

VISUALIZATIONS OF FASHION IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH
PRINTS

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The period in French history which began in the mid-1670s and ended in 1715 with the death of Louis XIV, experienced a burgeoning French interest in the textile and fashion arts. At the same time, Paris was becoming the center of printmaking in Europe, and among its many products were large numbers of etched and engraved fashion prints. This study investigates a particular group of prints which depicted dress of the wealthy class of France, including images of well-known personages of the royal court. It explores the role of these images as early manifestations of a fashion print genre which flourished, but eventually declined, only to resurface and succeed later in the eighteenth century. These late seventeenth-century prints disseminated French fashion as part of a nascent fashion system developing in France, and contributed to the beginnings of French fashion hegemony.

The methodology for this study derives from practices used in both dress history and art history. Data collection involved the examination and documentation of extant French prints, supplemented by the study of contemporaneous textiles and paintings. A set of criteria was developed in order to compile and quantitatively analyze the imagery presented in the 750 prints included in the study. Using primary sources, a qualitative analysis was applied to these findings in order to articulate the social and cultural meanings in dress of the period. The results from both analyses

were used to formulate conclusions regarding their placement in the history of dress and fashion of late seventeenth-century France.

Fashion prints provided a means for the movement of ideas from one region to another. Economical to produce in quantity, easy to transport, and less costly than paintings, they were popular in France, and soon appeared in neighboring European markets. Their appeal derived from artistic qualities as well as idealizations of beauty, fashion and power. Foreign audiences exposed to these images adopted and adapted French fashion, lending to a growing French dominance in European fashion. Conflicts in Europe disrupted their production as did changing attitudes promoted by the early Enlightenment, which found their messages no longer relevant.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Elizabeth Davis was born and raised in the Washington, DC area, and received her bachelor's degree in anthropology in 1974 from the University of Maryland. Following graduation, she did field work in Oaxaca, Mexico, studying indigenous weaving practices of the Zapotec population. After marrying and raising a family, in 2005 she entered the master's degree program in the Department of Fiber Science and Apparel Design at Cornell University. For her master's thesis, she studied the use of lace in late Victorian women's dress, 1870 to 1890. Upon completion of this degree, she continued her studies, beginning a doctoral degree program in the same department at Cornell. Although the topic of her inquiry has shifted to seventeenth-century French fashion, lace is still a component of her research. This dissertation signals the completion of her doctoral degree, though not her studies.

DEDICATION

To my family

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Although the prints seen at the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen, Denmark were diverse in subject matter and origin, I am very grateful for the generosity shown to me by the museum and its staff. Again, this was an example of the documentation of information which had not yet been recognized as important, but which later offered significant insights into the evolution of seventeenth-century prints.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Sources

IFF XVII.....Inventaire du fonds française, XVII siècle

Prints

des.....designed by

n.d.....no date

Museums and Libraries

ART.....Artstor

ARTC.....Antonio Ratti Textile Center

BM.....British Museum

BnF.....Bibliothéque nationale de France

CI.....Costume Institute

CV.....Chateaux de Versailles

JMACU.....H.F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University

MC.....Musée Carnavalet

MDP.....Museo del Prado

MFA Boston.....Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Morgan L&M.....Morgan Library & Museum

MMA.....Metropolitan Museum of Art

MG.....Musée des Gobelins

MJA.....Musée Jacquesmart-André

MNR.....Musée national de la Renaissance

MTAD Lyon.....Musée des Tissus et des Arts décoratifs de Lyon

NGA Washington.....National Gallery of Art, Washington

NPG London.....	National Portrait Gallery, London
PLMC.....	Pepys Library, Magdalene College
RJM.....	Rijksmuseum
RMN.....	Réunion des Musées nationaux
SMB.....	Staatliche Museen, Berlin
SMK.....	Statens Museum for Kunst
UT.....	University of Toronto
V&A.....	Victoria & Albert Museum
WC.....	Wallace Collection

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO PRINTS AND DRESS HISTORY

Statements of purpose and hypotheses

This dissertation is a study of dress, fashion and society as portrayed in late seventeenth-century French etched and engraved prints. The purpose of the research is to classify these images within the historical context of the fashion print genre, to assess the social and cultural messages communicated by the fashion imagery, and to clarify their function and influence in France as well as among its European neighbors. In order to pursue this goal, I propose the following hypotheses concerning the character and function of seventeenth-century French prints depicting dress and fashion.

1. Seventeenth-century French prints produced from the middle 1670s to 1715 are early manifestations of the fashion print genre and signal the growing French hegemony of fashion.
2. The prints reflect the society that produced them, communicating social and cultural reactions to late seventeenth century French economic and political events.
3. The aesthetic as well as ideological appeal of these prints encouraged their production and sale, which led to a dissemination of French fashion ideals.
4. The distribution of the prints is a fundamental component of a nascent fashion system developing in France.

The point-of-view of this research

The decision to pursue the study of seventeenth-century French fashion prints is the result of an interest in both dress and art history. My goal in this research is to undertake a study of

these prints from the standpoint of a dress historian who uses tools from both dress and art history in order to answer questions concerning their artistry and function.

Only a handful of studies of fashion prints have been written by art or dress historians and none of these has tackled exclusively the subject of seventeenth century French fashion prints. The study of prints is a recognized field of art history, yet fashion prints, or at least prints whose subject matter is predominately dress, is a genre of print that is usually bypassed in art and print histories. Reasons for this may be a suspicion of their artistic merit, and a categorization as illustration rather than serious art. Most dress historians tend to exclude seventeenth-century prints as fashion prints, as they are viewed as displaying unfamiliar compositional forms, presentation of figures, even apparent function. For them, the more familiar eighteenth-century fashion prints are recognized as belonging to the legitimate fashion print genre. This state of scholarly research creates an opportunity for a thorough examination of late seventeenth century prints depicting fashion.

For this study, the significance of these prints is viewed through the lenses of both art and dress history. Art history provides context and iconography, composition and artistic heritage. The artists and publishers of the period and their unique productions are linked to the imagery, as are the features which identify the prints as belonging to the traditions of art in seventeenth-century France. The social and cultural implications of the clothing and fashion which the artists present, both overt and covert, are compared to findings related to the study of dress and objects.

Dress history investigates meanings of dress and material culture as revealed through a broad interpretation of dress. The tangible begins with the details of construction, silhouette, fabrics, texture, color, and embellishment, but its goal is the historical, psychological, social and cultural meanings that are also the concern of art history. The study of dress requires skills of

detection to extract the details of history and to use these findings to summarize significance. The final interpretation of the importance of these prints is linked to the concepts of change in both fashion and art, and in the presentation of dress in artistic forms as reflection of society and culture. For this study, the concept of an “object-oriented” study is embraced, as it is felt to be a vital component to the scholarship of art and dress.

Sources for the research of dress history

According to Daniel Roche, data from five particular sources are essential for a study of dress. These sources are garments, textiles, visual representations, history (economic, social and cultural) and literature.¹ Each of these sources provides information which enriches understandings of meaning in dress and fashion. Among them, authentic period garments and textiles are the first choice of many dress historians, as these artifacts provide concrete evidence for dress and its various associations of fashion, textiles, and history. When little or none of this material has survived, one must rely on these other sources.

The history of seventeenth century French dress is a case in point. Because there are few extant textiles and garments found in European or American collections, additional sources must be utilized if the dress and fashion of the period is to be understood. The remaining choices for study include written texts as well as visual sources. Both of these categories need careful consideration as a basis for research. In the case of written texts, period literature is invaluable as a primary source. However, despite being rich in content, seventeenth-century works seldom mention dress and fashion. These records are generally characterized by sporadic and

¹ Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: dress and fashion in the ‘ancien régime’*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 7.

incomplete references within a broader context, such as plays, memoirs, and letters.² With few exceptions, this is also true of the secondary sources, the historical studies of the period.³

Neither of these kinds of written texts provides enough information by itself for substantive analysis of seventeenth-century dress and fashion. This limited material needs to be corroborated with other sources in order to provide useful insight.

This study concentrates on etched and engraved prints as the principal tool for understanding the history of seventeenth-century French dress and fashion. In order to produce a well-rounded study, it also relies on additional sources to provide supporting evidence for the interpretation of dress and fashion portrayed in the prints. These include surviving garments, which offer evidence of cut, construction, fabric manipulation and embellishment. Extant textiles display the textures, design motifs, use of color, fiber content and technical processes which include weaving, embroidery and lace-making. Paintings supply fashionable combinations of colors and fabric textures. Written texts, both primary and secondary sources, provide a context for understanding the social and cultural values expressed in dress. Primary literature sources include correspondences, memoirs, letters, poetry and plays. Secondary sources consist of art, dress, print, social, cultural, economic and political histories as well as relevant theoretical treatises on the fashion system.

² Examples of literature which refers to dress include plays by Molière, memoirs by Saint-Simon, and the correspondences of Madame de Sévigné and the Duchesse d'Orléans.

³ The following works are concerned with 16th, 17th and 18th century costume and fashion prints, but none of them treat 17th century fashion prints exclusively. John L Nevinson, "Origin and Early History of the Fashion Plate", *Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology*, United States Museum Bulletin 250, paper no. 60 (1967):65-92; Doris Langley Moore, *Fashion through fashion plates, 1771-1970* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc. 1971); Joanne Olian, "Sixteenth-century costume books," *Dress* 3 (1977): 20-48; Raymond Gaudriault, *La gravure de mode féminine en France* (Paris: Les éditions de l'amateur, 1983); Raymond Gaudriault, *Répertoire de la gravure de mode française des origines à 1815* (Paris: Promodis, 1988); Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 1996; Sidney Jackson Jowers, *Theatrical Costume, Masks, Make-up and Wigs: A Bibliography and Iconography* (London, New York: Routledge, Motley Press, 2000).

Importance of prints as a source for seventeenth-century fashion studies

The importance of studying seventeenth-century French prints stems from several issues: lack of previous scholarly interest in the period, the unique contribution of these prints as sources of fashion information, and the need for a revised definition of the “fashion print.”

The state of seventeenth century historic dress studies

Compared to other periods, relatively little has been written which interprets the history of seventeenth-century European dress. Eighteenth-century and sixteenth-century dress have been well researched and discussed by numerous scholars in the field of dress history.⁴ The study of eighteenth-century dress has the advantage of numerous extant garments in collections in the United States and Europe. A wealth of additional evidence exists in eighteenth-century fashion prints, historical texts and literature. Although fewer extant materials in all forms exist for sixteenth-century dress history, the Elizabethan Age has been extensively researched. This could be due to its relationship with Shakespearian Theater, as well as the general interest in history from the period of colonization of the New World.

Unlike these historic periods, the study of seventeenth century dress has been piecemeal and sporadic. Most of the research done on seventeenth-century dress has focused on the first half of the century. Early seventeenth-century paintings have been a popular source for dress research, as shown by the publication of numerous books and articles.⁵ Far fewer studies have

⁴ This is based on a survey of books and articles in journals available in the Cornell University Library system databases.

⁵ These include Elise Goodman, *Rubens: The Garden of Love as Conversatie à la Mode* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.,1992); Alice McNeil Kettering, “Terborch’s Ladies in Satin,” in *Art History* 16, no. 1 (1993): 95-124; Emilie Gordenker, *Anthony van Dyck and the representation of dress in seventeenth-century portraiture* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols,2001); Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and fiction: dress in art and literature in Stuart England* (NewHaven, CT: Yale University Press,2005); Marieke Winkel, *Fashion and fancy: dress and meaning in Rembrandt’s*

focused on late seventeenth-century fashion.⁶ A review of the books and articles concerning etched and engraved fashion prints of the seventeenth century reveals that only a small number of publications discussed fashion prints of the second half of the century.⁷ This situation exists despite the fact that French artists created large numbers of fashion prints between the mid-1670s and 1715.⁸

Prints as sources of fashion information

The study of prints as a source for the history of dress is not a new or revolutionary approach, but the value of seventeenth century fashion prints as a legitimate source of dress information for historians is still debated. For example, different opinions have been expressed regarding seventeenth century individual prints as well as print illustrations found in publications such as *Le Mercure Galant*. Scholars have questioned whether any of these prints, which illustrate men and women in fashionable dress, can be used as trustworthy sources of contemporary seventeenth-century fashion information. Some judge them as uninformed diversions, even fantasy, while other scholars discern elements of current fashion taste in addition to artistic expression. According to John Nevinson, “It is wrong to take such prints, as some writers on costume have done, for a fashion plate recording what was worn or likely to be worn in the year in which it was engraved.”⁹ However, Nevinson praises *Le Mercure Galant*, stating that “The *Mercure Galant*, strangely neglected by costume historians, occupies a most

painting (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Elise Goodman, *The cultivated woman: portraiture in seventeenth-century France* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2008).

⁶ Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and fiction*, 2005; Eise Goodman, *The cultivated woman*, 2008.

⁷ John L Nevinson, “Origin and Early History of the Fashion Plate”, 1967; Raymond Gaudriault, *La gravure de mode féminine en France*, 1983; Raymond Gaudriault, *Répertoire de la gravure de mode française*, 1988; Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 1996.

⁸ I have estimated the number of fashion prints from the mid-1670s to 1715, the last forty or so years of Louis XIV’s reign, to be over two thousand, created by approximately twenty-four artists.

⁹ Nevinson, “Origin and early history”, 83.

important place in the history of fashion literature, since it is the first and for almost a century the only periodical to contain regular articles on contemporary fashion.”¹⁰

Daniel Roche’s sentiments are in direct opposition to those of Nevinson’s. Roche dismisses *Le Mercure Galant* as a serious source of information, maintaining that “fashion figured more regularly in *Le Mercure Galant* of Doneau de Visé after 1672, without ever being wholly systematic or autonomous. The information was scattered and disorganized...”¹¹ Unlike Nevinson, he finds the individual fashion prints more influential, stating that “with Sébastien Leclerc, the Bonnards, Bérain, Lepautre and Gravelot, engravings of dress often verge on great art. They were one of the signs of French hegemony in Europe.”¹² The opposing opinions expressed by these two scholars create an opportunity to clarify the status of these fashion prints. This objective necessitates an examination and analysis of large numbers of prints in order to find internal patterns which yield more substantive conclusions.

Despite current attention to paintings as a source for the study of seventeenth-century dress, their ability to impact fashion during the seventeenth century was limited when compared to prints. The production of seventeenth-century paintings was limited by the expense of raw materials, as well as costly artists’ commissions. Housed in the dwellings of wealthy patrons, the communication of fashion information found in paintings was restricted to a small, geographically enclosed social circle. As a result, this limited exposure could not influence a broad population.

By contrast, the production of prints involved less expensive raw materials, swift rates of manufacture and a multiple-copy production, leading to lower overall costs for etchings and

¹⁰ Ibid, 78.

¹¹ Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 479.

¹² Ibid, 14.

engravings. Their smaller format encouraged distribution throughout France as well as to its European neighbors, resulting in a greater potential for affecting change. The dissemination of fashion through these prints as well as their potential influence in other areas, such as economics and politics, is a topic that would benefit from a study of their frequency in collections of the period, as well as the frequency of particular print imagery within those collections.

Even today, there are more prints available for study than extant paintings. The survival rate of paintings has been due to initially low numbers, as well as the damages of age and revolution. Prints had the good fortune to have been produced in higher numbers as well as been protected for posterity in bound volumes, resulting in an accessible resource housed in modern collections.

Redefining the fashion print

There is also a need to re-evaluate the concept of the “fashion print.” Historians have defined the “fashion print” first and foremost as an illustration of dress.¹³ In addition, they claim it should present clothing that can be made at home or secured from others. A fashion print should illustrate the manner in which the clothes were worn, and emphasize the details of the dress and not the identity of the person (which precludes all portraiture.) It should also signal the current fashions as well as expected trends. The overall composition should be presented in an artistic and appealing manner. A fashion print should not be a portrait or genre print, or a parody, satire or conversation piece.

These characteristics suit most eighteenth-century fashion prints, and indeed, the historians who formed these requirements agree that the eighteenth century is the beginning of

¹³ Nevinson, “Origin and early history of the fashion plate,” 1967; Moore, *Fashion through fashion plates*, 1971; Olian, “Sixteenth century costume books,” 1977; Gaudriault, *La gravure du mode féminine en France*, 1983; Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 1994.

the “true” fashion print.¹⁴ However, defining a fashion print in this manner utilizes a circular argument. Characteristics found within eighteenth century fashion prints are used to designate the species, and then found to reinforce the argument that the same prints fit the definition. Fashion prints from the seventeenth century do not fit into these requirements, and as a result, have been excluded from consideration. A revision of this definition of the fashion print is necessary to understand the significance of the seventeenth-century fashion prints.

A revision of the definition of the fashion print

I propose a new definition for the “fashion print” which includes characteristics found in prints from both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a result of this revised definition, I also propose that seventeenth-century French prints are an early manifestation of the fashion print genre.

- *Historians have defined the “fashion print” first and foremost as an illustration of current dress.* Although undeniable, this description is not broad enough to encompass all of the significance that accompanies the variety of existing “fashion prints.” Instead, a more accurate definition of a fashion print should be that it shows clothing that expresses a social and cultural ideal for the specific time. This concept applies to both seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century prints.
- *It should present clothing that can be made at home or secured from others.* This is a suitable characteristic for a wide variety of images. If the clothing is so fantastical that it could neither be constructed nor worn, the image is not a legitimate portrayal of fashion.

¹⁴ Gaudriault is the exception of this group. Without commentary or defensive posture, he includes seventeenth century prints, beginning with the 1620s *Noblesse* series by Callot, in his 1988 catalog of French fashion prints, *Répertoire de la gravure de mode française des origines à 1815*.

- *A fashion print should illustrate the manner in which the clothes were worn.* With the exception of satirical prints, which exaggerate aspects of dress in order to underscore a viewpoint, this statement accurately reflects all fashion imagery. This does not preclude an artistic rendering of a fashion element, such as a trailing scarf or elegant *fontanges*.
- *It should emphasize the details of the dress and not the identity of the person (which excludes all portraiture.)* Identifying the wearer is frequently an important factor in establishing fashion trends. Throughout history, well-known personalities have attached social prestige and power to dress, and inspired imitation. The inclusion of aristocratic celebrity acknowledges the numerous popular “fashion-portraits” created in the late seventeenth century as part of the fashion print genre.¹⁵
- *It should also signal the current fashions as well as expected trends.* The image should not be a retrospective of older fashions. On the contrary, it should be an image of popular and appealing dress which inspires the viewer. One of the goals of this research is to discover the extent to which these prints reflect either the newest trends or an accepted status quo. It is unrealistic to think that an artist can predict future fashion trends without a crystal ball, though the influence of the images may inspire fashion adoption.
- *The overall composition should be presented in an artistic and appealing manner.* Printmaking is a commercial business whose aim is to present appealing imagery which inspires the purchase of the product. Although most of these prints conform to this need, there are a few notable exceptions. For example, three of the Bonnard brothers produced well-crafted, engaging images of fashion, while a fourth is acknowledged as having little

¹⁵ These “portraits” are more suitably labeled “fashion portraits” and are included in the discussion of artists working in Paris.

talent. His prints are categorized as fashion prints despite being of poorer artistic quality than those by his brothers because they still offer significant information on the dress and social customs of the period.¹⁶

- *A fashion print should not be a portrait or genre print, or a parody, satire or conversation piece.* All of these types of prints may give some fashion information, but the merits of individual prints must be considered for inclusion as fashion prints. Satires that concern dress and fashion are important for their exposure of the contradictions to fashion ideals of the period, and contribute to the understanding of the social, political and economic role of fashion. Seventeenth-century allegories which blend traditional allegorical imagery with fashionably dressed figures supply useful information on dress and social ideals of the period. Many of these allegory prints were produced by the same artists who created the fashion prints of the period.

With these revisions to the definition of the fashion print, this study will examine and analyze the assembly of prints which were produced in Paris in the late seventeenth-century, but until now eluded classification beyond a brief acknowledgment of their status as a short-lived aberration which occurred before “real” fashion prints appeared.

¹⁶ The youngest brother, Jean-Baptiste Bonnart, is identified as the least talented of the Bonnart brothers. However, he is credited by Marianne Grivel with having produced the first image with an inscription identifying the name of the subject as a member of the court. Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 144.

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF LITERATURE CONCERNING SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRENCH FASHION AND DRESS

Dress and fashion history

Change and fashion

This study proposes fashion as a social phenomenon of change that was endorsed, manipulated and promoted in seventeenth century prints. The association of change and fashion has been recognized from the theoretical viewpoint since the early nineteenth century, and was discussed in the writings of philosophers and social theorists. In his 1833 work, *Sartor Resartus*, the philosopher Thomas Carlyle, 1795-1881, delineated a metaphor of human social identity as the workings of soul, dress, and spirit, where change and fashion were synonymous.¹⁷ Later in the century, social theorists extended these ideas and studied changing fashion through the mechanisms of dissemination. In the classic work, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, by Thorstein Veblen, 1857-1929, the author identified the process of dissemination as one of the forces stimulating new fashion ideas. According to Michael Carter, Veblen traced the movement of fashion through “innovation, invention and change, followed by acceptance, conformity and a subsequent spreading out among the population at large.”¹⁸ This argument was rejoined by another scholar from this period, also a social theorist. In his *Philosophie der Mode* of 1905, George Simmel, 1858-1918, expanded on Veblen’s theory, using a trickle-down theory to explain the direction in which fashion disseminates and stimulates change. In Simmel’s opinion, fashion began at the top echelons of society and would change for the elite exactly at the point when it was imitated by those belonging to lower socio-economic groups. In this manner,

¹⁷ Michael Carter, *Fashion Classics* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2003), 17- 19.

¹⁸ Carter, *Fashion Classics*, 49.

fashion styles changed as they moved through social strata.¹⁹ The acknowledgement of the active interplay between change and fashion espoused by these scholars supports the approach of this study, which is to interpret fashion as a social phenomenon using fashion prints as a tool for interpretation. Their work adds legitimacy to this connection within a theoretical framework.

It is important to note that these studies were not the earliest recognition of the association between change and fashion. The connection was acknowledged in writings from the seventeenth century, as well. Antoine Furetière's 1690 *Dictionnaire Universel* asserts that *Les François changent tous les jours de mode*, or, "The French change fashion every day."²⁰ Although a segment of a dictionary definition falls short of theoretical discourse, the inclusion by Furetière in his definition for *mode*, fashion, recognizes the idea that change and fashion are linked concepts. The interpretation presented by this lexicographer is another example how a study of fashion history benefits from using change as a framework for the research of fashion.

Quantifying time periods for study: numerical and historical approaches

In order to construct a study of change, the components of time need to be defined. The designation of time units determines the boundaries of the research, as the chosen approach influences methodology, analysis, and even conclusions. Acknowledging change as a process helps clarify why, how and when certain events occur. This change in dress and fashion can be described as dependent upon numerically-determined or historically-determined timelines. For example, a numerically-determined study uses consistent durations of time such as decades or half-centuries. For this method, the dress of the 1610s is compared to the dress of the 1620s, and so on. In a numerically-based system, it is difficult to link political, social, cultural and

¹⁹ Ibid, 68.

²⁰ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel* (The Hague, Rotterdam: Leers, 1690), s.v. "mode."

economic events with change and fashion, as these events occur independently of beginnings and ends of decades, half-centuries and centuries.

By contrast, the historically-determined approach employs historical events to establish parameters of change. Dress worn at the court of Henri IV is compared to that worn at court during the reign of Louis XIII. Henri IV reigned from 1589 to 1610 (twenty-one years) while Louis XIII reigned from 1610 to 1643 (thirty-three years.) The disproportionate time spans between these two reigns are significant, but do not prohibit comparison. The rates of change remain a measureable quantity which can be used to compare fashion and dress between the two reigns. This relationship between fashion and change is seen more clearly when the examination is allowed to follow the course of the historical events which shaped the period, rather than by comparing equal, but arbitrary, spans of time. The historically-based approach is supported by an ever-increasing amount of primary texts and original imagery made available online by museums and libraries. In the past, retrieval of information from historic collections was more difficult due to the need to travel to multiple sites to collect data, a time-consuming and expensive venture. A numerical, more generalized approach to historic events was reasonable with these constraints, but is no longer required. Both the numerically-determined and historically-determined approaches are found in studies which trace the history of the fashion print. This has sometimes led to different results in the interpretation of the same data.

A numerical approach to time

An example of a numerically-determined method of ordering data is used by Daniel Roche in his pivotal work, *The Culture of Clothing*. In this study, Roche compares the quantities of French fashion prints produced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He analyzes the production of the prints according to fifty year blocks of time: 1600 to 1649, 1650 to 1699,

1700 to 1749, and 1750 to 1799.²¹ By sorting the prints in this manner, Roche assigns all changes to fifty-year segments. Although this keeps the discussion orderly, the approach can be misleading. Descriptions of change are confined within strict boundaries of time, regardless of the political, economic or social context in which this production is occurring. For questions concerning the emergence of a distinct French fashion print genre, this is especially problematic.

Daniel Roche is in agreement with Nevinson's hypothesis that the birth of the French fashion print belongs to the eighteenth century. He reasons that the high number of fashion prints produced from the 1700 to 1749 and 1750 to 1799 periods give credence to this viewpoint. By contrast, he finds fashion prints of the seventeenth century to be too few in number to contribute significantly to the origin and sustainment of the genre. Because he divides historic events within fifty-year sets, he assigns a large number of prints that were published at the turn of the seventeenth into the eighteenth century to the latter century. Added to the high number of prints that appear near the end of the eighteenth century, this creates the impression that the greatest number of French fashion prints belongs to the eighteenth century. This assertion is less defensible if the production of the prints is organized according to a historically-determined timeline.

The case for a historically-determined approach to change

Following a historically-based scenario, fashion print production fluctuated according to the importance of the imagery to the desires and needs of state, culture and commerce. The changes occurring in art imagery are better understood by examining the events of a reign whose government policies were determined by the ruling monarch, than by analyzing change in terms of one fifty-year block to the next. The interpretation by Roche does not answer the question of

²¹ Daniel Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 12.

why these prints would have been so numerous during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century.

This can be better understood by examining the effects of the mercantile policies of Louis XIV and the accelerating competition for trade between European countries. The governmental endeavors can be compared with changing subject matter as well as production rates of prints, including the fashion prints.²² The efforts of governmental committees such as the Petite Académie can be linked to the emerging popular imagery seen in prints. Peter Burke points out that the establishment of this government-controlled committee as a vehicle for the promotion of the “glorification of the King” was an example of the Louis XIV’s efforts to establish policies which promoted all things French, specifically in the arts.²³ Fashion prints which depicted a French mode of dress and manner would qualify, even if not directly under the control of the Académie, to suit the desires of the state policy. When governments change, as they did in 1715, their policies change to suit the current needs of the state.

During the reign of Louis XIV, changing gestures, mannerisms, taste and fashion characterizing the powerful and centralized court provided a steady stream of elegant forms which transmitted easily and quickly to the public market via fashion engravings. The fashionable figure of the king set the example for the similarly dressed “man of quality”, who would choose his dress in a manner conforming to court style, but befitting his rank (figures 1 and 2.)

²² See Appendix I for a timeline of historic events during the life of Louis XIV, 1638-1715.

²³ Burke, Peter, *The fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1992).



Figure 1. 1689, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Homme de qualité en habit garny de rubans*, Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A.)

Figure 2. n.d., Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Le Roy*, Statens Museum for Kunst (SMK; early 1680s to early 1690s.)²⁴

It is at the death of Louis XIV in 1715, rather than the arbitrary occurrence of a new century, when changes occurred in government leadership and policy which altered the priorities outlined above. The displacement of the court from Versailles to Paris moved the center of fashion from this powerful central source to numerous Parisian *salons*, which then ruled fashion according to a more diverse set of influences. This alteration was recorded in the shifts in popular imagery, which reflected the changing mood of this new period. A desire for a more peaceful existence, which accompanied an attempt at monetary stability and a more open government, was expressed in paintings and prints of the early eighteenth century.²⁵ Fewer fashion prints were produced as a result of the dismantling of the strong centralized government at Versailles, whose participants had served as leaders in fashion style. The famous Watteau

²⁴ The format for the captions of these prints acknowledges the existence of a printed date, followed by the artist, the title of the print, and an abbreviation of the holding institution. If the caption identifies the print as being undated, n.d., the estimation of its publication is given in parenthesis following the identification of the collection. See Chapter 5, Mode de l'Époque, for descriptions of fashion relating to these timespans.

²⁵ Raymond Gaudriault, *La Gravure de mode féminine en France*, 25.

painting, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*, shows the portrait of Louis XIV being lowered into the cellar for storage, no longer in fashion in all senses of the word (figure 3.)²⁶



Figure 3. 1720, Antoine Watteau. *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*. oil on canvas, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (SMB.)

The rise and fall of the fashion print described here began with a purposeful enlistment of the arts during the reign of Louis XIV and ended with a decline in patronage under later rulers.²⁷

Examples using historically based analysis

A historically-based approach, which defines fashion change in association with historic markers, is employed by a number of French historians concerned with fashion and fashion print history. Raymond Gaudriault utilizes the reigns of kings to define periods of dress for his landmark catalog of French fashion prints, the *Répertoire de la gravure de mode française*.²⁸ It is also found in works by the dress and fashion historians André Blum, Jacques Ruppert and Louise Godard-de-Donvilles. These authors link change with the impact of political leaders as well as historical events, and trace change through these influences. By contrast, Daniel Roche, who is an economic historian, chooses time periods which are dependent upon equally divided

²⁶ Burke, *The fabrication of Louis XIV*, 123.

²⁷ See Appendix I.

²⁸ Raymond Gaudriault, *Répertoire de la gravure de mode française*, 1988.

blocks of time, in his case half centuries. This latter choice may have been chosen to inject objectivity to the analysis of prints, but is instead subject to misconceptions unless constantly amended to explain inconsistencies in the data. It is possible that economic history is better explained using this model, but this seems doubtful, as economic history also follows political, social and cultural trends.

Summary of the two approaches

In summary, a numerically-based demarcation of time creates a convenient but artificial boundary, and is in constant need of clarification in order to explain the relationship of change and fashion. By contrast, following the historically-based structure of events provides a framework which naturally follows the course of history. In particular, if one looks at the print production data using the dates of sovereignty as the boundaries for study, a historically-based interpretation emerges. Fashion prints produced during the monarchy of Louis XIV, 1643 to 1715, number in the thousands, with the majority being produced between the mid-1670s and 1715. In fact, more fashion prints were produced in this period than during all the early decades of the seventeenth century, as well as the first six decades of the eighteenth century.²⁹ Comparing this to the assertion by Roche of eighteenth-century dominance questions the reasons for this increase in production in the early years of the eighteenth century. Should these prints be classified as a product of the eighteenth-century calendar, or a product of a government policy which promoted culture and commerce? I would argue that the latter scenario is a better explanation for the facts. However, choosing this framework for interpretation suggests conclusions which disagree with Roche's interpretation of the numbers.

²⁹ These numbers are based on my own calculations and reflect my revised definition of the fashion print. See further discussion in Chapter 4, Artists and fashion on the rue Saint-Jacques, which discusses a revision of the numbers of prints produced during the seventeenth century.

This author is in agreement with the French dress historians and believes that a structure which follows historic events offers a better comprehension of the dynamics of change. As a result, this study has identified its parameters following the reigns of the kings of France. In particular, it is concerned with the middle 1670s to 1715, the last forty or so years of the reign of Louis XIV. This period was chosen because artists working in Paris, on or near the *rue Saint-Jacques*, began to produce a recognizable subject matter and compositional style in their prints during the mid-1670s. This style depicted a particularly French taste in fashion, dress, manners and culture. Although the earliest dated prints are from 1678, there are several artists whose prints may have been published prior to this time. Therefore, the use of the more ambiguous “middle 1670s” provides an approximation of the earliest appearance of the late seventeenth-century French fashion prints. This is in accordance with the conclusions of the French scholar, Marianne Grivel who stated that, *Ce n'est que vers 1675 que se crée la véritable grave de mode: grossière, certes, mais toujours renouvelée*, or, “It is only about 1675 that the true fashion prints are believed to have been produced –crude, surely - but continually reinvented.”³⁰ The end date of the period covered in this dissertation corresponds to the death of Louis XIV, and the change in rule to the regency of his nephew Philippe, the duc d’Orléans.

French fashion history

General works

Interest in French fashion and dress history began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1933, René Colas assembled a bibliography of these early works in his comprehensive *Bibliographie général du costume et de la mode*, which included listings of French as well as other European books pertaining to dress. Many of these publications were by

³⁰ Marianne Grivel, *Le Commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe Siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 143.

men, who mostly wrote general costume histories covering the subject, beginning as early as the Neolithic period and ending as late as the twentieth century. Among the French authors were Jules Quicherat, Maurice Leloir, André Blum and Jacques Ruppert.³¹

The works produced during this period shared some common strengths as well as weaknesses. For example, for early time periods when extant clothing examples were scarce or non-existent, these authors actively sought alternative sources for illustration. They reproduced, photographed or sketched visual art, including sculpture, drawings, paintings and prints, and quoted from primary French written sources. Because of this practice, valuable reference sources have been documented. As most of this historic material is located within French museums and libraries, these books are an important source for preliminary exploration before study in France. They illustrate the range of materials for a particular decade or century, though they do not always indicate the depth of those resources. Prints were a common choice for fashion and dress information in these works, possibly because of ease of access in a central location, usually the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris.

A weakness found among these early works is a tendency to rely on the clothing portrayed in a few examples of visual art as being an encyclopedia of dress for the period. The authors created long lists of fashion and dress elements which they presented as faithful representation of common period dress. These descriptions are handicapped by their absence of a context in which the garments were originally created and worn. The discussion of the relationship between dress and social, cultural, economic or political history is missing, or

³¹ René Colas, *Bibliographie général du costume et de la mode* (Paris: R. Colas, 1933); Jules Quicherat, *Histoire du costume en France* (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1877); Maurice Leloir, *Histoire de costume de l'antiquité à 1914* (Paris: H. Ernst, 1933); André Blum, *Histoire du costume en France* (Paris: Hachette, 1924); Jacques Ruppert, *Le costume français* (Paris: Flammarion, 1931).

limited to a reference to dates of famous events. The reliability of these authors' summaries of historic dress is suspect when their conclusions are presented from this restrictive point-of-view.

Another fault in these studies is the lack of citations identifying primary and secondary sources. This makes it difficult for readers to locate and verify the information, or to pursue a line of inquiry suggested in the text. In addition, the authors, titles or dates of fashion and costume prints are often misidentified, which leads to frustration when attempting to relocate particular images. It is difficult to know if these problems are due to common scholarship practices of the time, editorial omissions or poor recordkeeping by the authors.

Despite these problems, some of these books provide valuable basic information about seventeenth century fashion and dress. One study which presents an introduction to the study of French dress using several visual sources, but especially prints, is by André Blum. His 1928 *Histoire du costume: les modes au XVII et au XVIII siècles* contains numerous examples of prints from the Louis XIII and Louis XIV period.³² Blum wrote extensively on both print and dress history, and this work combined both of his interests. He includes prose and poetry from several period sources, some better known than others, but many of them represent women writers of the period. For example, he provides excerpts from Madame de Sévigné's letter in which she describes the introduction of the new *coiffure* called the *herluberlu*, a humorous affair which caused a great deal of amusement when first introduced. Unfortunately, Blum neglects to inform his readers of the irony of the incident: after laughing at the new creation, the women of the court, including Madame de Sévigné, all adopted the new style. In addition to Sévigné, Blum

³² André Blum, *Histoire du costume, les modes au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1928).

includes quotes about fashion from the letters of the duchesse d'Orléans, the sister-in-law of Louis XIV, and the memoirs of Madame de Motteville, Anne of Austria's lady-in-waiting.

Blum draws on these primary sources to provide context for the vocabulary of dress commonly used during the period. He includes a quote from the 1694 comedy, *Les Mots à la mode*, by Edme Boursault.³³ This clever and bawdy verse exposes the meaning and character of the fashion vocabulary of the times. Fashion terms often carried double meanings relating elements of apparel with illicit sex. These homonyms would have been well understood by the inhabitants of Court as well as by the *Précieuses* in the Parisian salons. For example, the *gourgandine* is described by Boursalt as a “*riche corset*” which is laced on the exterior. This type of stomacher is seen in numerous prints of the 1690s (figure 4.)



Figure 4. 1696, G.J.B. Scotin, after Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Mesdesmoiselles Loison se promenant aux Thuileries*, BnF.

According to Furetière, the primary connotation of *gourgandin* is that of a prostitute, while the secondary is an exterior lacing on the front of the corset which reveals the *chemise*.³⁴

Another example of word appropriations derives from the salons of the *Précieuses*. The different layers of the skirt/petticoat were known as *la modeste*, *la friponne*, and *la secrète*; the

³³ Ibid, 32-33.

³⁴ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, s.v. “*gourgandin*”.

modest, the mischievous, and the secret.³⁵ Here again is the same flirtatious sexual innuendo that was evident in the word *gourgandise*, though perhaps less vulgar. Exceptions to this suggestive banter are also found in the same verse quoted above by Boursalt. A piece of cloth with lace edging which encircles the face has the name of *jardinière*, which means “gardener,” or more likely “window box” in this case, as both hold beauty within their boundaries. This type of headcovering is found in prints from the 1670s by LePautre (figure 5.)



Figure 5. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, detail, Illustration of a Paris boutique, *L'extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

Despite providing examples of primary written texts and prints from the period, the *Histoire* never reveals the sources of the information. For instance, the reference to the adoption of the sleeve style known as the *amadis*, is noted as being inspired by a costume worn in the 1684 opera performance of *L'Amadis des Gaules*, by Philippe Quinault. Blum fails to disclose that this information comes from a letter by Élisabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d'Orléans, princesse du Palatine, to her aunt, one of many letters which includes descriptions of fashions at the court of Louis XIV.³⁶ He credits the *duchesse* as the inventor of the popular fur stole known as a

³⁵ Blum, *Histoire du costume*, 26.

³⁶ “Amadis’ sleeves were seen for the first time in the stage dresses of Amadis des Gaules, an opera, of which the music was by Lully, and the words were by Quinault. They had been designed by the chevalier Bernin for Mademoiselle. le Rochois, in order to conceal the ugliness of her arms.” Augustin Challamel, *The history of the fashion of France* (New York: Scribner and Weldon, 1882), 140.

palatine, but the origin of the information, again from one of her lengthy correspondences, is left unstated.

In addition, Blum never links his written descriptions with the fashion details of the print illustrations in his book. In his chapter on theater costumes, he refers to an article in *Le Mercure Galant* of 1673, which describes the *manteau à la Sylvie*, a stage garment which was said to have inspired a new form of *manteau*.³⁷ Blum neglects to describe or even speculate about this garment, nor does he discuss how it might be different from the prevailing styles seen in the 1670s prints. This lack of association or analysis between text and illustration is a problem throughout the *Histoire*. The unique seventeenth-century terms which he clarifies by their context are not compared to the dress details illustrated in the prints. If these had been linked, the information could have saved the reader some confusion. Many of the prints are misidentified by artist, some active as many as twenty years apart. The *coiffures* and *habits* of the 1670s are unlike those of the 1690s, but this distinction is muddled by the incorrect print captions. If the texts had been linked to the fashions seen in the prints, it should have been obvious that the print captions were incorrect. With these changes, this book would have been a valuable resource for seventeenth century French fashion.

Besides the *Histoire* by Blum, the 1931 book by Jacques Ruppert, *Le Costume français*, is a useful general guide to the history of French dress.³⁸ This was revised several times in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The current edition dates from 2007, and has additional material by Madeleine Delpierre, Renée Davray-Piékolek, and Pascale Gorguet-

³⁷ A review of articles about fashion in the 1673 *Le Mercure Galant*, III: 282-325 or IV: 332-350, did not reveal this garment or its description. It is possible that it was mentioned in another issue of this publication.

³⁸ Jacques Ruppert, Madeleine Delpierre, Renée Davray Piékolek and Pascale Gorguet-Ballesteros, *Le Costume français* (Paris: Flammarion, 2007).

Ballesteros. Unlike Blum's text, this volume describes features of dress worn in the seventeenth century and then relates this information to the dress details seen in the reproduced images, mostly paintings and prints. Because it is a survey of French dress history from the time of the Middle Ages, the coverage is brief, though the authors do identify the seventeenth-century French vocabulary used for different parts of male and female fashionable dress. Although not emphasized, this vocabulary is shown to change meaning as dress evolves over a period of years.

Ruppert suffers also from some of the same problem as Blum, namely the lack of identification of the source material. Some of the identifications of print artists are suspect, due to the style of the artistry and the date of the fashions, but this is difficult to trace without more source information. There is also a problem with several dates related to fashion. For example, the book distinguishes between the different forms of *fontanges*, but has incorrectly identified the dates of their popularity. Ruppert identifies the years 1675 to 1699 as the years when the *fontanges* was worn. This range is not accurate, as the duchesse de Fontanges appears at court in 1678 and prints show the *fontanges* being worn as late as 1706. A more accurate time period would be between ca.1679 and 1710. This is an example of the need to question information and check with numerous sources in order to determine as closely as possible, the facts surrounding any particular item of dress evolution.

The works of Blum and Ruppert represent the types of studies published early in the twentieth century. They share similar goals, structures and emphasis, and sometimes the same viewpoint. They share many of the same strengths and weaknesses, such as drawing attention to the fashion of the period but failing to provide sources of references for future scholars.

Seventeenth century French textiles

Although several books outline the history of seventeenth-century French fashion, there are few documented studies of seventeenth-century French textiles. The shortage of surviving textiles may explain this situation. Lyons was a major center of silk production during this period, but according to Arizzoli-Clémentel, the sumptuous royal textiles produced in Lyons in the late seventeenth century are “known to us only through archive documents, since none has survived to this day.”³⁹ Authors who have written about textiles of the period include Charles Cole, Jean-Michel Tuchscherer, Diana de Marly, Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, Mary Schoeser and David Jenkins.⁴⁰ Jenkins and Schoeser have written surveys of the development of western textiles which provide a solid base for historic development, while Tuchscherer and Arizzoli-Clémentel offer more detail concerning the artistry and economics of the textile industry during the reign of Louis XIV. Charles Cole provides a well-documented study of seventeenth-century French textiles and lace as he traces the history of French mercantilism under the leadership of Jean-Baptist Colbert. While providing a lively narrative detailing the commerce of seventeenth-century French textiles, de Marly fails to document her sources, leaving the origin of her information dubious. However, she does provide several informative excerpts from primary sources which describe sumptuary laws and trade negotiations.

³⁹ Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, *The Textile Museum, Lyons* (Lyon: Musées et Monuments de France/Fondation Paribas, 1996), 67.

⁴⁰ Charles Woolsey Cole, *Colbert and a century of French mercantilism*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939); Jean-Michel Tuchscherer, “Woven Textiles,” in *French textiles, from the Middle Ages through the Second Empire*, eds. Marianne Carlano and Larry Salmon (Hartford, Connecticut: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985); Diana de Marly, *Louis XIV and Versailles* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1987); Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, *The Textile Museum, Lyons*, 1996. Mary Schoeser, *World textiles: a concise history* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003); David Jenkins, *The Cambridge history of western textiles*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, U.K., New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

The most complete account of the history of European lace is found in Santina Levey's *Lace: A history* published in 1983. This thoroughly researched and documented study includes the history of all European lace, including French lace, from its origins in the sixteenth century to the advent of machine-made lace in the nineteenth century. Several other authors have examined French lace in particular, and these include Ernest Lefébure, Mademoiselle Laurence de Laprade and Anne Kraatz. In addition, Heather Toomer's *Antique Lace* provides a detailed description of seventeenth century needle lace and bobbin lace structures and techniques.⁴¹

Silk fabric production

According to Charles Cole, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's *Contrôleur Général des Finances*, minister of Finance, began in the 1660s to promote the production of luxury textile manufacturing in France. This included the support of silk weaving in southern France and lace making in northern France. This was not the beginning of either the silk or lace industries in France, but the production during the reign of Louis XIV was organized and regulated for the purpose of establishing a quality product which could compete with foreign goods.⁴²

The earliest French patterned silks were influenced by Italian fabrics. In his essay on the woven textiles of France, Jean-Michel Tuchscherer notes that the city of Tours was the earliest French center to develop its silk weaving industry, yet much of the weaving was done by

⁴¹ Mademoiselle Laurence de Leprade, *Le Points de France et les centres dentellières* (Paris: Librairie J. Rothschild, 1905); Ernest Lefébure, *Les Points de France*, trans. Margaret Taylor Johnston (New York: Margaret Taylor Johnston, 1912); Anne Kratz, "The lace industry," in *French textiles from the Middle Ages through the Second Empire*, eds. Marianne Carlano and Larry Salmon (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985); Santina Levey, *Lace: a history* (London: Victoria & Albert, W.S. Maney, 1983); Musée national de la Renaissance, Château d'Écouen, *Les dentelles*, ed. Anne Kraatz (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992);

Heather Toomer, *Antique Lace: Identifying types and techniques* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub. Ltd, 2001).

⁴² Cole, *Colbert and a century of French mercantilism*, 2: 132.

imported Italian craftsmen.⁴³ This activity in Tours dates from the early sixteenth century, and was quickly followed by the establishment of silk weaving in other French cities, including Avignon, Nîmes, Orléans, Paris and Lyons. These centers also employed Italian weavers to establish their industries.

It is not until the early seventeenth century that attempts to extricate the French weaving trade from an Italian inheritance begins to develop. Weakened by the religious wars during the early years of the seventeenth century and frustrated by the continued influx of luxury Italian silks, government efforts to revive the industry began during the reign of Henri IV. In order to compete with Italian quality, the French first resorted to copying Italian fabrics and designs.⁴⁴ A slow development of the industry followed, but a truly French signature was not recognizable until the last quarter of the seventeenth century (figure 6.)

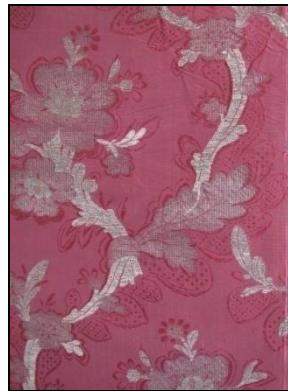


Figure 6. late 17th century, France. Silk and metallic patterning on silk. Musée des Tissus et des Arts décoratifs de Lyon (MTAD Lyon.)

The silk weaving industry was especially important during the reign of Louis XIV as a domestic product which could boost the economy in four ways: satisfy the need for luxury goods demanded by the Court, keep French money from leaving France for the purchase of foreign

⁴³ Tuchscherer, “Woven textiles,” 21-22.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 21. Tuchscherer blames this practice for the difficulties in present-day identification of early seventeenth-century fabrics.

silks, employ French workers and create an export product which would enrich the French economy. In order to succeed with these ambitions, Colbert felt it essential to develop a French design vocabulary within the industry. He hoped to establish a recognizably French product whose quality would be superior to the Italian goods which had dominated the European luxury trade for a century. Besides the four goals listed above, fabric production of a more modest description would provide much needed textiles for domestic use. Still, the production of luxury silks for Court usage seems to have remained a central target of the government efforts, and according to Tuchscherer, this was because “the luxury of the court, maintained and encouraged by Louis XIV, gave rise to an unprecedented consumption of silk.”⁴⁵

Lace production

Though few seventeenth-century woven textiles have survived, museum collections both in Europe and in the United States own numerous examples of period lace. Of particular interest for this study is the lace produced in France as a result of Colbert’s organized government sponsored enterprise. As was the case with the silk weaving industries, large quantities of French wealth had been sent abroad to pay for Italian and Flemish lace. Colbert hoped to encourage manufacturing as a means to strengthen domestic commerce, produce lucrative exports and at the same time increase the number of people actively employed in the countryside of France. Textiles were a logical avenue for this objective.⁴⁶

Colbert and the French lace industry

Beginning in 1665, Louis’ Minister of Finance sought to improve existing lace-making centers by imposing strict quality standards over the final products. Up until this time, French lace was thought to be inferior in design and execution to that of its neighbors, and so had

⁴⁵ Ibid, 24.

⁴⁶ Cole, *Colbert and a century of French mercantilism*, 2: 132.

difficulty competing with foreign products.⁴⁷ New directors were assigned to oversee lace production and instructed to deliver products which followed a new set of designs created especially for their use. These designs were officially sanctioned by Colbert, and deviation was prohibited. In order to insure success, Colbert initially hired the competition. Italian and Flemish lace makers were employed in France to work with the French lace-makers, in hopes that their superior technical and design skills would be adopted by the French workers.

Numerous villages in France participated in Colbert's plan to invigorate French lace industry. In his *Déclaration du 12 août 1665*, it is required that these villages adopt the new standards:

*portant établissement dans les villes du Quesnoy, Arras, Reims, Sedan, Chasteau-Thierry, Loudun, Alençon, Aurillac et autres du Royaume, de la manufacture de toutes sortes d'ouvrages de fil, tant à l'aiguille qu'au cousin, en la manière des points qui se font à Venise, Gennes, Raguse et autres estrangers, qui seront appelés Points de France.*⁴⁸

Many of these villages, such as Aurillac, were well-known centers of lace making previous to the 1665 decree.⁴⁹ It should be noted that according to Colbert's original decree, *Point de France* was a general term used for *toutes sortes d'ouvrages de fil*, all types of thread work, produced by needle or bobbin. The lace today commonly known as *Point de France* is a needle lace only. It has a distinguishable French design and structure, yet it remains a close structural relative of the earlier Italian needle laces it sought to replace.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Kraatz, "The lace industry," 117-118.

⁴⁸ de Laprade, *Le Points de France*, xix.

⁴⁹ Kraatz, "The lace industry," 118.

⁵⁰ Several characteristics distinguish the French from the Italian original. Italian lace had meandering curvilinear designs, tapered buttonholed outlines, with picots with a small bulge at the tip. French lace is organized along a central axis, its outlines were not tapered, and the picots were straight and smooth. See Levey, *Lace: a history*, 37.

Colbert's efforts to encourage the production of French lace continued throughout his tenure as civil servant. The importance of lace as an economic product is understandable, but it also was part of the government's overall strategy, as lace "played an integral part in the public relations scheme devised for the greater glory of the French king."⁵¹ This may have been simply the idea that France was promoting itself as the European leader politically, economically and in all spheres of the arts and fashion as well.

In 1685, when the Huguenots fled France following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the French economy suffered for a loss of lace makers. However, as these same lace makers took their talents and French designs abroad, the result was imitation of the French style in foreign centers and a dissemination of French design. This was another example of means for transmitting fashion ideas, as the design forms immigrated with the artisans. However, in this situation it was not a policy purposely launched by the government. Kraatz notes that, "From that time until the French Revolution, it may be said that most of the laces manufacture in the rest of Europe followed the dictates of the French fashion in all its varied forms."⁵² Santina Levey states that many of these lace-makers, especially those who produced the metallic laces, settled in Switzerland and helped develop that country's lace industry.⁵³

French lace design

French lace design promoted by Colbert paralleled the French decorative taste of the period, which stressed order and symmetry. Charles LeBrun was the chief court designer during the period when Colbert was establishing the *Point de France* industry and exerted his own personal artistic taste on designs created by court designers. Levey notes that a government

⁵¹ Kraatz, "The lace industry," 123.

⁵² Ibid, 123.

⁵³ Levey, *Lace: a history*, 43.

designer by the name of Nicholas Robert de Langres is known to have created designs for the new French needle lace industry as well as for the silk weaving manufacturers.⁵⁴ French lace dating from the period 1665 to 1680 carried numerous royal symbols, such as crowns and images of the sun. A central line of symmetry was bordered by decorative motifs placed within a ground of picoted hexagonal brides. These motifs sometimes differed, but their size and placement created an overall balance. On the *Point de France* lace cravat from the Antonion Ratti Textile Center (ARTC), royal symbols mix with abstract shapes, the latter similar to the “bizarre” textiles which were to become popular at the turn of the century (figure 7.)



Figure 7. late 17th century, France, *cravat*, and detail, ARTC.

On either side of the central line of symmetry are facing roosters, one of Louis XIV’s monarchial symbols. Characteristic hexagonal brides, decorated with picots, link the various motifs which are themselves outlined by thick, closely wrapped gimp. Due to the quality and choice of motifs, there is speculation that this cravat may have been made for the King in order to commemorate a special event.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 36. This might account for similar designs in lace and silk weaving which appear at this time.

Later in the century, when Jean Berain became a royal court artist, a lighter design form was introduced, foreshadowing the rococo style which became popular in the early eighteenth century (figure 8.)



Figure 8. ca. 1700, France, detail, *Point de France* needlelace, *Flounce*, ARTC.

From the 1680s onward, the ground area of lace composition grew in importance, becoming a larger proportion of the overall design. At the same time, the motifs became smaller in size and importance. As a result of these changes, the lace was lighter, and more drapable in its usage as a fabric accessory.⁵⁵ Examples of the new, softer drape can be seen in men's cravats and cuffs featured in numerous prints and paintings of the time. Women's sleeve ruffles turned into *engageantes*, loosely gathered, wide, asymmetrically-shaped lace cuffs which were worn singly or in layers. The famous headdress known as the *fontanges* also used this lighter style of lace, but required a wire frame to keep its shape.⁵⁶

After 1675, when government support of the industry decreased, *Point de France* continued to be produced in the towns, villages and countryside where it was originally introduced. However, new styles of lace, such as *Point d'Angleterre*, were becoming increasingly popular. According to Kraatz, there is evidence that *Point d'Angletterre*, originally

⁵⁵ Ibid, 37.

⁵⁶ Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “coeffure”, “palisadde”.

a Flemish lace bobbin lace, was also manufactured in France during the 1690s.⁵⁷ However, *Point de France* and *Point d'Angleterre* appear together in 1678 among printed fashion illustrations found in *Le Mercure Galant*. It is not clear whether the *Point d'Angleterre* at that time (late 1670s) was produced in France or Flanders. Other lace identified as fashionable in *Le Mercure Galant* includes *dentelle de soye* (sic) and *Point d'Espagne*. According to Levey, *Point d'Espagne* was a metallic lace and had been made in France since the first half of the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ The fashion for embroidered lace, *la dentelle brodée a couleur* was a fashionable style and is found on the description of a fashionable woman's wardrobe of the January 1678 issue of the supplement, *Extraordinaire du Mercure galant*.⁵⁹ In addition, Levey notes that black lace was also a popular lace, and worn alone or with white lace. Lace identified as *Point de France* began to be particularly associated with the needle lace made in the village of *Alençon*, which maintained a high standard of quality and continued to produce lace well into the late nineteenth century.

At this point, some differences in terminology for lace processes needs to be clarified. In the seventeenth century, the term *point* used alone usually referred to a needle lace, while *dentelle* referred to bobbin lace. This distinction is found repeatedly in seventeenth century written sources, suggesting that the products of the two techniques of lace-making were considered as different species of lace (figure 9.)

⁵⁷ Kraatz calls *Point d'Angleterre* a “Brussels –type lace.” Kraatz, “The lace industry,” 123.

⁵⁸ Levey, *Lace: a history*, 38.

⁵⁹ *L'extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, janvier 1678, 1: 398. See also Levey, *Lace: a history*, 39.



Figure 9. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, "Habit de Printemps", *Le Mercure Galant* BnF.

Point d'Angleterre is an exception to this rule, being identified as bobbin lace or needle lace in different documents. This has caused some uncertainty as to its origin and process of production. Unfortunately, this type of mislabeling is common in lace terminology.

Primary Literature

Primary sources of late seventeenth-century French literature which refer to dress and fashion are often found in correspondences, memoirs and novels. Dictionaries offer a wealth of information for retrieval of terms and definitions of the many fashionable garments of the period. Plays performed in the theaters of Paris and at the court at Versailles provided the all-important satire which derided the extremes of fashion. Finally, the fashion “news” presented by Donneau de Visé in his popular journal, *Le Mercure Galant*, match image to word, and report on the social norms of fashion.

Of the first literature type, many were written by women who were associated with the intellectual salons of the mid-century. For these women, the ideas and opinions formed in the salons guided much of their intellectual growth as well as perspectives. Their writings expressed the moral and ethical ideals which were developed during these gatherings, and represented the

closest equivalent to female equality in a world dominated by French male writers and philosophers.⁶⁰

Women writers of the salons

With few exceptions, women writers of the period were not members of the royal family, although their aristocratic social circles intersected with royalty at cultural events held in Paris and at the court. Madame de Sévigné, Madame de LaFayette and Madamoiselle de Scudéry were included in this class of female writers.

