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The Ideal Citoyenne: Women, Class, & The French Revolution in Philibert Louis Debucourt's Fine-Art Prints

Kelsey Martin

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**THE IDEAL *CITOYENNE*: WOMEN, CLASS, & THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION IN PHILIBERT LOUIS DEBUCOURT'S FINE-ART
PRINTS**

by

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**BACHELOR OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
BOULDER, 2011**

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

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Art History**

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DEDICATION

To dad, who gave me ambition, perseverance, and an uproarious laugh.

To mom, who gave me compassion, diligence, and an endless imagination.

To Nick, who inspires me to put these traits to use.

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I heartedly acknowledge Dr. Susanne Anderson-Riedel, my advisor and committee chair, for supporting me in all of my academic endeavors, and, while guiding me with a kind heart and brilliant mind, allowing me the independence and freedom to explore my path as a graduate student.

**THE IDEAL *CITOYENNE*: WOMEN, CLASS, & THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
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by

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B.A., Sociology, University of Colorado Boulder, 2011

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ABSTRACT

Philibert Louis Debucourt's (1755 – 1832) *fête galante* and domestic genre prints treated women, their social positions, and their experiences of love and relationships as a primary subject, and participated in the rapidly shifting political, economical, and social structure of the years surrounding the 1789 Revolution. These prints aided in the construction of appropriate and inappropriate female behavior of the ideal *citoyenne* through the representation of eighteenth-century beliefs regarding female sexuality and its class associations. It is in Debucourt's domestic genre scenes that the virtue and serenity of women are clear, validating women's prominence as wives and mothers within the private sphere. Debucourt's fine-art genre prints reflect how late eighteenth-century women were designated power and agency in their domestic roles and sexual relationships while simultaneously limited in this power by the norms and morals enforced by a political culture seeking to eradicate female presence in the public sphere.

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CHAPTER 1: VISUAL CONSTRUCTIONS & HISTORIES OF FEMALE IDENTITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH PRINT

INTRODUCTION

The female figure represented a variety of social and political identities within eighteenth-century French art: the frivolous coquette of the Rococo, the nurturing mother and educator of mid-century domestic genre scenes, the romanticized, lower-class youth of pastoral tableaux, the aristocratic sexual libertine in popular political caricatures, or the allegorical figures of Revolutionary propaganda. Such identities reflected the frequent and fervent dialogue on female sexuality, women's private and public roles, and, at the end of the eighteenth-century, the ideal *citoyenne* (female citizen). As the purportedly corrupt and nefarious domain of courtly culture was renounced and the monarchy overthrown, the French public sought to define their identities as citizens to the French State, rather than subjects to the king. In the years surrounding the 1789 French Revolution, investigations of citizenry included the question of women's position in a modern French society, and the definition of the ideal *citoyenne* was intertwined with overarching beliefs on female sexuality and class identity. As anxieties involving women's visibility in the political, public sphere caused women's rights as French citizens to vacillate, pictorial representations of the ideal *citoyenne* as wives and mothers within the domestic sphere proliferated. Through word and image, eighteenth-century beliefs on female sexuality, embedded with political motivations, were utilized to construct the ideal French female citizen: the wife and mother who, while a wielder of power and prominence in her position within the private sphere, would ultimately be denied a significant public role.

In the late eighteenth-century, printed images, along with the printed word, were a powerful avenue to promote national identity. While perhaps not as conspicuous in their messages as eighteenth-century medical, philosophical, or political treatises, representations of contemporary French women in fine-art prints reflected, facilitated, and propagated moralistic lessons for women regarding their proper domestic roles with an insidiousness disguised as fashionable enterprise. This was particularly true for fine-art *fête galante* and domestic genre prints of the 1780s and 1790s, where contemporary women were portrayed in various scenarios involving their intimate relationships and domestic roles. Such prints often depicted women engaging in inappropriate behavior that threatened the ideals of the State—such as the sexual follies of the aristocratic libertine or the naïve lower-class woman—while others represented the idealized *citoyenne* happily and virtuously fulfilling her domestic duties.

This project explores the graphic art of Philibert Louis Debucourt (1755 – 1832), particularly his late eighteenth-century *fête galante* and domestic genre fine-art prints that were largely reproductions of the artist's own drawings and paintings. Debucourt's prints were not just a tool of an artist seeking to publicize his work, and his continual use of *fête galante* and domestic genre imagery was not solely due to demand of a populist French audience. In addition, the artist carefully designed his prints to correlate with overarching beliefs regarding middle-class morality and provided audiences a set of culturally authorized female roles designated by a rapidly shifting political and social climate.

The nature of printed media as a swiftly produced form of art allowed Debucourt to quickly construct images based on rapidly shifting fashionable taste, cultural beliefs, and politics. This is seen in the artist's alterations to multiple plates during the 1790s,

perhaps based on artistic taste, but more likely a political decision due to increasingly strict ideals regarding acceptable female behavior. In addition, subject matter associated with the Rococo such as the *fête galante* genre would have been considered unpopular, even dangerous, to those seeking affiliation in the new French State. Rather than rejecting artistic styles associated to the *Ancien Régime*, Debucourt used well-known subjects steeped in French traditions—such as the themes, iconography, and settings of *fête galante* and domestic genre scenes—to express and propagate ideals of a woman's position as the new *citoyenne* to a middle- and upper-middle-class audience (i.e. those who could afford his fine-art prints). This decision would have secured the artist's safety during the incredibly hostile political environment of the 1790s while reaching a French public accustomed to particular artistic genres and subjects.

Debucourt's reproductive fine-art prints involving *fête galante* and domestic genre scenes treated women, their social positions, and their experiences of love and relationships as primary subjects. The artist's *fête galante* prints reflected cultural and political rejections of the subversive acts of female sexuality as either frivolous, corrupt, nonprocreative, and dangerous (if of the French elite), or, when associated with the lower classes, rampant and unrestrained due to ignorance or susceptibility to sexual desire. In Debucourt's domestic genre scenes, women's prominence as wives and mothers within the private sphere is clearly validated, regardless of class. These prints, distributed to a predominantly middle-class audience, participated in the construction of the ideal *citoyenne* by either rejecting sexual behaviors unaligned with middle-class morality or valorizing the wife and mother. It is only Debucourt's *fête galante*-inspired fine-art prints of middle-class subjects that portray the consequences of female sexuality as ambiguous,

seemingly providing both his subjects and his largely middle-class viewers power and agency in decisions regarding their sexual relationships. However, these images are mediated by popular signs and text that carry historically prevalent meanings. Allusions to the insatiable, innate nature of female sexuality—and the dangerously easy manner in which women succumb to it—signaled the preferred chastity and fidelity of the ideal French *citoyenne*. Therefore, though Debucourt's *fête galante* middle-class subjects were seemingly afforded power and individualized choice, they too were restricted to a set of acceptable female roles. By highlighting women's prominence as wives and mothers of the French State, rejecting female sexual behavior that threatened these roles (i.e. infidelity, nonprocreative sexual relationships, extramarital sex, loss of virginity, etc.), and promoting the same beliefs of female sexuality that were used to justify why women were unfit for public positions of power, Debucourt's late eighteenth-century fine art prints aided in the construction of the ideal *citoyenne* as a woman restricted to the private sphere.

LITERATURE REVIEW: ACADEMIC HISTORIES OF FRENCH PRINTMAKING & FEMALE EMBODIMENT

Historically, images have struggled to maintain a scholarly foothold of significance. When eighteenth-century style is assessed, it is text rather than the image that has received the most privilege in academic scholarship. As Joan B. Landes posits, “[p]rejudices abound on behalf of the text—deemed to be a ‘higher,’ more durable monument to civilization—and against the image, ranked ‘lower’ because more fleeting and impressionistic in its effects.”¹ Landes associates this prioritization with what Barbara Stafford calls the “linguistic turn” in contemporary thought; in other words, the

valorization of language has cemented the identification of the written word as a marker of intellectual potency.² I defer completely to Landes's analysis of the "linguistic turn" and its influence on revolutionary studies—largely born from the work and followers of Michel Foucault and François Furet who put forth the notion that "human identity and action are linguistically constituted."³ It was ultimately interest in Foucault and Furet that led French historians to appreciate Jürgen Habermas's 1962 *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, translated into French in 1978 and English in 1989. Habermas's social-historical analysis—an account that takes the reader from medieval to modern society—ultimately argued that it was the eighteenth-century European citizens' ability to exchange opinion concerning governmental affairs through printed texts that brought about the liberal public sphere. Habermas associated French visual culture with the *Ancien Régime* (and therefore oppositional to text), overlooking the importance of the printed image in the creation of the new French citizen. As Landes has argued, scholars can utilize late eighteenth-century graphic arts to understand central issues of the 1789 Revolution, such as "the principle of individual freedom, the new definition of the nation as a popular sovereign body, or the celebration of virtue and the condemnation of vice."⁴

Though an image-based discipline, Art History has fostered its own hierarchical categories of visual culture. Eighteenth-century writers, artists, and critics—such as Voltaire (1694 – 1778) and Jacques-François Blondel (1705 – 1774)—rejected the Rococo due to the style's association with the frivolity and superficiality of the *Ancien Régime*.⁵ In addition, as a result of the historical denigration of printmaking in comparison to painting and sculpture (a tradition first established by the French *Académie*),⁶ *fête galante* fine-art engravings have suffered from a long-standing

insignificance to art historians.⁷ In the past thirty years scholars have reinvigorated their interest in printed media in general, and particularly the cultural, social, and economical implications of the historical production of the graphic arts.⁸ However, in contemporary academic literature, little attention has been given to printmakers participating in the traditions of the *fête galante* genre or to the primary subjects of the art itself: women.⁹ Academic discussion of late eighteenth-century fine-art prints and color engravings has largely been centered on technological developments, usually including artists such as Jean-François Janinet (1752 – 1814), Charles-Melchior Descourtis (1753 – 1720), and Debucourt.¹⁰

Debucourt is best known as the lead producer of multi-plate color-prints at the end of the eighteenth century. This topic has long been the primary focus for scholarship regarding his endeavors in the graphic arts, seen in several catalogues of Debucourt's *œuvre* and compilations of eighteenth-century printmakers including Debucourt from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries.¹¹ These early publications give attention to the technology of the color print at the end of the eighteenth century—an invaluable endeavor that has been thoroughly investigated and is therefore not rigorously addressed in this project. Maurice Fenaille's *L'œuvre grave de P. -L. Debucourt (1755 – 1832)*, published in 1899, is an exhaustive catalogue of Debucourt's graphic *œuvre* and essential to any study involving the artist. In addition, the 1920 catalogue published by the *Musée des Arts Décoratifs* after an exhibition of an impressive quantity of Debucourt's paintings, drawings, and prints is crucial to scholars' understanding of Debucourt's work. The Parisian exhibition inspired English author and critic Malcolm C. Salaman to include Debucourt in his series, *Masters of the Colour Print*, in 1929—the first French artist

represented by the author in his fascicles.¹² Renewed interest in Debucourt was no doubt spurred by reoccurring editions of the Goncourt brothers' 1873 publication, *L'Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, and particularly its 1927 re-publication.¹³

Other, more recent scholarly inquiry of Debucourt investigates the artist's printed representations of Revolutionary politics.¹⁴ Research is scarce, however, regarding Debucourt's most prominent genres (the *fête galante* and domestic genre print) and his post-Revolution transition to satirical subjects and fashion plates. A notable exception resides in Morgan Grasselli's catalogue, published in 2003, for The National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC) exhibition *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, in which Grasselli briefly discusses several of Debucourt's late eighteenth-century fine-art prints.¹⁵ Analyses of Debucourt's representation of contemporary women—the primary subject within both his late eighteenth-century fine-art prints and his early nineteenth-century popular media—are nonexistent. The present study tackles the former issue, investigating Debucourt's representations of contemporary French women until the end of the eighteenth century.

Historians and art historians alike have been interested in eighteenth-century women since Linda Nochlin's well-known 1971 essay, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?"¹⁶ Carol Duncan's 1973 essay on pictorial representations of blissful motherhood as the proposed proper expression of femininity for eighteenth-century audiences is often credited as the first exploration of the political link between images of women and the collapse of the *Ancien Régime*, as well as the reflection of images on new ideals regarding the female role within the emerging middle-class family.¹⁷ Duncan's essay was republished in Norma Broude and Mary Garrard's first installment of feminist

art historical works in 1982.¹⁸ The volume, the first of its kind, contained the important, preliminary questions asked by feminist art historians during the 1970s.¹⁹ The inclusion of Duncan's article within the compilation highlighted its importance to feminist art historical research, particularly in its demonstration of "how art played a not insubstantial role in the Enlightenment's campaign to promote the new ideals of conjugal love and parental responsibility."²⁰

Though scholarship related to women artists and to representations of women in art has proliferated in the last fifty years, limited research has been conducted regarding the associations between constructions of gender and eighteenth-century printmaking. A recent article by Douglas Fordham and Adrienne Albright highlights the significant lack of academic scholarship in print studies regarding questions of gender, positing that "[s]cholars are still a long way from establishing the basic parameters of gender and sexuality in the production and reception of prints compared, for example, to the eighteenth-century novel."²¹ It is in British print studies that questions of gender have begun to flourish, and "[t]he variety of thematic categories into which women have figured in prints, both serious and satirical, reveals some of the complexity of eighteenth-century gender roles and types."²² In the past two decades, some notable investigations of eighteenth-century French *fête galante* printmaking have been published, exploring their embedded reflections and implications of beliefs regarding female sexuality and French politics.²³ In addition, the significant archival research regarding the production and market of eighteenth-century genre prints—such as the work of Anne Schroder, Kristel Smentek, and Peter Fuhring—are crucial to any project involving reproductive prints published during the French Revolution.²⁴

The scholarship of Lynn Hunt is another imperative resource to this project. Hunt has often turned to analyses of prints during the latter half of the eighteenth century and placed particular scholarly importance on political discourse and constructions of the body and sexuality during the French Revolution.²⁵ In addition, Mary D. Sheriff pays particular attention to historical contexts and relationships between eighteenth-century art and its audiences—an endeavor guiding my own analyses of eighteenth-century French prints.²⁶ In 1992, Madelyn Gutwirth published her investigation of gender dynamics and tensions of eighteenth-century France in *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era*.²⁷ Her analyses of eighteenth-century French visual and literary publications regarding women's role in pre-revolutionary France are invaluable to any research involving such a topic. Gutwirth's chapter on goddesses and allegories influenced Joan B. Landes's *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, published in 2001.²⁸ Landes's approach to allegorical representations of women in popular French imagery, her ideas regarding French republicanism, and the utilization of the printed image as a tool of communication to an individual's self-understanding as citizen to the new nation-state are convergent with my own arguments regarding Debucourt's fine-art reproductive prints published at the end of the eighteenth century.

METHODOLOGIES:

Academic discussion involving reproductive prints often disregards the materiality and utilization of the print itself—often relying on reproductive images to derive information regarding the original work yet omitting the significance of their reception and as a democratic form of art. Reproductive prints interpreted original works,

were occasionally altered, were often accompanied and mediated by text, and were viewed very differently than the works that inspired them. In addition, depending on factors such as availability and quality, reproductive prints could reach numerous, diverse audiences. Because of this, I consider the creation, interpretation, dissemination, reception, and use of reproductive prints as both reflections of original works and works of art in their own right. Though Debucourt's late eighteenth-century fine-art prints were most often reproductions of the artist's drawings or paintings, their multiplicity and relatively low cost allowed for a wide, middle- to upper-middle-class audience while their high quality and color editions ensured their status as fine art.

Whether referring to his fine-art reproductive engravings produced at the end of the eighteenth century or his popular fashion plates and satirical series of the early nineteenth century, Debucourt's prints are not pure representations of reality and should not be analyzed as such. Furthermore, reproductive prints are not exact copies of the original works, nor is each state or proof of a print always an exact replica of the previous one. Rather, reproductive prints are artistic creations involving a multitude of factors that are inextricably interrelated and should be considered in any analysis of an artist's *oeuvre*. This project investigates material or formal elements such as technique and size, as well as more external factors, such as: the artist's ideas and interpretation of the original work; the social context in which the print is created; relationships between image and text; questions regarding the context in which a print could have been viewed;²⁹ the viewer's reception and interpretation of the image; the viewer's position within society, etc.³⁰

Scholars can estimate a print's reception due to our knowledge of the intended audience. This can be obtained through analyses of archival records, such as first-hand accounts of an encounter with the image, or shop records of prints dealers, which often contain scrupulous detail regarding the range of a clientele's social class, the availability and popularity of specific prints, and the cost of different print media and subjects.

Announcements in eighteenth-century Parisian journals such as the *Mercure de France* and the *Journal de Paris* stipulate prices for purchasers, providing contemporary scholars with an idea of the affordability of certain prints to socioeconomically diverse patrons and collectors. Fortunately, the latter of these records are abundant for the late eighteenth-century work of Debucourt and, when available, compiled neatly in Fenaille's catalogue. Furthermore, our understanding of artistic audiences can be gleaned from careful contextual analyses of the time period, including inquiries of political climate, social class, and the societal roles of men and women.

The theoretical influences of this project are derived from the latest compilation of feminist art historical scholarship edited by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard.³¹ In their 2005 publication, *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History After Postmodernism*, Broude and Garrard argue that postmodernism has largely become a patriarchal tool of analysis that has denied the very possibility of female agency, particularly in the postmodernist shift away from women's experiential differences from men in order to concentrate on women's positional difference as a historical subject without autonomy.³² Positional difference was adopted by postmodernist feminist art historians seeking a new paradigm for feminist art history that was neither essentialist nor constructivist (also known as essentialism vs. anti-essentialism, or 'feminine sensibility'

vs. a heterogeneous nature of female artwork). Essentialism vs. constructivism encapsulated the postmodern debate between the essentialist idea of collective female experience (i.e., the experiences of being a woman, oppressed within structural frameworks of the past and present, had formed a sort of collective identity or consciousness that is reflected in their artwork) and the emphasis on the heterogeneity of women's art through an avoidance of female stereotypes while still recognizing that women share an experience of social systems that produce sexual differentiation.³³ Such approaches of experiential difference of the sexes relate to theories of patriarchy by only understanding women as oppressed by men or male institutions.³⁴ Feminist art historians attempted to divert from this assumption of inherent sexual division and oppression by adopting the methodology of positional difference within art historical research. Through approaches in positional difference, feminist art historians investigated the positions or place of women as artists and viewers of art within their specific historical situations, and not as autonomous agents. It is this postmodern notion that Garrard and Broude call a denial of individual female agency. Rather than agency, the authors state that approaches of positional difference only open a marginal place within a social system for a woman artist to occupy, where her *position* as a woman is "repressed, refracted or revealed in her work."³⁵ Broude and Garrard promote feminist art historians who look more closely at the agency of specific women in history, particularly the subversive power they actually wielded, and those who research the visual cultural efforts to suppress/neutralize these endeavors.³⁶

The current study assesses female agency within art history—though not in the agency of a group of women (or individuals) who exercised subversive tactics in order to

demand particular positions or rights in history. Rather, I am concerned with the insidious tactics, often overlooked in popular imagery, that seemingly afforded women individualized choice while simultaneously restricting them within a set of socially and politically accepted roles. There were certainly attempts in the late eighteenth-century for women to claim power and participation in the political sphere. Rather than analyze these attempts—an endeavor of many significant scholarly works³⁷—I investigate one eighteenth-century artist’s printed media that subtly aided in the neutralization and counteraction of these efforts. In my analysis of Debucourt’s late eighteenth-century fine-art prints, I question the agency bestowed upon Debucourt’s subjects and the inferences female viewers could have made on evolving freedoms or restrictions regarding their sexual choices and position in the new French state. A number of subversive sexual expressions are represented in Debucourt’s prints of anonymous, contemporary women, such as infidelity and the sexual rendezvous of unmarried women. However, the political climate of the late 1780s and ‘90s demanded the suppression of sexually seditious behavior in order to propagate the chaste, fidelitous female who would become an important member of the French state as a wife and mother of future French citizens. I ask how these works gave the illusion of opportunity for female agency while simultaneously limiting women’s choices regarding their sexuality and aided in their removal from the public, political sphere. As Landes states, though it is widely acknowledged that women dominated much of the imagery during the French Revolution, it is less well understood “whether and how the fact of so many representations of women mattered, and if so, in what ways.”³⁸

A critical analysis involving the breadth of Debucourt's work—including the sheer quantity of his *œuvre* and his immense stylistic shift from Rococo-inspired imagery to Neoclassical design—³⁹demands a much larger project than can be achieved with brevity here. To, at the very least, commence such a project, I conduct an investigation of Debucourt's early fine-art *fête galante* and domestic genre prints which cultivated the stylistic traditions of the Rococo while adapting to shifting ideas on women's position in society and contemporary political thought. An analysis of Debucourt's *œuvre* from his publications in the 1780s to the mid 1790s can offer pertinent information on the roles of women constructed not only by the political upheaval of the late eighteenth century, but also by the social and economical developments occurring in the years surrounding the 1789 French Revolution.

This project explores Debucourt's representation of women in images involving love, sex, and relationships as well as the artist's domestic genre scenes during the apex of his printmaking career (1785 – 1800). I refer to the term "*fête galante*" when analyzing prints with predominantly gallant subjects (and particularly, scenes of love and relationships), and use the term "domestic genre" when investigating Debucourt's romanticized representations of everyday life and domestic tranquility influenced by mid-eighteenth century genre scenes. Research questions vary from the technical and receptive aspects of Debucourt's prints to the more general associations between overarching societal constructions of gender, sexuality, love, relationships and late eighteenth-century print culture in France. This study explores the various ways and themes in which women are represented in Debucourt's prints in the years leading up to and during the 1789 Revolution. I ask how the representations of women differ (or on the

other hand, remain similar) in Debucourt's variety of *fête galante* and domestic genre scenes, and what this says about the constructions of gender, sexuality, love, and relationships for different social classes of French society during this tumultuous time. I also closely consider the social norms, political climate, and the reality of women's rights in 1780s and '90s. Ultimately, Debucourt's participation in artistic genres that featured eighteenth-century women of multiple social classes in various stages of love and relationships, his experimentation with traditional and contemporary French aesthetic tropes involving female sexuality, and his swiftness of production in the years surrounding the 1789 French Revolution make him paramount to any research involving late eighteenth-century representations of women and constructions of gender and sexuality. Debucourt's status as a prominent printmaker who published work accessible to the middle classes made him a highly influential figure in the creation of middle-class identity, and specifically, the reflection, construction, and dissemination of the ideal role of the new *citoyenne*.

PHILIBERT LOUIS DEBUCOURT: FRENCH TRADITIONS & REVOLUTIONARY ADAPTATIONS

Debucourt was and is primarily known as an engraver and etcher, yet he was accepted into the *Académie* on July 28, 1781 as a painter. This allowed Debucourt to receive the benefits of an academic painter while enjoying the profits found in the multiplicity and relative speed of printmaking.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Debucourt is unique among late eighteenth-century color engravers dealing with genre subject matter in several ways. First and foremost, from the beginning of his career in the 1780s to the end of the eighteenth century Debucourt chiefly produced reproductive engravings after his

eighteenth-century, is best known for his engravings after the genre scenes of Nicolas-Antoine Taunay (1755 – 1830) and Jean-Frédéric Schall (1752 – 1825).⁴² Debucourt utilized similar subject matter to Janinet and Descourtis and even created pendants for a few of their reproductive prints.⁴³ However, while Janinet and Descourtis produced genre imagery based on the work of other artists, Debucourt's pendants were reproductions of his own tableaux. Debucourt's focus on the creation of reproductions after his own designs fostered a swift production process, allowing him to quickly adapt his printmaking in tandem with the changing nature of late eighteenth-century artistic taste, societal norms, political ideals, and even constructions of sexuality. This is distinctly visible in plates such as *La Croisée* (1791) [Fig. 2], where the second edition was drastically reworked in order to align with contemporary political thought regarding women's behavior and roles in the domestic sphere.

Fig. 2. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *La Croisée*, second state, 1791. Engraving and color etching, 42.3 x 33.2 cm. Bibliothèque National, Paris.



Though Debucourt published several fine-art political prints and portraits—such as *Vive le Roy* (c. 1791), *Almanach National* (1791), and the portraits of *Louis Seize* (1789), *Mgr. Le duc d'Orléans* (1789) [Fig. 3], and *Napoléon I^{er}* (1807)—the bulk of his work in the late 1700s consisted of *fête galante* and domestic genre themes, and he was accepted into the *Académie* as a “*peintre en petit sujet dans le genre des Flamands*,” (painter of small subjects in the Flemish style).⁴⁴ Though Debucourt ceased to exhibit paintings and drawings in the *Salon* after 1785,⁴⁵ the artist's original works continued to serve as primary inspiration for his fine-art prints. Women were represented in most, if not all of Debucourt's genre scenes (including his *fête galante* and domestic genre subjects). Their representations appeared within the following traditional thematic scenarios of gallant imagery: the relationship between servant and aristocrat, seen in *L'Oiseau Ranimé* (1787);⁴⁶ women reading, such as *Minet Aux Aguets* (1796);⁴⁷ the exchange of the love letter, referenced in the first state of *La Croisée* (1791);⁴⁸ secret rendezvous, seen in *L'Escalade* (1787);⁴⁹ nature as a metaphor for female sexuality, particularly in pastoral scenes such as *Heur et Malheur* (1787) and *Pauvre Annette* (1795);⁵⁰ proclamations of love and waiting for love, such as *La Rose* (1788);⁵¹ scenes of resistance and ambiguous consent to sexual advances and the protection of innocence, referenced in *La Rose Mal Défendue* (1791);⁵² fidelity, such as *Les Deux Baisers* (1787);⁵³ and the “chase,” portrayed in *La Main* (1788). These themes were often conflated in various combinations within the print, seen particularly in Debucourt's middle-class imagery, such as the tropes of resistance and protection of innocence in *La Rose Mal Défendue* [Fig. 4]. After the Revolution, Debucourt's printed subjects shifted to either satirical scenes or fashion plates (or more often than not, a combination of the

two). However, the previously mentioned thematic scenarios—particularly in regards to love, fidelity, relationships, and constructions of masculinity and femininity—remained prominent themes for Debucourt, reflecting the prominence of gender politics during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

Fig. 3. Philibert Louis Debucourt. *Mgr. Le duc d'Orléans*, 1789. Etching, 24.5 x 19 cm (plate). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 4. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *La Rose Mal Défendue*, 1791. Etching and engraving, printed in color, 42 x 33 cm. (image). Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.



