

the low resolution of the infrared reflectograph renders her findings indeterminate. Despite the questionable appearance of parts of the underdrawing, it is important to note that the castle and the surrounding landscape is outlined freely, which supports the hypothesis that the painting in Rotterdam could be the original. Even if there were evidence of pouncing, the Rotterdam painting could still be the original if the landscape were copied mechanically from a preparatory drawing. The infrared reflectograph assembly was illustrated in E. Lammertse et al., *Van Eyck to Bruegel, 226–29*. I am grateful to Jeroen Giltaij and Friso Lammertse at the Museum Boymans–Van Beuningen for showing me their files on the landscape fragment attributed to Patinir and allowing

me to borrow their infrared reflectograph assembly for research purposes.

- 47 Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, 9.
48 Rem's *Martyrdom of Saint Barbara* by Lucas Cranach is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and his altarpiece by Quentin Metsys is in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.
49 Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, 9. An entry in Rem's diary has helped determine the dating of Patinir's works.
50 *Ibid.*, 10, 75.
51 *Ibid.*, 11.
52 *Ibid.*, 10–11.
53 Koch, *Joachim Patinir*, 10.

Novelty and Fashion Circuits in the Mid-Seventeenth-Century Antwerp-Paris Art Trade

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Introduction

Often successful “new” products are not radical departures from the familiar but cleverly exploit established ideas, products, and tastes by offering improved design, performance characteristics, and packaging (including service). The newness consists in their being recognizably familiar, yet sufficiently distinct to appeal to a taste for something novel. Familiarity, in the case of art products, presupposes long-standing traditions in visual culture which the artist (or more likely the dealer in the seventeenth century) who is seeking novelty can identify with and modify without overthrowing. This essay focuses on the Antwerp-Paris art trade and the creative shifts that both artists and art dealers displayed in their appropriation and transformation, or partial adaptation, of Netherlandish imagery for export to Paris in the 1650s and the early 1660s.

Close study of the business conducted between an Antwerp-born but Paris-based dealer, Jean-Michel Picart (1600–1682), and his Antwerp counterpart and supplier, Matthijs Musson (1598–?1678/79), suggests that Netherlandish dealers were able to create niches for their works at a time when official taste in Paris was deliberately oriented toward Italian painting. Unofficially, taste was less uniform and Picart was for the most part mediating between preferences fashioned by various salons and the production tradition of Antwerp painters. The result was a range of differentiated products from Antwerp adapted to the Paris art market. The most successful of those products responded to the dominant preference for the Italian as well as to a selective taste for Netherlandish art.

Picart ordered not only paintings, but paintings to decorate cabinets (*escrittoires*), and occasionally painted cabinets themselves. This special

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item of furniture combined several skills in a single product. *Escritaires* were often adorned with marquetry, or silver appliqué, as well as with small attached paintings. The latter combination catered to Parisian tastes in several ways. The paintings satisfied a long-standing fascination with miniatures. They also gave expression in a new setting (not as wall hangings, but rather on doors, lids, and drawers) to popular mythological, religious, and landscape themes. Finally, this piece of furniture-cum-miniature gallery offered an affordable curiosity for the enjoyment of the less than super rich.

The novelty of cabinets adorned with small paintings is plain. What is not obvious is how the paintings made for this purpose could satisfy a taste for classicized Italianate art without attempting slavishly to copy approved prototypes. For the copy culture deliberately fostered by Colbert and, though in a more complex way, by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, required not only artistic self-effacement but exact replication of models to be found in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. The Antwerp artists who specialized in cabinet paintings were not so constrained. Their products were mostly anonymous, but they also felt free to use known prototypes in a looser way. This was partly out of necessity: there were fewer painted copies of Italian originals available in Antwerp, to say nothing of the originals themselves, and mostly the cabinet artists had to make do with prints. But they also followed an Antwerp tradition of composing the elements of their pictures in a collaborative way—landscape, figures, animals, architecture, fruits and vegetables, might all be executed by separate hands. These elements did not always combine into a *coherent* whole, though the practice lends a special connotation to the term *pastiche* applied to seventeenth-century Antwerp (and earlier Netherlandish) painting.

Small Antwerp paintings for furniture nonetheless appealed in Paris, and for a variety of reasons. One was their cost. These paintings were relatively cheap, and the cabinets sent from Antwerp typically were aimed at the midrange of the Paris market.¹ The imagery therefore was not competing for the approval of the arbiters of taste who took as their standard original works by Poussin, Raphael, and Titian, and espoused strict principles derived from literary (and to some extent musical) norms. The official arbiters, moreover, had reason to be much more rigid than the salonniers, whose goal, if that is even an appropriate term, was not the cultural hegemony of France but refined taste according to their own best lights. Their views were not informed directly by either modern perspective and the study of anatomy or by the *doctrine classique* of literature. Delicacy and correctness were musts for them, but individual display was prized quite as much. Other local fac-

tors also played a role, including relations built up with particular art dealers. Picart, for example, moved his family in the mid-1650s to a house “au bout de l’île du Palais” and, over time, secured sales to several nobles, a bishop, and in all likelihood to the duc and duchesse d’Orléans, brother and sister-in-law of the king.

Aided by determined marketing, but able to play to the tastes of salonniers, the middle class, and lesser burghers, Antwerp cabinet painters treated familiar subjects with enough accuracy to make their depictions recognizable, while exploring the potential for differentiation. Those of them who did not travel were not in a position to discover the nuances of Parisian tastes for themselves, but dealers like Picart successfully conveyed the necessary signals.

These themes occupy us in sections one and two, where the salon culture is briefly introduced, its Italian precedents indicated, and the early modern French tradition of artistic self-effacement traced. Because the connections between the fashioning of taste by the salons, the official copy culture, and the production and export of *escritoire* paintings from Antwerp to Paris have not previously been drawn, we take time to provide enough detail to make the links plausible. These contexts come together and are illustrated in a contemporary instance, the imaginary collection of paintings of Georges de Scudéry.

In section three we turn to paintings at large, not simply those made to decorate *escritaires* or *cantoren*. Our concern is still with how Antwerp artists could adapt so as to sell in a Paris where, André Félibien assured a correspondent in 1647, “qu’à présent, l’on ne regardoit plus les peintres de Flandres.”² In this section we describe and comment upon a representative order placed by Picart with Musson, taking note of the special instructions that accompanied his requests, and detailing the treatment he wanted to see from Musson’s artists. Then, selecting from among Picart’s probable clients Henriette d’Angleterre, duchesse d’Orléans, and Philippe, duc d’Orléans, we show how closely their private collection matches our representative Picart order from the early 1660s. From Picart’s instructions, and the match between his order and an actual collection, we can infer that there must have been a close correspondence too between his instructions on treatment and the language of the fashion circuits, principally those created by the salons. A full-length study would have to establish this directly, but our purpose is only to show the potential richness of this line of reasoning.³ We illustrate the adaptations prerequisite for success in the Paris market by reference to the peasant scenes of a virtually unknown Antwerp artist, Abraham Willemsen.

Fashioning surrogate masterpieces and desirable copies in salon circuits

In the seventeenth century an academic, theatrical, and salon culture was consciously being cultivated in Paris, while official efforts focused on transforming the city into the cultural capital of Europe.⁴ The official taste, with its own language and attendant notions of fashion and novelty, was institutionalized in the Académie Française (est. 1634) and the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (est. 1648). The first institution was an achievement of Cardinal Richelieu.⁵ The second came into being as a result of the ambition of Charles Le Brun, with the support of Chancellor Séguier.⁶ Under Colbert the Academy of Painting and the Manufacture Royale des Gobelins de la Couronne were used to control artistic discourse as part of the attempt to establish the cultural preeminence of France.

Even before Louis XIV began his personal rule in 1661, Le Brun had assumed the role of custodian of the preferred principles of painting. Shortly after 1661 he had the titles to go with the role. He had enjoyed some favor under Mazarin during the Regency. But on the cardinal's death, and in spite of his involvement in the decoration of Vaux-le-Vicomte for his first patron, the ill-fated Fouquet, Superintendent of Finances, Le Brun was quickly made First Painter to Louis XIV and in short order became rector of the Academy, custodian of the king's pictures, and director of the Manufacture Royale.⁷ Colbert lent his full support to Le Brun, who thus enjoyed the resources and power adhering to the king's Minister of State, who also became successively the king's Comptroller General of Finances and his Superintendent of Buildings.⁸

Officialdom, however, was following in the wake of earlier and more dispersed, but no less effective shapers of taste, the salons.⁹ When they became popular in the first half of the seventeenth century these salons, known as *alcôves* or *ruelles*, were social laboratories for developing and testing new rules for sociability, taste, and cultural (including consumer) behavior. They were frequently organized by wealthy individuals, the most influential in the first half of the seventeenth century being that of Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet (1588–1665) and her daughter Julie.¹⁰ Gatherings at her Hôtel in the rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre at one time included Richelieu, Bussy-Rabutin, the poet Malherbe, and the duke of Buckingham, while Pierre Corneille, Liselotte von der Pfalz, and Voiture were also regulars.¹¹ Poetry was read, music performed, but above all, structured conversation and intellectual exchange were stimulated to propagate

the *bon ton*, *bon goût*, and *bonnes moeurs*. Though their interest in paintings was initially modest, the impact of salons on visual culture became more observable after 1650.

Salons flowered on French soil but emulated influential Italian antecedents such as the gatherings of Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) in Mantua and of Elizabeth Gonzaga (1471–1526) in Urbino.¹² Their Italian bias, however, was neither an isolated intellectual choice nor an accidental fashion statement. The Italianate experiments at Fontainebleau throughout the sixteenth century, two Italian-born French queens, and Richelieu's successor Mazarin (of Italian descent) left their imprint on French culture in the first half of the seventeenth century. The immediate Italian family connections, too, of the women who organized the most influential salons created an extended network with a preference for Italian(ate) literature, music, and imagery.¹³ Madame de Rambouillet was granddaughter to Clarice Strozzi, allied to the Medici, and grew up in Rome.¹⁴ Madame de Sablé (1599–1678), whose salon had at its center the theorist and moralist François de la Rochefoucault (1613–1680), was a former attendant of Marie de Medici. One of the leading salons in the second half of the century, that of Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701), favored an etiquette in the Italian tradition.¹⁵ Additionally, the manuals of conduct which were read, discussed, and approved in the salons were Italian in their emphasis on nobility by birth, which ought to be further refined through learning and personal culture.

There was nothing new about such codification of social behavior. What was new in the Parisian context is that it took place in a clearly demarcated space, where all social interaction, display, and reception were carefully structured. Conversation, like all the artifacts that accompanied it, became a constituting part of this space. Each salon had an individual character but was nonetheless engaged in common, structured efforts to establish the conditions for elite sociability within its sphere. These included the dissemination of conversation manuals.¹⁶ Prominent organizers of the salons themselves wrote many manuals and these enjoyed extensive readerships.¹⁷ The conversational culture itself became increasingly staged and convoluted: the norm emerged of gallant verbosity and exchanges replete with the complexities of antithesis and subtle metaphor. Out of these codified interactions, *pleasanteries*, and above all distinguishing shows of refinement, was born *La Preciosité*. This was more than a preference for a controlled manner of conversation in a space prefabricated for that purpose. It was a structured way of graceful being, of social behavior based on reciprocity and pleasing imagery devoid of crudeness (*rien de vulgaire*).

Though Paris was the center, many salon dwellers actually came from outside the city. Corneille and Malherbe resettled from Rouen and Caen respectively, Racine from Soissons, Bossuet from Dijon, Pascal from Clermont-Ferrand, while Voiture, the star in the Hôtel de Rambouillet, came from Amiens.¹⁸ But the salons were much more than just places where talented unknowns could make a name for themselves. Though an elite culture permeated with aristocratic ideals, salons were not restricted to nobles. They also envisaged, and encouraged, the rise of an aristocracy of merit among burghers, with their own codes of sociability, correct behavior, and taste.

Like Boileau and La Fontaine, Molière ridiculed the *préciosité* of the salons with their mannered speech, tastes, and behaviors in his *comédie Les Précieuses Ridicules*, first performed at the Louvre (Mazarin) on 18 November 1659.¹⁹ The location of this performance, and the royal patronage it enjoyed suggest a certain displeasure at the court with the salons, not entirely unwarranted, since some like the Salon de Chevreuse were crucibles of antiroyalist agitation.²⁰ They also threatened to displace the king as fabricator of style and evoked a defensive response. The king did not need Boileau to point out that the salons were "la cour de la ville."²¹ In fact, after 1661 the French court largely adopted (usurped) the salon culture and the principles of *La Préciosité*.²² The salons, however, continued to spread their influence in matters of fashion and taste through their own publications and intricate webs of social codes. In the words of Antoine Boudeau de Somaize, "les précieuses ont étendu leur empire sur le langage, sur les meurs et même sur les choses les plus spirituelles."²³

Being seen in prominent salons brought powerful social rewards: success, prestige, and status. But being invited or becoming part of a chosen group also involved obligations. One was expected to move within the parameters of accepted dress codes, speech, vocabulary, and, importantly, collectively sanctioned preferences for particular authors, composers, painters, and interior decorators. All these were constituent elements of taste. Their continuous negotiation in and through the salons created overlapping "fashion circuits."²⁴ Collectively, these networks were able to maintain jurisdiction over taste and fashion, though it was by no means a unified or universal process.

With codification, of course, came replicative behavior. In addition to expressing a preference for a prevalent or desired taste and fashion, one was expected to imitate and copy the desired prototype, as conversation manuals indeed stressed.²⁵ Actual replication was an essential part of spreading the codes and norms, whether these took the form of dress or spatial dec-

orations such as paintings and furniture. Both *bon ton* and novelty, after all, require defining conventions. The social groups fashioning and sanctioning these conventions thus supplied sites and indirectly a stimulus for novelty.

