
H-France Review Vol. 15 (December 2015), No. 172

Rochelle Ziskin, *Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century France*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012. xix + 354 pp. maps, figures, plates, notes, bibliography, and indices. \$79.95 U.S. (hb) ISBN 978-0-271-03785-1.

Review by JoLynn Edwards, University of Washington.

Rochelle Ziskin's *Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century France* is a *tour de force* of scholarship, exhaustively researched and lucidly presented. Not surprising for this scholar, she has written an admirable book comprising larger historical narratives and theoretical frameworks, but full of fascinating details, drilling down through the layers of family histories, amorous entanglements, webs of friendship, and political alliances. She excavates the *hôtels*, palaces, *quartiers*, and the *train de vie* of the art collectors. Layers of interdependence and clientelism pervade the narrative. Against the backdrop of the political rivalries between the Bourbon and Orléans branches in France, she teases out the changing tastes in the arts and the relationship between public and private spaces dedicated to cultural consumption at a pivotal moment in French history after the death of Louis XIV, through the Regency, and into the first decades of the reign of Louis XV.

As her book's principal construct, Ziskin uses the dialogue between the Ancients and the Moderns, a contemporary debate that had galvanized the literary and artistic worlds after the Renaissance. She establishes two oppositional "camps" represented by Pierre Crozat (1665-1740) from an influential banking family and Jeanne-Baptiste d'Albert de Luynes, the comtesse de Verrue (1670-1736). Crozat's camp, situated on the right bank north of the Palais Royal, was understood as bourgeois, "masculine," and connoisseurial, while Verrue's, situated on the left bank around the Faubourg Saint-Germain, was seen as aristocratic, "feminine," and *curieux* or *amateur*. But there were overlapping collecting areas and even intersections of the *habitués* from the two cultural milieux. Behind the collecting habits of both groups were the critical structures of Roger de Piles, who championed not only orthodox art theory, but also an intuitive viewer response to a picture's "esprit." These two approaches were well represented by Crozat's collection of 400 paintings favoring Italianate taste, on the one hand, and Verrue's enthusiasm for contemporary French and Northern Old Masters, on the other. By mid century, both currents triumphed and merged into the collecting and market practices of the following decades.

Underlying Ziskin's framework of the two "camps" of collecting, one can recognize directly or indirectly an Habermasian critique of private and public spheres and Bourdieuan^[1] analysis of cultural production: fields, *habitus*—class or individual—and positions within a field. She problematizes our understanding of the cultural, social, and symbolic capital among the collectors she surveys in the story of power meeting culture as the political landscape shifted from Versailles under the Sun King, to Paris under the Regency of Philippe, duc d'Orléans, and then back to Versailles under Louis XV. One historical fact that weaves in and out of Ziskin's narrative has to do with the legacy of the Finance Minister John Law, who established the Compagnie des Indes and the Banque de France under the Regent. Many of the book's protagonists owed their new wealth to his "système," albeit briefly, and his paper currency fueled their building renovations and art purchases, which then had to be scaled back with the devaluation of the *billets* through a run on the bank.

This erudite book is divided into seven chapters following the lives of the different cultural actors with a conclusion that deftly defines the fraught and changing meanings of *curieux*, *amateur*, and *connoisseur*. She supports her text with hefty endnotes and appendices of the major collections she discusses and includes complete bibliographies of primary and secondary sources.

After a summary of the cultural geography of the French capital circa 1700 where the intersection of art and money makes a heady brew, Ziskin in chapter one introduces the reader to the Crozat family. She focuses on Pierre, the younger of two brothers, both of whom lived in the orbit of the duc d'Orléans. He built a magnificent *hôtel* at the north end of the rue de Richelieu, an Italianate house displaying Italianate art, and laid it out in an *enfilade* of public rooms that exhibited 400 paintings, plus an extensive collection of sculptures, drawings, prints, and engraved gems typical of the "*le goût male*." He preferred the great painters of the Italian Renaissance and the Baroque, who intrinsically carried social caché and provided him with a "patina" of self-representation (p. 19). Influenced by De Piles' hierarchy beginning with Raphael, he was also an enthusiast of the Venetians, Veronese in particular. Works by Rubens, Van Dyck, and Rembrandt joined his A-List. His *grande galerie* was crowned by a magnificent ceiling painted by Charles de La Fosse, now lost but known from an oil sketch reproduced by Ziskin (Pl. III). For Crozat, collecting and patronage, often seen as opposing activities, were of a piece with his cultural milieu. Crozat supported contemporary painters: Charles de La Fosse, Antoine Watteau, and Rosalba Carriera all lived with him at one time or another.