Debucourt's range of subjects and the quality of his prints would have created a wide audience of varying social classes throughout his printmaking career. However, Debucourt's early fine-art engravings (from about 1785 – 1797) were most likely intended for a range of well-to-do middle-class and upper-middle-class audiences. For example, his *Le Menuet de la Mariée* (1786) [Fig. 5] was dedicated to M. Le Comte de Cossé, and was advertised in the *Mercure de France* and the *Journal de Paris* at six livres.⁵⁴ His *Promenade de la Galerie du Palais Royal* (1787) [Fig. 6], Debucourt's best-known print, was double the cost of the *Le Menuet de la Mariée*.⁵⁵ The cost of the artist's genre imagery falls within the range of these two prints but most often toward the lower end of six livres. Debucourt did produce color engravings for as little as three livres, such as *Annette et Lubin* (1789).⁵⁶ Claudette Hould states that the most common price for engravings in the years surrounding the Revolution was six livres, though color proofs and prints were generally twice as expensive as black-and-white prints.⁵⁷ The words of Détournelle, an architect and publisher of *Aux armes et aux arts!* (the Journal for the Republican Society of the Arts), provide clues regarding who could afford fine-art prints during the Revolution:

There are two heads for sale, Marat's and Le Peletier's ... both drawn by David and engraved by Copia, at a cost of 6 livres. This price is too high for a Farmer and Wine Grower to be able to decorate their hut with them. They prefer two hideously coloured heads engraved in wood that cost only 20 sols. I agree with Hassensfradz, who said at a Club Meeting that it was time for all of these monstrosities to disappear. The time has finally come to replace them with Engravings worthy of the People, and to distribute them to all Departments, Popular Societies and families.⁵⁸

Debucourt, an artist born to "respectable middle-class parents" (his father was a *huissier à cheval*, or bailiff, and later a *Procureur fiscal*, a legal officer with financial responsibilities, such as the collection of taxes, fines, or debts),⁵⁹ would have held

particular interest in the formulation of the definition of a “respectable” middle-class citizen in the years surrounding the French Revolution, rather than the “Farmer” and “Wine Grower” Détournelle expressed concern for. Debucourt was likely also concerned with the creation of high-quality, reproductive prints of his own designs that were affordable to a range of middle-class citizens. After 1785, Debucourt abandoned the *Salon* and focused solely on his printmaking production for middle-class audiences until his return in 1802.⁶⁰

Fig. 5. Philibert Louis Debucourt. *Le Menuet de la Mariée*, 1786. Etching, 38.3 x 27 cm (sheet). The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 6. Philibert Louis Debucourt. *Promenade de la Galerie du Palais Royal* (The Palais Royal Gallery's Walk), 1787. Etching, 40.1 x 58 cm (sheet). Saint Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, Missouri.



While Debucourt played a rather quiet role within his time at the *Académie* before its abolishment in 1793, he may not have been without social ambition before the stirrings of the Revolution. The artist was a friend to the Comte de Cossé Brissac: the same man *Le Menuet de la Mariée* is dedicated to and a witness to the contract of Debucourt's first marriage. Debucourt also signed his early prints "de bucourt"⁶¹—reflective of a fashionable, elite title—until he promptly altered his signature to the more common "Debucourt" in 1791. This sudden modification of Debucourt's signature occurred in a year of accumulating violence towards the aristocracy, and the same year the king and his family attempted to flee to Montmédy. Although a middle-class citizen, Debucourt attempted to distance himself from associations to the aristocracy through the

manipulation of his name. This would have been increasingly important to artists working in genres associated to the *Ancien Régime*, including Debucourt, given his continuous production of *fête galante* imagery in the Rococo style.

By 1794, prints representing “*des sujets contraires aux bonnes mœurs*”—images deemed indecent by the newly implemented *Société des Arts* after the abolishment of the *Académie*—were under violent attack. In her analysis of the *Société*’s meeting reports, Susanne Anderson-Riedel states: “Jean-Baptiste Wicar’s proposal to burn all prints which did not conform with revolutionary ideals—‘*ces sales productions*’—was welcomed with enthusiasm.”⁶² The *Comité de salut public* (Committee of Public Safety) began to censor several engravers and printers in 1794, even ransacking print shops and arresting artists. Claudette Hould describes the feverish climate of print censorship in her article on revolutionary engravings, where emblems of royalty and “trunks full of kings, queens, and dauphins” were handed over to the correctional police tribunal while the engravers and printers of such works were seized.⁶³ Hould states:

Basset, Chéreau, Esnault and Rapilly, Joubert and Depeuille saw engraved copper plates sent to be melted, while ‘wagonfuls of engravings of royal effigies’ went to the trash can. Despite his political opportunism, six thousand copper plates were examined at Basset’s by the Beaurepaire section of the Revolutionary Committee. The bookstores in particular were closely watched. Weber, publisher at the royal Palace, was brought back from the army and jailed at the Conciergerie. His engravings were sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal. On May 20, 1794, he was sentenced to death ‘for having published political and obscene writings.’ Mercier, Hébert, Desenne and Lallemand were imprisoned, whereas Gattey, the famous merchant of aristocratic brochures was sentenced to death.⁶⁴

The fervor and fear of the political climate in 1794 led artists to condemn fellow artists—an action supported by the *Société*, who “invited its members to draw up lists of prints which they considered worthy of denunciation.”⁶⁵ Hould speculates that it may have been

such a denunciation that led the *Comité de salut public* to condemn the celebrated artist Louis-Léopold Boilly for the erotic undertones in his work in 1794—an artist participating in amorous and moralizing subjects similar to that of Debucourt. Boilly escaped a violent fate by reminding government officials that his denounced works were painted long before the Revolution and his reproductive engravings were only reflecting the seductive natures of other artist’s paintings, therefore void of responsibility.⁶⁶ Debucourt, if denounced, would not have had such an argument.

Debucourt left Paris in 1794 to live in Passy (an area close to Paris, now considered in the 16th arrondissement), “where he led a peaceful life occupied with his fruit trees, his fowls and tame rabbits.”⁶⁷ However, Debucourt continued to publish printed work, including his 1794 *Egalité* [Fig. 7], a popular female allegorical figure representing the morals of the Revolution.⁶⁸ The artist also continued to produce images influenced by traditional Rococo style, such as *L’Oiseau Privé*, *Pauvre Annette*, *Les Minuet aux Aguets*, and others. Debucourt even published *fête galante*-influenced imagery through Depeuille—one of the print publishers under surveillance during the reign of terror—in the mid 1790s, such as *L’Oiseau Privé* (1795) and *Pauvre Annette* (1795). Depeuille had previously published several of Debucourt’s more tantalizing prints when the artist resided in Paris. Debucourt’s plates were occasionally altered to align with revolutionary ideals (such as *La Croisée*), and the artist remained legally unscathed throughout the 1790s regardless of his production of amorous and moralizing subjects.⁶⁹ In order to avoid denouncement by either the government or his fellow artists, Debucourt’s genre prints, though certainly influenced by stylistic traditions of the elite, were nonetheless carefully aligned to the political climate of the late eighteenth century.

Fig. 7. Philibert Louis Debucourt. *Egalité*, 1794. Etching, 24.4 x 20 cm. British Museum, London.



VISUAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS & RESTRICTIONS IN REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE

There were a series of conflicts between the upper classes in the late eighteenth century—particularly regarding the reckless spending that brought national finances to the verge of bankruptcy—and a widening class distinction between the aristocracy and lower class.⁷⁰ These were the principal elements that instigated the French Revolution of

1789, marking the passage of power from a monarchical government to modern institutions of the nation state. What were once subjects of the crown were now French citizens of the nation.⁷¹ Defining the identity of a widening middle class (often in distinction to the aristocracy and lower classes) and the role of the new French citizen became paramount to the formulation of the French nation. However, the late eighteenth-century female *citoyenne* was not equal to a male *citoyen*. According to Landes, even with the 1789 proclamation of the rights of man, the 1792 establishment of universal manhood suffrage, the abolition of slavery in 1794, and the reforms to civil and family law advantageous to women, female citizens of the new French State retained a second-class status; and French women were continuously “deprived of fundamental political rights” during the 1780s and 90s.⁷² Economic position dictated levels of citizenry in the Constitution of 1791, and women (along with many men) were considered “passive citizens,” holding no property or voting rights.⁷³ Excluding domestic servants, only independent men over the age of twenty-five that were able to meet the minimum property requirement were considered active citizens.⁷⁴ Women’s inferior status in the eyes of the new French State remained even as the political climate took a democratic shift following the declaration of the Republic. After ‘universal suffrage’ under the Republic in 1792, citizenship was granted to all independent males over the age of twenty-one. Women and domestic servants were conspicuously left out of the definition of citizenship and denied equal political status.⁷⁵ Erica Rand states that in 1793, “confronted with women’s ability to effect political change through collective protest,” Revolutionary officials banned women’s associations and clubs; and, by 1795, women were legally prohibited from gathering outside the home in groups of five or more.⁷⁶ As

women were pushed from the political sphere, the definition of a *citoyenne* and the reinforcement of her roles within the private sphere were of great importance to the new French state.

One might question why, in a country apparently dedicated to the equal rights of its citizens, women continued to be denied full citizenship. In addition to their unequal political rank, women were expected to behave differently than men in both sex and morality. Good behavior and morality were private matters directly tied to public virtue and state interest. Unrestrained, rampant sexuality associated with the libertine aristocracy or even the unenlightened lower classes was seen as a threat to the formation of the new republican state, and “women’s unlicensed sexuality and untempered enthusiasms were thought to imperil state and civil order.”⁷⁷ André Amar, a Jacobin deputy, supported the motion to ban women’s clubs in the fall of 1793—just one example of the attempt to eradicate women and their unpredictable passions from the public sphere. He believed the different roles appropriated to men and women were necessary due to their separate natures. In his motion, Amar argued:

This question is related essentially to morals, and without morals, no republic... Their [women’s] presence in popular societies... would give an active role in government to people more exposed to error and seduction. Let us add that women are disposed by their organization to an over-excitation which would be deadly in public affairs and that interests of the state would soon be sacrificed to everything which ardor in passions can generate in the way of error and disorder. Delivered over to the heat of public debate, they would teach their children not love of country but hatreds and suspicions.⁷⁸

Late eighteenth-century beliefs regarding female sexuality, reflected in Amar’s proclamation, were influenced by the numerous philosophical discourses on the sexes, gender, and the roles of men and women in society, both traditional and modern, which

circulated throughout France. Traditional treatises such as *Aristotle's Masterpiece* and Nicholas Venette's *The Art of Conjugal Love* continued to transfer Classical knowledge of the sexes and their place in society to thousands of readers.⁷⁹ Enlightenment thought nurtured a growing debate surrounding the role of women, which was centered on the sexualization of female existence.⁸⁰ It was due to such clashing theoretical frameworks that eighteenth-century France saw a rising tension between the traditional identification of women as a basic derivative of men—a paradigmatically Aristotelian approach—and an accumulating bourgeois interest in the emancipation of females from males.

The emancipation between the sexes was largely reflected within medical research, and was fostered through a drive for knowledge and a concentration on science that developed within the Enlightenment. In his research regarding the cultural creation and delineation of modern sex and gender roles, Thomas Laqueur proposes that in the eighteenth century, the reproductive organs were diverted from their classical role as a mode of cultural hierarchies and instead became a site of fundamental biological and social difference.⁸¹ In other words, women came to be considered as distinctly separate from men due to their opposing biological characteristics, particularly within the reproductive organs.⁸² As the debate over structural characteristics of the human body flourished, the relationship between female biological attributes and her sociocultural capabilities became paramount to the redefinition of the male-to-female relationship.⁸³

While eighteenth-century interest in human biology benefited women (now considered biologically separate rather than biologically inferior) it also paved the way for cultural constructions of the differences between the way men and women do and should behave. Book V of Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Émile ou De l'éducation*, published

in 1762, is one well-known example of how eighteenth-century philosophers and authors believed biological distinctions must also manifest culturally. Book V discusses the education of the fictional female counterpart of *Émile* named Sophie. Just as *Émile* represents masculine society as a whole, Sophie serves to embody the female version. The very fact that women were now part of the conversation over education attests to their rising importance within the Enlightenment period, a time when the education of children—and, consequently, their mothers—was largely discussed and developed.⁸⁴

Rousseau's discussion of Sophie's upbringing centers solely on her imminent role as a future submissive wife.⁸⁵ In order to achieve her prescribed status within society, Sophie must learn to restrain her natural desires and moderate her passions—all “natural inclinations” which must be channeled “in order to prevent excess.”⁸⁶ According to Rousseau, women are naturally ‘excessive’ in all their feminine traits, including: a penchant for finery, cleverness, guile, curiosity, coquetry, passion, and desire—the latter of which manifests in excessive, unrestrained female sexuality.⁸⁷ Rousseau argues that female sexuality is entirely natural and utterly insatiable—much unlike male sexuality, which is induced by culture.⁸⁸ In her discussion of Rousseau's Book V of *Émile*, Dorelies Kraakman summarizes Rousseau's comparison between female sexuality and nature: “whereas man has only mediated relations with nature, woman's relation to nature is unmediated, to the extent that metaphorically she is nature, and her nature is sexuality.”⁸⁹ Rousseau creates distinct separations between male and female sexualities, where women are discussed as innately, naturally sexual, easily controlled by their sexual desires, and susceptible to gallantry and excess. Though women's innate characteristics could be used to their advantage, women lacked virtue when not taught modesty and restraint.

Amongst many other examples concerning sexuality in the eighteenth century, Denis Diderot's treatise *Sur les femmes* (1772) most closely mirrored Rousseau's interpretation of the wild nature of females.⁹⁰ In his treatise, Diderot expresses his belief that women, through their utter dependence upon their raging sexuality, are prevented from progressing to a higher form of civilization (presumably akin to the sophistication and restraint found within men).⁹¹ Women are therefore resigned to a primitive and savage state in which they are "ever threatening to sully man's cultural achievements with an uncontrolled outbreak of her powerful natural sexuality."⁹² Similar to Rousseau and Diderot in his beliefs, D. T. Bienville proposed in 1771 that all women were naturally at risk of nymphomania—a disease he defined as "an insatiable desire for sexual intercourse with delirium" in which "women with a naturally ardent temperament were especially at risk, but nymphomania could strike young girls who had never known love, prostitutes, married women, and young widows."⁹³ Because practically all women were at risk, Bienville proposed that women were easily endangered, often participating in imprudent or hasty practices.

Several great thinkers of the period were concerned with women's rising role in public institutions, such as the salons, and were influenced by the philosophical and medical treatises regarding female sexuality published at the time. Lynn Hunt argues: "Montesquieu warned of the effects of women's use of their sexuality to influence public affairs, and Rousseau took this further into a general documentation of women's propensity for self-display in public and its corrupting effects on masculine virtue."⁹⁴ The effect of female eroticism on male public affairs became a major concern to eighteenth-century philosophers and public officials, who found female eroticism "particularly

disturbing because it blurred the lines between private and public.”⁹⁵ In the 1790s, André Amar’s testimony against women’s participation in public arenas utilized such constructions, arguing that women’s disposition for “over-excitation” and “ardor of passions” would ultimately become “deadly” to public affairs. In 1791, a former bishop and liberal statesman named Talleyrand similarly echoed Rousseau when he stated: “the happiness of everyone, and especially of women, demands that they do not aspire to exercise rights or public functions,” because this was the “will of nature.”⁹⁶

While eighteenth-century beliefs regarding female sexuality made women appear unfit for public roles, the private sphere was understood as an invaluable realm for the development of modern nationalism. Women held prominent domestic roles as wives and mothers, and their importance as educators and nurturers to future French citizens was paramount to an ideal French State. In order to achieve this ideal, the private sphere had to be regulated with manners and morals appropriate to middle-class morality, such as female propriety, chastity, fidelity, and monogamy.

As Landes states: “Visual evidence from the period reveals a great deal about the fashioning of new cultural and political identities, as well as the way in which manners and morals occupied the French citizenry’s attention.”⁹⁷ Women’s bodies proliferated in public imagery circulating during the Revolution, whether as allegories of the nation or the disreputable figures of female caricature. Landes argues these images are remarkable due to a patriarchal engrossment with providing woman a “proper” place within the new French society:

Increasingly, good governance and good morals were associated with domesticity; and domesticity came to mean women’s restriction to the domestic sphere and domestic tasks, in lieu of their full participation in the nation’s public life. Surely, revolutionary visual culture is paradoxical in

its insistent public “showing” of the female body while upholding a gendered discourse of female domesticity and male publicity.⁹⁸

Scholars like Landes have given prominent attention to allegorical female figures that represented the new republic (unlike the image of the king, whose body represented his absolute, monarchical power), and to popular caricature of female aristocrats or figures otherwise unaligned to Revolutionary ideals (such as the clergy and women participating in politics) in order to glean beliefs regarding female position in Revolutionary society. In *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, Lynn Hunt includes essays demonstrating the representative power of women’s bodies during eighteenth-century France. She states: “They could stand for nurturance or corruption, for the power of desire or the need of domination, for the promise of a new order or the decay of an old one. The special role of women in the transmission of power through their reproductive capacities ensured that their representation in art and literature would be multivocal”⁹⁹ This was particularly true during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due to rising interest in women’s roles within an increasingly democratic and mass politics.

Reproductive printmaking was instrumental in the construction of middle-class identity in late eighteenth-century France. Bellhouse believes middle-class identity was largely created through a production of distinctly separate aristocratic and lower class identities that lacked middle-class morals:

Over the course of the century, new cultural codes emerged in visual representation that served to define and esteem the middle classes. As in any semiotic system, meaning was produced in a relational way. New ways of signifying the absence of middle-class identity were simultaneously established: there was a new discursive production of upper- and lower-class identity that defined these classes as inferior inasmuch as they lacked (signs of) middle-class virtue.¹⁰⁰

Debucourt's late eighteenth-century fine-art prints participated in the formulation of middle-class identity during the French Revolution. In particular, his prints helped to reflect, construct, and disseminate ideals of female sexuality as it pertained to middle-class morals. This was an important endeavor for a printmaker participating in a genre with ties to the aristocracy whose images could lead to fines, his arrest, or even his execution during the height of the censorship on printmaking and the Terror. While Debucourt's satirical representations of the elite classes in the late 1780s—such as *Les Deux Baisers* (1786) and *L'Oiseau Ranimé* (1787)—echoed contemporary beliefs regarding the frivolous and unproductive French aristocracy, the artist's pastoral scenes involving the lower classes most often contained moral tales on the loss of virtue or virginity. Both Debucourt's elite and lower-class women lack middle-class morality, though in different ways, and are therefore portrayed very differently: female members of the French elite were characterized as frivolous (in features, attire, and activities) and corrupt, and actively participated in licentious exploits; and women of the lower-classes were represented as sexually ignorant and unfortunately unchaste yet simultaneously innocent and placed in idyllic, bucolic settings.

In Debucourt's scenes of middle-class women in various stages of love and relationships, the most important component is the protection of one's virtue. The scenes are ambiguous and without conclusion, left to the interpretation of the viewer. However, Debucourt includes specific visual iconography and text that mediate the image and suggest to a viewer a particular conclusion. Though the overall scene seems ambiguous, culturally understood signs that carry historically prevalent meanings involving female sexuality are included throughout Debucourt's prints to imply moral messages. The

messages almost always allude to the insatiable, innate nature of female sexuality and the dangerously easy manner in which women succumb to it. In late-eighteenth century France, the loss of virginity (particularly of young, unmarried women) and infidelity were seen as particularly harmful against the family unit and, since a strong family unit was required to create a strong French society, female sexuality was a threat to the state itself.

According to Landes: “Revolutionaries dreamed of a republican mother, capable of banishing her own vanity, passions, and self-interests in the name of her children and the nation.”¹⁰¹ This ideal is seen in Debucourt’s domestic genre scenes, where female sexuality functions best in the privacy of the domestic sphere. Here, the outcome of domestic tranquility and happiness is most clear. The prints place clear emphasis on women’s prominence in the family within the new nation, influenced by eighteenth-century philosophical treatises regarding women’s role as nurturer and educator to children. By emphasizing women as an important cog in domestic virtue and the democratic family while withholding full citizenship, the new Republic was able to valorize women’s role within the private sphere without giving them power in the public sphere.

Debucourt used costume, setting, social class, text (such as title and verse), and various signs entrenched in traditional and contemporary French beliefs regarding female sexuality to communicate his moralistic messages to the viewer. In turn, Debucourt’s viewers would have recognized, deciphered, and internalized these messages of appropriate and inappropriate female sexual behavior and women’s place within the developing French Republic. Such interpretations were only possible through the dissemination and reception of the democratic form of printed media, which, unlike

painting or sculpture, could enter middle-class domestic spheres and were viewed by both men and women. In addition, Debucourt catered to an audience accustomed to certain imagery by utilizing well-known French tropes, aesthetics, and subjects. Debucourt's use of Rococo-influenced genre imagery, carefully aligned to contemporary political thought, allowed viewers to readily understand his moral messages without the artist suffering legal ramification.

THE SYNCHRONIC & ADVANTAGEOUS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE *FÊTE GALANTE* GENRE AND FRENCH REPRODUCTIVE ENGRAVING

The relationship between *fête galante* imagery, reproductive engraving, and female sexuality in Debucourt's prints was influenced by the development of the *fête galante* genre and French reproductive engraving throughout the eighteenth century. First and foremost, Debucourt's representation of contemporary French women participating in sexual relationships was made possible by a major shift in popular erotic imagery at the beginning of the century, when artists began to portray the liaisons of contemporary French figures rather than mythological gods and goddesses. In the early eighteenth century, art connoisseurs (largely the elite and the aristocracy who could afford to commission such work) began to prefer painted portrayals of the pleasures of modern society rather than the far-away concept of mythological desire.¹⁰² The new genre was dubbed *fête galante* and catered to the elegant yet often-frivolous taste of the French aristocracy and elite who favored the playful Rococo style over the grandiose and strict Baroque. Early gallant imagery was defined by an imaginary, lush setting that served as a backdrop to contemporary figures garbed in theatrical attire, often engaging in various stages of love or desire. The primary focus was most often the relationship between two

modern lovers who coyly participated in high society love games, seen in paintings such as Jean-François de Troy's *The Game of Pied-de-Boeuf* (c. 1725) and *Declaration of Love* (1731), or idyllic, bucolic scenes of lower-class lovers often frolicking through nature, such as Jean-Antoine Watteau's *The Shepherds* (c. 1717 – 19) [Fig. 8].

Fig. 8. Jean-Antoine Watteau. *The Shepherds*, c. 1717 – 19. Oil on wood, 56 x 81 cm. Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany.



In 1781, Debucourt was accepted into the *Académie* as a “*peintre en petit sujet dans le genre des flamands*” (a painter of small subjects in the Flemish genre), and his paintings expressed the same seventeenth-century Dutch influences as earlier French *fête galantes*. His early paintings, such as *La Consultation Redoutée* and *Le Juge ou La Cruche Cassée*, both exhibited at the 1781 *Salon*, placed contemporary lower-class figures in rustic interior scenes similar to Greuze's *L'Accordée de Village* (1761) [Fig. 9]. Other early works portrayed the outdoor parties reminiscent of Watteau's pastoral subjects, such as Debucourt's *La Danse Au Village* (1783 *Salon*). After 1785, most of

Debucourt's artistic production involved fine-art prints portraying the romantic entanglements of contemporary lovers from several socioeconomic classes. His subject matter and aesthetics include influences from the *fête galantes* and pastoral scenes of Watteau, Pater, Lancret, de Troy, Fragonard, Boucher, Baudouin, etc., as well as the domestic genre scenes of Greuze and Chardin.

Fig. 9. Jean-Baptiste Greuze. *L'Accordée de Village*, 1761. Oil on canvas, 92 x 117 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.



Debucourt's foray into print production was a shrewd business decision that profited from the market for French reproductive print publication of *fête galante* subjects that had developed in the eighteenth century. Gallant imagery flourished in the French court during the first half of the century while a rising interest in *recueils*¹⁰³ and French engravers was solidified by the *Recueil Jullienne*: a two volume publication of reproductive engravings after Watteau's drawings and paintings.¹⁰⁴ Jean de Jullienne, art

collector and commissioner of the *Recueil Jullienne*, capitalized on collectors' interest in *recueils* and used only French engravers, aiding in the development of an international market for French reproductive engraving and the *fête galante* genre. Through the *Jullienne*, engravers such as François Boucher (1703 – 1770) demonstrated their skills at recreating the fluidity of the Rococo onto their plates. Pierre Jean Mariette (1694 – 1774), a French connoisseur and collector, later associated this technique with the national aptitude of France, acknowledging French printmakers as the sole expressers of the “purest reproductions.”¹⁰⁵ Though artists working in other genres certainly utilized reproductive engraving to disseminate their work, it was in the *fête galante* genre—a new, primarily French genre portraying contemporary people—that a predominant group of French engravers took hold.

Engravers of gallant imagery continued to hold important roles in French visual culture throughout the eighteenth century, using reproductive engraving to promote their names and workshops. Jacques-Philippe Le Bas (1707 – 1783) was a prominent reproductive engraver of gallant imagery whose workshop was attended by many engravers interested in the subject.¹⁰⁶ His rival, Laurent Cars (1699 – 1771), was a historical engraver who also engraved portraits, genre scenes, and *fête galantes* after various eighteenth-century masters such as De Troy, Van Loo, Greuze, and Watteau. Students of Le Bas, such as Hubert-François Gravelot (1699 – 1773)¹⁰⁷ and Charles-Dominique-Joseph Eisen (1720 – 1778),¹⁰⁸ spearheaded color engraving of the late eighteenth century and influenced the work of Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin (1721 – 1786), Jean-Michel Moreau (1741 – 1814), Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761 – 1845), and others.¹⁰⁹ Of all the color engravers, however, it would be Descourtis, Janinet, and

Debuycourt who dominated *fête galante* reproductive engraving at the end of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁰ Debuycourt experimented with printmaking techniques in several genres influenced by eighteenth-century French artists, including: crayon-manner portraits similar to the portrait engravings of Cochin; pastoral scenes in the taste of Huet; gallant subjects in the manner of Schall or Lavreince; family scenes in the sentiment of Greuze and Chardin; illustrations influenced by Vien and Prud'hon; etc.¹¹¹ Debuycourt was truly an artist inspired by French traditions and French artists, and produced work for French audiences that were keenly aware of shifting fashionable and aesthetic tastes.

In the exhibition catalogue of Tsar Nicholas I's collection of eighteenth-century erotic engravings, Sarane Alexandrian argued that while libertine and sentimental genres dominated eighteenth-century literature and art in France, they shifted and grew during different reigns.¹¹² These shifts reflected the public and political discourse of the time, and were particularly affected by the medical separation of the sexes and the evolving role of women in society. Artists and writers of the eighteenth century produced visual and literary representations of the lessons of love, not in a didactic way, "but by providing heady examples of everything that we do in connection with desire, the quest for pleasure, autoeroticism, the will to seduce, and the need endlessly to conquer sexual partners or become attached to just one person."¹¹³ Alexandrian argues that letters, memoirs and visual aids (like prints) educated young people of both sexes far greater than treatises on morality and psychology. In the same catalogue, Dimitri Ozerkov posited that prints—an easy to reproduce and thus widely available form of art—more fully offered reflections of society's attitudes towards love, sex, and relationships than other forms of artistic media.¹¹⁴ Debuycourt's late eighteenth-century reproductive prints participated in

the education of love for French viewers by utilizing traditional and contemporary tropes of female sexuality to engage his audiences in suggestions of acceptable and unacceptable manners and morals. Through his print production, Debucourt was able to reflect upon contemporary cultural beliefs involving women's roles in love and relationships and alter his plates according to shifting political attitudes—a difficult feat in the slower processes of painting or sculpture. In addition, the affordability of Debucourt's prints disseminated overarching beliefs of women's roles to a range of middle-class citizens. Prints were relatively small and mobile and therefore able to enter the domestic sphere for private contemplation of middle-class family members, including women.