It was clearly in the interest of artists and art dealers to be aware of these fashion circuits and their vested codes, and of the nuances of taste they spawned. For fashion extended to imagery considered appropriate in particular milieus. Not that it was very difficult for art dealers to obtain exact information. Participation in the salons was a possible option, but if this was not available there existed an elaborate letter writing and gossip network. And, most helpfully, entire books were published about ideal collections and painting by influential writers and socialites. One was *Le cabinet de Monsieur de Scudéry* (1646) by Georges de Scudéry, brother of Madeleine and onetime habitué of the Hôtel de Rambouillet.²⁶

In this book, de Scudéry is now recognized as having made the transition from the world of literature to those of both the salon and the academy. He is one of the first of his generation to present a well-structured critique of art using the medium of poetry, until then typically practiced only orally in the salons. Though a description of a largely imaginary collection, de Scudéry's *Cabinet* was also a practical guide to what type of paintings to collect and by whom. The *Cabinet* was based on examples as early as that of the sophist Philostratos of Lemnos (2nd–3rd century A.D.), who commented on a collection of sixty-four paintings he had seen in Naples. De Scudéry also adopted Philostratos's purpose, to provide "conversation for young people, aimed at helping them to express themselves and form their taste."²⁷ Another, more recent prototype popular in the salon circuit was the *Galeria* of the Italian poet Marino (1569–1625), who was invited by Marie de Médici between 1615 and 1622, and frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet between 1620 and 1623.²⁸ Marino, however, focused almost exclusively on Italian painting (with the exception of Rubens, Corneille Flamand, and Dürer). His portraits were seldom attributed. Contrary to contemporary practice, de Scudéry attributed every painting he presented in his panorama of important painters from Italy, France, Germany, and the Netherlands.²⁹ He is, in fact, one of the most erudite (though neglected) guides to the state of affairs in painting in France in 1646, his *Cabinet* preceding Abraham Bosse's *Sentiments sur la distinction des diverses manières de Peinture, Dessin & Graveure . . .* (1649) and A. Dufresnoy's *Observations sur la peinture et ceux qui l'ont pratiquée* (published partially in 1668 with notes by Roger de Piles).³⁰

But de Scudéry's book is more than a record. As a kind of *musée*

Table 1.

Paintings in the Cabinet of Georges de Scudéry (1646).

Origin	Mythology allegory	History religious	Portrait	Landscape cityscape	Every- day life	Still life	TOTAL
Italian	37	3	4	—	2	1	47
French	9	3	19	8	—	1	40
Netherlandish	3	—	11	2	1	4	21
German	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
TOTAL	50	6	34	10	3	6	109

Source: Data from Georges de Scudéry, *Le cabinet de Monsier de Scudéry*, edited by Christian Biet and Dominique Moncond'huy (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991).

Table 2.

Paintings in Parisian bourgeois inventories (1650–60).

Origin	Mythology allegory	History religious	Portrait	Landscape cityscape	Every- day life	Still life	TOTAL
Italian	—	6	2	—	—	—	8
French	1	—	—	—	1	—	2
Netherlandish	1	4	1	15	1	—	22
German	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
Total	2	10	3	15	2	0	32
Attributed							
TOTAL	68	69	97	40	90	28	392

Source: Data from G. Wildenstein, "Le goût pour la peinture dans la bourgeoisie parisienne au début du règne Louis XIII," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 27bis (1950): 153–274.

Note: Inventories with attributions number 7; total number of inventories 253. The attributed totals are dominated by just two inventories.

imaginaire to influence taste (schematized in table 1), it gives us one salon dweller's choice, which we can compare with contemporary inventories and dealer correspondence. A manifesto of *La Preciosité*, it shows a strong and unsurprising preference for Italian mythological painting, but also a remarkable interest in French-Netherlandish portraits and Netherlandish still lifes. De Scudéry's fascination with portraits was widely shared (see below), and he was also not alone in having a taste for Netherlandish art, as table 2 makes clear.

Abundance of portraiture often points to genealogical or political

interests. Portraits usually hung in galleries or comparably accessible spaces and were efficient ways to express family ties, intellectual preferences, or political allegiances. They could also fuel royal suspicions of the salons. De Scudéry's own history hints at the tension. He was part of the Condé faction and in the repercussions of the *Fronde* voluntarily "retired" to Normandy in 1656.³¹ His portraits include at least two of his former protector Madame de Rambouillet (Pieter van Mol and Gaspar de Crayer); a self-portrait of Louis XIII; two portraits of Anne of Austria (Beaubrun) with unusually short (four-line!) and luke-warm captions; an engraved, young Louis XIV (Lanse); portraits of Mazarin (Le Nain), Richelieu or "le grand Armand" as he was known in the salons (Philippe de Champagne); the English queen, Henriette de France, second daughter of Henri IV (van Dyck); and Gaston, duc d'Orléans (Dupré), the last not exactly a friend of the king.³² Less controversial were the portraits of Malherbe (Ferdinand) and Ronsard (Clouet).³³ But, tellingly, there were portraits of political dissidents like Gaspar de Coligny (Rembrandt?) and the libertine poet Théophile de Viau (Ferdinand). Théophile took a strong antiroyalist stance in his *Piramus and Thisbe* (performed in 1621), for which he was arrested after its publication in 1623, and whom de Scudéry publicly defended in *L'Élégie sur l'arrêt de Théophile*.³⁴ De Scudéry's sizable portrait collection seems to agree with what we know about the practice in the salons. Portraits were used as conversation pieces, for all the reasons mentioned above, and they complemented the new literary genre, the *portrait écrit*.

Along with an interest in painted and engraved portraits came a taste for Italian mythological paintings. Raphael, Titian, Giulio Romano, Correggio, and Reni, among others, were greatly esteemed, but originals of their works were not readily available. This caused a demand and stimulated the acquisition of substitutes. Netherlandish art, on the other hand, seems to have been best represented in the lower genres: portrait, landscape (including cityscapes and perspective views), everyday life painting, and still lifes. De Scudéry chose just one everyday life image: Bruegel's *Peasant Wedding*.³⁵ He eulogized it in no less than fourteen verses, concluding with: "Ô Breugles, que ton ouvrage / Est plein de naïvité. . ."³⁶ His choice is not surprising. This Bruegel was a paradigmatic type repeatedly copied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, marketed all over Europe, and frequently varied by leading Antwerp artists, including the Bruegel family, Rubens, and David II Teniers. As for still lifes, the subject and especially crisp treatment and level of finish seem to have mattered. In all the cited examples — *Still Life with Grapes and Apples* by Mahu, *Fish* by Frans Snyders, a *Large Flower and Fruit Still Life* by

Pieter van Boeckel, and a *Dead Hare* by Matheus Bloem—authorship probably was less crucial than the perfect imitation of nature, the *trompe l'oeil* with its well-known classical precursors stretching back to Zeuxis and Parrhasius.³⁷ In de Scudéry's own words, Mahu's grapes would deceive Bacchus himself ("tromperait Bacchus") and the apples Pomona ("tromperait Pomone"), Snyders' fishes could swim away if only they had water, van Boeckel's fruit would fool ("trompe") even birds, and Bloem's dead hare could have been jumping about only moments before. The salonier's taste for cleanly painted, very realistic paintings was later echoed in de Piles's pronouncement, "La fin de la peinture n'est pas tant de convaincre l'esprit que de tromper les yeux."³⁸ To create a convincing *trompe l'oeil* effect, in addition to an acceptable illusion of three-dimensional reality on a two-dimensional plane, one needs both a smooth surface and painstaking attention to the tactile nature of stuffs. This, in turn, requires long hours of labor and a high level of technical competence, especially to avoid too visible brushstrokes and sloppy handling. Picart, as we shall see, considered smooth, clean, crisp finish essential to success on the Paris market for various sorts of Netherlandish paintings. In this case too it mattered more than who authored the paintings he ordered, or whether they were originals, copies, or phantom copies.³⁹

Imitation impulses originating from the salons were many, but even more came from the Académie de Rome (est. 1666). Indeed, there the principle of copying was made central to French cultural policy. Each Rome laureate was required to send a "tribute copy" of an Italian masterwork to Paris.⁴⁰ Colbert stressed to the director of the Rome Academy, Charles Errard, that "we must do what we can to bring back to France whatever is beautiful in Italy. Set your painters to work to make copies of everything notable in Rome, and when you have copied everything, if that is possible, start all over again."⁴¹ These copies enriched the royal collections with substitute masterpieces, a practice favored by both Colbert and Le Brun. Tribute copies, paradoxically, also served as didactic aids for Parisian professors lecturing on the originality of canonized masters. Even the Académie itself did not shy away from using copies in this way. It is the ultimate irony that self-effacing artists and multiple copying increasingly defined the rising cult of the individual artist and the original masterpiece.

The continuous flow of tribute copies to Paris was an encouragement to students and a visual guide to young painters. They were continually reminded that a knowledge of the technique of revered masters could only be acquired through meticulous copying. For a good copy was defined by its complete subservience to the original, one where the hand of the copy-

ist was invisible, where there was no evidence of creative interpretation. This constructed ideal conditioned French visual culture to such an extent that faithful replication, self-effacement, and rigid exactitude were hallmarks of the academic copy (and academic training) until well into the nineteenth century. In such a replicative or "copy culture" taste and fashion are more easily codified. This happened not only through an ever-increasing circulation of painted copies, but also through a flow of reproductive—and reproducible—engravings that channeled taste for (and knowledge about) the absent but desired originals. High-volume, low-priced engravings reached a much larger audience than painted copies ever could, hence they were effective vehicles for informing about prevalent tastes and fashions. Here, painter-engravers like Jan Valdor, who emigrated from Antwerp, played an influential role, often presenting an eclectic blend of Netherlandish and Italian traditions.

Netherlandish engravers, like others, were champions of replication by the very nature of their profession, and all were bound to thrive in a copy culture, in spite of the attempts of Louis XIV, through Colbert, to control print production.⁴² Yet Netherlandish engravers also played a particularly important role. Recalling the taste for portraiture in the salons, it is no coincidence that many Netherlandish portraitist painter-engravers frequented the Parisian Hôtels. Some even belonged to Le Brun's inner circle and that of the Académie Royale. In fact, the Flemish (Netherlandish) presence in Paris was already noticeable from the late sixteenth century.⁴³ Many of these engravers were also dealers, and some of them maintained regular contact with outside suppliers, especially those in Antwerp. Their presence in Paris and the sheer volume of their production, especially compared to the output of painters' ateliers, made the reception of Netherlandish works easier. Their day-to-day contact with the local market allowed them to adapt their engravings to current taste and to give their suppliers crucial hints about the type of imagery preferred in Paris.

Famous émigrés from the Low Countries apart from Valdor included Philippe de Champaigne, who moved from Brussels to Paris in 1622, and who is often considered the initiator of the engraved portrait in France.⁴⁴ This tradition was continued by another prominent portrait engraver, Pierre van Schuppen (1620–1702), who was a native of Antwerp, studied with Pierre Clouwet, and became a member of the Académie in 1663.⁴⁵ Gérard Edelinck (1640–1707), a former student of master-engraver Cornelis Galle the Younger, arrived from Antwerp in 1661.⁴⁶ Like Adam-Frans van der Meulen from Brussels, who later became one of the French king's favorite war artists, Edelinck's star rose quickly. Colbert, on advice from Le Brun,

even refused to grant him the title of "pensionnaire du Roi en Rome" so that France would not be deprived of his talent. As a member of the Académie du Peinture in 1677 and head, along with Gérard Audran (1640–1703), of the printing atelier in the *Gobelins*, Edelinck was well placed to influence French visual culture. He not only supervised the printing output of the *Gobelins* but produced his own sizable engraved oeuvre, which included a majority of engraved portraits.⁴⁷ Like de Champaigne and van Schuppen, Edelinck's predilection for engraving portraits reflected the demand by Parisian collectors: a certain Maugis owned 15,000 engraved portraits, Boucot 17,000, and Tesson no less than 30,000.⁴⁸ The demand enabled lesser-known dealer-engravers and print publishers to branch out, either through family connections or networks of correspondents.⁴⁹ Though their social status, income, and success may have varied, they held in common this aim and practice: to print imagery, not least portraits copied after painted or drawn prototypes. Here the salons functioned as catalysts and propagators. They embraced portrait engravings (often copied after paintings), even though, depending on the reception context, a taste for engraved portraiture could be as much a reaction against as part of the *portrait écrit*.

Self-effacement, and recognizing the recognizable

The cultural enrichment of Paris in the seventeenth century fostered an expanded range of interests among the frequenters of the salons. Among the new luxury items exported from Antwerp to Paris were small decorated pieces of furniture, referred to in seventeenth-century documents as *cantoor*, *scribaen*, *scrittorio*, *schriftorie*, or *kabinet* (see figs. 1 and 2).⁵⁰ Throughout the seventeenth century, modest cabinets were decorated with small paintings on panel, marble, or copper. More expensive examples might feature small reliefs in carved wood, drawings in pen and ink on ivory, appliqué of tortoiseshell, reliefs in veneered ebony, chiseled or embossed panels, mostly in silver, or embroidery.⁵¹

The greater part of the highly specialized painting production for cabinets has remained anonymous. The collaborative nature of the production and the speed with which these small paintings were completed may be responsible for the lack of attributions. A problem for would-be attributers is that the paintings for *cantoren* were usually not signed, though exceptions are paintings by Frans II Francken and Jan Siberechts.⁵² Attribution is further complicated by the fact that cabinet painters closely followed prints, including those of Peter Schut, Matthaeus Merian, or Antonio Tempesta.