In chapter two, Ziskin shifts her focus to the comtesse de Verrue, whose noble pedigree derived from the Alberti family of Florence and the Rohan family in France. Ziskin leads us through the early years of her marriage and her "reign" in Piedmont as the mistress of Victor-Amédée, duc of Savoy, by whom she bore three children. Separated from her husband, she returned to Paris in 1700, where she established herself in a house outside the cloistered walls of two convents in the Saint-Germain-des-Près quarter. Upon the death of her husband in 1704 and the return of her dowry in 1711, she undertook major interior renovations of her house that already possessed a long gallery for art, a salon, and a *cabinet*. Claude III Audran was her preferred decorator, and one of his ceilings survives, originally placed in the small *cabinet* at the end of the old gallery at her *hôtel*. The rococo style, feminine and playful, thrived under Verrue's patronage, a mark against her when neoclassicism again became ascendant by mid century. She was *la dame de volupté* because of the opulence of her residence, its decorations, and her assemblies of glamorous people.

Ziskin circles back to the Ancients in chapter three with a discussion of the renovations of Crozat's *hôtel* after his Italian sojourn, where he negotiated the purchase of Queen Christina's art collection for the duc d'Orléans and made significant purchases for himself, especially Old Master drawings. Inspired by the Medici treasury in Florence, this *arriviste* accumulated precious engraved gems, a fashion usually associated with princely collectors (by 1740, he had 1400), terra-cotta *bozzetti* and bronzes, and portfolios of Master drawings—clearly the *studiolo* example. Although Italian and classical taste remained dominant, Crozat did not ignore Northern cabinet pictures. He had a few choice pictures by Wouwerman, Teniers and others of that ilk, but tended to display them in his private quarters. It was at this moment that Antoine Watteau joined his household. Not only did Watteau receive shelter, but also cultivated his art knowledge through exposure to the volumes of drawing and print portfolios, fine objects, and paintings on the walls. Charles de La Fosse and the architect Gilles-Marie Oppenor, intimates of Crozat's circle, served as Watteau's mentors and friends. His residence with Crozat, regarded by his contemporaries as a turning point in Watteau's career (p. 85), allowed him to complete his academic reception piece, the *Pilgrimage to the Island of Cythera*, a milestone in French eighteenth-century painting. He also painted a set of *Four Seasons*, allegories for Crozat's dining room, among his largest paintings and atypical of Watteau's production. Crozat housed and protected Watteau, but did not collect his small easel pictures; the comtesse de Verrue did.

In chapter four, Ziskin returns to the *mondain* circle of the comtesse de Verrue that sought Dutch and Flemish masters of the seventeenth century and contemporary French painters, eschewing the noble (and severe) subjects of the great Italian masters for the so-called everyday subjects akin to the new literary currents of novels, fairy tales, and plays (like Marivaux's). Ziskin then follows the path of four like-minded friends: L eriget de La Faye; Claude Glucq; Jean-Baptiste Glucq de Saint-Port, her "secret husband"; and L eon de Madaillan-Lesparre, marquis de Lassay, who together created a kind of left-bank enclave (p. 96), associated with the Cond  camp. L eriget, although largely unknown today, shared a similar decorative aesthetic in interior furnishings with Verrue. His background was much closer to Crozat's than to that of his aristocratic friends. He, too, had a pivotal experience during his Italian travels in 1724. His house's ceremonial circuit was filled with 250 paintings in the modern taste, and ancient Chinese and Japanese porcelains, made popular by the dealer Edme-Fran ois Gersaint,[2] along with modern French and Saxon *objets de luxe*. Lancret decorated his fashionable *salon*. Although allied with the Verrue's "feminine" taste, L eriget also followed masculine collecting patterns in his enthusiasm for small bronzes.

