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Upwardly Mobile:
Genre Painting and the Conflict between
Landed and Moneyed Interests

Tableaux de mode—fashion pictures—was the term that contemporaries gave to the numerous painted genre scenes, characterized as aristocratic, courtly, or urbane, that began to appear in Paris during the 1720s, as no appropriate definition was available within the hierarchy of subject categories recognized by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. Until now, these pictures have been interpreted as the manifestation of a social and cultural elite, the so-called *gens du monde*, that was emerging in Paris in the first decades of the eighteenth century.[1] In emulation of Watteau-like *fêtes galantes* and influenced by Dutch genre paintings, also popular with French collectors since the early eighteenth century, this new pictorial type focused on the elegant society of Paris and offered a convincing portrayal of customs and fashions: hunting scenes, games, dancing, gallant indoor festivities, and conversations outdoors. These diversions make up the subject matter of the scenes. They are clearly not moralizing;[2] it is the pleasant, idle aspects of a fashionable, aristocratic life that are given emphasis in the *tableaux de mode*. Other roles of the nobility, such as the administration of property, caring for the poor, and military service, are unrepresented. This absence may be an indication that the genre scenes depict a way of life that arose specifically within the Parisian milieu, where prosperous members of the nobility lived at a good distance from their estates. As far as can be documented, those who commissioned and collected *tableaux de mode* in the early eighteenth century came from every level of elite urban society: nobles at court, aristocrats, and wealthy bourgeois (for example, financiers and *fermiers généraux*) collected or surrounded themselves with scenes that even today can immediately be recognized as representing an aristocratic ideal of life.

If we look more closely at the composition of this elite group, we find a noticeable change in its sociological structure during the early 1720s. In the seventeenth century fashionable life remained almost exclusively within the purview of the court, and Versailles was the stage. Beginning in the eighteenth century, however, and accelerated by the death of Louis XIV in 1715 and the excesses of the early years of the succeeding Regency, a social stratum developed in Paris that, in contrast to its courtly precursor, underwent an expansion, allowing the integration of formerly excluded groups. The social and cultural elite now included not just the rich, landed *noblesse de l'épée* but also members of the nonhereditary nobility (*noblesse de robe*), as well as writers and representatives of the haute bourgeoisie who had quickly acquired immense fortunes during the Regency through commerce and speculation.[3] They gathered at meeting places such as the salons, notably the one at the residence of Anne-Thérèse de Marguenat de Courcelles, marquise de Lambert.[4]

In spite of their different social backgrounds, all members of this new elite were bound by economic, political, and intellectual interests, and they possessed, above all, a common and unifying ideal of life that was shaped by the model of the aristocracy. This ideal was based on the concept of the *honnête homme,* which, following the Italian model, had been propagated in numerous French publications since the seventeenth century.[5] In the early eighteenth century, what had been a broadly defined, courtly ideal of virtue was reduced in the minds of the new elite to the characteristics attributed to the *honnête homme,* in the words of Anette Höfer and Rolf Reichhardt: "adaptability, flexibility, and the command of refined social manners." This notion of the courtly gentleman may have amounted to nothing more than the code of gallantry and politeness that governed male members of the elite, but recognizing the narrowing of the earlier ideal is essential to understanding the development of this new pictorial form.[6] Around 1720 genre painting began to reflect the behavior and fashions of the new urban elite, offering numerous examples on the highest artistic level, thereby representing this group's social entitlement as well as its cultural influence. The life of the *gens de qualité* or of the elite *gens du monde* was anchored in the social hierarchy of the Ancien Régime and thus already privileged with an exemplary status. Now this life acquired the character of a "valorizing image." However, this development only partly explains the emergence of the *tableau de mode.*

In spite of a status-conscious and even compulsory hierarchy of genres within the Royal Academy, scenes from the "daily life of *'gens de qualité'* who were presentable at court" were now accepted as the subjects of pictures even by members of the Academy.[7] This broadening of subject matter was due to fundamental changes in the art market, to previously unexploited public support for art, and to shifting interests among collectors. In the rare cases when art historians have studied the *tableaux de mode,* they have achieved little more than the identification of specific objects, subjects, or figures, and perhaps contributed usefully to the investigation of provenance.[8] In general, they have uncritically accepted these pictures as straightforward documentation of the aristo-cratic lifestyle. Amazingly, the *tableau de mode*—the reflection par excellence of aristocratically shaped society in eighteenth-century France—has also been ignored in important sociologically oriented works on the art of the period.[9] This is all the more problematic because the emergence of *tableaux de mode* is connected with contemporaneous and powerful changes in society, and in my opinion these pictures are closely linked to the increasing strength of bourgeois circles within the tone-setting Parisian elite. The critical question here is whether we can identify a type of "aristocratic" picture that bridges classes and establishes binding formulas for all members of the elite, be they haute bourgeois or noble. The common denominator of these classes was the model of an aristocratic way of life. How, then, are we to define the function of such pictures as significant representations of members of the wealthy bourgeoisie when these self-depictions are modeled on an aristocratic archetype? Why did the representation of "everyday life" become significant for the French social elite at a specific moment of radical social change, and, furthermore, why did it become an important subject in French (genre) painting, if only for a limited time?

Let us look at the well-off group who were potential commissioners and collectors of the *tableaux de mode* of Jean-François de Troy (1679–1752). Although only some of these patrons can be identified, a glance reveals the diverse ways in which they fit into the upper level of the French social pyramid, from the rich bourgeoisie to the king. Unlike costume engravings or reproductive engravings of the *tableaux de mode,* which could be consumed by a broader, middle-class stratum, these paintings were intended for the same social set that populated the scenes themselves.[10] For example, de Troy's *Young Woman Drinking Coffee* (1723; fig. 1) hung along with its pendant, *The Reader,* in the collection of Jean de Jullienne.[11] Member of a well-known family of textile manufacturers and merchants and later director of the Gobelins tapestry manufactory, Jullienne was not elevated to the peerage until 1736. Today he is known primarily as a collector and as publisher of the *Recueil Jullienne,* the corpus of reproductive engravings after Watteau.[12]

1. Jean-François de Troy, *Young Woman Drinking Coffee*, 1723, oil
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz Gemäldegalerie

Pierre Prousteau, who is identified as "Capitaine des gardes de la Ville" in the 1769 auction catalogue of his collection; we otherwise know little about his social origins and life. In addition to the wine trade, he was engaged as "marchand-amateur of paintings, with an entrepreneurial interest in engravings after them."[16] In 1734 and 1737 four contracts were drawn up by the Bâtiments du roi for large-format genre scenes to be placed in the dining rooms of the king's *petits appartements* at Versailles and Fontainebleau. For Versailles, de Troy painted the famous *Oyster Luncheon* (see fig. 6) and for Fontainebleau *The Hunt Luncheon* (fig. 2).[17]

In view of the very wide-ranging social backgrounds of the collectors, including the king as first among equals, de Troy's example suggests the existence of a more or less homogeneous social elite that, according to Pierre Goubert and Daniel Roche, had developed at the highest level of society in the first decades of the eighteenth century, in which differences of birth and class disappeared. Goubert and Roche suggest that the only decisive qualifications for membership in this social elite were factors like "opulence, luxury, and taste."[18] In the intellectual urban milieu, for instance, in salon circles, differences of birth became increasingly irrelevant. Class barriers played scarcely any role in the realm of connoisseurship; this is highlighted in the preface to the 1744 auction catalogue edited by Edme-François Gersaint (1694–1750) of the collection of Quentin de Lorangère, where it says of the *curieux* and collectors: "[Gersaint] becomes the equal of those very individuals, who, free to engage in this noble passion, are above his status on account of their rank or their condition. As such, he is summoned and received with pleasure to their gatherings."[19]