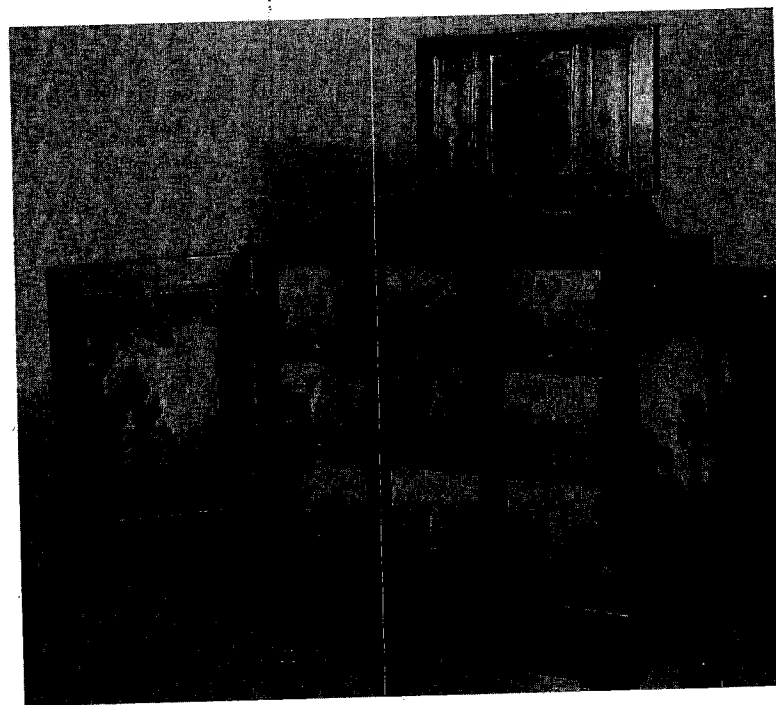


Figure 1. Small cabinet with emblematic representation after Otto van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata* of 1608 (Antwerp, after 1608). Antwerp, Museum Smidt van Gelder, inv. no. 774.

They also reverted to well-known paintings by Pieter Paul Rubens, Antoon van Dyck, Jacob Jordeans, Frans II Francken, and Jan Bruegel the Elder. The situation is slightly different for reliefs in veneered ebony or drawings in pen and ink on ivory. In these media, paintings were seldom used as models; rather, prints were the basic models for composition, their clear lines making for easy transposition onto a drawing.

The history of the decorated cabinet is still somewhat sketchy, especially for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though its origins may be Spanish, with influence from the Islamic *mudéjar* style.⁵³ About 1500 there were already examples in Catalonia of furniture resembling the cabinet, with small drawers and intricate wood, ivory, and bone inlay. Similar furniture appeared in Fontainebleau decorated with "ouvrages moresques" in 1528.⁵⁴ In Germany, Augsburg is mentioned as a major production center for cabinets which then were exported all over Europe.⁵⁵ But Florence too was renowned

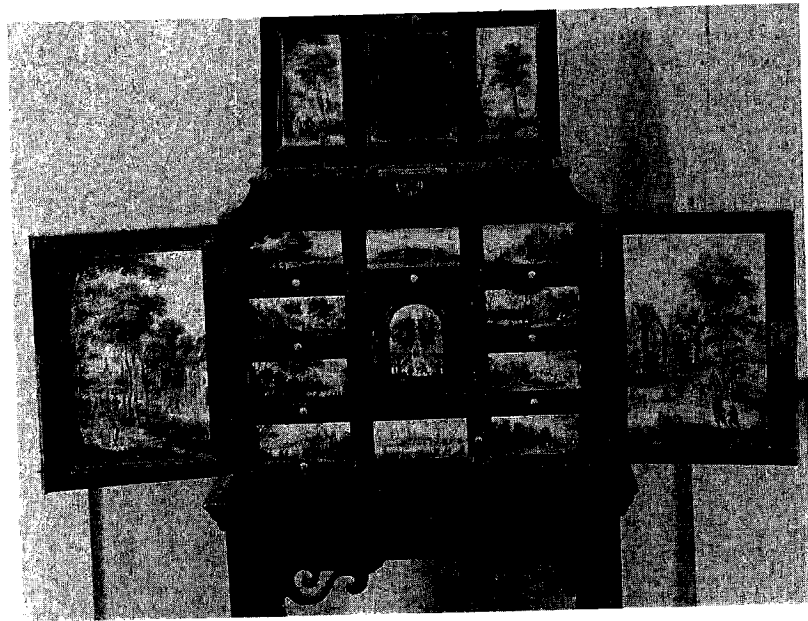


Figure 2.
Decorated escritorio with landscape paintings and central perspective scene (Antwerp, ca. 1650). Antwerp, Rubenshuis, inv. no. M. 138.

for its *scrittorio* or portable writing desk, quite often realized in *intarsio* of various woods.⁵⁶ This type of marquetry we find also on portable cabinets made in Nuremberg and Augsburg. Though Italian and Spanish influences were interwoven with local practices in furniture making, the German *Kabinett-schrank* was in essence an adaptation of the Spanish prototype, a chest of small drawers enclosed by a fall-front that was used as a writing surface.⁵⁷

Initially, most cabinets were sober and functional pieces of furniture frequently used by merchants to store coins and papers.⁵⁸ Though the functional cabinet continued to be made throughout the early modern period, its strictly utilitarian character had changed toward the decorative by the end of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, *Schreibtische* from Augsburg, Nuremberg, or Eger (Bohemia) became increasingly elaborate in their displays of the skills of woodworkers, ivory turners, sculptors, and lapidary cutters. These were intended for a social and financial elite.⁵⁹ The aforementioned cities all used a similar marketing strategy; they presented samples of their production to those in power.⁶⁰ The most lavishly decorated

exemplars such as the *Kunstschrank* became associated with the concept of the *Wunderkammer*, a panopticon of curiosities and marvels of art and nature.⁶¹ This marked the transition in function for the cabinet from a functional to a more differentiated luxury item. The luxury variants appealed to collectors and occupied semipublic spaces as conversation pieces. Nonetheless, the cabinet continued to be enjoyed at all levels from the merchant and affluent burgher to the aristocrat, an encompassing of the market made possible by entrepreneurial artists, artisans, and dealers working in conjunction.

Like any other international production center, Antwerp also produced and exported its share of high-end cabinets with chiseled decorations in copper or silver and figurative inlays in expensive, often exotic materials such as ebony, ivory, and tortoiseshell. Modest cabinets, however, were a new cultural product for Antwerp, combining as they did two separate, though well-established, local specialist traditions: that of cabinet making and especially that of small-format painting (see, for example, fig. 1).⁶² At both ends of the market, this very specialized and high-skill joint venture between furniture makers and artists of diverse plumage required a well-planned division of labor. Dealers like Matthijs Musson in fact were not just mediators; they doubled as organizers of the production. Collaboration and specialization are well-documented characteristics of the artistic enterprise in Antwerp.⁶³ Antwerp cabinets did not compete with the expensive *Schreibtische* from Augsburg or Eger. Nor were they in the same class as the Florentine table cabinets with *pietra dura* inlays of semiprecious stones and marbles.⁶⁴ Instead, they took readily available or quickly made and relatively cheap paintings on copper, panel, or marble and assembled these to adorn finished cabinets. The cabinets were then exported and sold in previously unexploited midrange segments of various European markets. These innovative products were literally and figuratively carriers for Netherlandish imagery. Since the small paintings used were often copies, phantom copies, or variations after famous prototypes, either in paint or print, the cabinets advertised not just themselves as an intriguing product, but they facilitated brand recognition in paintings.

Though dimensions and materials varied, the basic cabinet had four to six drawers mounted on either side of a cubiform middle section. Above this, there was usually an additional drawer. Small, oblong paintings on panel, copper, or marble could be fixed to the drawer fronts. A single or double shutter closed off the middle part. There one might find another series of drawers, very small, or a painted scene with a sharply receding perspective, referred to in contemporary documents as a *prospektiefke*.⁶⁵ This was a

small painting of either a landscape or some piece of architecture with clear orthogonals joining in a vantage point, giving the central section an additional effect of illusory depth (see fig. 2).

The centrality of the receding perspective scene as well as the compartmentalized viewing regime was in essence a sixteenth-century device. It allowed for a wandering eye, though the centralized perspective scene was meant to focus one's attention. A similar compartmentalization, using several scenes simultaneously, and a central perspective, is typical of Italian stage sets and sets used by the Antwerp Chambers of Rhetoric, like the ones constructed for the *Landjuweel* in Antwerp in 1561. The same multiple-layered and segmented sets we find also in paintings, including those by Pieter Aertsen and his Antwerp contemporaries. As for cabinets, the "reading" sequence of the scenes could be from left to right, from edge to center, clockwise, or without any order at all. Here, too, the central perspective scene would adjust and refocus the gaze toward the middle.

Often cabinets were sold to art dealers undecorated, which left them free to choose how much to spend on materials, and what type of decoration or subject matter, and, in the case of paintings, which artists to contract to deliver paintings for the drawers, shutters, and center panel. Surviving documents (as already noted) confirm that art dealers were much more than just intermediaries. They played an active role in the realization of the finished cabinet, allocating the tasks of decoration among the available artists, and determining which subjects were to be painted by whom, and at what price. Often they had a client or at least a specific market in mind. Cost, materials, and type of decoration were adapted to fit the prospective buyer, or to match a chosen price and taste range in a particular market.

Cabinets exported from Antwerp to Paris regularly carried scenes inspired by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. We saw earlier how numerous were mythological subjects in the imaginary collection of Georges de Scudéry. Many of these were taken from Ovid. Especially popular was an illustrated edition of the *Metamorphoses* with prints by Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630). Also frequently used were episodes from the Old and New Testaments, various mythologies and allegories, including the Four Elements, and emblemata. Landscapes were also popular. Less often used, so far as we can tell, were city views, seascapes, river, harbor, and battle scenes. Portraits and still lifes were least common.⁶⁶

An emblem book favored by the Antwerp cabinet painters was Otto van Veen's (1556–1629) widely distributed *Amorum, Emblemata, figuris,*

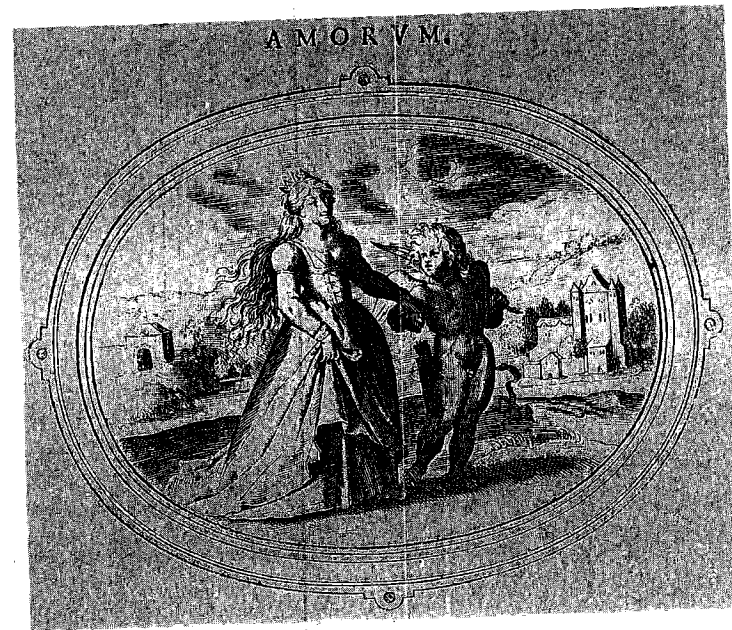


Figure 3.
"Nulles laides amours" from p. 207. Copper engraving,
Otto van Veen's *Amorum* 116 × 148 mm. Antwerp,
Emblemata (Antwerp, 1608). Stad Antwerpen.

Aeneas Incisa (Antwerp, 1608). This contained 124 emblems with Italian, French, and Latin explanatory captions.⁶⁷ Another such compilation frequently exploited by the *cantoor schilders* was the *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata, Imaginibus in aes incisus Notisque Illustrata* (Antwerp, 1612), again with illustrations by van Veen and captions in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, and French.⁶⁸ Van Veen was a fine painter and Latinist, but his particular strength was emblematic and allegorical writing. The multilingual captions to his illustrations helped assure his books an international audience. They were almost certainly circulating in Paris and must have facilitated informed conversations in the salons in front of cabinets deploying his imagery (see figs. 3 and 4). Van Veen's reputation in Paris, however, extended beyond the salons. De Piles recorded that van Veen was "not only a good painter but a bel esprit. . . and proficient in literature," and he listed him among the "most noted" painters in his 1708 table.⁶⁹

Art dealers, of course, were aware of particular preferences like those for van Veen. Cabinet painters, like any artist working for the made-

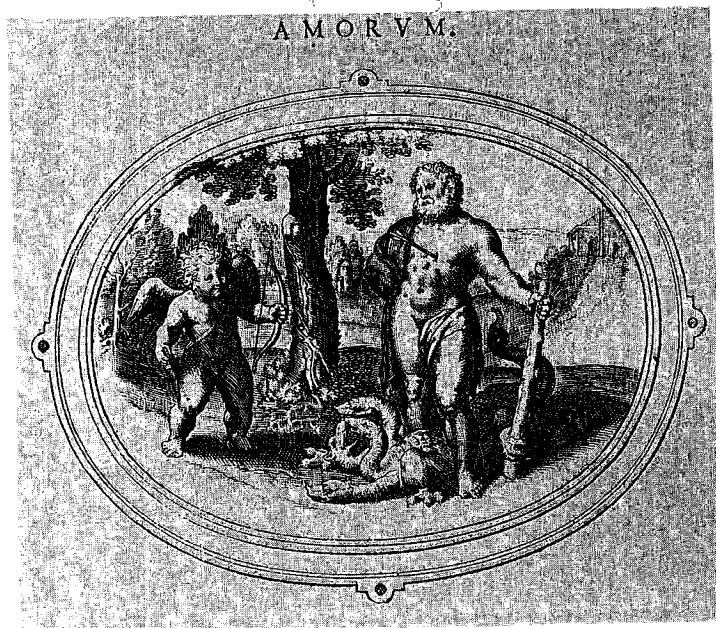


Figure 4.
 "Amour source de vertu"
 from Otto van Veen's *Amo-
 rum Emblemata* (Antwerp,
 1608), p. 33. Copper engrav-
 ing, 115 × 148 mm.
 Antwerp, Stad Antwerpen.

to-order market, needed to copy or paraphrase recognizable stories, quote famous original paintings, masters, or fashionable prints that were referential, recognizable, or both. Widely circulating emblem books like those of van Veen made reception of cabinet paintings based on his books easier in fashion circuits where there was a knowledge of literature, a taste for *bonnes moeurs*, and a liking for novel presentation. In fact the cabinet painters of Antwerp could thrive in a market whose culture was replicative, where copies were used to define absent or unattainable originals. At first glance, it might seem that they were competing with the French "tribute copyists." The tribute copyists, however, worked under tighter restrictions: from them, as we have stressed, only a well-executed and slavishly faithful copy was acceptable to replace the canonized, but absent, original. Self-effacement, though present among the many anonymous *cantoorschilders*, was an absolute requirement of tribute copyists. This gave the Antwerp painters an edge, for they could get by with a loose reference to, say, a Rubens, Tempesta, or van Veen,

or to some recognizable mythology or religious prototype. Their products were often inexact (not to say casual) and quickly made (as can be seen in figs. 5 and 6), but therefore competitively priced and varied enough to be both recognizable and recognizably different.