Within Verrue's intimate circle were the non-aristocratic Glucq brothers, cousins to Jean de Jullienne. Claude was a discriminating collector who owned a number of Watteaus, including *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*, *Les Ag ements d l' t *, and *Les plaisirs du bal*, but the collapse of the Law bank and his art expenditures left him bankrupt. After Verrue's death, his brother, Saint-Port, was one of her major beneficiaries. Also part of this circle of intimates, the duchesse de Bourbon and the marquis de Lassay resided in contiguous, one-story *h tels* designed in the Roman style and enveloped by formal gardens. Lassay's initial picture collection was Italianate in taste, but was enhanced by Verrue's bequest of Dutch and Flemish pictures, including her prized Van Dyck, *Le Roi   la chasse*, the *Vertumnus and Pomona* (then attributed to Rembrandt, but now ascribed to de Gelder), and Rembrandt's 1648 *Supper at Emmaus* plus prized Italian pictures, three Murillos, and three Poussins. After Verrue's death, the Bourbon-Lassay *h tel* complex became the center of the Moderns.

In chapter five, Ziskin turns her attention to Philippe, duc d'Orl ans, who reigned as regent from the death of Louis XIV in 1715 and until his own death in 1723. She does an excellent job of summarizing the dynastic tensions leading to his accession to power. Philippe's art collection at the Palais Royal, second only to the royal collection in prestige, was an obsession to which he added voraciously, providing new space on the first floor (* tage noble*) to house his treasures. The Regent's collection embraced the two halves represented by Crozat and Verrue: the best Italian Old Masters—a veritable who's who of the Cinquecento and Seicento—plus important works by Van Dyck, Poussin (including Chantelou's *Seven Sacraments*), and Le Brun. Within his private quarters, the Regent kept his Dutch and Flemish cabinet pictures—mostly landscapes and genre subjects (Wouwerman, Breenbergh, Teniers, Dou, Schalcken, Jan Brueghel the Elder, Mieris)—and a tiny Watteau. This intimate sphere was the site of his infamous *soir es*. Along with the visual arts, the Regent patronized Italian opera and comic theatre as well as the French Opera. Like his contemporary, Fran ois Couperin le Grand, Philippe II espoused "les go ts r unis." (p. 133) Ziskin closes this chapter with a discussion of other collectors in the Orl ans circle: Antoine Coyvel, the duc d'Antin, Charles de Noc , and Augustin Angran de Fonspertuis.

In chapter six, we revisit the orbit of Pierre Crozat, whose role in the cultural life of the capital expanded with the rise of the Regent. His zeal for collecting remained unabated, but his patronage of contemporary painters made his *h tel* a mecca for artists and connoisseurs. After his prot g s, La Fosse and Watteau, came the Venetian pastellist, Rosalba Carriera, who stayed for a year. Her presence attracted princely and powerful clients to sit for their portraits, not the usual type of visitor *chez* Crozat. He also presented concerts in which Rosalba participated. Lancret recorded one of these musicals in a painting that shows off Crozat's gallery with singers and instrumentalists (Pl. II).

The connection to Rosalba certainly raised Crozat's profile, but it was his great *Recueil*, a massive reproductive print project intended to encompass all the best paintings from French collections, that

may be his most important contribution to art history. Each engraving was accompanied by scholarly commentary and historical texts, a compilation of the intellectual synthesis engaging the best artists and writers of that generation. As Ziskin says, this was a kind of illustrated Vasari (p. 159). This collaborative enterprise embodies an Habermasian shift from private to public spheres and demonstrates Bourdieuan analysis of the field of cultural production. Connoisseurs flocked to Crozat's new gallery, built on the first floor during the early 1720s that functioned as a storage and study room rather than for ceremonial display. Below it, Crozat set up his print operations, where designers could view the paintings directly as well as the drawings from his own collection. Crozat published the first volume of his *Recueil* in 1729, and Pierre Mariette published the second volume, already underway at the time of Crozat's death in 1742, but the mammoth project was left unfinished.

In chapter seven, Ziskin presents two figures of the next generation of art collectors, Victor-Amédée, the prince de Carignan, son-in-law of the comtesse de Verrue, and Jean de Jullienne. Both lived on the right bank and showed more independence from the gendered separate spheres of the previous generation of collectors. Carignan began extensive renovations on his large Hôtel de Soissons in 1719; Pater and Lancret produced large-scale *fêtes galantes* in the style of Watteau as interior decor. His Italian paintings, which he either inherited or bought through intermediaries, were financed by his speculative profits from the Compagnie des Indes and were typical of his class (*le goût mâle*). He also benefitted from close relations with the Regent. His obsessive art collecting brought him to the brink of financial ruin: as soon as he acquired new paintings, he exhausted his funds and had to sell them off. Natacha Coquery characterizes this profligate pattern as the "social system of the aristocracy," in which members of the urban nobility followed a kind of boom and bust cycle in order to maintain their self-image, which in turn, supported (and sometimes bankrupted) the luxury vendors in a Mandevillian economic flow. This aristocratic prodigality encompassed "le jeu subtil des dettes et du crédit qui mettent aux prises courtisans et commerçants."^[3] Being removed geographically from the comtesse de Verrue on the left bank and farther north than the Palais Royal, Carignan had his own circle of intimates and basked in the visual arts, and like Crozat, arranged concerts for his friends.