More recent historical research, however, has repeatedly questioned the social reality of an elite encompassing various classes such as that described by Goubert and Roche. Instead, the aspiration to achieve a shared ideal of life confronted class distinctions that were still valid within French society, with reference to numerous class-based tensions among the elite.[20] In spite of the "unifying" image of a cultural elite, the financiers and rich bourgeoisie saw themselves at the

Another eager collector of *tableaux de mode* was Germain-Louis de Chauvelin, *garde des sceaux* and minister of foreign affairs from 1727 to 1737, who, although a member of the court, did not belong to one of the great noble families and was viewed by his contemporaries as a parvenu.[13] He owned the pendants *A Lady Attaching a Bow to a Gentleman's Sword* and *A Lady Showing a Bracelet Miniature to Her Suitor* (both in a private collection) that de Troy painted in 1734.[14] One year later de Chauvelin ordered two famous pendants from de Troy, *Before the Ball* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles) and *After the Ball* (private collection); however, de Chauvelin's fall from favor in 1737, along with banishment to his own lands, made it impossible for him to take possession of the pictures.[15] They were finally purchased by the wine merchant Salomon-

mercy of incessant, class-motivated attacks, above all in the realm of art patronage. A quotation from "Notes, et des réflexions sur les Tableaux de M. de Troy," by Louis-Guillaume Baillet de Saint-Julien—an appendix to his *Lettre sur la peinture, la sculpture et l'architecture* of 1748—clearly shows the tenor of the hostility faced by rich and aspiring members of the new elite. Saint-Julien wrote about the works of the seventeenth-century French

painter Simon Vouet, which could be admired at thousands of places, including the gallery of the Hôtel de Bullion:

Many have lamented that the most beautiful monuments of antiquity were the prey of barbarians. Without going back to such times past, are we not seeing similar things in our day, when these superb edifices, which should be the residences of princes, become those of financiers? It seems to be a misfortune bound to the richest productions of art, to fall in the hands of people who appreciate less their value than that of the gold used to acquire them.[21]

Molière's Monsieur Jourdain, *bourgeois gentilhomme* and parvenu par excellence, was not just a caricature but a social reality. He represented in concentrated form the image of an enemy that the aristocracy was adept at deprecating and excluding. In what follows I will examine the extent to which levels of meaning rooted in class should be taken into account in analyzing genre painting, whether the aristocratic genre had an integrating effect in the sense of an "aesthetic agreement"[22] or may even have been consciously used by social climbers to demonstrate their membership in the elite. Depending on the social background of the patron or collector as well as that of the viewer (whether nobility, bourgeoisie, or even the king), an analysis of the representation of aristocratic models of behavior in the *tableaux de mode* needs to consider various levels of meaning, even though such an analysis must rely on sometimes meager sources, as this category of paintings has been almost completely ignored by art criticism.[23]

Because scholarship on the *tableaux de mode* has not yet adequately studied the complex and variously composed social structure of the new elite, dubious and often contradictory conclusions have been drawn in the detailed analysis of these pictures. For instance, individual pictorial elements obviously correspond to the different milieus from which commissions were coming. Hence, the partly unfastened dress worn by the young woman in de Troy's *The Garter* of 1724 (Jane Wrightsman Collection, New York) was described by Everett Fahy as "typical of the haute bourgeoisie,"[24] whereas a woman in a similar, although fastened, dress in *The Declaration of Love* of 1731 (Sanssouci Palace, Potsdam) was identified by another scholar as a member of "contemporary French aristocratic society."[25] In art-historical literature the characterization of such scenes ranges from "opulent bourgeois households"[26] to "société aristocratique."[27] The consistent absence of any attempt to describe the figures more precisely according to their social backgrounds—they are most often referred to as "ladies and gentlemen" or as fashionable society—attests to a widespread uncertainty when it comes to assigning the scenes to a specific milieu.[28] Yet the meticulous rendering of these works allows in part a detailed identification of the figures. In some of his *tableaux de mode* de Troy explicitly uses class attributes such as the sword and the red heels of their shoes to identify the well-dressed male protagonists as *gentilhommes*, members of the second estate who are deemed presentable at court. However, the actual significance of these class attributes is dubious, since we know that there were various merchants from whom it was possible to rent small swords for the duration of one's visit to the court at Versailles. (Without such a sword one would not be permitted to enter the *grands appartements*.)[29]

If we take into account contemporary plays and novels with plots focused on lovers from varying social backgrounds, the viewer is again faced with the potential for multiple levels of meaning, certainly a hindrance to establishing an unambiguous ordering of classes.[30] Our confusion in trying to classify social ranks on the basis of the *tableaux de mode* may also result from the fact that we are scarcely in a position today to translate these vocabularies of fashion and gesture into a clear reading of the exceedingly subtle hierarchical gradations in eighteenth-century Parisian society. Historians of fashion have never found a uniform and unambiguous solution to the problem of identifying the dress of people from varying social backgrounds within the Parisian elite. Nonetheless, in the class-structured society of France, the ability to recognize membership in a class and its separation from the lower orders was a matter of state.[31] Fashion's governance of each and every member of the elite was one of the most important aspects of advancement and social recognition; appearance (*apparence*) was an absolutely crucial element of the aristocratic lifestyle.[32] Playing

with external attributes of class and the blotting out of visible class boundaries through the consumption of luxury goods leads, of course, to the question of whether the finest hierarchical distinctions are actually possible on the basis of external signs such as fashion or gesture at a time when members of court society, the urban aristocracy, and the rich bourgeoisie were all pursuing the same ideal lifestyle. If every aspect of social intercourse is based on appearance, would not the *tableau de mode*—a projection of this appearance—necessarily leave the viewer in the dark about the social ranking of the people depicted? It must be noted that, just as in the *tableau de mode,* the use and display of luxury are in this sense by no means socially neutral.[33]

Contemporary commentaries make it clear that enormous significance was attached to the factor of recognition in the *tableau de mode*'s representations, something that took place especially on the iconographic level of object description.[34] Meanwhile, the boundaries of class shifted with the use of external status symbols, as in portrait paintings, which no longer stressed the actual social standing of the sitter. The limits of our knowledge are quickly revealed when we attempt to classify the status of some of the pictorial motifs and figures in genre painting in terms of the formulas of contemporary portraiture. De Troy's small *Young Woman Drinking Coffee* (see fig. 1) shows the subject at breakfast wearing a partly unfastened gown. For this picture, painted in 1723, de Troy adopted earlier motifs from the *gravures de mode,* a type of engraving already widespread in the late seventeenth century, for instance, those by the Bonnart brothers. Here we find refined beverages such as coffee or chocolate already shown as important components of the culture of the nobility in engravings such as *A Cavalier and a Lady Drinking Chocolate* (fig. 3) by Nicolas Bonnart.[35] The appeal of the Bonnarts' work was based on their attentive recording of contemporary fashion, and they soon became even more popular with the public through the sensational ploy of including identifiable mannequins: fashion dolls endowed with the facial features of members of high court society, including the royal family. The Bonnarts began to add appropriate furnishings