Eliciting fashionable paintings from Antwerp artists

The modest painted cabinet (*cantoor/escritoire*), we have urged, was quite novel in that it combined the two traditions of cabinetry and small-format painting in one product. Though *intarsio* and semiprecious stones were in widespread use for decorating cabinets, it was Antwerp dealer-artist collaboration that turned the cabinet into a vehicle for advertising painting, as well as making newly attractive the piece of furniture itself. A second kind of innovation for which dealers principally were responsible was the painting as "niche" product. We have in mind here paintings that were produced as adaptations to slight nuances in taste and market conditions.⁷⁰

Picart was the dealer chiefly involved from the Paris market end, just as Musson, at the Antwerp end, was responsible for coordinating the making of paintings, including those to adorn cabinets. The broad challenge Picart faced was to interpret the classicized Italianate taste of his Parisian buyers to Musson's painters so as to elicit from them work which, though it remained recognizably Netherlandish, was sufficiently *op syn Italians* (in the Italian style) to appeal.

The market for such works was not deep in any one direction, and Picart typically ordered just a few of any one subject-artist combination, such as *Fish Lying on a Bank* by Jan van Kessel, or *Landscapes with Small Figures* in the manner of [Jan I?] "Bruegel." He also faced local challenges from copyists in Paris and from other dealers who were content to offer inferior versions of similar subjects. He had to be ready, therefore, to switch between subjects or artists, to maintain an advantage in niche markets for originals that were quickly overrun with replicas. Though he did not order (or presumably stock) a wide range of work, the subtle distinctions he made in selecting his subject-artist combinations enabled him to find buyers whose preferences we must assume were differentiated, and to have on hand something new.

Picart is recorded in Paris as early as 1634, though in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, as a member of the Flemish artists' colony, which was conveniently established just beyond the control of the Corporation of Paris.⁷¹ He quickly became a master in the local painters' association—he had been trained as a

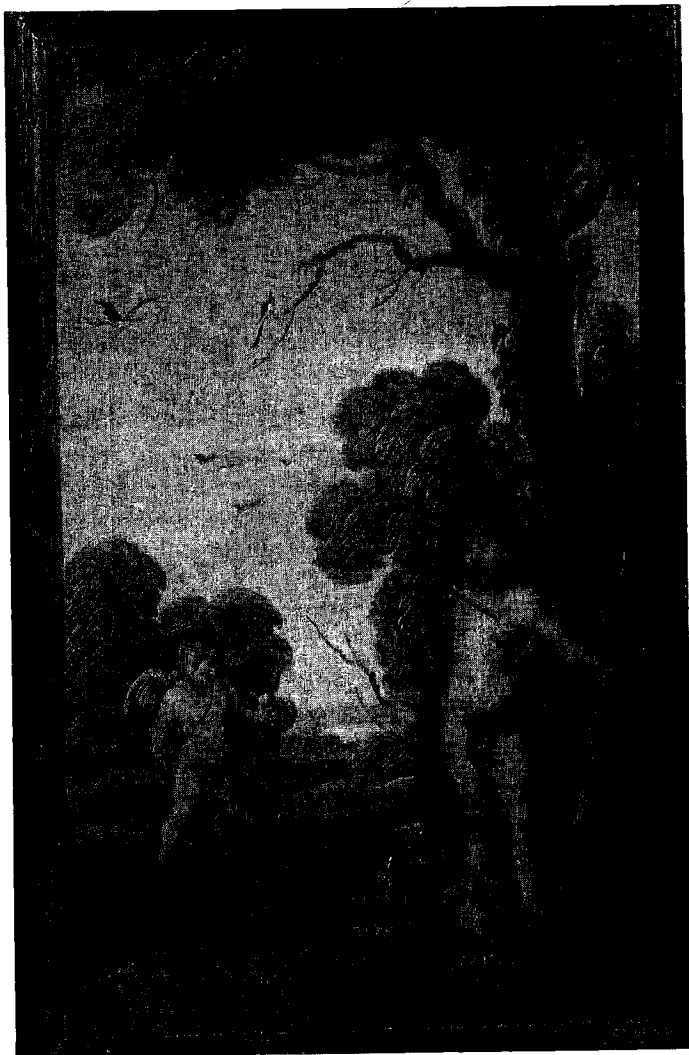


Figure 5.
 Right inner wing of a small
 cabinet with loosely painted
 emblematic representation
 "Amour source de vertu" after
 Otto van Veen's *Amorum*

Emblemata of 1608
 (Antwerp, after 1608).
 Antwerp, Museum Smidt van
 Gelder, inv. no. 774.

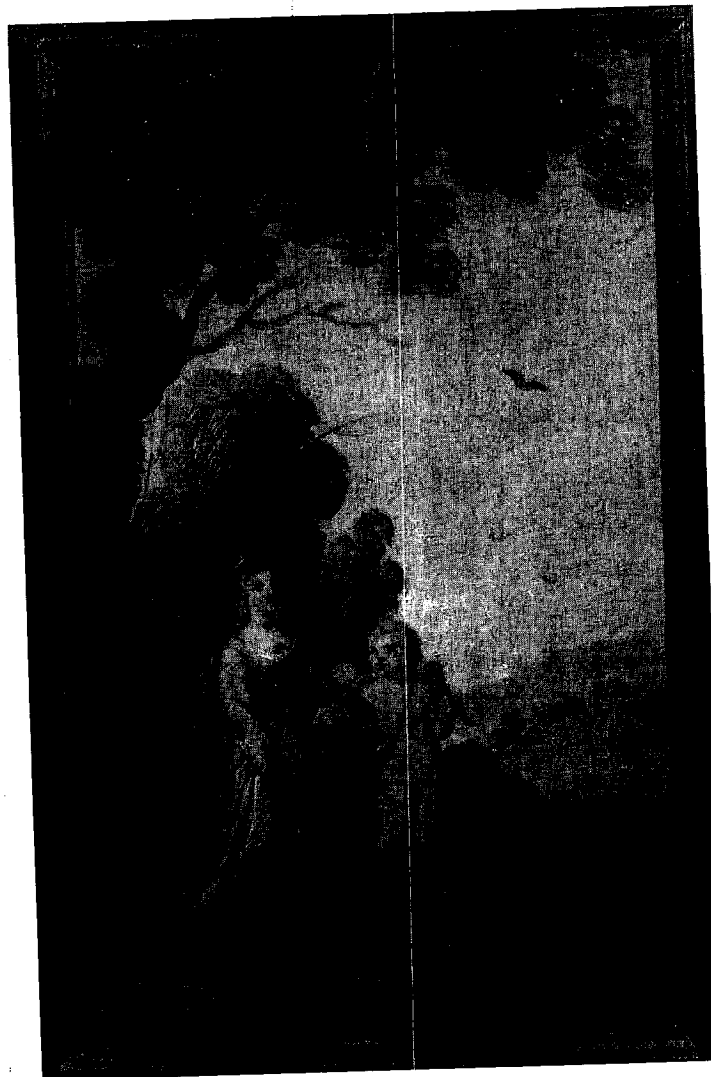


Figure 6.
 Left inner wing of a small
 cabinet with loosely painted
 emblematic representation
 "Nulles laides amours" after
 Otto van Veen's *Amorum*

Emblemata of 1608
 (Antwerp, after 1608).
 Antwerp, Museum Smidt van
 Gelder, inv. no. 774.

painter in Antwerp—but did not stop there. By 1640 he was also a member of the *Maîtrise*, the Paris artists' guild.⁷² He is said to have played a part not long afterward in reconciling the *Maîtrise* with the newly founded (1648) Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. The Academy had been established to break the restrictive grip over artists of the Paris guild, but also to institutionalize the claim of its young initiators that painting be recognized as a liberal art, that is as intellectual as distinct from "mechanical," as the skills which defined the traditional craft of the painter were thought of.⁷³ A temporary and uneasy reconciliation was effected, which held from 1651 to 1654.

When the accord broke down definitively, Picart lost his provisional status as member of both the *Maîtrise* and the Academy. We may safely assume, however, that during the years of truce he became fully attuned to the Academy's principled preference for Italian painting. Picart must have been familiar, too, with the growing number of publications detailing the intellectual foundation of modern painting: the study of optics, geometry in the form of perspective, and anatomy. The new publications included the first-ever printed version of Leonardo's *Trattato della Pittura* (French-initiated versions in both Italian and French appeared in 1651), works by Bosse and his mentor Desargues on perspective, and treatises on painting by Fréart de Chambray and (later) Dufresnoy.⁷⁴

Certainly there are signs that Picart understood the split that had begun to emerge, especially in the thinking of *Academiciens*, between ideal artistic practice—chiefly classicized Italianate form and design—and the traditions of Netherlandish art. We may have reservations about the meaningfulness of both categories, but contemporaries apparently did not. André Félibien, who was to become secretary of the Academy in the 1660s, commented in a letter from Rome to his artist friend in Paris, Louis du Guernier, in 1647, that one could no longer criticize the French for not having a taste "aussy delicat qu'icy." As partial evidence he noted that, in the phrase already quoted, "Flemish" painters at the moment are not esteemed in Paris.⁷⁵ This was a bias shared both among *Academiciens* and at court; it became something of an official position, though it was also more widely held. Picart himself took this stance.⁷⁶ At various times he pointedly asked Musson if he could find for him Italian originals, referring to them using the word *curieux*, meaning both "rare" and "attentively done," which had also gained currency in the salons. The names he listed are the same as those held in regard by arbiters of taste such as Georges de Scudéry and Fréart de Chambray: Raphael, the Carracci, Titian, Reni, Veronese, Albani, Correggio, Domenichino, and Guilio Romano.⁷⁷

In the following paragraphs we look at what Picart ordered to be made in Antwerp, as distinct from the Italian originals he was at all times eager to have. We also examine what in all likelihood he sold to two distinguished buyers, the duke and duchess of Orléans. Comparing in detail one particular order and shipment with the inventory of the duke and duchess enables us to focus not only on the kinds of paintings Picart wanted and the likely market he had in mind, but we can match his detailed instructions about treatment to the language of the salons.⁷⁸

Before turning to a particular shipment, it is worth noting that documentary evidence supports a figure in excess of 600 paintings by Antwerp artists acquired by Picart for resale in Paris between 1653 and 1664.⁷⁹ This understates the true number, since the surviving records are incomplete. There are also mentions of orders for paintings which have no numbers attached and of shipments for which there is no detail given.

We have chosen as representative a shipment from 1663.⁸⁰ Our focus will be on (a) the range of subjects and artists chosen, and those rejected; and (b) Picart's instructions as to how the work was to be carried out. An order was placed on 18 March 1663.⁸¹ Picart asked for the following:

1. Six "ten guilder (copper) plates" like some he had received previously, the figures by "Abram" (Abraham Willemsen). A follow-up letter after 31 March (torn) hints at three subjects: a *Magdalene, Jesus and the Samaritan (Woman?)*, and *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. Picart specified that Willemsen should make the faces less "plump." His standing complaint about the facial characteristics of Willemsen's figures, especially his religious figures, was that they were too peasantlike and insufficiently delicate (refined).⁸²
2. One "ten guilder plate," a *Virgin with Children Dancing* ("kinderen dans") after van Dyck.⁸³ He expressed a similar worry: the Virgin should be "fray," a word which carried the sense of propriety, appropriateness, and having inner grace, all qualities prized in the salons as well as in the Academy.⁸⁴
3. Twelve "one guilder plates," so-called *devoties*, like some he had had before, landscape by Peter de Wit and figures by Willem-sen.⁸⁵ Only this time just four should be devotional pieces, the rest divided between peasants sharing milk ("boerckens die melck eten") and *Peasants with Animals* ("Boerens ende Bestens"), several of which he'd had shipped in 1658 and again in 1660.⁸⁶ A signed

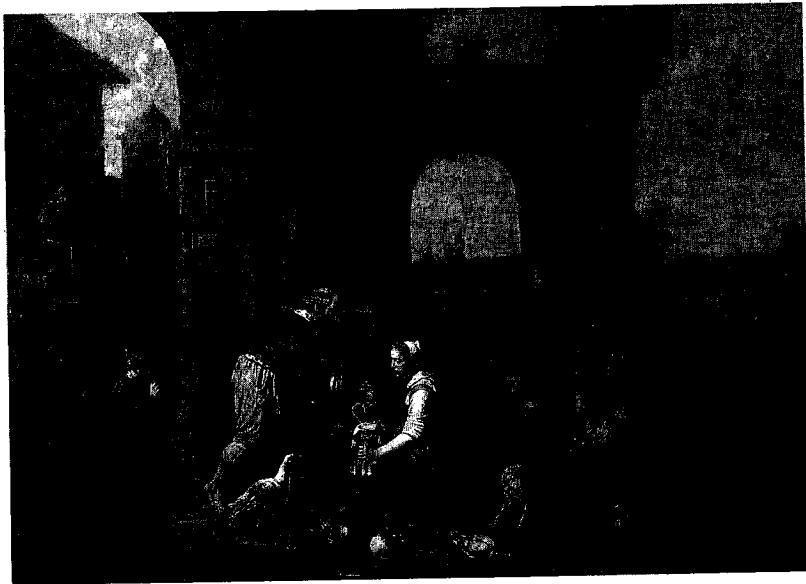


Figure 7.
 Abraham Willemsen, *Farm Scene*. Present location unknown (sold at Christie's London, 19 April 1991, lot 90). Oil on canvas, 92.7 × 124.1 cm. Signed "AB. [linked] WILLEMSENS.FE." London, Christie's Images.

painting by Abraham Willemsen (see fig. 7) combines these elements.⁸⁷

4. Two unspecified plates by Willemsen, of the same "force" as some acquired by Picart on a trip to Antwerp in mid-1661.
5. Twelve pieces by Thomas van Apshoven, two to four of them on the large side. Two were to be *Alchemists*, the same as ones he'd had from this painter already. There were also to be several of "skittles players," "smokers" ("toebacdrinkers"), and peasant weddings. All these subjects had been treated by David II Teniers, until recently court painter in Brussels to the Archduke Leopold-Willem.
6. Some things by Teniers himself, provided they were cheap. Picart later noted that he had in mind something "large."⁸⁸
7. Some good copies after Teniers, among them a *Peasant Wedding*. Picart mentions having seen one such by van Apshoven in a tavern (presumably during his visit to Antwerp). Recall that

Bruegel's *Peasant Wedding* was the sole representative of its class in Georges de Scudéry's *Cabinet*. Picart ordered numerous paintings of this sort over the years. Without exactly copying the Bruegel, Teniers repeatedly varied this subject, carefully screening out most vulgarities.

