[82] Throughout the eighteenth century, the Academy's artists recognized and debated the relationship between conveying emotions on stage and on canvas, and actors were often used as studio models by artists studying expression.[83] Theorists of drama, too, saw that painting and the theater shared common ground, as both mediums transmit narratives through visual representations, albeit to different extents. On this subject, art historians are most familiar with the writings of the philosopher and playwright Denis Diderot, who advocated true-to-life tableaux in both painting and theater, and who particularly admired Greuze's paintings of sentimental narratives.[84] Looking beyond Diderot and Greuze, the art historian Mark Ledbury has recently made important strides in mapping the broader intellectual, social, and professional cross-currents that connected practitioners of the visual and theatrical arts in eighteenth-century Paris.[85] Of particular interest is Ledbury's careful examination of the mutual influences between the playwright Ducis and Jacques-Louis David at precisely the time of Labille-Guiard's portraits of Ducis and Brizard.

There is yet another reason why the portrait of Brizard may have been Labille-Guiard's most noteworthy submission to the 1783 Salon: as indicated in the *livret* and in reproductive prints, it belonged to the comtesse d'Angiviller, wife of the very administrator who had bristled at the Academy's acceptance of Labille-Guiard and Vigée-Lebrun. The comtesse, who commissioned the portraits of both Brizard and Ducis, was also known to support Anne Vallayer-Coster. Clearly, she did not see eye to eye with her husband on the matter of female Academicians.

But the comtesse needed no spousal approval, for she wielded considerable influence quite apart from her husband's station. Born Élisabeth-Josephe de la Borde, she hailed from a wealthy and powerful family of *fermiers généraux*—the king's regional tax collectors.[86] Moreover, she had established a reputation of her own after her 1747 marriage to Gérard Binet, baron de Mar-

chais (d. 1780), one of the *premiers valets de chambre* to Louis XV. As Madame Campan remembered it, the baroness had been closely allied with Madame de Pompadour (d. 1764) and had gained further renown in the 1760s and 1770s when she received "all the court" and "all the famous men of the century," including Diderot, d'Alembert, and "authors in every genre" at weekly gatherings in her town house on the rue d'Oratoire, which rivaled those of the noted *salonnière* Madame Geoffrin.[87] Ducis regularly visited, and possibly lodged, *chez d'Angiviller*, for a letter dated June 21, 1784, was addressed to him there.[88]

Many critics, however, were less interested in celebrating Labille-Guiard's impressive patrons or well-honed skills than in capitalizing on the curiosity value of a Salon featuring three female artists, two of whom were making their Louvre debuts. This more controversial story line was evidently better suited to the expanded Salon audiences of the 1780s, which included large numbers of visitors who were neither fluent in the language of connoisseurship nor especially concerned with artistic patronage.[89] Selling specifically to this market of less-sophisticated viewers, a new breed of enterprising pamphleteers now offered exhibition guides that aimed to entertain, not to analyze. They set their critiques to the tunes of popular ditties, borrowed characters from boulevard theaters, and peppered their texts with quips, puns, and fanciful dialogues. One anonymous author joked about the mythological beauty pageant said to have precipitated the Trojan War: "Mesdames Vallayer and Guiard also display their graces at the Salon; but Paris awards the apple to Madame Le Brun."[90]

Unlike these light-hearted commentaries, however, one pamphlet crossed the crucial line between banter and libel. The Salon's female artists, and Labille-Guiard in particular, were the primary targets of a virulent tract that, in the disingenuous manner of the day, presented lewd gossip purported to be written by John Churchill, first duke of Marlborough—the English general who had roundly defeated France's army in the early eighteenth-century War of the Spanish Succession, but whose subsequent fall from the graces of Queen Anne had made him the butt of much French humor. In 1783, the Ambigu comique had staged the hit comedy *Marlborough Goes to War*, and capitalizing on this popularity, the journalist Louis Abel Beffroy de Reigny, who often wrote under the pen name Cousin Jacques, had published a pamphlet entitled *Marlborough au Sallon du Louvre*.[91] In turn, an anonymous pamphleteer produced an unauthorized sequel, *Suite de Malborough au Salon 1783*,

offering a crass rendition of the familiar rumor that Labille-Guiard had traded sexual favors for help with her painting.[92] Filled with double entendres, the bawdy poem asserted that François-André Vincent "touchès up this woman" and declared, "His love makes your talent, Love dies and talent falls." Finally, a pun on Vincent's name accused Labille-Guiard of having two thousand lovers, since "vingt cents, ou 2000, c'est la même chose."

Having established a coterie of supporters over the preceding years, Labille-Guiard turned to her most powerful patron for assistance. On September 19, she penned a savvy letter asking the comtesse d'Angiviller to intercede with her influential husband.[93] The letter opened with a plea for female empathy, as Labille-Guiard reminded the comtesse of "the interest that you take in Mme Coster and in your sex in general." Continuing, Labille-Guiard underscored the difference between criticisms of an artist's work and aspersions cast on a woman's honor: "One must expect to have one's talent ripped apart... it's the fate of all who expose themselves to public judgment, but their works, their paintings, are there to defend them, if they are good they plead their cause. Who can plead on behalf of women's morals?" Labille-Guiard did not, however, ignore the practical details. She identified two officials who could preside over the matter and spelled out the charges against the offending vendors. Citing censorship laws that required all publications to obtain government authorization, Labille-Guiard asserted that the text had not "been approved by any censor, which renders the sellers quite guilty."[94]

Adopting a more sentimental tone, the letter went on to offer a moving tale loosely based on the facts of Labille-Guiard's life. It told of a country priest visiting Paris who hoped to do a good turn for an elderly parishioner. Knowing that the octogenarian's daughter belonged to the Academy, the well-intentioned cleric had acquired every review of the current Salon as a gift to the old man. The results, as Labille-Guiard asked her reader to envision them, were heart-wrenching:

> Consider, Madame, the sorrow of an eighty-year-old man, who has only one daughter remaining of his eight children, and who consoles himself for all his losses with the bit of reputation that she has and, therefore, with the esteem that she enjoys. Picture him reading avidly, waiting to see her works criticized or praised, and seeing a horrible

> libel. Great people expect this, but for an ordinary individual to see that his daughter, in seeking a bit of glory, has lost her reputation, that she is insulted, how cruel that is!

By casting her plight as an intergenerational tragedy of the type seen in paintings by Greuze and in staged family dramas (*drames bourgeois*) by Diderot, Labille-Guiard provided a familiar narrative framework.[95] Choosing such easily recognizable character types, she increased the likelihood that the comtesse would respond as hoped. In fact, theatrical conventions may have directly inspired this passage, for Labille-Guiard had consulted with the playwright Ducis, who wrote a second letter to their mutual patron on the artist's behalf.[96]

Legal proceedings commenced immediately.[97] At eight o'clock on the night of September 20, the bookseller Pierre Cousin was placed under arrest and brought before magistrate Pierre Chénon for interrogation. Cousin was later released, but thirty-nine copies of the defamatory pamphlet were seized from his boutique in the Louvre's Cour du Jardin de l'Infante, just downstairs from the Salon. Investigators followed Cousin's leads but were not able to identify the author. Despite speculations naming rivals within the Academy or the caustic satirist Antoine Joseph Gorsas, supposedly hired for the purpose by the jilted Monsieur Guiard, the writer remains anonymous to this day.[98]

THE SALON OF 1785

The libelous incident behind her, Labille-Guiard faced a new problem as the next Salon approached—her career had stagnated. Some of her 1785 Salon portraits reveal heightened ambitions, with more complex compositions, more fully rendered details, and more lifelike figures than her previous works. For the first time, her most prominent paintings were in oils. But most were of the same general type as earlier works, and many depicted sitters who traveled in the circles of previous patrons.[99]

For instance, the *Portrait of Charles-Amédée van Loo* portrays a member of the Royal Academy who was also Madame Mitoire's uncle, yet it differs considerably from Labille-Guiard's earlier portraits of Academicians (fig. 27). Some of these changes are due to the circumstances of the work's production:

Figure 27
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Charles-Amédée van Loo*, 1785. Oil on canvas, 130 × 98 cm (51⅛ × 38⅝ in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, M.V. 5874. Photo: RMN/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 28
Adolf-Ulric Wertmüller (Swedish, 1751–1811), *Portrait of Jean-Jacques Bachelier*, 1784. Oil on canvas, 120 × 96 cm (47¼ × 37¾ in.). Paris, Institut Tessin, NMTiP.668. Photo: The National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm.

Academy admission requirements mandated that portraitists submit two portraits of current members, and these pictures remained on permanent display at the Louvre.[100] Destined to hang amid oil portraits of artists stretching back to the seventeenth century, most of which were approximately the same size (roughly 51 by 38 inches [130 × 95 cm]), the *Portrait of Van Loo* is painted in oil and is larger, more formal, and less contemporary in its style than Labille-Guiard's earlier portraits of Academicians. Working within the traditional template for portraitists' reception pieces, Labille-Guiard portrays Van Loo seated in a gilt armchair next to a painting in progress that appears to depict a Virgin and Child, as he grasps a clutch of brushes and a palette firmly in his left hand. Pointing back several decades, to a time before Neoclassical motifs and linear forms dominated French furniture, his chair features a dramatically swirling arm support whose curves are repeated in Van Loo's generous belly. This old-

Figure 29
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of the Comtesse de Flahaut and Her Son*, exhibited at the 1785 Salon. Oil on canvas, 98 × 78.5 cm (51 1/8 × 30 7/8 in.). Jersey, Channel Islands, collection of Mr. J. O. E. Hood, as of 1973.

fashioned chair stands in marked contrast to the more up-to-date seat visible in Adolf-Ulric Wertmüller's reception piece depicting Jean-Jacques Bachelier (seated next to Bachelier's *Roman Charity*), which was also exhibited at the 1785 Salon (fig. 28).

Whereas Labille-Guiard's bust-length pastels of Joseph-Marie Vien, Bachelier, and the other Academicians were intended to be shared among a group of colleagues, the Van Loo portrait was made for posterity, and the work's composition and handling respond to this change. In lieu of the proximity of the figure to the picture plane and the psychological intensity of faces in the earlier portraits, the *Portrait of Charles-Amédée van Loo* depicts the sitter within an illusionistic space. Although van Loo's face, with its soft jowls and visible creases, is rendered with both honesty and sympathy, Labille-Guiard's facility at capturing sartorial flourishes, such as the gold embroidery on the creamy silk vest, encourages the viewer's eye to linger on the outward man, rather than contemplate his inner being.

Not all of these changes can be attributed to the function of the *Portrait of van Loo*, however, as similar shifts occur in Labille-Guiard's *Portrait of the Comtesse de Flahaut and Her Son*, also exhibited in 1785 (fig. 29). Although

thematically linked to the 1783 portrait of Madame Mitoire, the 1785 painting is both more ambitious and less intimate. Painted in oils, this double portrait presents a three-quarter view of a young mother seated next to a bassinet. Whereas Madame Mitoire's children seem almost inseparable from her body, the comtesse de Flahaut touches only the tiny hand of her infant, who in turn reaches not for the nourishing breast but rather for the portrait miniature that hangs around his mother's neck, which he holds up to the picture plane as if displaying it to the viewer. This unusual gesture references the source of the portrait commission, for the miniature depicts the comtesse d'Angiviller, sister-in-law of the comtesse de Flahaut. More broadly, the picture, like its sitter, offers a very different vision of womanhood than the bourgeois domestic virtue embodied by Madame Mitoire. The young Adélaïde de Flahaut, née Filleul, was a politically engaged author and *salonnière,* who welcomed into her Louvre apartments men of politics and letters, including, in the late 1780s, the American statesman Gouverneur Morris.[101] Married at eighteen to the fifty-one-year-old Charles-François de Flahaut, the comtesse became the mistress of the consummate politician and bishop of Autun, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, who, it was generally accepted, had fathered the pictured child.

Labille-Guiard had clearly made impressive artistic strides, yet she was still working in familiar genres and receiving commissions from the same social sets. To advance further she would have to act on her own. And with her audacious *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils,* she did just that (fig. 30).[102] As she had with her miniature *Self-Portrait* in 1774, Labille-Guiard once again turned to her mirror to create a template that might inspire future commissions. This time, however, the artist boldly affirmed her high professional aspirations, much as Vigée-Lebrun had done by exhibiting several standing self-portraits in oils in the past several years. A full-length group portrait measuring nearly seven feet high and five feet wide (2.1 × 1.5 m), the 1785 *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* is a type of painting that only the wealthiest patrons could afford.[103] Moreover, it asserts Labille-Guiard's intellectual capacity by implying a complex narrative; one critic termed it a "portrait, composed like a history painting," which demonstrates skills associated with both genres.[104]

Making no claims to a truthful rendering of the artist at work, the *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* instead offers a self-consciously staged presentation of Labille-Guiard and her talents. Her elaborately attired full-length figure is seated in a carefully articulated interior with two younger women standing

Figure 30
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils, Mademoiselle Marie-Gabrielle Capet (1761–1818) and Mademoiselle Carreaux de Rosemond (d. 1788)*. 1785. Oil on canvas, 210.8 × 151.1 cm (83 × 59½ in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 53.225.5. Photo: Art Resource, New York.

behind her. Clearly describing the space as a professional studio, a large canvas rests on an unadorned wooden easel that dominates the left side of the composition; a utilitarian paint box, a chalk holder, and a dusty rag further indicate the material labor of painting. But incongruous signs of opulence abound, in features such as the velvet-upholstered tabouret in the current *style Louis XVI* and in Labille-Guiard's stylish silk dress and feather-trimmed hat. Additionally, the painting makes clear the artist's ability to imitate a dizzying array of materials; she replicates the look and feel of satin, lace, feathers, wood, velvet, metal, chalk, flawless skin, worn folds of parchment, and smoothly polished marble. Equally impressive is her proficiency at grouping multiple figures, painting portraits in varied poses, arranging still lifes, and ennobling portraiture with classical allusions.

The result is a dense, protean painting that could appeal to a range of potential sitters. One might see it as a suitable model for a domestic family portrait centered on an elegant lady, whose daughters bear witness to her maternal virtue. Another might read the two hovering women as allegorical figures—muses or personifications of the arts. The roll of parchment is similarly open-ended. Partially unfurled documents were common in the portraiture of the era, and, by revealing nothing of its contents, Labille-Guiard's paper allows all viewers to imagine it recording their own proudest moments. Finally, the conspicuously placed, but resolutely hidden, work-in-progress exemplifies this narrative ambiguity.[105] The back of the pictured canvas reveals a great deal about its materials and structure—stretchers, tacks, and the curling edges of the canvas are carefully rendered—but discloses nothing about the painting on the other side.

The reversed canvas is crucial to the painting's aim of generating interest, as the intrigue of the unseen work is enhanced by the students' differing expressions. Marie-Gabrielle Capet, on the right, seems engrossed in the emerging painting, with her gaze focused and her lips parted. Marie Marguerite Carreaux de Rosemond, on the left, peers out of the picture at the object or person whose image is being captured. Together, they compare original to painted copy; but the viewer can only speculate about what Labille-Guiard is painting.

In fact, luring viewers behind a reversed canvas had been the conceit of an earlier self-portrait that Labille-Guiard likely knew (fig. 31). Painted in 1698, Antoine Coypel's *Portrait of the Artist with His Son, Charles Antoine* had been engraved and distributed in the early eighteenth century and came to public

attention again in 1777, when a copy was auctioned upon the death of one of the artist's sons.[106] Coypel had been First Painter to the duc d'Orléans, who devoted an entire room at the Palais Royal to works by Coypel and commissioned this self-portrait for that cabinet. More specifically, the painting was designed to cover the central panel in the door that led into the room; opening the door would introduce visitors to works like that being produced on the fictive canvas. Several additional similarities link Coypel's and Labille-Guiard's self-portraits: the placement of the large easel at the left edge; the strong pyramidal form of the central, seated artist; the intersecting floorboards that form a V at the center and meet in an X at the left; the low stool at the right; and, perhaps most inventively, the inclusion of a student (Coypel's son) gazing at the canvas.

Furthering its theme of artistic inheritance, Coypel's composition pays homage to the artist's father. In the 1677 reception piece of Florent-Richard de Lamarre, the painter Noël Coypel is pictured behind a similarly situated reversed canvas.[107] Like all Academy reception pieces, the work was on permanent display in the Academy's rooms at the Louvre. For Labille-Guiard, a woman who had been welcomed into the Academy merely two years earlier, and whose father was a shop owner, not an artist, inserting herself and her students into this well-respected lineage of Academic painters was surely her most courageous act to date.

Yet Labille-Guiard's self-portrait is more tantalizing than Coypel's, for it never satisfies our curiosity about the hidden painting. Perhaps it is the self-portrait itself; certainly the size of the pictured canvas would suit a large group portrait. Or maybe Labille-Guiard is painting one or both of the students who stand behind her, as suggested by Jean-Laurent Mosnier's 1787 self-portrait, which contemporaries saw as Mosnier's unabashed and unoriginal attempt to capitalize on Labille-Guiard's

Figure 31
Antoine Coypel (1661–1722), *Portrait of the Artist with His Son, Charles Antoine*, 1698. Oil on canvas, 59 × 42 cm (23¼ × 16½ in.). Besançon, Musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie, Charles-Antoine Flajoulot Bequest, 1840, 840.11.5. Photo: Charles Choffet.

Figure 32
Jean-Laurent Mosnier (1743–1808), *Portrait of the Artist in His Studio with His Daughters*, 1787.
Oil on canvas, 230 × 175 cm (90⅝ × 68⅞ in.).
Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum.
Photo: Scala/Art Resource, New York.

success (fig. 32).[108] But the most provocative interpretation holds that Labille-Guiard is painting an unseen person or group in front of her. Of course, whether at the 1785 Salon or in the Metropolitan Museum of Art today, the assembled viewers are always among those invisible sitters. We were not the artist's original models, but we have taken up their positions.

Labille-Guiard was also her own model, and her voluptuous figure demands and rewards attention. Departing from the comparative modesty of her 1774 and 1782 self-portraits, Labille-Guiard toys with the precepts of feminine decorum. The sweep of her luxurious silk dress catches the eye, and her breasts are prominently featured at the very center of the composition—an X drawn from corner to corner would cross directly at her cleavage. Framed in creamy lace and bathed in soft light, her generous bosom towers over what seems to be a remarkably narrow waist, thanks to a shadow placed judiciously between her torso and left arm.

This display of Labille-Guiard's physical attractions contrasts with the demure figures of the two students. Although Capet and Carreaux de Rosemond wear current styles, their manner of dress is in stark contrast to their teacher's shimmering blue satin and revealing neckline. Indeed, their appearance bears out the claim of a mother who defended the virtue of the young women who had exhibited at the place Dauphine two months before the Salon opened.[109] In a letter to the editor of the *Journal Général de France*, she explained that her daughter studied painting with a female Academician (who, based on the description, seems to be Labille-Guiard) and insisted that the teacher maintained the highest standards of modesty in her studio.

No contemporary authors discussed the details of Labille-Guiard's stunning attire—perhaps because the Salon's critics were all men—yet stylish female view-

Figure 33
Plate 197 from *Galerie des Modes et Costumes Français* (Paris, ca. 1784). Engraving, hand-colored, H: 41 cm (16 1/8 in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Irene Lewisohn Costume Reference Library, Special Collections, call no. 233.4 G13 Q.

Figure 34
Plate 172 from *Galerie des Modes et Costumes Français* (Paris, ca. 1784). Engraving, hand colored, H: 41 cm (16 1/8 in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Irene Lewisohn Costume Reference Library, Special Collections, call no. 233.4 G13 Q.

ers were unlikely to have missed the artist's source: Labille-Guiard borrowed directly from recent fashions. Her particular inspirations seem to have been two hand-colored fashion plates published in *Galerie des Modes et Costumes Français* in 1784, the year before the *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* was exhibited (figs. 33, 34). Like the models in these images, Labille-Guiard is pictured going about her daily life wearing a hat decorated with plumes and ribbons and a *robe à l'anglaise*—the dress of choice for noble women and *haute bourgeoises* alike from the late 1770s into the 1780s—which eschewed the wide side hoops, or panniers, of the more formal *robe à la française*.[110] That fashion plates, not just the clothing itself, had inspired Labille-Guiard is suggested by the twisting of her body, which echoes the modified *contrapposto* poses employed by illustrators to offer multiple views of garments. The artist has even rendered details, such as the placement of a seam coursing down the front of

the skirt, that were crucial to the function of fashion plates as templates for dressmakers to follow. Further evidence of Labille-Guiard's boldness is seen in her selection of the most revealing features from each image; she shares the more exposed bosom of the woman with the dog and the left arm and leg of the musician.

Associated with the commercial world of dressmaking and the feminized realm of luxury consumption, fashion and fashion plates belonged to a sphere of culture quite apart from the Salon, which always claimed to be a financially disinterested site of intellectual endeavor.[111] Yet the frisson arising from this unorthodox mingling of sources animates the work with a mischievous undercurrent that toys with notions of both genre and gender. As Sarah R. Cohen has observed, such playfulness is inherent to the very origins of French fashion plates, which emerged out of self-conscious performances of rank and gender at the seventeenth-century court of Louis XIV.[112] The flirtatious captions originally published beneath Labille-Guiard's fashion plate sources further indulge in the game of double meanings. The text beneath the "Lady in the role of sincere and faithful friend," for example, explains that

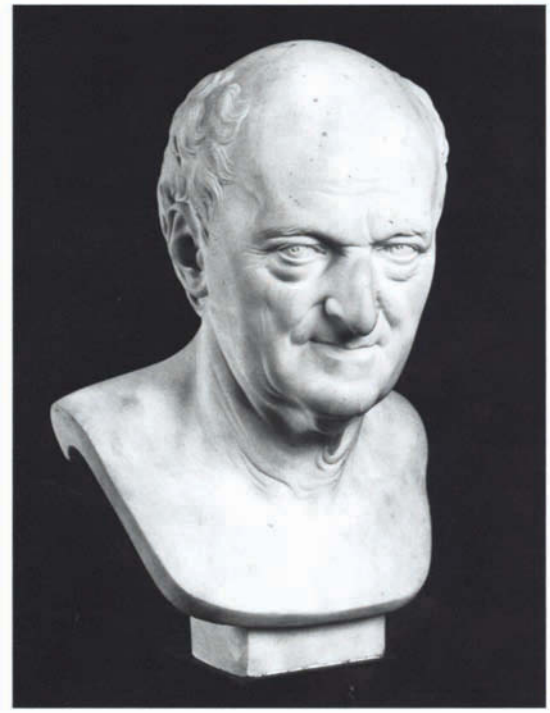

Figure 35
Augustin Pajou (1730–1809), *Bust of Claude-Edme Labille*, 1785, exhibited at the 1785 Salon. Marble, 62.5 × 21 × 27.5 cm (24⅝ × 8¼ × 10⅞ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, N15487. Photo: RMN/Art Resource, New York.

she is "playing with her dog while waiting for something better,"[113] while the "sensitive virtuoso" is "entertaining herself with a solo only while waiting for a charming duet."[114]

Even while hinting at this playfulness, the *Self-Portrait*'s iconography works to protect the artist from the potentially scandalous implications of its references. Consider, for instance, the sculptures at the left. Together with the painting's crisp, linear handling, they present Labille-Guiard as an ambitious Neoclassical painter working in a style associated with seriousness of purpose and strength of character, not to mention masculinity. But the sculptures also mitigate these potentially immodest claims with signs of filial piety and feminine chastity. The bust seen above the open box is Augustin Pajou's portrait of Labille-Guiard's father, Claude-Edme Labille (Salon-goers would not have mistaken the work for the portrait of Cicero that it emulates, for Pajou's bust was on view at the same exhibition; fig. 35) and the taller sculpture is recognizable as one of Jean-Antoine Houdon's vestal virgins (fig. 36).[115] Surely such a severe paternal visage, coupled with a representation of one of the ancient Roman followers of Vesta, who committed themselves to decades of virginity, was meant to quash any complaint about amorous desires being implicit in the artist's self-portrayal.

Figure 36
Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828), *Vestal Virgin*, ca. 1770–ca. 1815. Plaster, H: 64.8 cm (25½ in.). Pittsburgh, Frick Art and Historical Center, 1973.33. Photo: Richard Stoner.

To appreciate the full extent of Labille-Guiard's daring, perhaps the reader should see the *Self-Portrait* as contemporaries did, in comparison to the *Portrait of Marie-Nicole Vestier*, Antoine Vestier's earnest rendering of his daughter exhibited at the same Salon (figs. 37, 38). The paintings share a great deal. Each offers a full-length image of a female artist, seated at an easel, in the center of a composition with a portrait bust of a parent (in the latter work Madame Vestier replaces Monsieur Labille) visible behind her chair. Like Labille-Guiard, Vestier seems to have been inspired by contemporary fashions, as he depicts Marie-Nicole in a silk *robe à l'anglaise* and a hat decorated with ribbons and feathers. Yet the abundant detail that surrounds Marie-Nicole engulfs her in a protective blanket of virtue. With her breast covered by a *fichu* and turned sideways, away from the viewer, she appears decidedly more demure than Labille-Guiard. An analogous modesty characterizes her artistic endeavors. Marie-Nicole is at home, where her small canvas rests on a suitably diminutive easel that stands on a carpeted floor. Other furnishings—a harpsichord adorned with sheet music, a violin resting on the easel—suggest a well-rounded young woman for whom painting is one of many hobbies. Moreover,

Figure 37
Antoine Vestier (1740–1824), *Portrait of Marie-Nicole Vestier*, 1785. Oil on canvas, 172 × 127.5 cm (67¾ × 50¼ in.). Buenos Aires, private collection.