3. Nicolas Bonnart, *A Cavalier and a Lady Drinking Chocolate,* engraving, from *Costumes du règne de Louis XIV, par Bonnart (Dames),* undated
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des estampes et de la photographie, Paris

and behavior to the somewhat brittle, stylish figurines of the early period.[36] The introduction and dissemination of such motifs—in engravings of fashion as in *tableaux de mode*—corresponded to the popularity of, for instance, refined beverages at the Versailles court.[37] Admittedly, the ability to designate the example of coffee drinking as an exclusively courtly standard of behavior hardly helps us draw conclusions about the social rank of the young woman portrayed in de Troy's picture. We cannot determine whether the painter or the owner intended her to be a noble young lady of the court or a member of the prosperous bourgeoisie, since stylish beverages were being consumed at all levels of society precisely because the courtly model had become a paradigm for the bourgeoisie, too.[38] Only the luxurious dress and the fine porcelain point to the prosperous milieu of the Parisian elite. We can assume that, in addition to the painterly qualities of the picture, Jullienne also valued the closeness of the depiction to a reality that he himself had experienced, or at least aspired to. It should be noted that this picture, like Dutch genre paintings of the seventeenth century, perhaps had an erotic connotation.

As a consequence of the wide dissemination of costume engravings, the representation of costumes, dwellings, and modes of behavior was highly regarded as evidence

of the living conditions of distinguished people.[39] It seems only logical that certain motifs from the realm of fashion engravings and *tableaux de mode,* as well as the open display of luxury (fashion, furniture, *objets d'art),* were adopted in contemporary eighteenth-century portraiture. In addition, the analysis of several (genre) portraits makes it clear that members of the *noblesse de robe,* the rich haute bourgeoisie, and the financiers preferred a flamboyant show of wealth, cultural acquisitions, and refined manners in order to ennoble themselves through imitation of the patrician topoi. These were members of the Parisian elite who could certainly overcome traditional social barriers through their economic influence, yet their self-esteem remained dependent on being acknowledged by the aristocratic upper crust. A prominent example is the full-length portrait of Madame de Pompadour (Alte Pinakothek, Munich) by François Boucher, which was shown at the 1757 Salon. Every detail in the picture is an "iconologically significant addition" and a "requisite of a luxurious lifestyle," as well as an "individual, historical object."[40] In a lecture to the Royal Academy on 7 March 1750 the portrait painter Louis Tocqué had referred to the significance of accessories, in addition to that of *ressemblance,* psychology, and the body: "Portrait painters . . . must be able to rely on accessories, and ingeniously position furnishings of varying types, from which they can derive great effects by grouping them artfully."[41]

An instructive comparison with de Troy's young coffee drinker is the portrait of Marie du Soul de Beaujour (fig. 4), also completed in 1723, by François de Troy, the artist's father. De Troy the elder shows the wife of Louis Le Prestre, *conseiller* to the Parlement of Paris and a member of the *noblesse de robe,* wearing a sumptuous dress and holding a modish cup of chocolate in her hand. At her right, de Troy depicts a costly chocolate service atop a small table, underscoring the sitter's affinity with a prosperous and style-conscious milieu. Le Prestre was head of the council of the duc de Condé, and therefore of high social rank. However, the privacy and informality of this portrait would have been unthinkable for a princess; it was not until the middle of the century that genre motifs found their way into the iconography

of French ruling families as the paradigm in matters of fashion, further testifying to the emergence of Paris and an elite no longer restricted to the court alone.[42] It was not until the middle of the century that genre motifs found their way into the iconography of French ruling families, testifying to the emergence of Paris and its elite, no longer only the court, as the paradigm in matters of fashion. A group portrait by Jean-Baptiste Charpentier (1768; fig. 5) shows the family of the duc de Penthièvre enjoying cups of chocolate. This "private" scene of family life assumes an official, "representative" character through the large format and conscious depiction of signs of sovereignty (the ribbons of the Order of the Holy Spirit). In Denis Diderot's writings we find an obvious and public criticism of such everyday motifs inserted into the traditional formulas of ruling-class representations. Namely, he characterizes the double portrait of the marquis and marquise de Marigny by Louis-Michel Van Loo (1707–1771), displayed at the Salon of 1769 (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and showing the couple in private conversation during the marquise's morning toilette, as "an annoying domestic scene."[43]

In order to thwart "leveling" tendencies and the increasing dissolution of visible class differences such as those finding clear expression in portraiture and in the consumption

of luxury goods, the highest tiers of society, especially the nobility, made use of so-called sumptuary laws (*loix somptuaires*) until the late seventeenth century in a calculated attempt to deny the upwardly striving bourgeoisie access to luxury and power.[44] Admittedly, it is scarcely evident to what extent this could have affected the most affluent of the bourgeoisie such as the financier and collector Pierre Crozat. Nevertheless, external manifestations of status were unquestionably fundamental to this stratified society. Also in genre scenes, the significance of pictorial motifs, together with the strategies of their adoption and exclusive use, illuminates the prominent social dimension of this category of painting, which was in fact only ostensibly decorative. Even though it is not possible to determine in retrospect whether rich collectors of bourgeois origins such as the financiers or *fermiers généraux* preferred to acquire genre scenes that portrayed members of their own "class," the question remains how a financier, for instance, given the claim to a "unifying" ideal of life, could have made himself visually distinct from the upper nobility. Additionally problematic is the strategy of social advancement, in particular the possibility of ascending to the hereditary nobility through the purchase of estates and ranks. On the other hand, it is not clear whether members of the upper nobility, in commissioning a painting, stipulated or were even concerned that figures be precisely categorized according to class.

Consider, for example, the two large-format genre scenes, conceived as pendants, by Jean-François de Troy and Nicolas Lancret, respectively: *The Oyster Luncheon* (fig. 6) and *The Ham Luncheon*, painted in 1735 for the private dining room of Louis XV at Versailles. De Troy's commission from the Bâtiments du roi does not stipulate that the scene be set in an identifiably courtly milieu.[45] But we find that de Troy identifies his figures unambiguously as aristocratic and presentable at court by depicting the men's red-heeled shoes, and he supplies them with liveried servants as well. In a letter to the Bâtiments du roi, de Troy describes the gentlemen portrayed here as "Seigneurs."[46] Lancret, on the other hand, does away with specific class attributes, if one discounts the abundant domestic staff and overall extravagance of the

5. Jean-Baptiste Charpentier, *The Duc de Penthièvre and His Family* (or *The Cup of Chocolate*), c. 1767–1768, oil Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon; photograph Réunion des musées nationaux / Art Resource, New York

parklike setting and sumptuous table service, which are exactly the kind of rich display aspired to by the financial nobility. Even though there is no documentation to help us reconstruct a direct, detailed reception on the part of collectors of *tableaux de mode*, we can assume that Louis XV must have been amused by Lancret's pastoral, overly extravagant picnic. It was probably not the class ordering and its required attributes that were significant in these pictures, but rather the way of life that was put on view.