Scholarship has not been able to firmly establish the myriad of ways late eighteenth-century fine-art prints were viewed. This is one of the most elusive elements regarding eighteenth-century printed imagery. However, according to Détournelle, small and medium-sized engravings (such as Debucourt's fine-art prints) were used to decorate houses and apartments in the years surrounding the French Revolution.¹¹⁵ Debucourt's early fine-art engravings, such as *Les Deux Baisers* and *L'Oiseau*, were most likely considered aesthetic works of art in their own right, framed, and hung in the home. Their high quality, large size, and use of color suggest these prints were displayed in a manner similar to small paintings. Other, smaller, but equally fine images may have been held in domestic libraries in print portfolios or pasted into books. This may be particularly true for images such as *La Rose* [Fig. 10] and *La Main* [Fig. 11], which contain popular verses underneath the image and are meant for careful, individual study.

Fig. 10. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *La Rose*, 1788. Color engraving on laid paper, 50.6 x 37.8 cm. (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



Fig. 11. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *La Main*, 1788. Color engraving on paper, 50.4 x 38.1 cm. (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



According to Alexandrian, those of a passionate age primarily used novels and gallant engravings when it came to their sexual education.¹¹⁶ In support, Ozerkov argues that young people often turned to the engravings of their libraries for what to do about matters of the heart, looking not just to images, but to the accompanying verses as well, like those seen in “fashionable quotations from novels and poems by authors such as Lafontaine, Gentil-Bernard, Favart, Gacon and Lemierre, or dedications which were open to the most liberal interpretations.”¹¹⁷ This visual education of love was particularly important for upper-middle and upper-class women, who found in gallant novels, paintings, and engravings instruction certainly not taught in convents or boarding schools. As Alexandrian acknowledges: “these works showed them desire was more important than love, and that when it came to love the only thing that counted was a pleasure of the senses.”¹¹⁸ Whether framed and hung in French apartments or tucked away in domestic libraries, Debucourt’s prints would have been viewed largely within a private realm, unless exhibited at the *Académie*.¹¹⁹

CHAPTER 2: REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN'S ROLES & THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN DEBUCOURT'S GENRE PRINTS

AN IDEAL 'TYPE': WOMEN'S FASHION, BEAUTY, & CLASS IDENTIFICATION IN DEBUCOURT'S GENRE PRINTS

Identifications of social class are difficult when only analyzing the female figure of Debucourt's genre scenes. In the prints discussed in this project, the women are very similar in appearance regardless of the context in which they appear. This could be due to the fashionable taste of women's clothing in the late eighteenth century. In contrast to women's courtly fashions in the 1770s—which favored thick layers of white makeup, wide hoop-skirts, high-heeled shoes, and teetering towers of highly accessorized, white-powdered wigs—French fashion during the later eighteenth century was rather simple and relatively undifferentiated between social classes.¹²⁰ This shift in fashion was largely due to the rejection of luxury and frivolity (traits associated with the *Ancien Régime*) and the embrace of simpler, unembellished fabrics, natural, unadorned hairstyles, and an overall unaffected appearance.¹²¹ Though the women of the upper classes had access to higher quality fabrics than other social classes, the growing spending power of the middle class allowed for more participation in contemporary fashion. This, combined with fashionable interest in the simple designs of women's costuming, made the distinctions between classes less clear. This is particularly true for the idealized artistic representations of the anonymous women in Debucourt's *fête galante* and domestic genre prints. In these scenes, beautiful women of varying social classes are placed in idyllic settings and wear similar, fashionable (and yet simple) costuming. This often resulted in scenes where ideal female subjects look alike regardless of class. Debucourt clearly took costuming seriously in his fine-art prints and used traditional tropes and contemporary

fashions to portray late eighteenth-century beliefs of female sexuality to his viewers. Debucourt's women may look nearly identical to the contemporary viewer. However, the eighteenth-century French viewer—particularly those versed in fashionable tastes of the day—would have understood underlying meanings in slight alterations of dress or use of well-known costumes, such as the appearance of the *chemise à la reine* in *Les Deux Baisers*.

Since eighteenth century prints were a highly adaptable and relatively quickly produced artistic medium that allowed for contemporaneous reflections of fashion, commercial discourse and a gendered economy played an important role in the redefinition of women in the eighteenth century. In her research on the eighteenth-century fashion industry, Jennifer Jones argues that commercial culture—such as the fashion press, almanacs, and advice manuals—influenced discourse involving womanhood, commerce, national prosperity, despotism, and citizenship.¹²² Debucourt was a prominent printmaker who participated in contemporary reflections of fashion, seen particularly in his collection of fashion etchings, *Modes et Manières du Jour*, published in the early nineteenth century [see Fig. 12 for an example].¹²³ However, the artist's interest in fashion began much earlier, seen in his fine-art reproductive prints of the 1780s and 90s where female figures are often garbed in contemporary, fashionable costumes and accessories. Debucourt's interest in subject matters that primarily involved eighteenth-century women provides contemporary scholars with an accurate template of what was fashionable during the years leading up to the Revolution. As an artist primarily concerned with contemporary scenes and fashion plates rather than historical pictures of the past, Debucourt would have been knowledgeable of fashionable taste within the late-

eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. This knowledge allowed Debucourt to utilize women's fashion within his prints for various reasons and in various ways, including slight variations in fashion that allude to social class, morality, patriotism, and even the inherent sexuality of his female subjects.

Fig. 12. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *Modes et Manières No. 9: L'Escarpolette (Chapeau de Paille Brodé, Sans Rubans)*, 1800. Hand-colored etching on paper, 26.5 x 18.4 cm (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



In Debucourt's *fête galante* and domestic genre prints between the late 1780s and 1800, female figures most often wear solid-colored or striped petticoats underneath long, narrow skirts held by fabric tied around the mid-section. Shoes are small with a tiny heel, and a lost shoe designates a sexual encounter and the loss of innocence, as we see in *Heur*

et Malheur and *Pauvre Annette*. Hairstyles are always curled and pinned up, often held in place by ribbons, bows, and hats. Debucourt's few images of the upper-elite are the only *fête galante* fine-art prints that deviate from this template, such as *Les Deux Baisers* and *L'Oiseau Ranimé*. Here, women wear specific dresses that carry particular meanings for the eighteenth-century viewer, or they display excessive fashion and undress that exaggerates the overspending and libertine nature of the aristocracy. Regardless of class, all of Debucourt's women analyzed here are fair-skinned, rosy-cheeked, and while young, have reached the age of sexual maturity (often denoted by a revealed breast). While the similarities of each woman represent prevalent notions and ideals of fashion, beauty, and youth, they also create an ideal female 'type' that Debucourt placed in each of these prints, which are then varied or mediated by costuming to accommodate social-class and context of the scene and send particular messages regarding female sexuality. By using a female 'type', Debucourt employs a standard representation of a woman that carries the innate biological traits of her sex and places her in various contexts in order to create scenarios involving women's role in love and relationships during the late-eighteenth century.¹²⁴

SATIRE AND SEXUALITY: THE FRIVOLOUS, NONPROCREATIVE, AND DANGEROUS LIAISONS OF ELITE FRENCH WOMEN

In Debucourt's early color engravings of the elite, such as *Les Deux Baisers* (1786) and *L'Oiseau Ranimé* (1787), one sees associations between costumes of the upper class and notions of infidelity, the insatiable sexual appetites of women, and frivolous sexuality (i.e. not for reproduction). While *Les Deux Baisers* and *L'Oiseau Ranimé* are two of Debucourt's earliest prints, they are representative of Debucourt's

gallant scenes that take place in an aristocratic setting.¹²⁵ Both scenes are satirical and portray sexually charged situations associated with the French aristocracy and upper elite at the end of the eighteenth century, notably: infidelity and ambiguously sexual relations between an upper-class woman and her maid.

While status is largely identified by the lavish interior surroundings in *Les Deux Baisers* [Fig. 1], the woman's attire aids in her upper-class identification.¹²⁶ She wears accessories favored by those of high social standing, such as a large wreath of pink flowers on top of a powdered wig or a high up-do of coiffed curls.¹²⁷ This woman's costume is particularly interesting in the context of social class, fashion, and female sexuality in the late-eighteenth century. Her dress, though relatively simple in comparison to the intricately designed fabrics of the French elite worn up to the 1780s, carries layers of sheer, white muslin, and was known as the *chemise à la reine*. While simple, the fabric was still luxurious and expensive—therefore most likely affordable only to the upper classes. The *chemise à la reine* was worn in several portraits of elite women during the 1780s, such as the portrait of Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier and his wife by Jacques-Louis David in 1788.¹²⁸ However, it was Marie Antoinette's scandalous portrait in 1783 by Louise Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun [Fig. 13] that created direct associations between the *chemise à la reine* and the excess and impropriety of the aristocracy. In previous decades the informal aesthetic of the dress had resigned its use to the private realm of the home. It wasn't until the exhibition of Marie Antoinette's portrait at the 1783 *Salon* that the *chemise à la reine* entered the public world.¹²⁹ While the infamous portrait increased public awareness of the dress, the public display of the Queen wearing a garment meant for the private sphere only increased her negative publicity as a

frivolous heavy-spender and a sexual libertine who participated in numerous extramarital affairs.¹³⁰

Fig. 13. Marie Louise Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun. *Marie Antoinette in a Chemise Gown*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 92.7 x 73.1 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Knowledge of the *chemise à la reine* was furthered by the role of Nina in *Nina, ou La folle par amour*: an *opéra-comique* by French composer Nicolas Dalayrac (1753 – 1809) and performed by the *Comédie-Italienne* in 1786 in Paris.¹³¹ The French operatic actress Louise-Rosalie Lefebvre (also known as Madame Dugazon) played the lead role

of Nina, the lovesick heroine. Her image as Nina wearing the *chemise à la reine* proliferated the arts in both painting and print throughout the 1780s, including a portrait painting of Madame Dugazon as Nina by Vigée Lebrun in 1787, a reproductive engraving of Claude-Jean-Baptiste Hoin's portrait of Nina by Janinet (also in 1787) [Fig. 14], and cheaper popular prints of Madame Dugazon as Nina resembling French fashion plates.¹³² The well-received play portrayed Nina as a woman driven to madness after the apparent death of her forbidden lover, Germeuil, in a duel. Nina's reason is returned only after Germeuil is found to be alive and her father, Count Lindoro, finally permits their marriage. The scene of Nina's madness is most popular in artistic renditions of *La folle par amour*, and each of the aforementioned pieces portrays the famous scene. Grasselli describes the image of Nina in Janinet's *Nina, ou La Folle par amour*:

... driven mad by the supposed murder of her beloved fiancé, Germeuil, Nina goes each day to the sylvan grove where they first declared their love. Holding a bouquet for him, she sings, "When the beloved returns/ to his languishing friend/ Spring will be reborn,/ the grass will always be in bloom. But I look, alas! Alas!/ The beloved returns not." When he does not come, she places the bouquet on the bench and leaves.¹³³

Nina is almost always depicted on a green bench within a sylvan grove of abundant forestry. The character always wears the *chemise à la reine* and flowers in her hair, and often holds a bouquet of flowers in her hand. In popular printed imagery, Nina is reduced to a representation of female madness ignited by her unfulfilled sexual desire. Her *chemise à reine* ties her to the infamous portrait of the Queen, which carries its own undertones of excess, frivolity, and unrestrained female sexuality. It is not only the appearance of Nina or Marie Antoinette, but also the costume they helped bring to the public sphere—the *chemise à la reine* itself—that promoted connotations of love, madness, and female sexuality.

Fig. 14. Jean-François Janinet. *Nina, ou, La Folle par Amour*, after Claude Jean Baptiste Hoin, 1787. Engraving on paper, 59.8 x 31.5 cm (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



The madness of Nina represents the anxiety over the easiness with which women were thought to succumb to their wild, sexual nature. As a woman denied the outlet of her sexual desire, Nina's madness correlates with what D. T. Bienville defined as nymphomania, or "an insatiable desire for sexual intercourse with delirium."¹³⁴ Since Nina wears the *chemise à la reine* in scenes portraying her moment of madness, the costume is tied to both her madness and sexuality. The diversity of media used to portray Dugazon as Nina attests not only to the popularity of the play, but the dissemination of beliefs regarding female sexuality that Nina represented to a late eighteenth-century French audience, including the insatiably sexual nature of women and their susceptibility to what Rousseau called "excessive" female desire. The image was so well known it was even used in a French textile from Nantes in the 1790s.¹³⁵ While the portrayal of Nina (in the form of Madame Dugazon) by the court painter Vigée Lebrun attests to the importance of Nina's character for an aristocratic and elite audience, images of Nina, and what she represented, would have reached the middle and lower classes through the circulation of prints of varying affordability.¹³⁶

The female figure of *Les Deux Baisers* wears a particularly wide *chemise à la reine*, perhaps to emphasize her high status in association to fashions previously favored by the elite. Her floral wreath may also carry associations to Nina, particularly since the print was published so soon after the play's debut in 1786. Vigée Lebrun makes a direct connection between the use of roses in one's hair and the character of Nina in her memoirs during a visit to Lady Hamilton in 1802. She writes: "When I went to return her visit one morning, I found her [Lady Hamilton] radiant with joy, and besides she had put a rose in her hair, like Nina."¹³⁷ Unlike Nina (though perhaps more aligned to popular

belief regarding Marie Antoinette), the woman of *Les Deux Baisers* has multiple romantic interests and is clearly participating in an extramarital tryst. The young woman caresses the cheek of the much older man who sits before a portrait of himself kissing the woman, presumably his wife. Unnoticed by her husband, the woman receives a gentle kiss to her outstretched hand by a much younger gentleman (the artist, indicated by the brush and painter's palette he holds in his hand). The title of the print, *Les Deux Baisers* ("The Two Kisses"), is located directly below the image in large block lettering and brings further attention to the act portrayed. Though the pale, beautiful woman glances demurely downward, her infidelitous actions are clearly represented for the viewer. A small dog—a common, traditional symbol of marital fidelity—further emphasizes the woman's betrayal. To eighteenth-century philosophers, infidelity was seen as a threat to the continued existence of the social community. According to Rousseau, the infidelitous female "dissolves the family and breaks all bonds of nature. In giving the man children which are not his, she betrays both. She joins perfidy to infidelity."¹³⁸ While the subject of infidelity was certainly not a new one, Debucourt's use of contemporary costuming held well-understood eighteenth-century connotations of female sexuality and reflected overarching beliefs of elite women at the time. Viewers would have understood how acts of infidelity were inextricably tied to the sexuality of aristocratic women and the petty, unproductive actions of the French elite.

Les Deux Baisers is a translation of Debucourt's painting *La Fainte Caresse*, exhibited at the Salon in 1785.¹³⁹ According to Salaman, the painting was met with great success.¹⁴⁰ The print, published a year later, was conducted in wash manner and printed in black, blue, red, orange, and yellow inks. Dodgson calls the print a *gravure en teinte*

aux outils, meaning the work was engraved with a mixture of engraving techniques, including roulettes, and “without the use of acid for biting-in a design traced on an etching ground.”¹⁴¹ Debucourt experimented with several techniques in printmaking throughout his career, including crayon, aquarelle, *encre de Chine*, *lavis de sepia*, etc. Debucourt’s experimentation with *Les Deux Baisers* is interesting, for though the subject of the print is old (a younger wife of an older man partaking in an illicit affair), the treatment of a color print with multiple engraving and etching techniques was entirely new.¹⁴² As one of the lead producers of color plates in the period, Debucourt capitalized on rising interest in France for color engravings. The print itself would have been considered highly fashionable and an aesthetic work of art in its own right, particularly due to its rather large size (the sheet is 34 x 40.2 cm, about the size of a small painting). Though the print could have very well been held in a portfolio to be taken out and examined when the owner wished, its size and quality suggests *Les Deux Baisers* was meant to be framed and hung on the wall as a reflection of fashionable taste. The print would have been expensive, and most likely unavailable to the lower and lower-middle classes. However, in comparison to other contemporaneous prints by Debucourt of similar quality, *Les Deux Baisers* was most likely less than twelve livres and within an affordable range to the bourgeoisie who were accumulating wealth during this time.¹⁴³ *Les Deux Baisers* was catered towards this audience, reflecting middle-class contempt towards the aristocracy through a representation of undesirable female sexuality while simultaneously providing a fashionable work of art for the middle classes.

Salaman calls *Les Deux Baisers* “an immediate success” and a reflection of the “new and vivacious illustrations of the amorevolous romances, the comedies of

marivaudage, the life of gay philandering, which reflected the spirit of the time.”¹⁴⁴

While the latter may be true, *Les Deux Baisers* was most likely a success due to the following reasons: first, color-engraving was enjoying a burgeoning vogue in France; second, Debucourt’s use of contemporary fashions in a traditional subject matter made the print fashionable while capitalizing upon established French taste and tropes; and third, the print would have been affordable to the increasingly wealthy middle-class seeking to define their own status within late eighteenth-century France. According to Dilke, for unknown reasons, the sketch for *La Fainte Caresse* was the last time Debucourt exhibited at the *Académie*,¹⁴⁵ though he continued to sign his prints “*peintre du Roi*” (painter of the King) until around 1791 and reentered the *Salon* after the Revolution in 1802 as a reproductive engraver.¹⁴⁶ It is likely Debucourt understood the lucrative business of printmaking and began to be less interested in catering to elite audiences with Academic paintings. Whatever the case, *Les Deux Baisers* marks the beginning of Debucourt’s establishment in the realm of fine-art prints affordable to a range of the middle classes.¹⁴⁷

L’Oiseau Ranimé [Fig. 15] represents a second theme associated with French aristocratic sexuality during the latter half of the eighteenth century: the relationship between a woman and her maid. In the print, two women are in a state of undress, emphasized by the bare breasts of the woman on the right and the wrap of sheer fabric that barely contains that of the woman to the left. The larger woman wears a towering fanned cap adorned with flowers atop a powdered wig—an aristocratic practice that lost fashionable standing around this time through its associations to the elite. Her rose corset has come undone, and the blue laces droop below her waist. The smaller woman, dressed

Fig. 15. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *L'Oiseau Ranimé*, 1787. Color aquatint on paper, 54.2 x 41.4 cm. (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



less finely, is a domestic servant. She stands on a stool to bring her to equal height of her mistress, leaning toward her. Her position and assertive stance reflects eighteenth-century anxieties involving the power afforded to domestic servants at the time. For example, the servant of *L'Oiseau Ranimé* holds power of influence: she places her face closely to her employer's as if to relay a secret, she has aided in her mistress's undressing, and she pulls back the curtain of the elegant bed as if to persuade her mistress to enter. The yellow

canary that rests between the aristocratic woman's breasts is a symbol with long-standing pictorial and literary traditions, alluding to the presence of a lover, sexual release, and/or loss of virginity.¹⁴⁸ In addition, what appears to be a man's massive tri-cornered hat lies upturned on the chair to the women's left, a common symbol alluding to the prior presence of a male visitor. The servant seems to goad her mistress into some sort of sexual situation—similar to the scene in Moreau le Jeune's reproductive engraving of Baudouin's *La Coucher de la mariée* [Fig. 16], where a serving woman, standing behind the demure bride, cajoles her into her marital bed and places her mouth suggestively near the bride's neck.¹⁴⁹

Fig. 16. Jean Michel Moreau le Jeune. *Le Coucher de la Mariée*, after Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, 1767. Etching and engraving on paper, 38.8 x 30.7 cm (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



By revealing the serving woman's breasts in *L'Oiseau Ranimé*, Debucourt sexualizes her in addition to her employer. It could be that, rather than preparing her mistress for a sexual liaison, Debucourt is suggesting the women will participate in a sexual relationship together—alluded to by their states of undress and the suggestive posturing of the servant. Homoeroticism between women was not an uncommon subject in the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁰ According to D. A. Coward: “early in the 1770s ‘la tribaderie’ emerged in the open,” and “moralists deplored the tribardic fashion, but the public treated lesbians with the mockery it reserved for the woman ‘sur le retour’ who took a young and vigorous lover.”¹⁵¹ Eighteenth-century mockery of lesbian relationships aligns with the frivolity of Debucourt's print, and the image could be understood as ridicule of homoerotic aristocratic relationships. In addition, Bellhouse states that aristocratic women and female servants were often pictured in the bedroom, “while the middle-class ‘woman’ is more apt to be situated in another area of domestic space, read as less sexually charged.”¹⁵² Whether *L'Oiseau Ranimé* represents a sexual liaison of the aristocratic woman or a sexual relationship between serving woman and employer, the ambiguity provides multiple readings of the image, all which lead to the same conclusion for the eighteenth-century viewer: female sexuality of the aristocracy was frivolous, excessive, and licentious, and was in opposition to the heterosexual fidelity and mothering of the middle-class household.

Erica Rand coined the term “girl-group erotics” in her discussion of Baudouin's *La Coucher*, which debuted at the 1767 *Salon*.¹⁵³ Rand argues that the image, depicting a woman coaxed into her marital bed by a group of maids, holds historical precedent because it comes at a period “when the spectacle of women together at the site of sexual

activity begins to appear quite dangerous.”¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the growing anxiety surrounding the dynamic between female servants and their aristocratic employers culminated in the years leading up to the 1789 Revolution, when the follies of the elite were especially despised. Though not of noble background, female servants were seen as sexually available partners to aristocrats, the educators of children on topics such as sex and masturbation,¹⁵⁵ and the witnesses to bodily rituals and the sexual relations of their employers.¹⁵⁶ As politically motivated pornography of the aristocracy as sexual libertines or sufferers of impotency abounded throughout the eighteenth century, the public saw those in close quarters to the aristocracy as sexual and suspicious by association.¹⁵⁷

Anxiety and sexual fantasy of “girl-groups” did not begin with representations of the aristocrat and her maid, and was also not limited to eighteenth-century visual culture. In the 1760s, the harem and the convent became two prominent sites of female sexual interaction in French literature, such as Montesquieu’s *Lettres persanes* (1723).¹⁵⁸ Even Diderot’s 1760 *La Religieuse* contains what Rand describes as “the now notorious clinical description of two nuns’ mutual stimulation to orgasm that locates the text doubly in traditions of social criticism and pornography.”¹⁵⁹ According to Rand, Diderot was concerned with fantastical representations of sexual interactions between women as well as those that occurred closer to home, such as the relationship between his lover, Sophie Volland, and her sister, Mme Le Gendre.¹⁶⁰ Diderot expressed his anxieties regarding their interactions in a letter to Sophie:

Madame le Gendre is or will be with you incessantly. I have become so overanxious, so unfair, so jealous; you always speak well of her to me, and get so impatient when anyone criticizes her that... I dare not finish this! I am ashamed of my feelings, but I cannot prevent them. Your mother thinks that your sister likes obliging women, and it is certain she loves you dearly; besides, think of this nun she had such a liking for; and besides, the

voluptuous and tender way she leans over you sometimes; and her fingers
so oddly intertwined with yours!¹⁶¹

Though Diderot serves as one example of one who was unnerved (yet titillated) by women's sexuality and relationships with each other, anxieties of female interaction flourished throughout the late eighteenth-century. As the *Mémoires secrets* stated in 1784: "Tribadism has always been in vogue among women, like pederasty among men, but these vices have never been flaunted with as much scandal and show as today."¹⁶²

In his *Salon de 1767*, Diderot attacked the behavior of the female bride in Baudouin's *La Coucher*, who he argued should not be portrayed "solicited by her spouse in the presence of her female attendants who prepare her."¹⁶³ He provided a separate description on how to paint a woman's wedding night, where an innocent, "well-born and well-bred" girl would prolong the entrance to her marital bed as long as possible, only to be tearfully pulled away from the arms of her parents into a room alone with her new husband.¹⁶⁴ By demanding the removal of the bride's female attendants, Rand calls Diderot's description of *La Coucher* "an occasion to erase the girl-group's multilayered intrusion into representation," stating that it represents "an early, still semi-formed expression of a nascent concern that the consequences of girl-group affiliation were not confined to the sites of occasional homoerotic play, but instead threatened the social order."¹⁶⁵ The 1787 publication of *L'Oiseau Ranimé* is one of the last *fête galante* prints produced in a similar manner to Moreau le Jeune's *La Coucher* after Baudouin; and, though it carries erotic overtones that would have made such an image titillating to the late eighteenth-century viewer, the print is aligned with contemporary beliefs regarding the nonprocreative and dangerous sexual practices of aristocratic sexuality to French society.

According to Mary L. Bellhouse, “politically motivated pornography peaked in quantity and viciousness during the early Revolutionary years;” and even the more subtly sexual images of the female domestic servant and the aristocratic woman served as immoral representations of female sexuality for middle-class viewers.¹⁶⁶ She argues:

The female domestic servant and aristocratic woman, in somewhat different ways, are each rendered as the disorderly woman, a complex trope that serves to fix moral, political, and class boundaries. As part of this strategic development, female aristocrats and domestic servants are increasingly represented by codes directly contrary to those signifying “proper” middle-class femininity. As the new *low others* of the bourgeoisie, the aristocratic woman and female domestic servant are figured as bodies marked by bourgeois signs of “disorder,” including “dirt,” nudity, and nonprocreative sexuality.¹⁶⁷

Sexually charged prints of domestic servants and their employers circulated widely among the middle and upper classes of French society in the 1780s, and served as threatening images of excess and nonprocreativity that did not align with Rousseauian ideals regarding domesticity and family life touted by the middle classes. Though Bellhouse primarily discusses what she deems “erotic remedy prints” (images of domestic servants providing enemas for their employers), the sexual overtones of *L’Oiseau Ranimé* and the relationship between the servant and aristocratic female are similar in their basic function to an eighteenth-century audience: to “undermine the legitimacy of the ancien régime as a social, moral, and political system and, indirectly, helped to valorize middle-class identity.”¹⁶⁸ The two women’s state of undress would have been seen as bourgeois signs of disorder, and their sexualized behavior and partial nudity would have been understood as a form of nonprocreative, even dangerous sexuality.

The equal height of the short serving woman and her aristocratic employer serves as another interpretation of the middle-class anxiety regarding the power wielded by domestic servants. Bellhouse argues the bourgeoisie saw servants as threatening to their own developing social status, particularly in “the new political claims circulating in France that servants ought to be considered in some way equal to their masters.”¹⁶⁹ According to Bellhouse, the middle ranks of society were particularly insecure of their own social status in the latter half of the eighteenth century¹⁷⁰—a time when the bourgeoisie was rising in power and influence. Debucourt intentionally placed the smaller serving woman on a footstool, making her an equal height to her mistress in order to play with insecurities involving middle-class social status. Her assertive, goading stance reflects middle-class distrust for aristocratic/servant relationships while providing a titillating image subversive to middle-class ideals regarding female sexuality. In this way, *L’Oiseau Ranimé* serves as both an antagonist to and affirmation of the developing definition of middle-class citizenry.