Madame de Sévigné, 1626 – 1696

Madame de Sévigné was famous in her day for the epistolary style and talent displayed in her letters. Her correspondences to her married daughter living in the provinces were filled with reports on well-known writers and thinkers of the day. She herself was a member of several famous salons in Paris, and her circle of friends came from both literary and scientific backgrounds. In her letters, she described her daily life in and around Paris, which included numerous events at Versailles. Sometimes she did not attend these events herself, but instead was informed by friends and relatives who did. Her many letters reveal the interest in dress and fashion of her class, and provide some descriptive evidence of various changes in dress and coiffure which occurred during her life (figures 10 and 11.)

⁶⁰ Erica Harth, *Cartesian Women: versions and subversions of rational discourse in the Old Regime* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1992). Harth provides a thorough history of the 17th century salons, the women who were active in them, and the relationship between the men and women who participated in the direction of seventeenth scholarly discourse within the salon culture.



Figure 10: 17th c., Claude Lefebvre, *Madame de Sévigné*, Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA.).

Figure 11: 17th c., attrib. Pierre Mignard, *Françoise de Sévigné*, Musée Carnavalet (MC.)

Madame de LaFayette, 1634-1693, and Mademoiselle de Scudéry, 1607-1701

Madame de LaFayette and Mademoiselle de Scudéry were two female novelists who wrote about the subject of love from a woman's perspective. Both of them participated in the salon culture of Paris, and were friends with Madame de Sévigné. Madame de LaFayette's famous 1678 novel, *The Princess of Cleves*, is the story of a young woman who is unhappy in marriage and later falls in love with another man. The storyline reflects the social reality of a time when arranged marriages were common. Wendy Gibson notes in her history of the life of seventeenth-century women in France, that "because of the pain caused by unsentimental arranged marriage, a form of literature arose that fantasized, in lengthy details, 'the love courtship,' an inflammatory portrait of pre-marital dalliance and a means of vicariously indulging frustrated youthful desires."⁶¹ Madame de LaFayette's novel was an instant success at its publication, touching the hearts of many whose unhappy situations could be relieved by an absorbing fictional tale. The story has an idealized, moral tone much admired at the time, as the heroine never sullies her reputation, despite the numerous attacks on her virtue by ardent would-be lovers as well as their jealous rivals. In Jeanne and William Ojala's study of Madame

⁶¹ Wendy Gibson, *Women in seventeenth-century France* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 49.

Sévigné, this prevailing moral ideal of feminine behavior is supported by the observation that “women were expected to be models of modesty and self-centered, though not self-effacing.”⁶²

Mademoiselle de Scudéry wrote several long, extended works, concerned with women’s attitudes towards love. Her most famous, *Le Grand Cyrus*, a story in ten volumes, recounts the many trials and tribulations of unrequited love experienced by its courageous heroine. Like de LaFayette, a high moral tone pervades her work. Neither de Scudéry nor de LaFayette included extended descriptions of dress preferences or style in their works, but both authors are examples of the most influential circles of female intelligentsia of the period. Their books were popular during their lifetimes, and they received praise from those who frequented the salons as well as from the general reading public. They provide a rich source for interpreting the French mannerism and gestures seen in women featured in the fashion prints.

Élisabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d’Orléans, 1651-1722

A rare source of first-hand information regarding life as a member of the royal family can be found in the letters of the sister-in-law of Louis XIV, Élisabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d’Orléans. Élisabeth-Charlotte was a prolific correspondent, writing thousands of letters to family and friends during her lifetime.⁶³ Numerous volumes have been produced containing these letters, each editor choosing different letters to feature in their publication. Her most personal and interesting letters were written in German, and many of these have been translated into French and English.⁶⁴

⁶² Jeanne and William Ojala, *Madame de Sévigné: A seventeenth-century life* (New York/Oxford/Munich: Berg, 1990), 59.

⁶³ Elise Goodman, “Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchess d’Orléans: portraits of a modern woman,” In *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 29 (2007):126.

⁶⁴ For this study, three French and three English publications of letters written by Élisabeth Charlotte, duchesse d’Orléans, were consulted. The French collections are the following: *Correspondance de Madame Duchesse d’Orléans*, ed. Ernest Jaeglé (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1890); *Lettres de Madame*, ed.

The Duchesse d'Orléans lived at the French court from the time of her marriage in 1672 to Philippe d'Orléans, brother to Louis XIV, until her death in 1722. During her fifty years at the French court, she had the opportunity to observe first-hand the reality of court life. Although she began her life at the French court as a happily married woman and a favorite of the King, she was later the target of her husband's jealous friends. She was a German transplanted to French soil, and this allowed her to see from an outsider's point-of-view the good, bad and absurd that permeated Court life. Élisabeth-Charlotte reached out to her German family through her letters, using the correspondences as a means to mentally fortify herself against the constant Court scandals, jealousies and political intrigues.

The descriptions found in her letters of well-known members of Louis XIV's court contrast the outward fabrication of royalty with the inner reality of royal family life. She frequently complained to her German family of the immoral behavior she witnessed, especially among the younger members of the French royal family. Yet she was able to find amusement in the behavior of these same people, despite her own feelings of personal mistreatment by them. She related many humorous anecdotes describing the foolish actions of the vain and arrogant King, his misbehaving family and the avaricious courtiers. These accounts describe ridiculous situations which reveal the universal problems that plague even royal households: disappointments, misunderstandings, selfishness, wrongdoing and monetary strife, to name a few.

Olivier Amiel (Paris: Mercure de France, 1982); *Madame Palatine: lettres françaises*, ed. Dirk Van der Cruyssse (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1989). The English language volumes are the following: *The letters of Madame*, ed. Gertrude Stevenson, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1924); *Letters from Liselotte*, ed. Maria Kroll (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1970); *A woman's life in the court of the Sun King*, ed. Elborg Forster (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

Sprinkled amongst the complaints and anecdotes are numerous references to dress. reports on the height of headdresses, *les fontanges*, the use of face powder and beauty spots, her preference for wearing the *grand habit* and the *habit de chasse* over the *manteau*, and the many elegant fabrics used for fancy dress worn at the court masquerades. Many of these references are useful evidence for the relevance of dress details found in the French fashion engravings published during her lifetime.

The duchess was not the only person with strong dress preferences. Louis XIV preferred the women of his court to be seen in the more stately *grand habit*. In a letter to her aunt dating from 1702, explains the court etiquette, noting that “when we are at Versailles, which counts as a royal residence, everyone appearing before the King or us is *en grand habit*, but at Marly, Meudon and St. Cloud people are always *en manteau*, and it’s the same on journeys. I find the *grand habit* much more comfortable than the *manteau*, which I can’t stand.”⁶⁵ It is evident that ’s preferences and taste are closer to the King’s than those of the other royal women, who readily donned the more fashionable *manteau* whenever possible.

The printmakers of Paris created more engraved portraits of Élisabeth-Charlotte than of any other royal person in Louis XIV’s court. This distinction is thought by William Brooks to be a reflection of the popularity she enjoyed amongst the people of Paris.⁶⁶ Often these prints identify her by the official court designation of “Madame.” She and her husband Philippe, officially “Monsieur,” lived in the *Palais Royal* in the center of Paris, closer to the populace than those living in the far more remote palace at Versailles. Her visible presence in the capital may

⁶⁵ Kroll, *Letters from Liselotte*, , 111.

⁶⁶ William Brooks, “The Significance of Engravings as examples of the personal iconography of the second Madame, Duchess of Orléans, 1671-1722,” *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 18 (1966): 76. Of the prints which depict royal women, those of Élisabeth-Charlotte are the most numerous.

have been a factor in this preference, but her foreign status may also have lent a certain exotic attraction.

Of particular notice in the prints are the idealized depictions of the duchess which were created. While in her letters, Élisabeth-Charlotte described herself as overweight and unattractive, these prints romanticized her age and weight to the extreme, especially when compared to a Hyacinthe Rigaud painting, which she admired as an honest and faithful representation of herself (figures 12 and 13.) .



Figure 12. 1719, Hyacinthe Rigaud, , *Duchesse d'Orléans*, Chateaux de Versailles (CV.)

Figure 13. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, detail, *Madame en habit de chasse*, Morgan Library & Museum (Morgan L&M; (middle to late 1690s.)

She noted in several letters that she does not consider herself beautiful or fashionable. Her assessment of her appearance was honest, if the Rigaud painting is to be believed. Her feelings of not being fashionable are reflected in her rejection of the *manteau* in favor of a style of clothing that pleases herself rather than others

These letters by a member of the royal family are a reminder that the images which are presented in the prints are idealized representations of the subject matter. In addition, the duchess ' stated preferences for the more formal, less fashionable *grand habit* also demonstrates deviation from the norm portrayed in print images of royalty. The evidence provided by the writings of Élisabeth-Charlotte, as well as the works of Madame de Sévigné, Madame de

LaFayette and Mademoiselle de Scudéry, emphasize the need to interpret dress from the past using written sources as well as images.

The Court as reported from the male point-of-view

While Élisabeth-Charlotte is the only member of the royal family whose letters form a continuous historical narrative of court life, other participants at the court of Louis XIV recorded their own observations and opinions. Well-known memoirs of the period written from the male point-of-view include those by the Marquis de Dangeau, 1638-1720, and the duc de Saint-Simon, 1675-1755. Both of these men were members of the French nobility who wrote memoirs about court life during the reign of Louis XIV. Dangeau was a contemporary of Louis XIV, having been born in the same year as the King.⁶⁷ A third memoir, written from the point-of-view of a foreign observer, was that penned by Primi Fassola, Viscount of San Maiolo, 1648-1713, usually referred to as Primi Visconti. Visconti served as the Venetian ambassador to the French court from 1673 to 1683. Primi Visconti was younger than Dangeau, and spent fewer years at court. However, his memoirs are more objective than Dangeau's, who was a lifelong member of the court and personal friend of the King's.⁶⁸ Saint-Simon was the youngest of the three, and much of his writing about court life focused on the last years of the reign. His reports of events occurring early in the monarchy seem to be anecdotal, or copied from other publications. All three of these men commented on dress, manners and behavior of the court.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Philippe de Courcillon, Marquis de Dangeau, *Journal de la cour de Louis XIV, depuis 1684, jusqu'à 1715*. (Londres: unknown publisher, 1770). <http://encompass.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/checkIP.cgi?ac>. This memoir is dated July 31, 1700. According to the online citation, these notes were written by Voltaire, 1694-1778.

⁶⁸ Giovan Battista Feliciano, conte Primi Fassola di San Maiolo, , trans. Jean Lemoine (Paris: Calmann- Lévy, 1908).

⁶⁹ Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires de Monsieur le Duc de S. Simon, ou l'observations véridique sur le règne de Louis XIV, & sur les premières époques des règnes suivans*, ed. Giraud Soulavie (Paris: Librairie Hôtel de Coetlosquet, 1788); Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *The Memoirs of*

Marquis de Dangeau, 1638-1720

The Marquis de Dangeau reported on several occasions the discomfiture experienced by the women due to the requirements of dress at court. For example, he notes that women of the court were not always happy wearing the *grand habit* which Louis demanded of them. In an entry from his journal dating from 1687, he describes how Madame la Dauphine was required by court etiquette to wear the heavy court *habit*, and it was evident that this distressed her. Although he does not elaborate, it is possible that she was ill. She had given birth to her third son, the duc de Berry, in 1686 and never fully recovered from complications following the birth. Louis XIV was known to be adamant about the proper dress at court, no matter the health or well-being of a lady's complaint. These observations of the King's preferences are echoed by Saint-Simon in his own *Mémoires*.

Another incident reported by Dangeau illustrated the rift caused by the required court etiquette and the preferences expressed by the ladies of the court. Although the King's adherence to the demands of etiquette, as well as his own preferences, set the court dress, he could not always control the women's wish to dress as they please. Dangeau describes an incident in 1700 when the King prevented a ceremony from being performed because the women were not properly dressed in *grand habit*, but were instead wearing the *habit de chasse*. A footnote by the editor of the 1770 edition of Dangeau's *Journal*, who was Voltaire, declared that the *grand habit* required that the throat and shoulders be uncovered, the back of the neck visible, the arms bare to the elbows, and the inclusion of rouge on the cheeks. It added that as the riding habit hid everything, and the women were not wearing rouge, they were inappropriately dressed.⁷⁰

Louis XIV and the Regency by the Duke of Saint-Simon, trans. Bayle St. John, 3 vols. (New York: London: M. Walter Dunne, 1901).

⁷⁰ Dangeau, *Journal de la cour de Louis XIV*, 99.

Dangeau does not provide these details of the requirements of court dress in his memoires, nor does Voltaire reveal the source of his information. One wonders if he is merely relating proscribed court styles of the later eighteenth-century. If Voltaire had looked closely at the seventeenth-century fashion prints which illustrate these two *habits*, it would have been apparent that it was more than just rouge and coverage which outraged the King; he also would have recognized the masculine gender reference in the riding habits, and the opposite, feminine equivalent in the *grand habit*, the former a challenge to the king's authority when displayed in the public arena, the later an endorsement of masculine dominance.

Primi Fassola, Viscount of San Maiolo, 1648-1713

The Italian diplomat Primi Visconti observed what he saw with a satiric, if not superior, point-of-view. He recorded many human entanglements which played out behind the scenes of the more public world of power presented by the court. For example, of the incessant gambling which occupied the leisure hours of the royal court, Visconti recounted the unrestrained, and at times avaricious, behavior of the participants. Large sums of money passed hands daily, according to Visconti, and some courtiers relied on their winnings to cover their pressing debts. He observed that “the money they win is not hoarded; it is needed to cover the vast cost of feeding and dressing themselves.”⁷¹ Here is one source of income for the frequently impoverished nobility, who by law were not allowed to work, but were required when at court to dress and entertain in a style befitting their rank.

In a memoir dating from 1678, Visconti described the events which led to the King's ill-fated affair with Mademoiselle Fontanges, her name the source of the term for the famous headdress. He described Mlle. Fontanges as *grande, bien faite et très jolie, mais comme elle*

⁷¹ Gilette Ziegler, *At the court of Versailles* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1966), 153.

était très blonde, celles qui en étaient jalouses publièrent qu'elle était rousse, car il y a en France un préjugé d'après lequel toutes les femmes rousses sont méchantes et ne sentent pas bon or “she was tall, well made and pretty, but as she was a true blond, those who were jealous claimed that she was a red-head, because there is a prejudice against red-heads in France as being cross and mean-spirited.”⁷² Visconti further relates that her beauty did not match her intelligence, which was a source of embarrassment to the King when she accompanied him.

The absurdities of the events which followed the exposure of the affair did not escape the notice of the Italian ambassador. Louis was simultaneously conducting love affairs with two mistresses. Madame de Montespan, who had been his *maîtresse en titre* for almost ten years, was still in residence at Versailles. Louis’ sister-in-law’s maid-of-honor, Angelique Fontanges, who had only recently arrived at court, was also receiving the King’s attentions. Visconti observed the entire retinue seated together at Mass, the King and his servants, the Queen and her ladies, both mistresses and their servants, and all the legitimate as well as illegitimate children congregating around them. Throughout the service, they were all behaving like virtuous saints, praying diligently and raising their eyes to heaven in sanctimonious accord. He concluded his description by declaring the affairs of the French court to be “the best comedy in the world.”⁷³ Visconti continued in this vein as he described the preparations for the departure of the King from one palace to another. He is accompanied by his guards, “carriages, horses, courtiers, valets and a great throng of people, all in a state of complete confusion, running and shouting around him. It is exactly like the queen bee leaving her hive accompanied by her swarm.”⁷⁴

⁷² Primi Visconti, , 205.

⁷³ William Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism* (Boston, New York: Bedford, St. Martin’s, 2000), 63

⁷⁴ Ziegler, *At the court of Versailles*, 147.

After the Fontanges affair, which ended in 1681 with the tragic early death of the young woman, Louis experienced a change in spirit. He rejected his long standing mistress, Madame de Montespan, in preference for a new and permanent favorite, Madame de Maintenon, known as the widow Scarron at this time. In the previous year of 1680, Visconti recorded the changes in dress and manners that the King adopted as he increasingly favored her company. Louis abandoned the baroque embellishment of his youth, which included embroidery, ribbons and profuse lace, in favor of a more subdued presentation. After the affairs with Montespan and Fontanges, the courtiers were astonished by the preference for the older woman, and Visconti reports that *personne ne saviat ce qu'il en fallait croire, car elle était âgée; les uns la regardaient comme la confidente du Roi; les autres comme une entremetteuse; d'autres comme une personne habile dont le Roi se servait pour rédiger les Mémoires de son règne*, or, “no one knew what to believe, because she was older; some regarded her as the confidante of the King; others as a matchmaker; still others as a skillful person hired to help the king record his memoires.”⁷⁵ However, despite the move towards simplicity by the king, there is evidence that the younger members of court retained as much flamboyance in dress as they could achieve without reproach.

duc de Saint-Simon, 1675-1755

The duc de Saint-Simon was born at the beginning of the period which concerns this dissertation, but he began in 1694 at the age of nineteen years to make notes for his *Mémoires*.⁷⁶ Some of the more astute observations on dress and manners come from his writing. One of the most telling stories concerns the preparations beginning in 1696 for the 1697 wedding of the

⁷⁵ Primi Visconti, , 220.

⁷⁶ Zeigler, *At the court of Versailles*, 14

King's grandson, the duc de Bourgogne to Adelaide, Princess de Savoy. According to Saint-Simon,

He announced that on that occasion, he should be glad to see a magnificent Court; and he himself, who for a long time had worn only the most simple habits, ordered the most superb. This was enough; no one thought of consulting his purse or his state: everyone tried to surpass his neighbor in richness and invention. Gold and silver scarcely sufficed: the shops of the dealers were emptied in a few days; in a word, luxury the most unbridled, reigned over Court and city, for the *fête* had a huge crowd of spectators. Things went to such a point, that the King almost repented of what he had said, and remarked that he could not understand how husbands, could be such fools as to ruin themselves by dresses for their wives; but might have added, by dresses for themselves.⁷⁷

Saint-Simon continues the story with his opinion that despite the criticism of the expense which was being lavished upon these ephemera, the King “was glad, for it pleased him during the *fête* to look at all the dresses.” In fact, Saint-Simon admits that he and his wife were also caught up in the passion for new finery: he claims that between the two of them, their numerous outfits amounted to a cost of twenty thousand francs.⁷⁸ He also noted that it was difficult to find dressmakers and tailors due to the high demand for “rich habits.” As explained below, it would have been only the tailors who were permitted by law to create the court garments for both men and women, though women dressmakers may have been involved in the sewing, embroidery and other embellishments. One also wonders if the sumptuary law announced in 1700 was a response to the quantity of gold and silver used in the elegant court gowns at a time when the scarcity of gold bullion was plaguing the French government.

⁷⁷ Saint-Simon, *The Memoirs of Louis XIV*, 1: 124.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 1:124-125.

The duke also concurs with the opinion expressed by the Marquis de Dangeau that Louis XIV demanded his court ladies comport themselves properly at court functions, according to his express wishes, and was most displeased when they did not follow his wishes.

Ce Prince étoit absolu dans son intérieur; les incommodités les plus opposes aux voyages, au grand habit de Cour (car les Dame les plus privilégiées ne paroisoient jamais autrement dans ses carrosses, ni en aucun lieu de cour, avant que Marly eût adouci cette etiquette) ne pouvoit en dispenser les Dames; grand maladies, moins de six semaines après leurs couches, dans d'autres tems fâcheux, il fallout être en grand habit, parées & serrées (or ferrées) dans leur corps; aller en Flandre & plus loin, danser, veiller, être des fêtes, manger, être gaies & de bonne compagnie, changer de lieu, ne paroître craindre aucun intempérie, ni etre incommodes du chaud, du froid, de l'air, de la poussière, & tout cela précisement aux jours & heurs marqués, sans déranger rien d'une minute.⁷⁹

My translation of this revealing narration follows:

This Prince was unshakeable in his determination; the inconveniences of travel, of the Court *grand habit* (because the most privileged ladies could never appear otherwise in their coaches, nor in any place at Court, before Marly was excused from this etiquette) could never be dispensed with by the ladies; extreme sickness, less than six weeks after childbirth, in other detrimental times, it must be in *grand habit*, decked out and well-heeled; going to Flanders and much further, dancing, watched over, participating in celebrations, eating, being gay and good company, changing location, not appearing afraid of any bad weather, nor being inconvenienced by heat, cold, outdoors, of the dust, and all these precisely at the designated day and hour , without disrupting anything at all.

It is clear from Saint-Simon's *Mémoires* that the role of the court ladies was to serve at the pleasure of the King, no matter the state of their own physical needs or discomforts. The repeated reference by these observers to the *grand habit*, with its stiff boning and unwavering requirements of cut, is significant. Factors relating to health and the enforcement of the formal

⁷⁹ Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, 190. Louis XIV built the palace of Marly after the completion of Versailles. At Marly, the atmosphere was decidedly more casual, as remarked by the duchesse d'Orléans in her letters.

court dress are mentioned by Dangeau, Primi Visconti and Saint-Simon, and this seems to indicate an opinion suggesting selfishness and willfulness on the part of the King. Just as Dangeau reported, Saint-Simon also described a similar event at Versailles, when Louis “had been very angry lately because the ladies had neglected to go full dressed to the court performances.”⁸⁰

Fashion and the theater

Playwrights whose work was performed at court and in the Parisian theater occasionally included commentary on fashion and manners. These artists included Molière, Antoine Furetière, Florent Carton Dancourt and Edme Boursault. Their comic plays often made fun of the obsessive infatuation of the wealthier classes with fashionable dress. A comedy by Boursault called *Les Mots à la mode*, mocks fashion terminology and its origins. *Ce qui dans cet écrit nous parait des injures, Sont des noms que l'on donne aux nouvelles parures*, or “It is the names which are given to this finery which appear injurious to our sensibilities.”⁸¹ Some of this vocabulary was derived from the salons, such as the words for the different skirt layers described above, while other terminology derived from the court, such as the *fontanges*. Molière, 1622-1673, is famous for his mockery of fashion, though his commentary refers mainly to fashion dating from the 1660s to the early years of the 1770s. In 1670, the first production of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* was performed at court for the King. Among other pursuits, the protagonist, Monsieur Jourdain, believes that by dressing as he thinks an aristocrat dresses, he will achieve his greatest dream of becoming one himself. His efforts are, of course, ridiculous, and he makes a fool of himself in his overdressed, flamboyant costume. Molière’s plays

⁸⁰ Saint-Simon, *Memoirs of Louis XIV*, 1: 332

⁸¹ Blum, *Histoire du Costume*, 32.

continued to be performed in court past his death in 1673, reminding the audience of the fooleries of fashion in which the bourgeois as well as the wealthy involve themselves.

Theater costumes of these popular plays influenced fashionable dress. The 1684 play which inspired the *Amadis* sleeve mentioned above is seen in figure 14.



Figure 14. n.d., Robert Bonnart, *Castelane dansante à l'Opéra d'Amadis de Grece*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

This print by Robert Bonnart shows a long, frilled sleeve which extends past the dancer's hips. The general shape of the sleeves is similar to those of an *engageantes*, the sleeve style that derived from the play and subsequently replaced the sleeve ruffles of the 1660s and 1670s.

Another example of fashion derived from popular theater is found in the style of a skirt embellishment from a play entitled *Psyché*. This 1671 play was written by Corneille, in collaboration with Quinault and Molière. The *dessinateur du cabinet du Roy*, Henri Gissey, who was succeeded at death by his student Jean Berain, created a skirt for the theater production that “became a fashionable sensation into 1673 for the decorative use of lace in three rows.”⁸² It is mentioned in the 1672 issue of *La Mercure Galant*, though without this description.⁸³ It is possible that this skirt was similar to one shown in a print dating from the mid-1670s by Jean LePautre (figure 15.)

⁸² de Marly, *Louis XIV and Versailles*, 46.

⁸³ *Le Mercure Galant*, 1672, I:275. Also see original text below.



Figure 15. n.d., Jean LePautre, detail, *Dame allant à la Campagne*, British Museum (BM; middle to late 1670s.)

In this print, there are eleven rows of ruffled embellishment arranged in horizontal rows at the lower hem of the skirt. These appear to be gathered rows of lace edging. Another possible interpretation of this style may be seen in a 1670s print by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. The artist shows a young woman dressed for a walk, wearing an underskirt embellished with wide rows of lace (figure 16.)



Figure 16. n.d., Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Dame en Deshabillé Allant Par la Ville*, BnF (middle to late 1670s.)

Jean Donneau de Visé, 1638-1710, and Le Mercure Galant

In 1672, Jean Donneau de Visé began to publish *Le Mercure Galant* a monthly journal which included news from the court, short stories, music scores, and occasionally, information

on fashionable dress worn in Paris.⁸⁴ According to Monique Vincent, the publication was aimed at women from the beginning.⁸⁵ She notes that the Donneau de Visé's monthly letter was framed as a correspondence from a member of court to a fictitious provincial friend who desired to know about life in Paris. In his first issue, he mentions he has promised her news of the latest fashions, but must apologize for his recent silence on the topic:

Je vous avois promis, Madame, de vous mander toutes les Modes nouvelles, & je ne vous en ay (dites-vous) parlé dans aucune de mes Lettres. Le deüil que l'on porte icy depuis longtemps en est cause; il en a étouffé beaucoup qui n'ont point veû le jour, y la plûpart sont demeurées dans l'imagination de ceux qui les on inventées. Je vous diray pourtant que l'on porte toujours les Corps si longs, qu'ils vont Presque jusques aux cuisses de ceux qui n'ont guere de hanches.

Les Femmes ne portent plus de Manchettes ou Pognets tombans sur les bras; le bout où est la dentelle, est presentement relevé comme des Manchettes d'Hommes: Elles portent des Gands taillez comme ceux des Hommes, avec une dentelle d'or; & leurs Souliers estans presentement un peu plus quarrez qu'à l'ordinaire, elle tâchent d'imiter les Hommes en beaucoup de choses.

La bordure de la plûpart des Eventails don't on s'est servy depuis qu'on a commence à reprendre, est de Point de France peint, & sert de tour aux cartouches dans lesquels les Peintres mettent à leur ordinaire ce qui leur vient dans l'imagination.

*Les Jupe à la Psyché sont toujours à la mode, aussi bien que les Manteaux de toile des Indes. One en porte pourtant beaucoup depuis peu d'un Satin couleur de feu, mélé de blanc, qui plaist beaucoup, & commence à devenir fort à la mode.*⁸⁶

In 1673, this publication was translated and published in London by John Dancer in a volume he titled, *The Mercury-Galant*. The following is his translation of the first paragraph of the above 1672 letter by de Visé. Several words such as *hanches* (hips) are literally translated to English, giving at times a stilted understanding of the original meanings.

⁸⁴ Monique Vincent, *Mercure Galant: Extraordinaire Affairs du temp* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998).

⁸⁵ Monique Vincent, *Présentaion de la première revue féminine d'information et de culture, 1672 – 1710* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005), 10.

⁸⁶ *Le Mercure Gallant*, 1672, I: 275.

“I Promised you Madam to send you all the new Modes, and yet I have not, you tell me, writ you one word of them in any of my Letters. The Courts being so long in mourning has been the cause of it. It has put a stop to the inventions of many and smothered those have come forth in their Infancy; yet I will tell you, That they wear their Gowns so long Wasted, that it reaches almost to their Thighs, who have but little Haunches.”⁸⁷

In the second paragraph of the original French text are descriptions of women’s sleeves embellished with lace and gloves similar to those popular with men. The editor continues with the descriptions of the embellishment of fans, and lastly, mentions the *Jupe à la Psyché*, the latter made famous in the play by Corneille described above. He matches this skirt with a *manteau* of Indian fabric, and claims the combination is become very fashionable.

For dress historians, the year 1678 is the high mark of this journal. During that year, the editor provided detailed descriptions of current fashion accompanied by ten engravings by Jean LePautre. According to the journal, the prints were designed by Jean Berain, a court artist-in-residence, who presumably had inside information about the most current fashions worn by the ladies and gentleman at court. The juxtaposition of description and image, and the labeling of parts of dress on the image, provides a succinct and clear understanding of the use of textiles and color in fashion of the day. In addition, one of the engravings was a double-page image, with a young man and woman standing in a boutique full of fashionable goods for sale: wigs, cravats, lace for headdresses, and fabrics for *justacorps* and *manteaux* (figure 17.)

⁸⁷ John Dancer, *The Mercury-Gallant, containing many true and pleasant relations of what hath passed at Paris from the first of January, 1672. Till the King’s departure thence* (London: T.R. and N.T., 1673.)

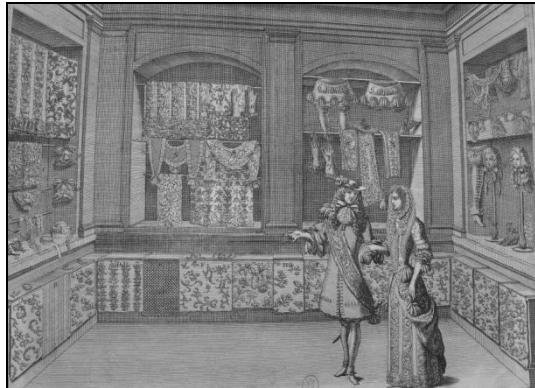


Figure 17. 1678, Jean LePautre, “Interior of a Parisian boutique”, *Extraordinarie du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

The publication was not without its critics. Jean de la Bruyère, 1645-1696, a writer of moral treatises and sarcastic caricatures, described the gossip and news of the *Mercure galant* as “immédiatement au dessous de rien” or “immediately below nothing.”⁸⁸ This seventeenth-century criticism of fashion reporting as a frivolous activity is an attitude which continues to this day.

Fashion terminology

French dictionaries of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century offer a rich source for fashion terminology. They also signal the emergence of popular terms for garments, styles, accessories, fabrics and trims. One very informative example is the 1690 dictionary by Antoine Furetière, who was a member of the *Académie françoise*. According to the title page, it was written to *contenant généralement tous les mots François tant vieux que modern & les termes des sciences et des arts* or, “generally containing all the ancient as well as modern French words for the sciences and the arts.”⁸⁹ The second edition of this dictionary, edited by Henri Basnage

⁸⁸ Michael Moriarty, *Taste and Ideology in seventeenth-century France* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 166.

⁸⁹ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, title page.

de Bauval and published in 1701, is equally useful, and contains several additional terms and definitions pertaining to dress and fashion than the first edition.⁹⁰

Furetière's dictionary is an invaluable source for seventeenth-century French words used in common speech. The author includes multiple definitions of the terms, as well as sentences which clarify their meanings. In addition, excerpts from plays, poems and prose are often included which contain the defined words in context. The value of this text lies in its attempts to clarify the numerous and sometimes obscure meanings of terms, and to reflect the use of language as a product of the prevailing culture. This appears to be a viewpoint that is shared by some lexicographers, but not all.

Unlike Furetière's dictionary, the goal of the creators of the 1694 official dictionary of the Académie Française, *Le Dictionnaire de L'Académie Françoise*, was to define the primary definitions of terms in as brief and concise a manner as possible. The emphasis is on word usage in speech, and does not contain the depth found in the cultural perspective employed by Furetière. However, adjectives associated with the terms, as well as examples of idiomatic uses, are included. In general, this dictionary is more concise but less informative, than Furetière's.

Combining the strengths of both dictionaries provides a broader understanding of the terms in their seventeenth-century usage. A variety of contemporary French fashion terms are included in both dictionaries. Concepts of dress and fashion defined in both works include *mode* and *deshabillé*. Vocabulary describing garments, such as *habit*, *just-au-corps*, *manteau*, and *robe*, are included, as well as terms pertaining to the materials of fashion. The latter terms include *dentelle*, *satin*, *taffeta*, *toile* and *velour*.

⁹⁰ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, ed. Henri Basnage de Bauval (La Haye et Rotterdam: A. et R. Leers, 1701).

In addition to the French dictionaries, several English dictionaries of the period also provide important insight into the variety of fashion terms used in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Edward Phillips, 1706 and Elisha Coles, 1713, include some terminology related to fashion in their dictionaries.⁹¹ These dictionaries are useful as references for the longevity of particular terms as well as the changes that occurred in English words when French terminology entered the language. In addition, fashion terminology can be found in the 1688 bilingual dictionary written by Guy Miege.⁹² In this work, both English and French words are defined, allowing a comparison between the use and definition of fashion terms in both languages at the same point in history (figure 18.)

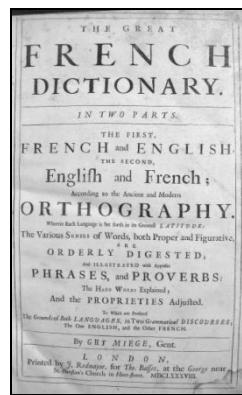


Figure 18. 1688, Guy Miege. *The Great French Dictionary*, frontispiece.

A comparison of the usage of terminology derived from all of these sources is found in Chapter 5, Mode de l' époque.

⁹¹ Edward Phillips, *The New World of Words, or Universal English Dictionary* (London: J. K. Philobibl, 1706);

Elisha Coles, *An English dictionary explaining the difficult terms that are used in divinity, husbandry, physic, philosophy, law, navigation, mathematicks and other arts and sciences* (London: F. Collins, 1713).

⁹² Guy Miege, *The Great French Dictionary* (London: J. Redmayne for Thos Bassett, 1688).

Print History

Costume prints and fashion prints

The distinction between the terms “costume print” and “fashion print” needs to be addressed in this study, as it is not merely a semantic issue. Imprecise usage of these and other terminologies has caused confusion and raised questions as to whether or not these print categories are separate classifications or the same phenomenon. It is an important distinction which needs clarification, as the prints are related historically yet differ enough to be considered separate entities. The differences are especially evident when considering the relationship between image and function, and the subsequent communication of meaning to the viewer.

Some of the confusion stems from literature which traces the history of the fashion print. In Nevinson’s introduction to his “Origin and early history of the fashion plate” he states that, “A fashion plate is a costume portrait indicating a suitable style of clothing that can be made or secured.”⁹³ This often cited work uses two phrases which need to be clarified, the “fashion plate” and the “costume portrait.” For the purposes of this study, the terms “fashion plate” and “fashion print” are considered synonymous. However, the use of the term “fashion print” is preferred, as it describes more precisely the results of a process rather than the materials that are used to create the final product. Nevinson identifies the “fashion plate” as a subset of the “costume portrait” but the exact meaning of the latter term is unstated as well as ambiguous. Is this the same as a “costume print,” a term found in numerous publications?⁹⁴ If not, what is it? Is he suggesting that “fashion plates” evolved from an earlier form of imagery that is different

⁹³ Nevinson, “Origins”, 67

⁹⁴ A review of 16th century costume books can be found in Ulrike Ilg, “The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth Century Europe,” in *Clothing Culture: 1350-1650*, ed. C. Richardson, (Hampshire, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), as well as Olian, “Sixteenth Century Costume Books,” 20-48. In addition, a listing of early books containing dress information for theatrical use can be found in Jowers, *Theatrical costume, masks, make-up and wigs*, 131-133.

from a “costume print”? The term “costume portrait” should be defined in order to clarify the relationship between “costume portraits,” “costume prints” and “fashion prints.” Unfortunately, Nevinson never provides this, nor does he refer elsewhere to the differences between “costume print” and “fashion print.” He proposes that a “fashion plate” needs to be recognized as unique in its function, but does not provide enough clarification to make the distinctions clear. For this study, the phrase “costume portrait” is considered a distraction, and unhelpful as a tool for characterizing prints which depict dress. “Costume print” is used to characterize a particular kind of print which developed early in the history of prints. The use of the terms “fashion print” is preferred over “fashion plate.”

Meanings in “costume prints” and “fashion prints”

The consideration of function and communication lies at the heart of the differences between the concepts of “costume print” and “fashion print.” A “costume print” is characterized by a measure of distance from the viewer. A “costume print” is an idealized rendition of clothing of *l'étranger*, the foreigner, or the so-called “other.” It is not intended as a suggestion for fashionable garments to be adopted by the viewer of the print. Scholars of sixteenth-century prints depicting dress support the idea that these prints “did not purport to show coming fashion trends, although they did show the current mode in the major cities of Europe.”⁹⁵ In her studies of sixteenth century Venetian costume prints, Bronwen Wilson describes this idea of intended separation between the viewer and the image. She describes Venetian costume prints as collections similar to the botanical concept of “species type,” that is, a tool for identification rather than inspiration for fashionable clothing. The idea of “fashion” is foreign to these prints, except in the superficial sense that “fashion” is the cut of a garment worn by a certain segment of

⁹⁵ Olian, “Sixteenth-century costume books”, 20.

a population. Unfortunately, this distinction is not discussed by Nevinson, Roche, Gaudriault, or Blum in their histories of seventeenth and eighteenth-century fashion prints. This oversight has lead to a muddying of the two concepts and confusion over their differences.⁹⁶

In contrast with a “costume print”, a “fashion print” is a signpost for contemporary trends. A “fashion print” is understood to have an applied function, in this case the ability to portray clothing that is desirable, or at least wearable, to the viewer. In the Introduction chapter, I proposed a broader definition of “fashion print” which includes a social component, that of an idealized presentation of social taste in clothing and manners. With this in mind, the “fashion print” is presented as a close measure of the times in which it is created, and attempts to communicate itself to the viewer as a reflection of current and desirable practices and trends. A brief survey of the emergence of “costume print” and the later manifestation of the “fashion print” is presented below to illustrate their differences.

Sixteenth century costume prints: Henri III, Henri IV

The earliest prints which depicted costume were produced in the middle of the sixteenth century. Primarily woodcuts, and generally published as collections, prints illustrating “world” dress were published in France and other European countries. The texts were almost exclusively Latin, appealing to educated audiences interested in habits and customs of neighboring countries as well as worlds beyond the borders of Europe. The physical characteristics of “costume prints” vary, but in general, the typical “costume print” was a small woodcut, requiring a quarter sheet

⁹⁶ Bronwen Wilson, “Reproducing the contours of Venetian identity in sixteenth-century costume books,” *Studies in Iconography* 25 (2004):221-74. She describes Venetian costume prints as collections similar to the botanical concept of “species type,” that is, a tool for identification rather than inspiration for fashionable clothing. The idea of “fashion” is foreign to these prints, except in the superficial sense that “fashion” is the cut of a garment worn by a certain segment of a population.

of printer's paper and measuring approximately 6 1/2 inches high by 5 inches wide. It contained minimal detail, and had a subject which was most often identified by social status.

According to JoAnne Olian, the earliest costume prints date from the mid-sixteenth century. Twelve collections depicting figures in contemporary dress were published in several European countries between 1540 and 1601.⁹⁷ These works included French, German, Italian and Flemish designers, engravers and publishers. The earliest French collection was published in 1564 in Paris by Françoise Desprez, with a later, more complete edition in 1567. His *Recueil de la diversité des habits* was a collection of individual woodblock prints with decorative borders, inscriptions and a single figure featured in the center of the composition (figure 19.)⁹⁸



Figure 19. 1567, Françoise Desprez, *Recueil de la diversité des habits*, frontispiece and two prints, BnF.

⁹⁷ These twelve are Johann Boehme, 1542, *Gili costume*; Enea Vico, 1558, *Diversarum gentium aetatis*; Ferdinando Bertelli, 1563, *Omnia feré gentium nostrae aetatis habitus*; Françoise Desprez, 1564 and 1567, *Recueil de la diversité des habits*; Nicolas de Nicolay, 1567, *Les quatres premiers livres de navigations et peregrinations Orientales*; Hans Weigel (editor) 1577, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum*; Jean Jacques Boissard, 1581, *Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium*; Abraham de Bruyn, 1581, *Omnium pene Europeae, Asiae, Aphricae atque Americae gentium habitus*; Jost Amman, 1586, *Gynaceum, siue theatrum mulierum*; Cesare Vecellio, 1590, and 1598, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo*; Robert Boissard (editor), 1597, *Mascarades recueilles et mises en taille douce*; Jean de Glen, 1601, *Des Habits, Mœurs, Cérémonies, Façons de Faire anciennes & modernes du Monde*.

⁹⁸ The *Recueil* was published in 1564 and again in 1567, the latter being the source of the 124 images from the BnF. According to the bibliothèque database, the size of these prints is 30.5 x 17.5 cm, or approximately 12" x 7".

The figures seen in the Desprez prints are typical of those found in the “costume prints” from this period. They are solidly posed upon minimal ground, and rarely depart from a stylized and stage-like pose. This arrangement varied in subsequent publications produced by different artists, sometimes with single figures, other times with grouped figures, with or without decorative borders and poetic inscriptions (figure 20.)



Figure 20. 1581, Jean Jacques Boissard, “Desmoiselles Françoises”, *Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium*, LACMA.

Another characteristic of these prints was their shared imagery. The artists of this period borrowed heavily from each other for silhouette and details of dress. As a result, popular images were repeated by different artists, but presented as specimens of different foreign dress. For example, an earlier figure is copied by an artist, but the inscriptions are changed in order to redefine the figure to suit the overall themes of the newer collection (figures 21 and 22.)⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Olian, “Sixteenth-century costume books”, 22-24. Note that the later print is a reverse of the first. The source of the prints in this article is not identified by the author.



Figure 21. 1540-1560, Enea Vico, *Afra virgo*

Figure 22. 1567, Françoise Desprez, *La fille turquoise*

In the example above, the woodcut of the “African virgin” by Enea Vico is copied soon afterwards by Françoise Desprez and assigned a different nationality, as seen in the inscription which now reads “The Turkish daughter.” This practice of copying and reinterpreting earlier stylized figures has led to a classification which does not include the element of change, inherent in a definition of “fashion”. Instead, the goal of these prints is to define and order the foreign “other” whose exotic tastes and dress differed from the familiar European mode. It is this detachment which characterizes these images as unrelated to fashion, and requires the application of the concept of “costume print” to them.

Not all of these prints are alike, however. The degree to which these prints project a separation from the viewer’s own world and points of reference varies with each of the collections. An example of this can be found in the prints of Jean Jacques Boissard, whose figures show more variety and animation than that found in other print collections (figure 20, above.) Olian notes that his “figures, mostly of noblemen and noblewomen, are the most elegant and graceful of the genre, and the closest to the present idea of the fashion plate.”¹⁰⁰ It is the movement of the illustrated body beyond the stiff posture so often portrayed that inspires Olian

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 28.

to equate them to “fashion prints.” The presentation in these prints by Boissard presages the developments of the seventeenth century.

By the close of the sixteenth century, the phenomenon of costume prints was no longer new. However, the transition from “costume print” to recognizable “fashion print” was not to occur until later decades of the next century.

Early seventeenth century transition prints: Louis XIII

French history from the early seventeenth century is marked by upheavals of war and struggles for power, most notably the Thirty Years War. Around 1617, Jacques Callot, a French-born artist working in the Medici court in Florence, developed a new medium for the temporary coating of copper plates used in the process of etching.¹⁰¹ The mixture was inexpensive, easier to work and facilitated one’s ability to create human figures that were life-like and realistic. It was swiftly adopted by other artists. Callot returned to Lorraine, France, after thirteen years in Italy, and within a few years of his return, created a series of prints known today as *La Noblesse, The Nobility*.¹⁰² The production of these twelve prints, six men and six women, may have been the result of an earlier exposure to the late sixteenth-century Italian costume prints of Vecellio, whose works may have been in the collections of his former wealthy patrons (such as the Medicis) or fellow artists. (figures 23 and 24.)

¹⁰¹ Paulette Choné, “Chronologie sommaire de Jacques Callot ,1592-1635”, in *Jacques Callot (1592-1625) Actes du colloque organize par le Service culturel du musée du Louvre*, ed. Daniel Ternois (Paris: Musée du Louvre/Klincksieck, 1993), 27.

¹⁰² Ibid, 28.



Figure 23. 1590, Cesar Vecellio, *Spose Non Sposate*/Unmarried woman, MMA.

Figure 24: 1590, *Spose Sposate*/Married woman, MMA.

Callot adopted the compositional form of a dominant figure seen in the Vecellio costume prints, but removed any inscriptions. He instead used a background narrative to provide identity for the figure (figure 25.)



Figure 25. 1621-1623. Jacques Callot, *La Noblesse*, and detail, National Gallery of Art, Washington (NGA Washington).

Despite their relatively small size, approximately 142 millimeters high by 91 millimeters wide (5.6 inches by 3.5 inches), these prints by Callot were to have a significant impact on depictions of costume in the first half of the seventeenth century. The images were characterized by attention to details of dress, miniature but exuberant background narrative, and comely, fashionable inhabitants of his native city. They focused attention on the richness of one's immediate neighborhood, rather than a curiosity for exotic dress of foreigners. This change in perspective influenced numerous European artists, who created engaging images of men and

women dressed in the fashion of the day which reflected the artists own surroundings. These artists were active in the 1630s and 1640s, and included French artists such as Abraham Bosse, Jean de Saint-Igny and Michel Lasne, and the Czech/English artist Wenceslas Hollar, (figures 26, 27, 28 and 29.)



Figure 26. 1629, Abraham Bosse after Jean de Saint-Igny, *Le jardin de la noblesse fran aise*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA Boston.)

Figure 27. 1629, Isaac Briot after Jean de Saint-Igny, Michel, *Le Th atre de France*, BnF.



Figure 28. n.d., Micael Lasne, *untitled print*, SMK (circa 1640s.)

Figure 29. 1638, Wenceslaus Hollar, *Ornatus Muliebris*, University of Toronto (UT.)

The prints from this period are further discussed below, under the discussion of the print catalogs authored by Raymond Gaudriault.

Late seventeenth century fashion prints: Louis XIV

This type of print imagery ceases upon the death of Louis XIII in 1643, and its disappearance coincides with the arrival of a new, domestic threat. The *Fronde*, the French civil

war which was waged for five years between rival government factions, depressed the French economy, and with it, the production of prints. In the following years, prints depicting dress and fashion were slow to revive, and only began to reappear in the 1660s, during the period when Louis XIV assumed full command of his monarchy. During this time, France witnessed an explosion in printmaking activity due to an influx of foreign artists as well as improvements in the technology of etched and engraved prints.¹⁰³ The establishment of Paris as a center of printmaking occurs in the last third of the seventeenth century, coinciding with the height of Louis XIV's power and governmental control. The production of fashion prints accelerates at this time both in France and abroad.

Although early century prints were more closely related to particular print artists, those from the second half of the period were associated with publishers, with the center of this activity located in Paris on the rue Saint-Jacques. Of particular note among artists of the period was the Bonnart family, who designed, engraved and published numerous fashion prints from the late seventeenth century into the beginning of the eighteenth century. This family consisted of four brothers, who produced several hundred fashion prints, including men and women "of quality" and fashion portraits of nobility. The term *les Bonnarts* became synonymous with prints which illustrated men and women in fashionable dress.¹⁰⁴ The images included various backgrounds ranging from simple to complex, an inscription naming or describing the figure, and measured approximately 12 inches high by 8 inches wide. Fashion portraits of nobility by the Bonnart brothers also carried the inscription, *Touts les Portraits de la Cour et autres se vendent à Paris chez H Bonnart riie S. Jacques au Coq*, an acknowledgement of their

¹⁰³ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris*, 1-8.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 144.

specialty.¹⁰⁵ Figure 30 shows a typical Bonnart print, a fashion portrait of Madame de Marquise de Maintenon, companion and morganatic wife of Louis XIV.



Figure 30. 1694, Robert Bonnart, engraver; Henri Bonnart, publisher. *Madame la Marquise de Maintenon*, Morgan L&M.

The print has a central figure dressed in elegant fashion, with a touch of ermine on the borders of her manteau, hinting at her relationship with royalty. She stands in an open terrace, next to an architectural column and with tree tops in the background to indicate space. Robert Bonnart has signed his name as the engraver, but his brother Nicolas is listed as the publisher. It is often difficult to determine which brother was the engraver of any particular print, as few prints contained the name of the engraver. However, the publisher and his address were always sure to be included. The most prolific artist of the family was Robert, while Nicolas and Henry were mainly publishers and rarely engraved prints themselves. Jean-Baptiste Bonnart produced the fewest number of prints, and did not participate in publishing.¹⁰⁶

With the increase in activity in printmaking in Paris, a move towards the creation of the print medium as a form of commodity emerged. Prints were relatively inexpensive and the subject matter appealed to new and more diverse audiences than in earlier years. This was

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 144.

¹⁰⁶ Gaudriault, *La Gravure de mode*, 21.

reflected in the introduction of French language inscriptions into these prints, which earlier had been almost exclusively Latin, the language of the educated sector of society. Although a wide range of topics appeared in prints during the seventeenth century, prints illustrating people of quality, portraiture of the nobility, allegory and satire were among the most popular topics.¹⁰⁷

All four shared a common interest in fashionable dress (figures 31, 32, 33, and 34.)



Figure 31. lady of quality.
Figure 32. portrait of nobility.



Figure 33. allegory
Figure 34. satire

The middle of the 1670s marks the turning point in the military, political and economic successes of *Le Grand Siècle* as promoted by Louis XIV and his advisors. The following years

¹⁰⁷ Grivel. *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris*, 132-133. Marianne Grivel has identified eighteen prevalent topics in prints of the seventeenth century, arranged here in order of frequency: religion, architecture, portraiture, caricature (satire), topography, military, allegory, pedagogy, costume/fashion, festival, genre, theses, nature, gallantries, history, ornament, mythology and coats of arms.

are characterized by mixed success in military pursuits, but this soon gives way to repeated failures in battle as the united front of his European neighbors begins to weaken the French military. At home, civil turmoil results from changes in religious and economic policies and is further exacerbated by repeated famines. The remaining years of the reign are seen as a time of political decline accompanied by domestic economic instability.¹⁰⁸

Despite the problems at home and abroad, courtiers, soldiers, statesmen and nobles continued to compete for a share of the king's attention and largess, and this continually drove the changes in fashions at court. Maxime Préaud points out that the production of the portrait prints of the nobility often followed current events at court: individuals who for various reasons were becoming known to the public were featured in the prints.¹⁰⁹ For example, the wedding of the duc de Bougogne was recorded in the prints in its various stages, from the arrival of his future bride at court in 1696, to the 1697 ceremony of the wedding. Although not always true, some members of the court who were involved in scandalous behavior are featured in prints near the time of the discovery of their misconduct.

Préaud points out that many of these portrait prints, or *portraits en mode*, illustrate members of the royal family. In fact, only the likeness of the King is presented as a consistently recognizable figure in these images, while the other family members are created in an ambiguous and idealized manner. All the young members of the family are shown as intelligent, well-formed and healthy, which according to memoirs and letters was far from the truth. The implication is that the prints are part of a larger scheme of monarchial propaganda whose purpose, according to Préaud, is the "affirmation of the force of the Bourbon dynasty and of its

¹⁰⁸ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 108-133.

¹⁰⁹ Maxime Préaud, "Les portraits en mode à la fin du règne de Louis XIV," *Les Cahiers Saint-Simon* 18 (1990):31-35.

apparent solidarity.”¹¹⁰ This is a very interesting argument, and it suggests that there may have been a link between the court and the printmakers which encouraged the production of the portraits of the nobility. It does not, however, explain why other types of fashion prints continued to be popular.

Following the death of Louis XIV in 1715, the numbers of fashion prints published in Paris dropped significantly. This situation supports the argument presented by Préaud that the court influenced the work of the printmakers. The interim regency government of the duc d’Orléans removed itself from Versailles in favor of Paris, becoming decentralized and less concerned with policies of war and expansion. Courtiers and fashion reverted to the salons of Paris, where their influence was played out in private. The fashion print was slow to recover after this decline. The majority of dress and fashion prints of the eighteenth century were produced in later years, especially circa 1770 to 1795, during the reign of Louis XVI, also a period of formality and centralization in the court. Their popularity reached such heights that even the French Revolution could only temporarily slow their production.

Survey of published fashion print histories

French print inventories

The earliest example of a work that catalogs seventeenth-century French fashion prints is the encyclopedic work published by the BnF. Begun in the 1930s, the goal of the *Inventaire du fonds françaises* (IFF) was to catalog all known prints by French artists housed within the collection of the BnF. The BnF has the most complete inventory of French prints in the world and their catalogs are considered reliable sources for listings of all the works of French print artists.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 34.

The *Inventaire du fonds françaises: graveurs de XVIIe siècle* (IFF:XVII) is currently a fourteen volume set. The earliest volumes are written by Roger-Armand Weigert, while the more recent ones are by Maxime Préaud. The work runs alphabetically, with the initial 1939 volume including artists with names ranging from Alix to Boudeau. The most current volume, Tome 13, was published in 2008 and inventories the work of a single artist, Pierre LePautre. Of the twenty-four artists examined for this dissertation, the prints of eighteen artists are included in the IFF:XVII, while six have yet to be cataloged.¹¹¹ All of the prints listed in the IFF:XVII are located in the BnF Richelieu library, in what was formerly called the Cabinet des Estampes, but is now the Département des Estampes et de la photographie.¹¹²

The value of these catalogs is found in their extensive listings of artists' names, biographical information, dates of activity, titles of works and accession numbers for prints held by the BnF. Although some print artists are well-known, and have examples of their works in museums in both the United States and Europe, works by the more obscure artists are scarce outside of the Paris BnF system. Claude-Auguste Berey, Elizabeth Bouchet Le Moine, Franz Ertinger and the Jollain family are examples of artists whose works are recorded in the IFF:XVII, but rarely found in collections outside of Paris. Their presence in the inventory informs readers of their existence as well as their contributions to print history.¹¹³

The IFF catalog fills a second valuable function. The inventory categorizes the prints into groups by common themes. The number of fashion, portrait, satiric and allegorical prints

¹¹¹ The eighteen artists whose works are covered are Arnoult, Bazin, Berey, Bonnart brothers (4), Bouchet Le Moine, Dolivar, Ertinger, Galand, Guérard, Jollain family (3), Le Clerc, and LePautre. The six artists not yet cataloged are Mariette, Picart, Dieu de St. Jean, Scotin, Trouvain, and Valleran.

¹¹² This is not the only location within the French system which has seventeenth-century fashion prints. A second source is the bibliothèque L'Arsenal, which has a smaller collection. The bibliothèque L'Opéra also holds a small collection of prints of this type.

¹¹³ Five volumes of the IFF:XVII are available online at the BnF website, www.bnf.fr. Information for artists with last names from Alix to Jousse are available for download and study.

each artist produced is easily calculated. Comparing the results for individual artists makes it clear that the number of portraits of royalty created during the period was far greater than the number of fashion prints with generic titles. In other words, it is reasonable to assume that prints which identified the person in the print as royalty, or a member of the nobility, were more popular than those without royal or noble connection. The classification of these as purely “portrait” prints and therefore ineligible as fashion prints, becomes increasingly problematic the further one searches through these catalogues. Many of these prints are identical in composition, design and size to generic fashion prints and their exclusion seems arbitrary. The decision to qualify these portrait prints as part of the fashion print genre will be an important part of this study. Once the portrait prints, allegories and satires are added to those previously accepted as fashion prints, it will become clear that many more fashion prints were produced in the seventeenth century than had been presumed by the print or dress historians who have rejected these prints as part of the seventeenth-century French fashion print genre.¹¹⁴

Although useful, the IFF:XVII remains a general catalog of all French prints. In the 1980s, French print historian Raymond Gaudriault published two books which explored the history of French fashion prints. In 1983, he published *La gravure de mode féminine en France*, a history of French fashion prints from the sixteenth century to the early years of the twentieth century. He placed the beginnings of French fashion imagery in the sixteenth century with the development of stylized woodcuts. He then followed the evolution of the imagery of dress to the early seventeenth century engravings and the subsequent shift to etching, a result of the improved techniques invented by French artist, Jacques Callot. Gaudriault described changes

¹¹⁴ See discussion of the revision of the definition of the “fashion print” in Chapter I, and references to the numbers of prints designated as fashion prints by Gaudriault.

brought about in the twentieth century and the demise of engravings and etchings with the adoption of fashion photography.

In his analysis of their value in history, Gaudriault finds the sixteenth century costume prints interesting but too sporadic and impersonal to be the inspirational model for a development of the genre. Instead, the attention he devotes to the work of early seventeenth century artists makes it clear that he identifies the birth of the fashion print genre to this period.