Figure 38
Pietro Antonio Martini (Italian, 1739–1797), *Coup d'œil exact de l'arrangement des peintures au Salon de Louvre en 1785*. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des estampes. This view of the 1785 Salon shows Labille-Guiard's self-portrait on the wall at the right and Vestier's portrait of his daughter in the far left corner.

whereas Labille-Guiard actively supports her upright brush in her right hand, Marie-Nicole is not depicted working. Rather, as in Labille-Guiard's 1774 miniature self-portrait, the artist is seen at a moment of rest. Finally, the image emerging in Vestier's painting-within-a-painting places Marie-Nicole beyond reproach: she has put her considerable skills to work in the service of portraying her father's face. Extant portraits testify that Marie-Nicole did, in fact, paint other men, yet by placing his own image on the forward-facing canvas, Vestier ensures that no viewer will imagine himself in an amorous sitting with the attractive young artist.[116] If Marie-Nicole fits comfortably within the boundaries of feminine virtue, Labille-Guiard evokes those borders only to transgress them. And in this publicity-minded era, transgression could be a ticket to success—as long as it was sufficiently calibrated to avoid the kind of defamation that Labille-Guiard had quashed in 1783.

So emboldened was Labille-Guiard by the widespread acclaim that greeted the *Self-Portrait* that she appealed to the arts administration for a privilege that many Academicians enjoyed—lodgings in the Louvre. The response was less than warm. An internal memo termed the request "les folies de Mme Guiard" and, preempting any pleas that might be forthcoming from d'Angiviller's wife, added "Mme la Comtesse does only what Mme Guyard

wants."[117] Yet the comte d'Angiviller was in no position to ignore the matter, for Labille-Guiard had recently won the protection of Madame Adélaïde, a daughter of Louis XV and aunt of Louis XVI who, along with her sister Victoire, presided over a tradition-bound court at the Château of Bellevue (in popular parlance the two sisters were known simply as "Mesdames").[118] Thus, even as the comte d'Angiviller advised the king against granting the requested lodgings, he took pains to praise Labille-Guiard's talent, acknowledging Madame Adélaïde's "great interest" in and "august protection" of the artist.[119] Again, d'Angiviller couched his objections in terms of propriety, reminding Louis XVI that the artist ran "a school for young students of her sex; that all the artists lodged in the Louvre similarly have students of their [sex], and that one only reaches all of these lodgings via vast, often dark corridors." "This confusion of young artists of different sexes," argued d'Angiviller, would endanger the decency of the royal palace.[120] Admitting, however, that Labille-Guiard was "without any fortune and very little occupied," he arranged an annual pension of 1,000 livres, to terminate if she were ever granted housing in the Louvre.

D'Angiviller's misgivings notwithstanding, Labille-Guiard's career was clearly reaching new heights. When the American artist John Trumbull (1746–1843) visited Paris in the summer of 1786, a stop at Labille-Guiard's studio formed part of his cultural tour. According to his travel journal, just after breakfast on Saturday, August 11, Trumbull "went to Madame Guyard's—a plain, diverting woman—thence to M. Vincent in the Louvre."[121] From Vincent's studio Trumbull proceeded to Pajou's, retracing the steps through which Labille-Guiard had established her place in the art world. Although unimpressed with Labille-Guiard's physical charms, Trumbull evidently found her students somewhat more appealing, for he sketched a portrait of Carreaux de Rosemond in the margins of a drawing.[122] The following month, Trumbull's friend and host Thomas Jefferson paid Labille-Guiard 240 livres for a picture—far more than Jefferson spent on any other art acquisition at the time.[123]

THE SALON OF 1787

The *livret* of the 1787 Salon identified Labille-Guiard as "*premier Peintre de Mesdames*," a privilege bestowed on her by Mesdames Adélaïde and Victoire.[124] In many ways, 1787 would mark the pinnacle of her career. Not only did Labille-

Guiard display portraits of royal women at the Louvre for the first time, but these paintings represented a culmination of the aesthetic and technical strategies that she had been developing for more than a decade.

The portrait of Madame Élisabeth offers a three-quarter view of the twenty-four-year-old sister of the king, capturing her youthful beauty and stunning garments while also signaling her intellect (fig. 39). Labille-Guiard

Figure 39
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Madame Élisabeth*, 1787. Oil on canvas, 146.7 × 115 cm (57¾ × 45¼ in.). South America, private collection.

Figure 40
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of a Woman* (formerly thought to be Mme Roland), 1787. Oil on canvas, 100 × 81 cm (39 3/8 × 31 7/8 in.). Quimper, Musée des beaux-arts, 873.1.787. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

has marshaled all of her compositional and imitative skills to portray the seated Élisabeth wearing a sumptuous ivory dress of satin and lace, set off with details of red ribbon and gold embroidery, and an elaborate plumed hat perched on her upswept coiffure. A book rests in her lap, and a globe, a compass, sheets of music, and other attributes of learning are clustered on an imposing desk whose intricate carvings echo the ornate frame of her upholstered armchair. No mere props, these items speak to the educational aspirations of Élisabeth, whose account books include stipends for a teacher of Italian and a drawing instructor.[125]

In its differences from Labille-Guiard's contemporary portraits of other seated women—a more intricate composition, more lavish attire, more luxurious furnishings—the painting befits the royal status of its sitter. Yet these differences also speak to Labille-Guiard's ability to glide between types of portraiture, from the intimacy of the portrayal of an unidentified woman who clutches a *mouchoir* while writing a sentimental family letter (fig. 40), to the display of wealth and erudition that defines Madame Élisabeth. Even the women's respective desks speak to differing ideals. Dena Goodman, who has studied Labille-Guiard's *Portrait of a Woman*, as well as the broader social and gender implications of letter writing and desks, provides some helpful insights.[126] To borrow Goodman's dichotomy, Madame sits before a *bureau plat*, a large piece of furniture with a flat surface used originally in offices and, even when designed for the home, meant for relatively public, and usually male, spaces. Not only does the work performed at a *bureau* generally relate to the outside world (as suggested here by the prominent globe), it also emphasizes exteriority in a very literal sense, for items placed on it remain visible, as do the locations of its drawers. In contrast, the woman in white sits before a small piece of furniture, probably a mechanical table

Figure 41
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Adélaïde of France, Daughter of Louis XV, known as "Madame Adélaïde,"* 1787. Oil on canvas, 271 × 195 cm (106¾ × 76¾ in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, M.V. 3958. Photo: Gérard Blot/Jean Schormans/RMN/ Art Resource, New York.

featuring a top that rotates away from its frame, exposing inner storage compartments and creating space beneath the writing surface for the user's knees. This piece of furniture bespeaks privacy in both form and function. Tables of this sort were intended primarily for letter writing and for holding their owners' secrets; expertly crafted to conceal their mechanisms, they prevented prying eyes from seeing their contents.

The painting that truly consolidated Labille-Guiard's reputation in 1787, however, was her portrait of Madame Adélaïde, which was addressed at length by several contemporary reviewers (fig. 41). Clearly based on the 1785

Self-Portrait (fig. 30), the portrait of Madame Adélaïde might well have been designed as a stand-in for the earlier work, which Labille-Guiard had reportedly refused to sell despite Madame's generous offer of 10,000 livres.[127] Like the *Self-Portrait*, it offers a full-length image of a luxuriously attired woman next to a painting presented on an easel. Both paintings feature detailed interiors whose linear floor patterns contribute to an illusion of dramatic recession. An upholstered chair and a stool on which rests a roll of paper accompany both figures. Where two students stand behind Labille-Guiard, two columns with Corinthian capitals tower over Madame Adélaïde. Carved representations of the sitter's father appear in both backgrounds. And, in the most direct importation of all, a small statue depicting a vestal bearing a lighted torch is just visible in the shadowy area at the left of both pictures.

However, the contemporary concept of *convenance*—the prevailing notion that each social position demands its own representational codes—dictated certain shifts: in the *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde* Labille-Guiard ennobles the *Self-Portrait*, remaking the interior in opulent materials and replacing bourgeois furnishings with those appropriate for court life. Madame's floor gleams with variegated marble; the base of her easel boasts a foliate garland and ormolu *sabots* in the shape of winged claws; her chair is an elaborate fauteuil decorated with semidetached *colonnettes*; and Labille-Guiard's four-legged tabouret has been replaced by the more elevated *pliant*—a folding seat generally found only at court (fig. 42).[128] Finally, Labille-Guiard aggran-

Figure 42
Folding Stool, Paris, about 1786 (possibly after Gilles-Paul Cauvet, designer; frames by Jean-Baptiste-Claude Sené, *menuisier*; carved by Nicolas Vallois). Gessoed, painted, and gilded beechwood; modern upholstery, 1.3 × 72.4 × 53.3 cm (16¼ × 28½ × 21 in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 71.DA.94.

dizes the depicted space by suggesting that the room continues an unknown distance to the left. Whereas the circular arrangement of figures in the *Self-Portrait* focuses one's eyes on the artist at the center, the relief above Madame Adélaïde includes two figures at the leftmost edge who look past the border of the canvas, suggesting an expanse of space well beyond the frame.

The pictured costume undergoes an analogous change. Labille-Guiard had presented herself in the latest and most revealing Parisian styles, but Madame is dressed in a manner that rejects both bourgeois fashion and sexualized display. She appears in an extremely formal sack dress—suitable only at court—featuring a gray silk skirt and a red velvet robe, with ornamented borders of silver and gold embroidery unifying the ensemble.[129] These heavy garments hang loosely over her standing figure, suggesting little about the body hidden beneath, and her neckline is supremely decorous, with an *échelle*, or ladder of bows, providing the area's primary visual interest. Unlike the incongruity of Labille-Guiard's dress, which clashes with her setting in a working studio, the sparkling opulence of Madame's gown only adds to the impressive display that characterizes her palatial surroundings.

Labille-Guiard's skills at rendering attire had surely encouraged the attentions of Mesdames. For although they saw themselves in opposition to Marie-Antoinette, who had become infamous for squandering enormous sums on the latest fashions, the king's aunts were actually quite fond of shopping themselves. An eye-opening appendix to the account book of the Parisian dressmaker Madame Éloffe reveals that, between 1787 and 1793, Madame Adélaïde spent more on purchases from Éloffe than any other client, including Marie-Antoinette.[130] Madame Victoire was not far behind.

As depicted here, however, Madame Adélaïde is not a frivolous spender but a virtuous noblewoman. The portrait's abundant iconography asserts her devotion to God, family, and nation, as spelled out in the lengthy narrative published in the *livret*. For instance, the unfurled parchment hanging over the edge of the *pliant* reveals "the plan of the convent founded at Versailles by the late Queen [Marie Leszczinska, mother of Mesdames] and of which Madame Adélaïde is the *directrice*."[131] Additionally, the framed, oval painting resting on the easel represents the "late King, the late Queen, and the late Dauphin, reunited in a bas-relief that imitates bronze; the princess, who is supposed to have painted them herself, has just traced these words: 'Their image remains the charm of my life.'" Like Mademoiselle Vestier, Madame Adélaïde has put

Figure 43
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde*, autograph reduced copy ca. 1787. Oil on canvas, 214 × 152.5 cm (84¼ × 60 1/16 in.). Phoenix Art Museum, Purchase with funds provided by an anonymous New York foundation.

her artistic skills to use in the service of filial piety. And, it is equally important that neither is actively engaged with the labor of painting.

The deathbed scene in the fictional frieze crystallizes Madame's selflessness and sound grasp of gendered principles.[132] At the right lies King Louis XV, dying of smallpox in a simple bed. Two figures stand behind the headboard, bowing their heads in mourning, while Adélaïde and her sister Victoire seem to have just entered from the left. Raising their arms in objection, two attendants stride forward as if to intercept the approaching women. The *livret* elucidates the action. The king had "just sent away the princes due to the danger of the malady," when Mesdames "entered, despite all oppositions, saying 'We are happily only princesses.'" Their lives being more expendable than those of future kings, Adélaïde and Victoire understood that duty called them to their father's side.

By every measure, Labille-Guiard's 1787 offerings were tremendously successful. One critic went so far as to hail the group as "irresistible proof of the strength and breadth of the moral faculties of a sex that, in barbarian times, was relegated to ignorance."[133] Madame Adélaïde was clearly pleased, as she commissioned three autograph copies or variants of her portrait, all more than six

Figure 44
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Élisabeth Philippine Marie Hélène de France, Sister of Louis XVI, known as "Madame Élisabeth,"* 1788. Oil on oval canvas, 81 × 63 cm (40 × 24¾ in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, M.V. 7332. Photo: RMN/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 45
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Marie-Louise-Thérèse-Victoire de France, known as "Madame Victoire,"* 1787. Pastel on blue paper, mounted on canvas, 73.1 × 58.1 cm (28¾ × 22⅞ in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, M.V. 5941, dessin 1160. Photo: Gérard Blot/RMN/Art Resource, New York.

feet tall, to be given as gifts to noblewomen in her entourage (fig. 43). Madame Élisabeth paid Labille-Guiard 9,060 livres for "various portraits" and gave at least one autograph version of her portrait to a friend (fig. 44).[134] In 1788 Madame Victoire, who had been represented at the Salon by a preparatory pastel (fig. 45), signaled her approval by hiring Labille-Guiard to teach painting to a young woman named Mademoiselle Pomponne Hubert, for which the artist received 1,200 livres a year plus expenses.[135]

Having marshaled visual, verbal, and social strategies to climb the ranks of the portraitist's profession, Labille-Guiard was nearing the top. Unfortunately, her timing could not have been worse. The edifice of French society was beginning to crumble, and Labille-Guiard's career would soon fall with it.

CHAPTER 3

REINVENTION
1789–1792

Labille-Guiard had every reason to be hopeful in the spring of 1789. Drawing closer to the seat of royal power, she had received a career-changing commission in 1788 from the comte de Provence, the elder of King Louis XVI's two brothers. Although it would require years of labor, the prestigious project seemed well worth the effort; Provence had agreed to a handsome fee of 30,000 livres for an enormous group portrait measuring seventeen feet high and fourteen feet wide (5.18 × 4.26 m). The year 1789 also found Labille-Guiard readying two more standing portraits of royal women for display at the August Salon. Together with commissioned autograph copies, these paintings would solidify her status as *premier peintre de Mesdames* and open the door to an exciting new stylistic program.

Little did she know that political tumult would dwarf the Royal Academy's Salon that summer, and that her art, her career, and her nation would soon undergo tremendous changes. On June 20, France witnessed the difficult birth of a new legislative body, which established itself, against the wishes of King Louis XVI, in a tennis court at Versailles. On July 14, the streets of Paris were festooned with the heads of men who had been guarding the Bastille prison. On August 26, the recently constituted National Assembly approved the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Enumerating universal principles derived from the laws of reason and nature, the Declaration was intended as a prelude to a constitution that would transform the governance of France. It almost goes without saying that the Salon, which opened to the public on August 25, received less attention than Labille-Guiard might have hoped.

THE SALON OF 1789

Only sixteen critics reviewed the Academy's 1789 exhibition, down from thirty-four in 1787, but nearly every one addressed Labille-Guiard's *portraits à pied* of Madame Victoire and the late Madame Louise-Élisabeth (the Mesdames' sister), depicted holding the hand of her young son (figs. 46, 47).[136] Leaving behind the shallow interiors and staid Neoclassicism of her recent paintings, the artist introduced loose brushwork, heightened color schemes, and distant horizons—changes that were noticed, if not uniformly welcomed. One reviewer deemed the coloring of the portrait of Madame Louise-Élisabeth "acrid,"

Figure 46
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Marie-Thérèse-Louise-Victoire de France, Daughter of Louis XV, known as "Madame Victoire,"* 1788. Exhibited at the 1789 Salon. Oil on canvas, 271 × 165 cm (8 ft. 10¾ × 65 in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, M.V. 3960. Photo: RMN/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 47
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Louise-Élisabeth de France, Duchess of Parma, and Her Son*, 1788. Oil on canvas, 275 × 160 cm (108¼ × 63 in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV. 3876. Photo: RMN/Art Resource, New York.

preferring the cooler tones of the portrait of Madame Victoire.[137] Others found these portraits so uncharacteristic that they questioned Labille-Guiard's authorship. One writer asserted that the works shown by François-André Vincent and history painter Jean-Baptiste Regnault "seem to have been colored with the same palette as those of Madame Guyard";[138] another proposed that the landscape painter Jean-François Hue had created the scenic view behind Madame Victoire.[139]

Additionally, at least one author perceived Labille-Guiard as "attempting to surpass" Vigée-Lebrun with these new productions.[140] Certainly, Labille-Guiard was entering the territory of *coloris*—a domain that critics had long ago ceded to Vigée-Lebrun.[141] Throughout the 1780s, reviewers had consistently contrasted Labille-Guiard's crisp, linear handling to Vigée-Lebrun's softer edges and more vibrant colors, casting Labille-Guiard as a masculine painter of truth and Vigée-Lebrun as a deceptive, feminine flatterer.[142] Yet rivalry alone cannot explain the tremendous changes these works represent, which must be understood in relation to Labille-Guiard's patrons as well as to broader developments in European portraiture.

The portrait of Madame Victoire in her cherished gardens at Bellevue marks Labille-Guiard's first foray into landscape portraiture, a genre that Vigée-Lebrun had employed for some time (fig. 48). While certain details of Victoire's portrait are defined as carefully as in Labille-Guiard's previous works, with individual plantings clearly discernible amid the foreground grass and carved inscriptions legible on the marble at left, the fluid application of the cloudy sky and distant trees has no precedent in the artist's oeuvre. In another departure, Labille-Guiard suffuses the scene with the yellow tones of sunlight. The lifelike sculpture personifying friendship additionally signals a change in inspiration, owing

Figure 48
Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Portrait of the Vicomtesse de Vaudreuil*, 1785. Oil on panel, 83.2 × 64.8 cm (32¾ × 25½ in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 85.PB.443.

Figure 49a
Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), *The Pleasures of Love*, ca. 1717. Oil on canvas, 61 × 75 cm (24 × 29½ in.). Dresden, Alte Meister Gallerie. Photo: Erich Lessing/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 49b
Detail from *The Pleasures of Love*.

more to the playful garden statuary depicted by the Rococo artist Jean-Antoine Watteau (figs. 49a, 49b) than to the sober idealism of Houdon or Pajou.

This change in style and iconography was particularly suited to Madame Victoire, whose role in the development of the portrait cannot be discounted. Madame was famously attached to her gardens at Bellevue, where she had supervised a thorough renovation of the landscape.[143] Banishing symmetrical allées lined with topiaries, she had introduced a less formal design known as an "English" garden, complete with follies situated at picturesque vantage points. She also maintained an herb garden, a botanical garden, and a flower garden. The plants seen here not only reference her horticultural interests but also carry symbolic weight. White lilies, signifiers of purity and of the Bourbon monarchy, grow in a foreground urn, and, as Amy Freund has observed, Madame Victoire clutches a bunch of periwinkle—a flower that conveyed apt meanings to viewers familiar with Rousseau.[144] In Book VI of his *Confessions* (1782), Rousseau recalls visiting a site known as "belle-vue," where he encountered a patch of periwinkle that reminded him of a happy period in his youth; Freund suggests that the periwinkle seen in the painting of Madame Victoire's Bellevue similarly references a bygone period of joy when Madame Victoire's beloved father, Louis XV, sat on the throne of France, and when her mother, Marie Leszczinska, was often depicted in landscape settings.[145] The statue, too, conveys both personal and universal meanings. While its subject, friendship, is suited to a garden designed for leisure, it was also a favorite theme of Madame de Pompadour, official mistress to Louis XV, for whom Bellevue was originally constructed. Although this sculpture does not seem to be one of the many commissioned by Pompadour, the reference to the age of Louis XV cannot have been accidental.[146]

Moreover, landscape portraiture was growing increasingly fashionable among the French elite (notwithstanding the disastrous reception of Adolf-Ulric Wertmüller's *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette in the Gardens of Trianon with Her Two Children* at the 1785 Salon).[147] Like the informal garden, the standing portrait in the landscape was a British import. In England, portraits of the landed gentry, seen strolling or standing about their estates, had been popular throughout the eighteenth century, having been produced by artists as varied as the academically minded Joshua Reynolds and his stylistic opposite, Thomas Gainsborough, whose portraits of the British elite mingled free handling with naturalistic observation in a supremely flattering combination. Influenced by the Rousseauian cult of nature, French patrons of the 1770s and

Figure 50
Anthony van Dyck (Flemish, 1599–1641), *Portrait of Marchesa Elena Grimaldi Cattaneo*, 1623. Oil on canvas. 242.9 × 138.5 cm (95⅝ × 54½ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942.9.92. Photo: courtesy the Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art.

1780s were requesting landscape portraits of the type more often seen across the Channel, and Labille-Guiard was among the first to answer the call.

If the portrait of Victoire draws its influences from England, the posthumous *Portrait of Louise-Élisabeth de France, Duchess of Parma* builds on sources still more remote. Commissioned by Mesdames in memory of their sister, the painting hearkens back to seventeenth-century portraits of European nobility by Anthony Van Dyck and his contemporaries, sharing the fluid brushstrokes, strong colors, and dramatically lit compositions that characterize so many works in the northern tradition. Louise-Élisabeth's life in Italy as the wife of Philip of Bourbon, duke of Parma, a son of Spain's Philip V, might lay behind the choice of Van Dyck as a model, for some of Van Dyck's most impressive portraits of women date to his time in the Italian city of Genoa (fig. 50). In a manner typical of Van Dyck, whose work was well known through prints, copies, and original paintings in French collections, Labille-Guiard places the full-length figure of Louise-Élisabeth before a balustrade, with a distant landscape, suggested by a faraway row of trees, framed by a velvet curtain swept to one side.[148]

The painting is doubly distant from the quotidian world. Portraying a French-born duchess of Spain who had died in 1759, and whose final years were spent in Spain's Italian territory, the work evokes multiple times and places. The pictured dress, for instance, is a *robe à l'espagnole*, featuring a high, spiky collar, square neckline, and sleeves that are puffed and slashed at the shoulder. This style was popular in France in the middle of the eighteenth century, during the lifetime of Louise-Élisabeth, but it is reminiscent of costumes worn at the seventeenth-century Spanish court. Similarly, the brightly colored parrot perched on the railing—his vivid feathers echoing those on the duchess's brilliant red hat—appears

Figure 51
Anton Raphael Mengs (German, 1728–1779), *Portrait of the Marquesa de Llano*, 1770. Oil on canvas, 250 × 148 cm (98 3/8 × 58 1/4 in.). Madrid, Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 705.

as an exotic visitor from a faraway land. More specifically, though, it references a similarly placed parrot in a 1770 portrait of the Spanish marquesa de Llano by the artist Anton Raphael Mengs (fig. 51). Painted while Mengs was visiting Parma, the portrait of the marquesa standing on a terrace was engraved by Manuel Salvador Carmona and distributed widely.[149] Given its Spanish subject and its origins in Parma, the work might have struck Labille-Guiard as uniquely apropos. The prominent shadow on the wall at the right of the *Portrait of Madame Louise-Élisabeth* further suggests an ethereal presence and could also have been inspired by the strong shadow to the right of the marquesa.

For Labille-Guiard, dramatic changes were clearly in process. Yet her forays into color and exoticism were not to last. Shortly after the 1789 Salon opened, Labille-Guiard turned her attention from painting to politics, as she joined thousands of her countrymen in the all-consuming project of regenerating France.

PATRIOTIC DONATIONS

The autumn of 1789 found individuals, families, and associations at every level of French society devising and performing acts of political transformation. From Picardy to the Pyrenees, small public gestures were slowly combining to forge a newly participatory culture. As Lynn Hunt has observed, "Taking minutes, sitting in a club meeting, reading a republican poem, wearing a cockade, sewing a banner, singing a song, filling out a form, making a patriotic donation, electing an official—all these actions converged to produce a republican citizenry and a legitimate government."[150]

Of these and other options, the "patriotic donation"—a contribution to the treasury's dwindling coffers—quickly became the regenerative activity of choice among women in the art world. Gifts had been trickling in to the National Assembly since August 6, 1789, but patriotic donations gained sudden prominence when an extraordinary spectacle was staged the following month. Around noon on September 7, eleven women—wives and daughters of Academicians—arrived at the National Assembly's meeting hall in Versailles dressed in flowing white gowns *à l'antique* and sporting the Revolution's tricolor cockade

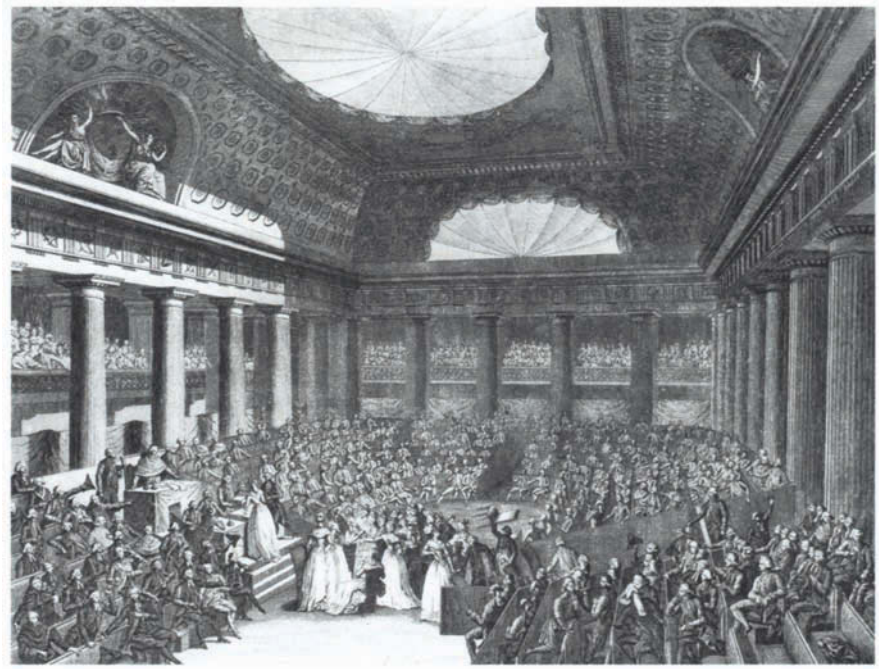

Figure 52
Pierre-Gabriel Berthault (ca. 1748–ca. 1819), *Offrandes Faîtes à l'Assemblée Nationale par des Dames Artistes*, 1791. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des estampes.