L’Oiseau Ranimé was designed as a companion piece to Janinet’s *La Comparison* (after Lavreince) [Fig. 17], published a year earlier. A shrewd businessman, Debucourt often published pendants to his own or another artist’s work, capitalizing on the success of previous designs to propagate his prints.¹⁷¹ Unlike most other reproductive engravers working at the end of the eighteenth century, Debucourt doubly profited from creating companion pieces to another artist’s print: not only was he garnering profits from a trend proved popular by a previous artist, but his reproductive prints promoted his own work. *L’Oiseau Ranimé* is signed twice to highlight Debucourt’s complete control over his design, once as “*P. L. De Bucourt fecit*” and again as “*Peint et Gravé par de Bucourt*

Peintre du Roi". The print also includes Debucourt's address signed clearly under the title, providing interested buyers or commissioners with the necessary contact information of the artist. While Janinet capitalized upon the popularity of Lavreince's designs, Debucourt created original interpretations of contemporary beliefs regarding aristocratic sexuality for middle and upper-middle class viewers in order to propagate his work.

Fig. 17. Jean-François Janinet. *La Comparaison*, after Nicolas Lavreince, 1786. Etching, 36.3 x 28.6 cm (image). National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



L'Oiseau Ranimé is a high-quality color engraving, though slightly smaller than *Les Deux Baisers* and arguably around a price of twelve livres, if not less. According to Kristel Smentek's examination of Parisian printseller Siméon-Charles-François Vallée's account books, largely recorded during the 1780s, while nobles often spent lavishly on the most extravagant of prints available in his Parisian print shop, most of Vallée's customers belonged to "the third estate" of lawyers, notaries, and even bakers.¹⁷² Most interesting are the print seller's records of sold artwork by genre, which illuminated the most popular and consistent subject matter within Vallée's shop: sex.¹⁷³ Such scenes ranged from the erotically implicit to sexually explicit, and began with the reproduction of erotic rococo gallant painting, such as Vallée's recordings of the extremely popular Maurice Blot engraving after Fragonard's *The Bolt* (1784).¹⁷⁴ It is probable that Debucourt's reproductive, erotic prints of the 1780s were similarly popular—particularly those that reflected contemporary beliefs of female sexuality that were important in the formulation of the percolating Revolution.

The satirical intimacy of *L'Oiseau Ranimé* suggests the print would not have been viewed in public, but was most likely for private consumption in a home library or *salon*. While the democratic nature of the print allowed for the dissemination of ideals, the propagation of an artist's work, and a wide viewership, the private, individual way one interacts with an erotic image such as *L'Oiseau Ranimé* would have allowed for an intimate scrutiny different than that of a publicly viewed work. For example, owners had the option of viewing such prints whenever they wished, perhaps without the speculation or interference of other viewers around them. This creates an interesting juxtaposition between late eighteenth-century constructions of the separate yet intertwined realms of

the private and public spheres. The print was circulated publically and reached a wide audience yet viewed privately, individually, or at the very least, domestically. In addition, the print is public in that it reflects overarching beliefs of female sexuality that were understood as corrupt to French society; yet *L'Oiseau Ranimé* is representatively private as an intimate interior scene of female eroticism. *L'Oiseau Ranimé* is just one example of how printed representations of women's bodies played an important role in the transmission of power (such as ideas regarding the corruptness of the *Ancien Régime*) to the private sphere, where it could be carefully studied and internalized by domestic viewers.

Though these superfluous interior scenes of the upper class were popular at the time,¹⁷⁵ they were soon to lose favor by an increasingly wary French public who sought to disassociate themselves from anything related to the aristocracy. When considering similar contemporary work¹⁷⁶ and the political climate of the late eighteenth-century, *Les Deux Baisers* and *L'Oiseau Ranimé* were not just titillating pictures to entertain those who could afford fine-art engravings. Rather, Debucourt's prints reflect overarching beliefs regarding the mad, insatiable, libertine side of female sexuality most associated with the aristocracy. Through satire, Debucourt distances the viewer from the actions within *Les Deux Baisers* and *L'Oiseau Ranimé* and constructs their transgressions as frivolous, negative acts inappropriate to the developing definitions of citizenry and acceptable behaviors of the bourgeois. In other words, these images reflect a growing negativity (or at the very least, ridicule) towards the French elite while simultaneously serving as a vehicle of social sanction against inappropriate female behavior. This is achieved subtly through a combination of satire and iconography associated to the

aristocracy and female sexuality, and disseminated to a public audience through the use of a printed media.

BUCOLIC SCENES OF SEXUAL IGNORANCE: CONSTRUCTIONS OF LOWER-CLASS FEMALE SEXUALITY

Debucourt disassociated developing middle-class identity from the aristocracy through a production of fine-art engraving that reflected sexual behaviors unaligned with middle-class morality, such as infidelity and nonprocreative sexuality. While the women in *Les Deux Baisers* and *L'Oiseau Ranimé* are portrayed as frivolous or infidelitous sexual libertines, Debucourt's lower-class subjects represented a side of female sexuality unrestrained due to ignorance and unenlightenment. Debucourt's aristocratic and lower-class women lack middle-class virtue for entirely separate reasons and are therefore represented very differently. Debucourt's elite women lack morality due to their extravagant and extramarital behaviors that is then emphasized through satire. Though Debucourt's lower-class women have also lost their virtue, their guilelessness or incomprehension softens the image. The women are portrayed as young, demure, and occasionally regretful or even unknowing of the consequences of their behavior. Debucourt implores the viewer to pity these women with references to their innocence or ignorance—either through the print's title, accompanying text, or iconography steeped in French tradition. Their naiveté and susceptibility to sexual behavior is further emphasized by their placement in nature: a direct reference to uninhibited female sexuality. Similar to Debucourt's depictions of the French elite, the middle-class viewer would have interpreted these images as visual advisories against unacceptable sexual behaviors.

In Debucourt's early fine-art prints such as *Heur et Malheur, ou, la Cruche Cassée* (1787) and *L'Escalade, ou, Les Adieux du Matin* (1787), the dresses of the lower-class women are simple, loose-fitting, and in a state of disarray. This emphasizes the natural sexuality of women who, due to ignorance and weakness, have given in to their sexual desires. Additionally, Debucourt most often places his lower-class subjects out-of-doors with tropes regarding the loss of virginity or the ignorance of one's own sexuality. While there is a sense of wild abandon or giving in to pleasure, such images are represented as pleasant, idyllic genre scenes in comparison to Debucourt's satirical prints of aristocratic liaisons. This aligns with eighteenth-century middle-class attitudes toward the upper and lower classes: the former seen as frivolous and corrupt and the latter understood as unenlightened, yet respectable.¹⁷⁷ When they have not given in to their sexual desires and have fulfilled their role to the general will of the French state, lower-class women are portrayed just as virtuous as other classes, seen in images such as Debucourt's *Les Plaisirs Paternels*.

Though overall very similar in physical appearance, there are some ways social class can be distinguished or alluded to in these prints. In *Pauvre Annette* (1795), *Heur et Malheur* (1787), and *L'Escalade* (1787), the young women wear simple scarves tied around their bare breasts. In *Heur et Malheur*, the female subject wears a cotton dress that hangs loosely around her midsection and breasts—very similar to the appearance of the woman in *L'Escalade*. Their minimal and unadorned attire supports the supposition that these women are of the lower class, while their disheveled appearance is likely the result of a sexual encounter with the men that accompany them. However, the social standing of Debucourt's female subjects is best identified by scene and context. Figures

are often represented in the middle of a field, such as in *Pauvre Annette* and *Heur et Malheur*, or before dilapidated or quaint country housing, seen in *L'Escalade* and *Annette et Lubin*, signifying his figures' lower-class status through their surroundings. Though Debucourt's lower-class figures are usually placed in a rustic or natural setting, lower-class citizens were still living in the center of Paris. Rather than accurate representations of reality, Debucourt provided the eighteenth-century viewer with fashionable pastoral scenes that carried specific connotations of sexual ignorance and rampant sexuality. This was done through implementation of tropes associated with unrestrained female sexuality and loss of virginity, such as the broken jug, the spewing fountain, and an abundance of fecund natural scenery.

Debucourt's *Heur et Malheur, ou, la Cruche Cassée* [Fig. 18] was announced in the *Mercure de France* on December 1, 1787, and was one of the artist's earliest color fine-art prints. In the scene, a young girl leans against a fountain, holding her head in her hand while carrying a small, cracked jug. The broken jug was a well-known metaphor referring to loss of virginity, and was often employed in eighteenth-century pastoral scenes of young women. Greuze's 1771 *La Cruche Cassée* [Fig. 19] was a likely inspiration to Debucourt's female subject (both wear similarly disheveled garments and hold a broken vessel). Greuze's *La Cruche Cassée* was well received and widely known, so much so that a poem imagining the story behind the painting was published in the *Almanac of the Muses* in 1778.¹⁷⁸ In the poem, a girl approaches a fountain to fill her water jug, but chances upon a sixteen-year-old boy who decides to fulfill the task for her in exchange for several kisses.¹⁷⁹ The young girl initially refuses, but the continuous kissing leads to frantic stumbling and the pitcher breaks. The poem moves to warn

Fig. 18. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *Heur et Malheur, ou, la Cruche Cassée*, 1787. Color engraving on paper, 37.3 x 27.2 cm. (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



readers that too much freedom and ignorance will cause young women to be “lost”— or, presumably, to give up their virginites. In Debucourt’s scene, the warning may have come too late: the young girl’s clothes hang in disarray, her shoe is missing, she wipes at her tears with a handkerchief, and to her right resides a pile of pressed grass or hay (most likely alluding to the presence of the two figures in the scene). Her forgotten shoe lies at

the edge of the pile, providing further evidence of her an amorous encounter. The spewing fountain behind the couple may refer to the fountain of love, another popular trope of the time that affirms the sexual nature of the scene.¹⁸⁰ Though the roof of a house appears between the foliage to the left, the rest of the pastoral scene is abundant with woodland. An overgrown bush or tree sags over the rustic fountain, pressing down with an oppressive weight that seems to encompass the female figure.

Fig. 19. Jean-Baptiste Greuze. *La Cruche Cassée*, 1771. Oil on canvas, 108.5 x 86.5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Nature and female sexuality held important associations for the eighteenth-century viewer, particularly those who followed the philosophical treatises of Rousseau, and was often used to highlight passionate and/or wild sexuality. Rococo scenes of love and relationships were often flanked by an abundance of nature that, while reflecting the florid and graceful style of the period, served to emphasize the abounding sexuality of its subjects. Traditionally, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century operas and bucolic literature featured shepherd heroes, such as the epic poem *L'Astrée* by D'Urfée, the seventeenth-century operas *Acis and Galathée* (1686) and *L'Hameau d'Issé* (1697), and the eighteenth-century operas of Handel, Rameau, Gluck, and others.¹⁸¹ The pastoral and rustic scenery of artists like Lancret and Pater encapsulated operatic scenes of idealized peasants who lived and worked in simple bucolic settings.¹⁸² In the mid-eighteenth century, Rousseau posited that men were capable of goodness, sincerity, and spontaneity only outside of society, arguing that civilization corrupted this natural goodness and solidarity between men.¹⁸³ However, since Rousseau also believed aristocrats, urban dwellers, and women were the most dangerous of civilized society, and that rampant female sexuality was associated with nature itself, pastoral images of women incorporated this desire for innocence as well as the susceptibility of women to lose their virtue due to uncontrolled sexual desire.¹⁸⁴ In addition, as the fashion for English gardens reached France in the eighteenth century, “nature” appeared in the backyards of the aristocracy and elite, as well as public parks accessible to the French public.¹⁸⁵ Scenes of secret rendezvous by contemporary French figures in these natural settings (such as parks and gardens) quickly became popular in printed imagery. This was particularly true for eighteenth-century pastoral scenes where nature was most untamed and all

encompassing, often dominating the scene more than the figures. Printed depictions of nature in lower-class pastoral scenes of love and relationships therefore held several important connotations for the eighteenth-century viewer: first, nature had traditional and Rousseauian associations to innocence or purity in contrast to urbanism; second, nature held contemporary significance in its relation to secret trysts in gardens and public parks; and third, abundant nature was understood as a metaphor for excessive female sexuality. Debucourt utilized these connotations in *Heur et Malheur*, where the young girl is surrounded by iconography of both her innocence, represented by the white lamb, and her unrestrained sexuality.

The weeping girl of *Heur et Malheur* follows traditions of single-figure paintings of melancholy young girls, often depicting “the transition to adulthood as a crisis that may prove insurmountable.”¹⁸⁶ These women are saturated with regret, and lament for a past before their mistake. Particularly popular was another of Greuze’s paintings, *Young Girl Weeping Over Her Dead Bird* [Fig. 20], exhibited in the 1765 *Salon*. Largely due to Diderot’s musings over the painting in his *Salon de 1765*, associations were made between the dead bird and the young girl’s virginity. In her article regarding Diderot’s interpretations of Greuze’s painting, Emma Barker states:

Far from being purely an imaginative projection on Diderot’s part, the narrative that he comes up with is informed by the fundamental conditions of feminine existence within a patriarchal society, in the context of which not only he but also other contemporary spectators would have understood *Weeping Girl*.¹⁸⁷

Barker asserts that Diderot would not have been alone in his interpretation of Greuze’s *Weeping Girl*. Debucourt utilized this cultural trope in *Heur et Malheur*, published twenty years after Greuze’s painting, in order to emphasize a message of morality. While

Fig. 20. Jean-Baptiste Greuze. *Young Girl Weeping Over Her Dead Bird*, c. 1765. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 45.7 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland.



the young woman of *Heur et Malheur* follows traditional French tropes and is influenced by the work of French masters, her loss of virtue would have been easily interpreted by eighteenth-century French audiences. The susceptible young girl also appeared in literature of the latter half of the eighteenth century, particularly in books concerned with female puberty as “at once a wonderful blossoming and a dreadful crisis.”¹⁸⁸ Pierre Virard wrote that young girls, around the age of fourteen or fifteen, became “pale, dreamy, melancholy, they are fed up with everything,” while simultaneously being exceedingly lovable.¹⁸⁹ Young women became characterized as fragile and susceptible to seduction by men with dishonorable intentions, as well as a tendency towards insanity or hysteria when unfulfilled by love. Virard concluded by stating young women “should never forget that they carry a treasure in fragile vases,” alluding to their innocence, virginity, and fertility.¹⁹⁰ This is seen within *Heur et Malheur* in the image of the cracked jug, symbolizing the damaged virtue of the young girl.

Seeking to propagate his work, Debucourt's *Heur et Malheur* provided eighteenth-century viewers a scene that employed traditional tropes, such as the *cruche cassée* and the weeping girl, while capitalizing upon popular, contemporary French culture, such as Greuze's painting, the later poem on the subject, and continual interest in *Pastorale* scenes.¹⁹¹ To the French viewer, the print reflected upon the importance of virtue by representing the young girl as "tenderly sorry,"¹⁹² and includes a small, white lamb that jumps at her feet. Just as the girl regrets her decision to give up her virtue, the viewer understands her loss as innocent yet unpropitious. In a time period keen on virtue and the condemnation of vice, the loss of one's virtue was truly unfortunate. Unlike Rousseau's Sophie, the young girl of *Heur et Malheur* has not learned to restrain her natural desires or moderate her passions. She has given in to her natural sexuality, emphasized by overabundant nature. The print offers an example of what occurs, according to Rousseau, when women's sexuality is not channeled to prevent excess. As Rousseau states: "For the same reason that [women] have—or ought to have—little freedom, they tend to excess in the freedom that is left to them."¹⁹³

Debucourt created a pendant to *Heur et Malheur* titled *L'Escalade, ou, Les Adieux du Matin* [Fig. 21], also published in 1787. The scene is very similar to its companion piece: it portrays two lower-class lovers before a background of rustic housing and abundant forestry. The young woman is in a similar state of disarray, and her lover also appears rather disheveled. The major contrast to *Heur et Malheur* resides in the young woman's attitude: she is completely unconcerned with her sexual activities and kisses her lover before he climbs over the garden wall. She even subdues a dog's interest in her lover's quiet exit with a small piece of food. Though the female figure does not seem to

regret her decision, the eighteenth-century viewer would have understood the consequences of the scene due to French traditions in visual imagery.

Fig. 21. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *L'Escalade, ou, les Adieux du Matin*, 1787. Color engraving on paper, 37.8 x 26.8 cm. (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



Because the young man attempts to sneak away quietly, the viewer understands the couple of *L'Escalade* have committed a forbidden act. However, this is not a scene of infidelity like *Les Deux Baisers*. It is more likely that the two young lovers have had extramarital sex and are attempting to discreetly hide their affair from the woman's family. This was a common trope in the eighteenth century associated with lower-class pastoral scenes, seen in prints such as Fragonard's *L'Amoie* (published in 1778) and

Pierre-Philippe Choffard's *Marchez tout doux, parlez tout bas* [Fig. 22], engraved in 1782 after a gouache by Baudouin. Debucourt engraved a similar subject in two 1785 engravings titled *Suzette Mal Cachée, ou, Les Amants Decouverts*, and its pendant, *La Porte Enfoncée, ou, Les Amants Poursuivis*.¹⁹⁴ Debucourt's earlier work was similarly erotic, yet portrayed the lovers in the act of being caught rather than the blissful aftermath of *L'Escalade*. Though the female figure in *L'Escalade* does not hold the regret of the young girl in *Heur et Malheur* or the terror of being caught, particularly illustrated in *La Porte Enfoncée*, the viewer would have understood the moral implications of this scene through its associations to French visual tradition and its own pendant.

Fig. 22. Pierre-Philippe Coffard. *Marchez Tout Doux, Parlez Tout Bas*, after Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, 1782. Etching and engraving on laid paper, 48.5 x 35 cm (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



Debucourt's 1795 *Pauvre Annette* [Fig. 23], another fine-art color engraving, also follows the same tropes as *Heur et Malheur*. Annette sits in the middle of a field, breasts uncovered, with her right shoe missing. The grass behind her is visibly laid flat, and its yellow color contrasts with the earthly tones of the surrounding foliage, bringing attention to Annette's previous actions on her back. A cracked jug lies at her feet, spilling its water across the ground. Annette's small smile may designate happiness, satisfaction, or even love—but the eighteenth-century viewer knows what the future holds for Annette. This is not the anonymous female of *Heur et Malheur*, but a well-known character in a contemporary comedy based on a real eighteenth-century woman.

Fig. 23. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *Pauvre Annette*, 1795. Color aquatint and etching, 30 x 22 cm (image). Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.



Jean François Marmontel first popularized Annette's life in the *Contes moraux* in 1761, and Madame Favart told her tale again in a 1762 musical play. According to the tale, Annette grew up with her first cousin Lubin in the rural countryside of France.¹⁹⁵ Both were orphans, did not have access to education, and did not understand contemporary social mores. They had sex and Annette was impregnated, not realizing the potential consequences until an outsider explained their situation. Annette was told it was a crime and sin to be unmarried and raise a child, but she could not marry Lubin: their kinship made it illegal at the time. Lubin sought the help of a local lord who obtained a papal dispensation that allowed the couple to marry. Interest in the rustic love story rested largely on Annette's naiveté of her own sexuality, an element emphasized in Debucourt's first print on the subject in 1789, titled *Annette et Lubin* [Fig. 24]. In his earlier work, Debucourt capitalized on interest in Annette and Lubin and the lucrative market of color engraving to both propagate his work and provide charity for the couple, for they had grown old and were struggling financially. He included a long inscription explaining the print's purpose and called for the public's aid:

...some unhappy circumstances together with the rigor of the last winter having reduced them [Annette and Lubin] to more dire necessity, people who knew of their misfortune have invited sensitive souls to come to their aid; the interest that their youth had inspired has been reawakened in their favor and everyone hastens to participate in their comfort. On their behalf, messieurs the Italian Comedians have assured them a pension of 300 livres.¹⁹⁶

Debucourt promised half of the print sales to the couple. He offered the print on a subscription basis in the *Journal de Paris* on April 7th, 1789 for three livres—a very affordable price for middle class citizens—and was so successful that Debucourt was able to give 450 livres to the *Journal de Paris* for Annette and Lubin.¹⁹⁷ The price was raised

to four livres by June 19 and the non-subscription price was six livres.¹⁹⁸ On April 10th and April 13th, 1789 the *Journal de Paris* provided updates on how much money had been received.

Fig. 24. Philibert Louis Debuicourt, *Annette et Lubin*, 1789. Color engraving, 39.4 x 29.4 (sheet). Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.



On June 19th, 1789 the engraving was announced again by the *Journal de Paris*, which stated: “this print is interesting by the fact that made it come to light and how it was executed; the figure of Annette is naïve... [Lubin’s] little hut is beautifully built and we believe that the public will see this print with pleasure.”¹⁹⁹ Indeed, Debucourt portrayed Annette looking down demurely as Lubin pleads on his knees to the local magistrate for their marriage. Annette clasps her hands around her engorged belly as Lubin gestures towards her. A small white lamb looks up at the pregnant woman, signifying her ingenuousness and innocence despite her extramarital pregnancy. Annette is the focus of the scene: each character gestures and looks toward her, and her simple, white dress creates a focal point amongst a sea of greenery. It is the naïve Annette that Debucourt markets to a public and so successfully sells—not the contemporary Annette and Lubin whose elderly facades reside on two medallions bellow the scene. However, rather than relating to Annette, viewers of the print were more likely to align themselves with the benevolent local lord. By producing the print, Debucourt allowed middle-class purchasers to become benefactors of Annette and Lubin. Just as the lord took pity on the couple, Debucourt asks viewers to do the same. While Annette and Lubin are portrayed as naïve and unenlightened, purchasers of the prints gain righteousness by providing charity to their fellow man. Debucourt’s portrayal of Annette’s clear lack of virtue, however innocent, provides viewers to literally purchase their own virtue and aided in the formation of middle-class morality and identity.

Debucourt continued to capitalize on the popularity of Annette and Lubin’s story and the success of his own artistic endeavors with the 1795 publication of *Pauvre Annette*. Here, Annette fulfills the trope of the pastoral peasant girl who has recently lost

her virginity, yet, in contrast to the regretful tears of the female figure in *Heur et Malheur*, Annette smiles serenely down at her broken jug. Since we know this is Annette, the viewer understands that this woman does not fully grasp the consequences of her actions. Annette's small smile designates the innocence of the unenlightened individual who does not understand social mores and has given in to her passions, emphasized by the cracked jug, her bare breasts, and her placement in a natural setting. However, the title mediates the image and provides the viewer with a suggested moral stance. The adjective "*pauvre*" (poor) denotes the audiences' expected pity and empathy towards a young woman who has ignorantly given into sexual desires that will result in an illegitimate pregnancy. The call for empathy arms the viewers with values contrary to Annette's behavior, creating an identity that valorizes virtue and virginity for a largely middle-class audience.

Interestingly, Debucourt colored Annette's dress in the *tricolore* of France: blue, white, and red. There could be several reasons for this, including the incorporation of popular, patriotic fashions to entice viewers or an interpretation of the 1793 official requirement of women to wear the tricolor cockade.²⁰⁰ It is also likely that Debucourt was carefully employing patriotic references in order to avoid fines or imprisonment during a tumultuous year directly following the Reign of Terror. Only a year earlier, it was decided by the *Société des Arts* that any images deemed indecent or un-conforming to Revolutionary ideals would be banned. Although Debucourt had retreated to Passy, *Pauvre Annette* was published through Depeuille—a print dealer in Paris under careful observation by the *Société*.²⁰¹ By employing the *tricolore*, Annette resembles eighteenth-century allegories of French nationalism, such as the personifications of Liberty and

Reason that eventually conflated into the image of Marianne: the symbol of the First Republic.²⁰² However, in order to portray the civic virtues of the French state, Debucourt mediated his image with a title denoting that while Annette may be a French symbol, it is because she represents the beneficence of the French public and not because of her extramarital predicament. This was particularly important in 1795, when the poor were in dire need of aid due to a suffering economy and rising costs of food.²⁰³ Therefore, Annette's lack of virtue and unenlightened practices aided in the creation of a middle-class morality in that she represents both what the middle-class should not be (unenlightened and susceptible to passions and desires) and what the middle-class should be (virtuous and devoted to their fellow man). Her innocence in her actions—as opposed to the calculated frivolity and love-games of the aristocracy—also made Annette a suitable, safe subject for Debucourt to engrave.

VIRTUE, MOTHERHOOD, & THE IDEAL *CITOYENNE* IN DEBUCOURT'S DOMESTIC GENRE SCENES

In Debucourt's genre scenes of happy domesticity, such as *Le Compliment* (1787), *Les Bouquets* (1788), *Jouis Tendre Mère* (1795), *L'Heureuse Famille* (1796), and *Les Plaisirs Paternels* (1797), women are portrayed conservatively clothed as they happily and serenely execute their duties as wife and mother. Regardless of class, the happy, virtuous mothers are physically very similar—they each appear fair-skinned, rosy-cheeked, with curls pinned under a white cap or bonnet.²⁰⁴ Shawls neatly tied around their shoulders, each woman peers lovingly at a scene of pleasant domesticity. Though the quality of fabric and accessories vary according to the social class of each scene—for example, the young mother in *Les Plaisirs Paternels* wears a simple, white-cotton dress

underneath her shawl while the sheen of the mother's dress in *L'Heuruse Famille* designates a more expensive fabric, and she wears a bonnet with a large bow—their attire is relatively austere in comparison to the *robe à la Française* that was fashionable in the 1770s. Debucourt published these prints during the most shattering years of the Revolution, including events such as the Storming of the Bastille (1789), the Reign of Terror (1793 – 94), the execution of the king (1793), and the establishment of the *Directoire* (1795 – 1799)—a time when fashionable taste rejected ornate design and frivolous ornamentation associated with the aristocracy. Debucourt's representations of virtuous female citizens followed this stylistic trend.

Although fashion adopted a degree of sobriety in the late-eighteenth century, there was much debate regarding the appropriate attire of French citizens during the period these prints were published. Shortly after the fall of the Bastille, Jacobin feminist Théorigne de Méricourt popularized the *sans-culotte* aesthetic for women.²⁰⁵ According to contemporary accounts, Méricourt “dressed as an amazon... Sometimes she would wear men's clothes and cajole the coquettes of the area, and sometimes she would wear those of her own sex and appear on the arm of some whippersnapper.”²⁰⁶ Fashion plates of the female *sans-culotte* circulated in the early 1790s, often portrayed as wearing simple-patterned cotton dresses underneath white aprons, clogs, and kerchiefs pinned with the tri-color cockade [Fig. 25]. Though fashion plates, the women appear militaristic and masculine, hoisting swords and weapons as they prepare to participate in the battles of their nation.

Fig. 25. Anonymous. *La Femme du Sans-culotte*, 1789 – 1914. Print. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Though patriotic, not all embraced Méricourt's taste in fashion and female *sans-culotte* style. Shortly after the march on Versailles by Parisian market women in 1789, a heightening anxiety grew regarding female political involvement.²⁰⁷ This anxiety often manifested in accusations of masculinity and *Amazonian* character. This is seen in Louis

Prudhomme's *Revolutions de Paris*, when Prudhomme chastised female journalist Louise de Keralio for taking on the character of an *Amazon* after she discussed a popular political dispute regarding the right of journalists to slander public officials.²⁰⁸

Prudhomme did not approve of Keralio's discussion, accused her of "misunderstanding public opinion," and called her a "political *Amazon*" (*l'Amazone politique*) and a "faulty reasoner".²⁰⁹ As Landes argues, the *female Amazon* and *Amazonianism* were terms widely used during the first years of the Revolution,²¹⁰ and involved characteristics of political incompetency and masculinity. This anxiety of women participating in public, political roles is visually presented in popular art of the 1790s that include women dressed in masculine attire or participating in masculine roles, such as soldier or politician.²¹¹ In contrast, it was the wives and mothers like those in Debucourt's domestic genre scenes—clad in long skirts and feminine shawls and participating in the duties of the private sphere—who represented the ideal female citizen of the new French nation.²¹² In Debucourt's prints, the women are portrayed as most acceptably patriotic when within their private, domestic roles.