Gaudriault's analysis of the development of fashion prints in the early seventeenth century is the strongest contribution in this publication to the discussion of the origins of the genre. The 1620s work of Jacques Callot, especially his *La Noblesse* series, is praised for its clarity, attention to detail and sympathy with its subject matter. Although he does not compare these traits to those found in the sixteenth-century prints, the visual difference and emotional appeal between the Callot prints and the sixteenth century woodcuts is made clear. The absence of human individuality and expression in the earlier prints is in stark contrast to the humanity of the Callot prints. The technological differences in the two prints styles are also significant. Although engraving was known in the sixteenth century, the use of the less expensive woodcut prevented these images from projecting nuance beyond basic gesture and physical form. The presentation of these early costume prints has been compared to the popular botanical prints of the period. Both portray a "species" for identification, the one for exotic plants and the other for exotic dress of foreign and newly discovered worlds.¹¹⁵

Gaudriault's discussion of the works of several other early seventeenth-century artists is further evidence of this belief in an early seventeenth-century origin to the fashion print genre. Daniel Rabel, Jean de Saint-Igny, Isaac Briot and Abraham Bosse are included in this group, all

¹¹⁵ Wilson, "Reproducing the countours of Venetian identity," 221-74. Wilson discusses the similarity of sixteenth century Venetian costume prints and to botanical prints of the period.

of them praised for producing dress and fashion prints during the period of the 1620s to 1640s.

Daniel Rabel produced twelve prints within a few years of Callot, images which are considered by Gaudriault to be done by with sensitivity and finesse.¹¹⁶ Jean de Saint-Igny designed numerous images which were then engraved by Isaac Briot and Abraham Bosse. Saint-Igny and his teacher Daniel Rabel depicted dress in a manner that evoked “allure and radiance” according to Saint-Igny’s biographer Chenevières-Pointel, *à la difference plus ancienne, le trait, l'allure, la tournure, jusqu'à la raideur dans l'élegance, sont le même chez Rabel et chez Saint-Igny.*¹¹⁷ Isaac Briot engraved two collections by Saint-Igny, and although several are notable, the general quality of the engraving artistry is considered poor. It was left to Abraham Bosse to present the works of Saint-Igny in the most significant presentation. Bosse is praised by Gaudriault as the best interpreter of the Saint-Igny designs, especially in his *Jardin de la Noblesse française à l'Église* series which was highly acclaimed in its time. In these prints, men and women are seen in various postures of devotion, somewhat satirically, but always with the greatest attention to the details of dress and mannerisms. The inclusion of Bosse prints in several well-respected collections of the period attests to their popularity, among them the cabinet of Élizabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d’Orléans, sister-in-law to Louis XIV.¹¹⁸

However, it is not only in his *Jardin de la Noblesse française à l'Église* series that Bosse presents superlative renderings of dress. The 1630s series of *Les Vierge folles et les Vierges sages* presents a group of images that surpass the earlier prints in the detail of lace, linen and drapery in dress. It is these images which the author André Blum feels to be the changing point

¹¹⁶ According to Gaudriault, Daniel Rabel was famous for the miniature he painted of Anne of Austria, which was presented to Louis XIII as the portrait of his future spouse.

¹¹⁷ Philippe Chenevières-Pointel, *Recherches sur la vie et les ouvrages de quelques peintres provinciaux*, tome 1, 165, quoted from Raymond Gaudriault, *La gravure de mode féminine en France*, 15.

¹¹⁸ Dirk van der Cruysse, *Madame Palatine, princesse européenne* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1988), 481.

in the history of French fashion prints, as from this time “women went to search in the engravings for models of fashionable toilettes.”¹¹⁹ Blum identifies the 1630s as the time when the dress depicted in prints becomes a valid source of fashion information. This series of prints is not included by Gaudriault, as he considers them genre prints, not fashion prints. They are larger in size and more complex in their treatment of the subject matter than the stylized fashion prints. Their value as representations of dress, manners and society cannot be totally dismissed, however, and certainly Blum felt this to be true.

In general, however, the prints of the first half of the seventeenth century fall short of being true “fashion prints”, despite a similar subject matter and compositional form. In the opinion of this author, they should be considered transitional images placed between the “costume print” and the “fashion print” traditions. The distinction lies in their artistry, sophistication and history. Although they inform the viewer about the fashionable dress of the times and show brilliancy in their detailed depictions of fabrics and textures, these features are used as a point of artistry, not of information about fashion. The images display a more sophisticated rendering than “fashion prints”, which rarely display the level of detail these possess. In addition, the overall numbers of prints produced by each artist were fewer than in later periods. They were not part of a commercial production which survived and continued over a period of years, nor did they illustrate changing images of fashion which simultaneously adhered to a recognizable compositional format, as was seen in the late seventeenth century. However, the interests in imagery of fashion, as well as the preferences for familiar fashions, were necessary prerequisites for the realization of the “fashion print” genre of the later century.

¹¹⁹ André Blum, *Abraham Bosse et la Société française au Six-septième siècle* (Paris: Morancé, 1924), 83.

In 1988, Gaudriault published the *Repertoire de la gravure de mode française des origines à 1815*. As the title indicates, the topic of Gaudriault's book is exclusively French fashion prints. Gaudriault was able to include a full range of French artists who created fashion prints, including several artists who have not yet been cataloged in the BnF volumes.¹²⁰ These artists are among the most prolific of the period, and Gaudriault's work is an invaluable resource. In addition, the *Repertoire* is more current than the earlier volumes of the IFF:XVII . As a result, information on the artists and their work which was featured in the earlier catalog has been updated. Gaudriault's *Repertoire* is similar to the IFF:XVII in its format as a catalog of prints arranged alphabetically according to artist. However, Gaudriault groups the prints according to political time periods, such as Louis XIII, Louis XIV, etc. In addition, although the IFF:XVII organizes an artist's prints by categories such as allegories, ancient history, new testament, fashion, etc, Gaudriault has only one category to consider, that being fashion.

The problem with the choice of prints in Gaudriault's *Repertoire* is the author's adherence to a narrow definition of "fashion print", which limited the scope of prints he included. He excluded all portraits, satires, allegories, and historical scenes. There are examples where the exclusion of portraits especially caused problems, such as with prints which were identified as portraits of nobility, but included a phrase which identified the type of garment worn. This is the case in an undated print by Antoine Trouvain showing Madame de Soissons in her *robe de chambre*. The print is identical to other fashion prints in size, composition and subject matter but its inscription identifies the wearer as a known member of the court.¹²¹ By

¹²⁰ These artists are Jean Mariette, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, Bernard Picart, Antoine Trouvain, and Pierre Valleran.

¹²¹ Most of these "fashion portraits" do not attempt to depict recognizable features belonging to particular members of the court. However, it is sometimes evident that an effort has been made to produce

definition, it should have been excluded from consideration according to the rules set by Gaudriault. The reference to dress in the inscription and the obvious relationship in style with other fashion prints made its inclusion logical, but at the same time unjustified, if portraits are not fashion prints. This is not the only example of prints not fitting the definition set out by the author. Also included by Gaudriault as fashion prints were ones that belonged to the popular fashion print repertoire, but did not identify a particular element of dress. This is seen in another print by Trouvain , the 1694 print entitled *Madame la Contesse d'Olonne, estant a l'Eglise*. Although an element of dress was not part of the inscription, it may have been included by Gaudriault because the subject matter was popular among many fashion print artists. Curiously, Gaudriault reversed this exception when he included Henri Bonnart's *Monsieur XXX de l'Académie Françoise en Robbe de chambre* (figure 35) but not Antoine Trouvain's *Monsieur le Noble* (figure 36.) Both of these prints show men in their *robes de chambre* relaxing among books or manuscripts in their studies. One would have thought that *Monsieur le Noble* would be a likelier candidate for Gaudriault's book. It is similar to Jean LePautre's 1670s print, *Homme en Robe de Chambre* (figure 37), which is included in the *Repertoire*¹²². The inscription on *Monsieur XXX* comes closer to identifying the print as a portrait, which is why its inclusion is questionable.

recognizable features of a particular person's face, but never their body. The later is always idealized, especially noticeable for members of the royal family, who were known to have physical handicaps.

¹²² In fact, Trouvain's image is a copy of the earlier LePautre with a change of wig and background, and printed as a mirror image.



Figure 35. n.d., Henri Bonnart, *Monsieur XXX de l'Académie Françoise en Robbe de chambre*, MFA Boston (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Figure 36. 1695, Antoine Trouvain, *Monsieur Le Noble*, Morgan L&M.

Figure 37. n.d., Jean LePautre, *Homme en Robe de Chambre*, BM (middle to late 1670s.)

Despite these criticisms, Gaudriault has compiled in both volumes an invaluable resource for the study of the evolution of the fashion plate. No other author has attempted anything as comprehensive, or helpful, for understanding the changes in art and dress that are depicted in French fashion prints from the early seventeenth century to the early twentieth century.

Recent fashion print studies

Besides these general dress and fashion histories, the IFF:XVII and Gaudriault's work, little has been produced which specifically addresses the significance of seventeenth-century French fashion prints. The publications are typically concerned with French literature or history studies and use prints to illustrate their subjects. Two recent studies explore the etched and engraved portraits of Élisabeth-Charlotte, duchesse d'Orléans, who was married to Louis XIV's brother Philippe, and lived in France from 1671 to 1722. William Brooks' article compares numerous idealized portrait engravings of the Duchess which show her as a young and beautiful woman, quite the opposite from how she and others describe her appearance. The Duchess was a popular court personality among the Parisian population and the numerous portrait prints attest to this. She herself claims that none of her portraits were truthful portrayals save a few later

paintings.¹²³ Although prints are a central concern of Brooks' article, the art and dress history of the prints is not the subject of the study. Instead, the distance between illusion and reality, and public and private life are explored.

Elise Goodman also examined the portraits of Élisabeth-Charlotte, but from a feminist perspective.¹²⁴ Goodman notes that the Duchess was an avid reader, a faithful correspondent with her family and friends, who loved the theater as much as she loved the hunt. She was brutally candid about her looks, and admitted herself to be hideously unattractive. In other words, she was the antithesis of the ideal woman of her time. Goodman explores the meaning in several portraits of Elisabeth Charlotte, but her analysis of several prints of the Duchess dressed in riding habit is misguided at times. The Robert Bonnart print illustrated in the article shows the Duchess wearing the *habit de chasse*, the male-influenced dress worn for the hunt. Goodman links the choice of male-influenced dress to a gender preference by the Duchess and ignores the female sartorial requirements of the sport. Madame de Montespan, the mistress of Louis XIV and the reigning beauty of the court, was also an avid rider in the hunt, but her donning of the *habit de chasse* did not suggest a lesbian bias. Bonnart has added a plain face to the figure, a minimal suggestion of the recognizable face of a particular person. In her comments, Goodman uses this as further evidence of Élisabeth-Charlotte's masculinity. By marking the uncomely face as proof, she misinterprets this standard approach to portraiture used by printmakers in the fashion prints: the portraits of royalty were rendered as great beauties, or with a few recognizable features. In a second example, Goodman illustrates her point with the Trouvain fashion print of the Duchess, *Madame en habit de Chasse*. Again, the author uses her misinterpretation of the masculine-based *habit de chasse* as evidence of a “(perpetuation) of a transsexual persona” but

¹²³ Brooks, “The Significance of Engravings of the Duchess of Orleans”, 73-89.

¹²⁴ Goodman, “Élisabeth Charlotte, Duchess d’Orleans”, 125-39.

she fails to note that this time, Trouvain has depicted her as a beauty. Finally, in her interpretation of the print by Nicolas Habert which portrays Madam in allegorical setting of Diana of the Hunt, Goodman recognizes that this print is a pure fantasy of fashion, but fails to recognize the same attributes in the other prints.

Fashion and Le Mercure Galant

The subject of fashion in *Le Mercure Galant* has received the attention of several authors. The work of Monique Vincent and its contribution to understanding the point-of-view of the editor, Donneau de Visé, has been discussed above. In addition to Vincent, Joan DeJean, Suzannah Carson, Françoise Tétar-Vittu, and Reed Benhamou have all written articles about this seventeenth-century French publication.¹²⁵ Joan DeJean has included a short commentary about Seventeenth-century French fashion prints her popular book, *Essence of Style*. DeJean writes about the seventeenth century as a time of French invention and cultural flowering. In one chapter, she links fashion prints to the beginnings of the French fashion press, but exaggerates the extent to which publications such as *Le Mercure Galant* were involved in fashion journalism. Her admiration for one artist in particular, Jean Dieu de Saint Jean, is commendable, but she overlooks the extensive production by other French artists occurring during the same period. This disregards the extent of the production of flat prints at the same time exaggerating the impact of fashion news in *Le Mercure Galant*.

¹²⁵ Reed Benhamou, "Fashion in the Mercure: from human foible to female failing," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no.1 (1997):27-43; Joan DeJean, *The essence of style* (New York: Free Press, 2005); Suzannah Carson, "L'économique de la mode: consumerism, conformity and consumerism in *Le Mercure Galant*," *Seventeenth-century French Studies* 27(2005):133-46; Françoise Tétart-Vittu, "Costume de cour sur papier: portraits graves de la cour de France au XVII siècle," in *Fastes de cour et cérémonies royales: le costume de cour en Europe, 1650-1800*, eds. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel and Pascal Gorguet-Ballesteros (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2009), 212-225.

Suzannah Carson wrote of the fashion advice and illustrations found in several volumes of the publication dating from the 1670s. Her article entitled “L’économique de la mode: costume, conformity and consumerism in *Le Mercure Galant*” describes the format of fashion advice found in the publication. The editor, Jean Donneau de Visé, wrote fictitious letters posing as a well-connected courtier writing to a friend in the provinces who is anxious to know the latest fashions worn in Paris and at court. Carson points out that the editor may have had financial incentives for including these *faux* letters, as he did not fail to inform his readers of the names of merchants who would be willing to supply any articles described in the text or illustrated in the accompanying engravings.¹²⁶ She does not share DeJean’s opinion that this is a full-fledged fashion journal, as she points out that the letters detailing the newest fashions occurred sporadically, and mostly in the late 1670s. These made up only a small fraction of the total articles published in any issue. The inclusion of images in several issues in 1678 paired visual information to the written text, but the practice was not continued in later editions. The presence of these few prints and letters is not enough to brand the publication a “fashion journal.”

The exhibition catalog accompanying a 2009 Versailles exhibit of court dress, *Fastes de cour et ceremonies royales: Le costume de cour en Europe, 1650 – 1800*, included several articles pertaining to dress and fashion of the Louis XIV period. Françoise Tétart-Vittu’s article on engraved court portraits, “Costume de cour sur Papier: portraits graves de la cour de France au XVIIe siècle”, includes references to fashion articles in *Le Mercure Galant*. Tétart-Vittu notes a connection between fashion information reported in the journal and its appearance soon afterwards in the fashion prints. An examination of the prints and their publication dates makes this connection seem somewhat optimistic. For example, in March, 1678, the *Mercure*

¹²⁶ Susannah Carson, “L’économique de la mode”, 138.

announces the appearance of a book entitled, *Les Arts de l'homme d'épée ou le dictionnaire du gentilhomme*. In the same year, according to the author, an increasing number of prints of the men of quality in *l'habit d'épée* appear.¹²⁷ There are several prints by Jean LePautre published in the *Mercure* in 1678 which are depicting *l'habit d'épée*. However, two prints appear in January, before the March publication, and two appear after the March publication, one in April and one in October of the same year. A broadsheet print by LePautre has a man identified as *Homme en habit d'espée*, and although his dress and gestures are similar to those in the *Mercure Galant* prints, the image is not dated (figure 38.)



Figure 38. n.d., Jean LePautre. *Homme en habit d'espée*, BM (middle to late 1670s.)

The appearance of additional prints after 1678, many in the late 1680s, may be due to a general increase in the popularity of the image, rather than an effect of the article in *Le Mercure Galant*.¹²⁸

Tétart-Vittu describes another connection which is problematic. The striped suit the King was reported as wearing while taking cover during a rainstorm is praised by the *Mercure* in the winter publication of 1688. According to Tétart-Vittu, after this report, Nicolas Arnoult produced a number of figures in striped fabric. It is true that Arnoult produced a number of

¹²⁷ Françoise Tétart-Vittu, “Costume de cour sur papier”, 220.

¹²⁸ The spelling of even common words in seventeenth-century France was yet to be standardized. For example, the word “épée”, or sword, was often spelled espé, espée, or épée.

prints in 1688 with women in striped garments, but at least four prints exist from the previous year, 1687, which show allover horizontal and vertical stripes on women's gowns. Figure 39 shows four examples dated 1687, and one dated 1688.



Figure 39. 1687, Nicolas Arnoult, *Stripes in women's clothing*, LACMA.



Figure 39. 1688, Nicolas Arnoult, *Stripes in women's clothing*, BM.

There is also a print published in 1688 by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean which identifies the fabric of a man's coat as *drap rayé* in the inscription (figure 40.)



Figure 40. 1688, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Homme de Qualité de drap rayé*, V&A.

To date, I have not found any additional engravings from the year 1688 which clearly identify the fabric as striped, nor depict such a fabric, identified or not. It seems the popularity of stripes existed before 1688, and the *Mercure* was not influencing fashion, but simply recognizing a fashion trend.

In an article exploring changes in attitudes towards women, Reed Benhamou surveys early eighteenth-century volumes of *Le Mercure Galant*, especially the effect of the new editor of the journal, Antoine de la Roque. La Roque has a different approach to the world than his predecessor, Jean Donneau de Visé. By this period, the publication has been renamed *Mercure de France*. The beginning of the age of Enlightenment brings with it increasingly negative attitudes towards women, seen in the works of Rousseau and others. Women, who are increasingly excluded from public and civic participation, are now considered weak and foolish, with nothing to keep them occupied more than fashionable clothing. Rather than being a source of pleasure and diversion for both men and women, as formerly expressed in the days of de Visé, fashion is now viewed as negative and disturbing, a female weakness that should be avoided if one is to remain respectable.¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Benhamou, “Fashion in the Mercure,” 27-43.

Political, economic and social history¹³⁰

Political events

Political history before 1675

Louis XIV was born in 1638 and became king of France in 1643, at the death of his father. During his minority, France was ruled by the regency of Louis' mother, Anne of Austria, who enlisted the aid of Cardinal Mazarin as chief royal advisor. Five years later came the end of the Thirty Years War and the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia. This treaty marks the end of the Holy Roman Empire and the beginning of the recognition of European countries as nation states which shared their own distinctive heritage and language. This was a significant change in the understanding of European nationalism and was to influence the style of monarchy embarked upon by Louis XIV.¹³¹

The date of 1648 also marks the beginning of the French civil war known as *Le Fronde*. Conflict raged in France for the next five years, pitting the aristocracy against the royal house of Bourbon and challenging the rights of the regent and cardinal to rule the country. The royal household fled from Paris several times and went into exile to escape harm from the conflicts. In 1653, the *Fronde* ended with the defeat of the conspirators, and Anne of Austria, her family, and Cardinal Mazarin returned triumphant to Paris. At the death of Mazarin in 1661, Louis XIV announced his intention to rule the government alone, without royal advisor, and established himself as *monarque absolu*. His purpose in proclaiming a personal rule was to secure power within a central royal government which would effectively dominate the nobility and place them

¹³⁰ See Appendix I.

¹³¹ Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism*, 1-23.

in a position of allegiance only to the monarchy. In this manner, he aimed to prevent a repeat of the civil war of the mid-century.¹³²

Unlike his predecessors, who appointed members of the aristocracy to lead offices of the government, Louis XIV filled the government posts with members selected from the *haute bourgeoisie*. However, according to the social historian William Beik, the government was neither purely absolute, nor was it run entirely by the appointed *bourgeoisie*.

... although Louis XIV was in control of the whole government, the real power structure involved networks of relationships that joined together court figures, family dynasties, and official governmental positions with ties to officers and nobles in the provinces.¹³³

With this diversity of subjects controlling different levels of government, Louis XIV aspired to greatness by creating in France the leading power in Europe. In practical terms, the focus was directed upon domestic and foreign solutions. This involved an increase in the domestic production of goods and the settling of territorial disputes with neighboring countries by invasion and warfare. During these early years of his reign, from 1661 to the early 1670s, the economic and political fortunes of France improved. France began to effectively redirect the expenditure of the wealthy away from foreign products and towards French ones. Several wars were successfully fought to gain control of the Spanish Netherlands, resulting in the gain of large amounts of territory bordering France in the north. Elated by his successes, the King began his development of Versailles, transforming the unassuming former hunting lodge into a permanent, royal estate.

¹³² Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 61-67.

¹³³William Beik, *A Social history of early modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 334.

Political history, 1675 - 1715

The period beginning in the mid-1670s is thought by historians to be the turning point in the reign of Louis XIV, the shift in fortune from increasing successes to increasing failures. France began to lose its territorial battles and the continual warfare incurred a serious expenditure of the country's wealth. The agricultural sector suffered from oversight and crops failed, creating famine. In addition, the Huguenot craftsmen fled after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the textile trades languished. A reduction in the male population as a result of the casualties of war added to these afflictions.

At the beginning of this changing time, the rue Saint-Jacques was rapidly becoming the leading center of printmaking in all of Europe.¹³⁴ A wide range of prints were produced at this time in Paris, both sacred and secular in subject. The production of fashion prints begins sometime in the mid 1670s, with the height of production occurring in the 1690s, during some of the bleakest years of the reign.

Economics of fashion

Sumptuary Laws

The stated purpose of the sumptuary laws enacted during the reign of Louis XIV was to limit the use of gold and silver embellishment in “nonessential” items, such as clothing and carriages. The proclamations issued by the government explained that current expenditures on these luxuries impoverished the nobility as well as those without means to maintain the current fashions. The real purpose was to halt the flow of French money being sent to other countries to

¹³⁴ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 6; Maxime Préaud, “Intaglio Printmaking in Paris in the Seventeenth Century or, The Fortune of France,” in *French prints from the age of the musketeers*, ed. Sue Walsh Reed (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1998), 6-11; Marianne Grivel, “The Print Market in Paris from 1610 to 1660,” in *French prints from the age of the musketeers*, ed. Sue Walsh Reed (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1998), 13-19.

pay for luxury goods, such as lace and silk fabrics.¹³⁵ The purchase of foreign goods not only enriched its neighbors at the expense of France, but the loss of precious metal through this trade depleted the availability of coin money within France. The attempts by the French to curtail the use of gold and silver in this manner did not end the “abuses.” As in earlier periods, the laws were ignored, especially by the royal household.

One of the laws enacted earlier in his reign was issued in 1660, when the King announced his *Déclaration Contre Le Luxe Des Habits, Carrosses et Ornements* in the hopes of solving the problem.¹³⁶

A veritable treasury of fashionable garment types is identified in the listing. Included in the edict were prohibitions for both men and women to wear,

...en leurs habits, manteaux, casaques, juste-au-corps, robes, jupes et autres habits généralement quelconques, même en leurs cordonns, baudriers, ceintures, porte-épées, aiguillettes, écharpes, jarretières, gants, noeuds, ruban tissus, ou tells autres ornements, aucunes étoffes d'or ou d'argent, fin ou faux, à la réserve des boutons d'orfèvrerie sans queue, boutonnières d'or et d'argent, ni autres agréments quelconques, et ce, aux endroits seulement où les dits boutons sont nécessaires, à peine de confiscations ...¹³⁷

By their *habits, manteaux*, overcoats, coats, robes, skirts and various other typical garments, equally so their cords, sword sashes, belts, shoulder decors, metal points, *echarpes*, garters, gloves, tied bows of ribbons, ribbon embellissemens or any other such ornaments, not any fabrics of gold or silver, real or fake, except for silversmith's buttons without shanks, or gold and silver buttonholes, nor any other amenity, and this, to the places only where buttons are necessary, on threat of confiscation...

¹³⁵ Cole, *Colbert and a century of French Mercantilism*, II:132.

¹³⁶ *Déclaration Contre le Luxe des Habits, Carrosses et Ornements [A Declaration against Luxury in Clothes, Carriages and Ornamentation]*, Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club, 14, nos. 1, 2 (1930): 40-44. These two volumes include the 1660 edict of Louis XIV, the 1665 declaration by Colbert to establish lace industry in France, and the famous 1661 poem, *La Révolt des Passemens*.

¹³⁷ *Déclaration Contre le Luxe des Habits, Carrosses et Ornements*, 42.

In addition to fabrics of gold and silver used to create garments, applied embellishments containing gold or silver were also prohibited. These included embroidery, stitching, *chamarrure* (an embellishment made up of rows of braid), *guipur* (needle lace), *passemants*, *buttons*, *houppes* (bunched strands of various fibers used as an embellishment), *chainette* (a small chain, or fringed length), *passepoils* (piping), *porfilures* (threads), *cannetille* (a type of overlaid embroidery), *paillettes* (sequins), *noeuds* (bowties, or decorative knots) and other similar items, even decorative flounces of wool, velours, taffetas, satin and other silk fabrics, plain or decorative. The punishment for wearing the prohibited fabrics or embellishments was listed at fifteen hundred *livres* for the offense, as well as the confiscation of the goods.

According to Alan Hunt, the methods by which luxury spending was curtailed evolved away from this original type of restriction of particular types of dress, which was proving to be ineffective. In France, as well as in other countries in Europe, governments began to shift their policies towards an encouragement of domestic production as a means of keeping wealth within the nation while simultaneously stemming the tide of money being sent abroad.¹³⁸ Only Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who became a Minister of Finance in 1661, had some success in re-directing spending towards a domestic product, and curbing the excess of spending on foreign goods. His goal was to channel French wealth into a revived French luxury textile industry. The production of these goods was located in government-supported centers for manufacturing, which produced lace, silk dress fabrics and monumental tapestries. Despite the time, energy and cost of maintaining this control over these industries, the results were not enough to offset other economic factors.

¹³⁸ Alan Hunt, *Governance of the consuming passions: a history of sumptuary law* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 370.

Colbert died in 1683, and the lack of a successor to continue his efforts resulted in misdirected economic policies, mostly conceived by the King.¹³⁹ A course of action requiring a restraint of state spending while encouraging manufacturing and trade was not seriously pursued. The result was a decline in national wealth over the course of the next thirty years.

Sumptuary laws were again attempted in 1700, when the need for money to cover war debts was becoming urgent. Even before this time, Madame de Sévigné notes in a 1689 letter that, “His Majesty, the Dauphin, and Monsieur have sent all their silver to the mint (to be melted down for currency)...which was much needed.”¹⁴⁰ Figure 41 shows an abbreviated notice of the edit of 1700, the *Edit Contre Le Luxe*.



Figure 41. 1700, *Edit Contre Le Luxe*, BnF.

It reads as follows:

QUOIQUE le Roy eut fait de bons règlements pour réprimer le luxe; la somptuosité des meubles & des habits estoit venuë à un tel excès, qu'elle épuisoit toutes les matières d'or & d'argent, & consumoit les biens des plus nobles familles, chacun à l'envi cherchant à se distinguer par une folle magnificence. Sa Majesté voulut remédier à ces abus, & fit publier un Edit, par lequel, en renouvelant les anciennes Ordonnances, elle défendit les meubles d'or & d'argent massif, qu'elle jugea superflus; ordonna que les plus riches étoffes ne passeroient pas un certain prix, & régla même la dépense qui convenoit à chaque estat. Une loy si sage servit beaucoup à la conservation des espèces d'or & d'argent, & fut d'un grand soulagement pour les particuliers, qui par là se virent heureusement contraints de diminuer une dépense qu'ils ne faisoient qu'à regret & par une émulation ridicule.

¹³⁹ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 91-125.

¹⁴⁰ Ojala and Ojala, *Madame de Sévigné*, 159.

Although the king has made some good rules to suppress luxury, the sumptuousness of furnishings and garments have come to such an excess that it is exhausting all manners of gold and silver, and consuming the best of the noblest families, each repeatedly looking to distinguish themselves by mad lavishness. His Majesty wishes to remedy these abuses and has issued an Edict, by which, renewing former Orders, it forbids solid gold and silver furnishings, which are judged superfluous; ordering that the richest fabrics will not exceed a certain price and equally settle the spending which suits each situation. A law so wise serves well to the preservation of all types of gold and silver, and makes a great easing of the individuals, who by this decree, see themselves fortunately constrained by reducing an outlay which they only made by a foolish emulation and then regretted.

Here again is the scolding of those who spend their money on excessive finery, “consuming the best of the noblest families, each repeatedly looking to distinguish themselves by mad lavishness.” This time, however, the seriousness of the financial strain behind the edict of 1700 was dire. The monetary crises that were a result of the effects of constant warfare and a lack of domestic production that could be exported caused a heavy strain on the resources of the state. The French government found itself in the difficult position of not having enough gold or silver at its disposal to produce the necessary coinage for paying its debts.¹⁴¹ The relentless projects undertaken earlier in the reign, now languishing, could not provide enough income to balance the budget. By the end of the reign, France was in debt, with only a moderate foundation in mercantile business, and none of the advantages of its neighbors’ lucrative colonial enterprises.

In conclusion, sumptuary laws were never an effective solution to economic or political problems. The realization that taxation rather than restriction would be a better control of luxury products appeared in the early eighteenth century. Hunt points out that this revelation “was followed by the revolutionary idea that the production of luxury goods was beneficial in

¹⁴¹ Cole, *Colbert and a Century of French Mercantilism*, 2: 132.

economic terms, both to producer and consumer, and stimulated economic health.”¹⁴² As a consequence of revised political policies and the rise of mass production, sumptuary laws were abandoned in the eighteenth century as a government tool of economic and political control.

1675, dressmaker’s guilds

A change in the laws which controlled the production of clothing was to have a lasting effect on fashion economics of the period. In 1675, Louis XIV granted permission for women to legally form dressmakers’ guilds, thus expanding the number of people involved in the business of fashion-making. Up until this time, women had been restricted to making and selling undergarments and accessories of cotton and linen, a form of work which required fine needlework skills. Embroidered embellishment was a skill learned by young girls of wealthy as well as of modest income, and a similar commercial endeavor was considered socially acceptable. The rest of garment-making was reserved for the tailors, whose livelihoods were protected by the guilds since the Middle Ages. The tailors had exclusive rights to all men’s garments as well as women’s garments requiring boning, such as the *grand habit* worn at court. The French title for a professional dressmaker was *couturière*, while the men were known as *tailleur*, or ‘tailor’ in English (figure 42.)¹⁴³

¹⁴² Hunt, *Governance of the consuming passions*, 372.

¹⁴³ Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001). The masculine form of this word, *couturier*, did not become the preferred title for male dressmakers until the late nineteenth century



Figure 42. 1680s, Nicolas Arnoult, *La Bonne Couturiere*, MMA.

The establishment of guilds for women seamstresses legalized their right to make for clients an increased repertoire of garments far beyond the former limits of lingerie. In fact, unless they joined a guild, women seamstresses “were legally forbidden from making and selling clothing” other than the basic lingerie. The list of garments now legally allowable consisted of the *robe de chambre* (dressing gown), skirt, woman’s coat (*justaucorp*), *manteaux*, *hongrelines* (a type of jacket), camisoles, *corps de jupes* (bodices worn under the *manteaux*) and any other items for women and children, except for boys over the age of eight years. However, tailors retained the rights to create the stiff, formal garments of court, the *grand habit*, consisting of the *corps de robe* (dress bodice) and the *bas de robe* (dress skirt).¹⁴⁴ At first, the advantages must have appeared to favor the tailors, as a court dress would be an expensive affair compared to *dishabillé*, informal wear, worn for everyday wear.

A comparison of the list of permissible garments with information from prints and written literature illustrates the connection between the clothing produced by the dressmakers and the current popular fashions. The *manteaux* in particular, seen first in the early 1670s and illustrated in the 1678 *Mercure galant*, were the prerogative of the seamstresses and not the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 31.

tailors. The initial disappointment with the ruling granting the *grand habit* to the tailors must have been eased by the welcome coincidence of this increasingly more popular garment.

The *manteau* was a simpler garment to construct, and more comfortable than the *grand habit*, and was adopted by women across socio-economic sectors. It could be constructed of a range of fabrics, allowing for rich velvets and silk brocades for the wealthier woman, and modest taffetas and muslins for those of modest means. This cross-section of women visiting the dressmakers' *ateliers* in order to be fitted for their *manteaux* created an all female atmosphere of women making fashion for women, a new phenomenon. Crowston claims that there was a ‘civilizing’ effect in the circles that frequented dressmakers. For the dressmakers, the diversity of clients served as a source of communication on dress and manners. In other words, the “female comportment, self-restraint, delicacy and taste they learned from their elite clients” was passed along to their clients of more modest means.¹⁴⁵ According to Crowston, the fashion of the *manteau* spread throughout Europe from its origin in France, though she fails to point out the vehicle for this transmission of the fashion information.¹⁴⁶ In England, the *manteau* style was referred to as a ‘mantua’, and the expression ‘mantua-maker’ was used to describe a woman seamstress/dressmaker. According to early eighteenth century English dictionaries, the term may be cognate with *manteau* or with the city of Mantua in Italy.¹⁴⁷

In France, the long-term effects of the formation of a professional guild structure was that the business of fashion shifted away from one exclusive group of providers, the tailors, to a more inclusive group, the tailors and *couturières*. Taste and fashion moved towards a female sphere of influence, and this continued into the eighteenth century. By the time of the reign of Louis XVI,

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 4.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 37.

¹⁴⁷ Coles, *An English dictionary*, s.v. “mantua.”

the dressmaking business had expanded to include the *marchandes de mode*, such as Rose Bertin. These women were the stylists of their day, beginning with the dress created by a dressmaker or tailor, and adding their personal assortment of accessories and embellishments to create a fashionable *ensemble* for their clients. The involvement of French women in the fashion business continues to this day, in the examples of Callot Soeurs, Coco Chanel, and Sonia Rykiel.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Methodology for research

The methodology for this study includes both an artistic as well as textual analysis of the subject matter. It begins with the artistic materials, in this case late seventeenth-century French fashion prints, and examines characteristics of these objects from the viewpoints of both art and dress history. It then integrates findings with information derived from textual sources, such as letters, memoirs, diaries and literature. The synthesis of this material reveals social and cultural patterns of behavior as expressed in fashionable dress, thereby expanding and enriching the understanding of the history of late seventeenth-century France.

The data which supports this methodology needs to be largely derived from primary sources. The most accurate data derives from extant materials, and this is true for prints as well as textiles and garments. Understanding the physical nature of these objects is as important as understanding their iconography and design. The same need for primary materials applies to textual sources as well. The original writing from the seventeenth-century provides contemporary attitudes, and from different points of view, but without a twenty-first century filter. Because seventeenth-century materials are limited, the location and documentation of as much information as possible is needed in order to have sufficient data for analysis. In addition to visiting collections here and abroad, online references are increasingly available for research. These are proving invaluable sources for rare, seventeenth-century texts such as dictionairies and memoirs. As technology improves, some online databases can be referenced for prints and

textiles as well, especially those that provide the ability to magnify the images.¹⁴⁸ Secondary sources are also valuable, but have a different function. In addition to their discussions and analyses of the subject matter, they are useful for the identification of museums and collections which own relevant materials, as well as for their citations of primary texts.

The data which is gathered for this research records characteristics of fashion exhibited in each print viewed. The processing of this information requires both quantitative and qualitative analyses in order to meet with the goals of the study. Content analysis was chosen as a method for pursuing the quantitative portion of the study, as it is well suited for the analysis of non-verbal forms of communication. Here it is used to group different assemblages of dress and then identify patterns of fashion within those assemblages. These patterns are then used to formulate stylistic periods according to a prevailing silhouette.

Qualitative analysis begins with a familiarity with the prints, and employs artistic considerations such as compositional forms and subject matter, as well as an understanding of apparel design, in order to interpret the meanings embedded in the images. The textual sources provide historical context to these findings. Finally, the qualitative analysis is used in conjunction with the quantitative analysis to explore, analyze and summarize the social and cultural significance of these fashion prints.

Various parts of this methodology have been used by previous scholars. The use of artistic and textual materials as a basis for research can be found among several dress historians, including Janet Arnold, Naomi Tarrant and Lou Taylor, who analyze extant garments and

¹⁴⁸ The British Museum and the Bibliothèque national de France are two sources which provide access to large numbers of prints in their collections, and have been improving their software to allow for close-up study of the details of the images. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Victoria & Albert Museum and Arstor have images of seventeenth century textiles and garments, and some of these are viewable in detailed views.

interpret their findings using historic sources in order to explain social and cultural patterns.¹⁴⁹ It is also used by print historians and art historians. Print historians Raymonde Gaudriault and Maxime Préaud employ an object-based methodology, interpreting individual prints while exploring issues in printmaking history in order to evaluate the effects of these endeavors on society.¹⁵⁰ Art historians Elise Goodman, Emilie Gordenker, and Marieke de Winkel evaluate social and cultural meanings of fashion and dress in the paintings of Anthony Van Dyck, Peter Paul Rubens and Rembrandt Van Rijn.¹⁵¹

Content analysis has been used by historians since the mid-twentieth century, and found in dress history since the 1980s, when Jo Paoletti wrote of its advantages.¹⁵² It is also useful in fields which overlap dress history, such as anthropology and sociology.¹⁵³ Daniel Roche, the social historian, studies inventories and public records as evidence for personal histories which define the cultural significance of clothing in seventeenth and eighteenth century France.¹⁵⁴

Qualitative analysis has been used by dress historian Louise Godard de Donvilles in her analysis of French dress during the first half of the seventeenth century, as well as by art historian Alison McNeil Kettering in her studies of the significance of dress in Dutch

¹⁴⁹ Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe unlock'd* (Leeds: Maney, 1988.) Naomi Tarrant, *The development of clothing* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994.) Lou Taylor, "Doing the laundry? A Reassessment of object-based dress history" *Fashion Theory* 2,4 (1998):337-358.

¹⁵⁰ Gaudriault, *Répertoire de la gravure de mode française*, 1988; Préaud, "Les portraits en mode de la fin de la règne de Louis XIV," 1990.

¹⁵¹ Goodman, *Rubens: the garden of love as conversatie à la mode*, 1992; Gordenker, *Anthony Van Dyck and the representation of dress in seventeenth-century portraiture*, 2001; de Winkel, *Fashion and fancy: dress and meaning in Rembrandt's*, 2006.

¹⁵² Jo Paoletti, "Content Analysis: its application to the study of the history of costume," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 1 (1982):14-17.

¹⁵³ Jill Oakes and Rick Riewe, "A Comparison of Historical and Contemporary Skin Clothing Used in North Greenland: An Ethnohistorical Approach," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 10(1992): 76-85. Kim K.P. Johnson, Jeong-Ju Yoo, Minjeong Kim and Sharron J. Lennon, "Dress and Human Behavior: a review and critique," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 26 (2008): 3-22

¹⁵⁴ Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 1994.

paintings.¹⁵⁵ The work of Aileen Ribeiro also utilizes this methodology, as she combines studies of both dress history and art history into her explorations of meaning in seventeenth and eighteenth century dress, incorporating her analyses within the framework of historical experience.¹⁵⁶

Data collection

The methodology chosen for this research requires a system of data collection which leads to the identification and clarification of the historic evolution of fashion prints in late seventeenth-century France. This data collection includes the examination and documentation of information from primary sources for the chief raw materials for analysis, as well as the pursuit of secondary sources as references for background material and location of primary resources.

Preliminary research in secondary sources

The purpose of beginning the data collection with a review of the secondary sources is to become familiar with basic information regarding prints and fashion of the seventeenth century. Secondary sources include print, painting, and dress histories, as well as *catalogues raisonnés*. It is important to identify the unique print history of the period by identifying the active artists of the period, becoming familiar with the types of imagery they produced, and locating these images within an historical evolution of printmaking. The painters of the period are also important, as their work and that of the print artists are related in time, space and subject matter. It is necessary to review studies of extant textiles and garments, as these findings corroborate

¹⁵⁵ Louise Godard de Donvilles, *Signification de la mode sous Louis XIII* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1978). Kettering, “Terborch’s Ladies in Satin”, 1993.

¹⁵⁶ Aileen Ribeiro, *The art of dress: fashion in England and France, 1750 to 1820* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Aileen Ribeiro, “Re-fashioning art: some visual approaches to the study of the history of dress”, *Fashion Theory* 2, no. 4(1998): 315-326; Ribeiro, *Fashion and fiction*, 2005.

some of the imagery seen in the prints. The *catalogues raisonnés* are resources which provide basic facts about printmakers.

Art and print histories

Research for this subject begins with art and print histories, with a goal of identifying the artists of the period and their best-known works. In addition, basic information such as dates of activity and different subject matter illustrated in artists' prints helps to begin organizing the prints into subject groupings. English and non-English sources must be located, as the print tradition of this study originated in European countries. Both France and the Netherlands have traditions in seventeenth century art, print and dress studies, and these are important sources of information regarding the traditions of the period.

Unfortunately, little information is available in secondary sources which concerns print artists who create fashion prints. Because the subject of seventeenth century French fashion prints is not widely studied, the topic is only briefly mentioned, if at all, in many art and dress histories. When it does occur, accuracy problems begin to appear in the identifications provided by different authors. For example, inconsistent facts, such as names of artists, dates and titles of prints, are found in the captions of the same print featured in different books. In addition, these same sources provide only a few illustrations of the best known printmakers' works, and the number of artists as well as the scope of their *oeuvres* is underrepresented.

Catalogues raisonnées

The *catalogues raisonnées* is an invaluable reference source for identifying the active print artists and their works, though no one publication is completely inclusive. One of the best sources is the catalog compiled by curators of the *Cabinet des Estampes* at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF.). The *Inventaire du fonds français, graveurs du XVII siècle* (IFF

XVII) includes all the prints owned by the BnF, but only artists whose last names ended in “A” through “P,” have been completed. Those artists whose surname began later in the alphabet remain unclassified.¹⁵⁷ For Flemish and Dutch prints *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700* provides similar lists of artists, dates and works of art.¹⁵⁸ These print catalogs are reliable as references for factual print data, though some of their listings have been revised by later print scholars.

Only one volume categorizes seventeenth century artists whose prints depict dress of their times. Raymond Gaudriault’s *Repertoire de la gravure de mode française des origines à 1815* is of central importance for identifying names of French artists who produced fashion prints from the time of the 1620s. In addition, the *Repertoire* lists all of their known relevant works as well as the locations of these prints in particular bound volumes at the BnF in Paris.¹⁵⁹ This information is helpful for locating and then requesting prints for viewing at this institution. Unfortunately, a parallel volume to Gaudriault’s is not available for English, Flemish or Dutch seventeenth century fashion prints.

Dress histories

Several dress history texts include illustrations of seventeenth-century fashion prints.¹⁶⁰ These images are useful as a starting point for noting how other dress historians have used prints to understand the particulars of extant garments. Even in the best examples, however, the

¹⁵⁷ *Inventaire du fonds français, graveurs du XVII siècle*, ed. Maxime Préaud (Paris: Bibliothèque national de France, 1989 -).

¹⁵⁸ *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700* (Roosendaal, The Netherlands: Koninklijke van Poll in co-operation with the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1993-).

¹⁵⁹ Gaudriault, *Repertoire de la gravure de mode française*, 1988.

¹⁶⁰ Blum, André. *Histoire du costume: les modes au XVII et au XVIII siècle*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1928; Valerie Cumming, *A visual history of costume: the seventeenth century* (London: P.T. Batsford Ltd, 1984); de Marly, *Louis XIV and Versailles*, 1987; Goodman, *Rubens: The garden of love as conversatie à la mode*, 1992; Ruppert et al, *Le Costume français*, 2007.

reproductions were often cropped, distorted, enhanced, or presented at a low resolution making detailed examination and accurate observation impossible. Even more disturbing are recently created imitations, as well as artistic interpretations, of historic images. These are presented as original art, but create misleading, inexact information. The solution to problematic reproductions is to personally observe and record information from original materials, and gain the ability to identify the originals from the copies.

Additional secondary sources

An understanding of the basic techniques used in printmaking is an essential tool for studying these prints. An important source for this was Bamber Gascoigne's *How to Identify Prints*, which explains the technicalities of printmaking. This provides explanations for different kinds of prints, as well as an essential "Keys to Identification" of prints, which includes the clues for identifying technique, state, authorship and embellishment. This has been a helpful guide to many of the problems found in the prints, especially identifying later states of original prints.¹⁶¹

In addition to the secondary sources listed above, information on prints and holdings in collections are found in exhibit catalogs. The number of illustrations in these is often limited, but numerous references to unillustrated prints in the exhibit, as well as others which were not on view, are often included. Another important source is online collection databases, which vary in quality and information, but provide a sampling of their holdings, as well as contact information for further inquiry.

Data collection in primary sources

Primary sources provide the data necessary for building a study based on objects. Prints are the most important of these sources, and are supplemented by examination of extant

¹⁶¹ Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004).

paintings and textiles. The voices of the past are found in its literature, such as diaries, letters, memoires and dictionaries, which describe the world of seventeenth century France. All of these types of primary sources are found in museum and library collections, but online websites also offer varying degrees of useful information.

Field documentation

Recognition of artists' styles is an important skill to develop, as the ability to discriminate between authentic period prints and later copies is essential for accurate documentation. In addition, familiarity with elements of dress helps place the print images within a context of fashion evolution.

In order to document the data for analysis, a system for recording observations of original prints onto data collection sheets was developed.¹⁶² This form includes basic information such as the date of the visit, name of the collection, artist's name, print inscriptions, as well as more descriptive information such as dress elements, art composition, subject matter and historical context. This documentation requires close examination of the original print under magnification in order to see and describe as much detail as possible. This data form was adaptable for recording information on all prints, textiles and garments viewed for the study.

Digital photography accompanies the recording of information on the data sheets. This is an essential part of the documentation, as it captures details which can later be re-examined. Some collections, such as the Johnson Museum of Art, do not allow photography, but have online databases that can be accessed for images. These are mixed in their usefulness for researchers, as many pieces are not photographed, and even when included may have low resolutions which prove unfit for study. As a result, when permitted, photography of prints is

¹⁶² See examples of data collection sheets for prints, textiles and garments in Appendix II.

always the preferred tool for documentation. The photographs for this study are taken with a Canon PowerShot G10 digital camera with 14.7 mega pixels and built in macro lens. The high resolution of the images produced by this camera allows for magnification of the print and dress details at a later date. This is especially helpful when questions emerge concerning changes in the original copper plates which created later states of the print, characterized by changing inscriptions, and dress details. It is also helpful to photograph the identifying documentation provided by the museum which accompanies the print or textile. This prevents future confusion as to the identity of the item, the museum which owns it, and its accession number.

Although the original intention is for each print, textile and garment to have a separate data sheet, restrictions of time and money sometimes constrain this goal. Limited opening hours are always an issue, and require tough choices on how best to document the materials in the various collections. When choosing between the creation of detailed data sheets of a few items or the photographing of many, the latter is often the better alternative. High resolution digital photographs can be examined later for data extraction and yield more information than written descriptions, though having both is preferable.

Constructing a database for content analysis

An excel database was created to compile the information contained in the data collection sheets or observed from photographs. About half of the 750 prints were personally documented and photographed, while the other half derived from online institution databases.¹⁶³ It was originally planned that this print database would include only the categories defined in the data sheets. However, additional categories soon emerged, and by the end of the process, numbered seven general categories with a total of 107 sub-categories. In total, 750 prints were classified.

¹⁶³ These online databases include the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Los Angeles County Museum, Bibliothèque nationale de France, and Reunion des musées nationaux.

The seven categories are as follows: print categories, print composition, public/ private dress, group/stylistic association, allegories/satires, men's dress and women's dress. Appendix III contains definitions of these categories and their accompanying descriptors. The summary of information compiled from the spreadsheet data for the 750 prints is in Appendix IV.

Glossary of fashion terminology

A glossary of French terminology for various parts of fashionable dress was developed for inclusion in the dissertation. The purpose of this glossary is to identify French terms used during the seventeenth century for particular items of clothing and accessories. There are few published bilingual dictionaries which translate French terms of dress into English.¹⁶⁴ No single source provides reliable definitions for seventeenth century usage. As it is common for dress terms to change in meaning over time, it is important to clearly link the period terminology with the most accurate description, so as to eliminate confusion.

The final glossary comprised a listing of terms pertinent to fashion during the seventeenth century. Some of these vocabulary terms traversed the entire century, while others were exclusive to what eventually became the period of the study, the mid 1670s to 1715. The terminology for early century forms of dress was included to facilitate a discussion of late century fashions which had evolved from these styles. Included in each listing is the French term, the English definition, and the source or sources from which the information was derived. The terms are listed alphabetically in French.

¹⁶⁴ A seventeenth century source was Furetière's 1690 and 1701 *Dictionnaire universel*. Helpful texts for dress terms include Jacques Ruppert et al, *Le Costume Français*, 2007; Blum, *Histoire du Costume: Les Modes au XVII et au XVIII Siècles*, 1928; Godard de Donville, *Signification de la mode sous Louis XIII*, 1978. Vincent Beckerig and Tania Sutton, *Lexique Bilingue de la Mode/ Bilingual Fashion Glossary* (Paris: editions falbalas, 2009). This bilingual dictionary is helpful for general vocabulary, but does not address usage of terms in seventeenth century France.

Evolution of the dissertation topic

The evolution of this dissertation topic involved a series of visits to museums, followed by evaluations of the subject and scope of the dissertation topic. The following description maps the personal experiences which led to changes in the direction of the research as the study progressed.

After reviewing the secondary sources, several institutions were identified as promising sources of seventeenth-century French prints, both in the United States and Europe. In the eastern part of the United States, museums with print collections include The National Gallery of Art and the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC, while in New York City, the J.P. Morgan Library and Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art both have excellent collections. European collections with prints include the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen, and the Rijksmuseum (RJM) in Amsterdam. London has several collections, including the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Smaller collections such as the Pepys Library at Magdalene College in Cambridge (PLMC) offer unique personal collections. At this stage in the research, the topic included seventeenth-century fashion print created by artists from England, France, Flanders and the Netherlands. These countries are close geographically, and influences of design and subject matter are evident among prints created by artists of different nationalities.

Initial data collection in the United States and Europe

Because of the expense of traveling and working abroad, the initial survey of the works of these European artists began in museum collections in the United States. With the award of a Cornell Graduate School Travel Grant, prints created by artists in the first half of the century were viewed in museums in Washington, DC and New York City. The Folger Shakespeare

Library has a large collection of prints from the time of Shakespeare as well as prints of the seventeenth century. English prints are represented in this collection by the works of several European artists, including Wenceslaus Hollar, who created over one hundred prints depicting English dress. This library also has a substantial collection of works by the Flemish van de Passe family which include numerous allegorical prints that depict contemporary dress fashion. A well-known series of fashion prints by the Dutch artist Romeyn de Hoogh is also found in this collection. At the National Gallery of Art, the works of French artists are found in the comprehensive collection of prints by Jacques Callot and Abraham Bosse.

The majority of prints viewed at this time in New York City collections dated from the second half of the seventeenth century. The J.P. Morgan Library and Museum has a large collection of French late century prints, including the works of Jean ligature, Robert Bonnart, Antoine Trouvain, Nicolas Guérard and Jean Mariette. It also has the largest collection of “dressed prints”, painted French fashion prints which have sections of their engraving cut out and backed with colorful fabrics. The “dressed prints” were created from original prints etched by many of the artists listed above. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Print Room has numerous prints by French, Dutch, Flemish and English artists. Limited time at this collection restricted my viewing of prints to those of Nicolas Arnoult, a French artist active in the 1680s.

An opportunity then arose to view prints in the collection of the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen, Denmark. In this collection are numerous examples of French, Flemish, Dutch, English and German prints which date from various times throughout the century. Though lacking in focus, this potpourri of prints proved valuable in my later research for purposes of identification of artists, nationalities, inscriptions, compositional forms and copies of original works.

Narrowing the research topic

The result of this initial foray into seventeenth century prints was a decision to narrow the scope of the project. At that point, close to five hundred English, French, Flemish and Dutch prints that depict dress had been documented. These prints were primarily created in the first half of the century, yet the hundreds of prints dating from the second half of the century were still to be examined. The final count could prove to be a far too unwieldy set of data from which to create a dissertation. In order to define a manageable topic, it was decided to limit the study to prints of a single nationality. French depictions of dress and fashion had flourished and expanded over the course of the seventeenth-century, culminating with a virtual monopoly on production of fashion prints. The production in England, Flanders and Holland had begun strong but waned by the middle of the century. French prints could show more clearly the change in dress and fashion during the whole of the seventeenth century. It was for this reason that French prints were chosen as the topic of the dissertation.

In addition to redefining the topic of the dissertation, it was clear that although French prints can be found in collections in the United States, these collections possess only a small portion of the total *oeuvres* of French fashion print artists.

Focused data collection in Europe and the United States

The award of the Manon Michels Einaudi Research Grant created an opportunity to travel to France to examine additional print collections. In France, the BnF in Paris holds the world's largest collection of seventeenth century French prints. The collections are housed in various campuses of the library system scattered throughout the city. Additional sources for seventeenth century prints collections in Paris include the Edmond de Rothschild collection in the department of Prints and Drawings at the Louvre Museum.

Before leaving for France, the online database of the BnF was searched in order to optimize time spent in the Paris collections. The names of artists, titles of their prints as well as their location among the various library campuses were recorded and saved for later use on location. Two of the libraries, Richelieu and L'Arsenal, were identified as having the majority of seventeenth century fashion prints in their collections. Within the Richelieu library is the *Cabinet des Estampes*, the definitive collection of French prints in the BnF. L'Arsenal has several collections of bound prints which contain a variety of prints of various artists, but in more limited numbers than those found in the Richelieu *Cabinet des Estampes*.

Upon arrival in France, the research began at L'Arsenal, as the Richelieu library print collection was temporarily unavailable due to renovation. The earlier online database research proved invaluable, as no time was lost searching for an alternative site that held prints. A bound volume of fashion plates at L'Arsenal contained an early eighteenth century collection of French fashion and costume prints dating from the mid-sixteenth century to the 1720s.¹⁶⁵ Represented in this volume are the works of Abraham Bosse, Jean lePautre, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, Franz Ertinger, Nicolas Arnoult, the Bonnart brothers, Claude-August Berey, Antoine Trouvain, Jean Mariette and Bernard Picart. This list includes all but a few of the major artists of the period that produced prints that depict fashionable dress. By the time these prints were viewed and documented, access to the Richelieu collection was again open to the public, and the remainder of the time spent viewing prints occurred in that library. Additional works by artists listed above were now available, as were the prints of Isaac Briot, Elizabeth Bouchet, Charles David, Gerard Jollain, Michel Lasne, Jean Le Blond, Sebastien Le Clerc, and Daniel Rabel. The Edmond de Rothschild collection at the Louvre also has relevant prints for this study, but was not visited, as

¹⁶⁵ *Habillement des Peuples de l'Europe, tom premier*, vol.368, BnF, L'Arsenal.

the collections at Richelieu and L'Arsenal proved to hold more prints than could be viewed in the time available.

A visit to the Rijksmuseum Print Study Room in Amsterdam proved very helpful for the comparison of French and Dutch prints. Dutch and Flemish prints were examined and photographed, including works of the van de Passe family, Martin de Vos, Jan van de Velde, Claus Janz Visscher, Adam van Ourt, Jan van Troyen, Saloman Savery, Romeyn de Hoogh and Jacob Gole. These artists produced numerous prints illustrating their native dress as well as numerous direct copies of French fashion prints. The influence of Dutch costume/fashion prints on French prints at the beginning of the century, followed by its reversal in the second half of the period, became clear after viewing these prints.

A final return trip to the Metropolitan Museum of Art Print Room proved beneficial, as several French prints not seen in Paris or Amsterdam were viewed. Of special note was a volume of prints that included works by the Bonnart brothers, Jean Mariette, Antoine Trouvain, Jean le Pautre, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, Gerard Jollain, and Juan Dolivar.

Additional primary sources: Textiles, dress, decorative arts, paintings

Textiles and dress

As with prints, viewing original material was felt to be a necessary activity in order to understand textiles and garments of the period. Photographic reproductions in books and articles showing embroidery, lace and woven fabrics could not provide the necessary level of detail needed to interpret the surviving textiles.

Conference on court dress

While in Paris, I attended an international conference at Versailles, "Cultures matérielles, cultures visuelles du costume dans les cours Européennes (1400 - 1815)". The conference was

associated with an exhibit at Versailles of European court dress, "Fastes de Cour et Ceremonies Royales: le costume de cour en Europe, 1650 - 1700," the first exhibit in Europe to draw from early collections of royal court garments and accessories and present them at a single venue. This timely exhibit allowed me to view period garments and accessories that would otherwise be unavailable for study. Exhibition pieces included seventeenth century men's embroidered doublets and vests, women's shoes, clerical robes and numerous lace accessories, among them a needlelace *fontange* and several cravats, handkerchiefs, collars and cuffs. The catalog accompanying this exhibition contains essays covering various aspects of the history of court dress as well as textile construction and embellishment techniques found in the garments.

Photographs of many of the displayed pieces are used to illustrate the articles.