Of the younger generation of cultural trendsetters, Jean de Jullienne, like Carignan, maintained aloofness from the oppositional forces exerted by the Ancients and the Moderns. He was a *marchand teinturier* by trade and remained actively involved in the business next to the Gobelins tapestry works until the end of his life. His bourgeois origins worked against him socially, but his friendship with Watteau facilitated the subsequent publication of a series of prints after the master's drawings and paintings that constituted a major marketing coup (*Recueil Jullienne*). He patronized contemporary artists and showed discriminating taste across a broad spectrum of collecting: Northern and French paintings, Chinese and Japanese porcelain, lacquerware (from the Verrue spectrum) and Italian pictures, drawings, bronzes, and Boulle marquetry prized by traditional collectors (from the Crozat spectrum). His house provided ample room for his vast art collection: he amassed the largest group of Watteau paintings ever assembled (about fifty at one time) and 400 drawings in order to make the reproductive prints after them easier. The *Recueil Jullienne* was not a money making proposition, but it brought into the public sphere the realm of private collecting. Ziskin reproduces the visually delightful and informative pages from the catalogue of Jullienne's art collection, watercolor illustrations recording his works *in situ* and datable to the mid 1750s. Throughout his rooms, one can see the competing tastes as they play out across his walls, and function as a coda to the whole book. However, the sale of his collection in 1767, organized by Pierre Rémy, shows that Verrue's aesthetic eventually held sway over Crozat's. The Northern and French lots overshadow the Italian.

Ziskin excels in making us care about who bought and exchanged art and why, and how these luxury items got dispersed to the next generations of collectors in Paris and beyond. She requires a close reading of the display of works of art from a particular collection delineated room by room, and even wall by wall that can be a bit hard to follow, especially when it is based on small and hard-to-read figures. Nevertheless, it is worth the reader's time to sift through all this evidence. Ziskin's fascinating

and detailed explication of the placement of works of art and their cultural meaning in the *hôtels* of Verrue, Lériget, Crozat, Orléans, Carignan, and Jullienne *inter alia* elucidates the context for cultural interchange among private collectors, art dealers, and other luxury purveyors during the first half of the century of the Enlightenment. She references and expands our understanding of the richly varied literature that has burgeoned since World War II and especially since the 1970s within multiple fields of French history: art and architecture, music, luxury collecting, and art markets of the ancien regime. Ziskin acknowledges the work of her predecessors, but both expands and deepens our understanding of the cultural environment of these groups of collectors. Her impressive synthesis is the latest word that shows how collectors influenced the spread of the deeply attuned sensibilities and erudite connoisseurship that permeated the art world ever after. Both the Ancients and the Moderns played their roles in creating a pan-European artistic patrimony that survives to the present day. Impressive in its scope and depth, Ziskin's book is a must-read.

NOTES

[1] There is considerable disagreement over which adjectival form to use: Bourdieuian [English], Bourdieusian [English] Bourdieusien [French]).

[2] Guillaume Glorieux, *À L'Enseigne de Gersaint: Edme-François Gersaint, marchand d'art sur le pont Notre-Dame (1694-1750)* (Seysse: Champ Vallon, 2002).

[3] Natacha Coquery, *L'Hôtel aristocratique: le marché du luxe à Paris au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), p. 15.

JoLynn Edwards
University of Washington
jolynn@uw.edu

Copyright © 2015 by the Society for French Historical Studies, all rights reserved. The Society for French Historical Studies permits the electronic distribution of individual reviews for nonprofit educational purposes, provided that full and accurate credit is given to the author, the date of publication, and the location of the review on the H-France website. The Society for French Historical Studies reserves the right to withdraw the license for redistribution/republication of individual reviews at any time and for any specific case. Neither bulk redistribution/ republication in electronic form of more than five percent of the contents of H-France Review nor re-publication of any amount in print form will be permitted without permission. For any other proposed uses, contact the Editor-in-Chief of H-France. The views posted on H-France Review are not necessarily the views of the Society for French Historical Studies.

ISSN 1553-9172