The success of the *tableau de mode* is closely connected to the development of the *fête galante* as it was defined by Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) and then continued by his successors, primarily Nicolas Lancret and Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695–1736). As to the reality content of the *fête galante*, research has shown that Watteau's paintings were inspired by the actual contemporary festivities of an elite society, even though he was not simply rendering reality as it was perceived or lived.[47] Watteau sold his paintings to a circle that, along with Pierre Crozat and Jean de Jullienne, was exactly the social elite that went on to collect *tableaux de mode*. The collectors of these and of *fêtes galantes* were mostly of bourgeois descent, socially ambitious, and intent on imitating the aristocratic paradigm even to the extent of purchasing noble titles; and they were alike in attempting to justify their newly acquired status through patronage and consumption of luxury goods. Both picture types appear to
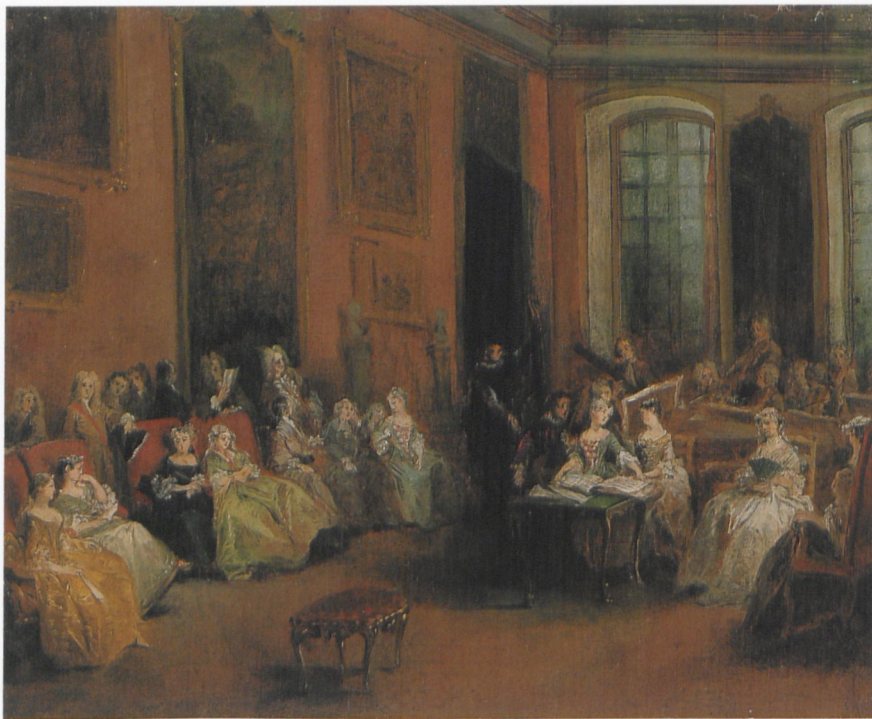
6. Jean-François de Troy, *The Oyster Luncheon*, 1735, oil
Musée Condé, Chantilly; photograph
Réunion des musées nationaux / Art
Resource, New York

have satisfied this social group's need for "self-improvement," in that each delivered "positive and compelling images of self-fashioning and social harmony."[48]

Whereas the social function of the *fête galante* has been substantially examined, the *tableau de mode* has been dismissed as nothing but an imitative pictorial type, and this has led to neglect of its sociological implications.[49] Two separate examples can help us pinpoint the mechanisms that allow a more precise understanding of its role in French society. Nicolas Lancret's painting *Concert at the Home of Crozat* (fig. 7) depicts an evening concert in the *grande galerie* of Pierre Crozat's residence in the rue de Richelieu. Along with its pendant, *Concert in the Oval Salon of Pierre Crozat's Château at Montmorency* (fig. 8), which shows a concert in Crozat's country house in Montmorency, the Munich picture provides a rich source for analyzing this choice of subject. Both sketches remained in the artist's possession until his death. Lancret did not produce these pictures on commission from Crozat. Rather, he chose as his subject the financier's social circle, open to artists and literati, perhaps hoping that Crozat would be interested in a depiction of his own lifestyle, the basis for his social standing.[50]

One of Jean-François de Troy's best-known *tableaux de mode* is *The Reading from Molière* (page 72). In the eighteenth century this painting was in the collection of Frederick II of Prussia at Sanssouci. Nothing is known about its origins or initial owners,[51] yet the names mentioned in the older literature are pertinent to our subject. Jean Cailleux recognized an important reference to the picture's early history in the screen shown in the right background. This identification helped him to rectify what had been an incorrect date of 1710 for the picture and to establish its relation to the circle of de Troy's patrons: the original screen by Watteau's hand was in the Jullienne collection, and an engraving of it by Boucher—which must have served as de Troy's model—was announced in November 1727 in the *Mercure de France*. For this reason, Cailleux rejected the thesis that *The Reading from Molière* had been painted for Jullienne; instead, he identified the original patron as the financier Samuel Bernard, who turned to de Troy in

7. Nicolas Lancret, *Concert at the Home of Crozat*, 1720/1724, oil
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, acquired with funds from the Friedrich Flick Förderstiftung; photograph © Blauel/Gnamm, ARTOTHEK

1728 for painted decorations in his Parisian residence. Frederick II's purchase of paintings by Watteau from the Julienne collection in 1744, an acquisition arranged by the Graf von Rothenburg, may also serve to indicate this picture's relationship to the financially powerful circles of the Parisian elite.[52] That the *tableaux de mode* were assigned to exactly this milieu one generation later, in 1767, is shown by Diderot's devastating criticism of Pierre-Antoine Baudouin's erotic gouache *The Bedding of the Bride*, which reads like something in the tradition of social criticism fostered by Baillet de Saint-Julien: "Always small pictures, small ideas, frivolous composition, appropriate to the boudoir of a little mistress, or to the house of a little master; created for little abbots, little lawyers, large financiers or other persons without values and with small taste."[53]

Perhaps the one person whose social advancement was clearly helped along by the *tableaux de mode* is Jean-François de Troy, who imitated all the strategies of the financiers' ascent and excelled as a member of the fashionable world whose courtly way of life is precisely represented in his pictures. A marriage to a wealthy woman put him in a position to acquire the rank of sécrétaire du roi du Grand Collège in 1737, and he was the equal of all *gens du monde* in his daily

8. Nicolas Lancret, *Concert in the Oval Salon of Pierre Crozat's Château at Montmorency*, 1720/1724, oil Dallas Museum of Art, on loan from the Estate of Michael L. Rosenberg

extravagance. Charles de Brosse, who called on him in 1739 when de Troy was director of the French Academy in Rome, wrote: "He is nearly a lord. He lives comfortably and keeps a fairly decent household."[54] Pierre-Jean Mariette, in his *Abécédario*, qualifies de Troy as "a man of the world who knows its customs perfectly," and further claims that de Troy "has always liked to frequent persons in finance, and what are called the fat rich."[55] This somewhat disrespectful dismissal of the artist's most important clientele is symptomatic of a period when class differences, also questions of patronage, continued to play a substantial role, and when overt criticism was helping to generate prerevolutionary division into camps. In this sense the chevalier de Valory wrote a bit maliciously: "Mr. de Troy . . . adopted too easily the manner of the people with whom he lived, without pausing to think that the manner of the court or that of finance should not be his."[56] Mariette's comment on the economic and social success of de Troy's genre scenes in Paris makes clear the artist's personal success in integrating himself into the aristocratic milieu, as well as the success of his idealized depictions of the world of finance with their representations of *gens du monde* and the *gros riches*.[57]