(fig. 52). Making way for the choreographed procession, the legislators helped the women to seats and then watched as Madame Moitte, wife of the sculptor Jean-Guillaume Moitte, carried a box, filled with gold and silver objects collected from twenty-one women, to the president of the Assembly.[151] She also bore a written speech that, borrowing from the rhetoric of ancient virtue that had become so popular in the political and aesthetic discourse of the day, traced her group's lineage to the virtuous women who, in the time of Marcus Furius Camillus, donated their jewelry to the Senate so that Rome could fulfill a vow to Apollo. Asserting that modern French women "would blush" to wear their jewels "when patriotism demands their sacrifice," the speech included a plea that "our example might be followed by a large number of citizens and *citoyennes*, whose resources considerably surpass ours!"[152] As newspapers, pamphlets, and prints spread the news of this patriotic spectacle, droves of people banded together with others of their station to follow the example of the *donatrices*.

For her part, Labille-Guiard participated in two separate patriotic donations. One was undertaken quietly; on September 25, she sent four hundred livres to the National Assembly along with pledges from three of the Academy's history painters—François-André Vincent, Joseph-Benoît Suvée, and Jean-Simon Berthélemy—and a letter signed by all four artists.[153] The other was a more elaborate affair, designed to make a public statement. On September 14, the *Journal de Paris* announced that a broad coalition of "women artists," as well as "wives of architects, painters, sculptors, engravers, metal engravers, ornamental painters, finally, all those who profess the liberal arts related to drawing," being "shot through with patriotic sentiments," was in the process of forming "to offer their contributions to the National Assembly."[154] Women in these categories were invited "to offer proof of their patriotism and to send their contribution or subscription to Madame Pajou," the group's treasurer, who would accept coins, notes, jewelry, or any other items worth at least three livres. At 3:00 P.M. on September 30, 133 women gathered in the Louvre's Gallery of Apollo, where they elected Pajou's daughter Flore (Madame Clodion) (fig. 53) and Marie-Gabrielle Capet, Labille-Guiard's student, to share the role of secretary. Labille-Guiard was named one of five commissioners.[155]

Aware of the fine line dividing virtue from vice, the women calibrated their public presentation carefully. Assertively, they proclaimed it "honorable for women to be admitted to public charges."[156] But a more gender-appropriate statement followed, as the women declared it "praiseworthy for mothers and

Figure 53
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard,
Portrait of Flore Pajou,
Madame Clodion, 1783.
Pastel, × cm (× in.).
Paris, Musée du Louvre.
Photo: Michèle Bellot/RMN/
Art Resource, New York.

wives" to donate "useless objects of luxury." Moreover, these women claimed more humility than the *donatrices* of September 7 had exhibited; considering "the important subjects that occupy the Assembly," they wrote, "the Society will make its contributions with a simple address, without requesting any admission of a deputation." Still, they apparently expected to receive some publicity in exchange for their gift of 16,000 livres, for on December 11, Madame Pajou complained that news of the donation had not been published in the Assembly's journals.[157]

Labille-Guiard and her colleagues had been wise to couch their activities in softened terms, for, as the nation struggled to redefine its principles and its policies, the question of women's role in public life was emerging as one of many contested issues. And nowhere were the arguments against female activity more acrimonious than in the meeting rooms of the Royal Academy, where antagonistic factions sponsoring disparate agendas were engaged in bitter battles over the institution's future.

In these early days of the Revolution, the debates roiling the Academy tracked the arguments in the National Assembly with remarkable fidelity. In the beginning, many of those who advocated for moderate reform, guided by Enlightenment principles founded in reason, believed that they would carry the day. No one at the time could have known how mistaken they were.

In the Academy, three blocs formed almost immediately after the fall of the Bastille, and two of them were starkly opposed on almost every matter.[158] On one side stood the staunch traditionalists led by Joseph-Marie Vien, who was now the Academy's director. Often referred to as the officers' party, this group resisted change, insisting that the Academy retain its royal title and maintain its three-tiered structure of officers, full members, and *agréés*. In stark opposition, Jacques-Louis David and his cohorts, most of whom were younger than the officers, imagined an institution reborn according to rules of natural virtue. This faction repudiated royal interference. They sought to dismantle the officers' traditional privileges, to accord a deliberative voice to all members, and to grant awards solely on the basis of artists' judgments. Despite their differences, these profoundly antagonistic groups did agree on one point: women should play no part in determining the Academy's fate.[159]

Only the third party, known as the Central Academy, welcomed women as equals. Headed by Vincent, Augustin Pajou, the history painter Jean-Jacques-François le Barbier, and the engraver Simon-Charles Miger (the brother-in-law of Vincent's sister), this reform-minded group urged the Academy to set its own house in order lest it be dismantled by the National Assembly.[160] In an open letter to Vien dated November 20, 1789, Miger summarized the Central Academy's philosophy.[161] Citing eight offenses in need of correction, Miger condemned tyranny, despotism, and arbitrary power and proposed limited changes guided by the laws of reason. Some of his objections

were shared by David's group. "It is an abuse," wrote Miger, that only officers have a deliberative voice in the Academy's governance. "It is an abuse" that *agréés* may not attend meetings. But the first of Miger's complaints established his faction's uniqueness: "It is an abuse that a law should fix at three or four the number of women Academicians. Either none should be received or... all those who have true talent have legitimate rights" to membership. "Every honest woman who is a true artist," Miger concluded, "is a man for the Academy." Reason demanded as much.

The Central Academy's opponents, however, saw Labille-Guiard, not the dictates of reason, as the driving force behind this female-friendly platform. And they were partly right. At a meeting held on September 23, 1790, Labille-Guiard would propose not only that women be admitted in unlimited numbers but also that they be permitted to serve on the institution's governing board, if only in a titular capacity.[162] The Central Academy approved both motions.[163]

It is no coincidence that September 23 was the same day that the officers officially broke with their brethren for the purpose of drafting a competing set of proposals for new by-laws, to be submitted to an outside judge who would weigh their merits.[164] Yet the matter was also personal. Although they did not mention Labille-Guiard by name, the officers clearly drafted their statement of secession with an eye to condemning her actions.[165] While nominally welcoming Mesdames Vien and Vallayer-Coster into their fold, Monsieur Vien and his supporters maintained that the task of debating the Academy's future was "foreign" to women. In a nation that barred women from swearing to legally binding oaths, they reasoned, the Academy's regulations "do not concern [women] at all since they are not subject to them, never having vowed to obey them." Looking ahead, they envisioned maintaining the traditional quota of four female members, noting that "the cares of maternity" prevent most women from developing noteworthy talents. Yet they sought to limit the privileges accorded even to this handful by excluding women from assemblies. Finally, this declaration of principles concluded with a lengthy passage that questioned the morals of any woman who would wish to sit in a room surrounded by men. In a parting shot seemingly aimed at Vincent, Vien's former student, the officers warned that "beauty, accompanied by talents, wields" undue power. When asked to assess the work of a woman, "even the most honest judges run the risk of being seduced."

Clearly, the Royal Academy wanted to distance itself from Labille-Guiard. Yet she remained characteristically persistent in affirming her dedication to the institution and its leaders. On October 2, 1790, she gave the Academy a valuable present—the recently published nineteen-volume set of engravings after the Palais Royal art collection.[166] In a calculated display of modesty, Pajou offered the gift on behalf of an anonymous donor but, when "pressed to say to whom the Academy was indebted for this present," he revealed that it was Madame Guiard. Two months later, on December 31, Labille-Guiard was associated with another politic donation when Miger gave the Academy "several proofs of a print engraved after Mad. Guiard, representing the portrait of M. Vien, director, as the restorer of good taste in painting (fig. 54)."[167] Coming as it did in the midst of bitter disputes, the gesture elicited an emotional response from Vien and warm approval from all present.

Unlike Vien, who was at least willing to accept a peace offering, David's allies left little room for cordial relations with their rivals. Instead, they drafted a scathing report to the National Assembly, criticizing the

Figure 54
Simon-Charles Miger (1736–1820), after Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Joseph Vien*, 1790. Engraving. *Washington. D.C.. National* Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1992.22.1. Photo: courtesy the Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art.

statutes proposed by the officers and blaming Labille-Guiard for exerting undue influence over the Central Academy. The letter, written by the painter Jean-Bernard Restout, mocked Labille-Guiard mercilessly. Dripping with sarcasm, it revived familiar complaints about her virtue and recast her relationship with the now-reviled Mesdames as a drain on the nation's finances:

> Madame G... has greatly influenced the deliberations of MM of the Central Academy; Perhaps this has made MM of the Royal Academy see this sex less favorably... We will be tactful about the modesty of Madame G... who has done the arts the service of giving us the portraits of Mesdames the king's aunts, for which they have undoubtedly paid generously, has obtained a pension which, it is to be hoped, she will enjoy for 60 or 80 years, and which will only cost the people 60 or 80 thousand francs.[168]

Yet an address to the National Assembly delivered on April 19, 1791, made clear that David's followers, now known as the Commune des Arts, objected to more than Labille-Guiard's royal commissions.[169] Rather, they saw no place for women in the art world. "The rewards destined for artists cannot be without danger for women," reasoned the Commune, since art requires "long and hard study," which is "incompatible with the modest virtues of their sex." Despite David's long-standing commitment to training female artists, the Commune now voiced a refrain familiar from earlier conduct books, allowing that "some types of art may be useful [to women], whether for their amusement or their work," but quickly adding that women "cannot pursue this difficult career, which depends on tasks that are forbidden to them by nature and by their own heart." Indeed, the very well-being of the nation required such a prohibition, because the roles of "mother and wife are more precious for them and for society than their success in the arts." Unlike "enslaved and corrupt" cultures, the Commune insisted, "the empire of liberty offers [women] a nobler role. Strong in their virtues, justly respected, they will inspire their husbands and their children to love and serve the nation."

In a contradiction typical of this chaotic era, however, the National Assembly soon legislated a tremendous opportunity for artists of both sexes. A law passed on August 21, 1791, decreed that the Salon, which had historically included only the work of Academicians, must open its doors to all artists.[170] Although a jury was nominally charged with vetting submissions, standards were quite lenient; more than 180 artists, including twenty-one women, sent approximately eight hundred works to the 1791 exhibition.[171] Testifying to the dueling interests, the 1791 Salon even supported two *livrets*. One retained the traditional title and included only works by Academicians, presented in order of the artists' Academic rank.[172] The other *livret* listed every work in order of appearance and proclaimed its egalitarian principles through its all-inclusive title: *Works of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, Prints, Drawings, Models, etc. Exhibited at the Louvre by Order of the National Assembly in the month of September 1791, Year III of Liberty*.[173]

The year 1791 also found Labille-Guiard at a crucial moment of transition.[174] First and foremost, she needed new patrons. In this she was far from alone; the elite portrait market had all but collapsed.[175] Members of the nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie were fleeing the country, and those who remained risked having their assets confiscated. Some Academicians had joined the exodus; Vigée-Lebrun, for instance, fled to Italy in October 1789. But Labille-Guiard, Alexander Roslin, Antoine Vestier, and others stayed in Paris, where they now competed with scores of previously unknown artists for commissions that came, if at all, from patrons of comparatively modest means.

Labille-Guiard also faced a more particular challenge: as suggested by Restout's diatribe, her hard-won association with Mesdames had become a liability when the royal sisters emigrated in February 1791. Most immediately, their departure harmed Labille-Guiard financially, for the sisters had left without paying for several completed portraits.[176] More broadly, though, the names of Mesdames had come to signify despotism, papism, and counter-Revolution, as every leg of their journey across the Alps generated hostile debate on the floor of the Assembly and in the pages of partisan journals.[177] Their choice of Rome as a destination further enraged their critics, who printed venomous tracts and crude engravings linking Mesdames to Pope Pius VI in an unholy alliance against liberated France (fig. 55).[178]

Figure 55
The Presentation of the Hackneys to the Holy Father, 1791. Etching. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des estampes, Collection de Vinck.

The altered political and economic circumstances also necessitated a new, more pared-down aesthetic that privileged the accurate recording of likeness over the display of artistic flourishes. In a time of crisis, individuals commissioning portraits were interested, above all else, in capturing their loved ones' features.[179] The scaled-back style was, in part, a question of expediency—funds were scarce and time was precious. Yet the politics of the day also demanded a more egalitarian mode of representation, a visual equivalent of the *tutoyer*—the informal mode of address that became de rigueur during the Revolution, when the formal *vousvoyer* was rejected as an outmoded remnant of a stratified society. Throughout the 1780s, Labille-Guiard had worked tirelessly to master portraiture's most elevated types. Now this achievement seemed meaningless, if not detrimental.

Labille-Guiard apparently made one mistake at the Salon of 1791: aside from showing several deftly chosen works, she also exhibited a painting burdened with artifacts of the pre-Revolutionary world. The *Portrait of Charles-Roger, Prince de Bauffremont* (fig. 56) is a monumental, full-length portrait that employs many devices from the 1780s.[180] The painting seems to have been commissioned to celebrate Bauffremont's 1789 reception into the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece (*Toison d'Or*). Labille-Guiard depicts the sitter

Figure 56
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Charles-Roger, Prince de Bauffremont*, 1791. Oil on canvas, 224 × 147 cm (88 1/4 × 59 3/4 in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, M.V. 8175. Photo: Gérard Blot/RMN/Art Resource, New York.

Figure 57
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Charles-Roger, Prince de Bauffremont*, ca. 1789–90. Preparatory sketch. Oil on canvas, 34 × 23 cm (13⅜ × 9⅛ in.). Paris, Musée Nissim de Camondo, 169.

Figure 58
French, possibly by Georges Jacob, Armchair, ca. 1785. Gilded beech. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.225.106.

festooned in ribbons and medals signaling his honorific titles: *Chevalier de l'Ordre de Malte*, *Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire de Saint-Louis*, and *Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or*. His surroundings are fully articulated, with carefully delineated floorboards and moldings establishing a clear system of perspective and illusionistic handling evoking wood, velvet, parchment, feathers, and a host of other materials. The painting brims with variations on recognizable props—the armchair from the portrait of Madame Adélaïde, two sculpted busts adapted from the 1785 *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* (fig. 30), and the always-versatile piece of unfurled parchment.

Although the *Portrait of Bauffremont* represents the apogee of Labille-Guiard's pre-Revolutionary career, a comparison of the finished painting to its oil sketch (fig. 57) shows the artist in the process of shifting toward the greater austerity that would characterize the aesthetics of the 1790s. The compositions of the sketch and the painting are nearly identical, but the sumptuous interior of the preliminary work becomes considerably more sober in the final product. In the center of the sketch is an intricate rosewood desk decorated with elabo-

rate mounts and flanked by the ornate upholstered chair (fig. 58) that appeared in so many of Labille-Guiard's earlier portraits and a similar armless chair. In the final painting, however, the elaborate desk has been hidden beneath a velvet cloth, and the empty chair is far simpler, with smooth woodwork and a geometrical back that echoes the clear lines of the floorboards and moldings.

The painting was poorly received, for neither its sitter nor its manner suited the demands of the day.[181] Bauffremont, a member of the Estates-General, did not join the National Assembly, and in 1793 he would be arrested for suspicion of counter-revolutionary activities.

"We congratulate M. de...de...de Bauffremont, his ribbons, his decorations, his doodads (*crachats*), etc., all of that gives him an air of something or other," wrote the author of *La Béquille de Voltaire*, derisively casting Bauffremont's "doodads" as unwelcome reminders of a bygone era.[182] Labille-Guiard was not, however, being singled out. The same critic lambasted Roslin for emphasizing "ribbons and orders" that were "out of step with the times."[183] Furthering his critique of artifice, the writer snidely recommended that Roslin try painting portraits of sitter's backs, since he "fails miserably" at faces but renders "wigs and fabrics" quite well.

Among Labille-Guiard's 1791 Salon entries, the one that is best remembered depicted a man who stood at the opposite end of the political spectrum from Bauffremont—the Jacobin leader Maximilien Robespierre. Elected to the Estates-General by the Third Estate of Artois, Robespierre would go down in history for his blood-soaked leadership of the Revolution's most radical phase. From September 1793 until his own execution on July 28, 1794, he wielded the guillotine as a political weapon, declaring it to be a means of inculcating virtue. At the time of Labille-Guiard's portrait, however, Robespierre was still one of several contestants vying for political power, and although he was moving the Jacobin party in an increasingly militant direction, his name carried few of the associations from which it is inseparable today.

The *Portrait of Robespierre* has left a more complete historical record than Labille-Guiard's other portraits of the era, although that record is somewhat misleading. First, a letter discussing the sitting has come down to us—a rare happenstance among Labille-Guiard's patrons. On February 13, 1791, Robespierre drafted a florid missive to Labille-Guiard.[184] "They tell me that the Graces want to paint my portrait," he wrote, adopting a surprisingly old-fashioned vocabulary. Apologizing for the tardy reply, he asked where

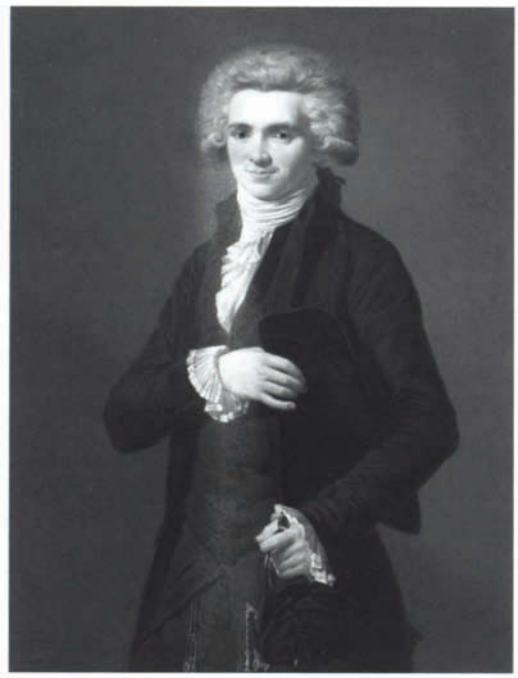

Figure 59
Pierre Roch Vigneron (1789–1872), *Portrait of Robespierre*, 1860. Oil on canvas, 75 × 58 cm (29 1/2 × 22 7/8 in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, MV6653. Photo: Gérard Blot/RMN/Art Resource, New York. Formerly believed to be a copy after Labille-Guaird's *Portrait of Robespierre*, this portrait is no longer associated with Labille-Guiard's pastel.

he might present both himself and "the homage I owe you." Second, while few of Labille-Guiard's 1791 portraits of deputies seem to have survived, a nineteenth-century oil painting by Pierre Roch Vigneron was, for many years, believed to be a copy after her pastel portrait of Robespierre (fig. 59). Vigneron's portrait is no longer associated with Labille-Guiard, and doubts have even been cast on the identity of its sitter, yet its relatively frequent reproduction has distorted the understanding of Labille-Guiard's politics by linking the artist to a radical set of beliefs that she never embraced.[185]

There is also Salon criticism of Labille-Guiard's *Portrait of Robespierre*, although it, too, tells us less than we might hope. Two portraits of Robespierre were on view in 1791—Labille-Guiard's and another by Joseph Boze (1745–1826)—and both attracted attention in a year when the majority of works either went unmentioned or were dismissed off-handedly as "bad bas-relief, by M. Marin" or "bad drawing, by M. Boichot."[186] These commentaries, however, rarely distinguish between the paintings by Boze and Labille-Guiard, revealing more about the politics of their authors than about the aesthetics of the works. Without indicating which of the Robespierre portraits was being discussed, the royalist-leaning *Feuille du Jour* objected to a label that termed Robespierre the "incorruptible legislator, the friend of humanity."[187] The author denounced Robespierre as a "so-called hero of the constitution," asking "which article was hatched from his fervent and empty head?" The radical Père Duchêne took issue with the same text from a different perspective, and in significantly coarser language.[188] "I can't help but laugh when I see this pompous elegy stuck on the frame . . . .Eh! What the f***, we rail against royal idolatry, and then recklessly announce that one must profoundly and respectfully adore a citizen who, very incorruptibly, has energetically done his duty."

More than a dozen other works by Labille-Guiard were essentially overlooked by critics, although these paintings are more telling than the portraits of Bauffremont and Robespierre. Fourteen deputies serving in the National Assembly counted among her sitters, and all but Robespierre stood at the center of the body's dwindling group of moderates.[189] Forming the legislative equivalent of the Central Academy, these were liberal deputies who continued to argue on behalf of a constitutional monarchy even after the royal family's attempted flight to the border on June 21, and ignominious arrest in Varennes the following day, had intensified calls for the monarchy's abolition.[190] In July, these moderates broke with the increasingly radical Jacobins to form a rival party known as the Feuillants. When the Salon opened on September 8, Labille-Guiard cast her lot with this newly established group.

At the core of the Feuillants—and of Labille-Guiard's sitters—were three men so closely united that they were known as the Triumvirate: Alexandre de Lameth, Adrien du Port de Prélaville, and Antoine Pierre Joseph Marie Barnave. Other sitters included Louis-Philippe, duc d'Orléans, who now called himself Philippe Égalité—and who would be guillotined despite his commitment to equality—and Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, who might have provided Labille-Guiard's introduction to this group. In 1785, Labille-Guiard had painted Talleyrand's son, the infant pictured in the *Portrait of the Comtesse de Flahaut* (fig. 29). The remaining deputies depicted by Labille-Guiard were the duc d'Aiguillon; Alexandre François Marie, vicomte de Beauharnais; Bon-Albert Briois, chevalier de Beaumetz; Jean-Baptiste-Charles Chabroud; François LaBorde; Charles de Lameth; and Lameth's cousin, Prince Louis-Victor de Broglie.

Most of these paintings remain untraced. The *Portrait of the Duc d'Aiguillan* (fig. 60) is a rare exception.

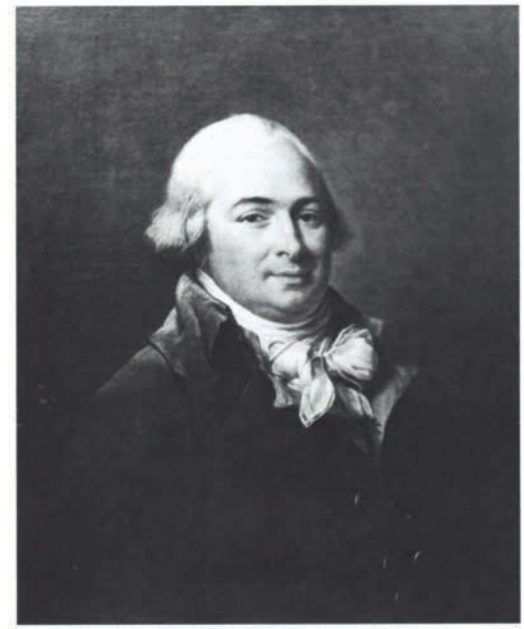

Figure 60
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of the Duc d'Aiguillon*, 1791. Oil on canvas, 73 × 60 cm (28¾ × 23⅝ in.). France, private collection, as of 1973.

Although the only known photograph of the painting is in black and white, it offers at least a basic sense of what the series may have looked like. D'Aiguillon's politics were typical for the group. On June 19, 1789, he had been among the first nobles in the Estates-General to join with the bourgeoisie to draft a new constitution, which he saw as the only way to "avoid bankruptcy and, perhaps, save us from civil war."[191] Throughout 1789, he advocated for the abolition of feudal and seigniorial rights, sought to rein in abuses of royal power, and devoted considerable attention to the nation's fiscal crisis. On July 16, 1791, he left the Jacobins for the Feuillants.

Figure 61
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Madame de Genlis*, 1790. Oil on canvas, 74 × 60 cm (29⅛ × 23⅝ in.). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Purchased with funds provided by the William Randolph Hearst Collection, Arnold S. Kirkeby, and other donors by exchange, 91.2. Photo: © 2009 Museum Associates / LACMA.