By late 1792 and 1793, at the height of the Terror, the National Convention and the *Society of Popular and Republican Arts* began to discuss institutionalized republican uniform. If rejection of aristocratic fashions was taken seriously before 1792, concern with functional simplicity reached new heights after the September massacres, where fear began to limit individual expression in fashion.²¹³ Jacques-Louis David, member and artist to the National Convention, was eventually authorized by the Committee of Public Safety to create the designs for such a uniform.²¹⁴ David implemented symbols of French patriotism into designs that echoed the drapery of classical antiquity. Though Grecian

fashion did appear during the 1790s, David's designs never came to fruition. Instead, clothing emblazoned with patriotic schemes and symbols were most common during the 1790s. Patriotic fashion designs were often disseminated through fashion journals, such as the *Journal de la Mode et du Goût, ou, amusemens du salon et de toilette*.²¹⁵ These often-opulent motifs were most consumed by the upper classes, though patriotic schemes were utilized by the middle and lower classes as well.

In one of Debucourt's domestic genre prints, patriotic fashion is used to emphasize the mother's role as the ideal female citizen within the private sphere. The woman of *Les Plaisirs Paternels* [Fig. 26], published in 1797,²¹⁶ wears a shawl bearing the three colors of the national cockade (blue, white, and red), directly tying fashion to her role as wife and mother and to ideals of citizenship in 1797 France. Though dedicated to the "*Bon Papa[s]*" (Grandfathers), *Les Plaisirs Paternels* features a family of five, where the mother assumes a prominent position between her husband and child near the center of the scene. The wife sits slightly above them, creating the peak of the triangular figural composition that surrounds the small child in the center. This composition holds long-standing connections to religious representations of Mary and the Christ child, such as Raphael's *Madonna in the Meadow* (1505) [Fig. 27]. However, rather than an image representing the power of the Church, Debucourt's composition highlights the power of the family—reflective of contemporary rejections of the clergy and reverence for the strong family unit. Debucourt, an academically trained artist familiar with the religious masterpieces of art history, replaces Mary for the ideal French female citizen: a wife and mother. The supportive and nurturing nature of the mother in *Les Plaisirs Paternels* is featured through her gestures: she reaches her left arm behind her husband's back, clasps

his hand with her right, and glances lovingly towards him. She also leans towards her child, encircling the group with both her gestures and posture. This is again reminiscent of traditional representations of Mary with the Christ child, such as Leonardo da Vinci's *Madonna of the Rocks* (c. 1483), where Mary encompasses her son with her right arm while leaning lovingly towards him.

Fig. 26. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *Les Plaisirs Paternels*, 1797. Color etching and aquatint on paper, 52.6 x 43 cm (sheet). Gift of Dorothy Braude Edinburg to the Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.



Fig. 27. Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (Raphael). *Madonna del Prato*, c. 1505. Oil on poplar panel, 113 x 88 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Vienna, Austria.



Both husband and wife in *Les Plaisirs Paternels* wear the *tricolore* of the French nation. The color scheme played an important role in the flashpoint of the Revolution when the Paris militia wore tricolor pendants during the storm of the Bastille in July of 1789.²¹⁷ Men and women who sympathized with the recent events began to wear the cockade in their hair and hats, and the tricolor scheme became a popular expression of patriotism throughout the 1790s.²¹⁸ Here, the tricolor is used to associate a scene of happy, domestic tranquility with patriotism and ideals of the state.

According to the 1795 French Constitution, in order to establish the French familial spirit, French citizens must be good sons, fathers, and husbands.²¹⁹ Women too played an important role in the naturalization of the French family spirit. Landes argues:

The good mother who loved and nourished others became a symbol of the natural order of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Her powers derived from her place in the republican community; her citizenship was anchored in

her familial role, and she was offered a central position in the national project of social regeneration. In this respect, family life and public life were very much intertwined.²²⁰

In *Les Plaisirs Paternels*, Debucourt represents the family as the legitimate nucleus of love, reproduction, and cherished morals. Family duty is substituted for women's wayward passion, seen in other representations of women in Debucourt's *fête galante* prints. Such imagery follows Rousseauian beliefs that civic love begins at home, and social sentiment served as a necessary link between the institution of the family and the state.²²¹ The fact that the print was likely hung in the home or apartment of a middle-class citizen brought these sentiments directly into the private sphere.

In Debucourt's domestic genres scenes of the 1790s, it is not only female costume that aids in the dictation of a woman's status. However, in the late-eighteenth century, fashion helped mediate images regarding women's roles in the new French Republic, and should thus be given attention. It is important to note that in each of Debucourt's family scenes of maternal tranquility, the mothers wear unadorned, simple fabrics and accessories—if any are worn at all—despite their differences in societal rank. This is best highlighted in three prints: *Jouis Tendre Mère* (1795), *Les Plaisirs Paternels* (1797), and *L'Heureuse Famille* (1796). Each image situates the mother amidst a scene of family play and domestic tranquility. In *Les Plaisirs Paternels*, a lower middle- or possibly middle-class family sits outside underneath a tree while an older man, presumably the grandfather, bounces a small child on his leg. The child, unaccompanied by toys, finds entertainment in family rather than material luxuries. In *Jouis Tendre Mère*, a mother gently embraces her young son inside a simple, yet fine, interior, and accoutrements of the child's play lay scattered on the ground. The toys and bust behind the figures signify

a family with enough finances to purchase nonessential commodities. In *L'Heureuse Famille* [Fig. 28], the central female figure casts her eyes lovingly at a small child on a rocking horse. The child is well dressed, she holds a tambourine in her right hand, and a doll rests between her legs. Here, the quality and quantity of toys and the fineness of the mother's dress allude to higher social status. However, the central figure appears similar to the previously mentioned prints in both physical attributes and taste in fashion. The message is clear: regardless of status, a woman's role is best achieved in the private sphere as the virtuous, nurturing wife and mother. Her plain, un-cumbersome clothing only heightens her virtue as the ideal female citizen in contrast to the lavishness of the corrupt aristocracy and the disheveled women of Debucourt's pastoral scenes.

Fig. 28. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *L'Heureuse Famille*, 1796. Mezzotint, 54.2 cm x 42.8 cm. (trimmed). British Museum, London.



The tenderness of the scene and simplicity of the surroundings in *Jouis Tendre Mère* [Fig. 29] calls to mind an earlier genre scene by Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin: *The Morning Toilette* [Fig. 30], created in 1741. Chardin was an artist who, like Debucourt, gained public popularity through reproductive engravings of his work, though through the hand of other artists, such as engravers F. –B. Lépicié and P. –L. Sugurue, rather than his own. Chardin was known for domestic interiors and genre paintings featuring scenes of daily life. These works largely focused on the day-to-day activities of women and children—a subject influenced by ongoing philosophical debates regarding the education of children and the role of mothers during the Age of Enlightenment. Debucourt’s domestic scenes in the late eighteenth-century drew upon the seeds of domestic tranquility sown by Chardin’s work. Although Chardin’s subjects largely involved the emerging bourgeoisie, Debucourt investigated the roles of mothers in several social classes. In addition, Debucourt most often provided an idealized representation of the responsibilities and nurturing nature of mothers within his domestic scenes, while Chardin tended to focus on the education of children²²² and the day-to-day labor of the working class.²²³ Similarities abound in the simple dress of both Chardin and Debucourt’s female subjects. Although Chardin’s subjects were most often of the working class—and therefore limited in their choice of fashion—the women of several social classes in Debucourt’s domestic scenes wore dresses similar in simplicity to the working-class women of Chardin’s paintings. Their conservative dress evokes the roles and responsibilities of mothers in domestic genre scenes of the mid-eighteenth century while simultaneously rejecting the exuberant fashions and luxuries of the aristocracy.

Fig. 29. Philibert Louis Debucourt, *Jouis Tendre Mère*, c. 1795. Etching and mezzotinting, 49 x 36 cm. (image). British Museum, London.



Fig. 30. Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin. *The Morning Toilette*, 1741. Oil on canvas, 49 x 39 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Sweden.



Debucourt's *Jouis Tendre Mère* may hold greater importance to the artist himself than has been discussed before. Fenaille's catalogue does not give a date for *Jouis Tendre Mère*, but the British Museum dates their copy to around 1795. A facsimile of a portrait

of Debucourt's son, published in 1794 or '95, is included in Fenaille's compilation.²²⁴

The engraving bears a striking resemblance to the young boy embracing his mother in *Jouis Tendre Mère*. The boys wear very similar clothing: a black waistcoat with round buttons, a wide, ruffled, white shirt with a collar that spills around the boy's neck, and a black, wide-brimmed hat. Both boys have shoulder-length, wavy, fair-colored hair that frames their faces almost identically. Their facial features are also quite similar, though the boy in *Jouis Tendre Mère* appears slightly younger than the portrait of Debucourt's son, Jean-Baptiste. Their similarities in appearance and nearness in publication year may not be a coincidence; Debucourt may have created a fictional representation of a mother-son scene featuring his own son.

Most striking is that this scene would not have been possible for the young Jean-Baptiste or Debucourt. At twenty-six, Debucourt married his first wife, nineteen-year-old Marie-Elisabeth-Sophie Mouchy, daughter of Louis-Philippe Mouchy, a sculptor, and Elisabeth-Rosalie Pigalle, the niece of Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, the famous sculptor and mentor of Mouchy. Debucourt's father-in-law installed the couple at the Louvre after they were married on January 29, 1782. However, Mouchy died in childbirth just fifteen months after their marriage, leaving Debucourt with an infant son. According to Charles E. Russell, Debucourt's son, Jean-Baptiste Debucourt, died in 1801 at the age of 18.²²⁵ When Debucourt engraved his son's portrait in the mid 1790s, he was around eleven or twelve years old and had grown up entirely without a mother. Debucourt's second marriage to Suzanne-Françoise Marquant was not until 1803, when the artist was 48 and she 41—two years after Jean-Baptiste's death. Debucourt's *Jouis Tendre Mère* represents what the artist never had within his own family: a relationship between his son and wife.

The insertion of the monumental mother figure in Debucourt's print emphasizes a woman's importance as both educator and nurturer to children. Though she wears a simple garment, Debucourt crafted the woman's skirt with great concern for volume and shape. The woman stands anchored to her spot with a mass created through two-dimensional line and the use of light, statuesque within the print. She stares lovingly into her son's eyes as he throws his arms around her neck, his hat toppling from his head as he springs from his seat to greet her. Another, shorter woman appears waiting in the doorway, watching the embrace. She holds a basket and violin or fiddle—perhaps a nanny or music teacher. Her presence far behind the mother and son, her blurred features, her shorter stature, and her stance outside the room lead the viewer to surmise her lesser importance in comparison to the grand portrayal of the mother before her.

To the left of the scene is a bust of a man—what Fenaille has called “*Le buste du mari*” (bust of the husband).²²⁶ While the bust may be a portrait of the husband and father, one cannot deny the similarities between the bust and Jean Antoine Houdon's bust of Rousseau [Fig. 31], created in 1778 after the philosopher's death and exhibited in the 1779 *Salon*.²²⁷ Both busts look slightly down and to the side, eyes faintly squinted and mouth barely upturned in an inquisitive expression. Both have the same high forehead and what was most likely a small wig; both have coats with three large, round buttons; and both busts stop at the mid-upper arm and chest. The only slight variation between Debucourt and Houdon's bust is the appearance of a small ruffle on the necktie of Debucourt's figure. However, Houdon's busts were not always copied in the same fashion.²²⁸ Copies of the bust were made in varying quality and materials, and it is possible Rousseau's bust was placed prominently within the homes of French citizens

during the Revolution—particularly since many of the ideals touted by Revolutionaries were spurred from Rousseau’s philosophies.

Fig. 31. Jean Antoine Houdon. *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1778. Marble bust, 68 cm height with base. Abbaya Royale de Chaalis, Institut de France, Chaalis, France.



If it is indeed Rousseau’s bust behind the mother and son in *Jouis Tendre Mère*, this further emphasizes the importance of women’s place within the private, domestic sphere as wives, mothers, and educators of children. This was particularly important after 1793, when women were banned from gathering in groups and their participation in the

political sphere was prohibited. Images of domestic tranquility such as *Jouis Tendre Mère* flourished during the 1790s, emphasizing women's roles within the household. These ideals were influenced by the political philosophies of Rousseau and his beliefs on children's education and, therefore, the importance of mothers. While the bust in *Jouis Tendre Mère* is associated with the books and rolled papers stacked to its side, and the child is associated to his scattered toys, the mother's role is entirely mediated through her relationship to her child. The bust stares at the scene just as the second woman peers from behind the doorway, cast in a slight shadow in contrast to the light that shines upon the mother and son. Whether or not *Jouis Tendre Mère* is a portrait of Debucourt's son with his absent mother, it seems that Debucourt valued a mother's role in child rearing as well as Rousseau's philosophies regarding women's domestic responsibilities. At the very least, Debucourt understood and capitalized upon eighteenth-century values regarding women's roles upheld by purchasers of his prints. *Jouis Tendre Mère* serves as an idealized representation of the importance of women in the domestic sphere—perhaps made even more powerful to viewers who knew of Houdon's bust of Rousseau (which was likely), had seen Debucourt's portrait of his son, or even knew of the artist's deceased wife.

AMBIGUOUS CONSEQUENCES: INTERACTIONS WITH & INTERPRETATIONS OF MIDDLE- TO UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS SEXUALITY

Much has been written regarding the exclusion of women in the consumption of their own bodies during the eighteenth century and beyond. Simone de Beauvoir stated in *The Second Sex*: "Representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with the absolute

truth.”²²⁹ de Beauvoir’s assertion relates to the empirical question of who is producing representations of the female body in revolutionary art, while Landes asks: “Who is doing the looking, and for whose pleasure or consumption is the image produced?”²³⁰ Art critic John Berger later distinguished between the look of man and woman:

Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of woman in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object—and most particularly an object of vision: a sight.²³¹

As far as the question of “who is doing the looking” and for “whose pleasure or consumption the image [is] produced,” Debucourt’s late eighteenth-century *fête galante* prints were most likely produced for the middle- to upper-middle class consumer, and particularly those with fashionable taste and interest in erotic images. Since printed media could be widely distributed and held or hung within the domestic sphere of a middle-class household, it is also likely that many women viewed Debucourt’s prints. Though “the work of men” (designed by a man and largely influenced by theories promoted by men), it is arguable that female viewers held a sort of agency when viewing Debucourt’s late eighteenth-century prints involving moral tales of middle-class love, sex, and amorous relationships. Debucourt’s middle-class female subjects held power in their respective scenarios, often represented in the moment of choice regarding their sexual relationships. Rather than viewing these subjects as “objects” or “a sight,” the late eighteenth-century middle-class women that viewed Debucourt’s prints would have identified with the artist’s middle-class subjects while receiving messages of female sexual agency. This is particularly true for eighteenth-century women who were bestowed the right to choose whether or not they would participate in a sexual relationship, though extramarital affairs

were strongly discouraged in the 1790s. In addition, middle-class women who could afford Debucourt's prints would have largely identified with his portrayal of contemporary, middle-class women, rather than his representations of the lower class or the aristocracy. Debucourt's tendency to capitalize on popular, contemporary fashions and often-erotic literary culture to propagate his prints encouraged this middle-class female consumption.

Though Debucourt's representations of middle- to upper-middle class women portrayed power in their decisions regarding their sexual relationships, these choices were neutralized by the inclusion of popular signs and text that carried historically prevalent and contemporary meanings involving female sexuality in order to imply moral messages. These messages allude to the insatiable, innate nature of female sexuality and the dangerously easy manner in which women succumb to it, and reflect the preferred chastity and fidelity of the idealized female French citizen—ultimately negating the seemingly afforded agency of Debucourt's middle-class subjects. Contrary to Debucourt's *fête galante* prints portraying lower- and upper-class women, the conclusions of the precarious sexual situations of the artist's middle-class women in his late eighteenth-century *fête galantes*—such as *La Rose* (1788), *La Main* (1788), *La Rose Mal Défendue* (1791), and *Minet Aux Aguets* (1796)—seem ambiguous and up to the interpretation of the viewer. Debucourt's middle- and upper-middle-class female subjects are in the midst of several compromising sexual situations and may still choose to take the virtuous path—an argument that could be applied to the life of female viewers. This is unlike Debucourt's images of upper-class female sexuality where elite women are already corrupted and without virtue, as well as his portrayals of lower-class female

sexuality, where figures are always pictured in misfortune after their virtues have been lost. By allowing the viewer to decide the outcome and providing his middle-class female subjects power in their sexual roles, Debucourt's images appear to afford female viewers a sense of agency regarding their sexual relationships. However, by including traditional symbols or text alluding to the moral impropriety of the situation in order to persuade viewers to take a particular stance (i.e. a virtuous one), this choice is an illusion.

Ultimately, Debucourt's *fête galante* imagery of the middle classes seemingly presented female subjects and viewers agency within their sexual relationships while simultaneously restricting them within a set of accepted roles (the chaste, fidelitous wife and mother). These images reflect how late eighteenth-century women were limited in their power by the norms and morals enforced by a political culture seeking to eradicate female power in the public sphere and restrict their roles to the private sphere.

Debucourt's amorous images of middle-class women reflected the conflicting juxtapositions involving overarching beliefs of female sexuality and their ideal roles within the domestic sphere. Women, seen as susceptible to seduction and naturally sexually insatiable, were constantly in danger of losing their virtue—an invaluable trait to retain in order to fulfill their ideal roles as wives and mothers within the domestic sphere. Rousseau believed such passions must be channeled to prevent excess (i.e., insatiable female sexuality), achievable only by the restraint of women. He describes the “appetites, passions, and needs” the eighteenth-century woman must restrain from to fulfill her role as the ideal wife and mother: “all those qualities usually considered feminine, such as fondness for finery, curiosity, coquetry, adroitness, and garrulousness.”²³² Debucourt's late eighteenth-century fine-art prints of middle-class women participating in potentially

scandalous scenarios offer representations of several of these appetites, providing viewers with examples of situations in dire need of female restraint.

La Rose and *La Main* were published as pendants in 1788 and portray the same two characters. However, *La Rose* represents the chaste female who has restrained her natural passions and refused the man who kneels in front of her. The woman in *La Main* is her antithesis, accepting her lover's proposal with glee. Both couples are surrounded by tropes of love and female sexuality, including abundant forestry, fountains, and a sculpture of Cupid.²³³ Their attire suggests they are upper-middle class citizens at the very least: they wear simple white dresses yet carry fine, black shawls. The men wear what appear to be short grey wigs with black bows, velvet waistcoats with lace cuffs, and velvet breeches—all markers of his upper-class status; and the man in *La Rose* is accompanied by a wide-brimmed black hat and cane.²³⁴ These are not the women of *Les Deux Baisers* or *L'Oiseau Ranimé*: they are conservatively dressed, and, while they wear somewhat fine fabrics, they lack the ruffled frivolity of the former's *chemise à la reine* and the unscrupulousness of the latter's state of undress. While the women appear outdoors, it is not in the overgrown field or rustic backdrop of Debucourt's pastoral scenes. Rather, they sit in lush, manmade gardens containing hedges, sculptures, a bench (in *La Rose*), and stone steps leading upwards (in *La Main*), most likely to a home. In 1788, Debucourt was still signing his name "De bucourt Peintre du Roi," projecting his status as a member of the *Académie* and likely catering to an upper-middle class to purchase the original painting. The actual images are similar in size to Debucourt's early fine-art pastoral engravings, but the prints are much larger due to the insertion of verse after the poet Évariste de Parry (1753 – 1814). The verses come from a series of small

poems published in a collection titled *Poésies érotiques* in 1778, which included: *La Rose*, *La Main*, *Le Sein*, *Le Baiser*, *Les Rideaux*, *Le Lendemain*, *L'infidélité*, *Les Regrets*, and *Le Retour*. Debucourt's *La Rose* and *La Main* are based on the first two poems.²³⁵

In *La Rose* [Fig. 10], a man has thrust himself from a bench (alluded to by an open book and his toppled cane and hat) to place himself at the lap of a young woman. He offers her a rose, and his open mouth represents some sort of plea. She glances worriedly at the man, pushing his arm away with her right hand. The earth-toned foliage that surrounds them emphasizes the brightness of the woman's dress, making her the focal point of the scene. The Cupid behind the couple raises an arrow over his head and prepares to strike. In the back left corner a fountain spews between the trees with much more force than the fountain in *Heur et Malheur*. Below the image is de Parny's poem, *La Rose*.²³⁶ The poem discusses a young woman named Justine, who, both naïve and gullible, listens to the "misleading" language of a man's (Valsin) plead of love. Justine refuses Valsin's rose and accompanying propositions, reflected in the image above, and remains with her virtue. The poem suggests this is the correct reaction, stating that when a lover gives, he demands much more than he has given. While the image of *La Rose* seems rather ambiguous—the man is in the middle of his plea and Justine has barely raised her right hand against his arm—the poem mediates the viewer's understanding of the image and alludes to Justine's preserved virtue. In addition, de Parny's poem serves as a warning to both the credulousness of women and the misleading nature of men, mediated further by the small emblem of a cupid attempting to ensnare a white lamb beneath Debucourt's visual interpretation of Justine and Valsin.

The trope of a sudden declaration of love was popular during the eighteenth century in various forms of media and scenes. In prints, *La Rose* can be compared to Jean-Baptiste Simonet's *Le Danger du tête-à-tête* [Fig. 32], published in 1772 after Baudouin, or Louis Marin Bonnet's *L'Amant Écouté*, published in 1775 after J. B. Huet. Although both Simonet's and Bonnet's prints are interior scenes, they carry the same theme as Debucourt's *La Rose*: the sudden declaration of love, and, in *Le Danger du tête-à-tête*, the slight resistance of the female figure. That *La Rose* was published in the late 1780s attests to the prevalence of the scene's popularity throughout the late eighteenth-century regardless of its associations to the Rococo.

Fig. 32. Jean-Baptiste Blaise Simonet. *Le Danger du Tête-à-Tête*, after Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, 1772. Etching and engraving, 25.2 x 19.6 cm (overall). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



La Main [Fig. 11] provides the same scenery as *La Rose*, yet Justine seems to have given in to her future lover. She leans backwards in a chair, overcome by emotion as Valsin takes her hand towards his face for a kiss. In contrast to the grounded position of Justine in *La Rose*, Justine's foot lifts from the ground in *La Main*. Her expression is free of worry and alight with pleasure. The offered rose dangles in her right hand, completely forgotten. In the bottom left corner is a toppled plant with a pot reminiscent of the cracked jug in *Heur et Malheur*. The Cupid sculpture quietly puts away the rest of his arrows and a fountain of water rushes from the mouth of another sculpture to the right. The spray of the fountain, though at a distance, points toward the couple. The poem below discusses the happiness of the two lovers who are far from suspecting that one day Valsin will prove to be unfaithful, a topic addressed in the poems that follow *La Rose* and *La Main*.²³⁷

Though Debucourt most likely produced these prints in order to capitalize on the popularity of de Parny's poems, he also provided the late eighteenth-century viewer with images containing warnings of the susceptibility of women to men's sexual advances. While the outcome for Justine and Valsin is not provided in Debucourt's *La Rose* or *La Main*, it is alluded to in the verses underneath the images and provided in the later installments of de Parny's poems, which, if the viewer was interested in purchasing these prints, they were likely familiar with. Valsin strays from Justine, foreshadowed in the poem underneath *La Main*, and the act of his infidelity causes Justine to lose the intoxication of her love for him. According to de Parny, by giving into passion and loving a misleading man, the charm of their relationship (and Justine) is destroyed forever.²³⁸

While the scenes of Debucourt's *La Rose* and *La Main* may seem ambiguous to the

contemporary viewer, eighteenth-century purchasers could have known the story of Justine and Valsin and, at the very least, understood the foreshadowing within de Parny's poems and the moral implications the prints contained. Their structure suggests both *La Rose* and *La Main* were framed and hung in the home of middle to upper-middle class citizens, and therefore easily viewed by domestic inhabitants.

Debucourt's 1791 *La Rose Mal Défendue* [Fig. 4] contains similar tropes to *La Rose* and *La Main* and also depicts an upper-middle class citizen. It could be argued this is an elite household: for example, an ornate wood trim wraps around the ceiling and a blue-satin canopy, plush blanketing, and ruffled pillows are found around the bed. However, the woman's costume is rather simple: a plain, white dress with light-pink petticoat and long black shawl similar to the outfit of the woman in *Jouis Tendre Mère*. The announcement for *La Rose Mal Défendue* in the *Mercure* focused on the costume of the couple: "... both heroine and hero are dressed according to our latest summer fashions which could not be displayed more attractively."²³⁹ Because of the *Mercure*, we know the figures are contemporary to 1791 and are meant to attract viewers of fashionable taste. A chair lies toppled in the lower right-hand corner, and the man's hat rests on the floor near a closed book. The door of the room is closed, suggesting the two are alone. The woman dangles a pink rose out of reach from the grasping hand of the man, and she pushes him away with her left arm. While her head is positioned downwards, the woman looks up at the man through lifted eyes and holds a slight smile. The man meets her gaze as he leans in for the rose, clutching her left arm as she tilts away from him.

At first glance, the scene seems similar to the frivolous acts of the French elite. However, the title suggests the impropriety of the woman who is poorly defending her ‘rose’ (most likely a symbol of her virginity). In general, scenes of resistance both traditional²⁴⁰ and contemporary²⁴¹ were popular in late eighteenth-century France. An engraving after Fragonard’s *The Bolt* by Maurice Blot [Fig. 33] held particular success in the 1780s.²⁴² In both *The Bolt* and its pendant, Fragonard’s *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, a woman half-heartedly fends off her lover’s advances. The website of the Louvre Museum discusses the erotic symbolism of *The Bolt*: “the knocked-over chair (legs in the air), the vase and roses (allusions to the female genitals), the bolt (male genitals), and especially the bed, taking up most of the left of the composition.”²⁴³ In addition, the disorder of the bed is often designated a metaphor for the subjects’ sexual urges.