The work of art as an aesthetic, not to say moral-practical, object made it possible for a beholder or an owner to locate himself socially by means of imitation or differentiation. Was it not true until well into the nineteenth century that the pictorial motif alone contained an indication of both artistic genius and the taste of the collector?[58] The *tableau de mode* first arose in the early 1720s in France, a country with no previous tradition of its own in genre painting. As early as 1977, Werner Busch established "imitation as a bourgeois artistic principle" (*Nachahmung als bürgerliches Kunstprinzip*), and the notion that genre painting was in itself a middle-class subject category has been continually reiterated by art historians.[59] The protagonists of aristocratic *tableaux de mode* were likewise not aristocrats; the representation of the noble life was shaped by bourgeois clients and painters. Many of the early-eighteenth-century novelists who pictured an elite society, its norms and fashions, were themselves of the bourgeoisie and fascinated by the "aristocratic myth."[60] In the case of the *tableau de mode*, it may be useful to look at the development of Dutch genre painting, where we find courtly elements being absorbed into genre scenes in the second half of the seventeenth century as a result of a strengthening of the prosperous bourgeois ranks and their striving for an "international level of elegance" one generally understood to imply French taste.[61] Of course, this cannot be directly applied to the French model, since, as we have observed, the French bourgeoisie, on the upper social level of the urban elite, were already pursuing a noble lifestyle. As Baillet de Saint-Julien noted, the consumption of luxury goods represented social status, not financial position. The documentation and display of real social advancement were important to all men of finance, and this is demonstrated in the parvenu strategies of portrait painting. By drawing the observer's attention to stylish detail, the *tableau de mode* as a collector's piece, that is to say, an article of furnishing or decoration, assumed an important function: it was at once an external sign of status, of economic success, and of membership in a world of good taste. In the end it is very difficult to confirm the extent to which those bourgeois circulating among the elite used the aristocratic genre picture to express their membership in a cultural stratum, or

how much of an integrating function it may have had. Yet a look at the collectors of these pictures shows that it was first of all financiers and other upwardly mobile members of the elite who tended to acquire and surround themselves with such scenes.[62] It would be a mistake to conclude that this "aesthetic consensus," as it was called by the historian Ulrich Pallach in 1980, which made the ideal of an aristocratic life binding, could lead to a blurring or cancellation of differences in birth and rank. Among the consequences of social ambition for many of the bourgeoisie was the need to face the resentment of a nobility that was falling behind financially, for instance, in the realm of artistic connoisseurship. Furthermore, these same bourgeois were intent on claiming their own place within elite society through a demonstration of refined taste (*bon goût*), of which the *tableaux de mode* of the 1720s and 1730s were the most fashionable and complete witnesses.[63]

NOTES

Translated from the German by Linda B. Parshall

This essay deals with one aspect of a topic explored in my dissertation, "*Tableaux de mode:* Studien zum aristokratischen Genrebild in Frankreich in der ersten Häfte des 18. Jahrhunderts" (doctoral diss., Philipps-Universität, Marburg).

1. On the use of the terms "aristocratic" and "courtly" with regard to genre painting in the early eighteenth century, see, among others, *Lexikon der Kunst,* ed. Harald Olbrich (Leipzig, 1989), 2:694–696, s.v. "Genrekunst"; and the *Dictionary of Art,* ed. Jane Turner (New York, 1996) 12:286–298, s.v. "Genre." Colin B. Bailey treats *tableaux de mode* under the term "urbanity" in his survey of eighteenth-century French genre painting; see Colin B. Bailey, Philip Conisbee, and Thomas W. Gaehtgens, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting* [exh. cat., National Gallery of Canada] (Ottawa, 2003), 21. The *tableau de mode* did not exist as an independent category in the eighteenth century; like Watteau's *fêtes galantes,* these pictures were not included among the Royal Academy's traditional genre categories. Contemporaries gave various names to the scenes, for instance, "tableaux très-galands" [sic] (*Mercure de France,* 1725, quoted in Georges Wildenstein, *Le Salon de 1725: Compte rendu par le Mercure de France de l'exposition faite au Salon Carré du Louvre par l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture en 1725* [Paris, 1924], 40); or "sujet françois et très gallant" (*Mercure de France,* June 1734, 1405). Jean-François de Troy did not use the term *tableaux de mode* until sometime later; see the anonymous "Extrait de la vie de M. de Troy," in *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture,* ed. Louis Dussieux (Paris, 1854), 2:275, and in Pierre-Jean Mariette, "Abécédario," in *Abécédario de P. J. Mariette et autres notes inédites de cet amateur sur les arts et les artistes,* ed. Philippe de Chennevières and Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris, 1853–1854), 2:101. For a summary, see Barbara Anderman, "La notion de peinture de genre à l'époque de Watteau," in *Watteau et la fête galante,* ed. Patrick Ramade and Martin Eidelberg [exh. cat., Musée des beaux-arts de Valenciennes] (Paris, 2004), 29–43; on de Troy, see esp. 35–36. See also Katharina Krause, "Genrebilder: Mode und Gesellschaft der Aristokraten bei Jean-François de Troy," in *Festschrift für Johannes Lagner zum 65: Geburtstag am 1. Februar 1997,* ed. Klaus G. Beuckers and Annemarie Jaeggi (Münster, 1997), 141, esp. n. 2.

2. Until now, the *tableau de mode* has been defined as not moralizing. See Krause 1997, 141. The fashionable excesses and exaggerated sensitivity toward *apparence,* especially in the case of women, was illustrated by Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694–1752) in some of his compositions, in this regard quite the equal of William Hogarth. The composition *Children's Games,* probably painted for the *intendant des finances* Louis de Fagon and later in the collection of Madame de Pompadour, is a satire on the obsession with finery. See *Madame de Pompadour et les arts,* ed. Xavier Salmon [exh. cat., Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon] (Paris, 2002), 184–185, cat. 55; and finally Anik Fournier in Ottawa 2003, 176–177, cat. 29. See also Thierry Lefrançois, *Charles Coypel: peintre du roi (1694–1752)* (Paris, 1994), 273–274, pl. 153 (*The Intercepted Letter;* Sanssouci Palace, Potsdam).

3. See the discussions in Guy Lemarchand, "La France au XVIIIe siècle: élites ou noblesse et bourgeoisie?," *Cahiers d'histoire de l'institut de recherches marxistes,* no. 51 (1993): 105–123; and in Jean-Pierre Brancourt, "L'évolution du critère de l'élite au XVIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de l'Association d'entraide de la noblesse francaise* 22 (1994): 9–17. See also Charles Kunstler, *La vie quotidienne sous la Régence* (Paris, 1960); and Jean Meyer, *La vie quotidienne en France sous la Régence* (Paris, 1979).

4. Verena von Heyden-Rynsch, *Salons européens: les beaux moments d'une culture feminine disparu* (Paris, 1993); and Jacqueline Hellegouarc'h, *L'Esprit de société: cercles et "salons" parisiens au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2000), 51–66.