8. Some paintings by Frans II Francken, provided they were of good quality ("goedt").
9. Twelve pieces by Jan I van Kessel with animals; however, no bats, serpents, wild boar, or crocodiles among them.⁸⁹ Rather, Picart wanted "birds and fish," and at the same price as before.⁹⁰ Here, too, we see the influence of the salon culture in the rejection of anything potentially offensive, and above all indelicate.
10. Some van Kessel copies.
11. Three or four canvases, *Turkish Ports, with Galleys*, like some on copper sent previously.⁹¹ This choice of subject reflects the salon fascination with the curious and exotic.

Less than a week after placing this order Picart wrote again, urging that the paintings be ready in three to four months. He also insisted that they be "net," that is, careful, proper, and, if he had in mind *netteté*, clear and distinct. He added that the paint should be "goed," another term requiring some explication. In 1658, and again in 1660, he had asked for paintings that were "suyver geschildert," literally pure-painted, and he pleaded for "schoon verven" (clean paint/paintwork).⁹² "Goed," "suyver," "schoon" probably should be read here as rough equivalents, all signaling an awareness that distinctness and clarity of line, as well as pureness of paint, were part of the double demand made of *trompe l'oeil* in Paris. The illusion must be compelling, which is impossible if lines are indistinct, colors muddy. At the same time the work must be recognizably illusionistic—so clean and highly finished that it could not quite be real.⁹³ Certainly finish was important: in 1661 Picart had expressed annoyance on receiving two paintings that he judged unfinished ("nit uutgemact").⁹⁴ Finally, in his follow-up letter after the order of 18 March 1663, Picart added the qualifier that the skies in particular be "carefully done, and with clean paint" ("wat net syn ende met goede verven principal de lochten"). Here again, how one should translate his words is not entirely clear, but recalling de Scudéry's delighted references to Netherlandish artists' "deceptions," it is fair to say that what he did not want was vague, repetitive dashes substituting for clouds and foliage, sloppy brush work, diluted pigments, and hastily applied wet-in-wet paint of the type seen in figures 3 and 5.

On top of all these stipulations, Picart wanted the lowest possible price, which was asking a lot since highly finished work done with care and attention to detail is labor intensive. A compromise he entertained was to use lesser-known artists, who could produce a similar result—van Apshoven instead of Teniers; some copies after van Kessel, rather than originals or copies by him. This points to the constraints Picart felt laid upon him by rivals, who either imported cheaper versions of the same subjects or had cheap copies made on the spot in Paris. Even allowing for quality differences, it seems that Picart felt keenly any price difference for substitutable goods.⁹⁵

Musson had trouble filling Picart's order. Willemsen had become so much sought after that it was difficult to get things made by him, and he had raised his prices.⁹⁶ Van Kessel also was in demand, and one could not simply command fresh production from him without delay.⁹⁷ Musson offered Picart a couple of paintings by Willem Willemsen, in lieu of anything being available from Abraham, and he noted that whereas he had two studies of birds by van Kessel, these were not among his best. He did have two large *Seascapes* by van de Velde, and some Teniers originals and copies.⁹⁸ Picart, in reply, told Musson he would take the van Kessels but to forget the rest of that portion of his order, unless he could get some copies after van Kessel. He was willing to accept the two substitute Willemsens, provided they were as good as work he'd obtained direct from Abraham in Antwerp. He reiterated his desire to have paintings by van Apshoven, but he did not repeat a message sent earlier, that large seascapes were available in Paris from a certain "Verschuppen," who matched Musson's ex-Antwerp prices.⁹⁹

In April 1663 Picart added some more requests: two dozen devotional paintings with figures the same size as those in some paintings he'd received recently (de Wit and Willemsen?), some *Bacchanals* with many figures, and something large by Pieter I Neefs, a painter of church interiors.

Musson shipped more than had been asked for—and less. He added a *Four Seasons* after (Jacopo?) Bassano by van Neeck, two *Church Interiors*, one each by Pieter Neefs I and II, both with staffage by van Neeck, an artist not normally requested by Picart.¹⁰⁰ Musson also added no less than four landscapes after (Jan I?) Bruegel by Jan I Boets (Boots, Boods), plus two small copies after Bruegel by Peter Gijssels. Picart in general would have no truck with Boets, as he had made clear on several occasions. Musson himself wrote his stepson in early 1659 that "Picart will have none of Boets; he wants instead things in the French manner."¹⁰¹ Both dealers seem to have understood that there were distinguishable French and Netherlandish styles, but not every artist in Antwerp was able to close that gap. Musson also

included a large number of paintings by Teniers, both originals and copies—among them, allegorical paintings (several with monkeys playing at being human), and some small *Seascapes* by van de Velde. And he added a *Last Supper* by Frans I Francken and some other religious works.

Picart flat out rejected the *Seascapes*. Here, finish or quality of the paint was not at issue, but size, detail, and inherent curiosity were. He had wanted, he said, port scenes, not seascapes; and *large* works, with many figures, not small, which spelled only losses for him—possibly because of the substitutes offered by "Verschuppen." Of the "Bruegels," he had expected copies like ones he'd had before and not by Boets, though he kept these anyway, as he did the van Neeck copies after Bassano. The two Willem Willemsens provoked him: they were smaller but also six times (!) inferior to those he'd bought in Antwerp from Abraham. Teniers's allegorical works (*Zinnebeelden*, including monkey pictures) did not please him any better; he'd lost on the last lot and now reminded Musson that he'd already asked him not to send any more. As for the other paintings by Teniers, they were of subjects much copied and even hawked door to door by the likes of his rival Belavoine, so that all value in the originals was destroyed. The last thing he needed, he complained, was "to be saddled with common things" (*gemyen dingen*). What he'd hoped for were things among Teniers's best, with many figures, and little copied. Neither were the van Kessels what he thought he'd be sent. They were too dear and not according to request. Besides, "met de dingen van van Kessel syn hier heel af" (which could mean either too many copies in circulation, or no longer a demand).¹⁰² Musson insisted Picart take what he'd ordered, but agreed that any works he'd simply added to the shipment should be for his own account and returned if sales proved too difficult.¹⁰³

This has been a lot of detail to take in. The lessons, however, stand out clearly. They can be summarized under the headings artists, subjects, and treatment. As to artists, Picart chose from a short list of painters whose work he knew and felt confident would sell readily. They included Abraham Willemsen (of whom more below), van Apshoven, van Kessel, Teniers (the last two with qualifications on subject matter, and Teniers with restrictions as to size and subject), Frans II Francken or his father, Pieter I Neefs, and Balthazar van Cortbemde. All were represented in the March 1663 order, or Picart's supplementary requests. Teniers was son-in-law to Jan I Bruegel; as we have noted already, he reworked Bruegel subjects, always with a minimum of mud and peasant excess, as required by *rien de vulgaire*. Van Apshoven was Teniers's faithful imitator. Van Kessel was Jan I Bruegel's grandson and followed his grandfather in producing exquisite depictions of animals,

birds, fish, and even—his own added specialty—insects. These he sometimes painted alone, but they also appeared in series (after Bruegel prototypes) such as the *Five Senses* and the *Four Elements*. Van Kessel's nature studies, both line and finish, probably appealed to the taste for *trompe l'oeil*. Neefs (church architectures) and Cortbemde (copies after van Dyck's *Virgin with Children Dancing*) have been mentioned already. Frans II Francken was versatile and mastered a wide range of subject matter, but he was among other things a painter of cabinets using biblical and Ovidian themes; he also painted banquet scenes, for example, *Banquet of the Gods*.

Picart's preferred subject matter was as confined as his short list of artists. There were devotional pieces, scenes from the Life of Our Lord, Saints, and depictions of Mary with the Christ Child—appropriate stock in a moment of religious reveille in France.¹⁰⁴ Also wanted were technically challenging subjects, such as (church) architectural studies and scenes "with many figures." He welcomed, too, the exotic and the "curious," for example, Turkish harbor scenes with galleys and Eastern figures, or depictions of animals and birds. Painting which could imitate nature was in demand: flower and fruit studies (though none are mentioned in this particular shipment), or still lifes of dead fish in a beach setting. And, lastly, it is clear that Picart sought what saloniers like de Scudéry admired: peasant scenes (what the French included under *genre*), depicting the celebration of a wedding, a village feast, peasants dancing, drinking, smoking, or at games. What he could not use was anything that might frighten, disturb, or be found unpleasant; nothing indelicate, nor anything "crude."

Finally, there is treatment or technique of realization. We have already noted in passing several elements that come under this heading and which were obviously considered important by Picart himself. These include fine finish and purity of color. Too much mixing in of white produces what de Piles described as "donner dans la farine," an appearance of flour having been sprinkled over, or perhaps mixed with the wet paint.¹⁰⁵ Recall in this context Picart's warning about skies, which he wanted "carefully done and with good paint." As to purity, painting wet-in-wet causes a general blending of colors, creating an overall murky effect, the exact opposite of "net."

To bring the elements of style and treatment into relation with adaptations by Antwerp painters to make their work more readily marketable in Paris, we will discuss very briefly the peasant scenes of Abraham Willemsen. Willemsen is now all but forgotten, though recently some signed works of his have turned up at auction and in both public and private collections.¹⁰⁶

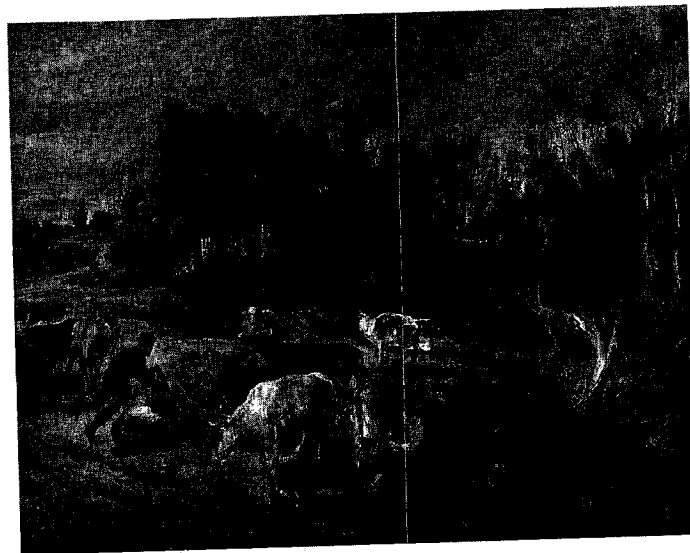


Figure 8.
Pieter Paul Rubens, Land-
scape with Cows and
Milking Farmers. Panel,

81 × 106 cm. Munich, Alte
Pinakothek, inv. no. 322.

We confine our discussion to his peasant scenes, of which only about ten with signature are known. Documentary evidence, however, allows us to say that he contributed to some 750 paintings in the two decades before his death in 1672. Most of these were religious and mythological works, and many were paintings made to decorate cabinets—he was locally famed as a master of pictures for *cantoren*.¹⁰⁷

Willemsen's peasant scenes typically have two or just a few figures prominently in the foreground, with other smaller, sketchier figures to the sides or in the distance. Notwithstanding Picart's criticism, some at least of Willemsen's main figures seem elegantly drawn and posed, as may be judged from the pair in his *Farm Scene* (fig. 7). The male figure resembles a type repeatedly used with some variation by both Rubens, as in his *Landscape with Cows and Milking Farmers* (fig. 8), and by his most talented engravers, Lucas Vorsterman among others.¹⁰⁸ Willemsen was, in fact, a copyist of some merit. In another painting, *Shepherdess and Shepherd Making Music*, the main figures resemble those in one of Rubens's "Rainbow" paintings (only in reverse), a copy of which, we know, Willemsen made, possibly from a print.¹⁰⁹ And in Willemsen's only known fully signed mythological work,

Minerva and the Muses Making Music on Mount Helicon (fig. 9), the figures and their disposition are copied from an earlier version by Jan I Bruegel, Joos de Momper, and Hendrik van Balen (see fig. 10).¹¹⁰ Here and in other paintings, we may add, Willemsen's figures have the demeanor that one would expect of an artist sensitive to decorum, a quality prized in the exemplary modern Italian artists.