The opportunity to listen to presentations of research by French, German, English, American and Dutch researchers revealed differences in the approach to scholarship, diverse viewpoints, and unique presentation styles, from what I had seen in meetings in the United States. I also met several European costume historians, which proved very advantageous later in the summer, when I visited the Netherlands.

Seventeenth-century lace

The examination of extant lace was an important element of this research, and twenty-two pieces of French lace, a variety of needlelace and bobbin lace, were examined and photographed at the Ratti Textile Center at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁶⁶ The French needlelace was *Point de France* needlelace and made in France during the reign of Louis XIV. It is significant because of its association with the efforts of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the king's finance minister, who established centers of textile manufacturing in France in order to

¹⁶⁶ See examples of data collecting sheets for prints, textiles and garments in Appendix II.

encourage economic prosperity.¹⁶⁷ It is important to be able to distinguish the French lace from forms being made in other countries, as the history of this textile is important to the imagery of fashion illustrated in the prints. *Point de France* lace is employed in furnishings, such as table skirts, as well as apparel, including *cravats*, *fontanges*, *engageants* and *barbes*.¹⁶⁸ Examples of *Point de France* lace are also found in religious habits worn by priests, especially trimming the lower edge of the clerical vestment known as the *alb* (figure 43.)



Figure 43. 1735, Pierre Imbert Drevet, *Portrait of Jacques Benigne Bossuet*, after Hyacinthe Rigaud, BM

According to Ernest Lefebure, the lace in priestly robes was “did not have the figures and emblems of the lace intended for the use of the Princes of the Blood Royal.”¹⁶⁹ These wide borders of lace should not be mistaken for furnishing lace, which is generally a coarser and heavier textile. This type of distinction can only be understood by the personal examination of extant lace, as it is not obvious in a photograph.

Several pieces of early and late seventeenth century French lace in the collection of the Musée des Tissus et des Arts décoratifs were also documented and photographed. Among these

¹⁶⁷ Colbert's stimulus of the French economy in the form of textile manufacturing will be discussed in the literature review.

¹⁶⁸ See Glossary.

¹⁶⁹ Ernest Lefébure, *Les Points de France*, translated by Margaret Taylor Johnston (New York: Margaret Taylor Johnston, 1912), 51. The Princes of the Blood were the men of the extended royal family who could trace their ancestry to Henri IV.

pieces, was a rare, early *Point de France* lace. This piece was very important for comparing to the lace illustrated in the prints, as it retained much of their Italian design origin while hinting at design forms that would later be stylized into the later, very recognizable *Point de France* needlelace.

Seventeenth-century fabrics

Extant dress fabrics from the seventeenth century are rare, but the Musée des Tissus et des Arts décoratifs in Lyon, France, has several examples of dress fabric dating from the second half of the seventeenth century. Several examples from this collection were documented and photographed, including fragments of silk fabric with woven silk and metallic patterning, as well as silk fabric with woven silk patterning and applied surface embroidery. The majority of these fabrics were produced in France, though some were identified as either French or Italian. As both French and Italian silks were popular in the second half of the seventeenth century, a possible Italian origin of the fabric did not prevent its inclusion in the study.

The identity of a textile as being of French origin was of particular interest, as the silk weaving industry was another of Colbert's special projects for improving the economic welfare of France. Lyon, France, was one of several weaving centers the Minister of Finance encouraged and supported in the production of woven silk dress fabrics.¹⁷⁰ A fabric dating from this period, in the collection of the Lyon museum, was likely to have been produced by a Lyon silk workshop which had received endorsements from the French government. Eight examples of woven dress fabrics were photographed and described using the data sheet developed for textiles.

Seventeenth-century garments

¹⁷⁰ Cole, Charles Woolsey. *Colbert and a century of French Mercantilism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939. Vol.,2, 132.

Very few whole garments survive from the seventeenth century. Two rare mantuas can be found in the collection of The Costume Institute (CI) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, one from the 1690s, and the other from circa 1708. Unfortunately, the Costume Institute was renovating their inventory and storage systems at the time of this study, and was closed to researchers. The mantua from the 1690s has been documented by several dress historians, and for the present, this information will be referred to for details of construction and use of textiles. The second mantua has not been documented except for photographs provided by the museum website. This limits information regarding the cut, fabric and possible alterations until such time that it can be examined in person.

Seventeenth century paintings and decorative arts

Three Parisian collections have exhibits of seventeenth century paintings and decorative arts: Versailles, the Louvre and the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. The collection at Versailles was especially interesting, as it contained painted portraits of the court. These paintings were photographed along with their descriptions, and serve as a source for royal dress and portrait conventions of the period (figure 44.)



Figure 44. early 1670s, French School, *Louis and Monsieur in front of the Thetis Grotto*, CV.

The Louvre also has seventeenth-century portraits, though few of these were on display. Versailles had the largest collection of furniture from the period, and the Musée des Arts

Decoratifs featured one well-stocked period room. The decorative arts at these museums were photographed in order to provide supporting evidence for design and taste of the period, but are not central to this dissertation and will not be analyzed for content.

In addition to the paintings photographed at these museums, numerous internet sites and written texts provide reproductions of seventeenth century painted portraits. These copies are not as satisfactory as the actual object, but websites such as Artstor (ART), CAMIO and LUNA offer digital images at resolutions high enough to observe basic details.

Literature of the period

Letters and memoires of the period provided records of personal experience which could be linked to the images in the fashion prints. The male and female viewpoints were both considered important voices to examine. The memoires of Saint-Simon, Dangeau and Visconti recorded reactions at court to current events, which were compared to changes in the tone of the prints. Of particular value were the letters of Madame de Sévigné and the duchesse d'Orléans, who described the splendid, mundane and foolish of current fashions. Dictionaries proved to be an essential tool for retrieving seventeenth-century understandings of concepts such as fashion and dress.

Formation of final research topic

A review of the entire collection of documented prints led to the final reduction of the dissertation topic. Although the prints of the first half of the century contributed to the success of those of the second half, the differences between the two periods in historical circumstances as well as aesthetic meanings were becoming clear. It became obvious that there were two stories, each deserving its own study. The inclusion of both periods was threatening to dilute the investigation in order to accommodate the entire century. To avoid this, it was necessary to

choose either the period of Louis XIII or Louis XIV in order to produce a dissertation worthy of the prints. The prints created during period of Louis XIV, specifically the middle 1670s to 1715, were developing into a complex story that wove together economic, political, art, and dress histories. As a result, the fashion prints created in the last forty or so years of the reign of Louis XIV, considered by historians to be the declining years of his rule, became the primary subject matter of the dissertation.¹⁷¹

A final trip to Europe was undertaken in order to study items held in collections in France and England. In England, two library collections were visited which held unique materials. At the British Library in London is the only surviving English translation of *Le Mercure Galant*, which was published in 1673 and is a translation of the 1672 French edition. This rare volume includes remarks by the translator, John Dancer, which provide a glimpse into the English attitude towards French fashion and manners of the period. In addition, this library holds an original French copy of the 1678 *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant* which had been unavailable for viewing in Paris at an earlier visit. The examination of this journal proved essential, as it contained a wealth of information related to the eight fashion prints included in this publication that were designed by Jean Berain and etched by Jean LePautre.

Prints were also viewed at Samuel Pepys Library located in Magdalene College at Cambridge University. Pepys (1633-1703) collected one hundred and fifty French fashion prints from the 1670s to the early 1700s. The purpose of this visit was to examine the types of French fashion images which a seventeenth-century English gentleman would collect. The entire Pepys print collection has been catalogued by Robert Latham, but twelve of the prints were not identified by artist, as the identifying inscriptions had been cut by Pepys in order to mount the

¹⁷¹ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 108-133; Gaudriault, *Repertoire de la gravure de mode française*, 35. Ruppert et al, *Le costume français*, 108.

prints into a bound volume.¹⁷² Identification was necessary in order to create a complete and accurate listing of the French prints and artists whose work Pepys had collected. Although photography was not allowed in the library, earlier photographs of prints from other collections were compared to the Pepys prints and used to identify the cropped prints. These French fashion prints represent only a small portion of Pepys's extensive print collection.

The British Museum has a collection of over one hundred French fashion prints that date from 1675 to 1715. This collection includes both fashion prints as well as allegorical prints with fashion imagery. Photography is allowed at the British Museum, and as a result, new photographs were obtained of numerous prints that had previously been viewed only on the museum website. These newer photographs allowed for close study of the details of textiles featured in the prints.

The seventeenth century French fashion print collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum is small, but contains a choice selection of prints by a few artists such as Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. Photography is allowed in the Victoria and Albert Print Study Room, which again proved to be important for later study of the prints. Many of the prints viewed in this collection had been seen in Paris at the BnF in Paris. However, some of the prints were easier to photograph than those found in the Paris collections, as these were not part of a bound volume of prints. Several eighteenth century prints were stored with the seventeenth century prints. One in particular had characteristics similar to seventeenth century prints, including physical size, style of inscription and subject matter. This image inspired a later study of eighteenth century prints from the same journal, *Gallerie des Modes et Costume Français*, which revealed numerous

¹⁷² Robert Latham, ed. *Catalogue of the Pepys Library, at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, vol. III (Cambridge, England: D.S. Brewer-Rowman & Littlefield, 1980).

examples of seventeenth century imagery copied by eighteenth century artists.¹⁷³ The eighteenth century fashion prints were altered only in their change to contemporary eighteenth century fashionable clothing.

¹⁷³ Examples of eighteenth century prints from the *Gallerie des Modes et Costumes Français* can be found at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston website, www.mfa.org.

CHAPTER 4

ARTISTS AND FASHION ON THE RUE SAINT-JACQUES

From Flanders to France

The rue Saint-Jacques community

A shift in European printmaking activity began in the late sixteenth century, when Flemish artists began moving to Paris, bringing their artistic talents and technical skills to a new home. This signaled a beginning of the flowering of the Parisian print industry, which continued to expand and eventually achieved European dominance by the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁴ According to Préaud, it was the Thirty Years War which “drove artists and artisans, especially from Antwerp, towards a relatively calmer France” in the early years of the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁵ These artists brought with them the newer forms of intaglio printing to a city in which woodcuts had previously been the primary printmaking technique. Préaud describes the result of this influx of new artists and techniques, pointing out that ” Within several decades, Paris became the great center of the print.”¹⁷⁶ Grivel agrees with this assessment, noting that Paris was the center of all printmaking in Europe by about 1650.¹⁷⁷

A diversity of subject matter was produced in Paris during this time, in both sacred and secular imagery. Artists who created images illustrating biblical scenes, classical myths, historical events, almanac illustrations, maps, architectural designs, and designs for furniture also produced prints showing fashionable dress. For example, Jean LePautre (1618–1682), engraved

¹⁷⁴ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 6; Préaud, “Intaglio Printmaking in Paris”, 6-11; Grivel, “The Print Market in Paris”, 13-19.

¹⁷⁵ Préaud, “Intaglio Printmaking in Paris”, 6.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 10.

¹⁷⁷ Grivel, “The Print Market in Paris”, 13.

designs for embellishing furnishings and interiors at Versailles but was also known for his prints which illustrated the most stylish fashions of the period (figures 45 and 46.)

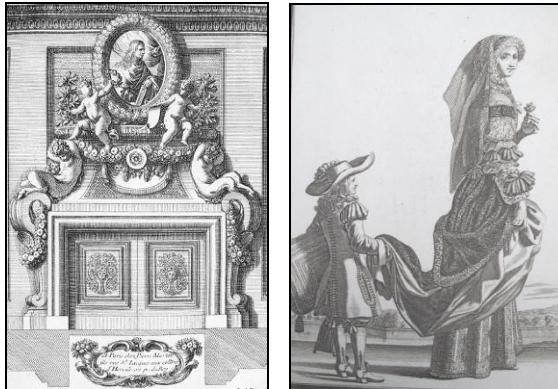


Figure 45. circa 1663, Jean LePautre, *Cheminée de la chambre du Roi*, MMA.
Figure 46. n.d., Jean LePautre, *Dame en habit de Ville*, BM (middle to late 1670s.)

In the 1690s, Claude-Auguste Berey (1660?-1730?) engraved fashion portraits of the royal family as well as numerous geographical maps of France and its cities. He is also known for the creation of several pictorial records of important historical events. Robert Bonnart (1652-1729) was one of the more prolific artists of the period. Over one hundred fashion prints as well as numerous biblical scenes, book illustrations and battle landscapes are included in his *oeuvre*.

The rue Saint-Jacques was the commercial center for both printmakers and booksellers in Paris, and it was no accident that these dealers in paper goods were located on a street adjacent to the rue de Parcheminerie. Businesses located in this area housed designers, engravers, printers, publishers, and merchants of prints. The maps created by Marianne Grivel clearly show the growing number of print and book shops populating the rue Saint-Jacques during the late seventeenth century, especially during the last two decades of the century¹⁷⁸. These artists worked in close geographical proximity to each other, and consisted of generations of families

¹⁷⁸ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, inserts.

involved in all aspects of the business of creating and publishing prints. Their children were apprenticed to one another, and married into each other's families, thereby assuring that artistic traditions would be passed from one generation to the next. Jean LePautre (1618-1682) was an artist as well as publisher of prints, and he published the works of his son, Jacques LePautre (1653-1684) as well as Jean Dolivar (1641-1692.) The widow of Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean continued the business of her late publisher husband (? – 1694), producing prints well into the late 1690s. Bernard Picart (1673 – 1733) was the pupil of Sébastien Le Clerc (1637 - 1714), and continued his master's work in small-scale fashion prints. These prints are distinguished by their emphasis on the individual character of the subject, which is subtly revealed in the relationship between body, clothing and gesture (figures 47 and 48.)



Figure 47. n.d., Sébastien Le Clerc, *untitled*, BnF (middle to late 1690s)
Figure 48. n.d., Bernard Picart, *untitled*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Print artists active mid-1670s-1715

For this study, the works of twenty-seven French artists were examined and their prints analyzed for content. Their names, lifespans, active production dates, and the publication addresses are listed below in Table 1.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ The lifespan dates derive from the IFF catalog, while the active dates derive from my own observation of prints examined for this study. The publishing addresses derive from IFF, Raymond Gaudriault and the author's observation of inscriptions on prints.

Table 1. French artists, 1675-1715: lifespans, active dates, publication addresses

Name of Artists included in the study	dates	Active dates of fashion imagery	Address inscription on prints
Nicolas Arnoult	? – 1722	1680s-1690s	A Paris chez Nicolas Arnoult rue de la Fromagerie, à l'image St. Claude aux halles, avec Privilège du Roy
Nicolas Bazin	?	1680s	A Paris sur le Quay Pelletier, à la Pomme d'or, au 3 ^{eme} appartement, avec privilège du Roy (address of J. D. de St. Jean)
Claude-Auguste Berey	1660? - 1730?	1690s-early 1700s	se vend a Paris chez BEREY Graveur rüe S ^t . Jacques devant la rüe de la Parchemenerie, à la Princesse de Savoye. Avec Privilège du Roy.
Nicolas Bonnart	1637-1718	1660s-1690s	A Paris, chez N. Bonnart, rue St. Jacques à l'Aigle, avec privilège du Roy.
Henri Bonnart	1642-1711	1670s-1690s	A Paris, rue St. Jacques, vis-à-vis les Mathurins, au Coq, avec privilège du Roy
Robert Bonnart	1652-1729	1670s-1690s	Chez H Bonnart, etc Chez N. Bonnart, etc
Jean-Baptiste Bonnart	1654-1726	1670s-1680s	Chez H Bonnart, etc Chez N. Bonnart, etc
Élisabeth Bouchet Le Moine	?	1680s	A Paris, chez Le Moine, rue Neuve Notre-Dame vis-à-vis Geneviève des Ardans chez un marchand chasublier. Avec. Privil. du Roy.
Sebastien Le Clerc	1637-1714	1690s – early 1700s	A Paris chez G. Audran, rüe S ^t Jacques aux 2 pilliers d'or. avec privilège du Roy.
Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean	? -1694	1670s – 1690s; widow after 1694	Ce vend à Paris, proche le Quai des Grands-Augustins, aux Deux Globes, avec privil. du Roy (A la seconde Chambre) se vend a Paris dans l'hostel de la monnoye Se vend à Paris, sur le Quai Pelletier, à la Pomme d'or (Au 3 ^e appartement, Au 1 ^{er} appartement)

			Se vend à Paris, sur le Quai Pelletier, à la Pomme d'Or, chez la V ^{re} S ^t Jean
Jean Dolivar	1641-1692	Dolivar fecit LePautre ex. Sous les Charniers St. Innocent avec pr. Du Roy.	
Franz Ertinger	1640-1710	1680s Se vend à Paris, sur le Quay Pelletier, à la Pomme d'or. avec privilege du Roy (address of J.D. de St.-Jean)	
François Galand		1690s Se vend a Paris sur le Qiau Pelletier à la Pome d'or au premier Apartem ^t . Avec privil. du Roy (address of J.D. de St. Jean)	
Nicolas Guérard	1690s – early 1700s	Se Vend à paris chez N. Guérard Graveur rüe S ^t . jacques à la Reyne du Clergé proche S ^t yves. C.P.R.	
François Gerard Jollain	1660? -after 1735	1680s A Paris chez F. Gérard Jollain à l'Enfant Iésus avec privilege du Roy	
Gerard Jollain	1638-after 1721 or 22	1680s A Paris chez Gerard Iollain rue S. Iacques a l Enfant Iesus avec Privil. du Roy	
François L'Aîne Jollain	1641-1707	1690s Avec Privilege du Roy. Se vend A Paris chez F Iollain lainé a la Ville de Cologne	
D. Landry	?	1690s A Paris chez D. Landry, rue St. Iacques a St. Francois Xavier	
Jean Mariette	1660-1742	1690s-early 1700 A Paris, chez I. Mariette, rue S ^t Jacques, aux Colonnes d'Hercule, avec Privilège du Roi.	
Jacques LePautre	1653-1684	1670s Jean Berin in. et del, Jacques LePautre fe, LePautre excud. sous les Charniers S ^{ts} . Innocens, Avec Privilege	
Jean LePautre	1618-1682	1670s LePautre delin. et sculp. Cum Privil. Regis, ce vende sous les charnier S ^t Inocent.	
Bernard Picart	1673-1733	1690s – early 1700s A Paris chez J. Mariette rue S. Jacques. Desiné et Gravé par Bern. Picart en 1706. Avec Privilege, G. Duchange ex. C.P.R.	
Gérard Jean-Baptiste Scotin	1671-1716	1690s A Paris, chez Guérard, rue Petit Pont, à l'image n-dame.	

			Se ven a Paris sur leQuay Pelletier a la Pomme d'Or au premier appartement. C.P.R. (address of J.D. de St. Jean)
Antoine Trouvain	1656-1708	1690s – early 1700s	A Paris, chez A. Trouvain, rue S ^t Jacques au Grand Monarque attenant les Mathurins, avec privilège du Roy.
Pierre Valleran		1680s	A Paris, chez P. Valleran, rue de Savoye, proche les Grands Augustins
Jan Vander Bruggen		1680s	Chez J. Vander-Bruggen, rue S ^t Jacques, au Grand Magasin d'images, avec P.D.R.

Classifications of French fashion imagery

Beginning in the 1620s with the works of Jacques Callot, a small but growing number of French print artists focused their efforts on a new compositional style for the presentation of dress, costume and culture. Changes in meaning were reflected in a shift away from the stylized and stereotypic portrayals of costume print imagery of the previous century and instead towards depictions of realistic, contemporary society. The newer compositional style reduced the importance of background, and initiated a fashionably dressed, monumental figure as subject matter. A lapse in the production of these and all types of prints occurred as a result of the disarray brought on by civil war in mid-century. However, the return to peace in the 1660s brought a rebound in French art and printmaking of all genres and types. The 1670s ushered in a new era of for these prints whose subject matter now recorded *fashion* as opposed to *costume*. Seasonal changes in dress as well as a new mercantile interest in *la mode* stimulated the production rate of these prints, considered “generic” because of their ambiguous sitter attributions. By the late 1680s, generic fashion prints were joined by two new forms of fashion prints: fashion-portrait prints of the aristocracy and allegory prints.¹⁸⁰ Many of these were

¹⁸⁰ Another name used for these prints, other than just “portrait,” refers to them as *semi-reél*, or “semi-real,” as they do not copy an existing painting, nor were they done from life. Eugène Bouvy, *La Gravure de portraits et d'allégories* (Paris, Brussels: Les éditions G. Van Oest, 1929), 70.

created by the same artists who produced the generic fashion prints. The last variation to join the genre of fashion prints was the satire fashion print, partially a response to cultural and social issues present in late seventeenth-century French society.

Print classifications, 1675-1715

The revised definition of a fashion print provides guidelines for classifying prints into a genre of seventeenth-century French prints which illustrate fashion, dress and manners. Briefly, a fashion print:

- expresses a social and cultural ideal for dress and appearance specific to that time.
- shows wearable clothing, as opposed to fantastical creations.
- is an image of popular, current dress.
- can be a portrait of a particular person wearing fashionable dress.
- can incorporate elements of allegory and satire.

Common characteristics of size, compositional form, and geographic origin identify these prints as belonging to a unique style. However, not all prints which share these characteristics are fashion prints. Several issues arise concerning function as well as imagery in some of the prints. Those which are positively identified as fashion prints are categorized into four specific groups, and described below. The justification for the exclusion of particular types of prints is described in related groups.

Common Characteristics of late seventeenth-century French fashion prints

Several common physical features appear in the 750 prints viewed for this study. A consistent size to the printed area, approximately 11 ½ by 7 inches, is found in 90 percent (677 prints) of the total analyzed prints. The other 10 percent (73 prints) consists mainly of small

prints, approximately 6 ½ by 4 ½ inches in size. About one percent of the total, fewer than 10 prints, are found in a different sizes and widths.¹⁸¹

The etching intaglio technique is the primary one used on these fashion prints, as it lends itself to the type of figure, as well as production, of these images.¹⁸² Etchings are created when a copper plate is prepared with a hard coating. The artist can freely draw his image into the coating using an etching needle, known as an *échoppe*. The plate is then dipped into acid to “bite” only those areas which have been exposed by the application of the tool. This is the area that is inked, pressed, and becomes the image. Some of the prints have areas which have been engraved as well, which is a different technique than etching. Engravings are created on a dry plate using a tool known as a “burin”, and require more control than an etching to create the desired image. As a result, engravings tend to display a less spontaneous image. However, the engraving technique can enhance certain lines of an etching, and are therefore sometimes found combined in the same plate. These techniques, as well as a “drypoint” technique, in which the etching tool is used on an uncoated plate, are all found in these fashion prints.

Fashion prints also share a similarity of compositional forms. The space is typically divided into two areas, with the subject imagery in the upper portion of the print and the written information in the lower. The subject, which occupies on average 80 percent of the printed surface area, consists of one or more monumental figures located in the center of the illustration. The figure or figures are presented in various poses, including walking, standing, seated or lying down. A dark, printed border generally encloses this subject area. The settings of the figures

¹⁸¹ In all cases, the dimensions of the prints are given as height by width. Of the 750 prints analyzed, 677 are approximately 11 ½ x 7 inch in the printed area. Six prints by Antoine Trouvain are approximately 13 x 16 ½ in size. Jean LePautre, Sébastien Le Clerc and Bernard Picart both created miniature prints, approximately 6 ½ x 4 ½ inches, numbering 67 in total.

¹⁸² For a more detailed description of these techniques, see Gascoigne, *How to Identify prints*, 52b,c.

range from a minimal indication of the ground or floor, to a rendering of a full landscape drawn in perspective. Some prints have only a few props, such as chairs, table, and flower urns. Occasionally, prints are found with a middle background, such as a tree or wall, but without an indication of a distant ground.

Outside and below the subject area is written information pertaining to the particular print. Although this typically includes a title inscription, it may also include the name of the engraver, the designer of the image, the name of publisher, the date of publication, a rhyming verse and some descriptive sentences. The largest script size is reserved for the title of the prints, which vary in verbal complexity, but generally consist of one line, in French. Ninety-one percent of the prints viewed for this study contain title inscriptions. Although the authors' names are present in 92 percent of the prints, the dates appear in only 32 percent of the prints. The most ubiquitous mark on these prints is the address of the publisher. Ninety-eight percent of the prints carry the name of the publisher, from whom these prints could be purchased. Only 11 small prints by Sébastien Le Clerc, just over one percent of the total number of prints analyzed, do not identify the publisher.

Throughout the forty-year period covered in this study, fashion prints can be found with titles accompanied by rhyming verse or short prose descriptions. The purpose of these lines is to further describe the appearance or activity of the subject. Thirty-five percent of the fashion prints studied for this dissertation include these descriptive verses or prose. Nicolas Arnoult's verse for his print, *La Bonne Courturierre*, is typical of the tone of the verses included on the prints: saucy but harmless (figure 49.)



Figure 49. n.d., detail, Nicolas Arnoult, *La Bonne Couturierre*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

La Bonne Courturierre

<i>D'ouvriere en futil jamais de plus habille Je donne le bon air a mes habillemens</i>	<i>Paroissez a la cour, ou Restez a la Ville Madame, et vous allez faire nombre d'Amans</i>
---	---

The Good Seamstress

The smart clothes I make are never in vain I present the best in my clothing	Whether at Court or in the City Madame, and you will have many lovers
---	--

In addition to these examples of short verse or prose, two generic fashion prints by Nicolas Arnoult contain unusually lengthy prose descriptions of the garments illustrated in the prints.

His *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé d'Esté* and *Homme de Qualité en Habit d'Esté* each record detailed attributes of the fashionable summer dress for a woman or man of taste, including all aspects of coiffure, jewelry, lace, ribbons and fabrics.

Descriptions of dress which accompany fashion prints are also found in several volumes of *Le Mercure Galant* and *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*. Ten fashion prints by Jean LePautre appear in 1678 editions of these related publications. Six prints appear in the January edition of *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*. Five of these prints illustrate fashionable dress for winter, each labeled with descriptors of lace, ribbons and fabrics. The images are also described in the accompanying written text. A sixth print is a double-page foldout of a Parisian boutique stocked with various articles of dress, including wigs, lace headdresses, ribbons, shoes and bolts

of fabric. This image is described in detail in the text of the journal, and includes information on the wardrobes of both women and men displayed in the boutique. The January *Extraordinaire* also includes the names of Parisian merchants who specialize in the featured items in the individual prints. Two additional labeled fashion prints by LePautre are featured in the April 1678 *Extraordinaire*, both with descriptions of the summer dress they illustrate. Finally, two prints, one a man and the other a woman, are found in the October 1678 *Mercure Galant*. These prints contain the identical title of *Habit d'Hyver*, and the same date written in letters within the frame of the image, *Mil six Cens Soixante et dix huict*. They are accompanied by description in the text only, which explains the colors and textures of the different fabrics making up the ensembles. Fashion imagery accompanied by descriptive text, such as these by LePautre, is rare, but provides significant information on the materials of fashion as well as current tastes of the period (figure 50.)



Figure 50. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, “Habit d’Hyver”, *L’extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

Many of the extant fashion prints in museum collections have been hand colored, although the majority remains in the original black-and-white format. According to Marianne Grivel, a number of illuminators were employed in the rue Saint-Jacques district.¹⁸³ These artists

¹⁸³ Grivel, *Le Commerce de L'estampe à Paris au XVIIe Siècle*, 28.

colored the prints before they arrived at market, and used a variety of colorants to create the paints used in the prints. Grivel points out that the fashion prints in particular were given the most expensive paints, and even gold was used in some cases. This can be seen in this detail of a print by Jean Mariette, *Marie Therese de Bourbon, Princesse de Conty* (figure 51.)



Figure 51. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Marie Therese de Bourbon, Princesse de Conty*, Morgan L&M (middle to late 1690s.)

The other colors used in this print include vivid shades of blue, red, green and pink, making a very pleasing composition. If this was a product of the rue Saint-Jacques, it indicates a high degree of workmanship and quality. However, because the illuminators rarely signed their work, it is difficult to know their relationship with the printmakers.

A few notable exceptions to the usual ambiguity of the illuminators can be found in the collections at the Arsenal branch of the BnF. There are four illuminated prints which bear the handwritten inscription, *Enluminé par la femme de S^r Jean*. Three of these prints are designed by her husband, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, while the fourth is a print by Antoine Trouvain (figure 52.)

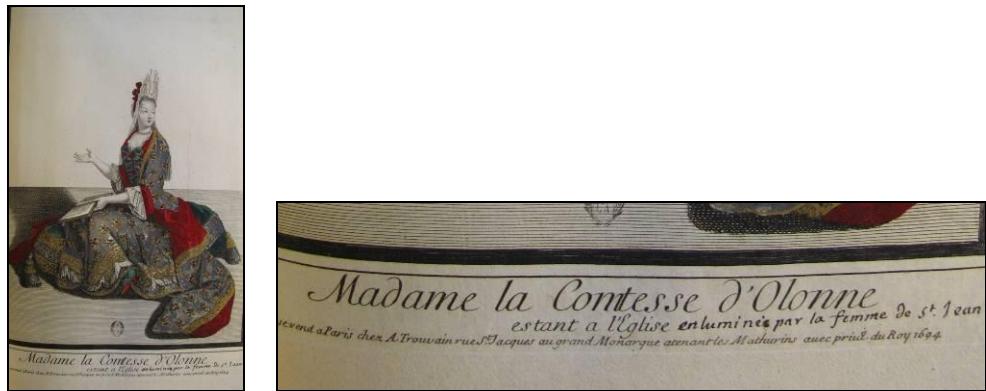


Figure 52. 1694, Antoine Trouvain, *Madame la Comtesse D'Olonne, estant a l'Eglise*, BnF.

Both of these print artists worked on the rue St. Jacques, and if the handwritten inscription is correct, this would be considered a print illuminated by the wife of one of them, and a member of the community. The paint is brilliant in this print, and includes purple, red, green and white, with gold paint on the trims of the skirt and *manteau*. The quality of the painting, however, is not as fine as seen in the Mariette print, though still very appealing.

There are examples of prints which contain very poor quality illumination, and some of these can be found in the Pepys collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Here, some of the fashion prints appear to have been done by an amateur hand, as large areas are crudely painted with blotches of paint (figure 53.)



Figure 53. n.d., Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Dame en dishabille d'hyver*, Pepys Library Magdalene College (PLMC; early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Although the colors are brilliant, and some gold paint is used, they remain inferior to the two described above. These prints were bound into albums in the 1690s, soon after they were purchased, so the painting occurred close to the time of purchase. Did Pepys purchase these prints as illuminated works, or did he possibly have them illuminated in London? Or did he paint them himself? The answers to these questions require more research, but are unfortunately outside the topic of this dissertation.

Another form of print related to the illuminated prints is the so-called “dressed print.” These prints are created by the careful extraction of parts of the prints, which is then replaced by woven silk fabrics to imitate real dress fabrics. The remaining printed paper figures are painted, sometimes using brilliant colors and gold paint. They range in quality, from very skillful workmanship to rather slipshod attempts, with bits of glue and paper remaining on the surface of the print. According to the Morgan Library & Museum website, these prints have been identified as eighteenth century creations because of the textiles. It is also thought that they are the work of young girls, but to date, this author has not seen any prints which identify the creator of one of these dressed prints. In fact, the range in quality suggests that some of these, the very high quality examples, may have been done professionally for the market (figure 54.)



Figure 54. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, *Monsieur Le Comte de Tourville Vice Amiral et Marechal de France*, Morgan L&M (middle to late 1690s.)

This is a particularly fine example of a dressed print, one which is among many excellent examples in Morgan collection. The handwritten inscription on this print reads, *Anne Hilarion de Corsentin de Tourville né au Chateau de Tourville, près Coutances 1642 mort 28 mai 1701: facis.* Admiral Anne-Hilarion de Corsentin de Tourville was a famous French military hero, famous for defeating the English in a 1693 battle. He is shown on a stone terrace pointing his gloved hand to the warships of France which are engaged in that very battle. The fabrics used in the dressed print include green silk velvet (hat), red silk velvet and pattern weave with gold thread (jacket), green silk pattern weave (jacket cuffs) olive green silk faille (clocked stockings) and red silk (heels of shoes.) Some areas of the print, such as the rim of the hat and the jacket braid trim are painted with gold paint. Overall, the painting of his face is sensitive and carefully rendered, as are the warships, all parts of the costume and the foreground. This is the type of example which suggests a professional hand. Although these types of prints are not the focus of this research, they are an important addition to fashion print history, as they offer a unique variation of the art form, even if they distort the original information. This is an area which deserves more research.

Fashion print sub-categories

Each individual print included in this study was classified as belonging to one of four group categories of fashion prints. These four groups are identified as generic fashion prints, fashion-portrait prints, allegory fashion prints, and satire fashion prints.

One of the purposes of the revised fashion print definition is to resolve issues of inclusion and exclusion which surfaced in earlier studies. The sub-categories were derived from the examination and analysis of fashion prints dating from 1675 to 1715, whether photographed in collections or retrieved from electronic sources.

Print title inscriptions provided the first line of evidence for the identification of the group classification of a print. This approach was also used by earlier print scholars. However, restrictive definitions adopted in the past excluded many prints from consideration as fashion prints. For example, the same print might be produced multiple times but with different titles, identifying the figure in one as a *femme de qualité* and in another as a particular person, such as *Madame la Duchesse de Bourgogne*. In reality, these prints are indistinguishable from each other except for their inscriptions. Despite their identical imagery, the former was classified as belonging to the fashion print genre, while the latter was considered a portrait and therefore disregarded as a fashion print. The earlier, restrictive definitions of fashion prints were the cause of this discrepancy, and the reason why many prints were overlooked. With the revision of the definition of the fashion print, both of these prints are now included in the overall classification of fashion print, but sorted into separate sub-categories. The *femme de qualité* is now categorized as a generic fashion print, and *Madame la Duchesse de Bourgogne* is a fashion-portrait print.

The number of prints in each group, plus their percentage of the total number of prints included in this study, is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Total number of prints by subject matter.

Sub-category	Number of prints	Percentage of total prints
Generic fashion prints	394	53%
Fashion-portrait prints	257	34%
Allegory fashion prints	83	11%
Satire fashion prints	16	2%
Total	750	100%

The generic fashion prints sub-category contains the highest number of prints examined and analyzed for this study, accounting for just over half of the total. The fashion-portraits fashion prints are the second most numerous prints, making up one-third of the count. The allegories and satires are fewer in number, but their combined total of 95 prints remains a significant contribution.

Limitations of the data

Although this chart accurately represents the number of prints included in this study, it is does not necessarily reflect the actual number of prints produced in each of these sub-categories in the period of 1675 to 1715. The limitations of time and money restricted the ability to examine every print by each of the artists included in the study. Listings in the IFF for the artist Nicolas Arnoult classify 105 prints as “portrait” prints, yet only 12 were actually seen by this author. Similar comparison in numbers is found for other artists, including the Bonnart brothers, Antoine Trouvain and Jean Mariette. This suggests that if these prints are indeed in the format and style of the fashion prints, fashion-portrait prints far out-number the generic fashion prints. It is the belief of this author that this last statement is true, and that the number of prints allocated to the total genre is closer to 2000 prints. However, without verification of the compositional characteristics of each of these portrait prints, the actual count remains uncertain.

Summary of artists and print classifications

A summary list of the names of the artists and the number of their prints examined in each sub-category is seen below in Table 3.

Table 3. Artists and categories of prints by subject matter.

Artist	generic fashion prints	fashion portrait prints	allegory fashion prints	satire fashion prints	Totals
Nicolas Arnoult	81	12	10	6	109
Nicolas Bazin	1	2			3
Claude-Auguste Berey	2	12			14
Nicolas Bonnart	43	6	24		73
Henri Bonnart	27	29			56
Robert Bonnart	26	49	10		86
Jean-Baptiste Bonnart	10	3			13
Élisabeth Bouchet Le Moine		2			2
Sebastien Le Clerc	11				11
Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean	56	10			66
Jean Dolivar	2				2
Franz Ertinger	4				4
François Galand	1				1
Nicolas Guérard			1	8	9
François Gerard Jollain	3			1	4
Gerard II Jollain	7				7
François L'Aîne Jollain		2			2
D. Landry		1			1
Lochon	1				1
Jean Mariette	21	34	31		85
Jacques LePautre	3				3
Jean LePautre	26				26
Bernard Picart	46	6			52
Gérard Jean-Baptiste Scotin		1			1
Antoine Trouvain	17	88	7		112
Pierre Valleran	2				2
Jean Vander Bruggen	4			1	5
Totals 27 artists	394	257	83	16	750

As can be seen by this chart, the majority of artists working in this time period produced generic fashion prints. Some, like the Bonnart brothers and Jean Mariette, produced numerous prints in all but the satire fashion print category. Very few printmakers created satire prints, with the majority of these represented by Nicolas Guérard. The highest number of prints by a single artist

are by Antoine Trouvain, who also created the highest number of fashion-portrait prints. The following descriptions detail the criteria used to define and distinguish these four groups represented in this table.

Generic fashion prints

Generic fashion prints first appear in the mid-1670s, and are among the earliest prints of the 1675 to 1715 fashion print genre. They conform to the standard format described above, but are characterized by the presence of an impersonal identifying inscription. Typical examples of their inscriptions include titles such as *homme de qualité*, *femme de qualité*, *habit de ville*, *habit d'hyver*, and *dame de qualité en robe de chambre*. Although they lack a named subject, such as a particular figure at court, they are specific in their identification of the subject's social class. Approximately 40 percent of the generic fashion prints examined in this study have inscriptions which include the phrase *de qualité*. This terminology was used in seventeenth-century France to denote people of wealthy and high social rank, such as royalty, nobility and wealthy bourgeoisie who served at court.¹⁸⁴ The recognition of class is significant, as it identifies the illustrated figures with social groups which were close to the royal circle, and thereby influenced by court fashion. These groups could afford to emulate the changing cycles of fashion which were *de rigueur* at the Versailles court.

The typical generic fashion print shows a figure or figures in a variety of poses and settings. One iconic image often reproduced from this period shows a woman of fashion being accompanied by her young servant (figure 55.)

¹⁸⁴ An example of the *haute bourgeoisie* can be found in Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who was the son of a textile merchant, but rose in power under Louis XIV, eventually controlling several departments of the nation's government. His daughter and son married into the landed nobility, the *noblesse d'épée*.



Figure 55. 1689, Nicolas Arnoult, *Femme de qualité en habit d'Esté*, Morgan L&M.

The servant in this 1689 example by Nicolas Arnoult would be described in seventeenth-century France as a “moor.” He is dressed in livery and wears high heels and a turban which is embellished with decorative plumes. The high heels are derived from adult menswear, the livery identifies his servant status, and the turban gives him an exotic foreign air. The young woman wears a classic *fontanges* of the 1680s, a trained *manteau*, lace engageantes, and a skirt trimmed in fashionable horizontal stripes. The servants pictured in this type of image were of both European and foreign descent. In this print, the absence of background throws the figures into high relief, and places the emphasis on their stylish fashions.

The classification of prints into the sub-category of generic fashion prints required a departure from some classifications found in earlier studies. For example, there are several prints included in Gaudriault’s inventory which are not classified as fashion prints in this study.¹⁸⁵ The reason for the change is due to details appearing in the prints which signal general clothing imagery rather than fashion imagery. In his inventory, Gaudriault listed nineteen prints by Sébastien Le Clerc as belonging to the fashion print genre. The frontispiece of this set of prints identifies them as being dedicated to the duc de Bourgogne, although none of the prints

¹⁸⁵ Gaudriault identifies only one overall classification of fashion prints, which by definition excludes all portraits, allegories and satires.

contain individual title inscriptions. The lack of inscriptions on these prints might lead one to believe that all of them are related to fashion, but the details presented in the prints do not support this assumption. A close examination of the prints reveals images of richly dressed aristocrats as well as plainly dressed peasants. Although included by Gaudriault, the eight prints which depict peasants are not included as fashion prints in this study. These images portray clothing of the poorer classes, and although informative, this type of dress imagery is distinctive from fashion imagery. Imagery of dress is more general and inclusive, and includes a wide range of clothing styles among all classes. The definition of fashion imagery for seventeenth-century France narrows the imagery of dress to the clothing worn exclusively by those of the wealthy, privileged class, which changed seasonally. This association of fashion with rank is reinforced in the inscriptions such as *homme de qualité*, *femme de qualité*, etc. Le Clerc's peasants are not part of this fashion narrative, but should instead be understood as realistic dress of the poorer classes. Interestingly, Gaudriault does not categorize two etchings by Jean Dieu de Saint Jean as fashion prints, despite the fact that the figures are dressed in similar clothing to those in the Le Clerc prints. The social class of the subject is identified in these prints by the inscriptions, *Paisant des environs de Paris* and *Paisanne des environs de Paris*. A comparison of a Le Clerc figure and the *Paisanne* by Dieu de Saint Jean reveal close similarity in garment type and cut (figure 56 and 57.)¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ Gaudriault also determined that not all prints which were created by these artists in the familiar compositional format and style would be classified as fashion prints. The prints depicting peasants created by Jean Dieu de Saint Jean are similar to those which are classified by Gaudriault and myself as fashion prints, but neither of us considered them part of the fashion print genre.



Figure 56. n.d., Sébastien Le Clerc, *untitled*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Figure 57. n.d., Jean Dieu-de-Saint-Jean, *Paisanne des environs de Paris*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Several groups of prints not found in Gaudriault's inventory are included in this study as belonging to the sub-category of generic fashion prints. These groups are characterized by subjects with a common theme. One of these groups illustrates women and men at work. These prints include *Le Tailleur*, *La Bonne Couturiere*, *La Coifeuse* and *La Belle Barbier*. All of these images relate to the business of fashion, yet differ from other fashion images in that the workers are themselves the subject of the prints. The 1690s print by Nicolas Arnoult of *La Bonne Couturiere* illustrates a young woman being attended to by a dressmaker and her helper (figure 58.)



Figure 58. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, *La Bonne Couturiere*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Each of the figures is dressed in fashionable styles: lace *fontanges*, lace *engageantes*, *manteau* and decorative skirt. The status of each is indicated by the degree of dress

extravagance, with the customer being the best dressed (jewels in her *fontanges*, long lace *engageantes*, skirt striped with a variety of embellishments.) She is lacking her *manteau*, which is being draped over a chair by the dressmaker's helper. The dressmaker retains the fashionable elements of her client, but she is less elegant (no jewels in her hair, less formal *fontanges*, shorter *engageantes*, skirt embellished with identical bandings.) The dressmaker's helper has the plainest dress of the three, yet retains the fashionable silhouette (*fontanges* without lappets, a *manteau* with borders which match her employer and visually link the two, and a skirt simply decorated with a floral motif.) This print offers a window into the beliefs and customs of the period, reinforcing the perception that the elegant, rich and fashionable must be served by those who share their taste, but in a recognizably more modest form.

Although the lowest ranked person in *La Bonne Couturiere* is the dressmaker's helper, even her relatively plain dress is in contrast to the dress of the peasant women, (figure 56 and 57 above.) The dress of these women, who live outside aristocratic circles, contains few shared attributes with the wealthy and fashionable. Often peasant dress is retrospective of earlier times, and this can be observed in the long pointed bodice and wide collar on the figure in the Dieu de Saint-Jean print. The two peasant women arrange the parts of their dress in different manners from the wealthy class. For example, each raises her upper skirt to allow ease of movement, a style which is never seen in the images of the women of quality. The *coiffure* also sends messages of class and rank, and the simple *coiffe* worn by the two peasant women is quite different from the towering headdress constructions worn in the upper circles of society. The general impression is one of exclusion, and the inscription itself suggests that status, *Paisanne des environs de Paris*.

Another group of theme-related prints included in this study are those which illustrate people of quality at leisure, usually playing outdoor games in fashions identical to those worn in other prints. Examples of this type of print include several published by Nicolas Arnoult, including *Le Jeu des echecs*, *Le Jeu de quille*, *Le Jeu de Boule* and *Le Jeu du Volant*. In his *Le Jeu du Volant* print, Arnoult's figures, two women and one man, are fashionably dressed yet actively batting about a badminton "birdie" (figure 59.)



Figure 59. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, *Le Jeu du Volant*, MFA Boston (middle to late 1690s.)

The degree of movement seen in the figures is unusual for a fashion print, though not entirely absent from the genre. Again, this print provides evidence for a social behavior which reaches beyond the sedately posed figures seen in most fashion prints. Their participation and enjoyment of physical activity is surprising and refreshing and appeals to our modern ideas of healthy living.

A final group of prints included in the generic fashion print sub-category are associated with religious orders, particularly the school of Saint Cyr, which was created and supported by Madame de Maintenon, morganatic wife of Louis XIV. The attendees of this school wear a religious costume which blends the more rigid and plain dress seen in traditional religious habits with the fashionable dress of the period. In this print by Henri Bonnart, two young pupils,

identified as first and second year students, wear *fontanges*, headscarves, lace *engageantes*, *manteaux* and underskirts, though all constructed in plain fabrics (figure 60.)



Figure 60. n.d., *Desmoiselles de St. Cyr*, Henri Bonnart, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s)

This blending of fashion and tradition at one of the first French educational institutions for women reflects the modernity which this experimental school embodied.¹⁸⁷

Fashion-portrait prints

Fashion-portrait prints must be differentiated from formal portraits of the period. The differences arise when comparing compositional format as well as function of the two types of portrait prints.

Formal engraved portraits became prevalent early in the 1600s, and their popularity continued unabated throughout the seventeenth century. They were typically copies of paintings which were recreated as busts and then set into elaborate oval frames. Robert Nanteuil's portrait of Anne of Austria, Louis XIV's mother, is a copy of Pierre Mignard's painting of the same name. It is a classic example of the formal print style found in the second half of the seventeenth century (figure 61.)

¹⁸⁷ Many unmarried daughters born into high-ranking families were sent to live in traditional convents, and the religious life was considered an honorable avocation for them. Convents also became refuges for wealthy women during troubled times.



Figure 61. ca. 1660, Robert Nanteuil, *Anne of Austria*, after by Pierre Mignard, Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University (JMACU.)

The formal portraits came in a wide variety of sizes, from as large as 25 inches by 20 inches to as small as 6 inches by 4 inches.¹⁸⁸

Compared to commissioned painted portraits, the relatively inexpensive formal prints provided a wide audience with a visual representation of wealth and privilege. The imagery conveyed identifiable symbols of status associated with the aristocracy. Popular portraits of kings, queens and the nobility linked power and elegant dress, an association a growing merchant class could and would aspire to. Although these formal prints contain detailed dress information, they are not considered fashion prints. Their function was identity, power and prestige rather than fashion, and they emphasized the individuality of their sitters rather than a popular ideal. Tradition, rather than modernity, is their dominant theme.

The association of power and dress was repeated in the early 1680s when a new type of portrait emerged, one that combined the format of the popular generic fashion prints with a “portrait” of a well-known member of the royal court. Again, extravagantly embellished clothing linked dress and status in the minds of the viewers. Unlike the formal portraits, these

¹⁸⁸ *Anne of Austria* by Nanteuil is 25½ x 19 ¾ inches. Another seventeenth-century print in the Herbert F. Johnson Museum is much smaller: the *Comtesse Pembroke, Maria Sidney* by Jean de Courbes measures approximately 6 x 4 inches.

newcomers were characterized by their departure from reality: subjects were portraying as idealized, fashionable figures, with little concern for the reality of their subjects' distinguishing physical features. These prints conceded little more than a hint of the true likenesses of their subjects. Instead, fashion was the subject of these prints, with identity being a secondary, although commercially lucrative, feature. The formal portrait prints continued to be produced, but retained their traditional compositional form of half-length image within a stylized oval frame, while these newer portraits were full-length images, following the trend set by the popular generic prints. As a result, both generic and fashion-portrait prints displayed the entire dress *ensemble* of their subjects, with figures set within an identical compositional format and style of presentation. Without their inscriptions, these full-length portraits and the generic fashion prints would be indistinguishable from each other. The sub-category of fashion-portrait was created in this study in order to recognize this relationship, and link these prints to the fashion print genre of the late seventeenth century.

A typical fashion-portrait print can be seen in Robert Bonnart's print entitled, *Catherine de Neuville, Comtesse d'Armagnac* (figure 62.).



Figure 62. n.d., Robert Bonnart, *Catherine de Neuville, Comtesse d'Armagnac*, RJM (middle to late 1690s.)

The size of the print, predominant figure framed in dark border, and inscription placed in the lower register identify the image as belonging to the fashion print genre. The countess is shown dressed in fashionable lace *fontanges*, long training *manteau*, decorative stomacher, underskirt embellished with *falbala* trim on the upper half and a wide border of embroidery on the lower hem. She is placed in a setting of minimal props, only a floor and an urn with a flowering shrub. Her pose is somewhat formal and her demeanor is reserved, perhaps a reference to her dignified status. Without the identifying inscription, however, she could well have been a *femme de qualité* walking through her garden.

The inclusion of these portrait prints into the general category of fashion prints is a departure from the classifications proposed by Gaudriault, who rejects all portraits as belonging to the fashion print genre, including both formal portraits as well as portraits composed in the fashion print format. Although this seems logical for formal portrait prints, the exclusion of all portrait prints is problematic. In fact, Gaudriault makes an exception for portraits created in the fashion print format which identify some aspect of dress in the inscription. For example, *Madame la Duchess de Portsmouth en déshabillé sur un canapé* by Claude-Auguste Berey is classified by Gaudriault as a fashion print, while the same artist's *Madame la Duchesse de Valentinois* is not. Both are in the compositional form of a fashion print, with their only difference being a verbal reference to dress in the *Portsmouth* inscription. This author feels this classification to be arbitrary and contradictory, as all portraits had been declared previously to be outside the genre. In order to resolve this contradiction, for this study, all portrait prints conforming to the fashion print format are classified as fashion-portrait prints, whether or not their inscriptions contain a reference to dress.

Additional problems with Gaudriault's approach to portraiture arise when separate copies of the same printed image contain different inscriptions. This occurs when a print is produced in multiple states; one state may be identified in a generic manner while a second names the subject of the print. According to Gaudriault's rules of classification, only the former is a fashion print. Classifying these prints into appropriate groups, one generic and the other fashion-portraits, solves the problem of prints with the same image but with different inscriptions.¹⁸⁹

A group of prints that has been placed into this group, which was entirely excluded from Gaudriault's classification, depicts popular actors and actresses in stage costume. These prints share the physical measurements and compositional format of images identified as generic and fashion-portrait prints. The inclusion of a name in the inscription places them in the sub-category of fashion-portrait prints, though several have generic inscriptions and have been placed in the generic fashion print sub-category (figure 63.)



Figure 63. n.d, Jean Mariette, *Catherine Biancolelli ditte Columbine*, V&A (middle to late 1690s.)

The theater was a popular entertainment venue for members of court, and the magnificent costumes worn in the performances were often designed by court artists such as Jean Berain.

¹⁸⁹ The changes in details of dress as well as backgrounds which is often found in different print states has not been a point of contention in the past, nor is it one in this study. Two examples of the same image of Louis XIV, one with a background and one with a detailed landscape, continue to be considered the same print.

Evidence for the influence of stage costume appears in letters and memoirs from the period, which relate the adoption into fashionable dress of sleeve and skirt styles worn on stage. This influence can be seen in several fashion-portrait prints which depict members of the aristocracy in masquerade costume. Their costumes include the plumed headdresses and heavily embellished garments seen in prints of theater performers (figure 64.)



Figure 64. 1694, Antoine Trouvain, *Ma^m la Duchesse de Humieres, en habit de bal*, BnF.

Plumed headdresses are also found in images of women dressed in their *habit de chasse*, another example of the influence of theater costume on court dress.

Another departure from the typical fashion-portrait print is one which combines allegory and fashion-portrait. This can be seen in the portrait by Robert Bonnart of Mademoiselle de Loube , a maid of honor for Elisabeth Charlotte (named in the print as *Madame*.) In this image, the young lady is identified as being dressed as the classical huntress Diane, and wears loose garments which convey a sense of the Roman goddess (Figure 65.).



Figure 65. 1694, Robert Bonnart, *Mademoiselle de Loube, Fille d'honneur de Madame, en Diane*, BnF.

However, her hair is in the style of the court, piled high on the top of her head, and her neckline and sleeves follow the fashionable cut for the day. The flowing drapery is reminiscent of stage costume, and adds to the sense of movement by the figure. Like the theater prints, the identifying inscriptions of these prints places them in the group of the fashion-portrait print.

There is a small group of prints which were not included in this study which combine elements of both the formal print and the fashion-portrait print. Several portraits created in the early eighteenth century by Étienne Desrochers adopted the gestures and postures seen in the fashion prints rather than the stiff poses found in the formal portraits. These portraits were framed by the traditional oval enclosure with lettering identifying the figure. The portrait of Madeléine de Scudéry has additional inscription identifying her as *la Sapho de son siècle* and records her death of June 2, 1702 (figure 66.)¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ According to BnF records, her date of death is actually June 2, 1701.



Figure 66. n.d., Étienne Desrochers, *Magdalene de SCUDERI*, BnF (early 18th century.)

The images in these prints are similar to several allegorical prints published by Jean Mariette.

The full sleeves, floating pinned shoulder drapery, decorative stomacher and plumed headdress seen in this print bears resemblance to dress details seen in several different Mariette allegories.

The allegory of smell, *L'odorat*, and touch, *Le Toucher*, illustrate this similarity (figures 67 and 68.)



Figure 67. n.d., Jean Mariette, *L'Odorat*, BM (middle to late 1690s.)



Figure 68. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Le Toucher*, BM (middle to late 1690s.)

In total, 257 prints made up the group of fashion-portrait prints included in this study.

Allegory fashion prints

The history of allegorical prints dates back to the beginning of the Renaissance, but the merging of allegory and fashion begins in the seventeenth century. In the earlier years of the century, allegories began to depict contemporary figures in relationship with traditional themes such as the order of nature (the four seasons, the four elements, etc.) and the human condition (the seven sins, the five senses, etc.) In this period, allegories were not defined by the same social prescriptions as formal portraits, and as a result were freer to inject a more complex message. Moral lessons were often integral to this imagery, presenting commentary in the context of social and cultural norms and ideals. In order to communicate their messages, these prints combined fantasy and reality: the fantasy personification of subject, and the reality of this subject in fashionable dress. Several artists, including Abraham Bosse, Jean Couvay and the publisher Huart, produced scenes with images of fashionable young ladies and men representing allegorical attributes (figure 69.)



Figure 69. n.d., Jean Couvay, *Le beau seiour des cinq sens*, SMK (circa 1640s.)

These prints were often elaborately composed panoramas, and although they may have influenced the allegory fashion prints which appeared later, their function was more literary. In

general, they referenced classical texts, and were less concerned with the interest in materiality seen later in the century.

Following the successful introduction of portraiture into fashion prints in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, it seems that additional themes suggested themselves in the minds of the French printmakers. In the mid-1680s, prints began to appear in the same compositional form as generic and fashion-portrait prints, but which now mixed allegorical elements with fashion. Rather than an inscription announcing the subject as a well-known member of court, these prints identified themselves as allegories, such as *La Terre*, *L'Autonne* and *Le Goust*. Non-verbal clues in the form of symbolic props were included by the artists for identifying the prints as belonging to particular allegorical traditions.

A typical allegory fashion print can be seen in the print, *L'orgueil* (Pride), designed by Robert Bonnart and published by his brother, Henri. In this image, a fashionably dressed young woman is shown admiring her reflection in the mirror. Behind her struts a magnificent peacock, symbol of pride and visual clue to the meaning of the allegory (figure 70.)



Figure 70. n.d., Robert Bonnart, *L'orgueil*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

As in the generic fashion prints, the focal point of the print is the fashionable dress of the figure, which lends style and elegance to the overall image. Adopting the style of the generic prints, the figures are often represented without background, so that the details of dress are in the forefront

of the imagery. Despite the inscription and edifying verse, the allegorical intensity is diluted in order to highlight the fashionable beauty. This change in composition and style represent a shift in the primary emphasis of these prints away from the moral lessons of those produced earlier in the century. They are now firmly in the fashion print camp, having adopted the lucrative format of the generic and fashion-portrait prints.

Several different types of prints are categorized in this study as allegory fashion prints. These include prints created by the Bonnart brothers, Nicolas Arnoult and Jean Mariette, who produced a wide range of subjects within the umbrella of allegory. The most common themes represent the seasons, senses, elements, months of the year, and times of day. A smaller group of prints include more eclectic topics, such as women dressed as the different muses (*Melpomene*), Roman women representing loyalty (*Lucretia*), women in the role of the arts (*L'Architecture*), the ages of civilization (*L'aage de fer*) and the exotic women of the past (*Orithie Reyne des Amazones*.) A print dating from the 1690s by Jean Mariette, *L'Imprimerie*, honors the muse of printing, an appropriate image from this prolific publisher (figure 71.)