5. See the introduction to this topic in Nicolas Faret, *L'honnête homme ou l'art de plaire à la cour,* ed. Maurice Magendie (Paris, 1925); see also Henning Scheffers, *Höfische Konvention und die Aufklärung: Wandlungen des honnête-homme-ideals im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1980); Anette Höfer and Rolf Reichhardt, "Honnête homme, honnêteté, honnête gens," in *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich, 1680–1820,* ed. Rolf Reichhardt and Eberhard Schmitt (Munich, 1986), 7–73; and Rolf Reichhardt, "Der Honnête Homme zwischen höfischer und bürgerlicher Gesellschaft," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 69 (1982): 341–370.

6. See Höfer and Reichhardt 1986, 30–38.

7. Krause 1997, 141; see the discussion in Thomas Kirchner, "'Observons le monde': la réalité sociale dans la peinture française du XVIIIe siècle," in Thomas W. Gaehtgens et al., *L'art et les normes sociales au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2001), 367–381, esp. 367–368. Kirchner refers to Félibien's 1667 introduction in the *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* and to the classification of genre painting as bourgeois; on this see Barbara Gaehtgens, ed., *Genremalerei* (Berlin, 2002), 158–171.

8. Jean Feray, *Architecture intérieure et décoration en France des origines à 1875* (Paris, 1988); Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven, 1995); Everett Fahy, *The Wrightsman Collection: Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture* (New York, 1973), 4:288.

9. For example, André Corvisier, *Arts et sociétés dans l'europe du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1978), 213–220. Corvisier restricts his remarks to the representation of coats of arms, portraits, ceremonies, and festivals as social indications of the gap between the nobility and the *roturiers*, without actually investigating genre painting itself. Jutta Held and Norbert Schneider, in their book *Sozialgeschichte der Malerei vom Spätmittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1998), 324–325, refer to pictures by de Troy and Lancret as "zwangfreie" (unconstrained) and "geniesserische" (pleasurable) representations of "sinnlicher Bedürfnisse wie Essen und Trinken" (sensory requirements like eating and drinking), pictures adopted by the aristocracy and thus similar to the Netherlandish models of the seventeenth century.

10. Compare the findings about the sale of reproductive engravings after Chardin's "bourgeois" paintings in Ursula Hilberath, *"Ce sexe est sûr de nous trouver sensible": Studien zu Weiblichkeitsentwürfen in der französischen Malerei der Aufklärungszeit (1733–1789)* (Alfter, 1993), 3–7.

11. Christophe Leribault, *Jean François de Troy, (1679–1752)* (Paris, 2002), 264–265 (pls. 107 and 108).

12. Émile Dacier, Jacques Herold, and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1921–1929); see also Mary Vidal, *Watteau's Painted Conversations* (New Haven and London, 1992), 170.

13. Leribault 2002, 69–70; de Chauvelin came from an important family of the *noblesse de robe*. See Michel Antoine, *Louis XV* (Paris, 1986), 270. On his collection, see also the auction catalogue published anonymously in 1762, *Catalogue des tableaux, estampes en livres et en feuilles, cartes manuscrites et gravées, montées a gorges et rouleuax, du cabinet de feu Messire GERMAIN-LOUIS CHAUVELIN, Ministre d'Etat, Commandeur des Ordres du Roi, et Ancien Garde des Sceaux* (Paris [21 June] 1762), and the essay by Julie Anne Plax in this volume.

14. Leribault 2002, 334–335, pls. 221a and 222a.

15. Leribault 2002, 343–344, pls. 234 and 235.

16. *François Boucher, 1703–1770* [exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art] (New York, 1986), 182, 227–229, cat. 51; the auction catalogue of his collection was published by Pierre Remy: Pierre Remy, *Catalogue de tableaux originaux des trois ecoles, bronzes, estampes montées sous verre, en feuilles et reliès: . . . et autres effets du cabinet de M. PROUSTEAU, Capitaine des gardes de la Ville* (Paris [5 June] 1769).

17. On the Versailles contract, see most recently Leribault 2002, 342 , pl. 233; on Fontainebleau in general, Jean-Pierre Cuzin, "Le Déjeuner de Chasse de Jean-François de Troy (1679–1752) peint pour Fontainebleau," *Revue du Louvre* 1 (1991): 43–48; see also Leribault 2002, 355–356, pl. 257.

18. "[L']opulence, le luxe, le goût." Pierre Goubert and Daniel Roche, *La société et l'état*, vol. 1 of *Les Français et l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1991), 182.

19. "[Gersaint] devient égal à ceux mêmes qui, livrés à cette noble passion se trouvent au-dessus de son état par leur rang ou par leur condition. Comme tel, il est appelé et reçu avec plaisir dans leurs assemblées." Edme-François Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné des diverses curiosités du cabinet de feu M. Quentin de Lorangere* [sic], *composé de Tableaux originaux des meilleurs Maîtres de Flandres, d'une très nombreuse Collection de Desseins & d'Estampes de toutes les Ecoles* (Paris, 1744), quoted in Charles Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité tiré des catalogues de vente*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1857), LIV–LXIII; Ulrich-Christian Pallach, *Materielle Kultur und Mentalitäten im 18. Jahrhundert. Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung und politisch-sozialer Funktionswandel des Luxus in Frankreich und im alten Reich am Ende des Ancien Régime* (Munich, 1987), 131, note 111; on the art-theory background of the meaning of knowledge (*connaisseur, amateur*) and fashion (*curieux*) for the art collector, using the example of Gersaint and the comte de Caylus, see Markus A. Castor, "Caylus et le cercle artistique parisien," in *Caylus, mécène du roi: collectionner les antiquités au XVIIIe siècle* [exh. cat., Bibliothèque nationale de France] (Paris, 2002), 37–43. On the collection of Quentin de Lorangère, see Guillaume Glorieux, *À l'Enseigne de Gersaint. Edme-François Gersaint, marchand d'art sur le pont Notre-Dame (1694–1750)* (Seyssel, 2002), 364–367.

20. Johanna Arlette, "Die Legitimierung des Adels und die Erhebung in den Adelsstand in Frankreich (16.–18. Jahrhundert)," in *Ständische Gesellschaft und soziale Mobilität*, ed. Winfried Schulze (Munich, 1988), 165–177; see also Brancourt 1994 and François Bluche, *La Noblesse française au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1995), 79.

21. "On a gémi de ce que les plus beaux monuments de l'Antiquité avaient été la proie des Barbares. Sans remonter à des temps si réculés, ne voyons-nous pas pareille chose de nos jours, lorsque ces superbes édifices, qui devroient être la demeure des Princes, deviennent celle des Financiers. Il semble que se soit un malheur attaché aux plus riches productions de l'Art, de tomber entre les mains de gens qui en sentent moins le prix que celui de l'or qui sert à les acquerir." Louis-Guillaume Baillet de Saint-Julien, *Lettre sur la peinture, la sculpture et l'architecture à M**** (Paris, 1748), 194–195.

22. Ulrich-Christian Pallach, "Auktionen und Auktionskataloge des 18. Jahrhunderts: Bemerkungen zum Luxusmarkt des französischen Ancien Régime," *Francia* 8 (1980): 656.

23. A detailed view of the contemporary reception can be found in Barbara J. Anderman, "Petits sujets, grandes machines: Critical Battles over Genre Painting in France, 1660–1780" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 2000), 202–221.