Their Netherlandish lineage notwithstanding, Willemsen's peasants often are placed deliberately in recognizably Italianate settings (see fig. 7). Such ruins lent an air of theatricality to the performances of his peasants. In dubbing these scenes "performances," however, we mean to draw attention to other, though related, features. First, these peasants engaged only in highly selective husbandry. Unlike Bruegel, there are no ploughmen stumbling across newly turned sod, no pruners of wintry branches, no sweaty scythiers; there is no slaughtering of animals, nor muckraking of the barn after winter. The only activities seem to be preparing milk for churning, caring for a pack animal at the end of the day, the loading of a donkey for market, gathering of vegetables (not in the field, but for display and sale), all aspects of a marginally urban rather than a ruggedly rural existence. Finally, not only are the activities carefully selected, they are also rendered cleansed of any roughness and unpleasantness: there is no mud on clothes or beasts, there is no cowpad to be stepped over, nor is any animal urinating, unlike Rubens's *Landscape with Cows and Milking Farmers* (fig. 8). Hogs, also, are noticeably absent. And the ground underfoot is miraculously dry and clean despite milling sheep, goats, ducks, and chickens.

In Willemsen's sanitized portrayals of natural harmony, nothing, it seems, actually places the viewer very close to nature. In this his pictures do indeed resemble staged activities. The performances of his "noble peasants" resonate with the practiced niceties of the salon, claiming for themselves thereby a role in the salon's conversation space. At bottom, these paintings were posed, inoffensive, pleasant.

In addition to setting the terms for their own reception, in this respect, Willemsen's peasant scenes also incorporated some of the peculiarly Netherlandish features that still appealed in Paris. There are detailed and accurate depictions of small farmyard creatures: ducks, rabbits, dogs. And there are still life elements well drawn and exquisitely finished in paint: burnished pots and pans, vegetables crisp and all but edible. This was *kurieus* work plus *trompe l'oeil* in one, realistic in its elements if not in overall effect.



Figure 9.

Abraham Willemsen, *Minerva and the Muses Making Music on Mount Helicon*. Present location unknown (sold at Christie's

London, 29 March 1968, lot 70).
Oil on copper, 58.4 × 109.2 cm.
London, Christie's Images.



Figure 10.

Joos de Momper the Younger,
Hendrik van Balen, Jan
Bruegel the Elder, *Helicon or
Minerva's Visit to the Muses*.

Oil on panel, 140 × 199 cm.
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum
voor Schone Kunsten, inv.
no. 957.

There is one step still to be taken. We need to connect Picart's order, his instructions, and Willemssen's adaptations, to an actual Parisian collection. The collection which presents itself is that of the duke and duchess of Orléans. This collection, inventoried in 1671 after the untimely death of the duchess, matches closely in subjects and artists our representative order from Picart of March 1663. Picart himself was retained to prepare this inventory.¹¹¹ This fact, together with the types of paintings involved, suggests that many of the Netherlandish works at least had been sold by him to the royal couple. We cannot be certain of this, but collateral evidence is strongly suggestive. One detail of relevance is the large number of attributed Netherlandish works in the collection (see table 3). The attributions extend to many categories, which was somewhat unusual (compare table 2), suggesting that the inventory taker may have been listing things he himself had supplied. There is also the fact that the collection contained no less than seven paintings listed as being by "Abraham." These are almost certainly works by Abraham Willemssen. Even if they were signed, in what appears to be his usual manner, either "AB. [linked] W." or "AB. [linked] WILLEMSSEN[S]," probably only Picart could have listed him as "Abraham."¹¹² Unique to Willemssen (in the published correspondence), Picart once asked Musson to pass on his greetings to the artist, while Musson once invited his agent to check directly with Willemssen whether costs Musson was claiming were not accurate.¹¹³ These details strongly imply that Picart and Willemssen knew each other independently of Musson, which is very possible since Willemssen was in Paris in the mid-1640s.¹¹⁴ Further confirming close personal links between Picart and Willemssen, Picart sometimes referred to Willemssen in letters to Musson (as in the 1663 order above) as "Abram," a designation also adopted by Musson.¹¹⁵ The evidence thus suggests that it would have been entirely natural for Picart, but unlikely for another, to use this particular shorthand, especially if he had sold these paintings to the duke and duchess in the first place, with attribution.

Before listing some of the paintings, it is worth noting that the Orléans collection did not conform to the official taste at that time. Accessions to the king's collections in particular, in the period 1661 to 1671, ran five to one, Italian to Netherlandish paintings.¹¹⁶ In that decade, the royal collections increased by a total of just 65 Netherlandish paintings, out of a total of 316 works added.¹¹⁷

Miniatures and "petits tableaux" aside, of which there were some 270, the duke and duchess's collection at their Paris residence, the Palais Royal, comprised 62 paintings. No fewer than 23 were Netherlandish, in

Table 3.

Paintings in the collection of the duke and duchess of Orléans (1671).

Origin	Mythology allegory	History religious	Portrait	Landscape cityscape	Every- day life	Still life	TOTAL
Italian	2	15	9	2	—	—	28
French	—	—	5	—	—	—	5
Netherlandish	7	9	18	11	6	—	51
German	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Total	9	25	32	13	6	0	85
Attributed							
TOTAL	9	63	40	65	27	6	210

Source: Data from A. de Maintaglon, "Inventaire d'Henriette d'Angleterre," *Nouvelles Archives de l'art français*, 2nd series, (1879): 102–15.

Note: "Petits tableaux" and miniatures are not included in the total given here.

percentage terms more than twice the holdings in the king's collections.¹¹⁸ The Netherlandish works included, as one might expect, many portraits, often of members of the French and English royal families. There were 15 van Dyck portraits in all (including some "petits," and two copies). The high number of portraits is not surprising, but the high proportion attributed reflects the reputation of the author. There was in addition a copy after van Dyck's "de deux Amours" (*Ammorillo*), plus two Brill landscapes (one manner of), one Messys, two by Lucas van Leyden, one "petit tableau" by "Franque" (Frans I Francken?), and two anonymous "manière Flamande."

More revealing of the couple's taste for Netherlandish paintings are the holdings from the Château Saint-Cloud. The list there reads like a Musson shipment to Picart. The Saint-Cloud collection contained the seven paintings mentioned earlier as being by "Abraham." Four were "mesnageries de paisans," the other three a *Cain and Abel*, a *Rebecca*, and "un savetier avec sa famille." The *Cobbler* was appraised at 20 livres (roughly 16 guilders).¹¹⁹ No price was listed for the two Old Testament scenes. The four peasant scenes, however, were set at 25 livres (20 guilders) each, and were said to be "originaux." There is mention of "originals" by Willemssen in one shipment from Musson to Picart, and those also concerned peasant scenes, though priced at 28 guilders (about 35 livres).¹²⁰ There is no documentary record of Willemssen having painted a *Cain and Abel* nor a *Savetier*, though *Rebecca* and *Mesnageries* (peasant scenes) were familiar subjects to him. Though the

evidence is not conclusive, there is a high probability that these paintings were by Abraham Willemsen, as Schnapper also has observed.

Other works which are likely to have been Netherlandish include a set of four copper plates, with allegories of the *Four Elements*, at 40 livres (32 guilders) each. We know of several sets by Jan van Kessel, for which Willemsen provided *staffage*.¹²¹ Another set of four copper plates depicted scenes from the *Life of the Prodigal Son*—a common theme also for cabinet decoration. As noted above, Frans II Francken, and others, made separate paintings of banquet scenes, and of these some represented the prodigal at his most flourishing. Francken was also Picart's preferred staffagist for church interiors by Peter Neefs, of which two were listed in the inventory. Other paintings, not attributed but probably Netherlandish, were a *Belshazzar's Feast*, another common subject among works shipped by Musson to Picart; and four large landscapes with "quelques figures dedans" (*sic*).

This last group of four may have been by David II Teniers or after originals by him (perhaps by van Apshoven). Teniers occupied a prominent place in French collections in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, and particularly persuasive in the present context, is the fact that in a later Orléans inventory of 1701, there was a *Fête de village* attributed to Teniers.¹²² A painting of that title by Teniers appeared in the collection of the comtesse de Verrue in 1736.¹²³ The countess owned three others, and her son-in-law one, two of similar size and two slightly smaller, though still big enough to qualify for the descriptor *large* in the 1671 inventory.¹²⁴ All five fit the 1671 description, "quelques figures dedans," in that the dancing figures are not partaking in disorganized fashion but performing set steps in quasi-structured groups of two, four, or eight, exactly, we may note, as in the prototypical Bruegel *Peasant Wedding*, so much admired by Georges de Scudéry.

The case for Teniers must remain somewhat conjectural. One other Netherlandish family of artists, however, the Franckens, received five attributions in the 1671 inventory. A small painting at 50 livres (by "Franque") in the Palais Royal has been mentioned already. At Saint-Cloud there were four additional works, listed as being by Frans II Francken ("le jeune Franc") in the *chambre et cabinet de Mademoiselle*. The four Franckens include a copy of *An Emperor with Subjects Throwing Themselves at His Feet* (12 livres); another copy, the *Tower of Babel* (estimated at 22 livres); a third copy, *Noah's Ark* (unpriced); and an original, *Un Festin* (set at 30 livres). This "festin" could have been one of the favorites of Frans II Francken, a *Banquet of the*

Gods, or a *Scene of the Life of the Prodigal Son*, a theme that recurred in the painted *escritoires* exported from Antwerp to Paris, as mentioned above.

To summarize, attributed late-sixteenth- to early-seventeenth-century Netherlandish paintings in the Orléans collection, van Dyck (portraits plus *Ammorillo*) aside, were by Paul Bril, Abraham Willemsen, Peter I Neefs, Frans I or II Francken, David II Teniers (at least the one in the 1701 inventory, possibly more); there was also one after Rubens's *Head of Cyrus* (11 livres). Willemsen, Neefs, the Franckens, and Teniers were foremost among the artists preferred by Picart and repeatedly requested by him of his supplier in Antwerp, Musson.

Conclusion

We have identified two (out of what must be very many) novelties which helped to sustain an export trade in paintings from Antwerp to Paris in the middle of the seventeenth century. One was a new product: the modest *cantoor*, *escritoire*, or *cabinet*, to which small paintings were added for decoration. The other novelty was the practice of selecting and sanitizing certain Netherlandish elements in known products, combining them with Italianate subject matter and settings. The result in this case was a new subclass of Italo-Netherlandish derivative paintings adapted to Parisian tastes.

A dealer on the spot in Paris, Jean-Michel Picart, signaled buyer preferences, in both instances, to Antwerp painters. He injected himself directly into the Antwerp production process, a role not usually associated with dealing. His orders reflected his direct knowledge of what was selling well and what he believed would sell readily. These orders were expected to be followed to the letter in the Antwerp ateliers. Picart even issued instructions as to the treatment he wished to see. He wanted sharp outlines and a clean, smooth finish. What he did not want was the sloppily painted wet-in-wet products that were common in Antwerp.

Whose taste was he projecting? From the subjects chosen by Picart, the artists he selected, and his instructions about treatment, plus his known preference for selling to "persons of quality," we can infer that he was conveying the tastes of the salons, and to some extent the aristocracy. This is confirmed by comparing the *Cabinet* of Georges de Scudéry, a prominent salonier, with bourgeois inventory holdings for the period 1650–60, a representative shipment to Picart, and the 1671 inventory of the duke and duchess of Orléans.

The importance of the dealer in mediating between the two local cultures cannot be overemphasized. The dominant taste in Paris having shifted away from Netherlandish paintings and toward classicized Italianate products, some adaptation of Antwerp style was needed if exports to Paris were to be maintained. The shift in taste did not affect the demand for fine Italian originals, portraits in the international court styles, or sixteenth-century Netherlandish masters; with respect to them the dealer could simply play the intermediary. But for newly made Antwerp paintings he was forced to elicit from Antwerp artists something unlike what they would have produced if left to themselves. Such paintings comprised perhaps ninety percent of the Musson to Picart Antwerp-Paris export trade, by volume. It is likely then that novelties like those we have identified, and the novel roles of the dealer therein, were fundamental to the very existence of this particular trade, even if not all buyers cared as much as Picart's clients.

There is an additional payoff to the approach adopted here. Beyond yielding insights into one particular line of economic activity, it also offers a way to understand something of the reciprocal conditioning of Netherlandish, French, and Italian painting in the seventeenth century. That process has been little explored, and to the extent that it has been discussed, the focus has been on stylistic influences. Our approach traces some of these to dealer intervention. By viewing dealers as signalers of taste, as well as contractors for artists' services on a selective basis, we provide a set of connections, which, moreover, link taste and reception with the more familiar locus, production. Traditionally, production itself is addressed in the context of patronage. Dealers as prime movers, however, take us a step beyond highly individual client-artist relationships, toward the relative anonymity of tastes, types of subjects, manners of treatment, and so on. The adapted Antwerp products elicited by dealers appealed to the Italianate preferences of the Parisian salon culture. That has been our story. But the categories just listed, along with the notion of the dealer as cultural *négociant*, also make possible a new way to approach the complex triangular relationships between Rome, Paris, and Antwerp, which eventually issued in a recognizably French product.