Figure 71. n.d., Jean Mariette, *L'Imprimerie*, BM (middle to late 1690s.)

The allegories in this fashion print genre retain some of the freedoms seen in the prints of their predecessors. There is an occasional departure from the strict literalness found in the generic fashion prints. For example, classical themes were popular during the late seventeenth

century, and a reference to Roman classical drapery can be found worn by women in several allegory fashion prints. Other influences include theater costumes, as figures are shown in the plumed headdresses and flowing veils worn by stage actresses. Finally, the series format of allegorical prints which was established in earlier times continues as a popular collecting tradition and though not necessarily sold together as sets, they were collectable as such. The juxtaposition of allegory and fashion adds a new choice to the traditional imagery and may well have been a lucrative product, appealing to buyers interested in fashion as well as those who collected allegorical sets.

Satire fashion prints

The number of prints mocking fashion increased in the second half of the seventeenth century, paralleling the increasing interest in fashionable dress¹⁹¹. Although these satiric prints did not strictly conform to the format found in the generic, fashion-portrait and allegory prints, they often mocked specific fashion prints. Including these prints in this study reveals reactions to social and cultural trends of the period, and gives balance to a literal interpretation of the fashion and manners presented in prints. There is a danger in the literal interpretation of dress as illustrated in historic images, and sources which dispel assumptions are vital to our understanding of the times, whether they are personal revelations in diaries or satiric prints which mock a lifestyle. By revealing contradictions, these prints allow us to recognize the ideals which a society projects in its images of itself. We can then look beyond the façade in order to gather a more realistic understanding of the period.

¹⁹¹ See especially Nicolas Guérard, whose prints specifically target the excesses of the wealthy bourgeoisie during the end of the seventeenth century. The Morgan Library and Museum has a collection of 35 of his prints, all with a social theme, though fewer than 20 directly comment on fashion.

Some early seventeenth century prints which exhibited satiric interpretations of fashion include those of Abraham Bosse. His prints of the 1630s and 1640s are characterized by their juxtaposition of social relationships, satire and fashion. They present the fashionable men and women in a variety of situations: church (not particularly reverent), reading the new edicts against luxury (bemoaning the loss of their personal finery) absorbed in self-adulation (the Foolish Virgins) and sometimes behaving altruistically (the Wise Virgins.) Unfortunately, the civil war of mid-century halted much of the printmaking activity in France, and despite his prolific *oeuvre*, artists were not to follow Bosse's lead until the later in the century.

Nicolas Guérard produced numerous satires commenting on the social and cultural manners of the period. Eight of his satires directly deal with the foibles and follies of fashion, and several are direct spoofs of popular fashion prints. A typical example of his work can be seen in his image entitled, *Tout ce qui reluit n'est pas or/Mode Bourgeoise* (figure 72.)



Figure 72. n.d., Nicolas Guérard, *Tout ce qui reluit n'est pas or/Mode Bourgeoise*, ML&M (middle to late 1690s.)

In this print, Guérard portrays an overdressed young woman in layers of finery (especially lace), who symbolizes the growing display of wealth which was becoming common among those of the *haute bourgeoisie*. Messages relating to the image are in the verse in the lower register of the print, as well as sprinkled throughout the page. The two titles, translated as "All that shines is

not gold” and “Bourgeois fashion” identify the moral tone of the print as well as the social status of the figure. A small inscription on the upper right corner reads, “The mode of imitating the people of quality as much as one possibly can,” and sums up the content of the messages inscribed on the print. The composition of the satire is similar to prints illustrating the popular *mode* of the late 1690s/ early 1700s, and found in several prints by Claude-Auguste Berry and Antoine Trouvain, such as the two seen below (figures 73 and 74.)



Figure 73. n.d., Claude-Auguste Berey, *Madame La Duchesse de Valentinois*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Figure 74. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, *Madame la Marechalle de Bouflers*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Both of these prints are fashion-portrait prints, portraying the members of the nobility, who would be expected to dress in the height of fashion. Each is a *femme de qualité* by birth, unlike the luckless *bourgeoisie* featured in the Guérard print. The two members of the nobility wear a similar *ensemble* cut in a full silhouette: *fontanges*, lappets, *manteau*, *echarpe*¹⁹², petticoat, muff and fan are all created from fine fabrics, many with lace or ruffle embellishment. The satiric image created by Guérard carries this ideal *mode* to the extreme, mocking the excess and lack of taste of the imitative upstart.

¹⁹² An *echarpe* or *escharpe* is a particular garment worn by the nobility which is more significant than a “scarf” which is the definition found in modern dictionaries. It is usually a garment of high quality, such as lace or an embroidered silk, and worn as a wide sash at the hips by men, and as an elegant shoulder wrap by women. It is not seen in depictions of peasants during this period. For this reason, the French word *echarpe* is retained in this dissertation in preference to the English word, “scarf.”

Evolution of imagery, 1675-1715

Four stylistic periods of fashion prints

French prints dating from 1675 to 1715 which emphasize dress and fashion can be grouped into four main stylistic periods: middle 1670s to late 1670s, early 1680s to early 1690s, middle 1690s to late 1690s, and early eighteenth century to 1715. The first prints appear in the mid-1670s, and were created by a small group of artists. The next period, dating from the early 1680s to early 1690s, saw an exponential growth in the number of fashion prints produced in Paris. Several artists continued from the earlier period, with an equal number of new artists becoming active during this time. Even more prints were created in the middle 1690s, though these were produced by fewer artists. The final period, the early eighteenth century, saw a precipitous drop in the number of artists and prints. Although few prints from the entire range include a printed date, these can be used to analyze those without dates by comparing dress detail and print compositional style. Additional evidence can be gleaned from literature such as *Le Mercure Galant*, memoirs and letters. The stylistic periods, artists and number of dated prints are shown in Table 4, with additional rows listing all artists who created prints without dates. The majority of the artists created some prints with dates, and others without.

Table 4. Stylistic periods, active artists and number of dated and undated prints.

Stylistic periods	Artists	Number of total dated prints
Middle 1670s to late 1670s	Bonnart brothers Sebasti�n Le Clerc Jacques LePautre Jean LePautre Jean Dieu de Saint Jean	15
Early 1680s to early 1690s	Nicolas Arnoult Bonnart brothers Nicolas Bazin Elizabeth Bouchet-Le-Moine Jean Dieu de Saint Jean Franz Ertinger Jollain family Sebasti�n Le Clerc Lochon Jacques LePautre Pierre Valleran Jean Vander Bruggen	100
Middle 1690s to late 1690s	Nicolas Arnoult Claude-Auguste Berey Bonnart brothers Sebasti�n Le Clerc Jean Dieu de Saint Jean Jean Dieu de Saint Jean (widow) Fran�ois Galand Nicolas Gu�rrd Jollain brothers D. Landry Jean Mariette Bernard Picart G�r�ard-Baptiste Scotin Antoine Trouvain	108
Early eighteenth century to 1715	Nicolas Arnoult Claude-Auguste Berey Bonnart brothers Jean Mariette Bernard Picart Antoine Trouvain	7
Total dated prints		230
Undated prints, all four periods	Jean LePautre Jean Dieu de Saint Jean Bonnart brothers	520

	Nicolas Arnoult Jean Dolivar Nicolas Guérard Jollain brothers D. Landry Jean Mariette Jacques LePautre Bernard Picart Pierre Valleran Antoine Trouvain Jean Van der Bruggen	
Total undated prints		520
Total prints in study		750

Artists active in the mid to late 1670s

The most active artists in this early period of the study include Jean LePautre, the Bonnart brothers, and Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. The prints of this period were exclusively generic fashion prints, and did not include the fashion-portrait, allegory or satire fashion prints seen later. Only fifteen prints examined for this research included either 1670s dates on the print, or the prints were part of a publication with a known date.

Jean LePautre

A small group of prints by Jean LePautre (1618-1682) are especially important for understanding dress and fashion in the 1670s, as they provide a definitive publication date alongside detailed fashion description. The ten LePautre prints published in 1678 by *Le Mercure Galant* and its seasonal supplement *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, are an invaluable source for the time and place of fashion in late seventeenth-century France (figure 75.)



Figure 75. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berian, "Deshabillé d'Hyver," *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

Early Bonnard prints

The visual and written information accompanying these prints can be used to date undated prints from the period. An example of the application of the dress information can be applied to two prints by Nicolas Bonnard (figures 76 and 77.)



Figure 76. n.d., Nicolas Bonnard, *Dame en habit d'hyver*, MFA Boston (middle to late 1670s.)

Figure 77. n.d., Nicolas Bonnard, *Dame à s Toilette*, MMA (middle to late 1670s.)

The first print illustrates a young woman in winter dress, wearing garments that are almost identical to those seen in the LePautre print. These include layered head scarves, a *manteau* with above-elbow sleeves, sleeve ruffles, a muff, an over skirt and an underskirt. The fur *palatine* she wears on her shoulder is equivalent to the lace *palatine* in the LePautre print, though the function

of the fur variety is warmth, while the lace is merely decorative.¹⁹³ In addition to the clothing details, the overall silhouette mirrors that of the 1678 LePautre print: a generally narrow line from her head to the hem of her skirts, with emphasis at the low hipline. Unlike the LePautre print, Nicolas Bonnart has added a liveried servant carrying his mistress' *manteau* train, a popular image in late seventeenth century prints and a symbol of wealth and prestige. The second print, also by Nicolas Bonnart, is again a close match for the LePautre print. Details of silhouette differ only marginally, despite the addition of some accessories associated with the toilette. Both of these prints have accompanying verses, as well as a similar, minimal composition, with the liveried servant in the first, and the toilette table in the second, serving as points of interest which extend the storyline. These similarities also suggest they were produced within a short time of each other.

Unfortunately, identifying the relationship between prints with similar imagery is not always as straightforward as the above example. Problems can arise when prints are created in multiple states, with changed inscriptions and dates giving rise to confusion. Another print by Nicolas Bonnart, *Deshabillé de Ville*, also entitled *Deshabillé de Ville en Esté* is an example of the type of problems which emerge with popular, re-issued prints (figures 78 and 79.)

¹⁹³ The palatine shoulder wrap became popular in 1676. Louis XIV's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Charlotte, suddenly found herself the source of this fashion when she donned her furs after a hunting accident. The kindness shown by the king when this occurred placed her in the favor of the court, much to her amusement. See Élisabeth Charlotte, duchesse d' Orléans, *Letters from Liselotte*, trans. and ed. Maria Kroll (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1970), 30.



Figure 78. 1679, *Deshabillé de Ville*, Nicolas Bonnart, Morgan L&M.

Figure 79. 1678, *Deshabillé de Ville en Esté*, Nicolas Bonnart, BnF.

The first of these prints is painted, has a date of 1679, and bears the shorter title of *Deshabillé de Ville*. There is no question that the garments worn by the young woman in the print are similar to those in the LePautre 1678 prints, both in detail and silhouette. Only the hairstyle is unique, this print showing more clearly the cut of the *hurluberlu* without the enveloping scarves. This coiffure was not new, as it was mentioned in a 1671 letter by Madame de Sévigné to her daughter.¹⁹⁴ However, it widened towards the end of the 1670s and was worn with long sidecurls as seen in this print. The 1679 date is likely a reliable date, despite being written with ink, at an unknown time. Additions such as these can be the work of printer, merchant or collector, and cannot be trusted alone as evidence.

For the second print, additional words have been added to the title, so that now she is a lady in casual, city, *summer* dress. Although these are the same image, the loss in subtlety of engraving technique identifies this second print as a later strike of a worn out plate, with the addition of the words *en Esté* in the inscription. This can be seen clearly when comparing the details of the facial features of the first and second print (figures 80 and 81.)

¹⁹⁴ Paola Placella Sommella, “La mode au XVIIe siècle: d’après la Correspondance” de Madame de Sévigné,” *Papers on French seventeenth century literature* (Seattle: Biblio 17, 1984), 17.



Figure 80. 1679, *Deshabillé de Ville*, Nicolas Bonnart, Morgan L&M.

Figure 81. 1678, *Deshabillé de Ville en Esté*, Nicolas Bonnart, BnF.

The softer lines and delicate detail seen in the first print suggest that it was the original image. In fact, the IFF,XVII identifies four states of this print, two without *en Esté*, and two with the additional words. In addition to the differences in line, the 1679 inscription found in the original print is absent in the revised print.¹⁹⁵ This is not surprising, as it was not engraved onto the original print, but was instead a penned addition. A different date, 1678, has been added to the later state, this time using an engraving tool. (figures 82 and 83.)



Figure 82. 1679, Nicolas Bonnart, *Deshabillé de Ville*, Morgan L&M.

Figure 83. 1678, Nicolas Bonnart, *Deshabillé de Ville en Esté*, BnF.

¹⁹⁵ Gaudriault has also described the four states of this print, claiming that one has been created with a horizontally striped skirt. As this type of fabric was first popular in the 1680s, this would indicate an even later version of the image.

The presence of an earlier print with the later date, and a later print with the earlier date, is a distraction from the goal of locating these prints in the fashion print tradition. Instead, the use of visual information of dress and mannerisms is necessary to associate them within the mid-to-late 1670s time frame. The influence of the LePautre prints cannot be ruled out, as they were distributed to a relatively wide audience in France.

Jean Dieu de Saint Jean

A different problem arises when prints carry the same date, but illustrate different features of dress and manner. This is the case for several prints published by Jean Dieu de Saint Jean (? to 1694.) Again, comparing these prints to others with definitive publishing dates helps to resolve some of the anomaly. For example, the 1683 print entitled *Femme de qualité en déshabillé d'esté*, by Dieu de Saint Jean bears a close resemblance to the LePautre 1678 print, in both dress and gesture (figure 84 and 85.)



Figure 84. 1678, January, Jean LePautre, detail, “Habit de Printemps,” *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

Figure 85. 1683, Jean Dieu de Saint Jean, *Femme de qualité en déshabillé d'esté*, BnF.

As stated earlier, the community of artists living in Paris was socially and geographically close; print styles and compositions mirrored this environment. Numerous examples exist of imagery copied from one artist to the next, despite the addition of the “privilège du Roi”

inscribed on the print.¹⁹⁶ The differences in style between the LePautre and Dieu de Saint Jean prints are evident, with the Dieu de Saint Jean figures being more life-like and dimensional than those of LePautre. This may be partly due to their relative sizes, the LePautre being approximately half the size (133 x 107 mm) of the Dieu de Saint Jean (290 x 190 mm) and restricted by the smaller work area. However, the similarity between the two artist's prints suggests that the artists were familiar with each other's work, and that the Dieu de Saint Jean print dates from the same period, despite the 1683 date. This same phenomenon can be seen when comparing another 1683 print by Dieu de Saint Jean, *Homme de qualité en habit d'hiver*, to a 1678 print by LePautre of an identical figure in both dress and manner (figures 86 and 87.) A third print by Nicolas Bonnart is undated, but is the same image, with a small amount of variation in gesture (figure 88.)



Figure 86. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, "Habit d'Hyver" *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

Figure 87. 1683, Jean Dieu de Saint Jean, *Homme de qualité en habit d'hiver*, BnF.

Figure 88. n.d., Nicolas Bonnart, *Homme de qualité, en manteau*, BnF (middle to late 1670s.)

If the earliest known date for this imagery is 1678, it would seem that the other two were produced close to that date.

¹⁹⁶ According to Charles Cole, the “privilège” was like an early form of copyright protection for printmakers, though did not prevent others from copying the images. Cole, *Colbert and a century of French Mercantilism*, 2: 135.

The 1683 dates found on all these Dieu de Saint Jean prints are believable only if the fashions of the early 1680s differed little from those of 1678. In fact, the 1680s experienced changes in fashion which included changes in silhouette, embellishment, cut and *coiffure* which are not found in these prints by LePautre, Dieu de Saint Jean or Bonnart. In order to see these changes, two additional prints by Dieu de Saint Jean can be examined. For women's fashion, his 1683 *Femme de qualité en deshabillé d'esté* contains all the newest fashions which became popular at the end of the decade and into the early 1680s. (figure 89.)



Figure 89. 1683, Jean Dieu de Saint Jean, *Femme de qualité en deshabillé d'esté*, MMA.

In this print, the figure is shown wearing the new *coiffure* made popular in 1679 by Mademoiselle de Fontanges. The ribbon at the top of her head, and a new draping to the headscarves which previews the later variation of lace lappets, are quite different from the layers of lace surrounding the face seen in the 1678 prints. The silhouette of her skirt is now much wider at the lower hem, its fullness increased with gathered flounces. Even the pose is more lifelike than the other two Dieu de Saint Jean prints, suggesting a maturing ability in the artist. Although men's fashions are as decorative as women's during this time, and sometimes even more so, the fashion seen in the 1683 print of the *Homme de qualité en habit d'espée* shows only a slight change in silhouette from the earlier print (figure 90.)



Figure 90. 1683, Jean Dieu de Saint Jean, *Homme de qualité en habit d'espée*, BnF.

The move towards emphasis in the upper parts of the body and lower skirt hem seen in women's dress is mirrored in the added emphasis at the man's shoulder and wide coat hem.

Just as in the Bonnart prints described above, the solution to this incongruity between dress style and date lies in the existence of multiple states of these prints. The 1683 prints in figures 85 and 87, above, by Dieu de Saint Jean share a distinctive characteristic: they both contain a neatly lettered style in their titles, and an awkwardly handled printed date. This inconsistency raises suspicion, which is increased when an examination of the 1683 date in the print in figure 90 reveals the same lettering in the date. It is possible that the imagery was created at earlier times, but was then re-printed in 1683 as a group with other prints, possibly to sell as a set. This conjecture agrees with the findings of Raymond Gaudriault. In his *Reperoire de la gravure de mode française*, there are three states of figure 85, *Femme de qualité en deshabillé d'esté*: 1676, 1678 and 1683.¹⁹⁷ There are three states for figure 87, the *Homme de qualité en habit d'hiver*: 1678, a second state in 1678, and 1683 (inked in date.) Dates for the third Dieu de Saint Jean print, *Femme de qualité en deshabillé d'esté*, figure 89, are 1679 and 1683 (inked in date.) Finally, the date for the final Dieu de Saint Jean print in figure 90 is 1683

¹⁹⁷ The earliest listed print, dated 1676, has not been seen by this author. If this is an accurate date, the implication here is that the LePautre images are copies of the Dieu de Saint Jean images, rather than the reverse.

and 1674 (inked in.) The prints illustrated here with 1683 dates are therefore all later states of earlier versions, with the older dates removed and new dates added (or in the case of figure 90, the newer date removed and an earlier added.) Additional evidence for different actual dates of publication is found in the publishing addresses accompanying these images. The first two prints carry the inscription, *se vend A Paris sur le quai des grands augustins aux deux globes*, (used until 1683), while the third print has a different inscription, *se vend a Paris dans l'hostel de la monnoye* (used only in 1679 and 1683.) The final Dieu de Saint Jean print has the inscription, *se vend A Paris sur le quay Pelletier à la pomme d'Or, au troisième apartement* (used from 1683 to 1686).¹⁹⁸ In conclusion, these prints accurately report the period in which they were first created, and none of these prints reflects the fashions of the 1680s. One possible explanation for these later copies is the high quality of the art, and the subsequent popularity of the prints. As many of these earlier pieces seem to be thematically related, it is possible that collectors demanded additional pieces for their collections. This would have required additional, and later, publications of the images.

Artists active in the early 1680s to early 1690s

Beginning in the 1680s, two new types of fashion prints emerge: the fashion-portrait and allegory fashion prints. With the continued popularity of the generic fashion prints, these newcomers experience a rapid expansion in popularity, and their numbers begin to equal, if not overtake, those found in the earlier style. Artists who are active in this time are Jean Dieu de Saint Jean, Bonnart brothers, Nicolas Arnoult, Nicolas Bazin, Elizabeth Bouchet-Le-Moine, Franz Ertinger, and the Jollain family (table 1, above.) Although Jean Dieu de Saint Jean and the Bonnart brothers continue to produce fashion prints, the most productive and representative artist

¹⁹⁸ Gaudriault, *Repertoire de la gravure de mode française*, 61.

of this time is Nicolas Arnoult, who injects a new dynamism to his prints not seen in those of the 1670s.

Nicolas Arnoult and his imitators

Nicolas Arnoult was one of the most active creators of fashion prints in the 1680s period, and his images record in detail the many variations in fashionable dress and accessories of that time. Just as LePautre is the anchor for recognizing the print styles and fashion for the 1670s, Arnoult serves in the same capacity in the 1680s. Arnoult's workmanship is identified by a superior execution of dress, body and movement of the figures in the print (figure 91.)



Figure 91. 1687, Nicolas Arnoult, *Femme de qualité en habit D'esté*, Morgan L&M.

Although his prints are almost always signed as being engraved by himself, with the “Nicolas Arnoult *fec*” inscription, occasionally a print appears whose artistry is inferior, indicating that Arnoult may also have published other artists’ work under his own name. He may have hired an inferior engraver or asked an apprentice to reproduce his own drawings (figure 92.)



Figure 92. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Monseig.^r Le Duc de Bourgogne rendant visite a Madame la Princesse de Savoie a sa Toilette*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Another possibility is that this print was a forgery by another artist, who used Arnoult's name to add value to the print.

Arnoult produced prints in three of the popular groups of this period. For his total works analyzed in this study, Arnoult produced 81 generic fashion prints, 12 fashion-portrait prints, and 10 allegory fashion prints, with about 75 percent of these dating from the 1680s (table 3, above.)¹⁹⁹ His highest production and best known are in the area of generic fashion prints, which include both men and women in fashionable dress. About one-third of all of his generic fashion prints (36 prints) contain textile and clothing descriptors in their titles, including *habit d'epée, habit d'esté, habit d'hyver, en déshabillé, en echarpe, en corps de robe, d'etoffe siamoise, à la grec, en Sultane, and à la Vestalle*. The presence of these descriptors reflects a growing interest in specific styles of fashion, which is reinforced in the accompanying imagery.

Generally, the compositional forms begun in the 1670s remain the same for prints of the 1680s: a solitary figure in various forms of rest or activity, with a range of background choices,

¹⁹⁹ Approximately sixty-five percent of these 1680s prints contain an engraved date, the remainder categorized by recognizable 1680s dress characteristics, lettering and compositional style. This percentage of dated prints is high compared to other prolific artists of the 1680s, such as Robert Bonnart, who dated only about twenty-percent of his 1680s prints.

and a title with or without a verse. If anything, there is a growing trend towards a solitary figure without any background at all. The use of background re-enters at the end of the decade, and in fact Arnoult republishes a number of earlier 1680s prints with added figures, furniture props, and leafy bowers in order to add interest as well as depth to the compositions.

Although Arnoult captures the look and feel of 1680s fashions, other artists are also illustrating the rich dress of the period. The Jollain family, a dynasty of printmakers working since the middle of the seventeenth century, had three members who were actively creating fashion prints during the 1680s. Their prints are less common than those of Arnoult, and of the 26 listed in Gaudriault's *Reperoire*, only 13 were seen by this author. Based on the compositional style and dress represented in these prints, they can be located within the same time period as Arnoult.²⁰⁰ There are also a number of prints by the Jollain family which closely parallel the imagery seen in Arnoult prints (figures 93, 94, 95 and 96.)



Figure 93. 1688, Nicolas Arnould, *Femme de qualite Jouant du Clavesin*, MMA.

Figure 94. 1688, Gerard II Jollain, *Dame de Cour jouant du Clavessin*, BnF.

²⁰⁰ François l'Aîné Jollain and François-Gérard Jollain may have been brothers, as their prints share the à l'Engant-Jésus address. Gérard II Jollain also shares this address, and may have been their cousin.



Figure 95. 1688, Nicolas Arnoult, *Fille de Qualité en déshabillé d'etoffe Siamoise*, Morgan L&M.

Figure 96. 1688, Gerard II Jollain, *Damoiselle de Robe de Chambre a la Siamoise*, MMA.

In the first two prints, two fashionably dressed women in striped *manteaux* and wearing headdresses with long streamers are playing on their *clavesins*, or harpsichords. Besides the shared date of 1688, the compositions are alike in detail of patterned floor, patterned harpsichord decoration, and figure placement. In the second set of prints, both women wear striped garments, minimal headdress, and hold their pet dogs in their arms; both have inscriptions identifying the fashion style or fabric as *à la Siamoise*.

In keeping with the tradition of the times, it is clear that the Arnoult/Jollain images were the inventions of one artist which were copied by another in order to create similar versions. For all of these prints described in this section, it remains conjecture as to which artist was the inventor and which the imitator. In this particular case, Arnoult was the more productive artist in this group of print, creating many more generic fashion prints than the total amount created by the entire Jollain family. It seems likely that the successful Arnoult was the originator of the imagery, and the Jollains the imitators. For their part, the Jollains concentrated much of their efforts in the realm of fashion imagery to the form of the *Almanachs*, large scaled, annual commemorative prints with figures in contemporary dress (figure 97.)



Figure 97. 1676, François-Gérard Jollain, *Almanach, Le Bonheur de la France*, RMN.

The production of generic fashion prints was secondary to this, and this is reflected in the low number of works in their repertoires.

The Bonnart brothers introduce the fashion-portrait print

The Bonnart family is also quite prolific during the 1680s, and their introduction of fashion-portrait and allegory fashion prints into the market change the landscape of fashion prints for the rest of the period considered in this study. The earliest dated fashion-portrait prints come from the Bonnart presses.

Two 1680s works by Henri Bonnart illustrate the type of generic fashion print which the brothers were producing in large numbers (figures 98 and 99.)



Figure 98. n.d., Henri Bonnart, *Dame de qualité en habit de chambre*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Figure 99. n.d., Henri Bonnart, *Fille de Qualité*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Each portrays a solitary figure in fashionable dress and a somewhat crudely lettered inscription which consists of a title and verse. The prints from this period rarely include an engraved date, and these are no exception. This recognizable formula can be seen in prints by other Bonnart brothers as well. The adoption of this familiar Bonnart figure found in the generic fashion prints to the new fashion-portrait prints suggests the transition was seamless.

According to Roger Weigert, the substitution of everyday people for portraits of the aristocracy was created by the Bonnart brothers as a logical extension of good business practices, “*simple mais propre à stimuler la vente.*²⁰¹” Although he gives no concrete examples or dates, several examples can be traced to the early 1680s. It is probable that this practice began by viewing and imitating the works of other artists working in Paris. For example, a 1682 print by Nicolas Habert was likely the source for the much cruder print by Henri Bonnart (figures 100 and 101.)



Figure 100. n.d., Henri Bonnart, *Nourrice de M^r de Bourgogne*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Figure 101. 1682, N. Habert, *La Joye de la France*, BnF.

Habert’s inscription, reading *A Paris chez Habert, rue St Jacques, proche St Severin à la maison Royale*, describes an address in the neighborhood of Henri Bonnart, who was located in the rue Saint-Jacques across from *les Mathurins*. The 1682 Habert print announces the birth of

²⁰¹ Weigert, *Inventaire du fonds français*, I: 395.

the duc de Bourgogne (1682-1712), the son of Louis Dauphin, and grandson of Louis XIV. In this print, the royal name is omitted, and the illustration is a formal presentation of the celebrated event. This is a similar formula to that seen in the formal portraits, where a separation between subject and viewer is emphasized by the compositional rigidity.

In the print published by Henri Bonnart, the formality of the Habert print is relaxed, and the imagery is transformed into a fashion print. Bonnart's model is the same as seen in the two Bonnart fashion prints discussed above: the same monumental figure in the same fashionable dress which is decidedly constructed of expensive, decorative fabrics. She holds the newborn royal baby on her knee, who appears more as a prop than as a symbol of national importance. Unlike the Habert print, the background is eliminated in order to focus the viewer's attention on the figures. With the identification of the royal person, the presentation of the elegantly dressed nurse and the ermine-clad child create for the viewer's gaze an image of materiality, rather than the recognition of royal superiority and demanded respect implicit in the Habert print.

A popular reception of this imagery would have sent the Bonnart brothers back to their presses to make more of the same. The addition of, "*Tous les portraits de la cour et autres se vendent à Paris,*" in the late 1680s surely indicates their success in this line of production. And indeed, they would continue to create many more portraits of the princes and princesses of the blood well into the early years of the eighteenth century.

The allegory prints of the Bonnarts brothers and Nicolas Arnoult

Soon after the introduction of the fashion-portrait print, the Bonnarts introduced the allegory fashion print. The adoption of a genre of print that was well established since the fifteenth century into a fashion print was another easy transition for these inventive printmakers. These images could be sold as themed sets, adding extra incentive for their publication. Nicolas

Bonnart published numerous allegory fashion prints with themes of seasons, elements, arts, sciences and muses. In his print, *L'Autonne*, a young woman is standing in the countryside next to a grape vine, holding a large bunch of grapes in her hands (figure 102.)



Figure 102. n.d, Nicolas Bonnart, *L'Autonne*, BM (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

The figure is similar to those by Henri Bonnart (figures 98 and 99) discussed earlier, in both dress and *coiffure*. However, the lettering of the inscription is finer, as is the overall quality of the artistry, as evidence in the rendering of the movement of figure and fabrics. This particular print is identified as the work of Robert Bonnart, whose engravings are consistently finer than those of his brothers. The representation of the figure is similar to that found in Arnoult prints, and may indicate an influence of the other artist. Comparing the Bonnart allegory print to one by Arnoult, one sees that the latter allegory fashion print also uses grapes as a symbol of autumn (figure 103.)



Figure 103. n.d, Nicolas Arnoult, *L'Automne*, BnF(early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Although Arnoult sets his figures in a bower of grape vines, and fills out the composition with two figures, like the Bonnart print, the figures are holding bunches of grapes in their hands.

The third print in this group shows the influence of Arnoult in the work of Robert Bonnart. The *1^{er} Béatitude* is engraved by Robert Bonnart and published by his brother Nicolas (figure 104.)



Figure 104. n.d., Nicolas Bonnart, *1^{er} Béatitude*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Like *L'Autonne*, it is similar to Arnoult in characterization of dress as well as gesture, though the parallels are even stronger in this print. This indicates that Robert Bonnart was familiar with other artist's works, and is another example of the atmosphere of shared ideas which existed among the printmakers in Paris. These last two prints provide an opportunity to use dress as an identification of historic period. Both have been catalogued by Michel Hennin as dating from the mid-1690s, yet the style of dress portrayed in the prints is decidedly late 1680s. The sleeves with shorter *engageantes* and the *coiffure en Palisade* with long striped veils are signals of this period, and found in many dated 1680s prints by Arnoult.²⁰²

²⁰² Michel Hennin (1777-1863) was a collector of prints related to the history of France. His large collection resides in the BnF. These two prints can be found in Tome 71, dated by the collector as relevant to the years 1695 to 1696.

Artists active in the middle 1690s to late 1690s

As shown in Table 4, above, the largest group of artists is active during the middle 1690s. This includes some older artists, such as Arnoult, the Bonnarts, and the widow of Dieu de Saint Jean, but several newer artists are now becoming prominent. These include Jean Mariette, Antoine Trouvain and Bernard Picart , who emerge as the most representative of the period, creating numerous prints and working past the turn of the century and into the early years of the eighteenth century.²⁰³ Also during this period, the greatest number of satire fashion prints were produced, the most prolific artist of these being Nicolas Guérard, who satirized many parts of French society.

Jean Mariette and the melancholy figure

Jean Mariette (1660-1742) was part of an extended family involved in the business of printmaking beginning in the early seventeenth century and continuing well into the eighteenth century. For the most part, Jean seems to have been a publisher of prints, and only a few examples bear his name as designer or engraver. He published generic, fashion-portrait and allegory fashion prints from about the middle of the 1690s to the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century.

Mariette prints are distinctive for two reasons: the elaborate background detail and the emotional presence of his subjects. He is the only artist among those examined for this study who consistently includes a background in his prints. Each of the 85 Mariette prints used for this research contains a background, some more detailed than others. This resurgence in interest in

²⁰³ As these two artists have not been cataloged in the IFF XVII, their total *oeuvres* are uncertain. However, their prints are represented in many collections seen by this author, including the Bibliothéque nationale de France, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Morgan Library and Museum, British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum and Pepys Library. One-hundred-twelve different prints by Trouvain and eighty-five prints by Mariette were examined at these institutions or in online imagery.

backgrounds is a departure from the trend seen in prints from the 1670s through the 1680s. A typical Mariette generic fashion print includes a well-dressed figure set within an environment which enhances the message of the imagery (figure 105.)



Figure 105. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Dame de Qualité en habit d'hiver*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Here Mariette places a young woman dressed in layers of wraps in front of a classical Italian landscape, an idea he may have adopted from studying prints by Jacques Callot. This print displays a melancholia which begins to appear in Mariette's prints near the end of the century: the lone figure is now portrayed as preoccupied with somber thoughts as he or she strolls through the town. The use of the Italian architectural features may be a yearning for a more idyllic time. This emotional overlay is present in many of the prints from this period, and reflects the gloomy circumstances of poor economic conditions and ceaseless wars which were plaguing France at the end of the 1690s. It can be seen again in several prints of men from this period (figures 106 and 107.)



Figure 106. .n.d., Jean Mariette, *Habit de Cavalier*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Figure 107. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Homme de Qualité en habit d'Esté*, Morgan L&M (middle to late 1690s.)

The first of these prints, the *Habit de Cavalier* was reproduced numerous times by Mariette and other artists during the early eighteenth century, and eventually became known as *Le Chevalier Joueur venant de perdre son Argent*, or, “The gambler chevalier having just lost all his money.” The second print also contains a non-descript landscape, similar in its stark simplicity to the first, and again shows a person in solitary contemplation, this time in a dreamlike reverie.

Not all Mariette’s images contain this darker preoccupation, though they might still be interpreted as a different reaction to the same issues. Images of stage personalities appeared in higher numbers in this later period, reflecting the popular interest in theater and its fashions (figure 108.)



Figure 108. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Actrice de l'Opera*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Mariette produced numerous examples which contain typical elements of his compositional style.²⁰⁴ In this undated print, he composes a stage setting for his main figure, an actress in the Paris opera. The formal, straight lines of the background set contrast with her elaborately embellished costume: plumed headdress, jeweled *coiffure*, horizontally banded bodice, fringed upper sleeves, exaggerated *Amadis*-type lace cuffs, and jewel-encrusted patterned skirt. The costume of the theater contained some elements of fashionable dress mixed in with influences from classical art and other sources, including Asian art. This is especially seen in costumes designed by Jean Berain for Court performance. Aspects of theater dress worn in popular productions were adopted into fashionable dress, as described in the literature review.

The BnF holds 10 prints of Opera actresses published by Mariette, four with this same caption, *Actrice de l'Opera*, though each with a different illustration. A typical print has a young woman in a decorative costume standing in front of a contrasting stage background. In addition to these 10, the Victoria and Albert Museum has in its collection one which is different from those in the BnF, making a total of eleven prints known to have been made by Mariette on this subject. Mariette was sensitive to the appeal of the costumes as well as the popularity of the entertainment, and these were most likely desirable prints. The Bonnard brothers also published prints during this period of actresses and dancers of the opera. Letters and memoirs from the period, including those by Madame de Sévigné, , duchesse d'Orléans, and the Marquis de Saint-Simon, confirm the contemporary interest in theater.

²⁰⁴ Although the identity of the different engravers of Mariette's prints is uncertain, the consistency of the imagery seen throughout the prints indicates his control over the final product. This is part of the trend in France towards the publishers holding artistic control over prints, rather than artists.

Jean Mariette and Bernard Picart

The relationship between Jean Mariette and Bernard Picart is one of publisher and artist who collaborated to produce a number of identical images, though of different compositional format. A large portion of Picart's work represents a unique form of French fashion print tradition which dates back to the early seventeenth century in the works of Jacques Callot. Both Picart and Mariette were active during the middle 1690s and continued working into the early eighteenth century. Picart's prints are discussed in the next stylistic period, as they contain several dated prints which define the aesthetics of the early eighteenth century.

Antoine Trouvain and the elegant figure

Like Mariette, Antoine Trouvain (1656-1708) has not yet been cataloged in the IFF XVII. Without a published *catalogue raisonné*, actual numbers of prints and their thematic distribution remains questionable. For this study, 112 prints were examined from various collections as well as online sources. The majority of prints are fashion-portrait prints (88 prints), with 17 generic fashion prints and 7 allegory fashion prints.

Trouvain published his fashion prints during the same period as Mariette, from the mid-1690s to the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century. His renditions of fashionable men and women are very appealing due to the high quality of the draftsmanship, attention to composition and elegance of figures. According to Gaudriault, Trouvain was a member of the *Academie Française*, which implies recognition as a superior artist. Unlike Mariette, Trouvain produced numerous prints without backgrounds, especially his generic fashion prints, which are among his most engaging works. A typical example of one of these can be seen in his print,

Mademoiselle XXX allant par la ville (figure 109.)



Figure 109. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, *Mademoiselle XXX allant par la ville*, MMA (middle to late 1690s.)

The anonymous young woman, *Mademoiselle XXX*, walks in the city, her fashionable dress and elegant carriage gathering admiring looks from passersby. She wears the narrow columnar *fontanges* of the mid-1690s, before they begin to angle forward. Her *coiffure* is protected by a *coiffe*, head scarf, which is closed in front with a ribbon tied in a bow. Ribbons tied in bows are also present on her fur muff, which she wears pulled up onto her wrist, and lace edges her *manteau* borders and sleeves. Although void of overall patterning, her skirt hem is embellished with neat rows of lace, embroidery and fringe; her chic high-heeled slippers are visible as she gathers up her skirt to make her way through the city streets. Unlike earlier prints on this theme, she is not wearing a mask to hide her identity. Instead, that is being done courtesy of the artist, as her anonymity is protected in his inscription. It is evident in this print and many others that Trouvain is adept at creating a believable face and figure for his subjects, and placing these figures in a setting which elicits interest for the viewer. His images do not suffer the awkwardness of figure and composition seen in many Bonnard prints. An overall sense of optimism, or even *joie de vivre*, is displayed in this print, and found in other prints by the artist as well.

Because they worked during the same time period, and the fashions worn by their subjects are similar, prints by Trouvain and Mariette are often difficult to distinguish from one another, especially when the prints contain backgrounds (figures 110 and 111.)



Figure 110. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, *Mademoiselle de Mennetoud*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)
Figure 111. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Mademoiselle de Mennetoud à sa Toilette*, CV (middle to late 1690s.)

It is difficult to distinguish the authorship of these two prints without the aid of their identifying inscriptions. Besides showing the same person, Mademoiselle de Mennetoud (1680-1745), dressed in a style of the late 1690s, the compositions share a number of other traits.²⁰⁵ The opulence of dress is emphasized by both artists, though in one print she is dressed for a public music performance, in *fontanges* and *manteau*, while the other print shows her at her dressing table in a *fontanges* and *robe de chambre*. The similarity between these two garments illustrates their common origin.

Both artists added decorative details to the interiors of their prints. The Trouvain print includes a *chinoiserie* scene on the inside harpsichord cover, while the same type of decor is present in the wallpaper of the Mariette print. Mademoiselle de Mennetoud is seated in both prints: one view has her playing the harpsichord, while the other shows her at her *toilette* table.

²⁰⁵ Mademoiselle de Mennetoud was a talented harpsichord musician and composer. According to David Chung, she was of noble birth, and performed her music on many occasions at the court of Louis XIV.

This table is draped in lace and holding a variety of precious ointment jars and containers, repeating the richness of detail found in the dress and surroundings. In addition to the compositional interest, the workmanship is of a high quality in both prints. Enlarging the images shows the use of engraving techniques to create both form and depth. Even the inscriptions on both prints are elegantly lettered and carefully placed within the space.

Comparing the overall works of both artists, there is sometimes a more pleasing, less dark, aspect to a Trouvain print. This is not the case here, as evidenced by the self-satisfied and smiling expressions of both these depictions of Mademoiselle de Mennetoud.

Nicolas Guérard's satirical eye

Nicolas Guérard was an acute observer of the morals and manners of his time, and his prints sought to expose the evils of money, fashion, greed and desire. Seventy-nine prints by Guérard have been classified as proverbs by Roger Weigert in the IFF XVII, and the 8 examples included in this study which satirize fashion are in this category. These prints are close in size to the other fashion prints, and maintain a similar compositional form, with some variation. A typical print has two titles, one at the top of the image, and another in the more traditional area below the framed image. Guérard includes a proverb in verse describing the scene, and adds small incidental notes and sketches which support the thesis of the print. He maintains a high quality of workmanship in all of his many portrayals of human weaknesses.

The multi-leveled messages conveyed in these prints communicate ideas which dispel popular fantasies seen in the average fashion print of the period. For example, Robert Bonnart created a print in the 1690s, *Dame de qualité en habit d'hiver*, which idealizes the woman of beauty and fashion, attended to by her servants and admired by her lover (figure 112.)



Figure 112. n.d., Robert Bonnart, *Dame de qualité en habit d'hiver*, Morgan L&M (middle to late 1690s.)

In a print mocking these types of scenes and revealing the fiction, Guérard portrays a young woman who follows the dictates of society, especially the latest fashions, in order to attract a mate (figure 113.)



Figure 113. n.d., Nicolas Guérard, *Fille à la mode*, Morgan L&M (middle to late 1690s.)

Unlike the woman in the Bonnart print, she is weighed down by her suitors' desire for attention, though all she really has to offer is her love. Despite her efforts, the situation may never produce the longed-for spouse. Like the fish surrounding the hook, her fashion, beauty and accomplishments are not enough enticement to make the “catch.” He titles this print, *L'hameton sans crochet*, or “Hook without a catch” and *Fille à la mode*, or “Fashionable girl.”

Another group of prints by Guérard satirizes the imagery found in popular idealizations of the perfect French man of honor. For example, his *Officier de la marine* has the classic image

of the brave officer setting off to fight for king and country, but with a leering image of death in his shadow. The inscription reads, *Tousiors (sic) entre les bras de la morte*, or, “Always between the arms of death.” This is a direct criticism of the popular prints of Mariette and others who created numerous images glorifying the bravery of French naval and army heroes (figures 114 and 115.)



Figure 114. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Monsieur le Chevalier Jean Bart*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)
Figure 115. n.d., Nicolas Guérard, *Officier de la marine*, Morgan L&M (middle to late 1690s.)

One wonders how these moralistic images were received, especially this last example. However, Guérard and Mariette both lived during this time of strife in French history, and both reflect the growing despair felt by the nation as it continued to suffer economic losses amid political defeats. While Mariette’s prints are the subject of satire by Guérard, it is possible that Mariette’s more somber images are a reaction to the other artist’s point-of-view.

Artists active in the early eighteenth century to 1715

Far fewer artists were actively producing prints during this period, and except for a few prints by Antoine Trouvain, the fashion prints of the early eighteenth century which conform to the fashion print compositional style are represented by Jean Mariette and Bernard Picart. The thirty-seven prints produced during this period, from approximately 1700 to 1715, number less than 10% of those published just a few years earlier, in the middle to late 1690s.

The miniature prints of Bernard Picart

Although not as prolific in the fashion print genre as Mariette or Trouvain, Bernard Picart (1673-1733) created a number of significant small prints featuring the interplay of fashion and manners. These prints measure approximately 100 x 65 mm (4 x 2 ½ inches) and can be seen as part of a history of miniature French and English fashion prints produced since the 1620s (table 5.)

Table 5. List of artists and their miniature fashion prints

Date	Artist	Print series	Prints in series	Size of prints, in millimeters
1621- 1623	Jacques Callot	<i>La noblesse lorraine</i>	12	141/145 x 91/93
1629 ?	Isaac Briot (après Jean de St. Igny)	<i>Diversitez d'habillemens à la mode</i>	13	175 x 119
1629,	Isaac Briot (apres Jean de St. Igny)	<i>Le Théâtre de France</i>	21	150/155 x 90/97
1629	Abraham Bosse	<i>Le jardin de la Noblesse Françoise</i>	20	142/150 x 90/95
1630?	Abraham Bosse (après Jean de St. Igny)	<i>La Noblesse Françoise a l'eglise</i>	13	152/155 x 98
1640	Wenceslas Hollar	<i>Ornatus Muliebris</i>	26	120/130 x 70/80
1642	Wenceslas Hollar	<i>Aula Veneris</i>	variable	90 x 60/70
1685?	Sebastien Le Clerc	<i>Modes de Sébastien Le Clerc</i>	21	113/117 x 69/73
1696	Bernard Picart,	<i>Diverses Modes dessinée d'après</i>	51	100 x 65

		<i>Nature par Bernard Picart , or, Trente et un dessins de modes française, dont quelques-uns gravés par lui- même</i>		
1704 – 1708	Bernard Picart	<i>Six figures de modes françaises</i>	6	100/101 x 63/65

As stated above, Picart was a student of Sébastien Le Clerc, who was a prolific printmaker of his day, appointed by Le Brun as court artist and member of the *Academie française*. Among LeClerc's large *oeuvre* of prints is a set of miniature prints depicting dress and manners of people from different social ranks (figure 116.)



Figure 116. n.d., Sébastien LeClerc, *untitled*, BnF (early 18th century.)

This production probably inspired Picart to pursue this art form as well, as he also created a number of series portraying regional dress. Picart's fashion prints showing French dress fall into two main categories: a group of over 50 prints published by Mariette and dating from the late 1690s into the early 1700s, and a later group published from 1704 to 1708 by Gaspard Duchange.

In the first group, many of the Picart prints published by Mariette are copies of larger prints which were also published by Mariette. Although they lack titles, the Picart prints all contain one of several inscriptions identifying the publisher as Mariette, either by name or location: *A Paris chez I. Mariette rue S. Iacques*, or *aux colonnes d'Hercules avec Priv. du Roy.* A scale drawing by Bernard Picart provides evidence that Mariette was the originator of these images. This drawing is marked off in squares in order to copy and reduce the imagery to a smaller scale (figure 117, 118, and 119.) The resulting print by Picart is the reverse of the drawing, as should be expected when copying another image directly. A total of eighteen prints by Picart which belong to this group can be identified as copies of Mariette prints. Others may also be copies, but the matching Mariette prints have yet to be seen by this author.



Figure 117. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Homme de Qualité en manteau d'Ecarlate*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Figure 118. n.d., Bernard Picart, red chalk and pencil drawing, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Figure 119. n.d., Bernard Picart, *untitled*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Besides the prints which are copies of Mariette prints, there are 33 prints in this group which feature a mix of single figures and mixed groups. Nine of these prints illustrate various combinations of men and women in social activity, including eating, drinking and playing cards (figures 120 and 121.)

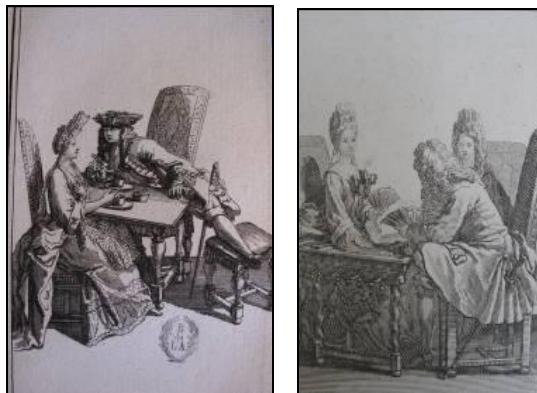


Figure 120. n.d., Bernard Picart, *untitled*, BnF (middle to late 1690s)
 Figure 121. n.d., Bernard Picart, *untitled*, BM (early 18th century.)



Figure 122. .n.d., Bernard Picart, *untitled*, BM (early 18th century.)

With their engaging depictions of men and women at leisure, these prints are some of the most personable presentations of social life of the period. The formality found in most prints of this period is dispelled in these images by their humanity, and the obvious enjoyment of the participants is infectious. There is humor, too, in the subtle contrasts inserted into the images. A man and woman are seen in intimate conversation over a hot drink, yet the man has saucily thrust out his leg onto his gout stool. In another scene, a very proper woman plays cards with a man whose complete *négligence* challenges her demeanor, as if he is trying to break through her composure and make her laugh. Finally, the image of people out in the country enjoying a glass of wine looks and feels very modern, and reminds one of Manet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* (figure 122, above.) These prints are examples of the ways in which fashion prints

simultaneously portray fashion and social manners. Like the satire fashion prints, they reveal a normality to life in the seventeenth century beyond the strictures of prescribed social behavior commonly seen in prints and portraits of the time.

The second group of prints which Picart produced is important because it verifies the fashionable changes in dress occurring in the first decade of the eighteenth century. There are 6 prints in this group published by Duchange, but only 2 of them are images of dress worn by the fashionable upper class. In the 1706 *Dame de Qualité en habit d'Este*, the profile view of the woman clearly delineates the changes in silhouette which occur at this time (figure 123.)



Figure 123. 1706, Bernard Picart, *Dame de Qualité en habit d'Este*, BnF.

The emphasis is now on width and fullness, and follows a period when a tall and narrow line was preferred. Picart responds to this change, and chooses a side view to best display the new fullness of the sleeves, *engageantes*, bustle and layered flounces. Again, there is humor lurking in this image, as the woman turns her head to smile at the viewer, as if to assure one that she is not taking herself, or her *bouffant* style, too seriously.

Finally, in the last years of the reign of Louis XIV, the creative steam of the fashion print genre is evaporating rapidly. This is evident in the imitative works of Picart described above as well as in a number of prints by Picart which are published by Duchange, but are actually very similar to Mariette prints. The figures in the undated print by Jean Mariette, *Dame de Qualité en*

Coiffure à la Mode, and the 1706 print by Bernard Picart, *Dame de Qualité en Echarpe*, share a number of traits: the dress of each woman is similar in silhouette, style of *coiffure* and accessories; their gestures of their bodies are alike, including the tilting of the head to the right; the figures fill the space of the prints in the same ratio of figure and background; both prints contain inscriptions which include fashion descriptors (figures 124 and 125.)



Figure 124. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Dame de Qualité en Coiffure à la Mode*, MMA (early 18th century.)

Figure 125. 1706, Bernard Picart, *Dame de Qualité en Echarpe*, BnF.

These two prints seem to be the fitting end to a formula that began in the mid-1670s and increased in artists and production until it reached its peak in the middle 1690s, when seventeen artists can be counted amongst those who produced prints which contain all the characteristics which distinguish this genre. The final prints are beautifully rendered but empty of the imagination so pervasive at the genre's peak. These prints by Picart may well be the very last of the group, as to date, this author has not seen any fashion prints which contain a printed date after 1706 or before 1715.

CHAPTER 5

MODE DE L'ÉPOQUE

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyze stylistic changes based on identifiable clothing ensembles which were commonly worn together and considered fashionable. Cataloging information in this manner is useful for the identification of undated prints, paintings and extant garments, as it places them within a range of time corresponding to their fashion features. It is also valuable as a tool for interpreting fashion's response to known social, cultural, economic and political events. This analysis resulted in the identification of four distinct stylistic periods which occurred between the mid-1670s and the death of Louis XIV in 1715. The four stylistic periods are as follows:

- stylistic period I: middle 1670s to late 1670s
- stylistic period II: early 1680s to early 1690s
- stylistic period III: middle 1690s to late 1690s
- stylistic period IV: early eighteenth century to 1715

These categories are described as a range of dates due to the unreliable and ambiguous dating practices used on prints in the late seventeenth century. Among the earliest prints in this study, the first verifiably dated fashion prints are the ones engraved by Jean LePautre and published in 1678, in *Le Mercure Galant* and its supplement, *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*. There are numerous prints which are similar to these prints, but probably date from a few years earlier, as they show some features of dress which reflect the styles of the late 1660s as well as some of the characteristics seen in the 1678 prints. Without reliable documentation, assigning particular dates to these undated prints can be misleading, as it relies on a precision which did not exist among printmakers' work of the period. In this study, the problem is addressed by

determining the shared attributes among a group of undated prints, and comparing them to similar prints with verifiable dates. This allows for assignment of the undated prints to a range of years during which the undated print would likely have been etched and published. This allows for variations within individual prints at the same time it strengthens their commonality.

The existence of a date on a print does not guarantee that it is reliable. For example, the earliest date found on any of the fashion prints is 1675, recorded on a print by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Officier du Roy* (figure 126.)

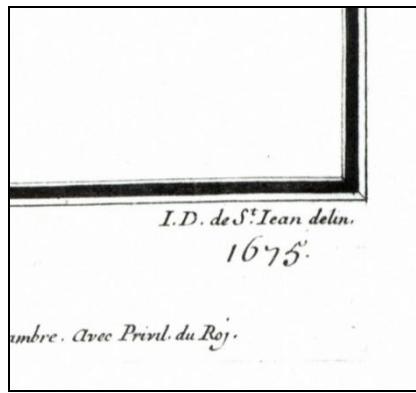


Figure 126. 1675? Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Officier du Roy*, ART.

Like many dates, this is not an engraved one, but appears to be added at some later time with pen and ink. There is no documentation for this date beyond the fact that the artist was active between the mid-1670s and his death in 1694. There are a number of his prints which have this type of handwritten date, and other examples of the same print without the added date. According to Gaudriault, there is a copy of one of his prints with a 1645 notation which illustrates a man in 1670s dress. Even dates which have been engraved onto the prints are not always trustworthy and must be carefully evaluated. The print by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, and others like it, should be classified by the fashion characteristics illustrated in the print, and identified by the stylistic period, or range of years, which best matches these features.

Sources of fashion information

In order to distinguish representative fashion in late seventeenth-century France, several sources of information have been utilized. The primary source is the group of French fashion prints created between the mid-1670s and 1715. The 750 prints included in this study were organized into a database spreadsheet which recorded specific information for each print, including type of print, composition, social context, and dress characteristics. The information found in the prints is supplemented by written sources which include contemporary descriptions of dress and fashion. These published works also provide valuable evidence for locating the styles within a context of space and time. Among the most useful published items are letters, memoirs, plays, dictionaries and the journal *Le Mercure Galant* and its supplement, *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*. A small number of prints include inscriptions detailing the fashions portrayed in their illustrations. Extant textiles and paintings help clarify aesthetics of dress of the period.

Methods for defining stylistic periods

The approach to the problem of understanding fashion trends which occurred between the mid-1670s and 1715 utilizes a combination of qualitative analysis, quantitative analysis and written contemporary documentation. A qualitative analysis of the prints involves the visual observation and interpretation of trends which occur over time. The quantitative analysis uses a content analysis approach to the fashionable details of dress found in the 750 prints. Information found in contemporary written sources supplements the qualitative and quantitative data with historically grounded references to dress. Stylistic periods are formulated from the interpretation of these sources and materials.

Qualitative analysis: silhouette

Qualitative analysis is used in this study to identify period silhouette. Silhouette is the idealized body shape which is created and emphasized by the use of clothing. A stylistic period is characterized by a recognizable dress silhouette which serves as the standard for the fashionable shape of dress. In this study, visual examination and evaluation is used to determine fashionable silhouette.

Different parts of dress are used together to construct or emphasize the ideal silhouette of a period. The shapes are formed by garments such as the headdress, sleeves, bodice and skirt. Surface embellishment such as color and pattern emphasize the forms created by these parts of dress. Variations of these characteristics may be found in different garments which still maintain a similar silhouette. Knowledge of the prints of the period is essential in order to classify these characteristics into a comprehensive and cohesive body of data which defines a silhouette.

Quantitative analysis: characteristics of fashion

Using content analysis, the items of fashionable dress which are present in specific prints were counted. The advantage of using a content analysis format for understanding change is that it can locate both short and long-term trends in fashion. The information quantifies the introduction of a style, its height of popularity, its decline and eventual disappearance. It identifies groups of items which enjoy simultaneous popularity, as well as charting overlapping styles or features. As a result, a continuum of evolving styles emerges, but one which includes several periods of distinctive stylistic identity.

Evidence in written sources

A comparison with the written sources further clarifies the qualitative and quantitative analyses. For example, the *hurluberlu* hairstyle was popular during a period when the prevailing

silhouette stressed a vertical line. This particular *coiffure* is present in twenty prints with dates ranging from 1678 to 1683, yet the majority of these (thirteen prints) are clustered around dates from the late 1670s.²⁰⁶ The seven prints from the 1680s with this *coiffure* make up only four percent of the prints of women during this period. For the style to be fashionable for twelve years is not impossible, but this particular *coiffure* does not follow the lines of the fashionable headdresses seen in the majority of prints from the 1680s.²⁰⁷ Is this style waning, or simply rarely illustrated in 1680s prints?

A letter dating from 1671 from Madame de Sévigné to her daughter sheds some light onto these questions. In this letter, she describes the introduction of the new hairstyle to which she pens the name, *hurlupée*, later *hurluberlu*, into fashionable society. This information raises questions concerning the ability of this *coiffure* to continue its popularity unchanged into the early 1680s.