Fig. 33. Maurice Blot. *Le Verrou* (The Bolt), after Jean-Honoré Fragonard, c. 1784. Engraving. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Rousseau's theories, again found in Book V of *Émile*, hold the key to deciphering these images. Here, Rousseau deliberates the innate differences between men and women, suggesting that men should be "strong and active," while women should be "weak and passive."²⁴⁴ Most interestingly, Rousseau develops a formula for relations between men and women, stating:

If woman is made to please and to be subjugated to man, she ought to make herself pleasing to him rather than to provoke him; her particular strength lies in her charms; by their means she should compel him to discover his own strength and put it to use. The surest art of arousing this strength is to render it necessary by resistance. Thus pride reinforces desire and each triumph in the other's victory. From this originates attack and defense, the boldness of one sex and the timidity of the other and finally the modesty and shame with which nature has armed the weak for the conquest of the strong.²⁴⁵

Rousseau examines the separation of the sexes in terms of opposing characteristics such as strength/resistance, attack/defense, boldness/timidity, and strong/weak. At first blush, this assessment falls into a stereotypical role of gender binaries, in which men are active and assertive agents of sexuality while women are seen as submissive—almost passive—partners in love and desire. However, it is important to note that Rousseau gives power to the eighteenth-century woman by stating that she harbors strength in her ability to compel men through stimulation of their desires. This power requires that women use their charms to resist men in order to arouse them. According to Rousseau, a woman's power to resist makes men "dependent on woman's good will and compels him... to please her so that she may consent to yield to his superior strength."²⁴⁶ Rousseau moves to state that a woman's reciprocal desires will be best communicated through the vigor of her resistance, continuing to refer to the quest for love as a battle to be won or lost:

Whether the woman shares the man's desires or not, whether or not she is willing to satisfy them, she always repulses him and defends herself, though not always with the same vigor and not, therefore, always with the same success. For the attacker to be victorious, the besieged must permit or direct the attack. How adroitly she can force the aggressor to use his strength.²⁴⁷

The decision-making process of women is what Rousseau reported as most titillating to men, who ponder the reasoning for a woman's eventual consent to their sexual advances. As the author states, "is it weakness that yields to force or is it voluntary self-surrender? This uncertainty constitutes the chief delight of the man's victory, and the woman is usually cunning enough to leave him in doubt."²⁴⁸ In *Émile*, Rousseau attempts to create a canon for love and sexual conquest that must always begin with resistance, regardless of a woman's feelings towards the man who instigates his desires. The philosopher creates two ways in which a woman may express her consent: first, she may eventually permit the advances of her oncoming lover, or second, she may direct his advances in some other way from the very beginning. Therefore, a woman's skill lies in her ability to coerce a man to use his strength upon her, from which she must always (initially) resist.

Though Rousseau published *Émile* in 1762, Debucourt capitalized upon Rousseau's theories—ideas that were highly revered during the French Revolution—and interest in eighteenth-century resistance scenes for his production of *La Rose Mal Défendue*. Most interesting is the agency Debucourt affords the female figure. In Michel Garnier's 1789 oil painting of the same subject, *The Poorly Defended Rose* [Fig. 34], the young man has complete control over the pink rose, his fingers poised to snap the flower from its potted bush. In Debucourt's *La Rose Mal Défendue*, it is the woman who holds the flower from the grasping reach of the man. Though she poorly defends her virtue, Debucourt portrays his female subject as the holder of her own sexuality. In addition, her

Fig. 34. Michel Garnier. *The Poorly Defended Rose*, 1789. Oil on canvas, 46.2 x 37.62 cm. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Minnesota.



figure is assertive and active in comparison to J. Eymar's engraving of *La Dispute de la Rose*, after Louis Léopold Boilly, who languidly leans against her lover as he reaches around her for the rose in her hand.²⁴⁹ Debucourt's image goes against Rousseau's earlier construction of women as weak and passive, and indicates the artist's conscious choice to portray the female figure in a stance of relative power. Debucourt's *La Rose Mal Défendue* suggests the power of women in the execution of their decisions regarding their sexuality; yet, according to Debucourt's title and the sly smile on his female figure's face, women are often wont to give in to their natural passions. In doing so, Debucourt provides the female subject and viewer power over men in arenas of love and relationships while simultaneously suggesting the importance of protecting one's virtue. Eighteenth-century viewers would have understood the convention of resistance images and the moralizing tale *La Rose Mal Défendue* provided: that women are innately sexual,

are highly susceptible to improper amorous practices, and should learn restraint in order to moderate their passions and preserve their virginities. This was an important maneuver during a time of rising anxiety regarding women's participation in politics and their restriction to the domestic sphere.²⁵⁰

Fenaille cites the pendant to *La Rose Mal Défendue* as *La Croisée* [Fig. 2], another 1791 color engraving. The print portrays a fashionable woman lounging on the windowsill of her apartment. Her husband caresses her knee as two children climb a ladder to kiss her hand and offer a flower. Again, the figures are likely upper-middle class citizens, particularly alluded to by the fine quality of the woman's otherwise unadorned dress. The quotidian scene seems odd in comparison to *La Rose Mal Défendue* (a much more daring piece), and the print's air of domestic tranquility is entirely unambiguous. However, this was not Debucourt's initial design. In the first state of *La Croisée* [Fig. 35], a young man, later replaced by two children, kisses the woman's hand as she passes him a letter.²⁵¹ The woman reads a book titled *l'Art de rendre les femmes fidelles*: a small treatise on domestic morale printed in Paris in 1717 and reedited in 1779 and 1783.²⁵² The book's subject matter creates an ironic scene that pokes fun at the present situation of infidelity, but the title of the book was cleared with oblique lines during the redesign of the second state. The husband's face was also thoroughly reworked in later states. In the final state, he resembles a husband of similar age who gazes serenely at his wife. In the first edition, the husband is much older and wears a sour expression. The first state could be considered a caricature similar to *Les Deux Baisers*: both are scenes of infidelity involving a laughably older husband and a secret tryst between his much younger wife and her lover. Debucourt must have realized his previous design

would either not sell or would have legal ramifications, because it was completely redesigned by the second state.²⁵³ It could be that only four years after the publication of *Les Deux Baisers*, scenes of infidelity were unfashionable. It is more likely that scenes of infidelity outside of representations of the aristocracy were considered immoral and unfit for publication during the French Revolution.

Fig. 35. Philibert Louis Debucourt. *La Croisée*, first state, 1791. Engraving and color etching, 42.3 x 33.2 cm. Bibliothèque National, Paris.



1791 was a tumultuous time in French history when power shifted from the National Constituent Assembly to the Legislative Assembly, and was the same year Louis XVI and his family unsuccessfully attempted to flee Paris. Antagonism towards the clergy and nobility flourished after the King's flight and subsequent arrest. After the National Constituent Assembly was dissolved on September 30, 1791, the Legislative Assembly represented a newly designated power to its largely middle-class 745 members. Many of the Jacobins and non-party affiliates of the Legislative Assembly did not trust

the French nobility and were highly suspicious of Louis XVI. In addition, 1791 was the year the artist began signing his prints “Debucourt” and dropped the title “*peintre du roi*”: a calculated decision during a year of accumulating violence towards the aristocracy. Whatever his reasoning for changing the design of *La Croisée*, Debucourt’s shift in subject matter produced an interesting conflation between traditional *fête galante* style and happy domestic tranquility for the viewer. That Debucourt had to alter his plate so quickly (from first state to second state) reflects a tumultuous political situation. His late eighteenth-century prints satirizing infidelity and immorality of the French elite had to be replaced in favor of domestic genre scenes or images that aligned with Revolutionary morals. The published edition of *La Croisée*, sold through Depeuille, promoted overarching beliefs involving familial virtue and strength of the family unit similar to Debucourt’s domestic genre scenes, and ultimately aided in the construction of the virtuous identity of the middle classes.

The distinction between acceptable and unacceptable female behavior in love and relationships in 1791 is further illuminated when one remembers that *La Croisée* was sold as a pendant to *La Rose Mal Défendue*. When considered together, the former is understood as a representation of conjugal love and the appropriate role of women while the latter can be construed as a warning against unchaste female practices. The emphasis is placed on the woman in both images: in *La Croisée* she is the center of the print and the receiver of all attention; in *La Rose Mal Défendue*, the title suggests the malpractice of the woman while the image portrays her as the primary agitator of the scene. *La Rose Mal Défendue* was published regardless of the provocative subject matter, because the print’s important theme involved the significance of female virtue.

Of final interest here is Debucourt's *Minet Aux Aguets* [Fig. 36], published in 1796. The image was created during a stage of decline for Debucourt, and was one of the last prints published before the turn of the century. Debucourt's print production slowed noticeably during the late 1790s. While the reasons are unknown, it was most likely due to the declining state of the French economy before the Directory (November 2, 1795 – November 10, 1799) was overthrown by Napoleon. *Minet Aux Aguets* is also one of, if not the last, *fête galante* prints Debucourt produced in the Rococo style before turning to Neoclassical influences fashionable during the Napoleonic period. The print is an excellent example of Debucourt's continual integration of traditional French themes and iconography, involving love and female sexuality that, while a visually ambiguous scene, provided a clear moral message for the eighteenth-century viewer.

Fig. 36: Philibert Louis Debucourt, *Minet Aux Aguets*, 1796. Aquatint, etching and stipple engraving on paper, 36.5 x 43.4 cm. (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown Massachusetts.



In *Minet Aux Aguets*, a middle- to upper-middle-class woman lies back in a chair and appears blissfully asleep. She holds a caged canary in her lap and dangles a book in her right hand. A cat leaps upon a small table with eyes trained on the bird, either startled by something out-of-scene or perhaps preparing to pounce on the unsuspecting woman's lap. A man's black hat rests on a stool next to the table, alluding to the prior presence of a male companion similar to the scene in *L'Oiseau Ranimé*. His abandoned cane is angled suggestively between the woman's slightly spread legs. Both the presence of the canary, a traditional substitute for a lover, sexual release, and/or loss of virginity, and the man's accoutrements suggest this is a scene of amorous implication.²⁵⁴

The positioning of the cage on the woman's lap is not arbitrary, and is seen in several similar representations throughout the eighteenth century.²⁵⁵ Charles Paul Jerome Brea's *Les Deux Cages* [Fig. 37], published in 1789 after a gouache by Nicolas Lavreince, is a similar example contemporary to *Minet Aux Aguets*. The colored version of *Les Deux Cages* was announced for twelve livres in the *Mercure* and the *Journal de Paris* (similar in price to Debuscourt's more elaborate fine-art color engravings), and features two young women underneath a large tree. Between their legs are two open cages, as if inviting the entrance of a bird and reflecting the 'entrapment' of a lover. The small birds are understood as either the presence of or the desire for a lover, and are in reference to eighteenth-century French pictorial traditions of a man offering a woman a small bird to place in a cage situated suggestively between her legs, such as Boucher's *L'appeau, dit L'oiseau pris dans les filets*.

Fig. 37. Charles Paul Jerome Brea. *Les Deux Cages*, after Nicolas Lavreince, 1789. Engraving before color, 56.7 x 43.5 cm (sheet). Département des Arts Graphiques, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



The battle between cat and bird was another traditional trope employed throughout the eighteenth century that often accompanied scenes similar to *Minet Aux Aguets* and frequently featured women and lovers as the primary subjects.²⁵⁶ Though Debucourt was likely influenced by traditional tropes of the cat and caged bird, in *Minet Aux Aguets*, the cat's activities are somewhat unclear: was the cat startled by something,

or was it capitalizing upon the oblivious state of the young woman and the recent departure of the man in order to snatch the small bird? The title of Debucourt's print ("Kitten on Alert") alludes to the watchful cat that will eventually attack the bird if the young woman is not wary. In comparison to *Minet Aux Aguets*, the calm white cat in images such as *Les Plaisirs Paternels* (published just two years later) suggests the tranquility and stability of familial love. In *Minet Aux Aguets*, the antagonistic form of the cat's arched back, erect tail, and lithe body angled towards the woman's caged bird insinuates a somewhat more sinister scene.

Images of sleeping women were abound in eighteenth-century France in painting as well as print. Debucourt could have been influenced by any number of these, including Jean-François Colson's *The Rest* (1759), where a young girl sleeps while a cat preys upon her unsuspecting bird. Greuze's *La Philosophie Endormie*, etched by Jean-Michel Moreau in 1778 [Fig. 38], was another well-known piece portraying the completely vulnerable state of a resting woman. *Minet Aux Aguets* holds particular resonance with printed images of women 'sleeping' after reading a particularly good novel, such as Emmanuel Jean Nepomucène de Ghendt's 1778 *Les Heures du Jour: Le Midi* [Fig. 39], after Baudouin, and Isidore-Stanislas Helman's *Le Roman Dangereux* [Fig. 40], after Niklas Lafrensen and engraved in 1781. These decadent, Rococo-inspired reproductive engravings portray fashionable young women who have cast aside their novels in order to masturbate. In *Le Roman Dangereux*, a man watches from behind an armchair; and in *Le Midi*, the young woman stares directly at the viewer in a gaze of sedated lust. While the woman in *Minet Aux Aguets* does not participate in the same activities as her predecessors, the novel in her hand and small smile suggest she is not as asleep as she

may seem. In addition, though the blinds of the window are closed, the oval-frame of the print provides another kind of window that creates a voyeur of the viewer—similar to the voyeurism occurring in *Le Roman Dangereux* and *Le Midi*.

Fig. 38. Jean Michel Moreau. *La Philosophe Endormie*, after Jean-Baptiste Greuze, 1778. Etching, 44.8 x 34 cm (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



Fig. 39. Emmanuel Jean Nepomucène de Ghendt. *Les Heures du Jour: Le Midi*, after Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, 1778. Etching and engraving, 54 x 39.4 (sheet). Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts.



Fig. 40. Isidore-Stanislas Helman. *Le Roman Dangereux*, after Nicolas Lavreince, 1781. Etching and engraving. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Though the woman's satisfied smile and her companion's accessories suggest an image of infatuation or love, the tropes of the cat and caged bird along with the novel and the 'sleeping' woman create a visually ambiguous scene. The outcome of the woman's infatuation with either her book or her companion and the fate of her little bird is not clear in this print. However, each trope alludes to women's susceptibility to seduction and penchant for curiosity—all "appetites, passions, and needs" Rousseau argued women must restrain from in order to fulfill their ideal statuses as wives and mothers.²⁵⁷ The subject in *Minet Aux Aguets* carries several symbols alluding to the feminine qualities associated with insatiable female sexuality according to Rousseau, including: "fondness for finery" (her box of ribbons or clothing), "curiosity" (her novel), "coquetry" (the bird and attributes of her male companion), and "adroitness" (the sheet music and piano directly behind her). Each symbol is either held by the woman or located directly near her. The hostility of the cat towards the woman, surrounded by symbols of her susceptibility to seduction and her own insatiable sexuality, demonstrates how a woman not participating in the domestic ideals of the late eighteenth century lived a life fraught with peril.

When analyzing Greuze's *Young Girl Weeping Over Her Dead Bird* [Fig. 19]—an oil painting of a young girl distraught over the death of her bird or, according to Diderot, the loss of her virginity—Barker argued:

In the context of ancien régime France, the exchange of women was grounded in a juridical system based on the law of contract. It is this system that helps to explain the obsession with female virginity that pervades the fiction of the period. In its terms, the deflowering of an unmarried girl was not so much a sin against chastity (as in Christian morality) as an offence against the authority of her father.²⁵⁸

By the late eighteenth century, an unmarried woman's loss of virginity and innocence was more an offense against the French State as a larger entity of the family unit than the family unit itself. In a decade of intense censorship, Debucourt's late eighteenth-century prints of middle-class women placed immense importance on a woman's susceptibility to seduction and natural sexuality, portraying them as constantly in danger of losing their virtue. This allowed the artist to create erotically charged images influenced by French tradition and styles that were both fashionable and legally viable. At first glance, such images seem to provide both female subject and viewer a choice in their sexual relationships due to the ambiguous outcome of the scene. However, by entrenching his fine-art prints with symbols of the insatiable, innate nature of female sexuality and the dangerously easy manner in which women succumb to it, Debucourt propagated politically and culturally proscribed roles for women that in turn supported the preference for the idealized, chaste, and faithful French female citizen.

CONCLUSION:

Debucourt's late eighteenth-century prints possess intertwined cultural constructions of late eighteenth-century women's roles and portray politically and culturally significant allusions to perceived truths about a woman's social class and her sexuality. First, the aristocratic woman was portrayed as an insatiable sexual libertine who threatened values of the family unit; second, women of the lower classes were represented as unenlightened and thus sexually uninhibited in their ignorance; third, though women of the middle classes held power in their decisions regarding their sexual relationships, they were limited in this power by the norms and morals enforced by a political culture seeking to eradicate female power in the public sphere; and finally,

women of all classes held the most power in French society as chaste, fidelitous wives and mothers. In Debucourt's *fête galante* prints of contemporary French women, women who succumb to their insatiable sexual nature due to their aristocratic frivolity are satirically depicted for the amusement of the viewer; and the women of the lower classes serve to represent the unenlightened individual unaware of the consequences of sexual activity (they are portrayed as beautiful and idyllic, but are pitied and understood as fallen women). Conversely, the conclusions of the precarious sexual situations of Debucourt's middle-class women in his late eighteenth-century *fête galantes* remain ambiguous and up to the interpretation of the viewer. In doing so, Debucourt asks the viewer to decide whether these women will give in to their biologically sexual natures, alluded to by a plethora of symbols regarding eighteenth-century beliefs of women's insatiably sexual appetites. Such images seem to afford the female viewer a sense of agency over her own sexuality; or, in other words, the impression that she holds power within her sexual relationships through the formulation of her decision regarding the outcome. However, to persuade the viewer, Debucourt often includes morally embedded titles and popular verses regarding the easily swayed female—suggestions that reflected the preferred chastity and fidelity of the ideal female French citizen. It is also probable that Debucourt implemented a degree of ambiguity when representing the liaisons of the middle classes in order to avoid censorship, fines, imprisonment, and even execution.²⁵⁹ Whatever the case, it is clear that while Debucourt's female subjects—and perhaps then, the female viewer—hold power in their sexual relationships in the late eighteenth-century, they must follow acceptable sexual behaviors in order to avoid social sanctions.

It is in Debucourt's genre prints of happy domestic tranquility where the outcome of a woman's choices regarding her sexuality is most clear: when a woman chooses to become a wife and mother—regardless of her social class—she holds a prominent position within French society; and happiness and serenity for the female French citizen are found within the private sphere. Though Debucourt's *fête galante* and domestic genre prints of the late eighteenth-century undoubtedly aided in the propagation of his original works, the artist also carefully reflected, constructed, and disseminated overarching ideals of women's role to the public through his use of the reproductive multiple. While his prints afforded women power in their choices regarding their sexuality, this power was restricted to the private realm and was limited by overarching morality and political beliefs.

Between the final decade of the eighteenth century and the first years of the Empire, Debucourt's contemporary reality forced him to alter the aesthetic quality of his imagery as he shifted from a fine-art engraver of traditional gallant scenes to a popular printmaker participating in satirical subjects and fashion plates. No longer a printmaker to the King (who was executed in 1793), Debucourt sought a profitable avenue for his printmaking enterprise while still employing the gallant themes he and his audience were accustomed to. However, the artist's later *fête galante* prints were produced as satire in accordance with the backlash against the *Ancien Régime*. Not just a political maneuver, Debucourt's prints represented an alternative employment of gallant tropes that had been dedicated to the construction of sex and sexuality for the past century in France. In a relatively short period of time, constructions of women as agents in the 'game' of love—however frivolous—went from one of the primary, championed constructions of

femininity to a widespread parody of the corruption of the *Ancien Régime*. The varying uses of gallant themes by Debucourt and their continual ambiguity on how women should behave reflected the overarching constructions of women's role in intimate relationships as well as the patriarchal restrictions of this role—all of which served to educate women on the ways in which society wished them to act. Debucourt therefore continued to actively participate in the sexual education of women through the use of the print, a media that adapted relatively quickly to societal and political constructions of women, and was disseminated across a wide audience of varying social classes.

ENDNOTES

¹ Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001): 9.

² Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 9. For a discussion on “the linguistic turn” and its influence on revolutionary studies, see pages 9 – 12.

³ Here, Landes quotes Keith Michael Baker’s argument in *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: 1990). According to Landes, Baker’s ideas on the construction of reality through “discursive practices or language games” come from François Furet’s 1978 work against Marxist historians of the French Revolution (*Penser la Révolution française*), which argued the French Revolution transformed political discourse and new forms of symbolization emerged (see Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 10). Baker insisted that all things social and political were ultimately formed linguistically.

⁴ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 13.

⁵ According to Wend Von Kalnein: “The first writer to mock the general decorative obsession was Voltaire, in his *Temple du goût*; Blondel, too, castigated the ‘ridiculous jumble of shells, dragons, reeds, palm-trees and other plants that is the be-all and end-all of modern decoration.’” Wend Von Kalnein, *Architecture in France in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995): 75.

⁶ While members of the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* could practice engraving by 1655, the graphic arts were not considered as equally reputable as painting and engraving. Engravers were not recognized as fine artists with full rights and privileges until the creation of the *Section de Gravure* at the *Institut de France* and the establishment of the Rome prize for engraving students in 1803. See Susanne Anderson-Riedel, *Creativity and Reproduction: Nineteenth Century Engraving and the Academy* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010): xiii.

⁷ Historically, printmaking has been deigned unoriginal and uncreative, viewed as works of popular culture beneath the historical developments of the High Arts. Walter Benjamin’s widely known essay, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” represents the prevailing twentieth-century ambivalence towards reproductive images. See Walter Benjamin, “Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken books, 1969).

⁸ See in particular Anderson-Riedel’s *Creativity and Reproduction: Nineteenth Century Engraving and the Academy*. In addition, see George Levitine, “French Eighteenth-Century Printmaking in Search of Cultural Assertion,” in *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking, 1715 – 1814* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1984): 10 – 21. For an overview of scholarship regarding or involving eighteenth-century printmaking, see: Perrin Stein, *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century France* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013); Claudette Hould, “Revolutionary Engravings,” in *Images of the French Revolution* (Quebec: Musée de Québec/Les Publications du Québec, 1989); Jean Adhémar, *Graphic Art of the Eighteenth-Century*, trans. M. I. Martin (New York, 1964); Colin and Charlotte Franklin, *A Catalogue of Early Colour Printing from Chiaroscuro to Aquatint* (London: Colin and Charlotte Franklin, 1977); Bamber Gascoigne, *Milestones in Colour Printing, 1457 – 1859* (Cambridge and New York, 1997 & 2010); Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking, Introduction to the History and Techniques* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996); Arthur M. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching from the 15th Century to the Year 1914*, 3rd edition (New York: Dover Publications, 1963); etc. For a particularly helpful list of exhibition catalogues regarding eighteenth-century printmaking, see Margaret Morgan Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions: the Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2003): 179; and for an extensive bibliography of printmaking scholarship, see Anderson-Riedel, *Creativity and Reproduction*, 230 – 272.

⁹ There are exceptions: scholars interested in late eighteenth-century fine-art prints or color engraving often discuss artists who worked with the *fête galante* genre (such as Grasselli, Taws, Roux, Campbell, Salaman, Portalis, the Goncourt brothers, etc.). The late eighteenth-century printmaker would not have solely worked in one genre and often participated in other popular genres at the time, including: caricature, revolutionary imagery, domestic scenes, portraits, etc.

¹⁰ See Roger Portalis and Henri Béraldi, *Les Graveurs du dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: Damascène Morgand et Charles Fatout, 1880); Campbell Dodgson, *Old French Colour-Prints* (London: Halton and Truscott Smith, Ltd., 1924); Charles E. Russell, *French colour-prints of the XVIIIth century: the art of Debucoart, Janinet & Descourtis*. (London: Halton, 1927); and Marcel Roux, *Inventaire du Fonds Français: Graveurs du XVIII^e Siècle*, (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1949).

¹¹ For catalogues, see in particular Maurice Fenaille, *L'œuvre grave de P. –L. Debucoart (1755 – 1832)* (Paris: Morgand (E. Rahr et cie, succ.), 1899), and Société pour l'étude de la gravure française, Musée des arts décoratifs, *Exposition Debucoart catalogue des tableaux, dessins, gravures, exposés au Musée des arts décoratifs du 11 juin au 11 juillet 1920* (Paris: Frazier, 1920). For compilations of eighteenth-century printmakers that include Debucoart, see Portalis and Béraldi, *Les Graveurs du dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: Damascène Morgand et Charles Fatout, 1880); Dodgson, *Old French Colour-Prints* (London: Halton and Truscott Smith, Ltd., 1924); Russell, *French colour-prints of the XVIIIth century: the art of Debucoart, Janinet & Descourtis*. (London: Halton, 1927); Malcolm C. Salaman, *Masters of the Colour Print V. P. L. Debucoart* (New York: William Edwin Rudge, 1929); and Roux, *Inventaire du Fonds Français: Graveurs du XVIII^e Siècle*, 6th edition (Damontot – Denon) (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1949).

¹² Previous series included Elyse Lord, J. R. Smith, E. A. Verpilleux, and W. Giles. Debucoart was the 5th installation of the series, and a fascicle of Hiroshige was in progress at the time of its publication. Though Salaman referred to the Debucoart prints held in the British Museum, Debucoart was the first French eighteenth-century graphic artist the author included in his series.

¹³ The second volume of *L'Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle* features discussion on seven artists: Gravelot, Cochin, Eisen, Moreau, Fragonard, Prudhon, and Debucoart. See Edmond & Jules Goncourt, *L'Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle* (Paris: Rapilly, Libraire & Marchand d'Estampes, 1874). Each chapter was dedicated to a prominent eighteenth-century French artist. Volume one includes: Watteau, Chardin, Boucher, La Tour, Greuze, and Saint-Aubin. Volume two, published by A. Quantin, includes: Gravelot, Cochin, Eisen, Moreau, Debucoart, Fragonard, Prudhon, and additions to Watteau, Boucher, Baudouin, La Tour, Greuze, Saint-Aubin, etc. The book was published again in Paris by A. Quantin from 1880 – 1883, and again in Paris by E. Flammarion from 1927 – 28. See also Roger Portalis, *Les Dessinateurs d'illustrations au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: D. Morgand and Ch. Fatout, 1877), and Portalis and Béraldi, *Les Graveurs du dix-huitième Siècle*.

¹⁴ See Richard Taws, "Material Features: Reproducing Revolution in P. –L. Debucoart's 'Almanach National'," *The Art Bulletin* 92 (2010): 169 – 187.

¹⁵ Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions: the Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2003).

¹⁶ Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" *Art News* 69 (1971): 22 – 39, 67 – 71.

¹⁷ Mary L. Bellhouse, "Erotic 'Remedy' Prints and the Fall of the Aristocracy in Eighteenth Century France," *Political Theory* 25 (1997): 681. See Carol Duncan, "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art," *The Art Bulletin* 55 (1973): 570 – 583.

¹⁸ See Carol Duncan, "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in Eighteenth-Century French Art," in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (Harper and Row: 1982): 200 – 219.

¹⁹ In 1978 a CAA (College Art Association) session was held titled: "Questioning the Litany: Feminist Views of Art History," co-chaired by H. Diane Russell and Mary D. Garrard. The session served as a gathering of papers to reconsider the assumptions of art history as a discipline. Broude and Garrard state that the session served as an "alteration of art history itself, its methodology and its theory, an aim to be distinguished from the additions to art history that were being provided in the same period by the rediscovery of numbers of forgotten women artists." The meeting eventually led to the publication of the first volume of feminist art historical essays, published by Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard. The authors sought to address fundamental questions for art history as a humanistic discipline from a feminist perspective. Broude and Garrard, *Questioning the Litany*, vii.