Notes

- We wish to thank Michèle Longino, David F. Bell III, and J. Michael Montias for encouragement and suggestions, and Antoine Schnapper for supplying some important corrections and details of the seventeenth-century Parisian art market.
- 1 Picart informed Musson in 1656 that the most vendable cabinet was one of middle-size, no larger than could fit on a supporting table (fig. 1). These seem to have sold for around 150 to 250 guilders. Jan Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1949), 150; see also 151, and for prices 164, 183, 185, 186. A full discussion of prices by types of cabinet is given by Ria Fabri, *De 17de eeuwse Antwerpse kunstkast: Typologische en historische aspecten* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1991), 201–4.
 - 2 Letter written from Rome to Louis du Guernier in Paris; printed in Jacques Thuillier, "Lettres familières d'André Félibien," *XVIIe Siècle* 138 (1983): 144.
 - 3 For the same reason, it does not matter that we cannot be entirely confident that Picart did supply the duke and duchess of Orléans with paintings. The probability, however, is high, as we will argue below.
 - 4 Roland Mousnier, *Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Centre de documentation universitaire, 1969). For a comparative analysis of Paris and Antwerp, see Peter Burke, *Antwerp: A Metropolis in Comparative Perspective* (Antwerp: Martial and Snoeck, 1993), 67.
 - 5 David Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 96.
 - 6 Maland, *Culture and Society*, 141–47. For Mazarin's role see Geoffrey Treasure, *Mazarin: The Crisis of Absolutism in France* (London: Routledge, 1995).
 - 7 Michel Gareau, *Charles Le Brun: First Painter to King Louis XIV* (New York: Abrams, 1992), 33–35. Le Brun's official confirmation as chief painter to the king dated from 1664, but he had functioned in this capacity since 1661.
 - 8 Iñes Murat, *Colbert* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1984), 73, 78.
 - 9 Maland, *Culture and Society*, 102. Public streamlining of the accepted and sanctioned taste came into a new phase when public exhibitions were organized, known from 1737 onward as *salons*, but these may not be confused with the society clubs in the many Parisian Hôtels of the seventeenth century. For a good introduction to the French salons, their antecedents, and their place within European culture, see Verena von der Heyden-Rynsch, *Europäische Salons: Höhepunkten einer versunkenen weiblichen Kultur* (Munich: Artemis und Winkler, 1992).
 - 10 Nicole Aronson, *Madame de Rambouillet ou La magicienne de la Chambre bleue* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1988); and Heyden-Rynsch, *Europäische Salons*, 38–52.
 - 11 Heyden-Rynsch, *Europäische Salons*, 39.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, 29.
 - 13 We are not talking so much about quantity of paintings purchased as of new tastes articulated. As Antoine Schnapper has pointed out to us, the acquisition of paintings, for instance, by Madame de Rambouillet was minimal.

- 14 Aronson, *Madame de Rambouillet*, 12.
- 15 Heyden-Rynsch, *Europäische Salons*, 42–44. For detailed biographies of Madeleine de Scudéry, see Georges Mongrédien, *Madeleine de Scudéry et son salon* (Paris: Tallandier, 1946); and Nicole Aronson, *Mademoiselle de Scudéry* (Boston: Twayne, 1978), 151–55.
- 16 Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, "Exclusive Conversations": *The Art of Interaction in Seventeenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 17–28. Goldsmith studied thirty normative texts of writers with close ties to the Parisian salons and to Versailles. The most popular guide, modeled after Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, was Nicolas Faret's *L'honnête homme ou l'art de plaire à la cour*, first printed in 1630. For a survey of seventeenth-century conversation theory, see Christoph Strosetski, *Rhétorique de la conversation: Sa dimension littéraire et linguistique dans la société française du dix-septième siècle* (Paris: Papers on French Seventeenth-Century Literature/Biblio 17, 1984).
- 17 Madeleine de Scudéry's books on conversation include *Conversations sur divers sujets* (Paris, 1680); *Conversations nouvelles sur divers sujets* (Paris, 1684); *La Morale du monde ou Conversations* (Paris, 1686); *Nouvelles conversations de morale* (Paris, 1686); and *Entretiens de morale* (Paris, 1693). For an analysis of de Scudéry's writings see Goldsmith, "Exclusive Conversations," 41–72. The reception of her oeuvre after her death is summarized in Aronson, *Scudéry*, 151–55.
- 18 Burke, *Antwerp in Comparative Perspective*, 52.
- 19 Heyden-Rynsch, *Europäische Salons*, 43; Molière, *Les Précieuses Ridicules, comédie* . . . (Paris, 1660).
- 20 Aronson, *Madame de Rambouillet*, 101.
- 21 In fact, between 1686 and 1691 an experimental school was set up by Madame Maintenon in Saint Cyr under protection and with the support of Louis XIV. Its aim was to "educate" the daughters of impoverished nobles and shape their behavior. Interestingly, Madame de Scudéry's conversation books were used as pedagogical texts. But after a while, de Scudéry's world without hierarchy may have seemed too subversive for Saint Cyr. Her books were withdrawn and replaced by short, fragmented texts by Maintenon (Goldsmith, "Exclusive Conversations," 66–72).
- 22 In his exhibition catalogue on seventeenth-century salons, Adhémar heads a section as follows: "La 'Préciosité,' mouvement bourgeois, gagne la Cour après 1660." Jean Adhémar, *Les salons littéraires au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1968), 71.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 75.
- 24 Imagine a Venn diagram of several intersecting sets (circles).
- 25 By the end of the century, conversation manuals loosened their emphasis on replicative behavior, in part as a reaction to the extremes of court behavior at Versailles in the 1680s.
- 26 Georges de Scudéry, *Le cabinet de Monsieur de Scudéry* (1646), ed. Christian Biet and Dominique Moncond'huy (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991).
- 27 De Scudéry, *Cabinet*, 19.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 19, 336–37. Marino discusses seventy painters, but a great number of the paint-

ings are not attributed. He began in 1614, with different poems on paintings. This was reworked in 1619 to provide a more encyclopedic version, published in Venice (and revised in Paris in 1620). In his "Notice to the Reader" Marino confirms that he did not want to compose a universal museum but to eulogize the most famous painters in antiquity and the present. He employed strict categories (painting/sculpture, classification by theme in each part, hierarchical and chronological classification). Names are only mentioned in his *Favole* (mythological scenes/portraits) and *Historie* (biblical scenes and lives of saints). The *Ritratti* (portraits) are left unattributed and names arise only occasionally for *Capricci* (still lifes).

- 29 Inventories of Parisian collections of the period between 1602 and 1660 seldom contain attributions, as table 2 confirms, at least for the decade 1650–60. See G. Wildenstein, "Le goût pour la peinture dans la bourgeoisie parisienne au début du règne de Louis XIII," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 27bis (1950): 153–274.
- 30 De Scudéry, *Cabinet*, 17.
- 31 Adhémar, *Salons littéraires*, 21.
- 32 De Scudéry, *Cabinet*, 92, 95, 97, 114, 116, 230.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 276, 279.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 230, 271 n. 1.
- 35 To judge from the comments made in the poem, this one may have looked something like *The Wedding Dance* in The Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. no. 30.374; panel, 119.3 x 157.5 cm. See especially Walter S. Gibson, *Bruegel* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 159–62; and for a brief introduction with bibliography, Hans J. Van Miegroet, "Pieter Bruegel the Elder," in *Flemish Paintings in America*, ed. Guy C. Bauman and Walter A. Liedtke (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1992), 138–40.
- 36 De Scudéry, *Cabinet*, 238–40. In his lengthy tribute de Scudéry elaborated on this theme: "O que dans cette peinture / L'art se cache adroitement! / Tout y paraît simplement. / comme l'a fait la nature." He recognizes in this Bruegel "naïveté," a faithful depiction of reality. He seems to suggest that when a genre is classified in the hierarchy of types as mediocre, paintings of this sort can render a scene real, since they are not required to display either *esprit* or platonic *noblesse* (also see *Cabinet*, 58).
- 37 *Ibid.*, 119, 189, 213, 277. There is a conceptual distinction adhering to the expressions *trompe l'oeil* and *tromper les yeux*. De Piles used the latter. *Tromper les yeux*, as Svetlana Alpers has rightly observed, can encompass the idea that the viewer is fully aware of the deception, even invites it and may use it as an occasion for conversation about the painter's art. See Svetlana Alpers, *The Making of Rubens* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), 79. We will use *trompe l'oeil* as the more familiar expression but allow implicitly for the expanded sense.
- 38 De Scudéry, *Cabinet*, 53. Also see M. Faré, *La nature morte en France*, vol. 1 (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1962), 16; cited in de Scudéry, *Cabinet*, 120 n. 1. There is also a strong overlap between de Piles and de Scudéry, though de Piles only lists 56 painters. At least 22 of the 47 Italians mentioned in the *Cabinet* (total of 43 in de Piles) also feature in de Piles's comparative list, 4 of the 21 Netherlanders mentioned in the *Cabinet*

- (total of 9 in de Piles), 2 of the 40 French in the *Cabinet* (total of 2 in de Piles), and 1 German (total of 2 in de Piles). See Roger de Piles, *The Principles of Painting* (London, 1743 [1708]), 297–300.
- 39 For a discussion of these distinctions, see Neil De Marchi and Hans J. Van Miegroet, "Pricing Invention: 'Originals,' 'Copies,' and their Relative Value in Early Modern Netherlandish Art Markets," in Victor Ginsburgh and Pierre-Michel Menger, eds., *Studies in the Economics of the Arts* (North-Holland: Amsterdam, 1996), 29–45.
- 40 Roger Benjamin, "Recovering Authors: The Modern Copy, Copy Exhibitions, and Matisse," *Art History* 12 (1989): 177–78.
- 41 Maland, *Culture and Society*, 243, quoting a letter of 1669.
- 42 This he did to such good effect that in 1701 only 51 printing shops were left, as compared with 75 in 1644 and 181 in 1500. The licensing of engraving and publishing, including straightforward censorship of politically significant engraved portraits, was particularly rigid in seventeenth-century Paris. Prestige publications, such as the *Gazette* (est. 1631), the *Journal des Savants* (est. 1665), and the *Mercure Galant* (est. 1672) were generously supported by the state and did little to relieve the control from above. See Burke, *Antwerp: A Metropolis* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993), 52–53.
- 43 Jean-Jacques Laydu, *Les graveurs flamands à Paris vers la fin du XVIe siècle* (Brussels: 1960).
- 44 Eugène Bouvy, *La gravure de portraits et d'allégories* (Paris-Brussels: G. Van Oest, 1929), 2.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 81, figs. 64–66, 76. Van Schuppen collaborated in Paris with Robert Nanteuil (1623?–1678), signed the marriage licence of Edelinck (together with Nanteuil, Philippe de Champaigne, and Le Brun), and collaborated with him on the *Hommes Illustres* of Perrault.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 72–73, figs. 72–75, 77–79.
- 47 Of his ca. 339 engravings, 44 were religious compositions, histories, or mythologies; 110 were reproductions of sculptures and medals; while 200 were portraits. Edelinck painted portraits of Philippe de Champaigne, Le Brun, Nanteuil, Frans Hals, Kneller, de Troy, Coypel, Jouvenet, Largillière, and Rigaud. He also engraved portraits of his friends, including de Champaigne, Rigaud, Nanteuil, Simian, Israel, Sylvestre, and no less than thirteen portraits of Louis XIV.
- 48 Adhémar, *Les salons littéraires*, xi.
- 49 Among the other documented members of the "nation flamande" were Guillaume Altzenbach (Liège 1637; naturalized in 1679), print dealer; Francois Campion (Flemish origin) mentioned in Paris in the 1640s; Jan Edelinck (Antwerp 1643; naturalized 1675), along with his more famous brother Gérard, engravers and print dealers in Paris in 1666; Pierre Elle, called Ferdinand (Flemish origin; b. 20 March 1617), landscape painter, publisher, and print dealer; Pierre and Jaspas Firens (Middelburg; family of book sellers), engravers, publishers, and print dealers in contact with Plantin, mentioned in Paris ca. 1619; Jaspas Isaac (Antwerp origin) mentioned as "flaman de nation," engraver, publisher, print dealer, in Paris beginning of the seventeenth century; Paul La Houve (?), dealer in prints and paintings, mentioned in Paris in 1598; Henry Le Roy (Rotterdam), print dealer, first mentioned in 1604; Thomas de Leu (Oudenaarde), engraver and print dealer, studied with Jan Ditmaer in Antwerp, mentioned in 1583; Gaspar Mareschal (Antwerp), print dealer and illuminator; Nicolas I Pitau (Antwerp 1633), engraver and print dealer; Jean van der Bruggen (Brussels 1649), engraver and print dealer; Michel van Lochem (Flemish 1601), engraver and print dealer; Jacques van Merle (Antwerp origin), engraver and print dealer. For more biographical details and documentation, see Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle*, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes—IVe section—Sciences historiques et philologiques, VI Histoire et Civilisation du Livre, 16 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1986).
- 50 Most of our information on this piece of furniture and the painters involved in its decoration is derived from the meticulous research of Ria Fabri, *De 17de eeuwse Antwerpse kunstkast: Typologische en historische aspecten*; and Ria Fabri, *De 17de eeuwse Antwerpse kunstkast: Kunsthistorische aspecten* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1993). See too her catalogue entries in *Antwerp, Story of a Metropolis: 16th-17th Century* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju 1993), 340–45.
- 51 Fabri, *Antwerpse kunstkast: Typologische en historische aspecten*, 17.
- 52 We also know artists such as Adriaan van Stalbempt, Peter van Lint, and Erasmus II Quellinus to have made small paintings for cabinets.
- 53 More information on the assumed Spanish-Moorish origins of the *escritorio* (or the *vargueño* as it later came to be called) is to be found in Simon Jervis, "A Tortoiseshell Cabinet and Its Precursors," *Bulletin of the Victoria and Albert Museum* 4 (1968): 132–43.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 133.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 134.
- 56 Monique Riccardi-Cubitt, *The Art of the Cabinet* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 42.
- 57 *Ibid.*, 38–39.
- 58 Fabri, *Antwerpse kunstkast: Typologische en historische aspecten*, 19.
- 59 Riccardi-Cubitt, *Art of the Cabinet*, 50.
- 60 This was the case, for instance, in Eger, where cabinets with relief *intarsio* were presented to generals Piccolomini, Wrangel, and Colloredo, as well as to Archduke Wilhelm of Austria. The Eck family seems to have been the first to introduce this famous relief *intarsio*, which later became a trademark of the decorated Eger cabinets produced by Eck, Fischer, Bauer, Haberstumpf, Haberlits, and Dreschler. Many pieces were exported between 1640 and 1730. See Riccardi-Cubitt, *Art of the Cabinet*, 78.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 48.
- 62 A new product line, small ebony cabinets, began in Antwerp soon after 1585. Alfons Thijs, "De Nijverheid te Antwerpen voor en na 1585," in Francine de Nave, ed., *Antwerpen en de scheiding der Nederlanden (17 augustus 1585)* (Antwerp: Museum