Close examination of the 1680s prints reveals possible explanations. Two of the seven prints, *Femme de qualité en deshabillée d'esté* and *Femme de qualité en habit d'hyver* by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, are part of a group of 1680s prints which are revised versions of prints made in the late 1670s by the same artist. As a result, these 1680s copies reflect an earlier *mode* and are not necessarily indicative of current fashion, but instead may reflect the popularity of this particular print artist. In fact, they are very close imitations of prints dating from 1678 by another

²⁰⁶ The French word, *coiffure*, is defined in the 1701 edition of Furetière as the final arrangement of hair and headdress together. It is spelled *coeffure* in this dictionary. By contrast, the English word, “coiffure” refers only to an arrangement of hair, and not to the final arrangement of hair and headdress. Webster’s Dictionary defines it as “A style of arranging the hair.” In this dissertation, the italicized word refers to the French meaning of both hair and headdress.

²⁰⁷ There are 187 prints showing fashionably dressed women during Stylistic Period II, dating from the early 1680s to the early 1690s.

artist, Jean LePautre, another reason for their being related to an earlier period.²⁰⁸ The other five 1680s prints are fashion-portraits of royal women created by Nicolas Arnoult, Nicolas Bonnart and Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. These women are dressed as required by conservative court etiquette, which reflects the fashions of earlier times, most often those dating from the 1660s and early 1670s. Although these examples do not rule out the gradual decline of the fashionable hairstyle, they suggest other reasons for the continual appearance of a fashion over a period of time. In summary, caution must be used when interpreting fashion in these prints based exclusively on the visual material. The information gleaned from these various sources contribute to the interpretation of changes in fashions seen in the prints in this study. The date of the introduction of the *hurluberlu coiffure*, a familiarity with the habits of printmakers of the period, and the recognition of social norms which dictate dress worn by particular groups of people, must all be considered in order to understand dress as portrayed in the prints.

Categories of fashion recorded in the database

Seven general categories are specified in the database for the purpose of identifying trends illustrated in the prints.²⁰⁹ Each category is composed of separate but related subcategories. The total number of relevant sub-categories in the database is 107, although the number of sub-categories is different within each of the seven categories. The prints included in the study are scored for all 107 sub-categories, using a binary code of “1” for presence and “0” for absence of a particular sub-category.

²⁰⁸ A discussion of this group of 1680s prints by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean can be found in Chapter 3, *Artists and fashions on the rue Saint-Jacques*.

²⁰⁹ Each print is also specified by artist, title, collection, accession number, IFF number, date, stylistic period and dissertation catalog reference number. These are not used directly for the analysis of fashion styles. See Appendices for individual definitions of all categories and sub-categories as well as summations of results according to stylistic period.

These categories and sub-categories are listed below. For this particular discussion, the more important of these are the individual characteristics of men's and women's dress. The general organizational categories, such as group association, print category, print composition, private/public dress, and allegories/satires, provide secondary information which helps to support the dress information. In this study, French terminology was used to denote sub-categories when a clear, equivalent translation into English was not available.

1. print category (4 subcategories: generic fashion, fashion-portrait, allegory, satire.)
2. print composition category(14 sub-categories: title inscriptions, verse descriptions, fashion terms, male only, female only, female & page, females together, males together, males and females, composite, no background, simple props, partial background, full background.)
3. private/public dress category(11 sub-categories: public dress, public games, public hunting, public shopping, public/private dancing, public/private music, private dining, private needlework, private à la toilette, private interior, ambiguous public/private.)
4. allegories and satires category (10 sub-categories: arts & science, ages of man, five senses, seasons and months of the year, the elements, human character, the muses, times of day, continents, social satire.)
5. group association category (12 sub-categories: religious association, *déshabillée*, *de qualité*, portraits of nobility, portraits of actors or dancers, *habit d'epée*, seasonal dress, *de ville*, mourning dress, *à la Sultan/Siamoise/Chinoise/Grec/Vestalle*, military, historical characters.)
6. women's dress category (35 characters: *echarpe*, *cornette* and *coiffe*, *fontanges*, *coiffure à la fontanges*, *fontanges en palisade*, *bonnet à la fontanges*, tilted *bonnet à la fontanges*, commode *fontanges*, unique headdress, piled-up hair, *hurluberlu* hairstyle, muff, fan, book, pet, instrument, handkerchief, *steinkerk*, mask, mirror, ribbons, plumes, *engageantes*, sleeve ruffles, lace,

stomacher, gloves, *palatine*, capelet, apron, *manteau*, *habit*, *robe de chambre*, *habit de chasse*, ball or opera dress.)

7. men's dress category(21 characters: sword, muff, plain breeches, full breeches, *manteau*, coat, *robe de chambre*, cane, hat, plumes on hat, ribbons, lace, curly wig, cravat, *steinkerk*, *echarpe*, mask, book, gloves, turban, livery.)

Significance of the individual sub-categories: an evolving fashion

The individual subcategories within the seven categories are analyzed for their frequency of appearance. The frequency of sub-categories found in the prints is measured within a smaller group, such as all the images of women, or all the images of men. In order for a particular subcategory to be a significant indicator, it must appear in at least 50 percent of the prints during a particular time period. Those appearing in fewer than 50 percent, but more than 20 percent, are counted as less significant, but still contribute to the overall style of the period. Sub-categories found in fewer than 20 percent of the prints are considered transitional; that is, characters which may have been a holdover from the past, or an early manifestation of a new style. Finally, the sub-categories which are not present at all during a stylistic period are noted and compared with their presence elsewhere.

Four stylistic periods, mid-1670s to 1715

More than just a “snapshot” of a particular point in time, a stylistic period experiences an evolving current of change and may retain older styles as it adopts newer ones. The commonly shared assemblages of attributes, which together form a recognizable silhouette, define a fashionable dress ideal during a stylistic period. With the advantage of hindsight, it is also the items which are rarely seen or even absent which separate one period from another. In this

study, four stylistic periods emerged as a result of the qualitative analysis, quantitative analysis and information from written sources.²¹⁰ These are repeated here for convenience:

- stylistic period I: middle 1670s to late 1670s
- stylistic period II: early 1680s to early 1690s
- stylistic period III: middle 1690s to late 1690s
- stylistic period IV: early eighteenth century to 1715.

The discussion of each of these periods begins with a description of the prevailing silhouette which defines the stylistic period. This is followed by a listing of the numbers of prints included in the stylistic period and a discussion of the significance of the categories of fashion which are present. These descriptions derive from content analysis of the individual fashion sub-categories, and are enhanced with information derived from the written sources of the time period.²¹¹ Examples from individual prints are included as illustrations of typical dress of the stylistic period.

Stylistic Period I (mid-1670s to early 1680s): fashion and formality

General silhouette, stylistic period I

The overall silhouette which commonly appears in prints from this period is one which emphasizes a distinctly vertical line. This is found in the dress of both men and women, where the ideal is expressed in fairly close-fitting clothing with a narrow cut. High-heeled shoes are worn by both sexes for the purpose of exaggerating a slim line. In addition, a low hipline is emphasized, as evidenced in the draping of women's outer skirts, as well as in the curved line of the men's coats which creates a wide hemline (figure 127.)

²¹⁰ These stylistic periods correspond to the four periods of print artistry described in Chapter 3: Artists and fashion on the rue St. Jacques.

²¹¹ See Appendix III.



Figure 127. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, Illustration of a Paris Boutique, *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

General characteristics, stylistic period I

A total of 66 prints are identified as belonging to this early period. Although not all of these images contain printed dates, their location within this historic period is based on shared attributes of fashion with those prints which contain documented dates. The number of prints is fewer than in the two periods which follow, and is indicative of the 1670s introduction of the genre into the popular press. Only generic fashion prints were produced at this time; portraits of nobility, allegories and satires were non-existent.²¹² The standard compositional size and form was established at this early date, and included a title, verse or description, date, artist's name and publisher's name and address.

There are more depictions of men than women in the prints of this period. The total number of occurrences of men in prints is forty-four, while that of women is only thirty-three. Men are present more often as the single subject of a print (thirty-three prints) than women (twenty-four prints.) While half of the sixty-six prints illustrate a single male figure, others are divided between a variety of figure groupings, including single female figures, females and their

²¹² Portraits of nobility, allegories and satires existed, but in formats other than the one used for these particular fashion prints, as described in Chapter 3, "Artists and fashion on the rue Saint-Jacques."

pages, and females and males shown together. This choice of subject matter is significant, as these numbers are found in different proportions in later periods.

Sixty percent of the prints are without a background setting, keeping the focus on the illustrated garments, and almost seventy percent have inscriptions which contain fashion terminology. The inclusion of fashion terminology is a higher fraction of the total than in any other period. These compositional traits suggest that the original purpose of the prints was to appeal to interests in current fashion and dress.

Women's dress, stylistic period I (middle 1670s to late 1670s)

Women's dress silhouette, stylistic period I

For women, the ideal silhouette is manifested by various parts of dress. For example, in figure 127 above, the vertical line is expressed in the long lines of her headdress, pointed bodice and narrow skirt. The headdress in this particular print features a two-part construction: a gathered lace *cornette* which frames the face, and a long *coiffe*, which is worn behind the *cornette* (figure 128.)



Figure 128. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, detail, Illustration of a Paris Boutique, *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

The long-hanging ends of the *coiffe* emphasize the fashionable line. A variation of headdress seen in another print of this period maintains the vertical silhouette. A large scarf, or *coiffe*,

covers her head and is tied under her chin. This latter style is worn alone, without lace or other decorative elements, and its long ties maintain the ideal line (figure 129.)



Figure 129. n.d., Nicolas Bonnart, detail, *Dame en habit d'hyver*, MFA Boston (middle to late 1670s.)

Different styles of draping the *manteau* are seen during this period, though still maintaining the low placement of the folds. This is the case in an image by Jean LePautre, *Dame en habit d'été*, where the drape is unusual, but the print or weave of the fabric continues to emphasize the ideal vertical line (figure 130.)



Figure 130. n.d., Jean LePautre, detail, *Dame en habit d'été*, BM (middle to late 1670s.)

Although the woman is clearly wearing a *manteau*, the use of the word *habit* in the inscription refers to the term's general meaning of "dress." The vertical stripes on her *manteau* and the long ties of her headscarf reinforce the vertical lines of the ensemble, but her full sleeves are reminiscent of the late 1660s, indicating a middle 1670s date for this image.

The *jupe*, or skirt, is another part of the ensemble which contributes to the silhouette.

The *jupe* is worn as an underskirt to the *manteau*, and is revealed when the lower edges of the *manteau* are pulled back to reveal the decorative *jupe*. In this image of *La Dame du Grand Air* by Nicolas Bonnart, an overdressed young woman wears this classic outfit of *manteau* and *jupe* (figure 131.)



Figure 131. n.d., Nicolas Bonnart, detail, *La Dame du Grand Air*, BnF (middle to late 1670s.)

The *jupe* is straight in front, but fullness is implied by the folds appearing at the sides and towards the back of the skirt. The fabric of the *jupe* is embellished with a decorative motif, and the lower hem has two large flounces of lace, as well as a lower edging of lace. Although these embellishments create some width, they do not visually detract from the vertical line. Overall, the *jupe* exhibits a straight line from waist to hem, and its variation in embellishment serves to reinforce her identification as a spendthrift when it comes to fashion, as indicated in the inscription.

*Elle est Riche, leste, et fourée
Ell' est belle; et sans contredit:*

She is rich, well-dressed and furred
She is beautiful, without a doubt

*Marchandise si bien parée
Se trouve toujours de debit*

Such well-dressed merchandise
Finds itself always in debt

There is an interesting parallel between this print and the 1690s print by Nicolas Guérard, *Tout ce qui reluit n'est pas or/Mode Bourgeoise* described in Chapter 3. Both print inscriptions scorn

the taste of women who overdress and both disparage the debt which they incur by their folly. This recognition, though scarce during this period, is nonetheless significant in its recognition that the very subject of these prints, fashion, has consequences if it becomes obsessive.

Women's dress characteristics, stylistic period I

The following table shows the characteristics found in women's dress of the period, along with their frequency. These percentages are based on the thirty-three examples of females appearing in prints from this period (table 6.)

Table 6. Women's dress characteristics, stylistic period I (middle 1670s to late 16770s)²¹³

stylistic period I: women's dress characteristics present in 50% or more of group	stylistic period I: women's dress characteristics present 20% to 49% of group	stylistic period I. women's dress characteristics present under 20% of group	stylistic period I: women's dress characteristics present in 0% of group
ribbons	<i>cornette</i> and <i>coiffe</i>	<i>echarpe</i>	<i>fontanges</i>
sleeve ruffles	unique headdress	<i>pet</i>	<i>coiffure à la fontanges</i>
lace	<i>hurluberlu</i>	handkerchief	<i>coiffure en palisade</i>
gloves	muff	mask	<i>bonnet à la fontanges</i>
<i>manteau</i>	fan	mirror	tilted <i>bonnet à la fontanges</i>
	<i>habit</i>	plumes	commode <i>fontanges</i>
		stomacher	book
		<i>palatine</i>	steinkerk
		capelet	<i>engageantes</i>
		apron	<i>habit de chasse</i>
		<i>robe de chambre</i>	
		<i>bal, opera costume</i>	

As shown in this table, five fashionable items are worn by the majority of women during this period: ribbons, sleeve ruffles, lace, and gloves are the most popular accessories, while the *manteau* is the most frequently occurring garment type. Although most of these items remain popular in later periods, only two of these characteristics are found in all of the periods covered

²¹³ Definitions for these dress characteristics are included in Appendix I and Glossary.

by this study: lace in a variety of forms and placement is found in over fifty percent of the illustrations of women's dress for all four periods, as is the ever-popular *manteau* (tables 6, 8,10 and 13.)

Two types of garments occur in prints of this period, the *manteau* and the *habit*. Both deserve special attention, as they play important roles in women's dress and politics during the forty-year period of this study. According to the Furetière's 1701 *Dictionnaire* and the 1694 *Dictionnaire de L'Académie Françoise*, the word *manteau* has numerous meanings dependent upon both gender and function. Three basic categories of garments are identified by the authors of these dictionaries: a long cape worn over clothing (men), a loose robe or dressing gown worn in the privacy of one's home (men and women), and the publically worn, belted garment seen in these prints (women.)

The publically-worn women's garment known as the *manteau* was first introduced in the early 1670s, and quickly became a popular alternative to the heavily boned *habit*. The legal right of the female dressmakers, the *couturières*, to construct this garment, as well as its relative ease of construction, may have contributed to its quick adoption into fashionable dress. The public *manteau* is thought to have evolved from the dressing- gown *manteau*, often called a *robe de chambre* in the print inscriptions.²¹⁴ The prints show a *manteau* as a one piece garment, draped over the shoulders like a robe, with a center front closure, creating a V-neck opening. The bodice is probably shaped using vertical darts, and the waist secured with a belt or sash. The

²¹⁴ One of the secondary definitions in Furetière 1701 *Dictionnaire universel* states that a *manteau* "est aussi une espece de robe de chambre que mettent les femmes par dessus leurs corps de jupes. *Manteau de brocard. Manteau d'oüate.*" My translation reads that it "is also a type of *robe de chambre* which women wear over their *corps de jupes*" (the garments worn closest to the body.) Examples given are a brocade *manteau* and of a cotton *manteau*. In the 1694 *Le Dictionnaire de L'Académie Françoise*, the definition of *manteau* is closer to that worn in public. "Les femmes appellent aussi, *Manteau*, une espece de robe plissée qu'elles serrent avec un ceinture," or "The women also call a *manteau* a garment which is a type of pleated *robe* secured at the waist with a belt."

lower skirt edges are pulled back to reveal the underskirt (*jupe*.) Rows of evenly-shaped lace or muslin edgings are worn at the edges of elbow-length sleeves. The *manteau* appears in prints with or without a train.

Unlike the one-piece *manteau*, the *habit* is a two-piece garment consisting of a heavily-boned bodice worn with several layered, decorative skirts (figure 132.)²¹⁵



Figure 132. n.d., Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Habit de Ville*, MMA (middle to late 1670s.)

This garment had been worn at court and in fashionable Paris since the beginning of the personal rule of Louis XIV in 1661. However, for fashionable Parisian society of the middle 1670s, the *habit* was quickly being replaced by the more comfortable *manteau*. The exception to this preference was the *grand habit*, which was retained as official women's court dress until the late eighteenth century.

The *habit* neckline is a wide, straight neckline which stretches from one shoulder to the other, which was required to be worn off-shoulder for court dress. This garment was worn by non-royalty as well, though the *décolletée* was usually situated higher on the neckline than those worn by the women of the court. The sleeves worn with the *habit* are similar to those worn with the *manteau*, and are often embellished with gathered rows of lace. More examples of the two-

²¹⁵ The term *habit* is used here to designate the fashionable dress worn by the wealthy classes. The word is also a general term for the clothing which covers the body in Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*.

part *habit* are found during this period than in later periods, though these are pictured in less than a quarter of the prints of women. Although the bodice style remained *de rigueur* at court, the skirts changed to reflect current fashion, and can be seen to parallel styles worn with the *manteau*.

Other types of garments worn by women during the entire period of the study include the *robes de chambre* and *bal/opera* costumes. These are only rarely portrayed during this stylistic period, in contrast to later periods when they are more common. This may be due to the relatively new subject of fashion in commercial prints, which had not yet developed into the popular genre as seen in the 1690s. Another garment type, the *habit de chasse*, is absent during this period, and appears only rarely during the 1680s and 1690s. The masculine-inspired riding habit presents an interesting challenge for the printmakers, and this is discussed in stylistic period III.

The types of items which women wear to cover their faces change little from one period to the next, though their frequency changes. Masks are rarely worn in this period, while veils which cover the face are non-existent in these images. This is unlike earlier in the century, when masks and veils were considered proper attire for young women as they ventured abroad.²¹⁶ The rare depiction of masks and veils throughout the timeline of the study may indicate a degree of independence for women during the reign of Louis XIV, as compared to the first half of the century.

Considering the array of hand-held accessories present during the period of the study, only a few appear in significant numbers in the prints of this period. While muffs and fans are

²¹⁶ This can be seen in the 1620s prints of Jacques Callot and Isaac Briot. The latter includes inscriptions on his prints which describe use of a veil or mask when a young woman goes abroad to visit family or friends.

often found, many more items are rarely shown, such as mirrors, pets, and handkerchiefs. The reasons for this are not clear, but may reflect pressures on the print market which occurred later. In later periods, increased competition among printmakers demanded novelty and variety in their products, and the inclusion of expensive objects, indicating wealth and status, may have served as enticements to buyers who wished to remain abreast of the latest fashions.²¹⁷

The popular coiffure of the period was the *hurluberlu*, which was introduced earlier in the decade. This consisted of a head covered in short curls, with two long sausage curls draped over the front shoulders (figure 133.)



Figure 133. 1679, Nicolas Bonnart, detail, *Deshabillé de Ville*, Morgan L&M.

As in figure 132, the coiffure is worn with the *manteau*, demonstrating that the coiffure was worn with both garments.

The introduction of this hairstyle, variously known as *hurlupée*, *herlubrelu* or *hurluberlu*, is chronicled in 1671 by Madame de Sévigné in a letter to her daughter. In the letter, she reports with amusement the entrance of one of her acquaintances to the salon. “She had thus all her hair cut on her head and curled to form a hundred sausage curls, which made her suffer death and passion all night long (from the pain of the curlers.) All that (suffering) made a small round head

²¹⁷ See Appendix IV.

of cabbage, without anything for the sides, her whole head naked and *hurlupée*.²¹⁸ She describes the long single side curls, seen in the print, as “two long curls that sometimes extend as low as the breast.”²¹⁹ Madame de Sévigné stated her frank opinion of this new novelty, “It is the most ridiculous hairstyle you can imagine. And you can believe me, for you know how I love fashion.”²²⁰ Ironically, soon after she derided the style, Madame de Sévigné adopted the hairstyle herself, and even recommended it in a letter to her daughter as an especially attractive style for her daughter’s facial features. However, she cautioned her daughter to be careful not to cut her hair too short, as this will ruin the effect of the curls! This immediate rejection of new fashion, followed by enthusiastic adoption, is a human trait which continues to the present day.

The change in hairstyle from an earlier form helps identify prints which did not originally include a date on the engraving. The women pictured in the left image below are wearing the fashionable coiffure prior to 1671, with its wide, side puffs and sausage curls (figure 134.)

²¹⁸ Paola PlacellaSommella, “La mode au XVIIe siècle: d’apres la correspondance de Madame de Sévigné”, *Papers in French Seventeenth Century Literature* (Seattle: Biblio 17, 1984),11. The term *hurlupée* was not found in any late 17th century/early 18th century dictionaries. However, the 1701 edition of Furetière’s *Dictionnaire*, included the term *hurluberlu*, which was defined as an adverb, a popular term which means to be rash and inconsiderate, such as in one’s behavior towards others.

²¹⁹ Ibid, 13.

²²⁰ Mossiker, Frances, *Madame de Sévigné: a life and letters* (New York: Knopf, 1983) 104. This letter dates from March, 1671.

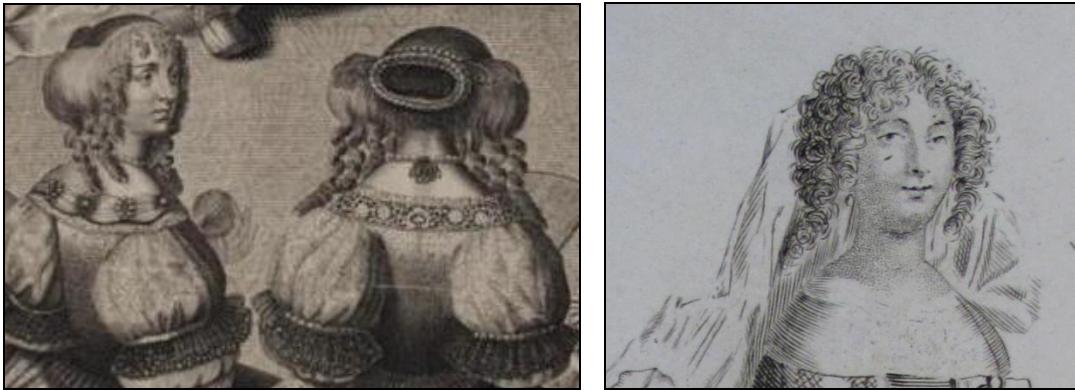


Figure 134. Comparison of previous coiffure, and 1670s *hurluberlu* coiffure (1667, detail. Mariette et P Landry, publishers, *Almanac royal pour l'an de grace MDCLXVII*, BnF; Nicolas Bonnart, *Habit de Ville*, Morgan L&M, middle to late 1670s)

This image predates the production of the fashion prints in Paris, and is a rare glimpse of the fashionable hairstyle and dress of the late 1660s. The next print fits in well with Madame de Sévigné's description of the *hurluberlu*, and is therefore reliably dated to stylistic period I, the middle to late 1670s (figure 134.).²²¹

Men's dress, stylistic period I (middle 1670s to late 1670s)

Men's dress silhouette, Stylistic Period I

As is often the case, men and women share a fashionable silhouette of dress, and this period is no exception. For men, the silhouette presented in the forty-four images is unwavering in its presentation: the long curved coat which widens at the lower edge is accompanied by a modestly-brimmed hat, plain breeches, stockings and high-heeled shoes. The narrow, plain breeches are replacing the full, petticoat breeches of the 1660s, although the latter style is occasionally found in these prints. The fashionable narrow line can be seen in this image of a gentleman in mourning dress by Jean-Baptiste Bonnart, *Gentihomme en deuil*, or, "Gentleman in mourning dress," whose long wig of curly hair streams down his back in conformity to the ideal (figure 135.)

²²¹ The coiffure was to change again in the early 1680s with the introduction of the *fontanges*.



Figure 135. n.d., Jean-Baptiste Bonnart, detail, *Gentihomme en deuil*, BnF (middle to late 1670s.)

In this print, the dark colors of mourning are another element contributing to the long line of the silhouette. Like the embellishments seen on women's dress, the contrasting wide white cuffs and sleeve ruffles add interest and individuality to *the ensemble* without detracting from the overall desired vertical effect.

Men's dress characteristics, stylistic period I

A different picture emerges for the men than for women of this period. The number of shared significant characteristics is much higher than for women, with ten of the seventeen characteristics (fifty-nine percent) commonly found among images of men. Conformity of fashion becomes apparent, as fewer individual choices are employed which create individuality (table 7.)

Table 7. Men's dress characteristics, stylistic period I (middle 1670s to late 1670s)²²²

stylistic period I: men's dress characteristics present in 50% or more of group	stylistic period I. men's dress characteristics present 20% to 49% of group	stylistic period I. men's dress characteristics present under 20% of group	stylistic period I: men's dress characteristics present in 0% of group
sword	full breeches	muff	steinkerk
plain breeches	cane	<i>manteau</i>	mask
coat		<i>robe de chambre</i>	book
hat		<i>echarpe</i>	turban
plumes		livery	
ribbons			
lace			
curly wig			
cravat			
gloves			

As can be observed in this table, popular accessories include hats, plumes, ribbons, lace, curly wigs, cravats and gloves. Swords are an important symbol of the period, and are worn by 57% of the men in these images. They are usually worn by their sides, housed in a sash which is slung diagonally from one shoulder to the opposite hip. A sword is a sign of noble status, *noblesse d'epée*, one of the three estates in French class hierarchy, and could only be worn legally by those who belonged to that class. The percentage of men wearing or holding swords continually increases during the forty-year period of the study, and by the early eighteenth century has risen to a point where 84% of the men are carrying swords.²²³ This may indicate that all of the men in the prints belong to this noble class. However, it is also possible that some do not, and that these exceptions represent a class of individuals who were enlisted from the *haute bourgeoisie* to fight the many wars waged by Louis XIV.

The most frequently found garment worn by men is the coat, or *justaucorps*. This is a long-sleeved, knee-length outer garment with large cuffs and in later years, large pockets. It was

²²² Definitions for these dress characteristics are included in Appendix Terminology and Glossary

²²³ See Appendix IV.

worn by men (with the exception of a few seen on women dressed in *habit de chasse*) and found in over fifty-percent of the images of men in all four stylistic periods. Interestingly, the term *justaucorp* is rarely included in the print inscriptions. This is unusual, as other types of men's garments are often labeled, such as *manteau*, *casaque*, and *robe de chambre*. This hesitancy might be due to the exclusivity associated with the *justaucorps à brevet*, a variation of the garment which was introduced in the mid-1660s. This was a prestigious garment which signified special privileges and was worn by a restricted number of courtiers chosen by the King.²²⁴ The printmakers may have felt that identification of any garment as a *justaucorp* was trespassing on royal prerogatives and avoided it as a result.

The *manteau* worn by men in these prints is not the same garment as that worn by women. For men, this is a long cape, sometimes with a collar, which reaches below the knees and is often worn over a coat (figure 136.)



Figure 136. n.d., Nicolas Bonnart, *Homme de qualité en manteau*, BnF (middle to late 1670s.)

Unlike the women's fashion, the male version of the *manteau* is rarely seen, and found in only five of the forty-four images (eleven percent.) This percentage changes little during the next two Stylistic Periods, and in the early eighteenth century prints, men's *manteaux* are completely absent. There does not seem to be another outer garment which is becoming more popular

²²⁴ *Le Mercure Galant*, octobre, 1678, 367-168. Ruppert et al, *Le costume français*, 106.

during this period, although in the next period (early 1680s to early 1690s) three prints show men in *surtout*, a long, heavy overcoat. These garments are only seen during this time, and do not reappear in later prints. The infrequent illustrations of the *manteaux* may be reflecting an infrequent appearance in fashion.

Another garment which is not found in many prints but which becomes increasingly popular over time is the *robe de chambre*. This is a long, loose-fitting robe worn by men, and is generally associated with men at their leisure, often reading books in their libraries. An example of this type of garment is seen in Jean LePautre's print, *Homme en robe de chambre* (figure 136.)



Figure 137. n.d., Jean LePautre, *Homme en robe de chambre*, BM (middle to late 1670s.)

Here we see a man reading a book, although the setting is an outdoor terrace. This association with scholarly endeavors and men of letters continues into the eighteenth century, and the style changes little from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century.

The favored breeches worn by men in this period are plain, without decoration, and slightly loose fitting. These supplanted the fanciful “petticoat breeches” which were made popular by Louis XIV in his youthful days. Louis XIV is seen wearing the earlier style of loose-fitting britches in this detail of a 1667 almanac image (figure 138.)



Figure 138. 1667, detail, *Almanach*, RMN.

Because the coats of the 1670s period reach below the knee, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain the cut of the breeches. When the breeches are not visible, they are not identified as either plain or full. This makes the numbers appear lower for these characteristics than would be expected, but the designations remain accurate for those that can be identified. Another garment, the *veste*, a long-sleeved garment worn under the coat, was visible in even fewer prints. Because these incidents were so few, this garment was not considered significant for providing understanding of trends, and was not included in the assessment of garment types.

Men's *coiffure* of this period is generally associated with long, curly wigs which copy those favored by the balding, middle-aged king (figure 135, above.) However, men's *coiffures* are not restricted to this style: varieties of shoulder-length and longer styles are seen in the prints. In a print from the October 1678 *Mercure Galant*, a gentleman is wearing a wig whose shape reflects the popular *hurluberlu* worn by women. The two long sausage curls which hang down the front of his coat are worn in a similar style and length to those seen in the Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean print of the young woman in figure 134, above.



Figure 139. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, “Habit d’Hyver”, *Le Mercure Galant*, BnF.

There are several examples of men’s dress borrowing from women’s dress during this period, as can be seen above in the adoption of the *hurluberlu* style by men. A shared aesthetic in *coiffures* occurs again in the late 1690s when men’s penchant for peaked wigs parallels the popular tall *bonnet à la fontanges* worn by women. Unlike the 1670s, in this latter period the hairstyles only share a fondness for height and the actual hairstyles do not resemble each other.

Evidence in written sources, stylistic period I (middle 1670s to late 1670s)

Fashionable women’s dress in Le Mercure Galant and Extraordinare du Mercure Galant

The city journals known as *Le Mercure Galant* and its supplement, *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant* published their most extensive descriptions of fashionable dress in the late 1670s. In the year 1678, four issues of *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant* were published in January, April, July, and October. The January edition of the *Extraordinaire* contained six fashion prints, a first for the publication, while the April *Extraordinaire* had two. Later in October, the monthly edition of the *Le Mercure Galant* published two prints. This fashion print spree was inexplicably discarded, and fashion prints did not appear again until 1699, when a single print illustrating fashionable *coiffures* for mourning and casual wear was included. In total, eleven fashion prints were published in the forty-year period of this study. All of the 1678 prints were identified by the editor, Jean Donneau de Visé, as the work of the engraver Jean

LePautre, following designs by Jean Berain. The value in these prints, with their descriptive inscriptions and accompanying text, is due to the rare glimpse they provide of the contemporary visual and verbal conceptions of fashion in late seventeenth-century France.

A typical example of women's fashion presented in this journal can be found in the January edition of the *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*. The print, titled *Habit de Printemps*, describes the newest fashions and decorative textiles for the upcoming spring season (figure 140.)



Figure 140: 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, detail, "Habit de Printemps," *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

In this print, the young woman is seen wearing all four of the elements strongly identified with the mid to late 1670s women's fashion: *cornette* and *coiffe* headdress, lace, sleeve ruffles and *manteau*. She holds an open fan in her right hand, a less frequently seen but not uncommon accessory of this period. Although we can't see the entire *coiffure*, it appears to be cut in the fashionable *hurluberlu* style of short curls framing the face, and two long, sausage curls hanging down onto the shoulders. Missing in this image are the commonly found gloves, as well as several less commonly found items, including muff, pet, handkerchief, mask, mirror, plumes, *palatine*, capelet and apron.

The inscriptions in this print inform us of the desirable types of lace and fabric weaves used in different parts of her *ensemble*. Her *cornette* is made of *Point de France* needlelace and worn with a *grande coiffe* of *reseau d'Angleterre*, a lace netting created without decorative motifs.²²⁵ Her lace sleeves are rolled up, higher in front than in the back, and the cuffs are created from three rows of gathered *point*, or needle, lace. The *manteau* and *jupe* are both lined in the fashionable changeable taffeta, a fabric created with different colored warps and wefts. The skirt is of white satin with multi-colored floral motifs, and has a narrow pleated silk lace banding above the wide silk lace hem border. Except for the reference to changeable silk, the only color mentioned in the description is the white of the skirt, thought it is embellished (embroidered or woven brocade) with colorful flowers.

An examination of this print reveals that the overall silhouette is vertical, a preference in this time period. This is emphasized by the long lines of the *grande coiffe* on her head, the vertical lines of her *echelle* and the long, low, hip drape of the skirt of the *manteau*. In later periods, this skirt drape will move higher up, creating a wider silhouette, and a nascent bustle. In the text of the journal, the editor Donneau de Visé, elaborates further on the garment. The information is presented in the form of a chatty letter informing a ‘special friend’ from the provinces of all the latest fashions currently in vogue in Paris. It is addressed to her as a gift to inform her of current trends, which will soon be passed along to her anxiously-awaiting friends and family. In this letter, de Visé explains the young woman’s dress, saying

Jetez les yeux sur cette Figure. A peine le Printemps a-t-il commencé de paroistre, qu'on a veu des Dames habillées de cette façon. Regardez ces Manches, je puis vous assurer que ce sont les premières qui ayent paru de la manière dont vous les voyez. Ne vous étonnez pas de luy voir une Echelle de Rubans. On en portoit encor au commencement de la Saison

²²⁵ This style of headdress was supplanted by the *fontanges* in about 1680 to 1681, which at that time was a simple ribbon bowtie worn in the hair, and a return to the simplicity of the 1660s *coiffure*.

où nous sommes. Cette Mode n'a pas continué, & peu de Personnes en portent presentement. Voila, Madame, tout ce que vous aurez de Figures habillées dans cet Extraordinaire. Si les beaux jours estoient venus avec le Printemps, vous en auriez en davantage, & celles que j'aurois adjointées vous auroient donné une plus parfaite connoissance des Modes de cette seconde Saison de l'Année, qu'on peut dire presque finie avant qu'elle ait commencé. Je n'ay pas laissé de faire des Recherches assez curieuses, & qui seront d'une grande utilité pour toutes les Dames de vostre Province, & pour tous les Hommes, qui sans estre à Paris, n'y à La Cour, voudront se piquer d'estre mis de bon air.

Cast your eyes upon this figure. As spring begins to appear, one sees women dressed in this fashion. Observe these sleeves; I can assure you that they are appearing first in this manner in which you see them. Don't be astonished by seeing a ribbon *echelle*. They were still wearing them at the beginning of the current season. This fashion has not continued, and few people currently wear them. You see, *Madame*, you will have access to every fashionably dressed figure in this *Extraordinaire*. If we have a beautiful spring, you will be well placed, and I add that you will be given the best knowledge of fashion for this second season of the year, one that is almost finished before it has begun. I did not refrain from giving you the most interesting current information and who knows of the great use for all the women of your province and for all the men, who without being in Paris, nor at Court, still want the advantage of being well dressed.

As can be seen in this text, communicating what is current and *passé* are important pieces of information to relay to his friend in the provinces. The sleeves are the first item the editor refers to for recognition of changes which have occurred recently. This identification agrees with modern dress historians' observations that this area of dress is important as an indicator of short-term changes.²²⁶ The speed at which fashion changes is also emphasized, as the print shows a stomacher embellished with *echelles*, a row of ribbons tied into bows, which he quickly adds is out of fashion since the print was published.

²²⁶ Elsie McMurry, *American Dresses 178—1900: Identification and significance of 148 extant dresses* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Media and Technology Services, 2001), 685-729. In her extensive study of the construction and aesthetics of dress, Ms. McMurry argues that sleeves are reliable indicators for identifying the age of a garment, as they are the most vulnerable area of dress for applying a change.

The fabrics listed on the print are related to the kind of manufacturing which Jean-Baptiste Colbert supported in his plan to create a textile industry in France. The identification of the *Point de France* needle lace and *point d'Angleterre* are especially intriguing. These two forms of lace were being made in the northern and western areas of the country, and were developing into a strong industry. Was this an advertisement for French-made goods? If so, it lends some credence to the claim by Diana de Marly that the journal was in communication with the government and used as a vehicle for promoting French textile products. Naming the specific lace in the inscription might be a subtle form of advertising as well, but supported by the government rather than a business. In other areas of the journal, embedded in the text are notifications providing the names and addresses of businesses which sell particular goods such as ribbons, lace, and decorative woven silk fabrics. The presentation of these prints with their detailed descriptions also supports the idea that their function is fashion, and that fashion is associated with economics.

Fashionable men's dress in Le Mercure Galant and Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant

In the same January 1678 issue of the *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant* described above is a print of male fashion, entitled *Habit d'Hyver*, or “Winter Dress” (figure 141.)



Figure 141. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, “*Habit d'Hyver*,” *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, BnF.

Like the print of women's fashion, the inscription and text provide a wealth of information about the visual and textural quality of his garment. The text identifies him as a cavalier, while the inscription next to the image describes the textiles and colors of his various articles of dress. This is one of the few images which lists the name of the coat, in this example a *juste-au-corps de drap de Hollande couleur de noisette*, or "Holland wool coat of hazelnut color." According to Furetière, a cavalier is a horseman in the army, but his secondary definitions give a social context for his status. The cavalier is

un Gentilhomme qui porte l'espée, & qui est habillé en homme de guerre. C'est un brave cavalier, un honnette cavalier. Se dit aussi d'un galant qui courtise, qui mène une Dame. En cette promenade, en ce bal, chaque Dame avoit son Cavalier.

a gentleman who wears the sword and who is dressed in the military uniform. This is a brave cavalier, an honorable cavalier. A cavalier is also one who courts and accompanies a Lady. While promenading or dancing, each Lady has her cavalier.²²⁷

The elaborate dress of the cavalier in this print illustrates the ideal of the *honnette cavalier*.²²⁸ His complex dress matches his status, which contains all ten of the significant characteristics of the mid to late 1670s stylistic period: sword, plain breeches, coat, hat, plumes, ribbons, lace, curly wig, cravat, and gloves. He also wears an *echarpe* around his waist, which is described in the inscription as being made of either Spanish needlelace or of gold and silver netting. In addition, a wide, embroidered *baudrier*, sword sash, is draped diagonally from shoulder to hip, with a knot of ribbons embellishing the sword hilt. The cavalier leans on his cane, lending an air of nonchalance to his self-confident bearing.

²²⁷ The format of a Furetière's definitions are to first define the word, then provide an example of its use in a sentence (without separating punctuation.)

²²⁸ The concept of the *honnette homme*, and variations such as the *honnette cavalier*, is a central part of seventeenth century French ideology, better known as the *honnêt homme*. It is well documented in several analyses of the period, including Michael Moriarty's *Taste and ideology in seventeenth century France*.

Color is an important element of dress, and the inclusion in the description indicates that the cavalier is dressed according to the newest trends. These include *couleur de noisette*, *de la pluche*, *de Prince*, or, hazel, fur-colored and “Prince.” Although he never describes the color of “Prince”, in April of the same year, the editor of the *Extraordinaire* claimed, *Il y en a de plusiers couleurs, mais celle regne le plus est couleur de Prince*, or, “that of all the colors, the most popular was the color of Prince.”²²⁹ The reference to royalty could indicate a rich blue, a color associated with French Bourbon family crest with gold *fleur-de-lis* on a blue base. Textiles listed on the inscription include *ruban*, *drap de Holland*, *frange*, *point d'espagne*, or, ribbon, Holland wool, fringe and Spanish needlelace.

Despite the frothy lace and ribbon trimmings, the *echarpe* and the *baudrier*, an overall vertical silhouette is emphasized in the fashion, as was true for the 1678 women’s fashions described above. The long line of the dominant garment, the coat, moves the eye from top to bottom, while the various accessories relieve the strictness of the line.

Stylistic Period II (early 1680s to early 1690s): fashion, negligence and a return to complexity

The number of fashion prints increase dramatically in Stylistic Period II when compared to the 66 fashion prints classified as belonging to Stylistic Period I. A total of 227 prints are identified as examples dating from this time period: 170 generic fashion prints, twenty-three fashion-portraits, thirty-two allegories and two satire fashion prints. These prints follow the compositional form established in the earlier period, with similar percentage of prints having title inscriptions and verse inscriptions or other types of descriptions. This is the time when the portraits of the nobility, the “fashion-portraits”, become more numerous, and these only rarely

²²⁹ *L'extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, avril, 1678, 288.

include references to the fashions being worn by their illustrious subjects. As a result, the percentage of fashion descriptors in the titles is lower than in the early period.²³⁰

A new array of figures and fashions is now appearing in the prints. Depictions of people dressed in religious garb increase at this time, and there is an increase in the number of people identified as *de qualité*. Following their introduction to the print market, portraiture of the nobility increases from zero percent in the earlier period to ten percent in the 1680s. The identification of seasonal dress, while prevalent in the earlier period, is beginning to be less so in the 1680s. Women's garment terminology referring to Asian dress appears exclusively during this stylistic period: *à la Sultane*, *Siamoise*, *Chinoise*, *Grec*, and *Vestalle*. In addition, the first allegorical fashion prints are becoming available in the market.

General silhouette, stylistic period II (early 1680s to early 1690s)

A print by Nicolas Arnoult, one of the most prolific fashion print artists of this period, illustrates the prevailing fashions for both men and women worn during this stylistic period (figure 142.)



Figure 142. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, *L'a Presdiné*, MMA (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

The silhouette is now more complex than the former slim, vertical line. In this period, height as well as a relatively greater width is favored. Garments become even more heavily

²³⁰ See Appendix IV.

embellished, displaying multiple layers adorned with elaborate combinations of lace, ribbons, braid, fabric and even wire. The overall effect is one of luxury and fullness, which is emphasized in various areas on the body. Below the waist, this is seen in the ample draping of women's *manteau* and the fuller cut to men's coats. The aesthetic is best characterized in the highly constructed women's headdresses of the period, and complex detailing on men's coats.

Women's dress, stylistic period II (early 1680s to early 1690s)

Women's dress silhouette, stylistic period II

The approximately ten year period, beginning in the early 1680s and ending in the early 1690s, brings a new silhouette to fashion, one that is still vertical but with newly added fullness. This can be seen in the headdress as well as drape of the *manteau* and shape of the *jupe*. An overall sense of abundance is introduced in this period, as various layers of dress are emphasized by both cut and embellishment. In terms of shape, the low-draped hipline of the *manteau* that was popular in the middle to late 1670s is now pulled upwards, creating a new focal point at the high hip. This high draping of the *manteau* allows the skirt to take a more prominent role in the shaping of the lower part of the ensemble. This is now more loosely fitted than in the earlier period, the result of gathers at the waist which create a more bell-shaped skirt. The skirts continue to have trains, but there is now more variation in the length of trains seen in the prints. The sleeves are longer and trimmed with wider cuffs, making the forearm another focal point in the ensemble.

Color, texture, and layering also contribute to the height and fullness which define the popular women's dress silhouette of stylistic period II. Multiple colors and textures are thrown together to contribute to this already busy ensemble with multiple focal points. In Arnoult's *L'a*

Presdiné (a misspelling of *l'apres diné*, which translates loosely as “the after-dinner hour”) both women share this ideal mode (figure 142, above.)

The posture of the period also changes, from the slightly drooped-shoulder stance seen in the late 1670s to one in which the shoulders are held back and the head erect. This can clearly be seen in Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean’s 1688 print of the *Femme de qualité en Sultane* (figure 143.)



Figure 143. 1688, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité en Sultane*, V&A.

In this print, the young woman exemplifies this erect bearing, and she is wearing a garment which perfectly speaks the language of popular fashion, as each part of her dress is made up of decorative, multiple layers of patterned fabrics. An illuminated copy of this same print owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston shows the young lady of fashion in colors of blue, green and gold (figure 144.)



Figure 144. 1688, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité en Sultane*, MFA Boston.

The addition of color to texture reinforces the classic baroque style favoring bold patterning and color. Without knowing its provenance, it is difficult to know if the coloring is current with the creation of the print. However, these are colors which are seen in other prints of the stylistic period, and their prevalence may indicate that the illumination is contemporary with the publication of the print.

Women's dress characteristics, stylistic period II

For women, many changes occur in the characteristics which define dress for the period (table 8.)

Table 8. Women's dress characteristics, stylistic period II (early 1680s to early 1690s)²³¹

stylistic period II: women's dress characteristics present in 50% or more of group	stylistic period II. women's dress characteristics present 20% to 49% of group	stylistic period II. women's dress characteristics present under 20% of group	stylistic period II: women's dress characteristics present in 0% of this group
ribbons	<i>coiffure à la fontanges</i>	<i>echarpe</i>	<i>bonnet à la fontanges</i>
lace	<i>coiffure en palisade</i>	<i>cornette and coiffe</i>	<i>tilted bonnet à la fontanges</i>
<i>manteau</i>	fan	<i>fontanges</i>	<i>commode fontanges</i>
	<i>engageantes</i>	unique headdress	steinkerk
	sleeve ruffles	piled-up hair	
	stomacher	<i>hurluberlu</i>	
	gloves	muff	
		book	
		pet	
		instrument	
		handkerchief	
		mask	
		mirror	
		plumes	
		palatine	
		capelet	
		apron	
		<i>habit</i>	
		<i>robe de chambre</i>	
		<i>habit de chasse</i>	
		<i>bal, opera</i> costume	

The number of commonly shared elements is fewer than in the earlier period, suggesting that women's dress is becoming less standardized. There are more different items seen worn by women than in the earlier period, specifically the characteristics of *fontanges*, *coiffure à la fontanges*, *coiffure en palisade*, books, *engageantes*, and *habits de chasse*. The most frequently

²³¹ Definitions for these dress characteristics are included in Appendix Terminology as well as in the Glossary.

occurring characteristics of this period are ribbons, lace, and *manteaux*, three items which are also found in common usage in the earlier period.²³²

During this second period, there is evidence that older styles have been retained while newer ones are being introduced. For instance, there are five types of *coiffures* worn during this period: *coiffure à la fontanges*, *coiffure en palisade*, and *fontanges* (more common and first seen in this period), and the *hurluberlu* and *cornette/coiffe* headdress (less common and found in the earlier period.). Sleeve ruffles are still seen, but are being slowly replaced by the newer form of shaped cuffs, the *engageantes*.

Variation in *coiffures* is one of the distinguishing features of this period. The *fontanges* first becomes popular in about 1680 due to its introduction at court by one of Louis XIV's mistresses, Mademoiselle de Fontanges (figures 145.)



Figure 145. 1687, Nicolas Larmessin, detail, *Marie Angelique d'Escorailles de Roussille, Duchesse de Fontanges*, BnF.

While this begins as a simple ribbon worn atop the *hurluberlu*, as seen in this print of Mademoiselle de Fontanges by Larmessin, it is soon joined with the former *cornette/coiffe* headdress, becoming known as the *coiffure à la fontanges* (figure 146.)

²³² See Appendix IV.



Figure 146. n.d., Henri Bonnart, *Dame de qualité*, Morgan L&M (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

This style consisted of a ribbon tied in a bow, a softly draped *cornette*, and a *coiffe* that has a lighter drape. The hairstyle begins to change as this headdress evolves, and the sausage curls are abandoned as the hair elevates off the neck and onto the top of the head.

Within a few years is another change. The *coiffure* evolves into a much larger and more complex structure, the *coiffure en palisade*, made of successive layers of ribbons, lace, fabric scarves, more ribbons and a fabric-covered wire structure which acts as to frame the entire construction (figures 147 and 148.)



Figure 147. 1687, Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Femme de qualité en habit D'esté*, Morgan L & M.

Figure 148. 1688, Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Femme de qualité habillée en Sultane*, BnF.

Perhaps this horizontal arrangement was proving somewhat unwieldy, or difficult to balance on one's head, for it was soon pushed straight upwards to form a new, vertical form (figure 149.)



Figure 149. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Fille de Qualité en Deshabillé d'Hiver*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

As can be seen in this image, the height was created by piled-up hair followed by a double layer of gathered lace edgings, a layer of ribbon bows, the fabric-covered wired scarf, more ribbons, and the beginnings of what was later to be identified as a bonnet.

The height of these headdresses was now remarkable, and the visual record is supported by the observations in 1688 of the Duchesse d'Orléans, who reported in one of her letters to her family that, “The *coiffures* grow taller and taller every day. I think they will finally have to make the doors taller, for otherwise these ladies will no long be able to go in and out of the rooms.”²³³ The Duc de Saint-Simon was also amused: “The fontanges was an edifice of wire, ribbons, hair and baubles of all sorts, about two feet high, which made a woman’s face look as if it was in the middle of her body. At the slightest movement the edifice trembled and seemed ready to come down.”²³⁴ These two variations must have been very heavy, and in the next stylistic period, this difficulty of weight was solved by a change in lace usage, which also maintained the fashionable height.

Besides the headdresses, several other features of the women’s dress are typically found on dress of this period. Large ribbon bows are seen adorning the headdresses as well as bodices,

²³³ Forster, *A Woman’s Life in the court of the Sun King*, 59.

²³⁴ Saint-Simon, *The Memoirs of Louis XIV and the Regency*, 1901.

and sleeves, and lace is found in these same areas. Decorative aprons, with pockets outlined in *passementerie* and decorative braiding, are worn over the *jupe* by these women of quality. This is a departure from the traditional role of the apron as the prerogative of servants, as a garment which protects their clothes as they work. Finally, the use of stripes becomes popular in women's dress, and can be seen in the fabric and embellishments of *manteaux*, *jupes* and aprons.

There is a group of images from this period which reflect recent interactions between Europe and its Asian neighbors. Fourteen prints have inscriptions which refer to fashions illustrated in the prints, of which seven are *en Sultane*, a reference to conflicts as well as diplomatic exchanges between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. In 1683, the defeat of the Turks outside the walls of Vienna was hailed as a major victory for Europe. At the same time, acknowledgement of Ottoman power played out in fashion which borrowed from the Turkish use of braiding and decorative closures (figures 143, above, and 150.)



Figure 150. 1688, Gerard II Jolain, detail, *Damoiselle en habit de Sultane a la promenade*, BnF.

The *en Sultane* fashion picture here is identified by the use of horizontal closures at the *manteau* center-front. The overall design is typical of this stylistic period, due to the abundance of surface embellishment which competes for the eye's attention. In this ensemble, this includes a large headdress, multiple decorative *manteau* closures, a *jupe* with dominant vertical stripe, and

a deep *jupe* hem decorated with bold patterning. This is the type of aesthetic seen in the print by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean which typifies the ideal body posture of the period (figure 143, above.)

Men's dress, stylistic period II (early 1680s to early 1690s)

Men's silhouette, stylistic period II

The rate of change for men's fashion in this period is slower than for women, and although the variety of embellishment increases, the general silhouette changes little. Like the women, the overall silhouette emphasizes both height and fullness. Focal points are created at several areas, including the neckline and the cuffs of sleeves, at the same time that the vertical silhouette is maintained by use of high-heeled shoes and decorative closures on the center front of the coat. (figure 151.)



Figure 151. 1686, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Homme de Qualité*, V&A.

Men's dress characteristics, stylistic period II

The full dress of a gentleman, *un homme de qualité*, is very similar to the earlier period except for one significant difference: the variety and number of accessories worn in stylistic period II are greater.²³⁵ This suggests some move towards individuality, as long as the class 'uniform' (sword, plain breeches, coat, hat, hat plumes, ribbons, lace, curly wig, cravat) is adhered to (table 9.) The coat, referred to as the *justacorps*, continued as the most important

²³⁵ See Appendix IV.

men's garment, a surface upon which to impart individuality of taste, at least up to a certain point. These garments become a little shorter in length, while the sleeve cuffs become wider. Only one accessory, the cravat better known as the "steinkerk," is absent during this period.

Table 9. Men's dress characteristics, stylistic period II (early 1680s to early 1690s)²³⁶

stylistic period II: men's dress characteristics present in 50% or more of group	stylistic period II. men's dress characteristics present 20% to 49% of group	stylistic period II. men's dress characteristics present under 20% of group	stylistic period II: men's dress characteristics present in 0% of group
sword	gloves	muff	steinkerk
plain breeches		full breeches	
coat		<i>manteau</i>	
hat		<i>robe de chambre</i>	
hat plumes		cane	
ribbons		<i>echarpe</i>	
lace		mask	
curly wig		book	
cravat		turban	
		livery	

Just as for women, men's dress of this period utilize multiple textures to form a richness of dress. This can be seen in the 1689 print of the *Homme de qualité en habit garny de rubans*, in which the printmaker's inscription recognizes the importance of ribbons (figure 152.)

²³⁶ See Appendix III, "Definitions of terminology for categories and sub-categories used for content analysis" and Glossary.



Figure 152. 1689, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Homme de qualité en habit garny de rubans*, BnF.

The gentleman in this print is wearing his ribbons on his cravat, shoulder, elbow, sword hilt and hat.²³⁷ Added textures include the curly wig, lace cravat, fringed gloves, and the distinctive embellishment of his coat openings, with much of the fashion interest centered on his head and shoulders. His posture is erect with shoulders held back, again reflecting the same aesthetic as seen in the images of women.

In particular, the cravat is distinctive and proves useful for identifying images from this period. It consists of a softly gathered lace rectangle worn over a base of several stacked ribbon bowties. This differs from the earlier stylistic period, when a single bowtie was placed on the top of the gathered end of the cravat (figure 139, above.) The layering of lace and ribbon bows parallels the multiple layers worn by women in their *coiffure en palisade* and both reflect the fashionable ideals of the period.

Despite their rarity even during this era, this is the period when turbans appear in the prints, and these are usually found on the heads of young pages, with a few worn by men in

²³⁷ This particular illuminated print includes a handwritten note near the inscription which reads, *Enluminé par la femme de St. Jean*, or, “Illuminated by the wife of St. Jean.” Whether this is true or not is uncertain as the date and source of the note is unknown. This print is among the few seen by this author in which the illuminator is identified. The wife of Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean continued his printmaking business after his death in 1694, adding the inscription, *chez la V^e S^t Jean*, or, “at the address of the widow of St. Jean” to the prints. This note suggests that her involvement with the business occurred during his lifetime as well.

dressing gowns. This fashion parallels the appearance of the *à la Sultane* styles for women and reflects current events of the day.²³⁸

Evidence in written sources, stylistic period II (early 1680s to early 1690s)

Nicolas Arnoult, the Bonnart brothers and Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean were the three most prolific creators of fashion prints during the 1680s. Unlike the Bonnart brothers and Dieu de Saint-Jean, whose works spanned from the late 1670s to the turn of the century, the bulk of Arnoult's production was concentrated during this period. He also produced more fashion prints during this period than each of the other two artists.

Of the eighty-five fashion prints by Arnoult dating from the 1680s, two prints are of special interest: the *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé D'Esté* (figure 153) and the *Homme de Qualité en Habit d'Esté* (figure 161.) These two prints are unique for the period as well as for the artist as they are the only ones created during this time which include extensive descriptions of the fashions being worn in the illustrations. Although the breadth of information does not approach that seen in the 1678 *Mercure Galant* publications, these inscriptions provide information on color and wearing habits which is absent in other prints of the 1680s. Neither of these illustrations by Arnoult includes printed dates, but both relate stylistically to his other 1687 and 1688 fashion prints.

Fashionable women's dress as described in Arnoult's print

The first of these prints, the *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé D'Esté*, includes many of the items listed as typical for the period. For instance, the young woman is dressed in all three of the characteristics listed as highly significant according to the data base analysis: ribbons, lace, and *manteau*. She wears four of the characteristics considered next in importance, *coiffure en*

²³⁸ Both of these fashions can be traced to political events in 1683, hailing the European victory in Vienna over the invasion by the Ottoman Turks.

palisade, fan, *engageantes* and stomacher. The mask she holds in her hand is one of the less frequently observed elements of dress for this stylistic period, but its shape is typical of the kind seen throughout the late seventeenth century.²³⁹ Although aprons are also less commonly found, their presence is more frequent in this period than any other. The striped hem and outlined pocket are typical embellishments on aprons of the period, and similar to one owned by the Costume Institute at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figures 153 and 154.)



Figure 153. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé D'Esté*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)



Figure 154. late 17th century, *apron*, European, MMA.