²⁰ Broude and Garrard, *Questioning the Litany*, 9. Further interest in the representation of women in gallant imagery includes Miriam Westen's 1991 discussion on the various themes, symbols, and motifs of eighteenth-century *fête galantes*, focusing on the role of the voyeur in the French Rococo. See Miriam Westen, "The Woman on a Swing and the Sensuous Voyeur: Passion and Voyeurism in French Rococo," in

From Sappho to De Sade: Moments in History of Sexuality, ed. Jan Bremmer (New York: Routledge, 1991): 69 - 83.

²¹ Douglas Fordham and Adrienne Albright, "The Eighteenth-Century Print; Tracing the Contours of a Field," *Literature Compass* 9 (2012): 509 - 520.

²² Fordham and Albright, "The Eighteenth-Century Print," 514 - 15. See Sophie Carter, *Purchasing Power: Representing Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Print Culture* (Ashgate Pub Ltd, 2004); Julie Peakman, *Mighty Lewd Books: The Development of Pornography in Eighteenth-Century England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal, eds., *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetic of Difference* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001); Cindy McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); etc.

²³ Significant to this project are the following: Bellhouse, "Erotic 'Remedy' Prints and the Fall of the Aristocracy in Eighteenth Century France," *Political Theory* 25 (1997): 680 - 715; and Erica Rand, "Diderot and Girl-Group Erotics," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 25 (1992): 495 - 516.

²⁴ Anne Schroder, "Genre Prints in Eighteenth-Century France: Production, Market, and Audience," in *Intimate Encounters: Love and Domesticity in Eighteenth Century France* (Hanover, New Hampshire: The Trustees of Dartmouth College, 1997): 69 - 86; Kristel Smentek, "Sex, Sentiment, and Speculation: The Market for Genre Prints on the Eve of the French Revolution," in *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth Century: Studies in the History of Art*, ed. Philip Conisbee (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007): 221 - 244; Peter Fuhling, "The Print Privilege in Eighteenth-Century France-I," *Print Quarterly* 2 (1985): 175 - 193.

²⁵ See in particular: Lynn Hunt, "Engraving the Republic: Prints and Propaganda in the French Revolution," *History Today* 30 (1980): 11 - 17, and Lynn Hunt, *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

²⁶ See Mary D. Sheriff, *Fragonard: Art and Eroticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

²⁷ Madelyn Gutwirth. *The Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

²⁸ Landes. *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

²⁹ For this project, I discuss possible viewing practices. Since the works investigated here are representations of a multitude of additional copies, it is impossible to ascertain how an individual print was viewed without specific archival records. Archival investigations of the specific viewing practices regarding individual works of Debucourt were not conducted for this project, but would be of particular interest for future studies.

³⁰ Another important avenue to explore would be the ideas and desires of the patron. To my knowledge, records between Debucourt and commissioners of certain prints have not been found. A commissioner's influence over a print was therefore not highly considered in this analysis, though it is mentioned when a print was dedicated to a particular commissioner and is something to keep in mind for future analyses.

³¹ Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, eds., *Reclaiming Female Agency: Feminist Art History After Postmodernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

³² Broude and Garrard, *Reclaiming Female Agency*, vii; 1.

³³ See Thalia Gouma-Peterson and Patricia Mathews, "The Feminist Critique of Art History," *The Art Bulletin* 60 (1987): 348.

³⁴ See Lisa Tickner, "Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference," in *Feminism and Culture Studies Vol. II.*, ed. Terry Loyell (Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar Publishing Company, 1995): 38.

³⁵ Broude and Garrard, *Reclaiming Female Agency*, 2. The quote is taken from Lisa Tickner, "Feminism, Art History, and Sexual Difference," *Genders* (1988): 102.

³⁶ The authors investigate "how women attempted to claim power and agency, and how masculinist culture acted and continued to act to negate and neutralize those efforts." Broude and Garrard, *Reclaiming Female Agency*, 3. See in particular Mary D. Garrard's "Here's Looking at Me: Sofonisba Anguissola and the Problem of the Woman Artist;" Sheila Ffolliott's "Learning to be Looked At: A Portrait of (the Artist as) a Young Woman in Agnès Merlet's Artemisia;" Mary D. Garrard's "Artemisia's Hand;" Babette Bohn's "The Antique Heroines of Elisabetta Sirani;" Geraldine A. Johnson's "Pictures Fit for a Queen: Peter Paul Rubens and the Marie de' Medici Cycle;" Mary D. Sheriff's "The Portrait of the Queen: Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's Marie-Antoinette en chemise;" Erica Rand's "Depoliticizing Women: Female Agency, the French

Revolution, and the Art of Boucher and David;” and Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby’s “Nudity À La Grecque in 1799.”

³⁷ For a small representative example, see: Frederick M. Keener and Susan E. Lorsch, *Eighteenth-Century Women and the Arts* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988); Roland G. Bonnel and Catherine Rubinger, *Femmes Savantes et Femmes d’esprit: Women Intellectuals of the French Eighteenth Century* (New York: P. Lang, 1994); Diane E. Boyd and Marta Kvand, *Everyday Revolutions: Eighteenth-Century Women Transforming Public and Private* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008); Olivier Bernier, *The Eighteenth-Century Woman* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1981); Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Rabine, *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Samia Spencer, *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment* (Indiana University Press, 1984).

³⁸ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 13.

³⁹ Estimates include nearly 500 prints produced after 1800 (see Salaman, *Masters of the Colour Print*, 1).

⁴⁰ For biographies of Debucourt and catalogues of his work, see Fenaille, *L’œuvre grave de P. –L. Debucourt (1755 – 1832)*; Société pour l’étude de la gravure française, Musée des arts décoratifs, *Exposition Debucourt catalogue des tableaux, dessins, gravures, exposés au Musée des arts décoratifs du 11 juin au 11 juillet 1920*; Russell, *French colour-prints of the XVIIIth century: the art of Debucourt, Janinet & Descourtis*; Salaman, *Masters of the Colour Print V. P. L. Debucourt*; Dodgson, *Old French Colour-Prints*; Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions: the Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*; Emilia Francis Strong Dilke, *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1899); the Goncourt brother’s *L’Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle*; Portalis, *Les Dessinateurs d’illustrations au dix-huitième siècle* and *Les Graveurs du dix-huitième Siècle*; Roux’s *Inventaire du Fonds Français: Graveurs du XVIII^e Siècle*; and Richard Taws, “Material Features: Reproducing Revolution in P. –L. Debucourt’s ‘Almanach National’,” *The Art Bulletin* 92 (2010): 169 – 187.

⁴¹ Lavreince was a Swedish Rococo painter who worked in Paris. Many *fête galante* engravers such as Janinet and Isidore-Stanislas Helman utilized his images (see *La Roman Dangereux*, 1781).

⁴² See in particular Taunay’s *Village Wedding* (1785) and its pendant, *Village Fair* (1788), and Schall’s *Lover’s Surprised* (1790s).

⁴³ Debucourt published *Le Menuet de la Mariée* (1786) as a pendant to Descourtis’s *Noce de Village* (1785, after a drawing by Taunay). Though Debucourt’s print was certainly inspired by Descourtis (and, by association, Taunay), *Le Menuet de la Mariée* is a design original to Debucourt. The popularity of Descourtis’s and Debucourt’s prints provoked Descourtis to publish his own pendant to *Noce de Village* in 1788 (*Foire de Village*), also based on a gouache by Taunay. Debucourt responded yet again by publishing *La Noce au Château* in 1789—the first plate by Debucourt, according to Salaman, designed specifically to become a color engraving (rather than a translation of another artwork. See Salaman, *Masters of the Colour Print*, 3. In addition, Debucourt’s *L’Oiseau Ranimé* was designed as a companion to Janinet’s *La Comparison* (1786). *L’Oiseau Ranimé*, though influenced by Janinet (and in turn, Lavreince, upon which *La Comparison* is based), is an original design by Debucourt.

⁴⁴ See Marcel Roux, *Inventaire du Fonds Français: Graveurs du XVIII^e Siècle*.

⁴⁵ Dilke, *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century*, 187. See also Société pour l’étude de la gravure française, *Exposition Debucourt*, 12.

⁴⁶ For other examples of this theme, see Moreau le Jeune’s *La Coucher de la Mariée* (after Baudouin, 1768) and Romanet’s *Le Bain* “The Bath” (after Sigismund Freudeberg, 1774). Remedy scenes were also popular in the late eighteenth-century, and though Debucourt did not create any so explicit, they too involve the servant-aristocrat relationship, anxieties of female sexuality, and defamation of the elite as sexual libertines. See Bellhouse, “Erotic ‘Remedy’ Prints,” and particularly her discussion of Maleuvre’s *Le Clystère ou l’indiscret* (after Baudouin), Chaponnier’s *The Remedy* (“*The Officious Servant*”) (after Schall, 1786), and Dequevau-viller’s *Le Contretemps* (“*The Inopportune Moment*”) (after Lavreince, c. 1785).

⁴⁷ For other examples, see de Ghendt’s *Les Heures du Jour: Le Midi* (after Baudouin), 1778; Moreaux’s *La Philosophie Endormie* (after Greuze), 1777; Helman’s *Le Roman Dangereux* (after Lafrensen), 1781; and Debucourt’s *Minet Aux Aguets*, 1796

⁴⁸ For another example, see Delaunay’s *Le Billet Doux* (after Lafrensen), 1749 – 1792.

⁴⁹ For other examples, see Regnault’s *Le Baiser a la Derobee* (after Fragonard), 1788; Darcis’ *La Sentinelle en Defaut* (after Lafrensen), 1789; de Ghendt’s *Les Heures du Jour: La Nuit* (after Baudouin), 1778,

Ponce's *L'Enlèvement Nocturne* (after Baudouin), 1780; and Debucourt's *Les Deux Baisers* (1786), *Les Adieux du Matin* (1787), and *Qu'as Tu Fait?* and *Que Vas Tu Faire* (1791).

⁵⁰ For another example, see Patas' *On Y Court Plus D'un Danger* (after Moreau), 1754 – 1802.

⁵¹ For other examples, see Delaunay's *Le Chiffre d'Amour* (after Fragonard), 1749 – 1792; Janinet's *Nina, Ou, La Folle par Amour*, 1787; and Masquier's *Jusques Dans La Moindre Chose* (after Baudouin), 1774.

⁵² For other examples, see Patas' *Le Villageois Entreprenant* (after Moreau), 1754 – 1802; Simonet's *Le Danger du Tête-a-Tête* (after Baudouin), 1752 – 1825; Benoissi *Il N'est Plus Temps* (after Simonau), 1788; Delaunay's *L'Epouse Indiscrete* or *Les Indiscrets* (after Baudouin), 1771; and Debucourt's *The Poorly Defended Rose*, 1791.

⁵³ For other examples, see Moreau's *La Modele Honnete* (after Baudouin), 1772; and Huot's *L'innocence en danger* (after Borel), 1792.

⁵⁴ Fenaille, *L'œuvre gravé*, 8. *La Noce au Château* (1789) was dedicated to M. de Chevalier de Bargeton and advertised in the *Journal de Paris* on April 14, 1789, also at 6 livres. See Fenaille, *L'œuvre gravé*, 21, and the Société pour l'étude de la gravure française, *Exposition Debucourt*, 88.

⁵⁵ The print was announced on June 30, 1787 in the *Mercure* for 12 livres.

⁵⁶ It is important to note that this image was meant for charity to benefit the real Annette and Lubin. The print initially cost subscribers to the *Journal de Paris* 3 livres, and increased in price to 4 livres and again to 6 livres. See the *Journal de Paris*, April 7, 1789, quoted in Fenaille, *L'œuvre gravé*, 24.

⁵⁷ Hould, *Images of the French Revolution*, 82.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 82. Quoted from *Aux armes et aux arts. Peinture, sculpture, architecture et gravure. Journal de la Société républicaine des arts*, meeting at the Louvre, Laocoon Room, written by Détournelle, an architect. Six issues in 394 pages, Imprimerie de Fantelin, n.d. (Hould gives February – June 1794).

⁵⁹ Russell, *French Colour-Prints*, v.

⁶⁰ Société pour l'Étude de la Gravure Française, *Exposition Debucourt*, 15.

⁶¹ According to Fenaille's catalogue, Debucourt's *M. Le Marquis de la Fayette* (1790) may have been one of the last prints signed "Peint et Gravé par P. L. De Bucourt Peintre du Roy." The 1791 *Almanach National* is signed "Dessiné et grave par P. L. de Bucourt, de l'Acad R^{le} de peinture & c."

⁶² Anderson-Riedel, *Creativity and Reproduction*, 14. Quoted from the meeting reports from 3 Floréal, 6 Floréal, and 8 Floréal, Year II, *Aux armes et aux arts*, I, p. 380 ff.

⁶³ Hould, *Images of the French Revolution*, 74. Quoted from Henri Calvet, *Un instrument de la Terreur à Paris: Le Comité de Salut public ou de Surveillance du département de Paris (8 juin 1793 – 21 messidor an II)* (Paris: Librairie Nizet et Bastard, 1941): 347 – 48.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 74.

⁶⁵ Anderson-Riedel, *Creativity and Reproduction*, 14.

⁶⁶ Anderson-Riedel, *Creativity and Reproduction*, 15.

⁶⁷ Russell, *French Colour-Prints*, vi.

⁶⁸ See also Debucourt's c. 1793/4 *Fraternité*.

⁶⁹ No records of fines or imprisonment have been found regarding Debucourt. However, archival research regarding the artist is not well rounded, and it is possible the artist suffered repercussions of his choices in print production during the 1790s.

⁷⁰ See Russell, *French Colour-Prints*, iii.

⁷¹ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 3.

⁷² Ibid, 4.

⁷³ Ibid, 4.

⁷⁴ The minimum property requirement was met by the direct taxation of the value of three days work. See James F. McMillan, "The rights of man and the rights of woman: Women and the French Revolution," in *France and Women 1789 – 1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000): 16.

⁷⁵ McMillan, "The rights of man and the rights of woman," 16. See also Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 4.

⁷⁶ Rand, "Diderot and Girl-Group Erotics," 515. See also Rand's "Depoliticizing Women: Female Agency, the French Revolution, and the Art of Boucher and David," *Genders* (1990): 47 – 68.

⁷⁷ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 5.

⁷⁸ Quote from Session of 9 Brumaire Year II of the Convention, in *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur*, vol. 18, 298 – 300, cited in Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 5. Chérieux's *Club of Women Patriots in a Church*, ca. 1793 (Bibliothèque nationale de France) is a fantastic representation of anxieties over women's

participation in political affairs. In the print, women gesture wildly, their arms flinging as they thrust their bodies in a heated debate. See footnote 211.

⁷⁹ Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press): 151.

⁸⁰ Discussed largely in Lieselotte Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex: Woman's Nature in the French Enlightenment*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁸¹ The traditional model, referred to as “the one-sex model” by Laqueur, was embedded in pseudo-medical reasoning that female sex organs were no different than males other than the fact they resided inside the body rather than out. The one-sex model was developed by ancient philosophers such as Aristotle (384 B.C.E. – 322 B.C.E.) and Galen (129 – c.200), who reasoned that the inverted sexual organs of females were inferior to males. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 149

⁸² Female and male body parts, which had once shared the same names, were now linguistically separated (such as the ovaries and testes). Ibid, 149

⁸³ Laqueur refers to women as “the perennial other,” assessing the common issue that women are often considered as “other” in comparison to the standard or norm of male. Ibid, 150.

⁸⁴ For a larger discussion on the education of women and children during the eighteenth century, see Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents. Volume One, 1750 – 1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983).

⁸⁵ Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex*, 55.

⁸⁶ Steinbrügge includes Rousseau's description of the “appetites, passions, and needs” a woman must restrain from, such as “all those qualities usually considered feminine, such as a fondness for finery, curiosity, coquetry, adroitness, and garrulousness.” Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex*, 56. See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile ou de l'éducation*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond. (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), vol. 4, 241 – 828; quotation on 709 – 10. For an English translation see *Emile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (London: J. M. Dent, 1957): 332.

⁸⁷ See Dorelies Kraakman, “Reading Pornography Anew: a critical history of sexual knowledge for girls in French erotic fiction, 1750 – 1840,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4 (1994): 543.

⁸⁸ “I have said it a thousand times, it is only through the imagination that the senses awaken. Their [the young men's] actual need is not a physical need at all: it is not true that this need is real”; and “I am convinced that someone who is raised alone in a desert, without books, without learning, without women, would die there a virgin.” See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile, ou L'Education* (1762), book 5 (Paris, 1964): 401.

⁸⁹ Kraakman, “Reading Pornography Anew,” 543.

⁹⁰ Denis Diderot, *Sur les femmes* (Paris: L. Pichon, 1772).

⁹¹ Steinbrügge, *The Moral Sex*, 44.

⁹² Ibid, 44.

⁹³ Mary D. Sheriff, *Moved by Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth Century France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 128. See D. T. Bienville's treatise: *La nymphomanie; ou, Traité de la fureur utérine*.

⁹⁴ Hunt, *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, 5.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 5.

⁹⁶ Talleyrand, *Rapport sur l'instruction publique fait au nom du Comité de Constitution les 10, 11 et 19 septembre 1791* (Paris: 1791): 116 – 17, quoted in McMillan, “The rights of man and the rights of woman,” 27.

⁹⁷ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 5.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 6.

⁹⁹ Hunt, *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Bellhouse, “Erotic ‘Remedy’ Prints,” 681.

¹⁰¹ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 99.

¹⁰² See Barbara Gaehtgens, “The Theory of French Genre Painting and Its European Context,” in *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard: Masterpieces of French Genre Painting*, ed. Colin B. Bailey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003): 52 – 53.

¹⁰³ See Benedict Leca, “An Art Book and Its Viewers: The ‘Recueil Crozat’ and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (2005): 623 – 649. In his research on the *Recueil Crozat*—an eighteenth-century artist's book that included engravings after Italian master paintings and

drawings of Pierre Crozat's collection—Benedict Leca states that *recueils* (bound volumes of printed work) had been a part of printing since the very beginning of the print industry (630). However, it was until the early eighteenth century in France that “*recueil*” came to refer to a bound book of reproductive prints, which were traditionally collected in haphazard loose-leaf portfolios. Often, *recueils* were bound in leather and varied in size, but the larger-sized folios were most preferred to accommodate print collections or publications such as the *Recueil Jullienne*.

¹⁰⁴ The first volume, *Figures de différents caractères, de paysages, et d'études dessinées d'après nature*, contained engravings and etchings after Watteau's drawings. The second volume, *L'œuvre d'Antoine Watteau, Peintre du Roy en son Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture grave d'après tableaux et desseins originaux tirez du Cabinet du Roy et des plus curieux de l'Europe par le soins de M. de Jullienne*, held reproductive prints after Watteau's paintings. Both were commissioned by art collector Jean de Jullienne (1686 – 1766), who presented the book of combined volumes (known as the *Recueil Jullienne*) to the Académie royale de Peintre et de Sculpture in 1739. For more on the *Recueil Jullienne*, see Isabelle Tillerot, “Engraving Watteau in the Eighteenth Century: Order and Display in the Recueil Julienne,” *Getty Research Journal* (2003): 33 – 52; Christoph Martin Vogtherr, “Genius of Invention: The 18th-century impresario and collector Jean de Jullienne's complex relationship with Watteau is explored in a new exhibition at the Wallace Collection in London,” *Apollo* (2010): 102 – 107; Colin Eisler, “Two Immortalized Landscapes: Watteau and the Recueil Jullienne,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1966): 165 – 176; and Émile Dacier, Jacques Hérold, and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIII^e Siècle, II Historique*, (Paris, France: La Société Pour L'Etude de la Gravure Française, 1922).

¹⁰⁵ Leca, “An Art Book and Its Viewers,” 625.

¹⁰⁶ Dilke, *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century*, 2. See also Portalis and Béraldi, *Les graveurs du dix-huitième siècle*.

¹⁰⁷ Gravelot, though born in France, immigrated to London in 1732 and played an important role in the introduction of the Rococo to England. He was also a pupil of Boucher. Due to rising anti-French sentiments in England, Gravelot moved back to France and became a book illustrator. He even illustrated the 1761 publication of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.

¹⁰⁸ Eisen was draftsman to the king and teacher of Madame de Pompadour. He too became known for his book illustrations.

¹⁰⁹ Dilke, *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century*, 2.

¹¹⁰ See Goncourt, *L'Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle*; Portalis, *Les Dessinateurs d'illustrations au dix-huitième siècle*; Dodgson, *Old French Colour-Prints*; Russell, *French colour-prints of the XVIIIth century*; and Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions*.

¹¹¹ Société pour l'étude de la gravure française, *Exposition Debucourt*, 11.

¹¹² Sarane Alexandrian, “Education of Love in the Age of Enlightenment,” in *The Triumph of Eros: Art and Seduction in Eighteenth-Century France*, eds. Althaus, Frank and Mark Sutcliffe (London: Fontanka, 2006): 35 – 43.

¹¹³ Ibid, 43.

¹¹⁴ Dimitri Ozerkov, “French Prints of the Gallant Age in Paris and St. Petersburg,” in *The Triumph of Eros: Art and Seduction in Eighteenth-Century France*, eds. Althaus, Frank and Mark Sutcliffe (London: Fontanka, 2006): 11 - 20.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Hould, *Images of the French Revolution*, 81.

¹¹⁶ See Alexandrian, “Education of Love in the Age of Enlightenment,” 35 – 43.

¹¹⁷ Ozerkov, “French Prints of the Gallant Age,” 45.

¹¹⁸ Alexandrian, “Education in Love in the Age of Enlightenment,” 36.

¹¹⁹ According to Dilke, for unknown reasons, the sketch for *La Fainte Caresse* was the last time Debucourt exhibited at the Academy (1785). Therefore, most of Debucourt's work would have been viewed in the private realm, rather than the public.

Chapter 2: Women's Roles & Identities in Debucourt's Genre Prints

¹²⁰ Morag Martin states: "Eighteenth-century female aristocrats traditionally wore thick layers of white paint and large streaks of rouge across their faces, from the corner of the mouth to the tip of the ear. Beauty patches, sometimes as big as golf balls or shaped like birds, completed the face, and towering powdered hairpieces topped off the look." According to Martin, in the mid-eighteenth century, it was not only the aristocracy that employed these elaborate forms of beautification: even the middle and artisan classes were able to participate with fairly affordable make-up products (though there were different qualities of product and varying techniques used for different social classes). By the late-eighteenth century, however, cosmetics were under attack by enlightened *philosophes*, scientists, and doctors. See Morag Martin, "Doctoring Beauty: The Medical Control of Women's *Toilettes* in France, 1750 – 1820," *Medical History* 49 (2005): 351 – 368.

¹²¹ Martin on the criticism of cosmetic by Enlightened *philosophes*: "Driven by a desire to create a self-evident hierarchy of merit, they criticized cosmetics for sustaining aristocratic debauchery and fashions that promoted deceit by women of all social groups... What was needed was a purification of the masked face, to reveal the true transparent personality underneath, which could then be judged by reason rather than birth." See *Aristocratic Lady Cursing the Revolution*, c. 1789, Musée Carnavalet, for a representation of the rejected aristocratic taste in fashion during this time.

¹²² See Jennifer M. Jones, "Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France," *French Historical Studies* 18 (1994): 939 – 967.

¹²³ *Modes et Manières du Jour* contains a total of 52 plates. It cost 18 franks for the collection in the Bureau du *Journal des Dames* on rue Montmartre, n° 183. They included etchings, printed in black and colored by hand. They were later published and filed by La Mésangère at the Bibliothèque on August 3, 1810. See Fenaille, *L'œuvre gravé*, 67. In the top margins of each plate, the title *Modes et Manières, le N°* was printed to document the order of the pieces and the date. Details of the fashions represented are also given.

¹²⁴ Russell states that the "dainty little lady with the pert features and the flashing eyes who figures so often" in prints such as *La Main*, *Les Deux Baisers*, *Le Menuet de la Mariée*, *La Promenade Publique*, and others, is actually a real woman: Mlle Ninon—a well-known beauty and Debucourt's favorite model (Russell, *French Colour-Prints*, vi). While it could be true that Debucourt used a contemporary woman as a model for several of his works, no research has been conducted on whether this woman was recognized by the public, what this would have meant for viewers of Debucourt's prints, or how his use of Mlle Ninon would have influenced the production or purchasing of such images. Though unstated, it could be that Russell is referring to Anne "Ninon" de l'Enclos (also known as Ninon de Lenclos or Ninon de Lanclos), a prominent woman and patron of the arts in 17th century France. This would make Debucourt's model a historical figure rather than a contemporary woman.

¹²⁵ Debucourt's *La Rose Mal Défendue*, published in 1791, is another high-class interior scene—though not quite as lavishly decorated as *L'Oiseau Ranimé* and *Les Deux Baisers*. Debucourt's *Promenade de la Galerie du Palais Royal* depicts the elite but is a caricature of a crowd of people rather than an interior scene. Debucourt focused much more on genre scenes of domestic tranquility, lower-class scenes of amorous liaisons, and middle-class moralistic scenes within his graphic *œuvre*.

¹²⁶ *Les Deux Baisers* was based on a painting by Debucourt titled *La Fainte Caresse*, produced in 1785. See Salaman, *Masters of the Colour Print*, 2 – 3.

¹²⁷ See Marie Anne Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's *Portrait of Madame de Barri* (a 1782 oil painting) for another example of an aristocratic woman wearing the floral wreath.

¹²⁸ See the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Antoine-Lavoisier was a French nobleman and chemist executed by the guillotine during the Reign of Terror in 1794. See *Madame Seriziat* (1795), also by Jacques-Louis-David, for a simpler rendition of the *chemise à la reine*. For an English representation, see *Lady Elizabeth Foster* by Angelica Kauffman, 1785.

¹²⁹ See Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion in the French Revolution* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1988): 34. The dress was seen as inappropriate for a Queen, particularly in a public portrait displayed at the *Salon*.

¹³⁰ Bellhouse states that "intense pornographical political attacks were made against courtiers and especially queen Marie Antoinette in the pamphlet literature" throughout the late eighteenth century until her death. "Erotic 'Remedy' Prints," 681.

¹³¹ The play was created by French composer Nicolas Dalayrac and debuted in 1786 by the Comédie-Italienne. The libretto, created by Benoît-Joseph Marsollier des Vivetières, was based on the work of Baculard d'Arnaud.

¹³² An anonymous plate representing Nina from Gallica.BNF.fr can be seen here: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Dugazon_dans_Nina.jpg

¹³³ Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions*, 124.

¹³⁴ Sheriff, *Moved by Love*, 128. See also D. T. Bienville's treatise: *La nymphomanie; ou, Traité de la fureur utérine*.

¹³⁵ The textile was printed by François Gorgerat and manufactured by Gorgerat Frères et Cie in Nantes, France (in production between 1783/5 – 1815). The fabric is a plate-printed cotton plain weave and features the image by Janinet. See the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1929-164-290).

¹³⁶ Janinet's engraving (National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection), was announced in the *Gazette de France* on September 11, 1787 and in the *Journal de Paris* and priced at 6 livres (see Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions*, 124). According to Grasselli, another print of Dugazon as Nina by Janinet was published on June 10, 1786 for the seventh delivery of *Costumes et annales des grands théâtres de Paris*. The costume is identical, but the gesture is different and resembles almost exactly the lesser-quality print from an anonymous artist cited above.