As far as can be discerned, Labille-Guiard's portraits of the Feuillants and the women in their circle, such as the duchesse d'Aiguillon and Madame de Genlis, governess to the children of the duc d'Orléans (fig. 61), seem to share a single format. The portrait of the duc d'Aiguillon, for example, features none of the intricacies of the Bauffremont portrait. Gone are the full-length size, perspectival space, trompe l'oeil effects, and narrative iconography. Instead, the seated, bust-length figure appears against an undifferentiated background in a shallow space. The *Portrait of d'Aiguillon* speaks of candor rather than flattery, as a receding hairline and double chin add years to d'Aiguillon's age of thirty. Indeed, the portrait was praised for its naturalism, referring to both its frank depiction of d'Aiguillon and the simplicity of its conception.[192]

Although the Feuillant portraits share the format of Labille-Guiard's pastels of Academicians, they are more formal and less concerned with narrative conceit. The earlier works, intended to be shared among friends, contain small hints of anecdote—Vincent (fig. 18), Beaufort (fig. 20), and Suvée (fig. 22) casually tuck their hats under their arms, Suvée seems distracted by something beyond the viewer's field of vision, and Beaufort's lips are slightly parted, as though in mid-speech. In contrast, d'Aiguillon and Genlis are unmistakably doing only one thing: posing. Both sit erect, casting scrutinizing looks directly at the viewer. Genlis has neither the smiling eyes of Vincent nor the haughty gaze of Vien (fig. 19), but rather a wide-open stare that suggests vision more than communication. Likewise, complete stillness is suggested by her crossed arms and by the folded fan held stiffly in her right hand, which gives no hint that it has been or will soon be used. Perhaps André Chénier best summarized this aesthetic of candor in his manifesto on history painting, published in 1792, which asserted "truth, simplicity, naiveté . . . They are the essence of all paintings involving figures."[193]

This is not to say that Labille-Guiard has abandoned her interest in evoking varied textures. Madame de Genlis sports a spectacular headpiece of ribbon and lace and stunning green leather gloves whose color echoes the upholstered fabric on her chair back. Yet Labille-Guiard's mastery of illusionism functions differently than it did in the 1780s. Unlike the trompe l'oeil relief in the *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde* (fig. 41)—a playful conceit that celebrates illusion for its own sake—the replication of appearances in the *Portrait of Madame de Genlis* serves the larger purpose of recording likeness.

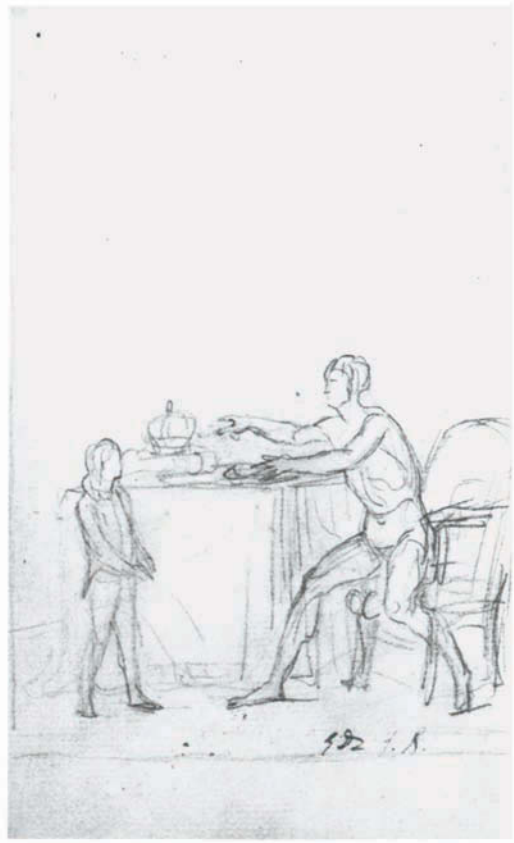

Figure 62
Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), *Young Boy at a Table, Near Which a Man Is Seated*, ca. 1791–92. Graphite on paper, 18.2 × 11.3 cm (7¾ × 4⅜ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 36942, folio 38 verso. Photo: Madeleine Coursaget/RMN/Art Resource, New York. This work is one of several preparatory sketches for David's unrealized *Portrait of the King*.

In addition to evincing aesthetic innovations, Labille-Guiard's portraits of the Feuillants served the artist by strengthening her ties with influential deputies. Talleyrand, for one, praised Labille-Guiard to the Assembly. While discussing educational programs for girls in 1791, he recommended that the departments consider "a memoir addressed to the National Assembly by an ingenious artist (Mme Guiard) who, in this work, has ennobled the arts by associating them with commerce, and applying them to the progress of industry."[194]

Labille-Guiard's most impressive show of support from her sitters came on September 29, 1791. Knowing that they would have to cede power the following day, when the legislative session was scheduled to end, the Feuillants were attempting to write a role for the king into the procedures of the Assembly.[195] After considering what ceremonial space should be set aside for the king, and what codes of behavior should be observed in his presence, Jean-Baptiste-Charles Chabroud, one of the deputies who had sat for Labille-Guiard, suggested "that a portrait of the king be placed in the Hall of the Assembly."[196] Following his suggestion, the Assembly decreed that "the king will be asked to have his portrait donated to the legislative body, to be placed at the site of its sessions, and to have himself represented at the moment where, having just accepted the constitution, he shows the royal prince, his son, his acceptance."[197] The legislation named no artist, but it seems likely that the Feuillants influenced the king's decision to award the commission to Labille-Guiard, with a second version requested from Jacques-Louis David (fig. 62).[198]

To art historians, the notion that the all-but-forgotten Labille-Guiard and the great David would receive the same commission—for a portrait of the king, with

Labille-Guiard being named first—might seem inconceivable. Writers in 1791, however, apparently understood the logic that lay behind the commission, even as they condemned it.[199] Pointing fingers at the Feuillants, the royalist *Feuille du Jour* described the artist as "the choice of cabal and intrigue."[200] Labille-Guiard's only "talent," asserted the author, is to amuse "herself by painting several bad heads, crude and without truthfulness." Another royalist critic snidely observed that "fourteen departments" (referring to the fourteen deputies who sat for the artist) "assure her the consent of all the others" in receiving the commission.[201] He further slighted Labille-Guiard's abilities by suggesting that, in order to see the work completed, "she will be obliged to protect the health of M. Vincent, who is so delicate." If Vincent were to fall ill, who would paint the picture for her?

On the other side of the political aisle, Louis Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris*, which would later publish an elaborate defense of the king's execution, directed an imaginative burst of invective toward the entire project.[202] To begin with, Prudhomme suggested that Labille-Guiard had been selected only because the even more royalist Vigée-Lebrun had already fled the country. He went on to offer mocking suggestions for the portrait. In addition to depicting the king showing the constitution to his son, "We advise her not to forget to paint our sire indicating the route to Varennes." The king might also be seen "measuring with his eyes the distance between the château of the Tuileries and the fortifications at Montmédy or at Metz." Interest could be added by portraying Marie-Antoinette's cat shredding the tricolor cockade. Finally, to complete the counter-revolutionary image, Prudhomme proposed that "In the background of the painting, underneath a Christ and a font filled with the blood spilled at Nancy and on the field of the [Champs de Mars] massacre, it would be appropriate [to include] the image of the blessed veto, the new French saint whose canonization Mesdames, the king's aunts, are pursuing in Rome."

In the end, of course, no such painting emerged from the brush of Labille-Guiard, David, or anyone else.[203] The monarchy was abolished on September 21, 1792, and Louis XVI, now known as Citizen Capet, was guillotined on January 21, 1793. With the fall of the blade, the commissioned portrait of the king, the Feuillant dream of liberal reform, and Labille-Guiard's hopes of continuing her ascent came to a crashing halt.

CHAPTER 4

PRODUCTION AND DESTRUCTION 1792–1794

When the National Convention declared terror the order of the day on September 5, 1793, Labille-Guiard was ensconced in the relative safety of the countryside. As the coldly efficient guillotine began sending thousands of men, women, and children to their deaths on the place de la Révolution in Paris, Labille-Guiard could generally be found some eighteen miles to the east, in a house in Pontault-en-Brie that she shared with François-André Vincent, Marie-Gabrielle Capet, and a small group of companions. Ever resourceful, Labille-Guiard drew upon her considerable social and artistic skills and was able to escape the violent end that claimed several patrons and friends. Her career, however, suffered devastating setbacks. Her successes and failures illustrate some of the myriad challenges that faced French citizens in a nation that was rapidly imploding.

PRODUCING DESTRUCTION

By the summer of 1793, Labille-Guiard had spent an estimated thirty months and 8,000 livres completing a project that was larger, more public, and more complex than any she had previously attempted.[204] In 1788, she had received a commission honoring the comte de Provence, brother of Louis XVI, in his role as grand master of the *Chevaliers de Saint-Lazare*. The painting was meant to commemorate an important gift. The Chevaliers—a royal Hospitaler order founded during the Crusades—had received a tremendous boon in 1788 when the king placed at their disposal the grand buildings designed for the École militaire under Louis XV. Labille-Guiard had been asked to depict Provence receiving a new member at the first investiture held in this soaring Neoclassical interior.

A group portrait, the work required physiognomic studies of many Chevaliers, and these efforts in turn had necessitated extensive travel. The painting's enormous size had required Labille-Guiard to move into a new studio, secured at the behest of Mesdames, in the Bibliothèque du roi. When it was finished, the group portrait was described by one contemporary as "rich as an *objet d'art*," replete with figures, and bursting with an "abundance of accessories." Unfortunately, we must take him at his word; neither the painting nor its autograph copy survived the Revolution.

A handful of remnants, however, testify to the project's magnitude. One, a diminutive oil sketch designed to help plan the final composition, features a brushy facture which occasionally dissolves into patches of illegibility (fig. 63). Yet even this *croquis* suggests that the commission mobilized all of Labille-Guiard's skills, requiring her to group over a dozen figures in a complex architectural setting and, most importantly, to convey a narrative without sacrificing individual likeness. In these undertakings, color and composition were among her primary tools, as seen in the right foreground, where Provence, the most elaborately attired figure and the only one gazing directly at the viewer, sits

Figure 63
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Reception of a Chevalier de Saint-Lazare by Monsieur, Grand Master of the Order* (preliminary sketch for an oil painting), 1788. Oil on canvas, 36 × 81 cm (14¼ × 31⅞ in.). Paris, Musée national de la Légion d'Honneur, 0.41.78. Photo: Fabrice Gousset.

in a fauteuil placed on a dais that spans more than half of the canvas. Provence is set off from his surroundings by green and red draperies hanging above and behind him, with his significance underscored by the five men standing in a half circle around him and by the reverential attitude and bright white costume of the new Chevalier kneeling before him. Adding visual interest while enhancing the illusion of perspective, two figures engaged in conversation animate the left foreground. Their vibrant red and blue clothing seems to project forward from the pale stone behind them, and their relaxed postures render them more life-like than any figures Labille-Guiard had yet produced.

A second vestige of the commission is a pastel portrait of the comte de Provence (fig. 64). This portrait's fully articulated facial details and summarily sketched costume suggest that it was a preliminary study for the oil painting. But Labille-Guiard must have deemed it a completed work in its own right, for she included it among her offerings at the 1791 Salon. Considering the large numbers of figures involved in the scene, Labille-Guiard must have created many such sketches for this group portrait, which, for a brief time, seemed as though it would mark a new high point in her career. In fact, Labille-Guiard was so invested in completing the project that she appears to have continued working on it even after Provence fled the country on June 20, 1791. The artist never

Figure 64
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of the Comte de Provence*, 1788. Pastel, 81.5 × 65 cm (32 1/8 × 25 5/8 in.). Saint-Quentin, Musée Antoine Lécuyer. Photo: Gérard Blot/RMN/Art Resource, New York.

recovered her expenses. It almost goes without saying that the agreed-upon price of 30,000 livres went unpaid.

The completed painting ultimately joined the Revolution's long list of cultural casualties, as recounted in a speech read by the playwright, journalist, and critic Pierre-Louis Ginguené to the Committee on Public Instruction nearly a year after Robespierre's demise.[205] On 13 Floréal Year III (May 2, 1795), as the Committee set about bestowing financial awards upon worthy artists, writers, and scholars, Labille-Guiard's name came up for consideration. Describing Labille-Guiard as "a woman artist, victim of vandalism, who is worthy of the benevolence of the government due to her talents and the losses she has suffered," Ginguené reported that "the Directory of the Department of Paris, by an order of August 11, 1793, forced *citoyenne* Guiard to deliver to the district attorney [*procureur syndic*] the large and small portraits of the former prince and all the studies related to these works, to be devoured by flames." It was further ordered "that this unfortunate woman efface all the faces in her portraits of nobility, especially those of the aunts of the former king, his sister, and many of the members of the Constituent Assembly she had painted."[206] The committee awarded Labille-Guiard 2,000 livres.

We cannot be certain which conflagration consumed Labille-Guiard's paintings or how many were ultimately destroyed; expiatory bonfires were frequent sights in the chaotic year of 1793, and careful records were not maintained.[207] But two mid-August articles published in the *Journal de Paris* begin to shed light on the context. On August 16, 1793, the paper reported that "the decree ordering the destruction of paintings and mausoleums of the kings and other prominent figures of the French monarchy, has been carried out."[208] A more detailed story, published the following day, told of a blaze that engulfed "shameful signs of feudalism," while an assembled crowd chanted "long live the Republic one and indivisible."[209]

Similar bonfires were constructed throughout Paris in the autumn of 1793 and the spring of 1794, as noted in some half-dozen entries in the journal of the painter Alexandre Lenoir, who had been charged with recording and preserving objects of artistic value seized from the properties of the church, the crown, and the aristocracy. Although Lenoir would, in 1795, become the driving force behind the influential Musée des monuments français (Museum of French Monuments), in 1793, he had no power to stop the local officials who routinely raided his storage depot in search of paintings to use for kindling. In one typical

entry, Lenoir described the events of October 30, 1793, when a deputation took "eighty portraits painted in oil, standing and bust-length, of nobles, prelates, princes, etc., which they termed feudal, to be burned at the popular festival in the garden of the abbey of Saint-Germain."[210]

The bigger question, though, is not precisely when, but rather *why*? What logic necessitated the premeditated, public destruction of Labille-Guiard's paintings, along with an untold number of others? Why were some destroyed and others saved? Scattered records provide only provisional answers, but one chain of evidence leads back to the earlier, more optimistic days of the Revolution, when the notion that images could both educate and harm was first raised on the floor of the National Assembly.

On June 19, 1790, the legislature, and indeed all of Paris, was preparing for the Festival of Federation set to be held on July 14—the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. Tens of thousands of national guardsmen were already making their way from the far corners of the realm to the specially renovated Champs de Mars, the parade ground in front of the École militaire, where they would converge at a massive ceremony choreographed by Talleyrand to mark the culmination of the Revolution. Joined by Louis XVI and led by the marquis de Lafayette, the assembled crowd would consecrate the reborn nation by swearing an oath of allegiance to France's new constitution.

With so many guests coming together to form a single body politic, Alexandre de Lameth proposed that four enchained figures should be removed from the base of the statue of Louis XIV at the place des Victoires.[211] These large gilt bronzes, Lameth argued, represented the subordination of vanquished provinces and would offend "the fellow citizens whom we honor."[212] "Erect statues to princes who have made themselves worthy of their nations; consecrate them to the memory of the restorer of liberty," Lameth enjoined his colleagues, "but rush to destroy emblems that degrade the dignity of man." His arguments were persuasive, and the offending sculptures were removed in July. Significantly, though, they were not demolished—simply taken away—and may be seen today at the Louvre.

By the time that Labille-Guiard's paintings were lost to the pyres of 1793, however, many works of art were being destroyed in elaborate performances of patriotism. Whereas Lameth had proposed altering state-sponsored sculptures to reflect more accurately the nation's values, later instances of coordinated iconoclasm furthered the cause of revolutionary renewal more

symbolically, by permitting individuals and groups to demonstrate their loyalty to the new order. The pages of the *Archives Parlementaires*, which recorded the National Assembly's proceedings, abound with detailed letters from municipalities throughout France describing iconoclastic festivities organized by their patriotic citizens. In the fall of 1793, for example, the city of Fontainebleau, acknowledging that it had been until recently a "temporary residence of tyrants and their court," asserted that it had purged all "partisans of despotism" from its midst.[213] As evidence, the Société populaire de Fontainebleau reported on a festival, organized in collaboration with a group of local *citoyennes*, to honor the revolutionary martyr Jean-Paul Marat.[214] Like countless similar commemorations held throughout the nation, this daylong event featured the consecration of a bust of Marat and the planting of a liberty tree. But the people of Fontainebleau were in a unique position to offer a further proof of loyalty. To "appease the spirits of this virtuous republican [Marat], we built a pyre composed of all the effigies of despots that decorated the walls of their former château, and the flame soon annihilated these reminders of our ancient enslavement." When the "president of the *citoyennes*... set fire to this patriotic conflagration," the resulting "auto-da-fé" ensured that "our eyes will no longer be offended by the discouraging spectacle of the arts prostituted to transmit the image of tyrants."

With iconoclasm thus harnessed to the causes of virtue and patriotism, yet another wave of destruction ensued, one that claimed works by Labille-Guiard, Vigée-Lebrun, and others nearly a year after the *Portrait of the Comte de Provence* was lost. Paradoxically, these later acts of destruction were performed in the name of the Temporary Arts Commission, a subcommittee of the Committee on Public Instruction, which was explicitly created in the interest of preserving the nation's heritage. Organized around the belief that "instruction has become... the most powerful means to regeneration and glory," the Commission was charged with cataloguing, collecting, and conserving objects of art and science found in châteaus, libraries, churches, and other newly nationalized buildings, so that valuable lessons from the past might be transmitted to posterity.[215] Contrary to these founding principles, however, one of the Commission's cataloguing efforts went woefully awry as commissioners sought to outdo each other in shows of devotion to the Revolution.

The episode had begun innocently enough. In the spring of 1794, Jean-Michel Picault, from the Commission's painting division, and Casimir Varon, an antiquarian representing the division of medals and antiquities, were

inventorying the contents of the royal château at Saint-Cloud.[216] According to their testimony, the men identified among the paintings a portrait of the dauphin, which they set apart from the other items "so that it could be transferred to the depot at Versailles." At this point, however, a coincidence led to vast and unintended consequences. A man identified only as Lebrun—either the art dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun or his brother, Joseph-Alexandre—now serving as one of the "commissioners charged with the sale of the items from Saint-Cloud," came across the painting, which had been inappropriately set apart from the rest of the castle's contents. He could not, however, find Picault and Varon, who later claimed "ignorance of where they were upon the arrival of Lebrun."[217] Evidently, Lebrun felt compelled to act quickly and decisively, for the portrait he had found was painted by the émigré Vigée-Lebrun, whom J-B-P Lebrun had recently divorced in an attempt to protect both his financial resources and his revolutionary credentials.[218] Lebrun "decreed that the portrait should be burned immediately in the presence of the Committee," and the directive "was carried out on the spot."[219]

In the weeks that followed, an investigation into the incident yielded a sweeping pronouncement ordering the destruction of all royal family portraits. In fact, it was Picault and Varon, perhaps worried that their loyalties were in doubt, who proposed that "all paintings and portraits representing individuals of Capet blood will be inventoried and brought together in the same storehouse, and that, according to the inventory, we will carry out their total and complete destruction, so that royalist superstition will never be able to gather them together again."[220]

The motion passed and was "communicated to the Committee on Public Instruction in order to obtain its prompt and entire execution." On June 17, 1794, the Committee on Public Instruction approved the legislation.[221]

In a stroke of bad luck for Labille-Guiard, the inventory of Mesdames' château at Bellevue was being compiled even as the destruction of royal family portraits was being mandated. Five days after this purge of the nation's art collections was sanctioned, commissioners began cataloguing Madame Victoire's apartments in the pavilion of Brimborion, an outbuilding situated on the banks of the Seine at the edges of the Bellevue estate. There, on the walls of a dining room, they happened upon "a picture painted on canvas representing a portrait of a woman of the former royal family, by the Citoyenne Guiard, four and

a half feet by three and a half feet in a gilt border, which we immediately had transported to where the other portraits of the same family are, valued at three hundred livres.[222] In the margins of the ledger, the words *à détruire* (to destroy) apparently sealed the painting's fate.

RETREAT

Although the destruction of her royal family portraits was undoubtedly a demoralizing blow, Labille-Guiard was fortunate simply to have survived. Having received a royal pension since 1787, and having been closely associated not only with Mesdames but also with the now-discredited Feuillants, Labille-Guiard could well have been condemned as an enemy of the Revolution. Even François-André Vincent, who was less closely associated with the royal family, had seen his republican credentials publicly challenged when Jacques-Louis David orchestrated Vincent's removal from the national Museum Commission in December 1793 on grounds of insufficient patriotism.[223] Other artists endured imprisonment or worse: Joseph Boze spent the better part of 1793 in prison; Joseph-Benoît Suvée, whom David had accused of being "*aristocratique*," was arrested on June 2, 1794; and Anne-Rosalie Bocquet Filleul, who had painted pastels of royal family members, was sent to the guillotine on July 13 of the same year.[224]

But Labille-Guiard was nothing if not a savvy strategist, and this ability might have helped to save her life. As she had when confronting libel nearly a decade before, she met the era's growing challenges by strengthening existing affiliations and undertaking timely legal maneuvers. Without a doubt, Labille-Guiard's most consequential step toward survival came on March 8, 1792. On that day, she and Vincent contributed 12,000 livres each to acquire the lifelong use of a house in Pontault-en-Brie, along with its garden and dependencies, from Henri François de Paule Lefevre d'Ormesson, who had briefly served as the nation's minister of finance.[225] Three friends and relatives (Vincent's brother, Marie-Alexandre-François Vincent, joined by Labille-Guiard's students Marie-Gabrielle Capet and Marie-Victoire d'Avril) additionally contributed 2,000 lives each in exchange for limited rights to the property. Possibly fearing imprisonment or worse, on September 5, 1792, Labille-Guiard granted power

of attorney to Mlle d'Avril, enabling the younger woman to act on her behalf.[226] Later that year, she and Vincent went to some lengths to guarantee that, in case of their deaths, Capet and d'Avril would enjoy a measure of security.[227] Childless as she was, Labille-Guiard would never become the ideal republican mother who would raise patriotic citizens for the reborn state, but her household was as closely knit as any bourgeois family.

Pontault did not, however, afford a completely untroubled refuge. Petty disputes among neighbors that might have gone unnoticed under normal circumstances became dangerously politicized in this period. In particular, Labille-Guiard crossed paths with the republican mayor of Pontault, Joseph Nacu, on more than one occasion. With complaints that Labille-Guiard was misusing her property rights or failing to follow administrative procedures, Nacu brought his new neighbor before the civil clerk time and time again.[228] Labille-Guiard may have sensed that politics did not lie far behind the charges, for she and Vincent made at least two attempts to prove their patriotism to their new community. On August 18, 1792, the pair went before the clerk to pledge help in financing the salary of anyone from Pontault who entered the military in defense of the nation. In September, Labille-Guiard donated another twenty-five livres, earmarked for the purchase of a gun to arm a citizen fighting in the war.

At the same time, Labille-Guiard kept her options open in Paris. Not only did she return occasionally to file legal papers, but, despite the growing dangers, she continued to petition for artists' lodgings in the Louvre. On July 4, 1792, with the monarchy breathing its last, Labille-Guiard asked the arts ministry to grant her a studio in consideration of the "love of my art" and the "modest fortune to which I am reduced."[229] A second letter is dated exactly one month later—six days before an armed mob would massacre hundreds of Swiss guards protecting the Tuileries Palace. Woefully underestimating the gravity of the circumstances, Labille-Guiard acknowledged that "it is difficult to speak to the king at this moment," but she proposed that giving "an artist the means to follow her talent" might actually help His Majesty to "lessen his grief."[230] Whereas ameliorating the national crisis would, she reasoned, be extremely difficult for Louis XVI to achieve, "a single word could do me a great service." Augustin Pajou also weighed in on behalf of his longtime friend, with a letter to the arts ministry explaining that Labille-Guiard had been forced to move to the countryside because she was unable to support herself in Paris.[231] Moreover, the sculptor emphasized Labille-Guiard's patriotism by calling

attention to the fact that she had not emigrated. Despite "being wanted in England," he wrote, Labille-Guiard had chosen to remain in France to fulfill the wishes of the National Assembly by completing the portrait of the king.

Whether due to one of these letters or to another request, Labille-Guiard finally received rooms in the Louvre. An account book documenting repairs made in the Louvre palace (known at the time as the Palais National) indicates that one mason and one unskilled worker spent the day of February 16, 1793, in the "Louvre lodgings of Citoyenne Guyard," where they used five sacks of plaster.[232] By that time, however, Labille-Guiard evidently thought better of returning to Paris. She remained in Pontault until the end of the Terror.