24. Fahy 1973, 4:288.

25. Michael Levey, *Painting and Sculpture in France, 1700–1789* (London, 1993), 21.

26. Philip Conisbee, *Painting in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1981), 6.

27. Krzysztof Pomian, "L'europe entre religion et philosophie," in *Le XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Krzysztof Pomian (Paris, 1998), 74; also compare Jean-Luc Bordeaux, "Jean-François de Troy—Still an Artistic Enigma: Some Observations on His Early Works," *Artibus et Historiae* 10, no. 20 (1989): 143–169.

28. See Christophe Leribault, who questions the reality content of de Troy's genre scenes but does not take into account the social definition of the figures. Leribault 2002, 60–76.

29. M. de L.P.Y.E. [Lapeyre], *Les mœurs de Paris* (Amsterdam, 1747), 149–150: "Tout le monde à Paris porte l'epée, routurier comme gentilhomme . . . , un homme qui a un habit noir peut passer à Paris partout. . . . Tout le monde est égal à Paris"; quoted from Yves Durand, *Les Fermiers généraux au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1996), 201.

30. Fahy 1973 refers to the relationship between the "comédies de mœurs" and de Troy's genre pictures; see also the extensive discussion and the examples in Krause 1997, 141–162. On the social definition of the heroes of eighteenth-century erotic novels, discriminating between nobility and bourgeoisie, see also, for example, Warren Roberts, *Morality and Social Class in Eighteenth-Century French Literature and Painting* (Toronto, 1974), 25–43.

31. François Boucher, *Histoire du costume en occident de l'antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 1996), 262–269; Madeleine Delpierre, *Se vêtir au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1996), 23–27; Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New Haven and London, 2002), 15–49, esp. ch. 1, "The Dominance of France, 1715–1740."

32. Daniel Roche, *La Culture des apparences: une histoire du vêtement (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1989), 59; and Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge and New York, 1994), 184–220.

33. Daniel Roche, "Between a 'Moral Economy' and a 'Consumer Economy': Clothes and Their Function in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris*, ed. Robert Fox and Anthony Turner (Aldershot, U.K., 1998), 219–229.

34. See the remarks in the *Mercure de France* of April 1735, 756, on the occasion of the publication of an engraving by Charles-Nicolas Cochin after de Troy's painting *The Game of Pied-de-Boeuf.* In this context it is important to refer to an essay by Mimi Hellman, which examines the connections and strategies of meaning in luxury furnishings and consumers in the milieu of the elite (Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 [1999]: 415–445).

35. Taken from *Costumes du règne de Louis XIV, par Bonnart (Dames)* (undated; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, OA 51 pet. fol.). Also compare male counterparts such as *Homme de qualité prenant du café,* 1688, taken from *Costumes du règne de Louis XIV, par Bonnart (Hommes)* (undated; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Oa 48 pet. fol.). On the Bonnart brothers (Henri, 1642–1711; Jean-Baptiste, 1654–1726; Nicolas, 1637–1718; and Robert 1652–?, still alive in 1729), see Roger-Armand Weigert, *Bonnart, Personnages de qualité, 1680–1715* (Paris, 1956); and Maxime Préaud, "Les portraits en mode à la fin du règne de Louis XIV," *Cahiers Saint-Simon* 18 (1990): 3–35. Subsequently many other engravers devoted attention to this type, among them Claude Simpol (1666–1716), Antoine Trouvain (1656–1708) with his well-known engravings of the royal *appartements* in Versailles, and Nicolas Arnoult (active 1680–1700). For the earlier period, see André Blums, *Abraham Bosse et la société française au dix-septième siècle* (Paris, 1924); there is a newer study, by Sophie Join-Lambert et al., *Abraham Bosse: graveur et sçavant* (Tours, 1995). Representations of courtly society's fashions and patterns of behavior, with an emphasis on the gallant aspects of contemporary life, are part of an old tradition that reaches all the way back to medieval book illumination; see Donald Posner, *Antoine Watteau* (London, 1984), 128–130.

36. The influence of late-seventeenth-century costume and fashion engravings on the development of the *tableau de mode* has already been examined in the cases of Lancret and de Troy. According to Mary Tavener Holmes, Lancret turned to fashion engravings for the majority "of his most characteristic themes, such as allegorical cycles, games, theatrical characters, and portraits." See Mary Tavener Holmes, *Nicolas Lancret, 1690–1743* [exh. cat., The Frick Collection] (New York, 1991), 4–18. On the influence of fashion engravings on Jean-François de Troy, see Holmes 1991, 32; and Krause 1997, 141–142.

37. See among others Günther Schiedlausky, *Tee, Kaffee, Schokolade: Ihr Eintritt in die Europäische Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1961); and Peter Albrecht, "Kaffeetrinken als Symbol sozialen Wandels im Europa des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Genuss und Kunst*, ed. Roman Sandgruber and Harry Kühnel [exh. cat., Schloß Schallaburg] (Innsbruck, 1994), 28–39.

38. François Boucher's *The Luncheon* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) is classified as a bourgeois image on the basis of the clothing; see Boucher 1996, 264 ("Le Costume bourgeois" and fig. 558).

39. Krause 1997, 141.

40. Bernhard Rupprecht, "Bouchers Pompadour-Porträt von 1756," in *Aufsätze zur Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Hermann Bauer zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Möseneder and Andreas Prater (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York, 1991), 274–283; see also Denise Goodman-Soellner, "Boucher's Madame de Pompadour at Her Toilette," *Simiolus* 17 (1987): 41–58. For strategies that ambitious members of the elite, mostly of lower social origins, employed by means of portrait painting, see most recently Melissa Hyde, "The 'Makeup' of the Marquise: Boucher's Portrait of Pompadour at Her Toilette," *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 458–462.

41. "Les peintres de portrait . . . doivent avoir recours aux accessoires et placer ingénieusement les meubles d'espèces différentes dont ils peuvent tirer des grands effets en les groupant avec art." Quoted in Michèle Beaulieu, Elisabeth Walter et al., *Portrait et société en France (1715–1789), Cahiers Musée d'art et d'essai, Palais de Tokyo, Paris* 5 (1980–1981), n.p.

42. On the social circle of Le Prestre and his wife and their backgrounds, see Dominique Brême, *François de Troy, 1645–1730* [exh. cat., Musée Paul-Dupuy] (Paris, 1997), 175–176; see 177 for an illustration of this painting. At the same time in Germany a representative of the upper nobility, Elector Clems August von Köln, had himself portrayed by his court painter, Joseph Vivien, wearing a morning coat of blue and silver brocade and holding a teacup imported from East Asia (*Clemens August with a Teacup* [before 1723; Falkenlust Castle, Brühl]); he had this likeness hung in an Indian lacquer cabinet at Falkenlust. The portrait was, to be sure, intended for the elector's *maison de plaisance*, that is, for a private space. We can recognize here how princes residing far from Paris used the representation of luxury to underscore their affiliation with the cultural and tone-setting elite of that city. See *Kürfürst Clemens August: Landesherr und Mäzen des 18. Jahrhunderts* [exh. cat., Schloss Augustusburg, Brühl] (Cologne, 1961), 153 and 155, pl. 17; Walter Holzhausen, *Kurkölnische Hofmaler des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1957), 13–15.