²³⁹ Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, UK: Maney, 1988), 12. Arnold quotes Frederick Harrison's 19th century edited version of a 16th century manuscript by Holinshed, who describes mask as becoming a fashionable accessory in the late 16th century, originating in Italy, then traveling to France and England. The mask on the fashion doll known as Lady Clapham is similar in style to those seen in late 16th century costume prints as well as in these late 17th century fashion prints.

The inscription below Arnoult's *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé D'Esté* was written in a close script in order to squeeze in as much information as possible (figure 155.)

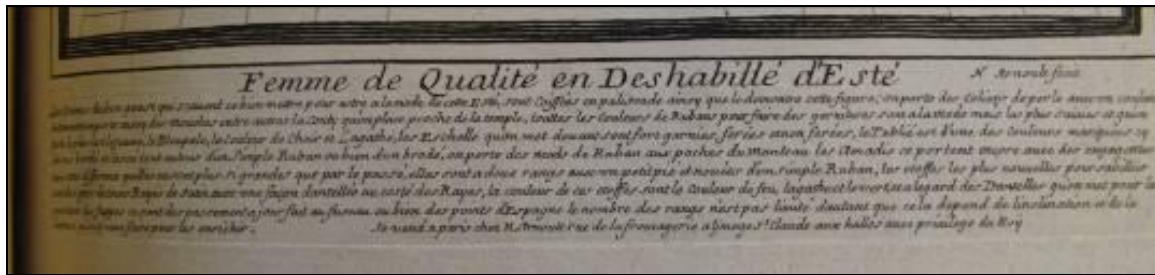


Figure 155. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé D'Esté*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

With original seventeenth century spelling it reads:

Les Dames de bon goust qui scauvent ce bien mettre pour ester a la mode de cette Esté, sont Coiffées en palisade ainsy que le demontre cette figure. On porte des coliers de perle avec un coulant de diamant. On porte aussy des mouches entre autres la Conty qu'on place proche de la temple. Toutes les Couleurs de Rubans pour faire des garnitures sont a la mode mais les plus suivies et qu'on porte le plus c'est le Jeanne, le Bleupale, le Couleur de Chair et Lagathe. Les Eschelle qu'on met devant sont fort garniers, serées et non serées. Le Tablié est d'une des dcouleurs marquées cy dessus, bordé et lassé tout autour d'un simple Ruban ou bien d'un brodé. On porte des neuds de Ruban aux poches du Manteau. Les Amadis ce portent encore avec des engageantes avec cette difference quelles ne sont plus si grandes que par le passé. Elles sont a deux rangs avec un petit pié et nouées d'un simple Ruban. Les etoffes les plus nouvelles pour sabilier sont des gros de tours Rayés de satin avec un facon dantellée au costé des Rayes. La couleur de ces etoffes sont le couleur de feu, lagathe et le vert, et a legard des Dantelles qu'on met pour la garniture des Juppes. Ce sont des passemement a jour fait au fuseau ou bien des points d'Espagne. Le nombre des rangs n'est pas limité dautant que de la depend de linclination et de la despense qu'on y veut faire pour les enrichir.

Women of good taste who know so well how to be fashionable this summer are coiffed *en palisade* as demonstrated by this figure. They wear a pearl necklace with another string necklace of diamonds. They also wear beauty patches between their curls *à la Conty* which are located close on the forehead temples. Many fashionable colors of ribbons are used for embellishment, but the most popular are *Jeanne* (*jaune?*yellow?), pale blue, flesh-colored and agate-colored. The *echelle* which one puts on the front of the bodice are full, and densely spaced or

not. The apron is of a color as mentioned above, bordered and trimmed all around by a simple ribbon, or just embroidered. They wear ribbon bows at the sides of the *manteau*. The *Amadis* sleeves are still worn with *engageantes*, but with this difference: that they are no longer as long as in the past: they are two rows tied with a simple ribbon and creating a small extension. The newest fabrics have wide stripes of satin with lace trim at the edges of the stripes. These fabrics are the color of fire, agate and green, and matched to the lace which is applied for the embellishment of the skirts. There are openwork trims of bobbin lace or Spanish needlelace. The number of rows is not limited at all, and depends upon the inclination and the amount one wants to spend to enrich the garment.²⁴⁰

Several elements of dress are described in this inscription. The term, *en palisade* is defined as something that acts like a fence, or paling, and according to Furetière, it is also a term of fortification.²⁴¹ In fashionable headdresses, it refers to the architectural construction of alternating ribbons, lace, and fabric-covered wire *coiffure* worn on her head. Her hair is curled and arranged close to her face, with two small curls, one on each side of the forehead, known as *à la Conty*. This *coiffure* has evolved from the earlier form of the *hurluberlu* but no longer includes the long sausage curls. By abandoning these long tendrils, interest moves upwards to the forehead and top of the head. The word *echelle* translates literally to “ladder” in French, and the bows placed vertically on the front of stomacher are arranged like the steps of a ladder. *Amadis* sleeves were adopted from theater costume and were wrist-length, although here the newest form favors a sleeve which ends slightly past the elbow, almost a three-quarter length sleeve. The use of stripes is emphasized in the inscription and is found in two areas on the garment. Horizontal bands, possibly ribbons, are applied onto the lower edge of the *jupe* fabric and then outlined in lace. The apron also utilizes ribbons in its hem, creating a diagonal striping

²⁴⁰ Translation of the author.

²⁴¹ Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v., “palissade.”

which borders the entire piece. Similar treatment of ribbon and lace can be seen in the example of the apron from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figure 154.)

Of special interest in this description is the listing of fashionable colors, as the colors found in the painted prints are not necessarily reliable, having more to do with available artists' tints than fashionable dye colors. These include ribbons of "*Jeanne* (or *jaune?*), pale blue, flesh-colored and agate-colored", and fabrics "the color of fire, agate and green." The ribbons are described as *Jeanne*, which is most likely *jaune*, or yellow. There is no word listed as *Jeanne* which describes a color in the Furetière's 1690 *Dictionnaire universel*, but *jaune* is defined as the color *éclatant qui se reflechit le plus de lumiere après le blanc*, or, "the brightest color after white," with examples given of lemon yellow and golden yellow. *Agathe*, or agate, is defined by Furetière as *pierre precieuse en partie transparente, & partie opaque. Il y en a de plusieurs couleurs... Il y en a qui imitent la couleur de la cornaline, d'autres qui ont des veines fort rouges & fort blanches*, or, "precious rocks that are partly transparent and partly opaque. There are several colors...those which imitate the color of carnelian (red) and others with strong veining of red and white." The popular color of agate described in this print may therefore be a red hue mixed with brown. "Flesh-colored" is probably closest to a pinkish-tan, while pale blue is self-explanatory. Most of the ribbon colors seem to be pale, but the fabric colors are listed as "fire, agate and green," colors which may be vibrant. The actual hues of these colors can be conjectured from paintings as well as illuminated prints. For example, the color of "fire" may be a yellow-orange hue, similar to the one in this miniature of Louise-Elisabeth de Bourbon-Condé, who is shown dressed in masquerade costume (figure 156.)



Figure 156. 17th century, unknown artist, *Louise Élisabeth de Bourbon-Condé*, RMN.

The colors of agate and green might be those seen in some of the garments worn by women in a 1688 painting by Etienne Alegrain (figure 157.)



Figure 157. 1688, Etienne Alegrain, oil on canvas, *Promenade de Louis XIV*, CV.

In the detail of this painting, one woman is wearing a yellow-orange (fire) *manteau* with a light-green *jupe*, while another is in a reddish-colored *manteau* (agate) with a blue lining. Although the “fire” color is a bright hue, the others are not so vivid. “Fire” color would be closer to what is called “flame” today, while the “agate” closer to a light maroon. In other words, they mixed intensity of color in order to achieve a balanced effect, or at least one that was attractive to the current aesthetic taste.

Colors presented in illuminated prints are also helpful for determining these popular colors. A similar color of red, possibly the color agate, is seen in the Alegrain painting and in the 1687 illuminated print by Arnoult, *Femme de qualité en habit D'esté* (figure 158.)



Figure 158. 1687, Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Femme de qualité en habit D'esté*, Morgan L&M.

However, a much stronger red can be seen in several other illuminated prints, including another by Arnoult, *Femme de qualité aux Thuilleries* (figure 159.)



Figure 159. 1687, Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Femme de qualité aux Thuilleries*, Morgan L&M.

This vibrant red of her skirt is matched with a pastel green *coiffe*, paralleling the use of different intensities of color as seen in the Alegrain painting.

A third print by Arnoult again shows the green and red combination, *Charles de France Duc de Berry* has the governess in a green apron and light red *jupe* with broad horizontal striping at the lower hem (figure 160.)



Figure 160. 1689, Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Charles de France Duc de Berry*, Morgan L&M.

The young duc de Berry is wearing a dress of the light maroon color, along with darker red accents on his sleeves, yellow banding on his bodice and light blue ribbons in his headdress. Since these last three prints are part of the same collection, it may be that they were originally painted by the same person at the same time, and these colors are merely his own interpretation of popular color combinations. However, the similarity to the paintings helps confirm their reliability, as the knowledge of the two different types of artists would be drawn from similar sources.

Comparing the 1680s print Arnoult to the 1678 print by LePautre, one sees both similarities and difference. The most notable similarity is the *manteau*, worn by both figures, and pulled back to reveal a *jupe*, skirt. Each figure holds a fan, has a stomacher *echelle* of ribbon bows, and has various ribbon and lace embellishments scattered throughout her garment. However, despite the fact that the same basic garments remain fashionable, changes occur in their drape, the degree of embellishment, and the use of color. The silhouette has become fuller, and the posture is upright. Texture and color are also affected. In the 1678 print, textures of lace are contrasted with silk fabrics and ribbons. By the 1680s, these textural surfaces also include the additional banded surface of the *jupe*, but also the construction materials of the headdress, a giddy combination of lace, ribbons and silk *coiffes*. The differences in emphasis on color is also

worth noting, as the 1678 print mentions only one color, a white fabric decorated with multi-colored flowers used in the *jupe*. In the 1680s print, floral fabrics have been replaced with plain, colored fabrics, and these are being embellished with stripes of color and lace. The latter employs colors which are complementary (reds and greens) with yellow, tans and “fire” colors in a variety of hues and combinations. All of these changes create a style which is identifiable by a fullness of silhouette and a richness of embellishment, sufficient reason for these styles to be classified into a separate stylistic period.

Fashionable men’s dress as described in Arnoult’s print

This print by Nicolas Arnoult, *Homme de Qualité en Habit d’Esté*, is the twin to the *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé D’Esté* (figure 161.)



Figure 161. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Homme de Qualité en Habit d’Esté*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

The *homme de qualité* is wearing all of the items listed in the common characteristics of men’s dress of the period: sword, plain breeches, coat, hat, hat plumes, ribbons, curly wig and cravat. He adds to this basic wardrobe a pair of gloves as well as a long *echarpe* tied around his waist.²⁴²

²⁴² The word *echarpe* translates to “scarf” in English dictionaries, but the garment worn in the 17th century is slightly different than this meaning. For men, an *echarpe* is a wide sash, worn tied around the jacket and resting on the hips. For women, an *echarpe* is a shawl, worn around the shoulders with its ends hanging down the front of the *manteau*. For both men and women, this was a highly embellished article of dress, and seemed to indicate a degree of wealth.

This print also contains a closely written inscription which describes the fashions being worn by the figure in the print (figure 162.)

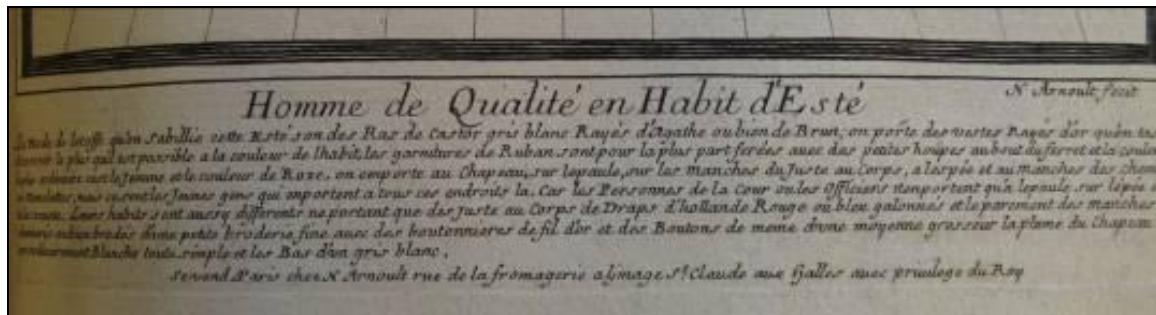


Figure 162. Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Homme de Qualité en Habit d'Esté*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

The inscription reads as follows, in the original spelling:

La mode de letoffe qu'on sabillie cette Esté son des Ras de Castor gris blanc Rayés d'Agathe ou bien de Brun. On porte des vestes Rayés d'or qu'on tasche dassortir le plus qu'il est possible. A la couleur de lhabit, les garnitures de Ruban sont pour la plus part ferées avec des petites houpes au bout du ferret et la couleur la plus ordinaire ce'st le Jeanne et le couleur de Roze. On emporte au Chapeau, sur lepaule, sur les manches du Juste auCorps, a les pée et au Manches des chemises ou Manchettes, mais ce sont les Jeunes gens qui emporten a tous ces endroits la, Car les Personnes de la Cour ou les Officiers n'enportent qu'a lepaule sur lépée et a cravat. Leurs habits sont aussy different, ne portant que des Juste au Corps de Draps d'hollande Rouge ou bleu galonnés et le parement des manches chamarrés au bien brodés d'une petite broderie fine avec des boutonnieres de fil d'or et des Boutons de meme d'une moyenne grosseur. La plume du Chapeau es ordinairement Blanche toute simple et les Bas d'un gris blanc.

The fashionable fabric which is worn this summer is an off-white, short-piled beaver with agate as well as brown stripes. Gold-striped vests are worn which are dyed to match as closely as possible. Adding color to the garment are ribbon embellishments which are mostly metal-tipped, with small tassels along the lower edge of the metal, and are usually colored Jeanne and Rose. They wear these on the hat, on the shoulder of the sleeves of the coat, on the sword hilts, and on the sleeves of the chemises or at the cuffs, but it is the young people who wear all of these things, because the people of the court and the officers wear them only at the shoulder, on the sword and at the cravat. Their garments are also different, wearing only coats of red or blue Dutch wool, embellished with tassels and the facing of the sleeves ornamented handsomely with

borders of a fine, narrow embroidery with buttonholes of gold thread and buttons of the same material, mostly large in size. The hat plume is usually a simple white color and the stockings are gray-white.

As in the print of the *Femme de qualité*, the emphasis in this description of fashionable dress is on materials as well as color. These materials include short-piled fur, wool, ribbons, metal-tipped tassels, gold thread, gold buttons and feather plumes. Lace is another texture appearing in the print (cravat, chemise cuffs and glove cuffs), though it is not mentioned by name in the description. The description provides differences between dress of different groups within the class *de qualité*: young people, people of the court, and officers. Of the three groups, the young people are the more flamboyantly dressed, as they wear their ribbons on their “hat, on the shoulder of the sleeves of the coat, on the sword hilts, and on the sleeves of the chemises or at the cuffs.” The people of the court and officers are more conservative in their ribbon embellishments, only wearing them at “shoulder, on the sword and at the cravat.” If we compare the locations of the metal-tasseled ribbons described in the inscription to their locations in the image (hat, shoulder, chemise cuff, coat sleeve, sword hilt), the figure is unquestionably a “young person.” One has the same feeling about this abundant ornamentation as for the over-constructed women’s headdresses of the period: it makes one wonder whether the young dandy can do little more than sit or stand without disrupting his elegant *ensemble*.

In addition to this allocation by ribbon placement, the inscription states that among the people of the court and officers is a group who is allowed exclusive rights to the *Juste au Corps de Draps d'hollande Rouge ou bleu*, a coat trimmed with gold buttons and gold-threaded buttonholes. Known as the *justaucorps à brevet*, this garment was the prerogative of the king to assign to a select group of favored courtiers. The garment depiction agrees with one by Saint-Simon, who characterized this exclusive *justaucorps* as “a blue uniform with silver and gold

lace, lined with red.²⁴³ The young man is not a member of the group from who these select individuals are chosen and he therefore is not wearing a *justaucorps à brevet*.

In Arnoult's print, the colors which accompany these varied textures are off-white, agate, brown, gold, *Jeanne*, rose, red, blue and white. Two of these colors, agate and *Jeanne* (yellow) also appear listed in the inscription in Arnoult's *Femme de qualité* seen above. This suggests some use of gender-neutral colors by both sexes, though does not necessarily imply the other colors are gender-linked.

Some of the colors listed on the print are found in paintings of the period. In the 1685 Largillierre portrait of a young prince, the young man wears a white chemise, white lace, a brown coat, blue vest, red ribbon bowties, and pink sleeve linings. A long, yellow fabric (an artistic device) is draped over his right forearm and secured on the top of a pedestal with his left hand (figure 163.).



Figure 163. 1685, Nicolas de Largilliere, oil on canvas, *Portrait de jeune prince et de son précepteur*, Musée Jacquesmart-Andre (MJA.)

The garment fabrics in this painting are varied in texture and weight, yet the overall ensemble remains essentially conservative. His shiny silk cravat ribbons contrast with the rich, muted surface of his coat. The reflective silk vest is embroidered with gold thread, while the

²⁴³ Saint-Simon. *The memoirs of Louis XIV and the regency*, 35.

buttonholes and buttons of his coat are gold. The bold patterning of the lace in his cravat, which looks more Flemish than French, adds to the decorative quality of his clothing. A close examination of the painting reveals that this lace cravat is a long length which is wrapped around his neck and then draped over the top of the multi-layered bowtie. This arrangement required either a very long piece of lace, or two lace rectangles sewn onto a middle section of plain fabric. This is unlike some extant cravats, which consist of only of one lace rectangle. In cases such as these, after a plain length of fabric was wrapped around the neck and joined in front, the lace rectangle was attached so that only the lace could be seen draped over the ribbon bowtie. The final effect would appear like the gathered cravat of *Point de France* needlelace, seen below (figures 164 and 165.)



Figure 164. late 17th c, *Point de France* needlelace cravat, MTAD Lyon.
Figure 165. late 17th c, detail, *Point de France* needlelace cravat, MTAD Lyon.

Interestingly, the young man in the painting does not wear lace sleeve cuffs, a common practice of the period. This could be a conservative taste, the sitter's preference, or even the painter's decision to exclude them for compositional reasons.

A 1688 illuminated print by François Gerard Jollain illustrates what could be a gentleman dressed in a *justaucorps à brevet* as described in the Arnoult print inscription as well as by Saint-Simon (figure 166.)



Figure 166. 1688, F.G. Jollain, *Homme de qualité pregnant du Café*, Morgan L&M.

His *justaucorps* is blue with a red lining (the illuminator has painted the light reflections in an orange color) and the buttons and trim of this garment are gold. The rest of his ensemble matches the description of the proper dress of the *homme de qualité*: plumed hat, curly wig, lace cravat worn over multiple ribbon bowties and plain breeches. The absence of too much excess in dress, such as ribbon embellishment, may support his status as a man of court or officer. This would qualify him as a candidate for wearing the *justaucorps à brevet*.

A final word about men's dress of this period addresses an issue with secondary sources. In her translations of letters by Madame de Sévigné, Francis Mossiker provides the following quote from a letter of 1685 sent to her daughter (the bold lettering is added.)

"Find out something, my *bonne*, about what the men will be wearing this summer. I shall ask you to send me a pretty fabric for your brother, who implores you to turn him into a **fashion plate** at minimum cost, to tell him how cuffs are being worn, also to choose the trimmings for him, and to send it all in time for the Governor's reception."²⁴⁴

The original letter reads somewhat differently, and the referral to "fashion plate" is absent.

*Ma bonne, voyez un peu comme s'habillent les hommes pour l'été. Je vous prierai de m'envoyer d'une mettre du bel air, sans dépense savoir comme on porte les manches, choisir aussi une garniture, et envoyer le tout pour recevoir nos Gouverneurs.*²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Mossiker, *Madame de Sévigné*, 351.

²⁴⁵ Madame de Sévigné, *Correspondance*, ed. Rober Duchêne, 3 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), III: 202.

Although the sense may be similar, the terminology is misleading, and illustrates the importance of checking original sources, whenever possible.

Stylistic Period III (middle 1690s to late 1690s) heights of fashion, rebellion of fashion

Four-hundred-twenty prints were identified as belonging to Stylistic Period III, representing the greatest number of prints associated with any one period. The shift in subject matter of these prints is seen in the reduction in the number of generic fashion prints from 75% to 35% of the total, and the increase of fashion-portrait prints from 10% to 50% of the total. This is a time when images of royalty and nobility are produced by the hundreds, outpacing the total production of generic, allegoric and satire fashion prints. Explanations for this change remain speculative: is this the result of the all-too-common human interest in the rich and powerful which fueled a lucrative market for these images? Or is it a government-sponsored program to distribute positive images of royalty during a time when the monarchy was being criticized for national and domestic failures? The most damaging fashion satires are produced during this time, suggesting an atmosphere of cynicism, possibly a reaction to harsh economic conditions which were a result of the government's failed policies. Whatever the reason, the change in imagery was dramatic and swift, and defined this stylistic period.

General silhouette, stylistic period III (middle 1690s to late 1690s)

The general silhouette during this time is one which continues to stress height. Women's headdresses reach their greatest heights during this period, as do men's peaked wigs. At the same time, some of the fullness which was so popular in the 1680s is reduced. Instead, women's skirts become wider at the base, with deep, decorative banding and *falbalas*, gathered flounces, marking the hem. Men's coats follow this trend, using a gusset at the sides to create a fashionably wide base (figure 167.)



Figure 167. 169_?, Robert Bonnart, detail, *Dame en Falbala à la Promenade*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

This particular print by Robert Bonnart shows a woman accompanied on her walk by an admirer, as the train of her *manteau* is carried by her young, turban-clad page. The original date on the print was cut off the edge of the plate, leaving only the phrase *Juin 169*. Underneath this was added *1692* in pen, a date which seems early for the style of woman's headdress shown in the print. It has been the experience of this author that this type of error is common when prints are postdated, and usually in the direction of an identification which is too early. This Bonnart is probably closer to the mid-1690s, due to its similarity to prints dated from that period. The composition also shows the influence of the artist Jean Mariette, who created lavish backgrounds for all of his fashion prints. The Bonnart brothers were quick to adopt new compositional forms which were marketable, and this is one such example. Towards the end of this period, at the turn of the century, the compositional ideal shifts slightly, a presage to the styles of the early eighteenth century.

Women's dress, stylistic period III (middle 1690s to late 1690s)

Women's dress silhouette, stylistic period III

The fashionable silhouette for women which prevailed during the middle years of the 1690s stressed height over fullness, a nod to the fashions of the late 1670s. In general, this

silhouette maintains a vertical line in the upper half of the body, while the lower half becomes triangular in shape, with an ever-widening lower hem to the *jupe*. This can be seen in the print by Antoine Trouvain of the Princess de Conty (or Conti), who was the illegitimate daughter of Louis XIV and his mistress, Louise de la Vallière (figure 168.)



Figure 168. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, detail, *Madame la Princesse de Conty douariere*, Morgan L&M (middle to late 1690s.)

The princess is seen here in her high, lace *bonnet à la fontanges* with long streaming lace lappets, a style of *coiffure* which reinforces a slender line. The upper area of her *manteau* is left open in order to display decorative borders which echo the long lines of the lappets. A stomacher fills in the space between the borders, edged at the top with a wide lace insertion. The triangular lower half of the body is formed by the exposed bell-shaped *jupe*, visible when the lower edges of the trained *manteau* are lifted and gracefully draped against the back of the skirt. More of the skirt is revealed than in earlier periods, and this trend will continue into the eighteenth century.

Towards the very end of the seventeenth century, another silhouette emerges which is a return to the aesthetic of layers and fullness seen in the 1680s, but with a new twist: the ideal of “height” is showing signs of waning. Claude-Auguste Berey’s fashion-portrait of Madame la

Duchesse de Valentoix (or Valentinois) illustrates all the bells and whistles of this short-lived fashion (figure 169.)



Figure 169. n.d., Claude-Auguste Berey, *Madame la Duchesse de Valentinois*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

The Duchesse de Valentinois is wearing similar clothes to the Princess de Conti, but the upper body has now become an area where layering has caused it to compete for fullness with the *jupe*. A long scarf with wide borders of lace, known as the *echarpe*, wraps around her shoulders and hangs down past her knees in the front, contributing to an exaggerated fullness. The bell-shaped *jupe* has become much wider at the hem, with an added train matching the long train of the *manteau*. Finally, where one might expect an even larger headdress, one finds instead a tilted *bonnet à la fontanges*, possibly an effect of the weight of lace used in its creation. This tilted *coiffure* reverses the trend begun in the early 1680s of the ever-increasing height to the headdress.

Women's dress characteristics, stylistic period III

The items of fashionable dress worn during the middle to late 1690s retain two significant characteristics of the previous stylistic periods, these being the *manteau* garment and the use of lace in various accessories (table 10.) The *manteaux* adopt long trains which are usually worn with long-trained *jupes*.

Table 10. Women's dress characteristics, stylistic period III (middle 1690s to late 1690s)²⁴⁶

stylistic period III. women's dress characteristics present in 50% or more of group	stylistic period III. women's dress characteristics present 20% to 49% of group	stylistic period III. women's dress characteristics present under 20% of group	stylistic period III: women's dress characteristics present in 0% of this group
<i>engageantes</i>	<i>bonnet à la fontanges</i>	<i>echarpe</i>	<i>cornette and coiffe</i>
lace	tilted <i>bonnet à la fontanges</i>	<i>fontanges</i>	<i>commode</i>
stomacher	fan	<i>coiffure à la fontanges</i>	<i>hurluberlu</i>
<i>manteau</i>	ribbons	<i>coiffure en palisade</i>	
	<i>gloves</i>	unique headdress	
		piled-up hair	
		muff	
		book	
		pet	
		instrument	
		handkerchief	
		steinkerk	
		mask	
		mirror	
		plumes	
		sleeve ruffles	
		palatine	
		palatine	
		apron	
		<i>habit</i>	
		<i>robe de chambre</i>	
		<i>habit de chasse</i>	
		<i>bal, opera costume</i>	

Some of the items which enjoyed popularity in the 1670s have disappeared, namely the *cornette*, *coiffe* and *hurluberlu*. Sleeve ruffles have been replaced by the shaped lace cuffs known as *engageantes*, except for those found on the *grand habit* worn by the royal women at court. Ribbons are becoming less common in women's dress, though the level of overall embellishment remains high. This is one of the few times in history when women are wearing

²⁴⁶ See Appendix III and Glossary.

the same cravat as men. The steinkerk is borrowed from menswear, and seen in the dress of sixteen women, about 5% of the total images of women for this period. The *commode* is a *coiffure* which first appears in the early eighteenth century, and is therefore absent from these prints.²⁴⁷

Although both the 1670s and 1690s favor a slender silhouette, at least on the upper part of the body, different devices are employed in the 1690s to create this ideal. These take the form of tall headdresses, decorative vertical borders on the front bodice of the *manteau*, long Steinkerk cravats, and narrow sleeves edged in elongated *engageantes* (figure 170.)



Figure 170. 1693, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Femme de qualité en Stenkerke et falbala*, BnF.

In this particular print by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, the bell-shaped skirt is embellished with a *falgala*, a gathered flounce typically worn on the skirts and aprons.²⁴⁸

Headdresses remain an important element of dress during this time period. The various fashionable headdresses, defined under the general terms *bonnet à la fontange* and tilted *bonnet à la fontange*, are composed primarily of lace and ribbons. They often include a small cap, or bonnet, worn on the back of the head. These represent a change from the heavily constructed headdresses of the previous period.

²⁴⁷ See Appendix IV.

²⁴⁸ Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 1701.

Lace peaks in popularity during this stylistic period, and deserves recognition for the changes in fashion it accommodates. Lace had its greatest impact on the headdresses of the period, and to a lesser degree, on the sleeve cuffs. The headdress of the 1680s, with their profusion of ribbons, lace, wire and scarves, likely caused some degree of suffering due to their weight. A solution to this problem appears in the 1690s, though its origins are found in changes which first occur in the sleeves of the 1680s. Sleeve ruffles had been a popular trimming for sleeve openings since the late 1660s, and they continue into the middle 1680s, as illustrated in many prints from that period.

An example of the transition from the traditional sleeve ruffles to shaped *engageantes* is found in a group of 1680s prints by Nicolas Arnoult which may have been intended as a set depicting seasonal fashion. Three of these have been identified by the IFF XIV, while the fourth, *printemps*, may never have been published.²⁴⁹ The existing ones are titled *Fille de Qualité en Deshabillé d'Hiver*, undated, *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé d'Esté*, dated 1687, and *Fille de qualité en Déshabillée pour l'Automne*, undated (figures 171, 172 and 173.)

²⁴⁹ The IFF XIV lists these three prints together, indicating that they were related stylistically. However, their collection does not include a matching spring, *printemps*, version for this set. It is possible that none was created, or if created, few were produced. The print has not been found in other collections which include numerous Arnoult prints, such as British Museum, LACMA, Metropolitan Museum of Art, or the Morgan Library & Museum.



Figure 171. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Fille de Qualité en Deshabillé d'Hiver*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Figure 172. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Fille de qualité en Déshabillée pour l'Automne*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Figure 173. . 1687, Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Femme de Qualité en Deshabillé d'Esté*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

These three prints share compositional style as well as fashionable elements of dress.

Despite their overall similarities, however, some of the details of dress found in these prints are different. The winter version shows a young woman in classic sleeve ruffles, while the autumn version seems to be showing a transitional cuff, half-way between sleeve ruffles and *engageantes*. The figure in the summer version, *Deshabillé d'Esté*, is unmistakably wearing *engageantes*, the shaped sleeve cuffs which became fashionable attire for the next century.

The shift to *engageantes* required the lace to be a curved piece, a different shape from the straight edges used to create the sleeve ruffles. Not until the 1690s is this concept applied to the headdresses (figure 174.)



Figure 174. late 17th century, detail, *Fontanges, Flemish bobbin lace*, ARTC.

With a quick substitution, the monstrosities of the 1680s are replaced with a lighter variation made from shaped lace. Arnoult revises his 1680s *Deshabillé d'Hiver* print in the 1690s, changing the headdress in the *Fille de qualité apprenant à danser* to reflect this new, lighter construction (figure 175.)



Figure 175. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Fille de qualité apprenant à danser*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Arnoult only partially alters the sleeve cuffs to make them resemble the contemporary *engageantes*. Perhaps this was an afterthought, and he wasn't able to change them further without impeding on the newly-etched figure to the right. Whatever the reason, he did make the sleeve longer, reduce the layers of lace from three to two, and create a slightly longer length at the back of the *engageantes*. This suggests that he wanted to at least reflect changes in the cuffs which corresponded with changes in the headdress.

The headdress style in Arnoult's 1690s *Fille de qualité apprenant à danser* is identified by the general name of *bonnet à la fontanges*. Many variations of this style are seen on the prints of the 1690s, and all of them included lace in one form or another. This lace could be one or more long, wide pleated pieces of lace making up the tallest part of the headdress, or edgings on fine pieces of muslin used for the same purpose. Lace lappets are part of this change, too, replacing the fabric-covered, wired extensions of the 1680s. These grow longer towards the middle of the 1690s, just as the angle of the *bonnet à la fontanges* begins to tilt forward. The duchesse d'Orléans recorded in a letter of 1695 that, "We don't dress our hair so very high now, still high but not so high as before. The headdresses are now worn bent forward and not straight up as they used to be."²⁵⁰ The angle of the *coiffure* became more extreme in the final years of the century (figure 176.)



Figure 176. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, detail, *Femme de qualité en dishabille négligé*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

The young woman in Trouvain's print has taken her long lappets and tied them under her chin in front. She is dressed in a *robe de chambre*, with an open *manteau* and *corps du jupe*. This is the only print in which the style has been observed, though perhaps this variation is considered appropriate for a very casual, *négligé* type of dressing.

²⁵⁰ Kroll, *Letters from Liselotte*, 71.

Besides the *engageantes* and headdresses, stomachers have become a major component of fashion, and the *manteaux* are now worn open to expose this decorative addition to the bodice (figure 177.)



Figure 177. 1694, Gérard Jean-Baptiste Scotin after Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Mesdemoiselles Loison se promenant aux Tuileries*, BnF.

This print by Scotin illustrates two varieties of stomacher, one decorated with horizontal bands and the other with a decorative lacing. The latter style shows up in numerous prints from the period, indicating its popularity. Scotin's image also shows the transition which is taking place in *coiffures*, as they move from being worn erect to becoming a tilted headdress. A French stomacher dated as belonging to the mid-eighteenth century exhibits the same French decorative banding as seen in this print (figure 178.)



Figure 178. circa 1750, stomacher, France, V&A.

Horizontal banding is a popular aesthetic in the 1680s and 1690s, and is found other parts of women's dress as well, including skirts and aprons. If this date is correct, it continued well into the eighteenth century.

Garment preferences featured in different types of prints

By the 1690s, four distinct types of garments are featured in the fashion prints: *manteaux*, *habits (grand habits)*, *robes de chambre*, and *habits de chasse*. A comparison of the frequency of dress types worn in the fashion-portrait prints and in the generic fashion prints is shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Comparison of generic and fashion-portrait dress frequency.

Stylistic Period III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	Total women	<i>manteau</i>	<i>habit/grand habit</i>	<i>robe de chambre</i>	<i>habit de chasse</i>
Fashion-portrait prints	133	77% (102)	13% (18)	7% (9)	3% (4)
Generic fashion prints	127	80% (102)	1% (1)	17% (21)	2% (3)

Images of women in the 1690s are almost equally divided between depictions of generic (unidentified noblewomen) and fashion-portrait (identified noblewomen.) An examination of these prints reveals that both groups of women are shown most often wearing the *manteau* and less often wearing the *habit/grand habit*. As mentioned earlier, the *manteau* was the newer, more modern fashion, while the *habit/grand habit* was old-fashioned, a reference to the past. By this period, wearing a *grand habit* identifies one as being of royal status, in particular part of the royal family. The eighteen fashion-portrait prints which feature women wearing the *grand habit* are identified in their inscriptions as depicting members of the royal family. The one exception, a generic print in which the woman is dressed in this style, is by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, and entitled, *Dame de la plus haute qualité en habit de cour*. She is not identified by name, but

instead by her court dress, her *grand habit*, with the implication that she is an unnamed member of the royal family. The old-fashioned *habit* is basically absent in the generic fashion prints.

The last two garments on the list, the *robe de chambre* and the *habit de chasse* appear only in small numbers during this period, though still more frequently than in the other stylistic periods. Women dressed in the *robe de chambre* are more often from the generic group of prints. Many of those in the fashion-portrait group have additional lettering applied to the original inscription, as if in afterthought, and it is the later additions which label the garment as a *robe de chambre*. During this period, women entertained in their bedchambers, and the *robes de chambre* would have been a suitable form of dress for this occasion. Most of the depictions of this garment show a young woman with an open robe, her *corps de jupe* showing underneath (figure 179.)



Figure 179. 1693, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité en dishabille negligee*, BnF. There is a titillating air about these prints, which is obvious in this print by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. Whether this is exactly how this type of garment appeared is questionable, however, and this is an area that would benefit from further research.²⁵¹ A print by Antoine Trouvain, *Mademoiselle d'Armagnac, en Robe de Chambre*, shows the young woman with her gown

²⁵¹ It is doubtful that many of the printmakers would have seen these garments themselves. It is more likely that they were copied from theater costumes, derived from written descriptions or simply a repetition of a successful image. The question of the market for these erotic images is intriguing, as it suggests a more masculine audience.

closely tied with ribbons from her neck to the hem of the *robe*, possibly a more truthful representation of how this garment may have been worn to receive visitors (figure 180.).



Figure 180. 1695, Antoine Trouvain, *Mademoiselle d'Armagnac*, BnF.

Although there are few depictions of women in the *habit de chasse*, this garment is represented in both generic and fashion-portrait prints. The *habit de chasse* is derived from menswear, and consists of the masculine hat, curly wig, cravat, coat, vest and gloves. These garments are always worn with a skirt of current, fashionable cut (figure 181.)



Figure 181. 1695, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité en habit de Chasse*, BnF.

Three of the seven images from Stylistic Period III are of the duchesse d'Orléans, who was known for her love of hunting. She was also very masculine in appearance, as evidenced in several of her painted portraits, as well as by several written accounts. There are a total of five depictions of her in riding habit in the entire study, and four of these show very masculine facial features. This has led at least one author to assume that she and all other women who are dressed

in *habit de chasse* are cross-dressing, rather than following the strict dictates of the uniform of the hunt.²⁵² This viewpoint is negated by the remaining images of women of this period dressed in the *habit de chasse*, who are shown as stylized, feminine figures dressed in the traditional uniform of the hunt. This is not to say that the style wasn't criticized during the period as being too close to menswear, as Pepys complained in this 1666 diary.

in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts, just for all the world like men, and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with perriwigs and with hats; so that, only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody could take them for women in any point whatever - which was an odde sight, and a sight did not please me.²⁵³

There may have been similar sentiments among French men, though none have been found to date. Although no images of French riding habits date from the 1660s, this description of the parts of the habit is identical to that seen in the French images from the 1690s.

Men's dress, stylistic period III (middle 1690s to late 1690s)

Men's dress silhouette, Stylistic Period III

The ideal silhouette for the *homme de qualité* is perfectly represented in this 1693 print after a drawing by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean: a slender upper body and slightly fuller lower body than the last period, with the greatest width at the coat hem (figure 182.) Sleeved *vestes*, or waistcoats, are worn, but are shorter than the coat and usually invisible in the prints.

²⁵² Elise Goodman, *Portraits of a Modern Woman*, 132

²⁵³ Cally Blackman, *Walking Amazons: the development of the riding habit in England during the eighteenth century*, Costume 35 (2001):47-58. This article gives a detailed history of the English riding habit.



Figure 182. 1693, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Homme de qualité en habit galonné*, V&A.

Overall, the silhouette differs little from that of the previous stylistic period, with most of the change being in the details. The focal points continue to be the neckline cravat and oversized coat cuffs, with additional interest highlighted at the waist by the oversized muff.

Men's dress characteristics, stylistic period III

During this stylistic period, men wear fewer significant elements of dress than in the previous period, although the gentleman's core 'uniform' is maintained (sword, breeches, coat, plumed hat, lace and curly wig.) Full-breeches are finally absent from menswear, signally the final rejection of this ubiquitous 1660s and 1670s fashion (table 12.)

Table 12. Men's dress characteristics, stylistic period III (middle 1690s to late 1690s)²⁵⁴

stylistic period III. men's dress characteristics present in 50% or more of group	stylistic period III. men's dress characteristics present 20% to 49% of group	stylistic period III. men's dress characteristics present under 20% of group	stylistic period III: men's dress characteristics present in 0% of group
sword	cravat	muff	full breeches
plain breeches	steinkerk	<i>manteau</i>	mask
coat	gloves	<i>robe de chambre</i>	
hat		cane	
plumes		ribbons	
lace		<i>echarpe</i>	
curly wig		book	
		turban	
		livery	

Menswear from this period is influenced by the military culture of the elite classes. This is found in the styles of cravat, muffs, *manteau* and in the growing number of prints showing war heroes, such as Jean Bart.²⁵⁵ Male members of the royal family are also appearing in this fashion, and sometimes shown posing in front of a battle scene, such as in this print by Jean Mariette of the king's grandson, *Monsieur le duc de Bourbon* (figure 183.)



Figure 183. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Monsieur le Duc de Bourbon*, MFA Boston (middle to late 1690s.)

Their supposed active role as war heroes becomes pronounced in the eighteenth century prints.

²⁵⁴ Definitions for these dress characteristics are included in Appendix Terminology and in the Glossary.

²⁵⁵ See Appendix IV, "Database summaries"

The style of cravat worn by men is as important as in the past, but there are at least two fashionable styles: a long lace cravat worn without ribbons (figure 183, above) and the steinkerk. The steinkerk cravat, introduced after the 1692 Battle of Steenkerque, is one of the identifying features of dress for this period (figure 184.)



Figure 184. n.d., Robert Bonnart, detail, *Dame travaillant en Tapisserie*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

According to legend, Polish soldiers inserted the long ends of their cravats into their coat buttonholes to keep them out of the way while fighting, and out of this necessity was born a fashion statement. In this image by Robert Bonnart, *Dame travaillant en Tapisserie*, both sexes are wearing the steinkerk cravat. Except when dressed in their *habit de chasse*, this is the only time a cravat was adopted into fashionable women's dress during the forty-year timespan of the study.

Another identifying fashion characteristic of the period is the appearance of very large muffs, suspended in front by a belt worn around the waist (figure 182, above.) The muff dominates the dress *ensemble* of the young man *en manteau d'Ecarlate*, “in scarlet-colored cape,” in the print by Jean Mariette (figure 185.)



Figure 185. n.d. Jean Mariette, *Homme de Qualité en manteau d'Ecarlate*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Previous to this period, men are seen wearing muffs, but these are smaller, in line with the size of muffs worn by women. The significance of this new *mode* recalls exaggerated styles worn in the previous century by François I and Henry VIII, when the visual appearance of power between these two rivals was manifested in richly jeweled garments sporting huge shoulders, ballooning trunk hose and prominent codpieces.²⁵⁶ These muffs may be a similar reaction, as France's growing military failures in confrontations with its neighbors prompted a need to assert political strength at a period when this was becoming uncertain.

In the middle 1690s, most of the depictions of these muffs are in the generic fashion prints, with a few images of the royal family also seen wearing them. After the 1690s, this fashion disappears in the prints, and is an indication that it is no longer in vogue. Instead, other forms were utilized to show strength and power.

Evidence from the written record, Stylistic Period III (middle 1690s to late 1690s)

Men and women's dress as described in memoires, letters, and paintings, Stylistic Period III

Unfortunately, there are no sources similar to those from the first two periods which describes dress being worn in a fashion print, despite the fact that so many were produced during

²⁵⁶ For a detailed description of these garments, as well as changes occurring during the period, see Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Leeds: Maney, 2007).

this period. There is one exception, a small published print identified by a handwritten date of 1699. According to the BnF catalog, this is from a 1699 issue of *Le Mercure Galant*. The origin and date of this print have been verified by Monique Vincent, but the fashion is problematic: the *coiffures* are the *commode* variety, and typical of headdress worn in the early eighteenth century. Because of these issues, a discussion of this print has been moved into the Stylistic Period IV section.

One of the reasons for this scarcity in the written information is the movement away from representations of pure fashion, and towards fashion-portraits of the nobility. The interest in fashion commentary may have been submerged under the flood of fashion-portraits, whose inscriptions, with few exceptions, simply named the noble personage. Because of this lack of direct description, the following discussion looks at some of the issues of fashion at court during this period, and how this is illustrated in contemporary writings and paintings.

The conflict between old and young begins

What was required at court and what was fashionable in Paris, has been shown to be quite different. In fact, it is the personality of the king which sets up the inevitable conflict between the younger members of the court, and the older generation. The duc de Saint-Simon and Marquis Dangeau comment on the demands made by the king on the women of his court. Both men recorded his behavior and were critical of the inflexibility he showed towards the needs of others.²⁵⁷

It is no wonder that as the king grew older, and the children and grandchildren grew up, that this imprisonment of expression would be challenged. The fact that so many of the women of the court are shown in *manteau* is a testament to his waning control. Saint-Simon observes

²⁵⁷ The commentaries that refer to this situation can be found in Chapter 2, Literature Review.

this turn of events in his *memoires* of court life. He noted that “He (the King) had been very angry lately because the ladies had neglected to go full dressed to the Court performances.”²⁵⁸

The flaunting of rules at court grows only more extreme by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Court extravagance continues

When an occasion arises in which to display royal opulence as well as to gratify the court’s own sense of self-importance, the opportunity is quickly seized. A letter sent by Madame de Sévigné in 1692 to her cousin, Roger de Rabutin, Comte de Bussy, echoes this sentiment, revealing a court ready to flout the dire financial state of the nation in order to celebrate the wedding between the King’s nephew and his illegitimate daughter.

The court is delighted and pleased about the marriage of M. De Chartres and Mlle de Blois. There is to be a grand ball which is made an excuse by all those who claim they are penniless to spend two to three hundred pistoles. It makes one inclined to disbelieve in their tales of penury which however are very real. But the French always have ample resources when it comes to pleasing their King such as you would scarcely believe if you did not see it with your own eyes. Courtiers, young and old, will be magnificently adorned according to their age [and rank].²⁵⁹

The continuing desire to be fashionable, to dress elegantly even when funds are scarce, is reflected in this report. The court and its courtiers dress to please the king, and the women no doubt obey the old-fashioned etiquette of the *grand habit*, at least for this occasion.

This crowd mentality of rushing to spend lavishly on elegant attire in order to participate in court festivities is not a one-time occurrence. There is a similar event in 1697 with the announcement of another wedding, this one between the king’s grandson, the duc de Bourgogne,

²⁵⁸ Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, trans. Bayle St. John, *The Memoirs of Louis XIV and the Regency*, 332. One wonders, in fact, if their criticism of the court’s increasingly restrictive atmosphere has its roots in the behavior of the king, rather than in Maintenon.

²⁵⁹ Ojala and Ojala, *Madame de Sévigné*, 164.

and Adelaide of Savoy, which again reinforces this idea that fashion has not been abandoned. In 1697, at a time when finances were no better than in 1692, the fever returns, but on an even grander scale. Saint-Simon remarks upon these wedding plans and the resulting emptying of purses, a repeat of the events of five years earlier.²⁶⁰

A new, pious fashion?

A commonly expressed opinion among modern scholars is that when the pious Françoise d'Aubigny, Madame de Maintenon, rose to the position of morganatic wife of Louis XIV, fashion at court became dowdy and uninspired.²⁶¹ The black, dour clothes worn by Maintenon in some of her portraits are referred to as verification for this viewpoint (figure 186.)



Figure 186. 1689 - 1690, Louis Ferdinand Elle, oil on canvas, *Portrait of Marquise de Maintenon and her niece, CV.*

Evidence from letters of the period reveals a woman with a subtle, though expensive taste and an appreciation for the finer qualities of expensive textiles. This can be seen in a correspondence by Madame de Sévigné to her daughter in 1674, before Françoise d'Aubigny's liaison with the king. She describes dinners shared with her friend Françoise, at that time the widow of playwright Paul Scarron.

Madame Scarron sups here every night. She is delicious as a companion! It is a pleasure to hear her discuss [any subject]. She dresses in a modest

²⁶⁰ See Chapter 2, Literature Review, for Saint-Simon's commentary.

²⁶¹ Primi Visconti, *moires sur la cour de Louis XIV*, 220. Ruppert et al, *Le costume français*, 116

but sumptuous way. She is delightful, beautiful, pleasant, and always quite at her ease.²⁶²

In the painting by Elle, Maintenon is wearing a black *grand habit*, black lace *coiffe*, and white needlelace, possibly *Point de France*, on her collar and cuffs. These are the clothes of someone who likes to be dressed modestly but sumptuously.

Much of Madame de Maintenon's taste is revealed in her own letters. In 1680, she wrote a letter to the Abbé Gobelin, her friend and spiritual advisor, describing her efforts to control her extravagant taste in dress.

As to my dress, I am going to change it, and wear the same as Madame de Richelieu. ... I was clad in gold when I spent my days with the King and his mistress; now I am going to belong to a princess, I shall always wear black. If I left the Court, I would dress like a convent portress, and the change would not trouble me the least.²⁶³

This is hardly the admission of one who is oblivious to fashion. Her preference for black, it would seem, dates back to her first days at court, and is the result of her change in employment status. She is no longer serving as the governess to the king's illegitimate children, but is instead moving to Versailles to become part of the retinue of the dauphine, Maria Anna Victoria: black appears to be the appropriate dress for her new status of employment. Unstated, the choice may also be an attempt to avoid discovery of her special relationship with the king. It is not likely to have been related to mourning, as her first husband, Paul Scarron, died in the 1660s. Her description of her dress in 1680s, with its reference to gold, is no longer the sign of a widow in mourning. At court, her status becomes more ambiguous with time, once she secretly marries the king, but must continue to maintain a non-royal rank. The black in her portraits is less religious piety, perhaps, than deference to codes of rank and status.

²⁶² Emily Bowles, *Madame de Maintenon* (London: K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1888), 35.
<http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924028180978>

²⁶³ Ibid, 54.

Did Madame de Maintenon's dress change the style at court? Despite the attempt at a low profile, Madame de Maintenon is not comfortable around many of the court women, and she remarks upon this in a letter of 1707.

I admit, Madame, that the women of our time are to me unbearable. Their senseless, immodest mode of dress, their snuff, their wine, their greediness, their coarseness, and their idleness are all so opposed to my tastes, and, I think, to what is right, that I cannot bear it. I like women who are modest, sensible, gay, ready either for serious or sportive talk, polished, able to rally others in a way that yet implies praise, whose hearts are good and whose conversation is amusing, and with simplicity enough to own that they have recognized this likeness, which I have drawn without intending it, but which I think is a very good one.²⁶⁴

Obviously, she disapproved of what she viewed as immodest dress among court women, and these women were not following a fashion which she felt was appropriate to their positions at court. They certainly were not following her lead, as many of the fashion-portraits of the 1690s show women in elegant, fashionable dress. When illuminated, the *ensembles* are very colorful with red, blue, purple and orange common. The only women who are wearing black are in mourning dress, which still carries the fashionable cut. Françoise d'Aubigny's dress and manners seems to have remained her own, and she most likely distanced herself from the court women because her position as the king's companion required it.

Maintenon is not always dressed in black in her portraits, though generally the colors are subdued, as in this portrait by Pierre Mignard, commissioned in 1694 by Louis XIV (figure 187.)

²⁶⁴ Ibid, 223.



Figure 187. 1694, Pierre Mignard, *Madame de Maintenon as Saint Francis*, CV.

The garment worn by Françoise d'Aubigny in this portrait is a gold patterned-silk weave, encrusted with jewels at the neckline and sleeve edgings. The cape is blue velvet lined in white ermine, a subtle reminder of her relationship with royalty. This particular portrait portrays Françoise in the role of Saint Francis, and her garments are reminiscent of medieval robes. There is a juxtaposition of deep color and rich texture which characterizes her taste, just as in the Elle portrait. Although this is a portrait, and may not represent garments she wore on a daily basis, or even for special events, the gold-colored garments must have met with her approval, or the painting would have been changed. One wonders if her friend the Abbé knew that she was once again wearing gold in the presence of the king?

Another portrait from about the same time is in stark contrast to the Mignard portrait of Maintenon, and is an example of a different taste being expressed at court (figure 188.)



Figure 188. n.d., Philippe Vignon, *Portrait of Francoise-Marie de Bourbon and Louise-Francoise de Bourbon, CV*.

The painting of the two daughters of Louis XIV and the Marquise de Montespan shows the two figures dressed in loose robes, but these garments hearken back to Roman classical robes and sculpture, rather than medieval religious figures. The brilliant colors of the drapery, the black servant, and the garlands of flowers lend a sensual air to the scene which is in contrast to the quiet, reflective mood in the Mignard painting. There does not appear to be any obligation for the sitters or the painter to submit to a strict court code of modest taste, even if the painting both of the paintings are more fantasy than reality.²⁶⁵

The commentary of Primi Visconti, who never seems to have missed an opportunity to criticize the French court, is one who describes 1690s fashion as being in a state of continual deterioration as a result of Maintenon's arrival at court. He regards the king's new preference for wearing plain coats to be the result of her influence over him.²⁶⁶ Louis XIV's choice of brown *justaucorp* is described as being a somber color, but embellished with fine gold embroidery. This is certainly consistent with the taste of Madame de Maintenon, as evidenced by the lace seen in her portrait. At this time in their lives, both of them share this sensitive to

²⁶⁵ Contemporary observers made constant comment about the appearance of these two sisters as physically deformed and unattractive.

²⁶⁶ See Visconti's remarks in Chapter 2, Literature Review

quality, especially in the details. Their preferences, however, do not seem to have influenced others in their own family circle.

The posthumous portrait of Louis XIV and his family shows the taste of the late king, and the differences in choices of colors designated as appropriate for each of the other figures (figure 189.)



Figure 189. 1715-1720, French School, oil on canvas. *Madame de Ventadour with Portraits of Louis XIV and his heirs*, Wallace Collection (WC.)

The king is seen wearing brown coat, breeches and hose, but the dauphin is in purple, the duc de Bourgogne in red, and the future Louis XV in cream silk. The commissioner of the painting must have approved of these colors as appropriate for the rank of the king and his heirs, yet none of the younger men have strictly followed the brown *justaucorps* example worn by Louis. The duc de Bourgogne's bright red is especially in opposition to the somber colors worn by the king, and perhaps this is another example of tastes and desires of the younger generation versus the older at court.

The most interesting figure in this portrait is Madame de Ventadour, who is often mistaken for Madame de Maintenon because of the similarity of her dress with that seen in the portrait by Louis Ferdinand Elle. She is Louis XIV's former governess, and now the governess for Louis XV. Famous for her rescue of the five-year-old future monarch during a measles

epidemic, she received the title of *duchesse* for this service. Her garments reflect a conservative taste in her role as servant for the royal family: black *grand habit*, black lace-edged *coiffe*, white sleeve ruffles with lace. Maintenon, who began her term at court as a Mistress of the Robes for the dauphine, seems to have come to the same conclusions about appropriate dress in her role as a member of the dauphine's retinue. The black color reflected an older, more conservative taste more than religious conviction. There is a possibility that for Madame de Ventadour this may have reflected mourning, but without more of her personal history, this is only conjecture.

Letters written by the duchesse d'Orléans also support the opinion that the court is degrading with the addition of Madame de Maintenon, whom she intensely disliked. In 1691, she reported to her aunt, "There is a rumour- I don't know if it's true – that the King's old Drab has ordered all the ladies who use rouge not to do so any longer. She has been spared the trouble of paying me that compliment. This is what piety consists of here."²⁶⁷ The 'Old Drab' was one of many slurs bestowed onto Madame de Maintenon in 's letters. This particular label could easily be interpreted as an acknowledged decline in dress aesthetics. Other names were much worse, and reflected more on 's own deteriorating happiness, rather than a change in the tenor of court fashion.

There is evidence that the sour notes detected in 's letters are not always consistent, and her reports of fashion do not always imply that expensive and elegant tastes have become subdued, or shabby, at this time. In another letter to her Aunt Sophia, dated the same year, she delineates both inappropriate and appropriate jewelry being worn by men in the French court.

I can't imagine who could have told the Elector of Bandenburg that diamond aigrettes are worn on the hats here. Nobody, young or old, wears an aigrette, and I've never seen anyone wear one except a dancer from the Opéra. I can assure you that not a soul wears an aigrette on his

²⁶⁷ Kroll, *Letters from Liselotte*, 58.

hat, so I can't possibly send a pattern. But if the elector wishes to wear diamonds on his hat, these are worn a great deal. Diamond buckles are fastened to the feather in front and large diamonds, set in a fastener, hold up the brim.²⁶⁸

The economic and political woes of the nation are very real at this time, though the wearing of costly jewelry is still prestigious and fashionable.

In summary, the evidence supports a view that the presence of Françoise d'Aubigny did not influence or change fashions at court. Her preference for black is suitable for a person who enters the court as an attendant to a member of the royal family, just as it was for Louis' governess. She admits to a fondness for dress, and this is seen in the lace and patterned gold cloth worn in her portraits. Other women of the court are portrayed in bright colors and fashionable dress, expressing an independence of choice. Louis XIV dresses in a similar taste to Maintenon's, and this may be the result of age, her influence, or both. The remaining members of his family do not conform to this aesthetic.

Stylistic Period IV (early eighteenth century to 1715): turning away, turning inward

General silhouette, stylistic period IV

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the lines of fashion continue to move in the direction which was initiated in the previous stylistic period: women's silhouette favors a slender torso and full skirt, and men's does the same, though to a more subtle degree; women's headdresses take a tumble and men's wigs are shorter and more natural. Sometimes there is an emphasis in the upper body for both sexes, expressed by large and frilly *echarpes* for women, and a variety of decorative accessories for men which are worn on the shoulders or near the face.

This untitled print by Bernard Picart shows a card-playing scene with a man and woman engaged in the game while a second woman observes them (figure 190.)

²⁶⁸ Ibid, 60.



Figure 190. n.d., Bernard Picart, *untitled print*, BM (early 18th century.)

The studied informality so evident in the man's posture is striking. This type of intimate social scene between men and women, with its element of naturalism, is a departure from the formal postures of the previous three stylistic periods (figures 127, 142 and 167.) Attitudes are changing, the court is changing and this is evident in the fashion prints of this period.