Beyond these documents, only a handful of other relics testify to Labille-Guiard's relatively quiet life during the height of revolutionary violence. Because Labille-Guiard did not exhibit at the Salon of 1793, very few paintings can be securely attributed to this period. One is a bust-length portrait of a woman in a landscape traditionally known as *Presumed Portrait of the Marquise de Lafayette* (wife of the marquis who had deserted his French army post on August 19, 1792), although its date casts serious doubt on the identification (fig. 65). This painting is inscribed "l'an 2 de la Rep[ubli]que" and signed "Labille cy'd[avant] d[ame] Guyard" (Labille formerly wife of Guyard), "l'an 2" (Year II), referring to the period between September 22, 1793, and September 21, 1794 (according to France's new calendar), and clearly dating the work to after the artist's divorce on March 12, 1793.[233] Because the marquise was arrested on September 10, 1792, and spent the remainder of the revolution under guard, and because the portrait does not resemble other images of the marquise, Labille-Guiard's painting undoubtedly depicts a woman who has yet to be identified.[234]

Although the unknown sitter surely influenced elements of the portrait, the work nevertheless testifies to Labille-Guiard's continuing ability to alter her aesthetic approach to suit the moment. The painting's format, for instance, adapts a formula that Labille-Guiard developed in the late 1780s but transforms it sufficiently to satisfy the very different demands placed on painting in Year II.[235] Consider, for instance, the similarities between the *Presumed Portrait of the Marquise de Lafayette* and the 1787 portraits of Madame Élisabeth (fig. 39) or the comtesse de Selve (fig. 66) Although the paintings of 1787 revel in a high degree of illusionism and offer quite particular details about the sitter's intellectual interests—a feature that is pointedly absent from the revolutionary-era portrait—the latter retains the compositional structure

Figure 65
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of a Woman (Presumed Portrait of the Marquise de Lafayette)*, 1793–94 (Year II). Oil on canvas, 78.1 × 62.9 cm (30¾ × 24¾ in.). Washington, D.C., National Museum of Women in the Arts, Gift of Wallace and Wilhelmina Holladay, 2001.45. The date of this portrait makes it highly unlikely that its sitter is the marquise de Lafayette, who was in prison throughout Year II.

of its more elaborate predecessors. The portrait from Year II presents its sitter at a three-quarter angle, with her head facing the picture plane and her left shoulder rotated into the depicted space. Behind her right shoulder, at the left side of the canvas, a clump of trees forms an arc that echoes the rounded frames of the earlier chairs, while the roughly horizontal contour of the distant hills on the right side of the painting balances the picture, replacing the table and papers seen in the 1787 portraits.

Yet the sensibility of the later work is profoundly changed. Not only is it smaller in both size and scale, offering a bust-length, rather than knee-length pose, but the handling also yields a new effect. In the landscape portrait, the contrast between the loose treatment of land, trees, and sky and the more finely detailed face focuses attention on the patron's unique physiognomy, which, even in the comparatively pared down *Portrait of Madame Alexis Janvier La Live de la Briche* (fig. 67) from 1787, seemed almost secondary to the sitter's sumptuously rendered attire. In Year II, it is in the unidealized face of the sitter, rather than her stylish accoutrements, that her character is to be read.

Figure 66
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of the Comtesse de Selve*, 1787. Oil on canvas, 91 × 71 cm (35 13/16 × 27 15/16 in.). Switzerland, private collection, as of 1973.

Figure 67
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Madame Alexis Janvier La Live de la Briche, née Adélaïde Prévost*, 1787. Oil on oval canvas, 79 × 63 cm (31 1/8 × 24 3/4 in.). Private collection.

Figure 68
Jacques-Louis David, *Study for the Costume of a Civil Official*, 1793. Pen and ink on paper, 32.4 × 22.9 cm (12¾ × 9 in.). Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Gift of funds from David M. Daniels.

Finally, the costume seen in the Year II painting is both more austere and more politically charged than the stunning garb worn by Labille-Guiard's 1787 sitters. In a repetitive move seen elsewhere in the artist's oeuvre, the clothing is quite similar to that worn by Madame de Genlis (fig. 61), sharing its blue silk fabric, gathered band beneath the bust, and deep V-neck. However, Labille-Guiard has introduced one significant change: the green gloves worn by Genlis are absent from this work; in their place, a wide red sash at the waist provides the only contrasting hue. The result is a figure clad in red, white, and blue—the colors of the Revolution's tricolor flag. In an age when every aesthetic decision was also a political statement, this color scheme was meaningful indeed.

It would be almost impossible to overstate the political powers attributed to costume, painting, and other forms of visual culture in Year II. Signaling a belief that clothing could contribute to the regeneration of society, for instance, Jacques-Louis David had designed uniforms for various members of the government in 1792 and 1793 (fig. 68), and a law passed in 1793 required that the tricolor cockade be worn at all times in public.[236]

Yet the most extreme instance of the politically transformative powers attributed to art may be found in an unlikely coda to the tale of Vigée-Lebrun's portrait of the dauphin discovered at Saint-Cloud, which went on to play a role in the downfall of Robespierre. On 27 Prairial Year II (June 15, 1794), Marc-Guillaume Alexis Vadier of the Committee of General Security presented a fantastic report of a conspiracy intended, in part, to cast as counter-revolutionary Robespierre's devotion to the Cult of the Supreme Being.[237] The report, which concluded by sending five accused conspirators to the Revolutionary Tribunal and thence to the guillotine, linked Robespierre's religious ally Dom Gerle to an aged

mystic named Cathérine Théot. Also known as the Mother of God, Théot had spent much of her life incarcerated in the Bastille prison and the Salpêtrière hospital owing to her rants and visions. More recently, she had won a small group of adherents to an eccentric theology that saw the Revolution as a culmination of apocalyptic prophecy and predicted the imminent arrival of the Messiah, soon to be made flesh through the word of Théot herself. In Vadier's telling, these religious fanatics were involved in a plot to "spoil the revolutionary public spirit, to redirect minds from political opinions towards superstitious ideas."[238]

How does a conspiracy of religious fanatics involve a portrait of the dauphin? According to Vadier, the work had been found "mysteriously hidden behind a bed" at the former château, having been "fraudulently removed from the inventory of the furnishings."[239] Painted by Vigée-Lebrun, "mistress of the traitor Calonne," the portrait, Vadier alleged, had probably been set aside for future use by the Mother of God; placing it in the Paris law school, near the Pantheon, "was to have been the prelude to the miraculous incarnation of the divine word and the fulfillment of her prophecies."[240]

The political power that accrued to the painting found at Saint-Cloud, like the destruction of Labille-Guiard's portraits and the artist's pictorial strategies in Year II, clearly involved much more than aesthetics. The Revolution's values and antivalues were, quite literally, bound up with works of art and with those who created them.

CHAPTER 5

RETURNS
1795–1803

When Labille-Guiard returned to Paris in 1795, she found its political and professional landscape irrevocably altered. Like all of the nation's academies, the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture had been suppressed by order of the National Assembly on August 8, 1793, and the succession of institutions that replaced it did not admit female members. Moreover, at least half a dozen of Labille-Guiard's patrons and associates had perished on the guillotine in 1793 or 1794. Antoine Barnave, the vicomte de Beauharnais, the prince de Broglie, Madame Élisabeth de France, the duc d'Orléans, Madame Griois (Vincent's sister), and Maximilien Robespierre—not to mention Louis XVI—had all lost their lives. Others had escaped the blade only by fleeing France. By 1795, Adrien Duport, Théodore de Lameth, Talleyrand, and the comtesse de Flahaut were settled in England; Mesdames Adélaïde and Victoire had taken shelter in Italy; and Charles de Lameth had moved to Hamburg, where he had gone into business with the duc d'Aiguillon.

More generally, the nation was still in the throes of change. When the Salon opened on October 2, 1795, more than a year had passed since the fall of Robespierre, and plans for a new government had been set in motion. But the five directors who were to share power under the new constitution would not take office for another month. Signaling the lingering instability, a royalist coup would be attempted on October 5. Yet Labille-Guiard remained undaunted, as she gamely undertook one final project of personal and artistic reinvention.

Many scholars have rightly applauded the arts policies of the 1790s for the opportunities they offered to women. While all but four women were barred from the Royal Academy's Salons, many female artists now figured among the hundreds of painters, sculptors, and engravers who participated in annual exhibitions that were open to all.[241] Eighteen female painters exhibited forty-three works in 1795, and their numbers climbed as the decade wore on.[242] Moreover, two women, one of whom was Labille-Guiard, received *prix d'encouragements* from the National Convention in September 1795.[243]

Yet the new, open exhibitions could do little to further Labille-Guiard's career. The vast scale of the Salons and the scarcity of reviews meant that her contributions were frequently overlooked.[244] Counting paintings alone, 534 works were on view in 1795.[245] With just eight pieces of Salon criticism published that year, and each author simply unable to address the majority of exhibited works, artists were fortunate to receive even a single mention.[246] Portraitists had a particularly hard time attracting attention, for their genre was ubiquitous—nearly a quarter of the paintings on view. A similar ratio was found at the 1796 Salon, when an exasperated author writing in *La Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique* exclaimed "Again countless portraits!" *Arléquin au museum* issued the same complaint three years later: "I search the paintings and I find only portraits and portraits, great gods!"[247]

Yet Labille-Guiard was caught in a more specific, and more poignant, predicament. Ironically, the influx of women painters meant that she, who had famously argued that a reformed Academy should admit unlimited numbers of women, no longer stood out from the crowd.[248] Having burst onto the scene in 1783 as half of a startling pair of new female Academicians, Labille-Guiard now found herself just one of many representatives of her sex, drained of the power to provoke. Making matters worse, the egalitarian principles that guided the new *livrets* meant that Labille-Guiard could not proclaim her achievements in print. The artist, who had appeared in past *livrets* as "Academician" and "First Painter to Mesdames," was identified in 1795 merely as "student of Messieurs Vincent." After her second marriage, Labille-Guiard's accomplishments were buried still deeper. In 1800, she was listed simply as "Madame Vincent, student of her husband."[249]

Figure 69
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Joachim Lebreton*, 1795. Oil on canvas, 73 × 59.7 cm (28¾ × 23½ in.). Kansas City, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Purchase: Nelson Trust through the George H. and Elizabeth O. Davis Fund and the exchange of bequests of Ethlyne Jackson Seligman and William Rockhill Nelson, the gifts of Robert L. Bloch and Kenneth Baum, and other Trust properties, 94-34. Photo: Louis Meluso.

Nonetheless, Labille-Guiard revived familiar strategies in 1795, doing her best to impress Salon-goers by exhibiting portraits of influential patrons and adopting yet another new variation on her Neoclassical style. Administrators constituted a powerful group in this in-between time, and two appeared in Labille-Guiard's Salon contributions: Joachim Lebreton, the head of the museum department of the Committee on Public Instruction, which, for the moment, was the nation's governing art institution; and the architect Sévèstre, *inspecteur des maisons nationales*, who was responsible for assigning and maintaining studios and lodgings in the Louvre.

The *Portrait of Joachim Lebreton* features a blend of naturalism and idealism highly characteristic of the aesthetic trends that dominated the period after Robespierre's fall (often known as Thermidor in reference to the month

in which it occurred) (fig. 69).[250] As in portraits by the young artists François Gérard, Jean-Baptiste Isabey, and others from the late 1790s and early 1800s, Lebreton's pose and attire convey a sense of studied casualness. Seated sideways on a simple wooden chair, Lebreton folds his arms over each other in a gesture widely adopted in portraits of the 1790s.[251] While his torso twists toward the picture plane, Lebreton rests his right elbow and left hand on the back splat as if he were propping himself up in preparation for a lengthy conversation with the viewer. Typical of bourgeois men in the wake of Thermidor, he is fashionably dressed in relaxed cuts of fine materials that bespeak ease and elegance. His loose-fitting redingote, featuring a tall but supple collar and a lapel so generous that it spills over onto his arm, only partly conceals his eye-catching silk vest with its wide red and blue stripes. True to their materials, his linen collar and cravat are rumpled, but they have been tied in an elaborate arrangement that was very much in vogue.

Tellingly, Lebreton's chair is very like the simpler one seen in the *Bauffremont* (fig. 56)—another painting that hovered between two political and aesthetic moments. Yet whereas codes clash in the *Bauffremont*, they blend into a fully resolved whole in the *Lebreton*, as in Labille-Guiard's other portraits from the late 1790s and in contemporary portraits by François Gérard and others. Gone are the receding floorboards, the diagonal curl of parchment, and the opposed chairs that establish fictive depth in the *Bauffremont*. Instead, the *Lebreton* fosters equally elaborate illusions with an economy of means; the chair's sharply angled back splat and the figure's abruptly foreshortened right forearm and surprisingly large right hand suffice to create ample room for the sitter. Gone, too, are Bauffremont's legible array of ribbons and medals, which had boasted of his achievements and elicited derision from a critic in 1791. Now, Lebreton's character is meant to be read in such seemingly inherent features as his welcoming expression and the lifelike details of his hair, skin, and face, where a shadow of stubble sets off his moistened lips. But neither does the portrait claim to record the entire truth, for it lacks the self-conscious posing of the portraits of d'Aiguillon and Genlis. In the wake of the Terror, it seems, Labille-Guiard sought the appearance of truth without wishing to delve too deeply.

At the same time that Labille-Guiard was developing a new aesthetic, she was also receiving commissions from individuals who, like the artist herself, had seen their republican credentials questioned during the Terror. Two

Figure 70
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Joseph Jean Baptiste Albouis Dazincourt*, 1795 (Year III). Oil on oval canvas, 71 × 57.5 cm (27 15/16 × 22 5/8 in.).
Boston, Jeffrey E. Horvitz Collection.
Photo: Eric Turquin, Paris.

of her sitters from the 1790s—the actors known respectively as Dazincourt (fig. 70) and Dublin (fig. 71)—had, in fact, been jailed in September 1793. Their crime? They had performed in a production of *Pamela*, based on Samuel Richardson's sentimental novel, staged by the Théatre de la Nation.[252] The play, which opened in August, had stirred controversy among audience members who deemed its language and plot unpatriotic. In response, the all-powerful Committee of Public Safety (*Comité de salut public*), already incensed by earlier productions critical of the Terror, shuttered the theater and arrested most of the troupe.

Labille-Guiard's image of Dublin seems to refer specifically to this episode, which ended like a comedy thanks to the daring actions of a bureaucrat who never filed the paperwork documenting the players' arrest. Quite unlike the clearly staged artifice of Labille-Guiard's 1783 portrait of Brizard (fig. 25), which presents the actor as King Lear, the 1799 portrait of Dublin portrays the actor playing, as it were, himself. Standing against an undifferentiated background, his arms folded and his hair coiffed in the "Brutus" hairstyle that was all the rage, Dublin carries a roll of parchment, which appears to narrate his own story. Although previous scholars have perceived the word "Acte" at the top of the scroll, careful examination following a recent cleaning reveals instead "C[..]te de S[...]," presumably referring to the *Comité de salut public*.[253] Painted some five years after the fall of Robespierre, perhaps the portrait marks Dublin's personal triumph, and the nation's collective recovery from a period of darkness, which could, at last, be written as history.

Figure 71
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of the Comedian Tournelle, Called Dublin*, 1799. Oil on canvas, 71.4 × 57.2 cm (28 1/8 × 22 1/2 in.). Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, 1943.230. Photo: Art Resource, New York.

Figure 72
Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Portrait of Marie-Gabrielle Capet*, 1798.
Oil on canvas, 78.5 × 62.5 cm (30⅞ × 24⅝ in.). Paris, private collection.

Although female artists continued to turn out in force at each of the Salons during the period of the Directory, opposition to women's participation was mounting as the ideal of domestic femininity slowly took root in society at large.[254] In the art world, women suffered a disappointing blow when the Beaux-Arts section of the Institut national des Sciences et des Arts, established in 1796, excluded women from its membership. But the problem went beyond bureaucratic regulations, for diatribes against women artists began to appear in newspapers and pamphlets.[255] In 1799, one critic summed up the matter in terms that recall Rousseau, Boudier de Villemert, and other moralizing voices of the old regime.[256] His rhyming ditty, set to a popular tune, lamented that "so many women have dared to put their paintings" on display and confessed that "in secret, I would love to see them paint / but I tell them, without mincing words / a woman must always be afraid / of displaying herself too much in public."

Sentiments like these formed the context in which Labille-Guiard exhibited her 1798 *Portrait of Marie-Gabrielle Capet*—one of her last known works (fig. 72). Even as it borrows from an earlier era, this painting of Labille-Guiard's student articulates both a retrenchment of once-grand ambitions and a poignant identification between teacher and student. Its iconography of a woman artist as a miniature painter returns us to the miniature self-portrait that Labille-Guiard had exhibited in her 1774 debut. Even the composition recalls that early painting, depicting a female artist seated to the right of a work table on which we see, but cannot fully read, a miniature in progress. Although it is a far cry from the audacious presentation of Labille-Guiard and her students seen in the 1785 *Self-Portrait* (fig. 30), the *Portrait of Marie-*

Figure 73
François-André Vincent, *François-Bernard Boyer-Fonfrede (1767–1845) Presenting His Son Jean-François-Bernard (1797–1849) to His Wife Marie-Anne Barréro (1777–1836) Holding in Her Arms Their Young Daughter Geneviève Who Died at a Young Age*, 1801. Oil on canvas, 253 × 163 cm (99⅝ × 64⅛ in.). Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. Photo: Gérard Blot/RMN/Art Resource, New York.

Gabrielle Capet nonetheless includes diminutive reminders of Labille-Guiard's most important canvases. Like the seated artist in 1785, Capet holds a palette in her left hand, and like Madame Adélaïde (fig. 41), a velvet cloth descends from the back of her easel. Other features, too, are familiar: the roll of parchment, the desk's reflective surface, the imitation of materials ranging from leather to linen to softly flowing tresses. Exquisitely rendered though they are, these small details are but quiet echoes of their majestic precursors.

Indeed, the saddest reiteration of all might be the central figure of the artist. Whereas the fully displayed figures of exquisitely attired female artists had dominated the compositions of the *Self-Portrait* and the *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde*, Marie-Gabrielle Capet is squeezed into a tight space between chair, desk, and picture plane, and little of her clothing can be seen. Whether intentionally or not, this reduced vision of Capet's accomplishments seems to point to a diminution of Labille-Guiard's own legacy, giving form to her losing struggle against professional collapse by capitulating to gender-appropriate norms.

If the portrait of Capet visualized a retrenchment, Labille-Guiard's last Salon offering all but narrated this surrender. Although the *Family Portrait* of 1800 has not been located, the Salon *livret* describes the painting in great detail.[257] Measuring three meters by two-and-a-half meters, this enormous canvas seems to have taken a page from the mid-century repertory of Greuze. According to the *livret*, this historiated portrait depicts a good father, "Citizen D... surrounded by his family" and engaged in the education of his children. As Citizen D discusses with his son a volume of François Le Vaillant's recently published *Natural History of the Birds of Africa*, his wife and daughter recognize the importance of the lesson. While the wife "put aside her work to listen to the lecture," the daughter, who had been playing with a doll, "pulls the book towards her" as "her brother signals that she should listen to their father." Labille-Guiard, whose controversial life and work had once challenged and triumphed over expectations of both gender and class, left her final mark on the Salon with an image of a mother who values her husband's lessons above her own labors.

The family-centered imagery of this portrait resonated deeply with the models of domesticity that were being adopted with renewed fervor at the highest echelons of society and exhibited with increasing frequency on the walls of the Salons in the wake of the Revolution.[258] As Tony Halliday has discussed,

families pictured within the confines of their homes were common sights in exhibitions around 1800.[259] Indeed, Halliday points to Labille-Guiard's portrait of Madame Louise-Élisabeth with her child (fig. 47) as an influential forerunner of the vogue for family portraits. Even men who had established their reputations as history painters—including François-André Vincent—were turning to family portraits in an era when the type of heroic public action that had previously been the focus of their paintings still bore unwelcome reminders of national upheaval (fig. 73).

Aptly, Labille-Guiard's household was coalescing into a fully formed family at this time. The 1800 marriage of Labille-Guiard and Vincent formalized their long-standing relationship, and they now lived with Capet in lodgings in the Louvre. The three artists could be seen about town together, as noted by the British landscape painter Joseph Farrington.[260] In a travel diary, Farrington sketched the seating arrangements of a dinner given by the American artist Benjamin West in Paris on September 27, 1802. Vigée-Lebrun enjoyed a seat of honor next to the host. And just a few seats away were Vincent, Labille-Guiard, and Capet, described by Farrington as "companion of Madame Vincent."

EPILOGUE

LEGACIES

When Labille-Guiard died in 1803, her circumstances testified to a lifetime of hard-won achievements. Signaling the respect she still enjoyed in the Paris art world, her former sitter Joachim Lebreton, now *secrétaire perpetuel de la classe des Beaux-Arts de l'Institut*, delivered her eulogy. On a more personal level, her close-knit household remained intact. Labille-Guiard, Capet, and Vincent were still living together in 1803, and Capet stayed on with Vincent after Labille-Guiard's death. In fact, Vincent would later name Capet his primary beneficiary, and, in turn, Capet's testament stipulated her wish to be buried near "the tomb of my father Vincent at père La Chaise."[261]

Capet left one final legacy of her teacher's life: the large-scale painting *Studio Scene: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard Painting the Portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien* (fig. 74), which encapsulates some of the irreconcilable conflicts that had structured Labille-Guiard's art and career.[262] Created five years after Labille-Guiard's death, Capet's painting offers two competing visions of female artists. Labille-Guiard, seen in profile, appears to be serious, professional, and, it must be said, quite plain. The visitors gathered in her studio testify to her wide renown, and the identity of her sitter, Joseph-Marie Vien, now elevated to the rank of *Sénateur*, speaks to her level of accomplishment. In contrast, Capet plays the role of hostess, welcoming the observer to the studio. Social grace and fashionable self-presentation seem to be her domains. Although she serves as an assistant, she is not dressed for labor and has tossed a cloth over her lap to protect her clothing from splattered paint. Capet's picture divides and controls two antithetical identities, assigning fashionable femininity to one woman and ambitious, professional labor to the other. By maintaining this crucial separation, neither is tainted.

Capet's painting is very much a portrait of its time. Assertively, it adds a woman's studio to the group portraits of artists that Louis-Léopold Boilly had exhibited at the Salons of 1798 and 1804.[263] Yet, in its backward glance to a time when Labille-Guiard and Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun were among the most accomplished, and certainly the most talked-about, portraitists in Paris, the group portrait also points out a glaring absence. No professional female painter of the early nineteenth century captured the imagination of Paris as the earlier women had done. Although large numbers of women exhibited paintings during the Empire, and many were quite successful both financially and aesthetically, none achieved the widespread recognition of their lauded pre-Revolutionary predecessors. Thus, Labille-Guiard, who had once enjoyed such renown that she was asked to paint the portrait of the king, began a long descent into unwarranted oblivion.

Figure 74
Marie-Gabrielle Capet (1761–1818), *Studio Scene: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard Painting the Portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien*, 1808. Oil on canvas, 69 × 83.5 cm (27 1/4 × 32 7/8 in.). Munich, Neue Pinakothek, FV9. Photo: © ARTOTHEK.

1 The most recent monograph is Anne-Marie Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, 1749–1803: Biographie et catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre* (Paris, 1973). Except where otherwise noted, Passez's monograph directed me to the primary sources cited throughout the text. Most of the works discussed are also addressed by Passez and by Roger Portalis, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, 1749–1803* (Paris, 1902). The Portalis monograph is rare, but a four-part article by the same author is more widely available; see Roger Portalis, "Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 3rd ser., 26 (1901), pp. 353–67 and 477–94; and 27 (1902), pp. 101–18 and 325–47.

2 Late-eighteenth-century portraiture is beginning to receive increased attention; see, for example, Sebastien Allard, Robert Rosenblum, Guilhem Scherf, and Mary Anne Stevens, *Citizens and Kings: Portraits in the Age of Enlightenment*, exh. cat. (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2007).

3 I am especially indebted to Mary D. Sheriff, *The Exceptional Woman: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and the Cultural Politics of Art* (Chicago, 1996).

4 Eik Kahng and Marianne Roland Michel, eds., *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter to the Court of Marie-Antoinette*, exh. cat. (Dallas Museum of Art, 2002), including an overview of women's artistic production in this era: Melissa Hyde, "Women and the Visual Arts in the Age of Marie-Antoinette," pp. 75–93.

5 Angela Rosenthal, *Angelica Kauffmann: Art and Sensibility* (New Haven, Conn., 2006).

6 On the 1774 exhibition, see "Expositions de Peinture et de Sculpture de l'Académie de Saint-Luc," *Revue universelle des arts* 16 (1862), pp. 253–69. The *Portrait of a Magistrate* might be the work reproduced as Appendix D1. On Labille-Guiard as a miniaturist, see Nathalie Lemoine-Bouchard, *Les Peintres en miniature actifs en France, 1650–1850* (Paris, 2008), pp. 316–17.

7 Analogous concerns are seen in self-portraits by Angelica Kauffmann; see Rosenthal (note 5), pp. 223–83.

8 On Carriera's influence in France and gender issues in her reception and self-presentation, see Shearer West, "Gender and Internationalism: The Case of Rosalba Carriera," in *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Shearer West (New York, 1999), pp. 46–66. On Carriera's innovations in portrait miniatures, see Christopher M. S. Johns, "'An Ornament of Italy and the Premier Female Painter of Europe': Rosalba Carriera and the Roman Academy," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Melissa Hyde and Jennifer Milam (Aldershot, U.K., and Burlington, Vt., 2003), pp. 20–45, esp. pp. 25–26.