43. "[L]e public a trouvé que la composition en général avait l'air d'une scène domestique fâcheuse où un marie soucieux questionne sa femme." Denis Diderot, *1769, 1771, 1775, 1781*, vol. 4 of *Salons*, ed. Jean Seznac and Jean Adhémar (Oxford, 1967), 69. See also the pictorial strategies that Jean-Marc Nattier developed in his *Portrait of Madame Marsollier and Her Daughter* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), in Donald Posner, "The Duchesse de Velours and Her Daughter: A Masterpiece by Nattier and Its Historical Context," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 31 (1996): 131–142.

44. Roche 1994, 184–185.

45. Nicole Garnier-Pelle, *Chantilly: Musée Condé: peintures du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1995), 87–89; see also the much more detailed 1745 commission from Luisa Ulrike of Sweden of four genre scenes by Boucher, which likewise specifies no explicit social definition for the figures. Boucher delivered one of these paintings, *The Milliner (Morning)*, to the Swedish court in 1746; for more details, see New York 1986, 224–229, cat. 51.

46. Leribault 2002, 342, pl. 233.

47. Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London, 1985), 45–74 (esp. 56–57); see also Julie Anne Plax, *Watteau and the Cultural Politics of Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge and New York, 2000), 108–153. On the emergence of the *tableau de mode* against the backdrop of Watteau's oeuvre—here with the example of *Gersaint's Shopsign*—see in detail Krause 1997, 144.

48. Amy Wyngaard, "Switching Codes: Class, Clothing, and Cultural Change in the Works of Marivaux and Watteau," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33 (2000): 523–541; see also Plax 2000, 171–173.

49. Krause 1997, 141 n. 2.

50. Holmes 1991, 58–59.

51. Leribault 2002, 322, pl. 203; *The Reading from Molière* is the prime example of a *tableau de mode* whose pictorial elements were recognized. On the screen and the silver teapot, see Jean Cailleux, "The 'Lecture de Molière' by Jean-François de Troy and Its Date," *Burlington Magazine* 102, no. 683 (1960), supplement 1–4; on the candlestick, see Charissa Bremer-David, "Acquisitions made by the department of Decorative Arts in 1983," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984): 187; on the chairs, see Louis Faton, "La Bergère Reine des sièges," *L'Estampille* 10 (1982): 20–21. Finally, see Leribault, in Ottawa 2003, 168–169, cat. 25.

52. Boucher 1996, 262, refers to *The Reading from Molière* as the "salon de réception où l'apparat et le goût se concurrencent, où l'argent s'étale, où le costume rapproche les classes dans le luxe et la fantaisie."

53. "Toujours petits tableaux, petits idées, compositions frivoles, propres au boudoir d'une petite-maîtresse, à la petite maison d'un petit-maître; faites pour des petits abbés, de petits robins, de gros financiers ou autres personnages sans mœurs et d'un petit goût." Quoted from Denis Diderot, *1767*, vol. 3 of *Salons*, ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar (Oxford, 1963), 197; on the relationship of Baudouin's works to de Troy's courtly genre scenes, see Goodman-Soellner 1987, 57–58.

54. "C'est presque un seigneur. Il est à son aise et tient une assez bonne maison." Letter to Madame Cortois de Quincey from Rome, 1739, reprinted in *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon and Jules Guiffrey (Paris, 1899–1900), 9:407–408.

55. Mariette 1853–1854, 101: "[H]omme du monde, qui en connaist parfaitement les usages," and "a toujours aimé á frayer avec les gens de finance, et ce qu'on appelle les gros riches"; and also "Un mariage avantageux [with Charlotte de Touyt de Landes] . . . le met encore en estat de figurer, chose qui est fort de son goût; car il a toujours aimé à frayer avec les gens de finance, et ce qu'on appelle les gros riches." Concerning the ennoblement of painters in Paris in the eighteenth century, see Jean Chatelus, *Peindre à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Nîmes, 1991), 218–225; and Vidal 1992, 170–171.

56. "M. de Troy . . . prenait trop légèrement le ton des gens avec qui il vivait, sans songer que celui de la cour ou de la finance ne devoit pas être le sien." Chevalier de Valory, "Jean-François de Troy par le chevalier de Valory," in *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, ed. Louis Dussieux (Paris, 1854), 2:272; and de Valory adds, "On le vit bientôt l'ami des mais du plaisir, de quelque état qu'ils fussent" (260–261).

57. Mariette 1853–1854, 101: "Il [Jean-François de Troy] a beaucoup plu à Paris par ses petits tableaux de modes."

58. Rudolf Schlögl, "Geschmack und Interesse: Private Kunstsammlungen zwischen ästhetischen Idealen und sozialer Repräsentation," in *Kunstsammeln und Geschmack im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael North (Berlin, 2002), 57–58.

59. Werner Busch, *Nachahmung als bürgerliches Kunstprinzip: Ikonographische Zitate bei Hogarth und in seiner Nachfolge* (Hildesheim and New York, 1977). See also Lothar Brieger's studies on genre painting (to be employed only guardedly), for whom the courtly art of the rococo "was finally bourgeois in its origins and its power," and who scrutinized French pastoral scenes for the influences of Dutch genre painting. (Lothar Brieger, *Das Genrebild: Die Entwicklung der bürgerlichen Malerei* [Munich, 1922], 143–145.) On Brieger, see also Gaehtgens 2002, 14–17.

60. Raymond Trousson, preface to *Romans libertins du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Raymond Trousson (Paris, 1993), xxviii–xxxiv; see also Arnold Hauser, *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur* (Munich, 1953), 2:10–11.

61. On the first appearance of elegant boudoir scenes and social gatherings of extravagantly dressed people (i.e., typical courtly customs and fashions) in the canon of Dutch genre painting beginning in the 1670s and 1680s, see among others Peter C. Sutton in *Von Frans Hals bis Vermeer: Meisterwerke holländischer Genremalerei* [exh. cat., Gemäldegalerie, Berlin] (Berlin, 1984), 27–29.

62. See the discussion by Alastair Laing in his foreword to Leribault 2002, 8: "We do not know for certain whether a financier commissioned or purchased the latter painting [*The Alarm*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London], but whatever the case, the presence of a number of [de Troy's] genre pictures in several public expositions organized in the 1720s and 1730s—in 1724, 1725, 1734, and 1737—as if he wished to attract exactly this new clientele, is significant." (Nous ne savons pas avec certitude si un financier commanda ou acheta le second; quoi qu'il en soit, la présence en nombre de ses tableaux de genre aux quelques expositions publiques organisées dans les années 1720 et 1730—en 1724, 1725, 1734 et 1737—comme s'il voulait attirer à lui justement cette nouvelle clientèle, est significative." Compare Laing's comments with those of Christophe Leribault. in Leribault 2002, 58: "It is, however, not certain whether the financiers among whom [de Troy] circulated particularly sought out representations of the gallant atmosphere that prevailed in their society." (Il n'est pourtant pas certain que les financiers qu'il côtoyait aient particulièrement recherché les representations de l'atmosphère gallant qui regnait dans leur société.) See also Jean-François Dehmas, "Le Mécénat des financiers au XVIIIe siècle: étude comparative de cinq collections de peinture," *Histoire, économie et société* 1 (1995): 52; Yves Durand, *Les Fermiers généraux au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1996).

63. Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 92–101. See also chap. 3, "Der 'financier' als neureicher Emporkömmling," in Anette Höfer, "Financier, Banquier, Capitaliste," in *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich, 1680–1820*, ed. Rolf Reichhardt and Eberhard Schmitt (Munich, 1986), 35–37.