¹³⁷ Marie Louise Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Memoires of Madame Vigée Lebrun*, trans. Lionel Strachey (London: Grant Richards, 1904).

¹³⁸ Quoted in Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 101; from *Emile*, 361.

¹³⁹ I have yet to find a reproduction of *La Fainte Caresse*, though the painting is listed in the catalogue of the Société pour l'étude de la gravure française and registered at a Sotheby's auction on June 23rd, 1976.

¹⁴⁰ Salaman, *Masters of the Colour Print*, 2.

¹⁴¹ Dodgson, *Old French Colour-Prints*, 26.

¹⁴² Salaman calls Debucourt's process a "new method of colour-engraving." *Masters of the Colour Print*, 2.

¹⁴³ Unfortunately, Fenaillé's catalogue of Debucourt's prints does not give the price of *Les Deux Baisers* or *L'Oiseau*. However, *Promenade de la Galerie du Palais Royal*, published a year later, was announced in the *Mercure de France* for 12 livres. The image is slightly larger than *Les Deux Baisers* but is similar in its satirical subject matter and quality.

¹⁴⁴ Salaman, *Masters of the Colour Print*, 2. It is important to note that it is not clear how Salaman knows of the success of the painting or the engraving.

¹⁴⁵ Dilke, *French Painters of the XVIIIth Century*, 155, 187.

¹⁴⁶ At this point, much of Debucourt's reproductive engraving is dedicated to the creation of prints after artists such as Prud'hon, Carle Vernet, Isabey, Boilly, Lordon, Damame-Demartrai, Duval-Le Camus, and others. Société pour l'étude de la gravure française, *Exposition Debucourt*, 15.

¹⁴⁷ Debucourt did publish two color prints before *Les Deux Baisers*: *Suzette Mal Cachée ou Les Amants Decouverts* and its pendant, *La Porte Enfoncée ou Les Amants Poursuivis*, both dated 1785. The pieces follow the technique of Janinet and were published before Debucourt stopped exhibiting at the Academy.

¹⁴⁸ See particularly Emma Barker "Reading the Greuze Girl: The Daughter's Seduction" *Representations* 117 (2012): 86 – 119. The author argues that birds have often been used as sexual symbols, particularly in seventeenth century Dutch painting (90). In other traditions, "the bird signifies the human soul, which flies away at death" (91). See Pigalle's *Child with a Cage*. See also Elise Goodman, "Les Jeux Innocents": French Rococo Birding and Fishing Scenes," *Simiolus* 23 (1995): 251 – 67.

¹⁴⁹ See Rand's discussion of *La Coucher de la Mariée*. Rand speculates whether Diderot noticed this subversive contact in Baudouin's gouache, and whether part of his anxieties regarding the appearance of serving women on a bride's wedding night were ignited from the sexual-nature of this action.

¹⁵⁰ Bellhouse states: "Sexual desire between women was recognized as an important part of life in the convent and at court in the Old Regime." 696. See also D. A. Coward, "Attitudes to Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century France," in *History of Homosexuality in Europe and America*, vol. 5 of *Studies in Homosexuality*, eds. Wayne R. Dynes and Stephen Donaldson (New York: Garland, 1992), 50 – 51.

¹⁵¹ Coward, "Attitudes to Homosexuality," 50 – 51.

¹⁵² Bellhouse, "Erotic 'Remedy' Prints," 582.

¹⁵³ Her term designates "a distrust of the erotic effects of the female configuration that includes but is not limited to a fear of sexual activity occurring between women, and partly to invoke the infantilization and

disrespect toward women that 'girl,' now subculturally reclaimed, traditionally invokes." Rand, "Diderot and Girl-Group Erotics," 496.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 496.

¹⁵⁵ Rand states that female servants were "reputed, as contemporary medical tracts testify, to teach children, including girls, about sex, particularly by teaching them how to masturbate..." Rand, "Diderot and Girl-Group Erotics," 504.

¹⁵⁶ See Fairchilds, *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984): 189; and Rand, "Diderot and Girl-Group Erotics," 504. Rand cites Sarah C. Maza's *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983): 130 – 33, 183 – 87; D. T. Bienville's *La Nymphomanie ou Traité de la Fureur utérine* (Amsterdam: Chez Marc-michel Rey, 1778): 131, 140 – 43; and Tissot L'Onanisme, "Dissertation sur les Maladies Produites Par La Masturbation," in *Collection de Ouvrages de Médecine*, vol. 4 (Paris: Didot le Jeune, 1769).

¹⁵⁷ Marie Antoinette was a particularly utilized target throughout the 1770s into the early 90s. Louis XV and Louis XVI were also attacked, though the former as a sexual libertine and the latter ridiculed as sexually impotent. See Bellhouse, "Erotic 'Remedy' Prints," 681. See also Sarah Maza, "The Diamond Necklace Affair Revisited (1785 – 1786): The Case of the Missing Queen," in *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991): 63 – 89.

¹⁵⁸ Rand refers to *Lettres persanes* as a "steamy, perfumed harem space filled with desperate women of occasionally Sapphic practice." Rand, "Diderot and Girl-Group Erotics," 505.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 505 – 6.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 506.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 506. Quoted from a September 17th, 1760 letter from Diderot in *Lettres à Sophie Volland*, ed. A. Barbelon, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1938): 118.

¹⁶² *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France*, vol. 27 (1780 – 89; reprint, Westmead, 1970): 116. Translated in Jeffrey Merrick, "The Marquis de Villette and Mademoiselle de Raucourt: Representations of Male and Female Sexual Deviance in Late Eighteenth-century France," in *Homosexuality in Modern France*, ed. Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1996): 30.

¹⁶³ Rand, "Diderot and Girl-Group Erotics," 497.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 497. See Rand's translation of Diderot's description of *La Coucher* and his proposal for a new painting.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 515.

¹⁶⁶ Bellhouse, "Erotic 'Remedy' Prints," 682.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 682.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 683.

¹⁶⁹ Bellhouse, "Erotic 'Remedy' Prints," 693.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 693.

¹⁷¹ For example, *Le Menuet de la Mariée* was published in 1786 as a pendant to Descourties's *Noce de Village* (1785).

¹⁷² Smentek, "Sex, Sentiment, and Speculation," 224

¹⁷³ Smentek states that while celebrity portraits and allegories, along with sentimental scenes sold well, "sex appears to have had an even more consistent appeal." Smentek, "Sex, Sentiment, and Speculation," 229.

¹⁷⁴ Vallée's account books do not begin until almost a full three years after the publication of this engraving. Smentek states that Vallée's customers "purchased no less than thirty-one impressions of this print, which had been condemned by the *Affiches de province* as indecent..." The popularity of Blot's engraving of *The Bolt* was so much so that "in the summer of 1789, when Vallée's sales consisted almost exclusively of inexpensive overtly political images... they were among the only expensive prints still desired by his clients." Smentek, "Sex, Sentiment, and Speculation," 233- 234, 235.

¹⁷⁵ For other examples, see: Joseph de Longueil's *Les Dons Imprudents*, after Antoine Borel; and Isidore-Stanislas Helman's (1743 – 1809) *Le Roman Dangereux*, after Lafrensen (1781).

¹⁷⁶ These two prints are most similar in subject and style to the work of fellow color-engraver Jean-François Janinet (1752 – 1814). In fact, *L'Oiseau Ranimé* was designed as a companion to Janinet's *La Comparaison* (1786) and the two provide a similar scene of two young, partially undressed, upper-class women.

¹⁷⁷ Bellhouse posits that representations of poor women, produced for privileged audiences, began to shift in the eighteenth century, portraying wage labor outside the home as rewarding and virtuous rather than boring or deforming, as was the custom of earlier portrayals. This reflected the rising demand for cheap labor during the birth of the industrial age. See Mary L. Bellhouse, "Visual Myths of Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century France," *International Political Science Review* 12 (1991): 117 – 135. Though Debucourt's lower-class women have often lost their virginity, they are not viewed as harshly as his aristocratic women.

¹⁷⁸ See Claude-Sixte Sautreau de. *Almanach des Muses* (Paris: Delalain, 1778): 125.

¹⁷⁹ "...Advint pourtant qu'à la fontaine prochaine, madame Alix l'envoye un beau matin remplir sa cruche ; elle y court : mais advint que par hasard se trouva là Colin ; il a seize ans, il est beau, mais malin ; il prend, avec douceur, la cruche à Colinette , puise de l'eau, la rend à la fillette ; pour son salaire, il a pris un baiser ; le premier pris défend de refuser celui qui fait que bientôt on trébuche ; de baisers en baisers, Colin cassa la cruche. Madame Alix, écoutez mes leçons : il faut fuir, mais il faut connoître les garçons ; si trop de liberté perdit sa soeur Colette, trop d'ignorance a perdu Colinette." Marsy, *Almanach des Muses*, 125.

¹⁸⁰ See Nicolas Francois Regnault's 1785 *La Fontaine d'Amour* after Fragonard.

¹⁸¹ See Hilliard T. Goldfarb, "Boucher's 'Pastoral Scene with Family at Rest' and the Image of the Pastoral in Eighteenth-Century France," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 71 (1984): 87.

¹⁸² See Pater's *The Fair at Bezons*, c. 1733. The scene reflects on an open-air performance by a troupe of the commedia dell'arte.

¹⁸³ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 101.

¹⁸⁴ Rousseau, *Émile*, bk. 4, 246. See Kraakman, "Reading Pornography Anew," 543.

¹⁸⁵ See Allan Braham, *The Architecture of the French Enlightenment* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980): 70; and Martin Calder (ed.), *Experiencing the Garden in the Eighteenth Century* (Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2006): 9.

¹⁸⁶ Barker, "Reading the Greuze Girl," 102.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 98 – 9.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 103.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 103.

¹⁹⁰ Barker argues that there was concern for numbers in population during the late eighteenth century, and interest in procreativity and fertility rose. She cites Pierre Virard *Essai sur la santé des filles nubiles* ("Londres" [Paris?], 1776), 9 – 10; and Jean-André Venel, *Essai sur la santé et l'éducation médicinale des fille destinées au mariage* (Yverdon, 1775), 154 – 59. On population control see Carol Blum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction and Power in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

¹⁹¹ See Gilles Antoine Demarteau's series of *Pastorale* plates as other examples of the popularity of peasant scenes during this time.

¹⁹² Salaman states: "the old, old story of which the broken pitcher is a symbol, the maiden weeps, the youth is tenderly sorry, and when she dries her eyes he will fetch the little shoe she left in the long grass by the fountain at the end of the dark wood." *Masters of the Colour Print*, 3.

¹⁹³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile or On Education*, trans. Allan Bloom (Basic Books, Inc., 1979): 370.

¹⁹⁴ It is important to note that these scenes represent middle-class lovers rather than the lower-class subjects of *L'Escalade*. The prints are obvious moral tales of the woes of extramarital sex and the loss of virginity, but this was the last time Debucourt engraved the subject with middle-class figures.

¹⁹⁵ See Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions*, 139.

¹⁹⁶ Translated by Grasselli, *Colorful Impressions*, 139. The original quote, written by Debucourt, is located beneath *Annette et Lubin*.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 139.

¹⁹⁸ See Fenaille, *L'œuvre gravé*, 24, for Debucourt's letter to the authors of the *Journale de Paris*.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 25.

²⁰⁰ See Hould, *Images of the French Revolution*, 28.

²⁰¹ The published print gives Depeuille's address at Rue St. Denis underneath the title. See Hould, "Revolutionary Engravings," 74.

²⁰² The National Convention made Marianne the new seal of the French state in 1792. She is often represented as the "goddess of Liberty," and wears the *tricolore* or the Phrygian cap. See Maurice Agulhon,

Marianna into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789 – 1880, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

²⁰³ According to Hould, hunger riots broke out in Paris in March of 1795. An uprising of *sans-culottes* (poor laborers and Jacobins) calling for bread occurred in May of 1795. Hould, *Images of the French Revolution*, 31. See also McMillan, “The rights of man and the rights of woman,” 23 – 24.

²⁰⁴ The mother’s hairstyle in *Les Plaisirs Paternels* is not as fashionably worn as the women of Debucourt’s other prints previously mentioned, and it seems that this scene depicts a lower class than that of *Les Bouquets* or *L’Heureuse Famille*. However, she is just as conservatively dressed and displays similar mannerisms to Debucourt’s other scenes of happy domesticity.

²⁰⁵ See Lucy Moore, *Liberty: The Lives and Times of Six Women in Revolutionary France*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2007).

²⁰⁶ Quoted in 1808 from Constituent Assembly representative Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d’Angely, cited in Elisabeth Roudinesco, *Théroigne de Méricourt: A Melancholic Woman during the French Revolution*, trans. Martin Thom (London: Verso, 1991): 155.

²⁰⁷ For a discussion, see Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 91.

²⁰⁸ Issue of 10 – 17 October, 1789, published shortly after the march on Versailles. Prudhomme reprimanded Keralio on her character in a context involving the “dispute over free speech, or the right of a journalist to slander public officials” that was dubbed by *Revolutions de Paris* “l’affaire de M. Marat” (“referring to the public order against Marat for slandering Jacques Necker”). See Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 92.

²⁰⁹ See Louis Prudhomme’s *Revolutions de Paris*, vol. 2, no. 14, 34 – 35. Quoted from Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 92.

²¹⁰ Ibid, 91.

²¹¹ See images such as *Les Abominables*, published through 1794 – 99 in Paris, now at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie*. Here, a monstrous, nude woman holds a torch and a dagger. She is portrayed as a masculine Medusa, featuring a head of slithering snakes, sagging, swinging breasts, and defined biceps, abdominals, and legs. Perhaps more illuminating of the anxiety regarding women’s role in politics is Chérieux’s *Club des femmes patriotes dans une église*, published in 1793. In this scene, hoards of women gesture violently and wildly. Though dressed simply, their frantic gesturing has led to bare collarbones revealed by slipping shawls and even, in the figure to the far left, a slight wardrobe malfunction. Their sharp, angular faces are quite masculine, and many sport strong jawlines and chins. Groups of men observe the scene calmly and some even smile at the apparent ridiculousness of the women before them. The women appear chaotic in their passionate debate, and while some women sign or read documents, not much seems to be getting done.

²¹² This ideal female citizen melds with Rousseau’s own constructions of the proper domestic woman and abhorrence for a “manly” public woman. For a discussion, see Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979) and Linda M. G. Zerilli, *Signifying Woman: Culture and Chaos in Rousseau, Burke and Mill* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994). Cited in Bellhouse, “Erotic ‘Remedy’ Prints,” 710.

²¹³ See James Eglinton and George Harinck, eds., *Neo-Calvinism and the French Revolution* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014): 87.

²¹⁴ See Jennifer Harris, “The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Partisans, 1789 – 1794,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 14 (1981): 299 – 302.

²¹⁵ See particularly the issues published in 1790 for examples of the more opulent patriotic fashion designs of the time.

²¹⁶ The image is based on Debucourt’s own drawing in black chalk with white highlights (see the collection of Jeffrey Horvitz, Boston). It is reproduced in *Mastery & Elegance, Two Centuries of French Drawings from the Collection of Jeffrey Horvitz* (exhibition catalogue, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, MA: 1998).

²¹⁷ According to Grace Dalrymple Elliott, a Scottish woman who witnessed the events on July 14th, 1789 in Paris: “The mob obliged everybody to wear a green cockade for two days, but afterwards they took red, white, and blue, the Orleans livery. The streets, all the evening of the 14th, were in an uproar; the French Guards and all those who were at the taking of the Bastille were mad drunk, dragging dead bodies and heads and limbs about the streets by torch-light... Such were the dreadful scenes of that day!” See Grace Dalrymple Elliott, *Journal of My Life During the French Revolution* (The Rodale Press, 1955): 14 – 15.

²¹⁸ See Harris, "The Red Cap of Liberty." For a contemporary account, see Madame Roland, *Private Memoirs of Madame Roland*, ed. Edward Gilpin Johnson (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1901).

²¹⁹ See Jeffrey E. Horvitz and Alvin L. Clark, eds., *Mastery & Elegance, Two Centuries of French Drawings from the Collection of Jeffrey Horvitz* (University of Washington Press: 1998).

²²⁰ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 91.

²²¹ See Nicole Fermon, "Domesticating Women, Civilizing Men: Rousseau's Political Program," *The Sociological Quarterly* 35 (1994): 431 – 442.

²²² See *The Young Schoolmistress*, c. 1736 and *The Governess*, 1739; and *The Good Education*, 1753.

²²³ See *Woman Cleaning Turnips*, c. 1738; *The Embroiderer*, c. 1773; and *The Scullery Maid*, 1738.

²²⁴ See Fenaille, *L'œuvre gravé*, plate between 46 – 47.

²²⁵ Russell, *French Colour-Prints*, vi.

²²⁶ Fenaille, *L'œuvre gravé*, 55.

²²⁷ See J. B. "Three Busts by Houdon," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 7, no. 12 (Dec., 1912), p 223 – 226.

²²⁸ J. B. cites busts of terracotta, bronze, and gypsum bronzed (all after Houdon's model of Jean Jacques Rousseau) that carry some variations. Ibid, 226.

²²⁹ Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 15.

²³⁰ Ibid, 15.

²³¹ See John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London and Harmondsworth, 1989): 47. Quoted from Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 15 – 16.

²³² See Steinbrügge *The Moral Sex*, 56.

²³³ For more on the appearance of Cupid in eighteenth-century work, see Satish Padiyar, "Menacing Cupid in the Art of the Rococo," in *The Triumph of Eros: Art and Seduction in Eighteenth-Century France*, eds. Althaus, Frank and Mark Sutcliffe (London: Fontanka, 2006): 21 – 34.

²³⁴ Clothing referenced class differentiation in the 1790s, particularly between the upper classes and the working class. Working-class citizens wore loose trousers, which earned them the nickname *sans-culottes*, while upper-class men continued to wear breeches. See Lila Perl, *From Top Hats to Baseball Caps, From Bustles to Blue Jeans* (New York: Clarion Books, 1990): 33. The young man in *La Rose* seems to be wearing a traditional *habit à la française*, popular in the French courts in the latter half of the eighteenth-century. Though the sheen of his coat suggests the same heavy, velvet fabric of the *habit à la française*, it is not as embellished with gold or silver embroidery as the more luxurious, aristocratic coats of the time, suggesting his upper-class status (as opposed to aristocratic) and dwindling interest in opulent fashions associated to the aristocracy. He does wear the typical lace cuffs and collar that were slowly coming out of style in the 1780s, and the three pieces of a man's formal costume, including: a velvet coat (usually embroidered), velvet vest, and velvet knee breeches. See Philippe Séguy, "One: Costume in the Age of Napoleon," in *Costume From Revolution to Empire: 1789 – 1815*, ed. Katell le Bourhis (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989): 35 – 41.

²³⁵ Though Debucourt apparently stopped producing prints accompanied by de Parny's poems after *La Rose* and *La Main*, many of his prints reflect subject matter similar to de Parny's work, including infidelity.

²³⁶ "C'est l'âge qui touché à l'enfance/ C'est Justine, c'est la candeur./ Déjà l'amour parle à son cœur:/ Crédule comme l'innocence,/ Elle écoute avec complaisance/ Son langage souvent trompeur./ Son œil satisfait se repose/ Sur un jeune homme à ses genoux./ Qui d'un air suppliant et doux/ Lui présente une simple rose./ De cet amant passionné,/ Justine, refusez l'offrande;/ Lorsqu'un amant donne, il demande,/ Et beaucoup plus qu'il n'a donné."

²³⁷ "Quand on aime bien, l'on oublie/ Ces frivoles ménagements/ Que la raison ou la folie/ oppose au bonheur des amans./ On ne dit point: "la résistance/ enflamme et fixe les desirs;/ reculons l'instant des plaisirs/ Que suit trop souvent l'inconstance."/ Ainsi parle un amour trompeur,/ et la coquette ainsi raisonne./ La tendre amante s'abandonne/ à l'objet qui toucha son cœur;/ Et dans sa passion nouvelle,/ trop heureuse pour raisonner,/ elle est bien loin de soupçonner/ Qu'un jour il peut être infidèle;/ Justine avoit reçu la fleur./ On exige alors de sa bouche/ cet aveu qui flatte et qui touché,/ Alors même qu'il est menteur./ Elle répond par sa rougeur;/ Puis avec un souris céleste/ Aux baisers de l'heureux Valsin/ Justine abandonne sa main,/ Et la main promet tout le reste."

²³⁸ See de Parny's *Le Retour*.

²³⁹ Quoted in Edward Clayton, *French Engravings of the Eighteenth Century in the Collection of Joseph Widener, Lynnewood Hall*, volume 1 (London: Chiswick Press, 1923): 163.

²⁴⁰ See Le Blon's (1667 – 1741) *Susanna and the Elders* (after G. Chiari) for a traditional example of the resistance scene but reproduced in an eighteenth-century French color print.

²⁴¹ See Louis Marin Bonnet's *L'Eventail cassé* after J. B. Huet. Here, the woman uses a broken fan to bat at her pursuer. See also Nicolas Larmessin's *Les Remois: "Contres de la Fontaine"* after Lancret, 1738, for an early eighteenth-century example; see also Salvatore Tresca's (1750 – 1815) *Sweet Resistance (La douce resistance)* after Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761 – 1845) and Nicolas Delaunay's *L'Epouse Indiscrete*, after Pierre-Antoine Baudouin.

²⁴² Blot's *The Bolt* was published in 1784, but Vallée's account books do not begin until almost a full three years later. Smentek states that Vallée's customers "purchased no less than thirty-one impressions of this print, which had been condemned by the *Affiches de province* as indecent..." The popularity of Blot's engraving was so high that, "in the summer of 1789, when Vallée's sales consisted almost exclusively of inexpensive overtly political images... they were among the only expensive prints still desired by his clients." Smentek, "Sex, Sentiment, and Speculation," 233 – 235.

²⁴³ <http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/bolt>. The toppled chair is another popular theme: see Noël le Mire's *La Crainte* (after Jean-Baptiste Le Prince).

²⁴⁴ Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, *Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents Volume One, 1750 – 1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983): 44. Source: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile*, bk. 5, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Michel Launay, 3 vols. (Paris: 1967 – 71), III, *Oeuvres philosophiques et politiques: de l'Émile aux derniers écrits politiques*, 1762 – 1772, 243 – 47. Originally published in the Hague, 1762. Trans. Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 44.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, 45 – 46.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 45 – 46.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, 45 – 46.

²⁴⁹ Gutwirth gives a fantastic description of this work: "Here, of course, many rococo elements recur: the dog for animality, the complicitous Cupid, the rose itself. "The setting of seduction, however, is no loner the bower, the cloud, or the boudoir; it is a sofa in a stripped-down neoclassical interior, so that the struggle itself appears against no softening or embracing vision of natural forces or billowing bedclothes. A pure sex war, it powerfully resembles in its aesthetic the ethos of the *Liaisons Dangereuses*. The doll-faced, half-smiling lover takes no notice of the dismay admixed with desire of his object: her struggle is foredoomed by her own sexuality, at war with her judgment. The impression of her fragility is heightened by the light shade of her garments and the listlessness of her pale arm, draped languidly over the dark arm of the lover who presses against her breast. The mark of complicity lies in the fabric of her dress, trailing over her suitor's leg, covering his arousal. She is in the very process of melting in his heat. Close to intercourse and/or tears, her image, not unlike the features of Greuze's abashed adolescents, liquidates that of the dry, pretty, cool self-composure of the rococo woman." Gutwirth, *Twilight of the Goddesses*, 166.

²⁵⁰ *La Rose Mal Défendue* was popular enough for Bonnemain to create a reduction of the plate, engraved in aquatint, and with the breast of the young woman uncovered. It is not known under what circumstances Bonnemain created the print (i.e. if Debucourt knew of Bonnemain's production before it was published), but Debucourt was credited with the original design and both prints were sold through Depeuille at one point. See Fenaille, *L'œuvre gravé*, 29 – 30.

²⁵¹ See Ibid, 30 – 1 and Salaman, *Masters of the Colour Print*, 6. For a reproduction of the first state of *La Croisée*, see Société pour l'étude de la gravure française, *Exposition Debucourt*, pl. 21, pg. 90.

²⁵² See Fenaille, *L'œuvre gravé*, 31 – 32. Morag Martin mentions *L'art de rendre les femmes fidèles*, a treatise by de Cerfvol, published in Paris at the chez la veuve Laisné in 1713. See Martin, "Doctoring Beauty," ft. 68.

²⁵³ John W. Ittman states that it is unclear whether an outside authority pressured the artist to revise his compositions (speaking as well to *La Rose Mal Défendue*, which the author believes may have originally shown a bare breast of the woman like in Bonnemain's copy). Ittman, "Catalogue of the Exhibition," *Regency to Empire: French Printmaking 1715- 1814* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1984): 287.

²⁵⁴ For analyses of canaries as a traditional symbol of amorous implications, see in particularly Barker "Reading the Greuze Girl," 86 – 119. The author argues that birds have often been used as sexual symbols, particularly in seventeenth century Dutch painting (90). In other traditions, "the bird signifies the human soul, which flies away at death" (91). See Pigalle's *Child with a Cage*. See also Elise Goodman, "Les Jeux Innocents," 251 – 67.

²⁵⁵ See Boucher's *L'appeau, dit L'oiseau pris dans les filets*, Louvre, Paris; William Hogarth's *Portrait of a Young Girl in Stamford Family*, 1730, Private Collection; Nicolas Lancret's *Le nid d'oiseau*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes (this is a particularly interesting example: the bird cage is present but sits to the right of a young woman as a man passes her a bird in a nest); and Noël Hallé's *La Cage dérobée*, c. 1763. For other examples involving birds in cages in scenes of love and relationships, see: Fragonard's *La Cage*, c. 1760; Boucher's *Les dénicheurs d'oiseaux* (1748), *Le Pasteur Complaisant* (1739), and *La Cage* (1763); and Lancret's *La Cage à Oiseau*, 1735. Debucourt engraved the same trope in his 1795 *L'Oiseau Privé*, the pendant to *Pauvre Annette*.

²⁵⁶ See in particular Jean-François Colson's *The Rest*, 1759, Dijon, Museum of Fine Arts.

²⁵⁷ Lieselotte, *The Moral Sex*, 56. See Rousseau, *Emile ou de l'éducation*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed.

Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, vol. 4, 709 – 19.

²⁵⁸ Barker, "Reading the Greuze Girl," 99.

²⁵⁹ Hould states that Weber, a publisher at the royal Palace, was executed in 1794 for publishing obscene engravings. Hercier, Hébert, Desenne, and Lallemand were imprisoned. Gattey, "a famous merchant of aristocratic brochures," was also executed. Hould, "Revolutionary Engravings," 74. Landes states: "The crumbling of the Old Regime censorship did not mean that artists were entirely free from official or peer pressure. From the outset, both the government and the populace engaged in efforts to patrol the contents of printed materials by those who published or hawked them. Throughout the period, crowds attacked their opponent's presses. Governmental measures were taken against works judge to be indecent or immoral in character. For instance, in January 1794, on the anniversary of the king's execution, searches of publishers and merchants were conducted for materials that were deemed immoral and offensive to 'the foundation of the Republic.'" Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 36.

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