9 For concise discussions of the *paragone*, see Luba Freedman, "'The Schiavona': Titian's Response to the Paragone Between Painting and Sculpture," *Arte Veneta* 41 (1987), pp. 31–40; and Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's Due Lezzioni and Cinquecento Art Theory* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982).

10 Contrat de mariage, Labille et Guiard, August 25, 1769, Archives Nationales (henceforth A.N.), Minutier Central, Étude LXXVIII/721.

11 Unless otherwise noted, details of Labille-Guiard's early years and training are based on Joachim Lebreton, *Notice nécrologique sur Madame Vincent née Labille* (Paris, 1803), and Passez (note 1), pp. 8–12.

12 This snippet of old gossip resurfaced when Labille-Guiard was admitted to the Royal Academy. See *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la République des Lettres en France, depuis MDCCLXII* (London, 1783), p. 7.

13 Labille-Guiard to comtesse d'Angiviller, A.N., O^1 1917/302. Reproduced in Portalis monograph (note 1), pp. 97–98. Excerpted in Passez (note 1), p. 25.

14 She is listed only as a painter of pastels and miniatures in Abbé Lebrun, *Almanach historique et raisonné des architectes, peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs et ciseleurs* (Paris, 1776), p. 115.

15 See Jean-Pierre Cuzin, *François-André Vincent, 1746–1816* (Paris, 1988).

16 Contrat de mariage (note 10).

17 Séparation de biens entre Nicolas Guiard et Adélaïde Labille, A.N., Y 9104. An oblique reference to the rumor appears in Abbé Lebrun (note 14), p. 140.

18 Elizabeth Mansfield, who is working on a study of Vincent's art and career, has suggested that the match might have been desired by the participants since the 1760s, but refused by Monsieur Labille because Vincent was a Protestant. Personal communication, April 25, 2008.

19 Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Jacques Lugand, *Joseph-Marie Vien: Peintre du roi (1716–1809)* (Paris, 1988), p. 344. On the admission process, see Marianne Roland Michel, *Le dessin français au XVIIIe siècle* (Fribourg, 1987), pp. 52–67.

20 See Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "David et son maître Vien," in *David contre David: Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le service culturel du 6 au 10 décembre 1989*, ed. Régis Michel (Paris, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 17–34.

21 *Les peintres du roi, 1648–1793*, exh. cat. (Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 2000), pp. 204–6.

22 Anatole de Montaiglon, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture 1648–1793* (Paris, 1888), vol. 9, p. 157. For a fuller discussion of this passage, see Sheriff (note 3), pp. 105–20.

23 For example, Monsieur Dugeant, *Traité de mignature, ou manière de dessiner et de peintre les fleurs d'après nature* (Metz, 1738), includes a section entitled "Traité de mignature abregé pour les femmes" ("Treatise on miniature painting abridged for women").

24 Perrot's treatise was reprinted several times in the eighteenth century. The best-known edition is probably that published in volume six of

André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes*, 6 vols. (Trevoux: Imprimerie de S.A.S., 1725), which is the edition cited here.

25 Perrot (note 24), p. x.

26 Claude Boutet, *L'École de la mignature, ou l'art d'apprendre à peindre sans maître, et les secrets pour faire les plus belles couleurs* (Paris, 1782), p. iii.

27 Boutet (note 26), p. 90.

28 See also Marcia Pointon, "'Surrounded with Brilliants': Miniature Portraits in Eighteenth-Century England," *Art Bulletin* 83, no. 1 (March 2001), pp. 48–71.

29 First published in Paris in 1758, the book enjoyed several subsequent editions and translations in Europe and America. My citations refer to: Pierre-Joseph Boudier de Villemert, *Le nouvel ami des femmes* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1779). See also David Williams, "The Fate of French Feminism: Boudier de Villemert's Ami des Femmes," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14, no. 1 (Autumn 1980), pp. 37–55.

30 Boudier de Villemert (note 29), p. 45.

31 Boudier de Villemert (note 29), p. 188.

32 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (London and New York, 1963), vol. 1, p. 277.

33 Montaiglon (note 22), vol. 8, p. 186, as cited and translated in Margaret A. Oppenheimer, "'The Charming Spectacle of a Cadaver': Anatomical and Life Study by Women Artists in Paris, 1775–1815," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* (Spring 2007): http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring_07/articles/oppe.shtml [accessed May 2008].

34 Mary Vidal, "The 'Other Atelier': Jacques-Louis David's Female Students," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (note 8), pp. 259–62.

35 "Arts. Peinture. Exposition de Tableaux à la Place Dauphine," *Journal Général de France*, June 14, 1785, p. 283.

36 See *L'Age d'or du petit portrait*, exh. cat. (Paris, Rénuion des musées nationaux, 1995), p. 19, fig. 6. The miniature was sold at Christie's, London, May 24, 2000. Joseph Baillio has suggested that this work may be a self-portrait. Personal communication with the author, November 1, 2008.

37 Between 1751 and 1774, the Academy of Saint Luke sponsored seven exhibitions where 146 artists exhibited approximately 1,500 pieces; see Jules J. Guiffrey, "Histoire de l'Académie de Saint-Luc," *Archives de l'Art Français*, n.s. 9 (1915), pp. 33–34. On the antagonism between the Royal Academy and the guild, see also Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), esp. pp. 23–28; Paul Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 30–31; and Isabelle Richefort, *Peintre à Paris au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1998), pp. 209–49.

38 Reformed guilds were reinstated just a few months later, but the Academy of Saint Luke was not revived. On the final years of the guild system, see Steven L. Kaplan, *La fin des corporations*, trans. Béatrice Vierne (Paris, 2001).

39 Forty-five men and women, including numerous Saint Luke academicians, exhibited at the Colisée in September 1776. For the political and social history of this exhibition, see John Goodman, "'Altar Against Altar': The Colisée, Vauxhall Utopianism and Symbolic Politics in Paris (1769–77)," *Art History* 15, no. 4 (December 1992), pp. 434–60. For the complete list of works exhibited, see Émile Bellier de la Chavignerie, "L'Exposition du Colisée en 1776," *Revue universelle des arts* 18 (1863–64), pp. 287–303.

40 Lettre de M. d'Angiviller à M. Le Noir, 16 mai 1777, reproduced in Jules J. Guiffrey, ed., *Notes et documents inédits sur les expositions du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1873), pp. 36–38, esp. p. 37. For other opinions on the Colisée exhibition, see "Arts," *Journal de Paris*, May 3, 1777, p. 2; "Arts," *Journal de Paris*, May 9, 1777, pp. 2–3; "Lettre aux Auteurs du Journal," *Journal de Paris*, May 14, 1777, p. 2; "Lettre d'un Maître de la Communauté des Peintres, en réponse à celle d'un Artiste de l'ancienne Académie de St. Luc," *Journal de Paris*, May 22, 1777, pp. 2–3.

41 Recent literature on Pahin includes: Laura Auricchio, "Pahin de la Blancherie's Commercial Cabinet of Curiosity (1779–87)," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, no. 1 (2002), pp. 47–61; Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1994), pp. 242–80; and Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 2000), pp. 14–22.

42 Pahin de Champlain de la Blancherie, *Prospectus: Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts* [Nov.?], 1777.

43 Pahin de Champlain de la Blancherie, *Avertissement: Nouvelles de la République des lettres et des arts* (Paris, 1779), n.p.

44 Pahin de Champlain de la Blancherie (note 42), p. 4. On the newsletter, see Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des journalistes (1600–1789). Supplément II* (Grenoble, 1983), pp. 168–76.

45 Pahin de Champlain de la Blancherie (note 42). Over nine years, Pahin exhibited work by 227 painters, sculptors, printmakers, architects, and draftsmen, as listed in Émile Bellier de la Chavignerie, "Artistes oubliés et dédaignés. Pahin de la Blancherie et le Salon de la Correspondance," *Revue universelle des arts* 19 (1864), pp. 203–24, 239–67, and 354–67; 20 (1865), pp. 46–58, 116–27, 189–95, 253–62, 320–29, and 402–27; and 21 (1866), pp. 34–48, 87–112, and 175–90.

46 On Vigée-Lebrun's contributions to the Salon de la Correspondance, see Joseph Baillio, *Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, 1755–1842*, exh. cat. (Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum, 1982), p. 17.

47 *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts* (*NRLA*), May 1, 1782, pp. 126–28; and May 8, 1782, pp. 132–33.

48 *NRLA*, May 8, 1782, p. 133.

49 On Labille-Guiard's pastel technique, see the condition report prepared by Nancy Yocco (October 18, 1996) in the painting's file at the J. Paul Getty Museum.

50 Louis de Jaucourt, "Pastels," *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (Paris, 1751–65), vol. 12, pp. 153–54.

51 This quotation and the following ones are from *Traité de la Peinture au Pastel, par M.P.R. de C....C* (Paris, 1788), pp. 14–15.

52 See Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's "Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière"* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1994).

53 On the Fragonard series, see Mary D. Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 153–84.

54 This interpretation is indebted to the participants in a seminar on female artists in the late eighteenth century held at the J. Paul Getty Museum in December 2002, including my copresenter Angela Rosenthal and our hosts Scott Schaefer and Jon L. Seydl.

55 The following discussion is indebted to Baillio (note 46), pp. 64–65, cat. no. 20.

56 *NRLA*, January 29, 1783, p. 38.

57 *NRLA*, May 8, 1782, p. 133. Also cited by Passez (note 1), pp. 87–88. An eighteenth-century dictionary of painting defines *mâle* as "une touche ferme, hardie, vigoureuse, pleine de couleur" ("a touch that is firm, hardy, vigorous, full of color"). Antoine-Joseph Pernety, *Dictionnaire portatif de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (Paris, 1757; repr., Geneva, 1972), p. 397.

58 The following quotes are found in *NRLA*, June 19, 1782, p. 180.

59 See Baillio (note 46), p. 12.

60 See Giuseppe Bartoli, "Femmes Peintres," *NRLA*, April 2, 1783, pp. 111–12. On Vigée-Lebrun's aspirations as a history painter, see Sheriff (note 3), pp. 105–42.

61 *NRLA*, May 1, 1782, p. 126.

62 On the high value accorded to portraits of artists in the period, see Sylvie Martin, "Le portrait d'artiste au XVIIIe siècle et la critique de son temps," *Histoire de l'art* 5/6 (March 1989), pp. 63–74. Catherine Voiriot, "Guillaume Voiriot (1712–1799), portraitiste de l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français* (2004), p. 118, notes that Voiriot and Labille-Guiard had been neighbors.

63 *NRLA*, January 29, 1783, p. 38.

64 *NRLA*, June 12, 1782, p. 171.

65 *NRLA*, July 3, 1782, p. 198.

66 Roslin's address is reproduced in Xavier Salmon, *Les Pastels* (Paris, 1997), p. 124.

67 The problem of women in the Academy and the administration's response to the 1783 admissions are fully addressed in Sheriff (note 3), pp. 73–104. Earlier discussions of the Academy's women include: Octave Fidière, *Les femmes artistes à l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* (Paris, 1885); Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists: 1550–1950*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1976), pp. 36–38; and Charles Oulmont, *Les femmes peintres du XVIIIe siècle* (1928; repr., Strasbourg and Paris, 1970).

68 A.N., O^1 1073/357. This *Mémoire* is also published in its entirety in Montaiglon (note 22), vol. 9, pp. 156–57.

69 A.N., O^1 1073/357.

70 On Salon attendance, see Udolpho van de Sandt, "La fréquentation des Salons sous l'Ancien Régime, la Révolution et l'Empire," *Revue de l'art* 73 (1986), pp. 43–48; and Richard Wrigley, *The Origins of French Art Criticism: From the Ancien Régime to the Restoration* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 78–96.

71 M. L'**** P****, *Observations générales sur le sallon de 1783, et sur l'état des arts en France* (1783), Collection Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 299, p. 10. Wrigley (note 70), pp. 80–81, refers to this pamphlet and similar texts.

72 For the complete list of Labille-Guiard's submissions, see *Explication des Peintures, Sculptures et Gravures, de Messieurs de l'Académie Royale* (Paris, 1783), Collection Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 284, pp. 28–29.

73 On French group portraiture, see Marie H. Trope-Podell, "'Portraits historiés' et portraits collectifs dans la critique française du XVIII[e] siècle," *Revue de l'art* 109 (1995), p. 41.

74 Rousseau (note 32), p. 13. See also Carol Blum, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986); D. G. Charlton, *New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Cultural History, 1750–1800* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 155–57; Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York, 1989), pp. 145–48; and Joel Schwartz, *The Sexual Politics of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Chicago, 1984).

75 See, most recently, Emma Barker, *Greuze and the Painting of Sentiment* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 90–112; and Bernadette Fort, "Framing the Wife: Jean-Baptiste Greuze's Sexual Contract," in *Framing Women: Changing Frames of Representation from the Enlightenment to Postmodernism*, eds. Sandra Carroll, Birgit Pretzsch, and Peter Wagner (Tübingen, Germany, 2003), pp. 89–124. See also Carol Duncan, "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art," *Art Bulletin* 55, no. 4 (December 1973), pp. 570–83; Kathryn Calley Galitz, "Nourishing the Body Politic: Images of Breast-Feeding in the French Salons, 1789–1814," in *Farewell to the Wet Nurse: Étienne Aubry and Images of Breast-Feeding in Eighteenth-Century France*, exh. cat. (Williamstown, Mass., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1998), pp. 25–36; Patricia R. Ivinski, "Maternal versus Mercenary Nursing: Popular Debate and Artistic Representation," in *Farewell to the Wet Nurse*, pp. 9–17; and Mary Sheriff, "Fragonard's Erotic Mothers and the Politics of Reproduction," in *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Baltimore and London, 1991), pp. 14–40.

76 *Les peintres du roi* (note 21), pp. 179–81, cat. no. 42.

77 Voiriot (note 62), p. 139.

78 Lekain had trained as a painter in Van Loo's studio and earned a reputation for his ability to convey emotions through physiognomic expression on stage. See Stephanie Carroll, "Painting and Theater in France during the Eighteenth Century" (PhD diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1999), pp. 61–62.

79 *Explication des Peintures* (note 72), p. 28; and Passez (note 1), p. 114, give differing dimensions, but both sets of measurements indicate that the *Brizard as Lear* is larger than any other pastel that Labille-Guiard exhibited that year. The whereabouts of the pastel at the Théatre national de l'Odéon was first noted by Joseph Baillio, who brought it to the attention of Anne-Marie Passez.

80 *Affiches, annonces, et avis divers*, April 30, 1783, p. 70.

81 *Journal de Paris*, February 12, 1783, p. 177; February 16, 1783, p. 193; February 23, 1783, p. 221; February 28, 1783, p. 245; March 5, 1783, pp. 267–69; March 6, 1783, pp. 271–74; March 12, 1783, p. 297; *Affiches, annonces, et avis divers*, January 29, 1783, p. 20; April 30, 1783, pp. 70–72. Other than a brief column of notices, the entire *Journal de Paris*, March 6, 1783, is devoted to *Le Roi Léar.*

82 Reviewers noted this general evocation of expression. See, for example, *Messieurs, Ami de Tout le Monde!* (1783), Collection Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 295, p. 24.

83 Carroll (note 78), p. 66.

84 See, for instance, Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Chicago, 1988), and *Greuze et Diderot: Vie familiale et éducation dans la seconde moitié du XVIII*ème *siècle*, exh. cat. (Clermont-Ferrand, Conservation des Musées d'Art de la Ville de Clermont-Ferrand, 1984).

85 Mark Ledbury, "Visions of Tragedy: Jean-François Ducis and Jacques-Louis David," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 4 (Summer 2004), pp. 554–56.

86 On the comtesse and her family, see Yves Durand, *Les fermiers généraux au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1996); Théophile Lhuiller, *Une actrice du Théâtre de Madame de Pompadour: Madame Binet de Marchais* (Paris, 1903); and Jacques Silvestre de Sacy, *Le comte d'Angiviller, dernier directeur général des Batiments du Roi* (Paris, 1953), pp. 22–32.

87 Jean Chalon, ed., *Mémoires de Madame Campan, Première femme de chambre de Marie-Antoinette* (Paris, 1988), pp. 362–63. The memoirs of the encyclopedist Jean-François Marmontel also recollect the Binet salon; see John Renwick, ed., *Jean-François Marmontel: Mémoires* (Clermont-Ferrand, France, 1972), pp. 139–40.

88 Ducis 5.X.1841, Comédie-Française, Paris.

89 On this shift in the tenor of Salon criticism, see Bernadette Fort, "Voice of the Public: The Carnivalization of Salon Art in Prerevolutionary Pamphlets," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, no. 3 (Spring 1989), pp. 368–94. My understanding of Salon criticism is also indebted to Neil McWilliam, Vera Schuster, Richard Wrigley, and Pascale Méker, *A Bibliography of Salon Criticism in Paris from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration, 1699–1827* (Cambridge, 1991); Crow (note 37); and Wrigley (note 70), esp. pp. 147–64, and appendix 3, pp. 358–59.

90 *Les Peintres Volants, ou Dialogue entre un françois et un anglois sur les Tableaux exposés au Sallon du Louvre en 1783* (1783), Collection Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 297, p. 13.

91 On *Marlborough Goes to War*, see Carroll (note 78), p. 334. Wrigley (note 70), p. 368, attributes the pamphlet to Beffroy de Reigny.

92 "Suite de Malborough au Salon 1783," MS copy, Collection Deloynes, vol. 13, no. 302. Selections, with some errors, are found in Passez (note 1), pp. 24–25; and Portalis monograph (note 1), pp. 97–98.

93 Labille-Guiard to Comtesse d'Angiviller, A. N., O^1 1917/302. Reproduced in Portalis monograph (note 1), pp. 97–98. Excerpted in Passez (note 1), p. 25. See also the interpretation offered by Sheriff (note 3), pp. 101–3.

94 Censorship laws vis-à-vis Salon criticism in general and Labille-Guiard's case in particular are discussed in Wrigley (note 70), pp. 146–55.

95 In borrowing from theatrical conventions to further her cause, Labille-Guiard adopted a strategy that Sarah Maza has observed in widely read eighteenth-century legal memoirs that cast their protagonists as recognizable characters from contemporary *drames bourgeois*. Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Pre-Revolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993), pp. 19–67.

96 "Lettre de Ducis à Mme la Comtesse d'Angiviller," *Revue Rétrospective* 5 (1834), p. 315.

97 My summary is based on Procès de Capture et Interrogatoire du Monsieur Cousin Marchand de Livres, A. N., Y 11423, September 20, 1783. See also Passez (note 1), p. 25.

98 Portalis, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1901) (note 1), p. 487.

99 For the complete list of works, see *Explication des Peintures, Sculptures, et autres Ouvrages de Messieurs de l'Académie Royale, qui sont exposés dans le Sallon du Louvre* (Paris, 1785), Collection Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 324, pp. 27–28.

100 See William McAllister Johnson, "Les morceaux de réception: protocol et documentation," in *Les peintres du roi* (note 21), pp. 31–49.

101 On the comtesse de Flahaut, see Marie-José Fassiotto, "La Comtesse de Flahaut et son cercle: un exemple de salon politique sous la Révolution," *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 303 (1992), pp. 344–48; and Giulia Pacini, "A Culture of Trees: The Politics of Pruning and Felling in Late Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no. 1 (Fall 2007), pp. 1–15.

102 A full discussion of this work appears in Laura Auricchio, "Self-Promotion in Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's 1785 *Self-Portrait with Two Students*," *Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (March 2007), pp. 45–62.

103 Liana De Girolami Cheney, Alicia Craig Faxon, and Kathleen Lucey Russo, *Self-Portraits by Women Painters* (Aldershot, U.K., and Burlington, Vt., 2000), p. 124, also interpret the work as a bid for noble patronage, crediting their insight to Wendy Slatkin, *Women Artists in History: From Antiquity to the Present* (Upper Saddle River, N. J., 1997), p. 104.

104 *Observations critiques sur les Tableaux du Sallon, de l'Année 1785; Pour servir de suite au Discours sur la Peinture* (Paris, 1785), Collection Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 326, p. 19. On the value accorded to "historiated portraiture," see Trope-Podell (note 73), pp. 40–45.

105 On the reversed canvas in self-portraits, see Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*, trans. Anne-Marie Glasheen (Cambridge, 1997).

106 Nicole Garnier, *Antoine Coypel (1661–1722)* (Paris, 1989), pp. 129–30, cat. no. 61. My analysis of Labille-Guiard's *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* as both a demonstration of femininity and an assertion of elevated artistic lineage is indebted to Mary Sheriff's discussion of the 1783 *Self-Portrait* that Vigée-Lebrun modeled after Peter Paul Rubens's *Chapeau de Paille* and to Angela Rosenthal's observations regarding Angelica Kauffmann's carefully calibrated self-presentations. See Sheriff (note 3), pp. 197–220; and Angela Rosenthal, "Angelica Kauffmann Ma(s)king Claims," *Art History* 15, no. 1 (March 1992), pp. 38–59.

107 *Les peintres du roi* (note 21), p. 236.

108 See Pierre Rosenberg, *French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, exh. cat. (Detroit Institute of Arts, 1975), p. 558. The paintings' similarities were first called to my attention by Frances Borzello, *Seeing Ourselves: Women's Self-Portraits* (London, 1998), p. 82.

109 "Arts. Peinture. A l'Auteur du Journal," *Journal Général de France*, July 28, 1785, p. 363. This letter is also discussed in Oppenheimer (note 33).

110 Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750–1820* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), p. 14, identifies Labille-Guiard's dress as a *robe à l'anglaise*. On the popularity of the *robe à l'anglaise*, see Stella Blum, ed., *Eighteenth-Century French Fashion Plates in Full Color: 64 Engravings from the "Galerie des Modes," 1778–1787* (New York, 1982), pp. vii, xv. The seminal work on the *Galerie des Modes* is Émile Lévy, *Galerie des modes et costumes français: dessinés d'après nature, 1778–1787 / réimpression accompagnée d'une préface par M. Paul Cornu*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1911–12).

111 On the gendering of the French fashion press, see Jennifer M. Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 183–204. On the rise of the French fashion industry, see Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1994).

112 Sarah R. Cohen, "Masquerade as Mode in the French Fashion Print," in *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, eds. Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (Cranbury, N. J., 1999), pp. 174–207. Cohen, p. 176, observes that "Court ballets, carousels, royal entries, and thematic pageants known as masquerades offered court nobles rich possibilities for adopting fictional bodily roles, in addition to the already numerous costumes and formalized gestures they cultivated for their day-to-day life at Versailles."

113 Blum (note 110), pl. 38; and Lévy (note 110), vol. 3, p. 172.

114 Blum (note 110), p. xi and pl. 43; and Lévy (note 110), vol. 3, p. 197.

115 On the Pajou bust, see James David Draper and Guilhem Scherf, *Augustin Pajou: Royal Sculptor, 1730–1809*, exh. cat. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), pp. 258–59. The Houdon sculpture is identified in John Walsh Jr., *Portrait of the Artist*, exh. cat. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972), p. 12. On Houdon, see Anne L. Poulet, *Jean-Antoine Houdon: Sculptor of the Enlightenment*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 2003). On vestal iconography, see Kathleen Nicholson, "The Ideology of Feminine 'Virtue': The Vestal Virgin in French Eighteenth-Century Allegorical Portraiture," in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, ed. Joanna Woodall (Manchester, U.K., 1997), pp. 52–67.

116 Anne-Marie Passez, *Antoine Vestier, 1740–1824* (Paris, 1989), pp. 134–36.

117 A.N., O^{1} 1918/81. Published in Marc Furcy-Raynaud, ed., "Correspondance du Comte d'Angiviller avec Pierre," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français*, 3rd series, 22 (1906), p. 105.

118 On Mesdames, see Bruno Cartequisse, *Mesdames de France, les filles de Louis XV* (Paris, 1990); and Casimir Stryienski, *Mesdames de France, Filles de Louis XV, Documents Inédits* (Paris, 1910).

119 Quotations in this paragraph are from A.N., O^{1} 107^{3}/434–435.

120 On d'Angiviller's continued objections to permitting female students in the Louvre, see Susan Waller, *Women Artists in the Modern Era: A Documentary History* (Metuchen, N. J., and London, 1991), pp. 31–33. In 1787 and early in 1789, d'Angiviller reiterated his opposition to lodging Labille-Guiard in the Louvre.

121 John Trumbull, *Autobiography, Reminiscences, and Letters of John Trumbull from 1756 to 1841* (New York, 1841), p. 111.

122 Daniel C. Favata, *John Trumbull: A Founding Father of American Art* (New York, 2001), cat. no. 20.

123 Susan Stein, Richard Gilder Curator at Monticello, generously shared this information from the entry for September 9, 1786, in Jefferson's "Memorandum Books," vol. 1, p. 638. See also Susan Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello* (New York, 1993), p. 29.

124 *Explication des Peintures, Sculptures, et autres Ouvrages de Messieurs de l'Académie Royale, qui sont exposés dans le Sallon du Louvre* (Paris, 1787), Collection Deloynes, vol. 15, no. 367, p. 21.

125 Dépenses, 1780–92, A.N., O^{1} 3787.

126 This discussion is indebted to the following essays by Dena Goodman: "Furnishing Discourses: Readings of a Writing Desk in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires, and Delectable Goods*, eds. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke, U.K., 2002), pp. 71–88; "Letter Writing and the Emergence of Gendered Subjectivity in Eighteenth-Century France," *Journal of Women's History* 17, no. 2 (Summer 2005), pp. 9–37; and "The *Secrétaire* and the Integration of the Eighteenth-Century Self," in *Furnishing the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Dena Goodman and Kathryn Norberg (New York, 2007), pp. 183–203.