- Plantin-Moretus, 1986), 81. Cabinets with paintings are recorded from 1627, though a Jan I Bruegel painting of 1617 shows one. Fabri, *Antwerpse kunstkast: Typologische en historische aspecten*, 48.
- 63 Elizabeth Honig, "The Beholder as Work of Art: A Study in the Location of Value in Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting," in Reindert Falkenburg et al., eds., *Beeld en Zelfbeeld in de Nederlandse Kunst, 1550–1750* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1995), 253–97.
- 64 For more details on *pietra dura*, see Riccardi-Cubitt, *Art of the Cabinet*, 73–77.
- 65 Fabri, *Antwerpse kunstkast: Typologische en historische aspecten*, 29.
- 66 Ibid., 52–56; Fabri, *Antwerpse kunstkast: Kunsthistorische aspecten*, 16.
- 67 Ibid., 48.
- 68 Ibid., 53.
- 69 The original remark reads, "Celuy-cy étoit non seulement un bon Peintre, mais un bel Esprit qui savoit son art par principes, et qui étoit non seulement un bon Peintre, mais un bel Esprit, et qui étoit savant dans les belles Lettres." De Piles, *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres* (Paris, 1699), 394; quoted in Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 188.
- 70 *Niche* is defined in the *Oxford Universal Dictionary* as "A place or position adapted to the character, or suited to the merits, of a person or thing" (1726); cf. "The work fills a niche of its own and is without competitor" (1869). The word has recently reemerged, in marketing literature, with these connotations. The effect of changeable market conditions is analyzed in Neil De Marchi, Hans J. Van Miegroet, and Matthew E. Raiff, "Dealer-Dealer Pricing in the 17th-Century Antwerp-Paris Art Trade" (unpublished paper, 1997).
- 71 The Flemish artists' colony is investigated at length by Evangélie Toliopolou, "L'art et les artistes des Pays-Bas à Paris au dix-septième siècle" (Ph.d. diss., University of Paris, 1991).
- 72 This and other information is from Michel Faré, "Jean-Michel Picart (1600–1682), peintre de fleurs et marchand de tableaux," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art Français* (1957): 92–93.
- 73 Jacques Thuillier, "Académie et classicisme en France: les débuts de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1648–1663," in Stefano Bottari, ed., *Il Mito del Classicismo nel Seicento* (Messina: D'Anna, 1964), 181–209; 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.: Yale University Press, 1994), chap. 6.
- 74 Antoine Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle: Collections et collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe Siècle, part 2, Oeuvres d'Art* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), 56; and, in more detail, Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990), 119–31. See also Martin Kemp and Margaret Walker, *Leonardo on Painting* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); and Kate Trauman Steinitz, *Leonardo da Vinci's Trattato della Pittura: A Bibliography* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1958).
- 75 Some French writers seem to have used expressions such as *peintres de Flandre* and *Flamand* to refer to all "Northern" art—that of the Low Countries and of Germany. Picart, on the other hand, preferred the term *Netherlandish*, and applied it strictly to the Southern Netherlands and the Dutch Republic to the north. For an example of the encompassing use of *Flemish*, see Paul Lacroix, "Lettre [of Antoine-Joseph Des-Alliers ou Dezallier d'Argenville] sur le choix et l'arrangement d'une cabinet curieux en 1727," *Revue Universelle des Arts* 18 (1863–64): 165.
- 76 Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 277–78.
- 77 Ibid., 161, 177, 224, 252.
- 78 Discussion of treatment in the Academy must be extracted from Félibien's published summaries of the *conférences* held from 1667, at Colbert's insistence. See André Félibien, *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture pendant l'année 1667* (Paris, 1668). These discussions lie outside the period of Picart's activity with which we are directly concerned. For that reason, but also because we are able to match his order and instructions with the Orléans collection, we have elected to make only minimal reference to the Academy on treatment.
- 79 Useful complementary details about various of Picart's shipments have been published by J. Michael Montias, *Le Marché de l'art aux Pays-Bas: XVe–XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), chap. 5.
- 80 Representative in the sense of size, the narrow range of sorts, and the connections that can be inferred between the language of Picart's instructions and that of the salons.
- 81 Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 231; and Erik Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens betreffende de kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson en Maria Fourmenois te Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681* (Ghent, 1969); repr. of *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde* 21 (1968): 230.
- 82 For example, in Denucé's transcription: ". . . de tronien soo bourachtich nit en maect dan delicat." Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 260.
- 83 This is possibly the version (or one similar) in the Accademia di San Luca, Rome. Picart requested several of these, all done by Balthazar van Cortbemde (ibid., 241, 244–45).
- 84 Some years before, in 1657, Picart had specified that the face of the Virgin should be "sweet and delicate" (ibid., 175).
- 85 Previously with Old and New Testament scenes as well as scenes from Ovid (ibid., 218).
- 86 Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens*, 210, 224.
- 87 Present location unknown (sold at Christie's London, 19 April 1991, lot 90); oil on canvas, 92.7 x 124.1 cm; Signed "AB. [linked] WILLEMSSENS.FE." See Gregory Martin, "The Maître aux béguins: A Proposed Identification," *Apollo* (February 1991): 113, plate 1.
- 88 Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 278.
- 89 The warning apparently was needed. These undesirables were depicted prominently in van Kessel's series of four paintings with the Four Continents, painted between 1664 and 1666, and now in Munich, Alte Pinakothek; oil on copper, each 14.5 x 21 cm.

- See Ulla Krempel, *Jan van Kessel d.A.: Die vier Erdteile* (Munich: Alte Pinakothek, 1973); and recent reproductions in Norbert Schneider, *Stilleben: Realität und Symbolik der Dinge; Die Stillebenmalerei der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1994), 162–65.
- 90 Picart had taken over from Musson's stepson, Philips de Wael, in 1659 a number of small paintings, among them fish and birds (compare Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 199; and Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens*, 222, doc. no. 35). He ordered some on his own account in 1660 (Denucé, 218, 229), possibly at twelve guilders each (Duverger, 105, 211).
- 91 Early in 1662 Picart had acquired through Musson some works of this sort by van de Velde (Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens*, 117).
- 92 Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 183, 229.
- 93 For a discussion of this seemingly paradoxical demand, though in reference to the later publications of de Piles, see Thomas Puttfarcken, *Roger de Piles' Theory of Art* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), 52.
- 94 Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 246.
- 95 See De Marchi, Van Miegroet, and Raiff, "Dealer-Dealer Pricing."
- 96 Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens*, 211, 228.
- 97 Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 247.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 276. For what appears to be Picart's reply, see p. 269.
- 99 *Ibid.*, 259. Ex-Antwerp prices included production costs and Musson's gross margin, but not transport, insurance, and freight costs, which were for Picart, nor any allowance for his profit.
- 100 Van Neeck, it seems, along with a certain van de Put, was also supplying Belavoine or Lanfan, or both, two of Picart's rivals, with small, cheap canvases. But this emerged only later (*ibid.*, 271, 308).
- 101 *Ibid.*, 188; cf. 150, 259.
- 102 *Ibid.*, 281–82. There is a possible problem with Denucé's transcription at this point and the meaning alters depending on whether "heel" should read "veel." Picart elsewhere suggested that demand for van Kessel's work was not strong: "dar en is soo veel nit te doen met syn dingen" (*ibid.*, 269).
- 103 *Ibid.*, 283.
- 104 François Lebrun, "The Two Reformations: Communal Devotion and Personal Piety," in Roger Chartier, ed., *A History of Private Life, III: Passions of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1989), 98–99.
- 105 Commentary on DuFresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*, English translation by John Dryden (London, 1695), 175.
- 106 These have been signalled chiefly by Gregory Martin of Christie's; see "The Maître aux béguins," 112–15; and "Abraham Willemsens (Again): More News of Attributions in Flemish Painting," *Apollo* (February 1993): 97–101. Martin notes various attributions made recently to Willemsen (Willemsens). The number of known "signed" works is small. They comprise, with one exception (fig. 9 below), "peasant scenes." Numerous religious paintings, with a monogram that could be Willemsen's, though it is different from that found on the fully signed or monogrammed peasant scenes, await further investigation.
- 107 The dealer Willem Forchondt sent his son to spend two years learning this specialty under Willemsen. Fabri, *Antwerpse kunstkaas: Kunsthistorische aspecten*, 88–89; see also 102, 103, and references there given to Willemsen's production.
- 108 Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. no. 322; panel, 81 × 106 cm. See *Alte Pinakothek München: Erläuterungen zu den ausgestellten Gemälden* (Munich: Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, 1983), 473–74. Another example may be Lucas Vorsterman's washed drawing after Rubens's *Adoration of the Shepherds* for St. John in Mechelen (now in Marseille), which also appeared in print. Rubens made several drawn and painted studies of this particular figure, mentioned by L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings* (Brussels: Arcade Press, 1963), 90; and summarized by John Rowlands, *Rubens: Drawings and Sketches* (London: British Museum, 1977), 75.
- 109 Signed "AB. [linked] W." Present location unknown (sold at Christie's London, 11 December 1992, lot 62); oil on canvas, 121 × 95 cm. See Martin, "Abraham Willemsens (Again)," 101, plate 9. Willemsen's copy, "Regenboech, naer Rubbens," is mentioned in Musson's list of purchases from artists in 1651. See Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 116.
- 110 The Willemsen *Minerva and the Muses Making Music on Mount Helicon*, signed "ABRAHAM WILLEMSSEN." Present location unknown (sold at Christie's London, 29 March 1968, lot 70); oil on copper, 58.4 × 109.2 cm. See Enrique Valdivieso, "Dos pinturas de Abraham Willemsen en el Museo del Prado y otras obras de este pintor en España," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 7 (1986): 166–72; and Martin, "The Maître aux béguins," 115, plate 4. For the Bruegel–de Momper–van Balen version (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 957; oil on panel, 140 × 199 cm; signed "BALE. MOMPER. BRUEGHEL"), see *Van Bruegel tot Rubens: De Antwerpse schilderschool, 1550–1650* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993), 104–5, no. 34.
- 111 Antoine Schnapper first drew attention to this inventory, in his invaluable *Curieux du Grand Siècle II*, 348–51. The portion relating to paintings was published by A. de Maintaglon, "Inventaire d'Henriette d'Angleterre," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 2nd series, 1 (1879): 102–15. In fact, the inventory was of property held in common, as de Maintaglon noted and Schnapper has confirmed.
- 112 Picart's rival Belavoine also dealt in Willemsens, but his clientele, the evidence suggests, was below the level of the duke and the duchess.
- 113 Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 180; Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens*, 203.
- 114 J. Denucé, *Exportation des oeuvres d'art au 17e siècle à Anvers: La firme Forchoudt* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1931), 282–83.
- 115 Duverger, *Nieuwe gegevens*, 230–31; and Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 125.
- 116 Based on information drawn from Arnaud Brejon de Lavergnée, *L'Inventaire Le Brun de 1683: La collection des tableaux de Louis XIV* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1987). Most of the Netherlandish paintings acquired in this

- period came from two sales out of the Jabach collection. As the list in note 117 makes clear, they were by older generations of painters than many in the Orléans collection.
- 117 In the following list, the numbers in parentheses refer to the catalogue numbers from Le Brun's inventory. The fifty-nine attributed Southern Netherlandish works comprised six *paysages* by Paul Brill (71, 85, 127, 245, 322, 323), five by Sustris (56, 156, 186, 252, 266), two works by Jan I Brueghel and Hendrik van Balen (99, 105), two by Lamarre (304, 305), two by Pourbus (86, 321), one by Bol (243), one by Jan II Bruegel (219), two by Joos van Cleve (104, 244), fifteen van Dycks (65, 76, 112, 126, 200, 201, 229, 262, 263, 264, 288, 320, 352, 353, 362), six Fouquières (four *paysages*: 83, 84, 89, 115; a market: 270; and a "winter": 366), three country/peasant scenes by Jan Miel (87, 106, 286), five de Mompers (220, 221, 222, 223, 224), one Monogrammist of Brunswick (237), two Anthonis Mors (185, 276), a Pieter I Neefs (226), four Rubenses (268, 297, 289, 324), and a Willem Key (116).
- 118 Schnapper, in *Curieux du Grand Siècle II*, repeatedly calls attention to the fact that nobles did not confine their acquisitions to what was officially approved. In the case of the king and the duc d'Orléans, no love was lost between the two men. Moreover, the duke and duchess enjoyed Parisian society to the full, as the king did not. There is no difficulty therefore in believing that the Orléans collection was as much influenced by salon culture as by the official taste.
- 119 This and the other translations between livres and guilders are drawn from current or near-current exchange rates in John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978). Silver equivalents are ignored; instead annual average Sterling equivalents of *livres Tournois* and of guilders in exchange by bills are used, with guilders banco being first adjusted by the agio. See tables 2.6 and 5.1.
- 120 Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens*, 253. Schnapper, in recent work, has clarified that the estimates of value listed in inventories *après décès* were intended as the low starting point of bidding at the public sale which often followed. The estimates were deliberate undervaluations, perhaps by as much as fifty percent, though actual realizations at sale could vary widely relative to estimations. See Antione Schnapper, "Les inventaires après décès, les ventes publiques et le marché de l'art à Paris au XVIIIème siècle" (unpublished paper, 1997).
- 121 Between mid-1655 and early 1659 Picart ordered or handled no fewer than seven sets of the *Elements* from Musson, though not all by van Kessel and Willemsen.
- 122 Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle II*, 353.
- 123 Margret Klinge, *David Teniers de Jonge: Schilderijen, Tekeningen* (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1991), no. 50 (*Kermis*).
- 124 *Ibid.*, nos. 24, 58, 88, 89.

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