127 "Exposition des Tableaux au Louvre," *Année Littéraire* (1785), MS copy, Collection Deloynes, vol. 14, no. 349, p. 796. I was directed to this source by Melissa Hyde, "Under the Sign of Minerva: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde*," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (note 8), p. 150 and p. 162 n. 29, which discusses the relationship between the paintings. See also Jean Cailleux, "Portrait of Madame Adélaïde of France, Daughter of Louis XV," *Burlington Magazine* 22 (March 1969), pp. i–vi; Jennifer Milam, "Matronage and the Direction of Sisterhood: Portraits of Madame Adélaïde," in *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (note 8), pp. 114–38; and Heidi A. Strobel, "Royal 'Matronage' of Women Artists in the Late-18th Century," *Woman's Art Journal* 26, no. 2 (Autumn 2005–Winter 2006), pp. 3–9.

128 Pierre Verlet, *French Furniture of the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Penelope Hunter-Stiebel (Charlottesville, Va., 1991), pp. 64–65.

129 Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715–1789* (New York, 1984), p. 149. On the respectability accorded to this style in the 1780s, see Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (Oxford and New York, 2003), p. 113.

130 Gustav-Armand-Henry, comte de Reiset, *Modes et usages au temps de Marie-Antoinette; Livre-journal de Madame Éloffe, marchande de modes, couturière lingère ordinaire de la reine et des dames de sa cour* (Paris, 1885), vol. 2, p. 511. I thank Caroline Weber for directing me to this source, which she cites in *Queen of Fashion: What Marie-Antoinette Wore to the Revolution* (New York, 2006), p. 321 n. 150.

131 Quotations in this paragraph are taken from *Explication* (note 124), p. 21. Reprinted, with some alterations, in Passez (note 1), p. 182.

132 On the deathbed in the eighteenth-century cultural imagination, see John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing Attitudes to Death among Christians and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York and Oxford, 1985).

133 *Lanlaire au Salon Académique de Peinture* (Gattieres [?] [Paris?], 1787), Collection Deloynes, vol. 15, no. 375, p. 26.

134 État des Dépenses Extraordinaires faites en la Chambre de Madame Élisabeth de France, de son ordre et Exprès Commandement, et ordonnées par Madame la Comtesse Diane de Polignac Dame d'honneur pendant l'Année 1787, A.N., O^{1} 3787/1, 1787.

135 État Général des Pensions accordé par Madame Victoire à l'Époque du 1er avril 1789 y compris quelques autres dépenses fixer, A.N., KK 381.

136 On the number of reviews, see Wrigley (note 70), p. 358.

137 *Les Élèves au Salon: ou l'Amphigouri* (Paris, 1789), Collection Deloynes, vol. 16, no. 416, pp. 23–24.

138 "Lettre des Graveurs de Paris à M. l'Abbé de Fontenai, Auteur du Journal Général de France," *Journal Général de France*, September 24, 1789, p. 475.

139 *Le Frondeur au Salon*, cited in Passez (note 1), p. 210.

140 "Lettre des Graveurs" (note 138), p. 486.

141 Many French aesthetic theories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries identified *coloris* (color, often associated with the style of Peter-Paul Rubens) and *dessin* (drawing, linked to the more linear style of Nicolas Poussin) as the two fundamental elements of painting. See Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *The Eloquence of Color: Rhetoric and Painting in the French Classical Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993).

142 This rhetorical opposition is discussed in Sheriff (note 3), pp. 186–89; the implications of rivalry are addressed in Whitney Chadwick, *Women, Art and Society* (London, 1996), pp. 165–66.

143 On the gardens at Bellevue, see Paul Biver, *Histoire du Château de Bellevue* (Paris, 1933), pp. 325–65. Victoire had previously been depicted outdoors, as in Jean-Marc Nattier's 1748 portrait *Madame Victoire de France at Fontrevault*, now in the collection at Versailles.

144 The lily's function in this painting as a symbol of the Bourbons is noted by Emma Barker, "Women, Art, and Culture in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40, no. 1 (Fall 2006), p. 146.

145 Amy Freund, "Revolutionary Likenesses: Portraiture and Politics in France, 1789–1804" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2005), pp. 250–51. On portraits of Marie Leszczinska, Queen of France, see Jennifer Germann, "Figuring Marie Leszczinska: Representation, Power, Subjectivity and the Queen's Image in Eighteenth-Century France," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2002).

146 See Milam (note 127), pp. 130–33.

147 See Freund (note 145), chapter 4.

148 On Van Dyck's portraits of Genoese noblewomen, see Elise Goodman, "Woman's Supremacy over Nature: Van Dyck's 'Portrait of Elena Grimaldi'," *Artibus et Historiae* 15, no. 30 (1994), pp. 129–43.

149 *Citizens and Kings* (note 2), cat. nos. 26, 356.

150 Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), p. 73.

151 For early patriotic donations, see *Extrait des procès-verbaux de l'Assemblée Nationale, Contenant des Dons patriotiques antérieurs au 7*

septembre 1789 (Versailles, 1789). Many later donations are listed in *Archives Parlementaires* (Paris, 1789–). See also Alexandre Tuetey, *Répertoire général des sources manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution française* (Paris, 1890), vol. 1, pp. 177–84. Contemporary sources on the September 7 donation include: Don patriotique de plusieurs dames femmes et filles d'artistes, A.N., C 31/254; A.N., C 99/149, no. 1; *Journal Général de France*, September 10, 1789, pp. 449–50; *Journal Général de France*, September 17, 1789, pp. 463–64; and François Raupt-Baptestin, *Les généreuses françaises* (Paris, 1789). Secondary sources include: Marie-Jo Bonnet, "La révolution d'Adélaïde Labille-Guiard et Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun ou Deux femmes peintres en quête d'un espace dans la société," in *Les Femmes et la Révolution Française*, ed. Marie-France Brive (Toulouse, France, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 337–44; Vivian Penny Cameron, "Woman as Image and Image-Maker in Paris During the French Revolution" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1983), pp. 121–22; Paul Cottin, *Un Ménage d'artistes sous le premier Empire. Journal Inédit de Madame Moitte* (Paris, 1932); and Jules J. Guiffrey, "Bijoux offertes à l'Assemblée Nationale par des Femmes ou Filles d'Artistes," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français* 2 (1886), pp. 125–26.

152 Don patriotique de plusieurs dames (note 151). Also reprinted in Cottin (note 151), p. 297; and excerpted in Cameron (note 151), p. 45. On Marcus Furius Camillus, see *Livy III, Books V, VI and VII*, trans. B. O. Foster (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), book V/XXI–XXXI, 73–109. See also Natalie Boymel Kampen, "The Muted Other: Gender and Morality in Augustan Rome and Eighteenth-Century Europe," in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York, 1992), pp. 161–69.

153 *Extrait du registre des dons patriotiques, Tenu par ordre de l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris, 1789), no. 141, Quatrième semaine, p. 20 (Bibliothèque Nationale 8° Le ^{27} 16); and A.N., C*II 47/267.

154 "Bienfaisance Nationale," *Journal de Paris*, September 14, 1789, p. 2165.

155 "Bienfaisance Nationale" (note 154). The number of participants is given in Draper and Scherf (note 115), p. 393; Draper and Scherf, in turn, cite Georges Duplessis, *Mémoires et Journal de J. G. Wille* (Paris, 1857), vol. 2, pp. 219–23. See also "Bienfaisance Nationale," *Journal de Paris*, September 26, 1789, p. 1225; and "Bienfaisance Nationale," *Journal de Paris*, October 5, 1789, pp. 1273–74. For a discussion of the donation, see Nicole Pellegrin, "Les Femmes et le don patriotique: les offrandes d'artistes de septembre 1789," in *Les Femmes et la Révolution française* (note 151), vol. 2, pp. 361–80.

156 "Bienfaisance Nationale" (note 154).

157 Adresse de plusieurs femmes d'artistes qui se plaignent qu'un don qu'elles ont fait à sa patrie, n'a pas été annoncé dans les journaux de l'Assemblée, A.N., C 99/151 bis, no. 11. The gift is recorded in *Extrait du registre des dons patriotiques* (note 153) as no. 667, entered on November 28, 1789.

158 In addition to the primary sources indicated below, the following have shaped my understanding of the debates concerning the Academy's reform: Cameron (note 151), pp. 85–90; Maurice Dreyfous, *Les Arts et les artistes pendant la période Révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1906), pp. 179–82; Sigismond Lacroix, ed., *Actes de la Commune de Paris Pendant la Révolution* (Paris, 1905; repr. New York, 1973), pp. 598–64; Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Revolution, Representation, Equality: The Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture, 1785–1793," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 2 (Winter 1997–98), pp. 153–74; and Udolpho van de Sandt, "Institutions et Concours," in *Aux Armes et aux Arts: Les Arts de la Révolution 1789–1799*, eds. Philippe Bordes and Régis Michel (Paris, 1988), pp. 138–65, esp. pp. 138–41.

159 The Revolution's silencing of women's political voices has received considerable scholarly attention. See especially Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*, trans. Katherine Streip (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998), pp. 347–64; and Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), pp. 93–151.

160 On Miger, see Roger Portalis and Henri Béraldi, *Les graveurs du dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1880–82), vol. 3, pp. 87–106.

161 Simon-Charles Miger, *Lettre à Monsieur Vien* (Paris, 1789), Collection Deloynes, vol. 53, no. 1446. Throughout the coming months, the Central Academy, like the other factions, advanced their positions in the newspapers. See, for example, "Lettre aux auteurs de la *Chronique de Paris* sur l'Académie royale de peinture," *Chronique de Paris*, February 6, 1790, MS copy, Collection Deloynes, vol. 53, no. 1457; and the officers' response, Joseph-Siffred Duplessis, "Aux auteurs de la *Chronique de Paris*," *Chronique de Paris*, February 12, 1790, MS copy, Collection Deloynes, vol. 53, no. 1458.

162 Duplessis (note 155), vol. 2, p. 268.

163 *Adresse et projet de statuts et règlements pour l'Académie centrale de peinture, sculpture, gravure et architecture, présentés à l'assemblée nationale par la majorité des membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et sculpture en assemblée délibérante* (Paris, 1790), Collection Deloynes, vol. 53, no. 1488, p. 59.

164 Montaiglon (note 22), vol. 10, pp. 80–81.

165 *Projet de statuts et règlemens pour l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, proposé par les officiers et plusieurs Académiciens de ladite Académie* (Paris, 1790), Collection Deloynes, vol. 53, no. 1481, p. 16.

166 Montaiglon (note 22), vol. 10, p. 83.

167 Montaiglon (note 22), vol. 10, pp. 88–89.

168 "Observations ultérieures sur les adresses et projets de statuts, par la presque totalité des officiers de l'Académie royale de peinture, &c," MS copy, Collection Deloynes, vol. 53, no. 1498, pp. 685–86.

169 "Adresse, mémoires et observations présenté à l'assemblée nationale le 19 avril 1791 par la Commune des Arts qui ont le dessin pour base," MS copy, Collection Deloynes, vol. 53, no. 1497, pp. 639–40.

170 For a complete list of artists and works at the revolutionary-era Salons, see Jean-François Heim, Claire Bérard, and Philippe Heim, *Les Salons de Peinture de la Révolution Française, 1789–1799* (Paris, 1989).

171 The women who exhibited at the revolutionary Salons are discussed at length in Cameron (note 151) and Margaret A. Oppenheimer, "Women Artists in Paris, 1791–1814" (PhD diss., New York University, 1995).

172 *Explication des Peintures, Sculptures et Gravures de Messieurs de l'Académie Royale dont l'exposition a été ordonné par Sa Majesté* (Paris, 1791), Collection Deloynes, vol. 17, no. 432.

173 *Ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et architecture, gravures, dessins, modèles, etc., exposés au Louvre par ordre de l'assemblée nationale au mois de septembre 1791, l'an III de la liberté* (Paris, 1791), Collection Deloynes, vol. 17, no. 434, p. 2, reprints the legislation ordering the open Salon. Please note that "year III of liberty" given here refers to 1791 and is not the same as "year III of the republic," mentioned below, which refers to 1794–95 in accord with the revolutionary calendar.

174 On Labille-Guiard's multiple reinventions, see Suellen Diaconoff, "Ambition, Politics, and Professionalism: Two Women Painters," in *Eighteenth-Century Women and the Arts*, eds. Frederick M. Keener and Susan E. Lorsch (New York, 1988), pp. 201–8.

175 My understanding of portraiture in this era is deeply indebted to Tony Halliday, *Facing the Public: Portraiture in the Aftermath of the French Revolution* (Manchester, U.K., 1999), pp. 26–47.

176 Labille-Guiard's attempts to solicit payment are documented in Archives départementales des Yvelines et de l'ancienne Seine-et-Oise (Montigny-le-Bretonneux, France), A 1494.

177 The revolutionary Camille Desmoulins summarized these debates in *Révolutions de France et de Brabant* 64 (1791), pp. 531–48. For additional documents concerning Mesdames' departure, see *Archives Parlementaires* (note 151), vol. 23, pp. 492–94; and Tuetey, *Répertoire général* (note 151), p. 224.

178 See François-Louis Bruel, *Collection de Vinck: Inventaire analytique* (Paris, 1909–55), vol. 5, no. 878, pp. 378–79.

179 See Halliday (note 175), pp. 34–47.

180 See Marguerite Jallut, "Le Portrait du Prince de Bauffremont par Madame Labille-Guiard," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 5 (1962), pp. 217–22; James Parker, "French Eighteenth-Century Furniture Depicted on Canvas," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s. 24, no. 5 (January 1966), pp. 177–92; and Passez (note 1), pp. 242, 244–45.

181 See Régis Michel, "L'Art des salons," in *Aux Armes et aux Arts* (note 158), pp. 31–32.

182 *La Béquille de Voltaire au Salon* (Paris, 1791), Collection Deloynes, vol. 17, no. 438, p. 2.

183 *La Béquille de Voltaire* (note 182), quoted in *Alexander Roslin*, exh. cat., ed. Magnus Olausson (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 2007), p. 58.

184 Reproduced in Passez (note 1), p. 247; and in Étienne Avenard, "Les femmes artistes et la Révolution," *La Grande Revue*, March 25, 1808, pp. 385–91, esp. pp. 388–89. Jules Renouvier, *Histoire de l'art pendant la révolution 1789–1804* (Paris, 1863; repr., Geneva, 1996), p. 360, indicates that the original letter is housed in the British Museum, Miscellaneous Papers and Letters, Egerton 25.

185 Joseph Baillio, personal correspondence, May 30, 2008.

186 *Explication et critique impartiale de toutes les peintures, sculptures, gravures, dessins, etc., exposés au Louvre, d'après le décret de l'assemblée nationale, au mois de septembre 1791, l'an III de la liberté, par M. D. . . , citoyen patriote et véridique* (Paris, 1791), Collection Deloynes, vol. 17, no. 436, pp. 47–48.

187 *Feuille du Jour*, October 3, 1791, p. 755.

188 "Duchêne au Salon de Peinture," *Lettre Bougrement Patriotique du Véritable Père Duchêne* 189 (Paris, 1791), p. 2.

189 My summaries of the deputies' careers are based on Edna Hindie Lemay, *Dictionnaire des Constituants 1789–1791*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1991).

190 I owe this crucial insight to Simon Schama.

191 Quoted in Lemay (note 189), vol. 1, p. 6.

192 *Explication et critique impartiale* (note 186), p. 21.

193 André Chenier, "Sur la Peinture d'Histoire," *Journal de Paris*, supplement 35, March 24, 1792; reprinted in André Chenier, *Oeuvres en Prose de André Chenier* (Paris, 1840), pp. 241–46, esp. p. 241.

194 Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, *Rapport sur l'Instruction publique* (Paris, 1791), p. 120.

195 *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Nationale* (Paris, 1791), vol. 73, p. 331. The debates are discussed in Antoine de Baecque, "From Royal Dignity to Republican Austerity: The Ritual for the Reception of Louis XVI in the French National Assembly (1789–1792), *Journal of Modern History* 66, no. 4 (December 1994), pp. 671–96.

196 *Archives Parlementaires* (note 151), vol. 31, p. 546.

197 *Archives Parlementaires* (note 151), vol. 31, p. 317.

198 A memo of December 10, 1791, indicates that the commission had been made but does not mention the artist: A.N., O^1 1920/1791, no. 55. News of Labille-Guiard's selection appeared in *Affiches, annonces et avis divers, ou Journal général de France*, supplement for Friday, March 9, 1792, pp. 961–62; and "Observations adressées aux Auteurs du Journal," *Supplément au Journal de Paris*, March 18, 1792, p. 3. On Chabroud's proposal and David's commission, see Lina Propeck, "David et le Portrait du Roi," in *David contre David* (note 20), pp. 297–318.

199 I am indebted to Philippe Bordes, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume de Jacques-Louis David* (Paris, 1983), pp. 166–73, which reprints many of the texts cited below. My quotations are from the originals.

200 *Feuille du Jour*, March 27, 1792, pp. 690–92.

201 *Sallon de Peinture* (1791), Collection Deloynes, no. 442, p. 13.

202 Louis Prudhomme, *Révolutions de Paris*, March 17, 1792, pp. 548–49. On Prudhomme's defense of the execution of Louis XVI, see Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992), pp. 58–59.

203 David did, however, start work on the project, as evidenced by preparatory sketches first published by Antoine Schnapper, *David Témoin de son Temps* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1980), p. 120, fig. 65.

204 This description of the painting is based largely on Pierre-Louis Ginguené, Rapport au Comité d'instruction publique, 13 Floréal an III (May 2, 1795), A.N., D XXXVIII/4.

205 Ginguené (note 204).

206 Ginguené (note 204).

207 Iconoclasm during the French Revolution has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. My understanding is particularly indebted to the following: Keith Michael Baker, "Memory and Practice: Politics and the Representation of the Past in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 31–58; Bronislaw Baczko, *Ending the Terror: The French Revolution after Robespierre*, trans. Michel Petheram (Cambridge, 1994); Simone Bernard-Griffiths, Marie-Claude Chemin, and Jean Ehrard, eds., *Révolution française et 'vandalisme révolutionnaire'* (Paris, 1992); Dario Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism Since the French Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1997); Édouard Pommier, "La Théorie des Arts," in *Aux Armes et aux Arts* (note 158), pp. 167–99; and Richard Wrigley, "Breaking the Code: Interpreting French Revolutionary Iconoclasm," in *Reflections of Revolution*, eds. Alison Yarington and Kelvin Everest (New York, 1993), pp. 182–95. A major primary source is Henri-Baptiste Grégoire, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1977), esp. "Premier Rapport à la Convention sur le vandalisme." For a partial catalogue of works destroyed during the Revolution, see Louis Réau, *Histoire du Vandalisme, Les monuments détruits de l'art français* (Paris, 1994).

208 "Nouvelles," *Journal de Paris*, August 16, 1793, p. 518. More precise information about the departmental decree might have been lost in an 1871 fire at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris. See Sigismond Lacroix, *Le Département de Paris et de la Seine pendant la Révolution* (Paris, 1904), p. 9.

209 "Commune de Paris," *Journal de Paris*, August 17, 1793, p. 521.

210 Louis Courajod, ed., *Alexandre Lenoir, son Journal et le Musée des Monuments français* (Paris, 1878), vol. 1, p. 18.

211 Édouard Pommier terms this speech "the first manifesto of official iconoclasm" in his "Discours iconoclaste, discours culturel, discours national, 1790–1794," in *Révolution française* (note 207), pp. 299–313.

212 *Archives Parlementaires* (note 151), vol. 16, p. 374; quoted in Pommier, "Discours iconoclaste" (note 211), p. 302.

213 The descriptions and quotations in this paragraph are based on a letter to the National Assembly published in *Archives Parlementaires* (note 151), vol. 77 (October 27, 1793), pp. 648–51. See also Pommier, "La Théorie des arts" (note 207), p. 181.

214 On the roles of women in revolutionary festivals in late 1793 and early 1794, see Hunt (note 202), p. 154.

215 Adopted on March 5, 1794, the mission is outlined in *Instruction sur la manière d'inventorier et de conserver, dans toute l'étendue de la République, tous les objets qui peuvent servir aux arts, aux sciences et à l'enseignement* (Paris, an II), A.N., F17A 1045/1320.

216 Louis Tuetey, *Procès-Verbaux de la Commission Temporaire des Arts* (Paris, 1912), vol. 1, pp. xxvii, xxxv, lvi, lxi. Varon was also a lyricist who penned the words to hymns performed at revolutionary festivals. See M. J. Guillaume, *Procès-Verbaux du Comité d'Instruction Publique de la Convention Nationale* (Paris, 1891–1907), vol. 3, p. 189.

217 Joseph-Alexandre Lebrun worked with his older brother on at least one inventory. See "Inventaire des objets provenant de la femme Filleul Supliciée résidente à Passy," A.N., F17/1267, no. 139. I am grateful to Colin B. Bailey for explaining the brothers' relationship.

218 Baillio (note 46), p. 18, tentatively identifies this painting as *The Dauphin Louis Charles Holding a Dog*, exhibited at the 1789 Salon.

219 See Baillio (note 46), pp. 225–66, which directs the reader to A.N., AFII* 277, fol. 871, containing a report to the Committee of General Security dated 7 Frimaire an II (November 27, 1794).

220 A.N., F17* 7, fol. 98; reprinted with invaluable informational footnotes in Tuetey (note 216), pp. 225–26. The mention of "royalist superstition" relates to an allegation that the portrait was linked to counterrevolutionary uprisings in the Vendée. See *Moniteur Universel*, 29 Prairial an II (June 17, 1794), pp. 739–43.

221 Guillaume (note 216), vol. 4, pp. 654–55.

222 Archives départementales des Yvelines (note 176), Inventaire Brinborian an II, no. 85, 2 Q74/11[2].

223 See Charlotte Hould, "Les Beaux-arts en révolution: au bruit des armes les arts se taisent!," *Études françaises* 25, no. 2/3 (Autumn 1989), p. 198; and Gerrit Walczak, "Low Art, Popular Imagery and Civic Commitment in the French Revolution," *Art History* 30, no. 2 (April 2007), pp. 269, 276.

224 On the imprisonment of Joseph Boze, accused of painting a portrait of Marie-Antoinette, see A.N., F7 4615; and Xavier Salmon, *Les Pastels* (Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997), pp. 44–47. On Suvée's arrest, see Walczak (note 223), pp. 269, 276–77. Filleul was charged with theft: she lived in an *hôtel* that had been a gift from the king and was executed for selling her household furnishings, now deemed property of the nation. See A.N., W431, Carton 148, no. 96; and Salmon, *Pastels*, pp. 76–78.

225 Vente immobilière par M. D'Ormesson à Mad. Guyard et M. Vincent, March 8, 1792, A.N., Minutier Central, Étude LXXVII/442. Passez (note 1), pp. 37–38, directed me to this document. Other documents discussed were found through Daniel Wildenstein, *Documents inédits sur les artistes français du XVIIIe siècle conservés au Minutier Central des Notaires de la Seine aux Archives Nationales et publiés avec le concours de la Fondation Wildenstein de New York* (Paris, 1966), pp. 79–80. On d'Ormesson's tenure as finance minister, see Munro Price, *Preserving the Monarchy: The comte de Vergennes, 1774–1787* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 96–115.

226 Procuration par Mad. Guiard à Mlle. D'Avril, September 5, 1792, A.N., Minutier Central, Étude LXXVII/446.

227 Conventions Vincent, Labille, d'Avril et Capet, 9 Prairial an 8, A.N., Minutier Central, Étude XXIV/1079, no. 31.This document refers to two acts passed before the notary Charpentier in Paris in 1793–94, guaranteeing Capet and d'Avril additional rights to the Pontault property.

228 I have gleaned all information concerning Labille-Guiard's appearance before Pontault's civil clerk from Passez (note 1), pp. 38–39. Passez cites "Mairie de Pontault-en-Brie, Registre D. XI. Recueil des plaintes, disputes, délits de la commune," but I have not been able to find this document.

229 A.N., O^{1} 1920, 1792/15.

230 A.N., O^{1} 1674/640.

231 See A.N., O^{1} 1674/634. Pajou's letter is probably the one catalogued in O^{1} 1920, 1792/16.

232 Mémoire des ouvrages de Maçonnerie faits pour le compte de la République française, au Palais National, château du Louvre et dépendances, sur les ordres du Ministre de l'Interieur a conduite du Citoyen Heurteois Inspecteur général des bâtiments de la République, les dits ouvrages faits pendants l'année 1793 (vieux style), par Pécoul, Entrepeneur, no. 22, A.N., F13/281a, II. Margaret A. Oppenheimer, *The French Portrait: From Revolution to Restoration*, exh. cat. (Northampton, Mass., Smith College Museum of Art, 2005), pp. 133–36, directed me to this source.

233 Upon an ultraviolet light examination, Carol Christensen of Carol Christensen Painting Conservation Services found no indication that the inscriptions were added at a later date. Examination report, 2006, in the author's possession.

234 See André Maurois, *Adrienne: The Life of the Marquise de La Fayette*, trans. Gerard Hopkins (London, 1960), pp. 249–342 and illustrations.

235 On landscape portraiture in the 1790s, see Freund (note 145), pp. 217–77.

236 See Cissie Fairchilds, "Fashion and Freedom in the French Revolution," *Continuity and Change* 15, no. 3 (2000), pp. 419–33; Jennifer Harris, "The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Partisans 1789–94," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14, no. 3 (Spring 1981), pp. 283–312; and Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France* (Oxford, 2002).

237 Marc-Guillaume Alexis Vadier, *Rapport et Projet de Décret, présenté à la Convention Nationale, au nom des comités de sûreté générale et de salut public* (Paris, 27 Prairial an II). For three different approaches to this story, see Godineau (note 159), pp. 259–66; G. Lenotre, *Robespierre et la «mère de Dieu»* (Paris, 1926); and Albert Mathiez, *The Fall of Robespierre* (New York, 1927).

238 Vadier (note 237), p. 15.

239 Vadier (note 237), p. 9.

240 Vadier (note 237), p. 10.

241 See, for example, Philippe Bordes, *Portraiture in Paris Around 1800: Cooper Penrose by Jacques-Louis David*, exh. cat. (San Diego, Timken Museum of Art, 2003), pp. 30–34; Cameron (note 151); and Oppenheimer, "Women Artists in Paris" (note 171).

242 Cameron (note 151), p. 330.

243 Oppenheimer (note 33).

244 My understanding of the open Salons, and especially the reception of portraiture in this period, is indebted to Halliday (note 175).

245 Heim, Bérard, and Heim (note 170), p. 17. On the demand for portraits in the 1790s, see also Bordes (note 241), and Oppenheimer (note 232).

246 Wrigley (note 70), p. 358.

247 *Arléquin au muséum ou les tableaux en vaudevilles* [1799], Collection Deloynes, vol. 21, no. 561, p. 5.

248 Halliday (note 175), p. 191, offers a similar observation.

249 Having divorced Guiard on March 12, 1793, Labille-Guiard did not marry Vincent until 1800. Mariage François André Vincent et Adélaïde Labille, 8 Prairial an 8, A.N., Minutier Central, Étude XXIV/1079, no. 66.

250 On the problem of imagining and portraying a unified self following the profound trauma of the Terror, see Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David After the Terror* (New Haven, Conn., 1999). My understanding is particularly indebted to Lajer-Burcharth's discussion of David's 1795 medallion portraits, pp. 88–128.

251 Philippe Bordes terms the cross-armed pose "distinctly modern." Bordes (note 241), p. 29.

252 On the arrest and liberation of the Comédie-Française troupe, see Ben Kafka, "The Demon of Writing: Paperwork, Public Safety, and the Reign of Terror," *Representations* 98 (Spring 2007), pp. 1–24.

253 See the painting's entry, written by Jean-Pierre Cuzin, in Stephan Wolohojian, *A Private Passion: Nineteenth-Century Paintings and Drawings from the Grenville L. Winthrop Collection, Harvard University*, exh. cat. (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), pp. 214–16. I am grateful to Stephan Wolohojian, Kerry Schauber, and the conservation staff at the Fogg Art Museum for their time and assistance.

254 For a more optimistic reading of the impact of the era's gender politics on women artists, see Gen Doy, *Women and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century France, 1800–1852* (London, 1998).

255 Discussed in Halliday (note 175), pp. 191–97; and Bordes (note 241), pp. 30–34.

256 *Arléquin au museum* (note 247), p. 25.

257 The description and quotations are from *Explication des ouvrages de peinture et dessin, sculpture, architecture et gravure, des artistes vivants, exposés au Muséum central des Arts* (Paris, 1800), Collection Deloynes, vol. 22, no. 621, p. 67.

258 See Margaret H. Darrow, "French Noblewomen and the New Domesticity, 1750–1850," *Feminist Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1979), pp. 41–65. I thank Melissa Hyde for reminding me of this seminal essay.

259 See Halliday (note 175), pp. 89–96 and 171–75.

260 Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre, eds., *The Diary of Joseph Farrington* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1979), vol. 5, pp. 1878–79. I am grateful to Joseph Baillio for directing me to this source.

261 The fond words that Vincent and Capet have for each other might suggest the possibility of something more than a paternal relationship. For the primary documents, see Testament olographe de François-André Vincent, May 22, 1816, A.N., Minutier Central, Étude CVIII/945; Testament Capet, October 20, 1818, A.N., Minutier Central, Étude CVIII/961; and Décharge de legs, Mlle d'Avril à la succession de Mlle Capet, December 14, 1818, A.N., Minutier Central, Étude CVIII/962. For Labille-Guiard's after-death inventory, see Inventaire de D^e^ Vincent, 9 Floréal an 11, A.N., Minutier Central, Étude XXIV/1094, no. 758 bis.

262 See Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Eine gemalte Künstlergenealogie Zu Marie-Gabrielle Capets Atelierszene in der Münchener Neuen Pinakothek," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschicte* 38 (1999), pp. 209–19.

263 See Susan L. Siegfried, *The Art of Louis-Léopold Boilly: Modern Life in Napoleonic France* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), pp. 96–107.

APPENDIX

Supplement to Anne-Marie Passez, *Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, 1749–1803: Biographie et catalogue raisonné de son oeuvre* (Paris, 1973).

Compiled by Laura Auricchio and Joseph Baillio

A. ADDITIONS

A1. *Portrait of a Man in a Red Velvet Coat with Gold Embroidery, White Waistcoat, and Lace Cravat*, ca. 1774–75. Miniature on ivory, H: 3.3 cm (1 5/16 in.). Sold at Christie's, London, December 9, 2003, lot 59. Private collection.

A2. *Portrait of Jean Richard Antoine Robert Butler*, 1776. Pastel, 54.7 × 45.8 cm (21½ × 18 in.).Private collection.

A3. *Portrait of a Young Woman in a White Dress*, ca. 1778. Pastel, 58 × 46 cm (22 13/16 × 18⅛ in.). Signed and dated. Sold at Sotheby's, Monaco, June 21, 1987, lot 684. Pendant of A4. Although the reproduction appears to read "1772" the hairstyle and pairing with A4 suggest a date around 1778.

A4. *Portrait of a Young Man*, 1778. Pastel, 58 × 46 cm (22 13/16 × 18⅛ in.). Signed and dated. Sold at Sotheby's, Monaco, June 21, 1987, lot 684. Pendant of A3.

A5. *Portrait of a Woman Wearing a White and Pink Ribbon*, 1778. Pastel, 64.6 × 53.4 cm (25 7/16 × 21 in.). Signed and dated at the lower left. Sold at Sotheby's, Paris, June 27, 2002, lot 80.

A6. *Young Woman Painting the Portrait of a Man (Presumed Portrait of M et Mme Le Franc)*, 1779. Watercolor on ivory, heavy ormolu frame with inner beaded border, DIAM: 66 mm (2 9/16 in.). Signed and dated. Sold at Christie's, London, May 24, 2000, lot 82. Fig. 8.

A7. *Portrait of a Woman Wearing a White Dress Lined with Red Velvet*, 1780. Oil on canvas, 80 × 64 cm (31½ × 25 3/16 in.). Signed and dated at the lower left. Sold at Libert et Castor, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 12, 1988, lot 5.

A8. *Portrait of a Man in a Blue Coat, Embroidered Waistcoat, and Lace Cravat*, 1780. Miniature on ivory, H: 4.3 cm (1 11/16 in.). Signed and dated. Sold at Phillips, London, July 8, 1997, lot 154b. Private collection.

A9. *Portrait of a Woman Seated at a Desk, Her Left Hand on a Book, and Turning a Globe with Her Right Hand*, ca. 1782. Miniature (?). Private collection.

A10. *Portrait of a Man*, 1783. Pastel, dimensions not available. Sold at Hôtel des Ventes de Dreux, Dreux, France, March 25, 1990, as attributed to Louis-Roland Trinquesse.

A11. *Portrait of a Young Woman in a Blue Dress*, ca. 1783. Pastel. Sold at Millon, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 2005, lot 272, as "École française."[1] Private collection.

A12. *Study for Self-Portrait with Two Students*, ca. 1784. Black, red, and white chalk on beige paper, 38.1 × 48.3 cm (15 × 19 in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998.186.[2]

A13. *Portrait of a Man Seated at a Desk*, ca. 1785–87. Oil sketch, 26.7 × 18.4 cm (10½ × 7¼ in.). Sold at Christie's, New York, June 5, 1980, lot 200, as attributed to François-André Vincent.

A14. *Portrait of a Woman Seated near a Bust of a Man*, ca. 1785–87. Oil sketch, 25.4 × 20.3 cm (10 × 8 in.). Private collection.

A15. *Painting of Unknown Subject*. Paid for by Thomas Jefferson, September 9, 1786.[3]

A16. *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1787. Pastel, 80.5 × 75 cm (23 × 18¾ in.). New York, private collection. Pendant of A17.

A17. *Portrait of a Woman*, ca. 1787. Pastel, 80.5 × 75 cm (23 × 18¾ in.). New York, private collection. Pendant of A16.

A18. *Portrait of Madame Alexis Janvier La Live de la Briche, née Adélaïde Prévost*, 1787. Oil on oval canvas, 79 × 63 cm (31⅛ × 24$^{13}/_{16}$ in.). Private collection. Fig. 67.

A19. *Portrait of Marie-Gabrielle Capet*, 1789. Red, black, and white chalk, 51.1 × 40.4 cm (20⅛ × 15⅞ in.). New York, private collection. Fig. 7.

A20. *Portrait of a Seated Man, Called the Chevalier Joly de Gevrey*, ca. 1790–91. Pastel, 73 × 60 cm (28¾ × 23⅝ in.). Sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 22, 2007, lot 95, as attributed to Joseph Ducreux.

A21. *Portrait of the Actor Joseph Jean Baptise Albouis Dazincourt*, 1795 (Year III). Oil on oval canvas, 71 × 57.5 cm (27$^{15}/_{16}$ × 22⅝ in.). Boston, Jeffrey E. Horvitz Collection. Fig. 70.

A22. *Portrait of the Composer Étienne Nicolas Méhul*, 1795–96 (Year IV). Pastel on paper, 71 × 57 cm (27$^{15}/_{16}$ × 22$^{7}/_{16}$ in.). Provenance: Baron Fernand de Beeckman (1845–1918) and his wife, née Emilie Boucquéau (1863–1955). Liège, private collection. Photo: Studio R. Asselberghs-Frédéric Dehaen, Brussels.

A23. Presumed *Portrait of the Future Madame Méhul, née Marie Magdelaine Joséphine Gastaldy*, 1795–96 (Year IV). Pastel on paper, 71 × 57 cm (27 15/16 × 22 7/16 in.). Signed and dated. Provenance: Baron Fernand de Beeckman (1845–1918) and his wife, née Emilie Boucquéau (1863–1955). Liège, private collection. Photo: Studio R. Asselberghs-Frédéric Dehaen, Brussels.

B. UPDATES TO INDIVIDUAL ENTRIES IN THE PASSEZ CATALOGUE:

U1. *Self-Portrait*, 1774. Watercolor on ivory. (Passez 2, as *Portrait of Madame Labille-Guiard*, location unknown; pl. I.) Celle, Germany, Miniaturensammlung Tansey, 10418. Fig. 1.

U2. *Portrait of Jean Richard Antoine Robert Butler*, 1776. Miniature (after A2, *Portrait of Jean Richard Antoine Robert Butler*) on ivory, oval. (Passez 10, as *Portrait of an Officer*; pl. VIII.) France, private collection, as of 1973.

U3. *Head of a Young Woman (Delightful Surprise)*, 1779. Pastel on paper. (Passez 13, as *Delightful Surprise*, collection Monsieur Joseph Laniel; pl. X.) Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 96.PC.327. Fig. 9. Possibly identical with U8.

U4. *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1780. Pastel. (Passez 15, as location unknown; pl. XII.) Sold at Sotheby's, London, July 3, 1996, lot 102. Private collection.

U5. *Portrait of an Aged Man*, 1781. Miniature on ivory, oval. (Passez 19, as Vienna, private collection; pl. XV.) Sold at Christie's, Geneva, May 17–18, 1994, lot 395.

U6. *Portrait of a Young Woman Wearing a Hat with a Blue Ribbon*, 1782. Pastel, oval. (Passez 21, as location unknown; not reproduced.) Sold at Libert and Castor, Paris, June 19, 1990, lot 24.

U7. *Expressive Head of a Young Man*, ca. 1782. Pastel. (Passez 24, as *Portrait of a Young Man*; not reproduced.) Location unknown.

U8. *Expressive Head of a Young Woman*, ca. 1782. Pastel. (Passez 25, as *Portrait of a Young Woman*; not reproduced.) Location unknown. Possibly identical with U3.

U9. *Portrait of the Comte de Clermont Tonnerre*, 1782. Oil on canvas. (Passez 27; pl. XIX.) France, Collection Château d'Ancy-Le-Franc, as of 1973. Location unknown.[4]

U10. *Portrait of Madame Labille-Guiard*, exhibited at the Salon de la Correspondance, 1782. Pastel. (Passez 46[?]; not reproduced.) Location unknown. Fig. 16.

U11. *Head of Cleopatra*, 1782. Pastel. (Passez 31, as location unknown; pl. XXIII.) Sold at Christie's, New York, January 11, 1994, lot 298, as attributed to Charles-Antoine Coypel.

U12. *Portrait of Joseph-Marie Vien*, 1782. Oil on oval canvas. (Passez 35, as collection Comte Arnauld Doria; pl. XXVI.) Sold at Piasa, Paris, March 27, 2000, lot 63.

U13. *Portrait of the Princesse de Béthune*, 1784. Pastel, oval. (Passez 54, as Paris, collection Monsieur Joseph Laniel; pl. XLIII.) Sold at Christie's, Monaco, December 4, 1992, lot 50a. Private collection.

U14. *Portrait of Joseph Vernet*, 1785. Oil on canvas. (Passez 60, as location unknown; pl. XLVII.) Avignon, France, Musée Calvet, 22881.[5]

U15. *Posthumous Portrait of the Duc de Choiseul*, 1786. Oil on canvas. (Passez 66, as Paris, collection Marquis d'Hartcourt; pl. LIII.) Waddesdon Manor, Ayelsbury, Buckinghamshire, England, Rothschild Collection, as of 2008.

U16. *Posthumous Portrait of the Duc de Choiseul*, 1786. Oil on canvas. (Passez 67, as location unknown; pl. LIV.) Sold, Palais d'Orsay, Paris, June 23, 1978, lot 27. Replica of U15.

U17. *Portrait of a Man*, 1787. Miniature on ivory, oval. (Passez 69, as Paris, collection Monsieur et Madame Claude Passez; pl. LVI.) Sold at Christie's, London, October 14, 1998, lot 197.

U18. *Madame Élisabeth de France*, ca. 1787. Pastel, oval. (Passez 76, as Paris, collection B. Pardo; pl. LXIII.) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.441. Gift of Mrs. Frederick M. Stafford, 2008. Study for U20.[6]

U19. *Portrait of Madame Élisabeth de France*, 1787. Oil on canvas. (Passez 72, as location unknown; pl. LIX.) South America, private collection. Fig. 39.

U20. *Portrait of Madame Élisabeth de France*, 1787. Oil on canvas. (Passez 73, as Paris, collection Mademoiselle Lydie Chantrell; pl. LX.) Sold at Piasa, Paris, December 18, 1996, lot 51. Autograph replica of U19.

U21. *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde de France*, 1787. Oil on canvas. (Passez 81, as Paris, collection Cailleux; pl. LXVI.) Louisville, Kentucky, Speed Art Museum, 1982.21. Autograph replica of fig. 41.

U22. *Portrait of a Woman Identified as the Vicomtesse de Gand*, 1787. Pastel, oval. (Passez 89, as location unknown; pl. LXXII.) Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1999.92.1.

U23. *Portrait of a Woman Artist*, ca. 1787–89. Pastel on blue paper. (Passez 28, as *Portrait of Madame Labille-Guiard*; pl. XX.) Paris, private collection, as of 1973. Passez believes this to be the self-portrait exhibited at the Salon de la Correspondance, 1782. Here, that self-portrait is given as U10.

U24. *Portrait of the Comte de Provence*, 1788. Pastel. (Passez 100, as location unknown; not reproduced.) Saint-Quentin, France, Musée Antoine Lécuyer, 1983-8-3.[7] Fig. 64.

U25. *Portrait of Madame de Genlis*, 1790. Oil on canvas. (Passez 111, as Bethesda, Maryland, collection Mrs. Harry Blunt; pl. LXXXIX.) Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 91.2. Fig. 61.

U26. *Portrait of a Woman (Presumed Portrait of the Marquise de Lafayette)*, 1793–94 (Year II). Oil on oval canvas. (Passez 110, as *Presumed Portrait of the Marquise de Lafayette*, 1790, Lugano, collection Monsieur Max Epstein; pl. LXXXVIII.) Washington, D.C., National Museum of Women in the Arts, 2001.145. Fig. 65.

U27. *Portrait of Joachim Lebreton*, 1795. Oil on canvas. (Passez 139, as location unknown; not reproduced). Kansas City, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, 94-34. Fig. 69.

U28. *Portrait of Comte Henri de Saint-Simon*, 1795–96 (Year IV). Pastel. (Passez 142, as Paris, collection Monsieur Maurice Le Mallier; pl. CV.) Sold at Beaussant Lefèvre, Paris, September 27, 1990, lot 21.

U29. *Presumed Portrait of Madame Nicolas François Charlot and Her Child*, 1798–99 (Year VII). Oil on canvas, 118 × 90 cm (46 7/16 × 35 7/16 in.). Signed and dated at right. (Possibly Passez no. 148, *Portrait of the Citoyenne Ch... Nursing a Child in Her Arms*, as location unknown; not reproduced.) Sold at Hôtel des ventes, Nevers, France, December 11, 2004, lot 3.

C. POSSIBLE ADDITIONS, PENDING VERIFICATION:[8]

C1. *Portrait of a Family Making Music*, ca. 1782–83. Round miniature. Former collection David-Weill.

C2. *Portrait of Madame Adélaïde de France*, c.ca. 1788. Pastel. Autograph replica, with variants, of Passez 78.

C3. *Portrait of Élisabeth Mailly, Duchesse de Caylus*, ca. 1788. Oil on oval canvas. France, Château de Castries, as of 1977.

C4. *Portrait of an Officer Holding a Letter in his Hand*, ca. 1790.

C5. *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1791. Pastel. Sale, Épernay, Enchere publique, April 29, 1984, lot 19.

C6. *Portrait of a Woman*, 1792. Oil on oval canvas. Signed and dated. Former collection Pierre de Regami.

C7. *Portrait of Monsieur Carrouges*, 1793–94 (Year II). Oil on oval canvas. France, private collection, as of 1982.

D. POSSIBLE UPDATES, PENDING VERIFICATION:

D1. *Portrait of a Magistrate*, 1774. Pastel, 72 × 57 cm (28 5/16 × 22 7/16 in.). (Passez 1; not reproduced.) Sold at Drouot Richelieu, Paris, May 13, 2005, lot 9. A possible attribution to Claude-Jean-Baptiste Hoin (1750-1817) should also be considered.

E. QUESTIONABLE ATTRIBUTIONS

Passez 4. *Portrait of an Aged Woman (Called Madame Poisson)*, ca. 1775. Pastel, oval. Sold at Christie's, Paris, March 21, 2002, lot 318, as by Labille-Guiard.[9]

Passez 14. *Head of a Young Woman*, 1780. Sanguine on white paper. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1898.48.

Passez 17. *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1780. Oil on oval canvas. Location unknown.

Passez 18. *Portrait of a Young Woman*, ca. 1780. Oil on canvas. Location unknown.

Passez 42. *Portrait of Joseph-Benoit Suvée*, ca. 1783. Pastel. (Copy after Passez 41.) Private collection, as of 1973.

Passez 44. *Portrait of Madame Mitoire, née Christine Geneviève Bron, and Her Children*, ca. 1783. Pastel. (Copy after Passez 43.) Sold at Phillips, London, July 5, 1995, lot 89.

Passez 53. *Portrait of La Dugazon*. Oil on oval canvas. Sold at Christie's, Paris, December 15, 2004, lot 529.

Passez 57. *Portrait of the Comtesse de Clermont-Tonnerre*. Oil on oval canvas. Location unknown.

Passez 61. *Portrait of Madame Labille-Guiard*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown.

Passez 63. *Portrait of a Young Woman and Her Child*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown.

Passez 65. *Portrait of the Baronne Beck de Muhlberg*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown.

Passez 70. *Portrait of Madame Élisabeth de France*. Oil on oval panel. Paris, collection descendants of Madame Jules Porgès, as of 1973.

Passez 71. *Portrait of Madame Élisabeth de France*. Oil on canvas. Sold at Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, April 10, 1992, lot 47, as study for U20.

Passez 103. *Portrait of a Young Man*. Pastel, oval. Location unknown, as of 1973.[10]

Passez 104. *Portrait of a Young Woman*. Pastel, oval. Location unknown, as of 1973.[11]

Passez 107. *Portrait of Hubert Robert, Designer of the King's Gardens*. Pastel. Ruisbroek, Belgium, collection Madame Wauthier, as of 1973.

Passez 108. *Portrait Called Charlotte Corday d'Armont*, 1790. Miniature on ivory (?), oval. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 03.51, min. 116.

Passez 109. *Portrait of Marie Louise de Saint Simon Sandricourt, Princesse de Montléar*. Pastel on gray-blue paper, oval. Toulouse, Foundation Bemberg.[12]

Passez 114. *Portrait of the Comtesse de Lameth*. Oil on canvas. Location unknown.

Passez 115. *Presumed Portrait of the Comtesse de Lameth*. Charcoal and colored pencil drawing. Location unknown.

Passez 116. *Presumed Portrait of Madame Roland*, 1791. Pastel, oval. Paris, collection of Madame Jules Porges, as of 1973.

Passez 121. *Portrait of Maximilien Robespierre*. Oil on canvas. Private collection, as of 1973.

F. QUESTIONABLE ATTRIBUTIONS, PENDING VERIFICATION

Passez 106. *Portrait of an Artist* (as *Portrait of Hubert Robert*), ca. 1789. Pastel on gray paper. Sold at Rieunier and Bailly-

Pommery, Paris, December 2, 1996, lot 25.[13]

Passez 130. *Portrait of Prince Louis Victor de Broglie*, 1791. Oil on canvas. France, Château de Broglie, as of 1973.

Passez 138. *Portrait of François-André Vincent*, ca. 1793. Oil on canvas. (Copy of Passez 136.) Paris, collection of the comtesse de Castellane, as of 1973.

NOTES

1 First attributed to Labille-Guiard by Neil Jeffares, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800* (London, 2006), p. 273.

2 See Perrin Stein and Mary Tavener Holmes, *Eighteenth-Century French Drawings in New York Collections* (New York, 1996).

3 Susan Stein, Richard Gilder Curator at Monticello, generously shared this information from the entry for September 9, 1786, in Jefferson's "Memorandum Books," vol. 1, p. 638.

4 Christina Hugot, chargée de relations, Château d'Ancy-Le-Franc, indicated that the work is not in the collection of the château. Personal correspondence, Christina Hugot to Laura Auricchio, June 17, 2008.

5 I thank Professor Dena Goodman for alerting me to the whereabouts of this work.

6 See Mary Sprinson de Jesùs, "Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's Pastel Studies of Mesdames de France," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Winter 2008): pp. 157–72.

7 This work was first recognized as Labille-Guiard's missing study of the Comte de Provence by Joseph Baillio and is now accepted as such by the Musée Antoine Lécuyer. Personal correspondence, Christine Debrie, Conservateur du Musée Lécuyer, to Joseph Baillio, July 21, 1986.

8 Except where noted, the works listed in section C were signaled as possible additions to the corpus by Anne-Marie Passez and Joseph Baillio in working notes produced in 1989. Personal correspondence. Baillio suspects that the embroidered badge of the Saint Esprit was removed from the pastel during the Revolution.

9 Now attributed to Joseph Ducreux (1735–1802). See Jeffares (appendix note 1), p. 170.

10 Copy after Schilly (eighteenth century), *Portrait of Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon-Condé, Duc d'Enghien*. Oil on oval canvas. Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, M.V. 4538.

11 Copy after Johann Melchior Wyrsch, *Portrait of Mathilde Wey, née Camel*. Oil on oval canvas. Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF777.

12 Now attributed to Alexandre Kucharski (1741–1819). See Jeffares (appendix note 1),p. 268.

13 This pastel appears not to depict Robert, but rather another artist. See Jeffares (appendix note 1), p. 588.

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ADÉLAÏDE LABILLE-GUIARD

ARTIST IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

LAURA AURICCHIO

This book is the first full-length study in English of the life and work of Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), the only female member of the Parisian Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture to participate in the reinvention of France, its art, and its women during the French Revolution. The artist is represented in the J. Paul Getty Museum by one of her finest works, the 1779 pastel *Delightful Surprise*, and a number of important American art museums hold her paintings. Tracing Labille-Guiard's rise and fall in the context of her tumultuous times, this book fills major gaps in the scholarship on art in the age of the French Revolution, on women artists, and on Labille-Guiard in particular. The author, an expert on the artist, tells Labille-Guiard's dramatic life story in a fresh, lively way.

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