General characteristics, stylistic period IV

Fewer fashion prints are produced during this period than in any other described in this study. Only thirty-seven prints have been identified as belonging to this era, as compared to the four-hundred-twenty examples seen in the previous stylistic period. The abandonment of the genre known as the fashion print comes quickly, and during the next fifteen years, the output is reduced from sixteen to seven artists, each producing very few images. No new artists join this publication genre during this period.

Just as in the previous period, this group of prints continues to be dominated by fashion-portrait prints: twice as many (twenty-five) of these are produced as compared to generic fashion prints (eleven.) The influence of the other two categories is negligible, represented by a single allegory print, and not any satire prints. The trend away from inscriptions with fashion descriptors continues during this period, with only four prints containing reference to dress (11%) as compared to seventy-five prints (18%) in the previous period. The proportion of males

to females increases slightly during this period, as do the number of prints which feature both males and females together in social company. Most of the “special garment” prints are missing from this group: religious habits, mourning dress, costumes for the ball, *robe de chambre* and *habit de chasse*. The ubiquitous image of the elegant lady and her liveried page is also absent.

An identifying feature of this period is the work of Jean Mariette, who first began producing fashion prints in the 1690s. Although artist and date are generally not supplied on his prints (he is named as the publisher), they provide considerable detail in the rendering of dress and landscape. As a result, they can be grouped into the appropriate time period by analyzing the fashions worn in the prints. The early eighteenth century is also a period when diminutive copies of many Mariette prints are engraved by another artist, Bernard Picart, and published by Mariette. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the tradition of these small-scale prints was established late in the sixteenth century, and this was a continuation of a popular genre. However, the publication by the same publisher of a group of images in both a standard and smaller format, created by different artists, is a practice not seen before this time.

Women’s dress, stylistic period IV (early eighteenth century to 1715)

Silhouette of women’s dress, stylistic period IV

The ideal silhouette of the early years of the eighteenth century is illustrated clearly in a 1706 print by Bernard Picart (figure 191.)



Figure 191. 1706, Bernard Picart, *Dame de Qualité en habit d'Este*, BnF.

The headdress, or *commode*, is short and its crown is crescent-shaped, rather than elongated, as in previous fashions. It is constructed of several pleated layers of fine muslin or lace, and worn with a small bonnet at the back of the head. Waist-length lace lappets, the longest style of the forty-year period, are seen in several prints. The slender upper body is softened by loose-fitting sleeves and long *engageantes*, while the full lower body is shaped by rows of wide *falbalas* (flounces) on a bell-shaped skirt. On a number of the prints, the shape of the back of the *manteau* is arranged as seen here, with the gathered ends forming an upturned bustle. The same shape is also formed by the ends of an *echarpe* in some of the prints. Diana de Marly calls this a “ducktail” silhouette, a term which describes it very well.²⁶⁹ The overall shape of the skirt will continue to expand after the death of the king, when the increasingly shortened *manteau* becomes a coat with an extension down the back, and the skirt expands further to become an oversized dome. This particular print is one of Picart’s smaller-sized prints, but not a copy of a Mariette original. It is instead part of a small-sized group of fashion prints published by Gaspard Duchange.

²⁶⁹ de Marly, *Louis XIV & Versailles*, 108.

Characteristics of women's dress, stylistic period IV

Although there is a change in silhouette in the early eighteenth century, all the popular elements of dress are retained from the previous stylistic period: *engageantes*, lace, stomacher and *manteau* (table 13.)

Table 13. Women's dress characteristics, stylistic period IV (early eighteenth century to 1715)²⁷⁰

stylistic period IV. women's dress characteristics present in 50% or more of group	stylistic period IV. women's dress characteristics present 20% to 49% of group	stylistic period IV. women's dress characteristics present under 20% of group	stylistic period IV: women's dress characteristics present in 0% of group
<i>commode</i>	fan	<i>echarpe</i>	<i>cornette</i> and <i>coiffe</i>
<i>engageantes</i>	ribbons	<i>bonnet à la fontanges</i>	<i>fontanges</i>
lace	gloves	unique headdress	<i>coiffure à la fontanges</i>
stomacher		piled up hair	<i>coiffure en palisade</i>
<i>manteau</i>		book	tilted <i>bonnet à la fontanges</i>
		pet	<i>hurluberlu</i>
		plumes	handkerchief
		sleeve ruffles	steinkerk
		capelet	mask
		apron	mirror
		<i>habit</i>	palatine
		<i>bal, opera</i> costume	instrument
		muff	<i>robe de chambre</i>
			<i>habit de chasse</i>

The newest *coiffure*, the *commode*, is almost universal, and is worn by twenty-one of the twenty-five images of women (84%). Fans, ribbons and gloves remain as popular as they were in the previous stylistic period.²⁷¹

²⁷⁰ See Appendix III and Glossary.

²⁷¹ See Appendix IV.

The biggest change at the beginning of the new century is the number of items which are no longer fashionable. In all previous periods, between one and three items are present in this part of the table. In the early eighteenth century, fourteen items are no longer featured in the prints. These include types of headdress (six), accessories (five), musical instruments (one) and types of garments (two.) The reasons for this change are difficult to determine, as there are so few prints to analyze. The abandonment of many of the icons of the previous century may reflect a rejection of the past, but it must be remembered that the basic ensemble remains the same. As fewer items are now acceptable choices, this could signal a more rigid fashion code, and evidence for this may come from the literature of the period. It could also simply be the natural fading of older styles.

A typical print by Jean Mariette, *Dame de Qualité en Coiffure à la Mode* shows many of the features typical of this period: *commode*, *coiffe*, *echarpe*, lace, stomacher, *manteau* and *jupe*. However, it is especially notable for the fashion information provided in its inscription (figure 192.)



Figure 192. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Dame de Qualité en Coiffure à la Mode*, MMA (early 18th century.)

In this image, the inscription draws attention to the style of fashionable *coiffure* this young lady is wearing: a low-crowned *commode*, which is worn with a long and casually tied *coiffe*. A

second print by Mariette contains the same inscription, and the style of *coiffure* is only slightly different (figure 193.)



Figure 193. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Dame de Qualité en Coiffure à la Mode*, BnF (early 18th century.)

In the second print, the *coiffe* is placed behind the crown, but is still tied loosely in front. The crown of this *coiffure* is constructed using lace, and then sprinkled with gems, both indications of wealth. The significance of these two prints, however, is more than just the style of headdress which they feature: it is also the emphasis on this particular part of dress as an important fashion statement. There are no other prints in the forty-year timespan of this project which mention the *coiffures* in their inscriptions. This suggests that this headdress is understood at this period as signaling the height of fashionable style and taste. This is supported by their high rate of occurrence in the prints of this period.

The BnF has a print in its collections which illustrates and describes two *coiffures*, one very similar to the two prints by Mariette. This image has a handwritten addition which reads, *Coiffures pour le Deuil*, or, “headdresses for mourning wear,” 1699, and is in the size and format used in *Le Mercure Galant* (figure 194.)



Figure 194. 1699, *Le Mercure Galant*, Franz Ertinger, “Coiffure pour le Deüil,” BnF.

This image and description are identified as being created by Franz Ertinger, who engraved four, standard sized prints in this study, all of them dated 1689, and after designs by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. This print is in the tradition of the LePautre prints featured in 1678 editions of *Le Mercure Galant*, including identifying labels which describe each part of the *coiffures*. The upper image is described as being a more formal headdress, while the lower is casual, *déshabillé*. This would identify the two prints by Mariette as showing the *déshabillé* style of *coiffures*. As this was published in 1699, then the *commode* style they illustrate must have started just before the turn of the century. However, it becomes ubiquitous during the early eighteenth century, and as a result, is identified as the fashionable headdress of that stylistic period.²⁷²

Comparison of garments worn by different groups in different stylistic periods

A discussion comparing garments worn in the fashion-portrait prints and those worn in the generic fashion prints reveals interesting similarities and differences between these two

²⁷² Until this print can be verified in an original 1699 copy of *Le Mercure Galant*, the actual date of its publications remains uncertain.

groups of prints and the women of the court they represent.²⁷³ Table 14 shows dress usage by women in the fashion-portrait prints during all four stylistic periods of this study .

Table 14. Garments worn in female fashion-portrait prints, Stylistic Periods II, III, and IV

Stylistic Period	female fashion- portraits	manteau	grand habit	robe de chambre	habit de chasse
I: mid to late 1670s	0	0	0	0	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	14	29% (4)	43% (6)	0% (0)	29% (4)
III: middle 1690s	131	78%(102)	13%(17)	7%(9)	2% (3)
IV: early 18th century	8	75% (6)	25% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)

As this chart shows, noble women first express in the 1690s a sudden preference for the *manteau* and an equally sudden rejection in the *grand habit*. Why was the change so sudden for royalty and what is the significance of this change? The *grand habit* had been determined by Louis XIV himself as the proper etiquette for the dress of women of his court. However, as stated earlier in this chapter, the *manteau* was more comfortable to wear than the *grand habit*. The reality may reflect the result of increasing resistance to conformity of dress by the younger members of the court.

There were some, however, who remained loyal to the *grand habit*. The duchesse d'Orléans, referred to at court simply as "Madame", is known to have preferred this type of dress. In a letter of 1695, she states her opinion clearly.

I don't know why people have so many different styles of dress; I only wear Court dress and a riding habit, no others; I have never worn a *robe de chambre* nor a *manteau* and have only one *robe de nuit* for getting up in the morning and going to bed at night.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ The fashion-portraits of women are equally divided between members of the royal family, and women of noble birth who served at court. Women portrayed in the generic prints are not y those who serve regularly at court, but represent the minor nobility, women who lived in Paris and may have occasionally visited court. Only a few prints in this latter group identify the figure as belonging to the court. Madame de Sévigné is an example of this type person.

²⁷⁴ Norah Waugh, *The cut of women's clothes, 1600-1930* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1968) 112

These changes in preferences are different in the generic fashion prints, which have few depictions of the royal family or women who served at court (table 15.) Sudden changes occur only in the rejection of the *habit/grand habit*, which becomes obsolete at an earlier time, in this case by the middle 1690s.

Table 15. Garments worn in female generic fashion prints, Stylistic Periods I, II, III, and IV

Stylistic Period	female generic	<i>manteau</i>	<i>grand habit</i>	<i>robe de chambre</i>	<i>habit de chasse</i>
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	31	23	7	1	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	148	115 (78%)	16	16	1
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	127	102 (80%)	1 (1%)	21 (17%)	3 (2%)
IV: early 18th century to 1715	10	10	0	0	0

The importance of this change in dress amongst both groups of women, the court nobility and the minor nobility, is the implications for the trade of dressmaking in seventeenth century France. As the demand for the *habits/grand habits* diminishes, the male tailors receive fewer orders. By contrast, as the demands for *manteaux* rise, the female *couturieres* increase their business. The growth of business for the *couturieres* which occurred over the next century can be linked to this change in dress usage, which allowed these tradeswomen to establish themselves during a time when fashions were most advantageous for their business growth.

Men's dress, stylistic period IV (early eighteenth century to 1715)

Men's dress silhouette, Stylistic Period IV

It has been pointed out in the description of the general silhouettes of this period that men's coats, like women's skirts, began to widen at the base. A fashion-portrait of the *dauphin*

of France illustrates the wide skirt of the coat, with extra fullness created by numerous side pleats (figure 195.)



Figure 195. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, *Monseigneur Le Dauphin*, Morgan L&M (early 18th century.)

This print is an example of the fuller, upper torso of the period, created on the *dauphin* by his very large curly wig, prominent cravat, wide sword sash, and ribbon-trimmed epaulet. In this manner, masculine power is projected through the emphasis of the upper body, a change from the use of the large muffs in the last stylistic period. This aesthetic is very similar to that favored by Henry VIII and François I.

Men's dress characteristics, Stylistic Period IV

The number of fashion characteristics which are absent in these prints is greater than in any other period of the study (table 16.)

Table 16. Men's dress characteristics, stylistic period IV (early eighteenth century to 1715)²⁷⁵

stylistic period IV. men's dress characteristics present in 50% or more of group	stylistic period IV. men's dress characteristics present 20% to 49% of group	stylistic period IV. men's dress characteristics present under 20% of group	stylistic period IV: men's dress characteristics present in 0% of group
sword	gloves	cane	muff
plain breeches		ribbons	full breeches
coat		<i>echarpe</i>	<i>manteau</i>
hat			<i>robe de chambre</i>
plumes			steinkerk
lace			mask
curly wig			book
cravat			turban
			livery

On the other hand, the number of popular elements of dress remains the same: sword, plain breeches, coat, hat with plumes, lace and curly wigs.²⁷⁶ The steinkerk cravat is no longer worn, but cravats remain a required feature of correct dress for men. These trends are similar to those seen in women's dress during this stylistic period. Speculation for the reasons for this state of affairs is the same as for women's fashions: rejection of the past, a more rigid fashion code, or possibly the natural fading of older styles.

Jean Mariette's 1706 print of Jacques Rouxel comte de Médavy is one of the few standard-sized fashion-portraits of this stylistic period which includes a printed date (figure 196.)

²⁷⁵ See Appendix III, and Glossary.

²⁷⁶ See Appendix IV, "Database summaries"

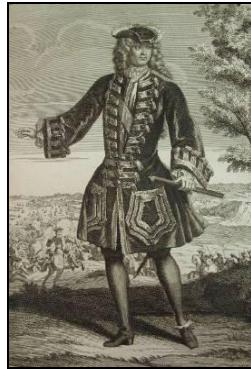


Figure 196. 1706, Jean Mariette, *Jacques Rouxel comte de Mdavy*, MMA.

Jacques Rouxel is described in the inscription as a lieutenant general in the king's army, governor of *Dunkerque*, (Dunkirk) and chevalier. To reinforce his military role, a fierce battle rages in the background, possibly symbolizing the battle of Castiglione, in which he fought victoriously in 1706. The baton he holds in his left hand identifies him as an officer in the king's service.

The *comte* is fully engaged with the fashions of his times: plumed hat, curly wig, cravat, lace, coat, sword and plain breeches. The fashionable cut of his coat, with its exaggerated shape, is pronounced in this image. Also of interest is the bold horizontal banding of the coat, which is extended to his large, pentagonal, pockets. This type of embellishment may be related to the horizontal banding seen in the *à la Sultane* fashions in the 1680s. It may also be the precursor to modern military uniforms, which emphasize horizontal banding along the fronts of uniforms, thus linking military uniforms to Turkish dress.²⁷⁷

A similar type of banding is also seen on the portrait of Louis XIV's grandson, the duc de Bourgogne (figure 197.)

²⁷⁷ Charlotte Jirousek, *Islamic influences in European dress*, in preparation.



Figure 197. Jean Mariette, *Loüis de France Duc de Bourgogne*, Morgan L&M (early 18th century.)

The banding on the duc's coat openings is highly decorative and matches the elaborate embroidery on this garment. The emphasis on the ornamental nature of the banding and other parts of attire may be a device used to distinguish him as a superior person, a member of the royal family and an heir to the throne. In this print, he holds the baton, symbol of leadership in the royal army, and is standing in front of a town under siege.

This print of the duc de Bourgogne is not the only image which portrays members of the royal family as active heroes in the French wars. From the late 1690s through the early years of the century, numerous images of naval and army heroes are produced in this fashion print format. The duc de Bourgogne's war record is short and remarkably poor, having led the French army to a decisive defeat in the Battle of Oudenard in 1708. His role as a war hero, however, is unmistakable in the print by Mariette. Could this be a revisionist history of his military career? This leads one to speculate again on the possibility that at least some of these prints were propaganda, subsidized by the royal treasury, in order to sway public opinion in favor of the rule of the monarchy.

Evidence from the written record, Stylistic Period IV (early eighteenth century to 1715)

Like the production of the fashion prints, the amount of description of dress recorded during the final years of the reign of Louis XIV is minimal; a few comments by the duchesse d'Orléans and Saint-Simon, and the *grand siècle* makes way for the century of the Enlightenment.

Women's dress as described in memoires of the duchess d'Orléans and Saint-Simon

Louis XIV is generally portrayed as a well-mannered, hard-working but intransigent monarch, whose unrelenting desire for control was the result of trauma experienced as a child during the *Fronde*, the French civil war between the nobility and the monarchy. The declaration of a personal rule in 1661 followed the death of his royal advisor Cardinal Mazarin, and from that time forward, he set the rules for his political, economic and cultural agendas. The court which officially moved into Versailles in 1681 was designed as a model for all of Europe, and display of dress was an important element in this plan: women were to be dressed in the *grand habit*, and men were to be in *justaucorps* and cravat.

One of the common themes in the letters and memoirs of the late 1690s and early eighteenth century is the tension at court between Louis XIV and younger members of the court. It is striking how often this comes up in these documents, and how often an uneasy truce is established when everyone is eventually allowed to do as they please, whether it suits the king or not.

As described earlier in this chapter, the *grand habit* was heavily boned, making it very uncomfortable, and was considered old fashioned and out-of-date. By contrast, the *manteau* was more comfortable, current and *chic*. However, the king wanted his court to dress in a style appropriate to their noble rank. He commanded the women to wear the *grand habit*, modeled

after the 1660s fashions of his youth. The reaction by women at this time is segregated by age: all of the older members of the royal family are shown in prints in their *grand habits*, while the daughters and granddaughters of the king are in *manteaux*. The duchesse d'Orléans repeatedly expresses her preferences for the manteau, as can be seen in a 1702 letter to her half-sister, Amelise.

At a well-conducted royal Court, no one can possibly appear *en manteau* without showing a lack of proper respect.... When we are at Versailles, which counts as a royal residence, everyone appearing before the King or us is *en grand habit*, but at Marly, Meudon and St. Cloud people are always *en manteau*, and it's the same on journeys. I find the *grand habit* much more comfortable than the *manteau*, which I can't stand –such a double-layer of clothing²⁷⁸

But the duchesse tells us about the “abuses” when in 1704 she rails against those who “walk about without stays”, a reference to the less structured *manteau*.

Here, beauties are the greatest rarity; to be beautiful is quite out of fashion. The ladies themselves help this state of affairs along; with their whitened ears and their hair pulled tightly back off their faces, they look like rabbits held up by the ears to stop them from escaping. Rather ugly, to my way of thinking. Also, they have become lazy, and walk about without stays all day long. This makes their bodies grow thick; waistlines have disappeared. There is nothing pretty to be seen, or body or of face...²⁷⁹

The duchesse does not restrain her criticism of these young women, in hair, make-up or dress. The very fact that they walk around at court in a manner which is not sanctioned by the king is evidence that he is unable to control their dress.

The duchesse continues to reveal the sartorial woes of the court, describing the king's displeasure at his lack of authority, even when it came to headdresses. This is found in one of her later correspondences, written a year after Louis' death.

²⁷⁸ Kroll, *Letters from Liselotte*, 111

²⁷⁹ Ibid, 117

The late King once said: ‘I confess that I feel rather annoyed when I perceive that with all my royal authority as King of this country, I have cried out in vain against head-dresses being too high, and no one had sufficient regard for me to make them lower.’ Then an unknown woman, a baggage from England, comes along wearing a low headdress,²⁸⁰ and immediately all the princesses rush from one extreme to the other.

Saint-Simon enlightens us to the identity of the “baggage from England.” She is the Duchess of Shrewsbury, which he himself describes as an unpleasant woman, but whose strong personality gains her the admiration of the court. He seems as relieved as the king and the duchesse that the insufferable headdresses have finally been replaced.

All her manners were that of a mad thing, but her play, her taste, her magnificence, even her general familiarity, made her the fashion. She soon declared the women's headdresses ridiculous, as indeed they were... What this monarch had been unable to perform, the taste and example of a silly foreigner accomplished with the most surprising rapidity. From extreme height, the ladies descended to extreme lowness, and these head-dresses, more simple; more convenient, and more becoming, last even now. Reasonable people wait with impatience for some other mad stranger who will strip our dames of these immense baskets, thoroughly insupportable to themselves and to others.²⁸¹

According to Saint-Simon, this event took place in 1713. This seems a late date for this event to occur, as the headdresses were considerably reduced in size by that time. However, as described above, they were not reduced in importance, and perhaps Saint-Simon is reacting to this fascination with headdresses, more than anything else.

One might wonder at the duchesse d'Orléans astute observations concerning the French fashions. Besides the fact that she was a foreigner at the court, another reason may be that she appreciated art and design, and fashion was an extension of this enjoyment. It is known that she collected engravings, amongst them works by Abraham Bosse, Jacques Callot, and Israël

²⁸⁰ Stevenson, *The Letters of Madame*, vol 2,118.

²⁸¹ Saint-Simon, *The Memoirs of Louis XIV and the Regency*, vol 2, 245.

Sylvestre, who featured fashion and dress as an important element of their compositions.²⁸² The duchesse once remarked that she herself was quite fat and unattractive in her portraits, but this seems to be less self depreciation than honesty, as shown by her description of the king's daughter, Marie Anne de Bourbon.

The Princesse de Conti was very beautiful before she had smallpox, but has changed since then; however, she still has a perfectly beautiful figure and a noble countenance, and she dances exceedingly well. I have never seen an engraving of the Princesse de Conti that resembles her.²⁸³

Perhaps the duchesse d'Orléans was referring to a formal engraving of the princess, but it not impossible that she was speaking of one of the fashion-portraits, as both were available from the vendors Paris.

Turning away from the caprices of fashion

With little left but the memories of the court, the new age emerges, and the attitudes towards dress and finery are reflected in the words of Rousseau and other Enlightenment writers. In this famous Persian letters of 1717, Montesquieu summarizes the court fashions of the *grand siècle*, and his scornful tone is one in a growing chorus which blame women as the weak vessels who succumb to this disease, but point to the king as its source.

The caprices of fashion among the French are astonishing; they have forgot how they dressed in the summer; they are even more ignorant how they shall dress this winter; but, above all, it is not to be believed how much it costs a husband to put his wife in the fashion. What would I get by giving thee a full account of their dress and ornaments?

Sometimes the headdresses mount up gradually to a great height, and a sudden revolution makes them descend again at once. There was a time when the immense loftiness of them left the face of a woman in the middle of her body; another time, the feet occupied the same situation; the heels formed a kind of pedestal, which raised the women into the air.

²⁸² Dirk van der Cruysse, *Madame Palatine, princesse européenne* (Paris: Édition Librairie Fayard, 1988) 481.

²⁸³ Forster, *A Woman's Life in the court of the Sun King*, 119.

Who will credit this? The architects have often been obliged to raise, lower, and enlarge the doors, as the dress of the women required these changes; and the rules of their art have been subjected to their caprice. You shall sometimes see, upon one face, a prodigious quantity of patches, and next day they all disappear again. The women formerly had shapes and teeth, at present they are not regarded. In this changeable nation, whatever an unlucky joker may say to the contrary, the daughters are differently formed from the mothers. It is the same in their behavior and manner of life, as with their fashions: the French change their customs according to the age of their king...The prince communicates his sentiments to the court, the court to the city, the city to the provinces. The soul of the sovereign is a mold in which all the rest are formed.²⁸⁴

One reads this description and is left with a sense of fatigue, of being worn out by the excesses of the past. Indeed, this is also the impression given by the Watteau painting, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*, described in Chapter 1, the Literature Review, and in agreement with the line, “the French change their customs according to the age of their king.”

As a final note, this is perhaps not the only point of view that was held in the early eighteenth century. A print from the 1720s contrasts the *manteau*, *jupe* and *coiffure* fashions in 1714 and 1725 (figure 198.)

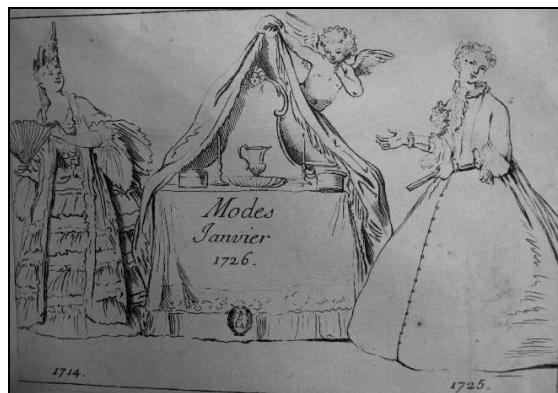


Figure 198. 1726, unknown artist, *Modes Janvier 1726*, BnF.

²⁸⁴ Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *Persian letters. By M. de Montesquieu*. Translated from the French. 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Alexander Donaldson, 1773), 1, 204.
<http://galenet.galegroup.com.proxy.library.cornell.edu/servlet/ECCO>

The simplicity of dress which appears during the Regency is in stark contrast to the previous fashions, but the attitude seems to express more humor than disgusted rejection. These opposing attitudes can also be found today when the topic of fashion is discussed among families and friends, as well as in the press.

CHAPTER 6

PRINTS AND THE DISSEMINATION OF FRENCH FASHION

*Et l'on dit ensuite que les Modes Passoient de la Cour aux Dames de la Ville, des Dames de la Ville aux riches Bourgeoises, des rich Bourgeoises aux Grizettes, qui les imitoient avec des moindres Ettoffes; & que lors que les Dames de la Cour & de la Ville mettoient des Pierreries fines, les Bourgeoises en mettoient de fausses, & les Grizettes des Boutons d'Orfèverie; & que lors que les Grizettes ne pouvoient pas en porter de fins, elle en mettoient de faux aux mesme endroites. On ajoûta que de ces Grizettes les Modes Passoient aux Dame de Province, des Dames de Province aux Bourgeoises des mesmes lieux; & ue de là elles passoient dans les Païs Estrangers; de maniere que lors qu'elles y commençoint leurs cours, celles qu'on avoit depuis ce temps-là enventées à la Cour commençoint déjà à devenir vieilles.*²⁸⁵

And they also say that fashion passes from the court to the city women, from the city women to the wealthy bourgeoisies, from the wealthy bourgeoisies to the working (merchant) women, who imitate using cheap fabrics; and while the court and city women wear fine gems, the bourgeoisies wear false gems, and the working women wear silversmith's buttons; and while the working women are not able to wear finery, they wear the cheaper versions everywhere. They also say that from the working women, fashions pass to the provincial women, and to the bourgeoisies in the same area; and from there to foreign countries; this style is then adopted at their courts, but since that time of invention at the (French) court, is already becoming old (in France.)

The mass fashion system

According to Jean Hamilton, there are four components which are necessary for the success of a mass fashion system: an excess of wealth for use in items that are not basic necessities, the manufacturing of fashionable goods, a transportation system for exporting goods from their origin of creation to markets, and a means of communicating the ideas of fashion to that market.²⁸⁶ In late seventeenth century France, the components of a mass fashion system were beginning to be developed, as evidence in the growing importance of fashion among the

²⁸⁵ *Le Mercure Galant*, 1673, III: 322-323

²⁸⁶ Jean Hamilton, "The silk worms of the East must be pillaged: the cultural foundations of mass fashion," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 8,4 (1990): 40-48.

elite, the manufacturing of lace and silks in France and in the growing importance of the export trade among neighbors. The role of prints was as a tool of communication, one which transmitted the ideas of fashion within and without France.

The importance of prints in the mass fashion system

The dissemination of fashion from one location to another occurs at different levels of complexity. It may be as simple as borrowing an elegant arrangement of a cravat or as complex as a government-backed propaganda campaign initiated for economic and political gains. The subject of this chapter considers both of these extremes, as well as levels in-between, examining attitudes within France as well as in neighboring countries. In order to understand these dynamics, it is helpful to review French concepts of fashion in the late seventeenth century. Fashion, as both idea and object, is discussed in order to identify the origins of French fashion hegemony which were taking root during this period. The idea of fashion, specifically definitions recorded in contemporary dictionaries, is discussed first, as it serves as a springboard for discussions of French fashion ideals. Examples from the prints are used to support or refute assertions provided by this literature. Fashion as object is then examined in terms of the economic, social and political agendas of the period, and the role prints played in promoting those plans.

Fashion as idea and object

The *idea* of fashion is transmitted through verbal and visual communication, such as the words which are used to describe an article of dress, or the engraving which illustrates the posture adopted when wearing a certain garment. As *object*, fashion refers to the clothing which enjoys popularity among a group of people during a particular time or place. It is constructed from materials which also reflect current notions of suitability, status and beauty. The

transmission of the vocabulary of fashion accompanies the dissemination and adoption of fashionable clothing, and together both idea and object move through time and space. However, as these are received by new groups of people, the clothing and words of fashion may alter to reflect differences in social and cultural preferences. This is the case in the late seventeenth century, when French fashion spread from France to its neighbors, but was changed in the course of its adoption. Fashion prints created in Paris serve to bridge the two concepts of idea and object. Their function is to communicate the presentation of clothing on the body, a visualization of fashion as object, across geographical distances. At the same time, their inscriptions reinforced the ideas of fashion by calling to attention the words which define the images. By illustrating clothing, manners and fashion concepts (such as seasonal dress), French prints contributed to a nascent fashion system inside and outside of France.

Fashion as idea: definitions of fashion in two dictionaries

An examination of seventeenth-century French dictionaries provides insight into contemporary meanings of dress in the country of France. Antoine Furetière's 1690 *Dictionnaire Universel* and the 1694 Académie Françoise *Le Dictionnaire de L'Académie Françoise* are two examples of late seventeenth-century French works which include numerous definitions pertaining to dress and fashion. Despite their different approaches to the explanation of word usage, each of these publications offers meaningful information which expands the understanding of the relationships between textiles, dress, society and culture.²⁸⁷ Furetière's definitions of fashion are discussed below, followed by those presented in the dictionary of the Académie Françoise.

²⁸⁷ French spelling was not standardized at this time, and *françoise* was the form used for what is today spelled *française*.

Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel*: definitions of a culture

Antoine Furetière (1619-1688) was a writer, lawyer and member of the Académie Françoise.²⁸⁸ In his *Dictionnaire Universel*, published posthumously in 1690, Furetière lists seven definitions for *mode* or “fashion”: four of these definitions are masculine nouns (philosophy, logic, grammar and music), while three are feminine (custom, things that change according to the times and places, and dress.) His definition for fashion relating to dress is presented below, followed by my English translation.

*MODE, se dit plus particulierement des manieres de s'habiller suivant l'usage recue à la Cour. Les François changent tous les jours de mode. Les estrangers suivent la mode des François, à la reserve des Espagnols, qui ne changent jamais de mode. Les plus extravagants sont ceux qui inventent les modes. Les Marchands gagnent au changement des modes. Cette femme est coëffée à la mode. Il y a des jeux à la mode, des devotions à la mode, des beautés à la mode, qui sont en régne.*²⁸⁹

FASHION refers particularly to the manner of dress following the styles worn at Court. The French change fashions every day. Foreigners follow French fashion, with the exception of the Spanish, who never change their fashion. Those who invent fashions are the most extravagant in their taste. Merchants gain from changes in fashion. This woman is fashionable coiffed. There are fashionable games, fashionable forms of devotion, and ideals of fashionable beauty, which lead current vogue.

In this definition, Furetière espouses five important concepts which define the fashion culture of late seventeenth century France: fashion derives from the court, fashion is defined by change, foreigners follow French fashion, fashion innovators are extravagant and fashion is a vehicle for driving economic gain. Although not mentioned by Furetière, another source of fashion besides the court was the stage.

²⁸⁸ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 130.

²⁸⁹ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, 1690; Académie Française, *Le Dictionnaire de L'Académie*, 1694. Numerous editions of the Académie Françoise *dictionnaire* were published in later years. A second edition of the Antoine Furetière work was published in 1701.

Fashion derives from the court

In a society in which every outward manifestation of a person has special significance, expenditure on prestige and display is for the upper classes a necessity which they cannot avoid.²⁹⁰

This quotation from Norbert Elias' study of the structure of society developed in court systems is especially pertinent to this study of the relationship between fashion and the court of Louis XIV.²⁹¹ Considering this argument, it follows that the need to distinguish oneself amongst others at court would serve to accelerate change where advancement was achieved by attracting the attention of the source of wealth and power, in this case, Louis XIV. Diane de Marly would have it that fashion was set by Louis XIV himself and then adopted by his retinue of eager courtiers.²⁹² Roche dispels this argument when he proposes the much more likely scenario in which innovation and change did not originate from the King, but rather from his courtiers who competed for his attention.²⁹³ For the aristocracy, the financial means, or at least the ability to borrow, were available, allowing it to distinguish itself in this environment. The resulting forms, lavish and extravagant, also separated their fashionable dress from the rest of the population, as the necessity for constant change demanded resources unavailable to those with fewer connections. When encroachment from the increasingly wealthy *haute bourgeoisie* occurred,

²⁹⁰ Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 63.

²⁹¹ Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 46. Despite the implications which can be drawn from this quote, Hunt notes that the connection between court and fashion is absent from the studies of Norbert Elias, stating that, "Although Norbert Elias, perhaps surprisingly, paid little attention to dress as a manifestation of the 'civilizing process' which he identifies with the emergence of 'court society,' the link between court and fashion is entirely consistent with his general thematic."

²⁹² de Marly, *Louis XIV & Versailles*, 41. There is evidence for fashion emanating from a monarch, but not in France. Charles II of England, though usually dressed in the French style, promoted a unique and new garment meant to be worn by himself and fellow Englishmen. In the wake of the 1666 London Fire catastrophe, the simple, long vest and jacket he adopted were meant to appease past wrongdoings, in this case the excesses of dress, especially French dress. There is no equivalent of this gesture by Charles II in the history of French dress. De Mary points to an almanac print of 1667 in which Louis XIV is wearing the new long jacket and vest of the English (figure 137.) It is hardly an example of innovation but is instead the adoption of a style created by another, in this case a king like himself.

²⁹³ Roche, *Culture of Clothing*, 29.

sumptuary laws were passed which attempted to legislate against imitation by forbidding to that group the materials of fashion which made this possible. These laws met with little success.²⁹⁴ However, the expense of the garments, plus the rate of change of fashion, probably served as a strong deterrent to continual imitation.

A comparison of dress worn by different social status

Although these interpretations are in agreement with the assertion by Furetière, an examination of visual as well as written evidence is necessary in order to support this argument. Portraits of the French aristocracy created in the fashion print genre provide detailed information on the changes of dress which occurred at Court. These can be compared to representations of bourgeois dress for differences which could indicate an imitative adoption of Court styles which lagged behind their introduction at Court.

Although fewer prints were produced which portrayed the bourgeois class, comparing these to portraits representing the nobility reveals interesting similarities and differences. Two prints by Nicolas Arnoult, *Femme de Marchand en dishabille d'Esté* and *Femme de qualité en Deshabillé D'esté* provide some clues to the dress which society expected of different social ranks (figure 199 and 200.)

²⁹⁴ Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*, 28.



Figure 199. 1687, Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Femme de Marchand en deshabillé d'Esté*, MFA Boston.

Figure 200. 1687, Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Femme de qualité en Deshabillé D'esté*, BnF.

In the first print, *Femme de Marchand en deshabillé d'Esté*, Arnoult has depicted a young woman of the merchant class in casual summer dress (figure 199.) If the silhouette of her dress and its fashionable parts are compared to those of members of court and people of quality, one can see similar fashions, including *manteau*, skirt, apron, lace, jewelry, ribbons and lace. This is confirmed when comparing this print to the second print, *Femme de qualité en Deshabillé D'esté* (figure 200.) These two prints share the publication date of 1687, and their titles differ only by a reference to different classes, this indicated by the *marchand* and *de qualité* labels. The same parts of dress are present in both prints, with differences marked by the degree of embellishment. The *Femme de qualité* is wearing a lavish ensemble, including a complex *coiffure*, trained *manteau*, decorative apron and horizontally-banded skirt, all of this with plenty of lace and ribbon trimming. She validates her class by symbols which identify her as a lady, these being her fan and mask.

Just as the *Femme de qualité* marks her status with symbolic props, the artist has clearly defined the status of the *Femme de Marchand* as a member of the bourgeois class. The textiles of her *manteau* and apron are characterized by their simplicity, and the intensity of embellishment characteristic of the dress of the aristocracy is absent. Rather than fan and mask,

she holds a quill pen in her left hand, evidence of her trade status. This is even more blatantly signaled by the pile of baled trade goods next to her seat. These items in the print unquestionably signal her status. In the total prints viewed for this research, women of the aristocracy are seen holding books, dogs, fans, masks, muffs, handkerchiefs and musical instruments, but never pens.

Beyond the identification of status symbols, there is a difference in fashion which signifies newer fashion trends in the print of the woman of quality, and older ones in the merchant woman. An examination of areas of dress which change rapidly provides information which can be useful for comparison. Fashion changes often occur first in necklines and sleeves, and this can be seen when comparing the styles worn in these two prints. In the *Femme de qualité*, she wears a shallow-cut neckline and her sleeves are trimmed with lace *engageantes*, these being characterized by a shaped lace edging. These two features appear to be new introductions for the year 1687, as Arnoult has another very similar print from about the same time which shows an earlier style (figure 201.)



Figure 201. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, *Fille de Qualité en Deshabillé d'Hiver*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

The fashion illustrated in this print is characterized by a deep, V-shaped neckline and sleeve ruffles made from straight lace edgings, a fashion found on prints dating as far back as the

late 1670s. After about 1687, this type of sleeve cuff and neckline is rarely seen in French prints. Instead, the shallower necklines and lace sleeve cuffs known as *engageantes* are almost universal in prints from the late 1680s until the end of the period being studied, indicating that these were universally popular in that time, but newly introduced fashion in or about 1687. An examination of the lace sleeve cuffs and neckline in the *Femme de Marchand* reveals a V-shaped neckline and sleeve ruffles made from straight lace edgings, styles much more in line with earlier fashions. In other words, the *Femme de Marchand*'s dress silhouette is current with that of the *Femme de qualité*, but the details of sleeve and neckline expose her fashion as somewhat behind the latest fashion introductions.

A comparison of the coiffures is also revealing. The *Femme de qualité* wears the unquestionably stylish form of *fontanges* headdress known as the *palisade*, an architectural wonder built from ribbons, scarves, lace and wire. This is the form of headdress seen just before the substitution of lace lappets for fabric scarves, an event which occurred in the mid-1690s. By contrast, the *Femme de Marchand* sports simple *fontanges* ribbons, the original style introduced in 1679 by Mademoiselle de Fontanges. This is another example of earlier fashions in her dress choices, and supports the assertion that the dress of the Court, seen in the depictions of the aristocracy, is the leading edge of fashion, and is followed by those belonging to a less wealthy and powerful class, the bourgeois class.

These differences could be explained as a more conservative attitude towards change amongst the less well-off, as well as an adherence to norms within the particular social class. The shared silhouette indicates a desire to be associated with current notions of fashionable styles, yet the overall presentation keeps within boundaries of class taste. Aileen Ribeiro describes similar dress adaptations between the elite and middle classes of mid-seventeenth

century London, where dress styles reflect the current silhouette but adjust details to suit class ideals of suitability.²⁹⁵ Interestingly, the 1701 edition of Furetière's *Dictionnaire* changed the wording in the sentence to read that fashion “..suivant l'usage recue à la Cour, ou dans le beau monde.”²⁹⁶ Eleven years after the publication of his dictionary, the new editor adds an element of doubt into the idea that fashion emanated from the court. The recognition of this second source, *le beau monde*, the fashion leaders, expands the possibilities of fashion origin. These were likely to have been visitors at court, courtiers, associated with court but traveled between the court and fashionable *salons* of Paris. The change in the 1701 dictionary is an admission of this other source of fashion. It is a signal of the stiffness now viewed as part of court etiquette and the courtiers desire to seek inspiration elsewhere.

It should be noted that this is not the first time Furetière considered the relationship between fashion and the court. In his 1666 novel, *Le roman bourgeois*, he warns the unwary of the dangers of ill-informed appearances at court.

...comme la mode change tous les jours... il faudroit avoir des amis et des espions à la cour, qui vous advertissent à tous momens des changemens qui s'y font; autrement on est en danger de passer pour bourgeois ou pour provincial.

“...as the fashion changes every day...it is necessary to have some friends or some spies at Court, who warn you at all times of the changes that are made there, otherwise one is in danger of passing for bourgeois or provincial.”²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction*, 203-207.

²⁹⁶ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, ed. Bassnage, 1701.

²⁹⁷ Antoine Furetière, *Le roman bourgeois*,

(Paris: P. Jannet, 1854), 74.

Fashion is defined by change

This dissertation begins with a discussion of change and fashion, asserting that fashion is a manifestation of change. Over three hundred years ago, Furetière also arrived at this judgment, and considered it essential to his definition. Specifically, Furetière stated that the French change fashion every day. By identifying a daily time frame for this phenomenon, he suggests that the rate of change is noteworthy because it is different from earlier traditions. It is also different from its neighbors, such as Spain, who never change their fashion, according to Furetière. The implied assumption is that the Spanish are not fashionable, at least compared to the French.

Staying current

Was change an important element in the fashion prints of the period? Certainly evolving trends are apparent in the four different stylistic periods. What is interesting is the number of times the printmakers revise earlier prints in order to update the illustrated fashions. This can be seen in the works of some of the most prolific artists, such as the Bonnart brothers, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, and Nicolas Arnoult, all of whom worked several decades at their trade. An ambitious printmaker would need to keep current with trends in order to recycle a print which had perhaps enjoyed a great deal of popularity at an earlier time, but needed some alteration if it was again to attract a buyer. Two prints by Nicolas Bonnart, both entitled, *Veuve en petit Deuil*, provide an example of how an artist can change the details of dress in order to update the garment to current fashion ideals (figure 202 and 203.)



Figure 202. n.d., Nicolas Bonnart, *Veuve en petit Deuil*, MMA (middle to late 1670s.)

Figure 203. n.d., (1685 in ink) Nicolas Bonnart, *Veuve en petit Deuil*, Morgan L&M (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

The images illustrate a young widow wearing *petit deuil*, or light mourning. According to Furetière, the *grand deuil* is all black, and without ornamentation. He continues his description by noting that the *manteau* is long, only of Holland linen, and the *coiffure* consists of a headband and a large, crêpe *coiffe*. By contrast, the *petit deuil* is less rigid in its rules and more casual in its presentation. It can be made of black serge or crêpe, and ribbons can be worn with the *petit deuil*.²⁹⁸ Both of these women follow these *petit deuil* rules, illustrating a later stage of mourning.

Though containing the identical inscriptions, the two prints by Nicolas Bonnart are visibly different in their fashions. The first print is undated, but exhibits the fashion sense of the late 1670s: sleeve ruffles, low-draped *manteau* and casually drooping posture. The young woman also wears a broad, wide collar, reminiscent of collars worn in the 1660s on the *habit*. Her head is covered in a large *coiffe* which resembles the *cornette* and *coiffe* combinations seen in the 1678 prints published in *Le Mercure Galant*.

For the second print, which contains a handwritten date of 1685, Nicolas Bonnart makes a number of changes which significantly changed the message of the print. Not only does he

²⁹⁸ Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, s.v. “deuil.”

change the silhouette, but he also exhibits a certain degree of sensitivity to the relationship between body and dress. He gives the young widow an upright, straight posture, creating the ideal look of the 1680s. The expression on her face is altered so as to appear more animated and less dreamy than in the previous print. Her clothing is completely revised to reflect the new styles: the headdress is a simplified version of the popular *coiffure à la fontanges*, her broad collar has become a scarf, the sleeves are longer and the cuffs resemble *engageantes*. The *manteau* is pulled up on the hips, as is proper for anyone following the current fashion, and the border of her *jupes* has a deep, decorative hem. In all, she is a different woman, though still a widow in light mourning.

A great deal of effort was expended in order to update this print, to make it a believable presentation of a young widow of fashion of the 1680s.²⁹⁹ The inspiration for this is likely to have come from the pressures of the market; that is, the need to compete with others who were making equally marketable products which competed on the basis of their savvy depictions of current taste and style. There is also a possibility that the second version was the work of an apprentice, as the facial features are somewhat primitive.

Foreigners follow French fashion

French dress is followed by foreigners, according to Furetière's third assertion. Spanish style does not change, the Spanish are not fashionable, nor is their fashion of interest to the rest of Europe. This assertion can be attributed to politics and economics, as both countries sought to become the dominant power in the region. The fashions of gold-rich Spanish had ruled in European courts from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth. The

²⁹⁹ Magnifying these two images reveals numerous details which prove the status of the 1680s print as being a second state of the earlier print. These include matching lettering shapes in the inscriptions, similar vertical and horizontal lines in the floor, identical markings on the fan and glove, and a flaw in the copper plate which prints as a smudge and appears above the floor on the right side of both prints.

loss of revenue when the gold supply waned caused their influence to falter, and they were no longer the fashion leaders they once were. Their dress became stagnant, lost in nostalgia for their wealthy and glorious past. The court of Louis XIV, alive with the optimism of a young and energetic king, looked to dominate European politics and economics; it seized the momentum and filled the void left by the Spanish. The differences between the forward-looking, changing French styles and the regressive styles of the Spanish can be seen in the tapestry commemorating the 1659 engagement of Louis XIV to the enfanta Marie-Thérèse (figure 204.)



Figure 204. middle 1660s, Charles LeBrun, tapestry detail, *Meeting of Louis XIV and Philippe IV on the Pheasant Island*, Musée de Gobelins (MG.)

Designed by Charles LeBrun and woven in the mid-1660s, the visual contrast in this image is extreme. The French delegation on the left, with Louis XIV in the forefront, wears the ribbons and petticoat britches which were the signature style of the French king.³⁰⁰ The Spanish on the right, with Philippe IV in knee-length tight canons, are dressed in clothing reminiscent of the late sixteenth century, a style dating back almost a hundred years.

The silhouette, a signifier of fashion style and modernity, is visibly different between the two monarchs, as it is between the dress of the French and Spanish women. The cousin of the king, the duchess of Montpensier, located behind Louis XIV, is dressed *en habit*, including a

³⁰⁰ According to Ruppert, the *juponnet*, petticoat britches, were originally called *rhinegraves*, and were imported from Holland by the Count of Rhin. Ruppert et al, *Le costume français*, 110.

bodice with a wide, off-the-shoulder lace collar and elbow-length sleeves.³⁰¹ Although the skirt is not visible, it would be a moderately full but softly draped overskirt with decorative underskirt. By contrast, the Spanish enfanta, on the right and dressed in white, is enclosed by a stiff bodice and extra-wide farthingale. Like her father, her fashion is typical of the Spanish styles of the late sixteenth century. There is more than a suggestion of rivalry in this image; it seeks to declare the French as superior in all manners of fashion when compared to the old-fashioned Spanish. This assertion of French fashion is a challenge to the old guard and indicative of the growing nationalistic attitude in late seventeenth-century France.

The composition and imagery of LeBrun's tapestry may not be original, as they closely parallel that found in the 1635 Diego Velázquez painting, *Surrender at Breda*. In the Velázquez depiction of the Dutch defeat of 1625, the obsequious and ponderously-dressed Dutch surrender to the magnanimous and elegantly-dressed Philipp IV of Spain. (figure 205.)



Figure 205. 1635, Diego Velázquez, *Surrender at Breda*, Museo de Prado (MDP.)

In both works, the tapestry by LeBrun and the painting by Velázquez, the central figures represent the contrast between two rival powers, but the viewpoints are through the eyes of the creators (or commissioners) of each images. The exaggeration of their differences is unmistakable, as is the

³⁰¹ Here it is obvious that what was fashion in the 1660s was the prototype for the later *grand habit* worn in the French court

desired message to the viewer. Fashion is used as a visual representation of superiority of one group over the weaker status of the other, though the Spanish switch roles in the French view of the 1660s

French fashion at the English court

Other courts begin to follow French fashion, and this can be seen in images of Charles II of England as well as his successor, William III. In an engraving by an unknown artist, Charles II and his wife, Catherine of Braganza, are each shown wearing French-inspired dress (6204.)



Figure 206. circa 1662 or later, unknown artist, *King Charles the Second and Queene Catherine*, National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG London.)

Catherine is seen in the French *habit*, with a wide lace collar that exposed the neck and shoulders, elbow-length sleeves, long pointed bodice, overskirt and overskirt. Charles is wearing the identical style of dress worn by Louis XIV in the tapestry of the early 1660s: plumed hat, curly wig, *manteau*, short doublet, loose fitting sleeves, petticoat britches, *canons de dentelles*, hose and high heeled shoes with ribbons tied in bows.

Not all images of Charles II show the English king dressed in such recognizably French-inspired dress. The famous “Persian vest” adopted by Charles II in 1666 after the London Fire was said to have been a completely English invention. This would signify an English authority to the ruler’s wardrobe and declare his independence from foreign influences. This was felt to be

a great accomplish for the English, having finally shaken the yoke of French fashion in their clothing. According to a newsletter of October, 1666,

Our Nation hauing for several yeers especially at this season too much used themselves to ape the French in their fashions, his MatY for avoiding the like vanity in the future has been pleased to signify that he himselfe will weare a vest & not alter that mode.³⁰²

This statement indicates that it is more than just the king who is following the French fashions.

The “our nation” would indicate that it was universal, at least amongst those who could afford to dress fashionably. Despite this proclamation of national independence from the influences of France, by the 1670s, Charles was to return to French fashion by adopting the French *justaucorps*.³⁰³ The rest of the nation would follow suit.

The French dominance on fashion in England continued into the last decades of the century, and a print of William III shows him riding his horse and wearing the French dress: plumed hat, curly wig, lace edged cravat, *justaucorps*, *echarpe*, and plain britches (7205.)



Figure 207. 1689-1702, Nicolaes Visscher, *William III*, NPG London.

³⁰² Quoted from Edmond S. de Beer, “King Charles II’s own fashion: an episode in Anglo-French relations 1666-1700,” *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2:2 (1938) 104.

³⁰³ Edmond de Beer makes a fascinating argument for the French inventing the vest, Charles borrowing from the French, then the French adopting Charles’ vest as the French *justaucorps*. Diana de Marly disagrees with the original French invention, stating that the coat was a common enough garment in England before 1666, and Charles borrowed from his own countrymen. Edmond S. de Beer, “King Charles II’s own fashion”, 114. Diana de Marly, Diana de Marly, “King Charles II’s own fashion: the theatrical origins of the English vest”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974): 378-382.

It is very interesting to find that William, who fought Louis XIV in two wars, still adopted the French dress as his fashion of choice. This is further evidence that like the Spanish styles which preceded the French, fashion follows the centers of power until other choices are introduced.

French fashion in Holland

The English are not the only ones who imitate French dress, as numerous Dutch engravings from the seventeenth century show. This print by the Dutch printmaker Jan van Troyen has a penned date of 1660 and shows two figures in French-inspired dress (figure 208.)



Figure 208. 1660? Jan van Troyen, *Le nouvelle figure a la mode de ce temps de sine G. vanden Eeckhout, et Gravé par I. Troyen, mis en lumiere, par Hugo Allart*, RJM.

The inscription on this print reads, *Le nouvelle figure a la mode de ce temps de sine G. vanden Eeckhout, et Gravé par I. Troyen, mis en lumiere, par Hugo Allart*, or, "The new fashions for the times, design by G. Van Den Eeckhout, and engraved by J. Troyen, illuminated by Hugo Allart."³⁰⁴ Again we have the figures dressed in a fashion reminiscent of the French, though perhaps this time there is more regionalism in their interpretations. The Dutch clothes seem more loosely fitted, and there are differences in the style of the hair and the shape of the collars, though generally the French elements are the same for the man (curly hair, lace cravat, short

³⁰⁴ Mr. Allart did not illuminate this print, as it remains the original black and white copy, but perhaps had the intention of painting all of them.

doublet, petticoat britches, *canon de dentelles*, hose, and high heeled shoes) as for the woman (broad collar, pointed vest, wide sleeves, moderately full and softly draped skirt.)

What was the influence of the fashion prints on this adoption of French fashion? Samuel Pepys collected late seventeenth century French fashion prints, and was very conscious of fashion and clothing, as is evident by the many references to his and his wife's dress in his diary.³⁰⁵ The copying of French prints by English and Dutch printmakers, discussed below, is evidence that the prints were purchased by more than just collectors of prints. The influx of fashion prints to foreign markets may have been seen by a wider segment of the public than collectors and printmakers and inspired adoption of French fashions.

Fashion innovators are extravagant

This is an interesting argument for Furetière to include in his dictionary, as it has both positive and negative connotations. In terms of the positive, it speaks to the innovators who push the boundaries of fashion, and inspire the change which defines fashion. Without this innovation, the rate of change is slow, a situation which was not in accord with the desires of manufacturing outlined by Jean-Baptiste Colbert in his plans to strengthen the economy of France. In fact, there is anecdotal evidence for Colbert's opinion on fashion in the oft repeated comment attributed to him, "Fashion is to France what the gold mines of Peru are to Spain."³⁰⁶

However, the addition of the word "extravagant" with "innovator" seems a somewhat negative response, or at least hints at disapproval. Furetière himself defines "extravagant" as *fou, impertinent, qui dit & fait ce qu'il ne faudroit pas qu'il dit ni qu'il fit*, or "mad, impertinent,

³⁰⁵ The diary makes note in 1669 of a purchase of French clothes for his wife, Elizabeth. Samuel Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Robert Latham and William Mathews, 11 vols. (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, Harper Collins, 2000), IX:464 (March 2, 1669)

³⁰⁶ Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion* (New York: Berg, 1998), 21. Steele cites Axel Madsen as her source of this quote. Axel Madsen, *Living for Design: The Yves Saint Laurent Story* (New York: Delacourt, 1979) 7. Madsen provides no citation for the original quote. Until this is verified, the quote remains anecdotal.

one who says and does what one ought neither to say nor do." Perhaps this inclusion of a cautionary note is not such an unusual stance, as even today, the introduction of new fashions often inspires outright rejection as being inappropriate or too extreme.

A classic example of this type of reaction caused by a new fashion can be found in Madame de Sévigné's 1671 letter to her daughter recounting the introduction of the *hurluberlu* coiffure.³⁰⁷ The reaction to Madame de Ventadour, when she first appears in the new cut, is one of instant disdain and mockery. Madame de Lafayette asks her, "Really, you must be off your head. Don't you realize, Madame, that you look quite ridiculous?" This attitude is repeated by Madame de Sévigné, who says it makes "her head look like a round cabbage" and also calls it "ridiculous." These remarks are close to labeling their friend as "extravagant," and somewhat "mad" and "impertinent." But with adoption by the powerful, attitudes change: the style is embraced by the Queen, Madame de Montespan and other women of the court, and suddenly Madame de Sévigné no longer finds it so distasteful. Within days of her original letter, she writes to her daughter, now encouraging her to follow suit, as it perfect for her face and will make her look like an angel.³⁰⁸ Clearly, this outlines how an innovator may introduce a novelty which is viewed as extravagant and initially rejected, only to find that once it is accepted by those who wish to be viewed as fashion leaders (not necessarily innovators themselves), it is adopted by others.

This story by Madame de Sévigné, and many others that may be similar, suggests that the 1701 revision of the definition was needed in order to clarify the different sources of fashion of the period. The tale of the *hurluberlu* provides the evidence for fashion emanating from *le beau monde*, the fashion-conscious Parisians, but in this case, one who had connections at court as

³⁰⁷ Tancock, *Selected Letters*, 92-93. Sommella, "La mode au XVIIe siècle", 15-19.

³⁰⁸ Sommella, "La mode au XVIIe siècle", 15-19.

well.³⁰⁹ The introduction of fashion by those who formed a satellite around the court, such as Madame de Sévigné and her circle, separates the court from being labeled as “extravagant innovators,” but still allows them to adopt new fashions once they have been introduced.

Fashion drives economic gain

Furetière’s reference to merchants gaining from changes in fashion recognizes the relationship between trade and fashion. Both domestic and foreign trades were important enterprises for attaining economic success.

Domestic trade: keeping up appearances

The domestic trade in France was a target of governmental efforts to stimulate the sale of luxury goods made in France. This relationship between fashion and economic gain is clearly illustrated in a 1678 illustration of a Paris boutique in the *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*. The well-stocked shelves of the boutique are shown overflowing with French-made lace, silk fabrics, wigs, and cravats, while two elegantly dressed people graciously present these treasures to the reader (figure 209.)



Figure 209. 1678, Jean LePautre after Jean Berain, “Illustration of a Paris boutique”, from *L'extraordinaire du Mercure galant*, BnF.

³⁰⁹ This is the same Madame de Ventadour that later became the royal governess in 1704 and saved the future Louis XV from death during the measles epidemic.

A complete list of items for the wardrobe of ladies and gentleman accompanies this print. Some examples for women include the latest style of *Point de France* lace, aprons made of satin and trimmed in lace, *point d'Espagne* lace, *Point de France* palatines, gloves embellished with ribbons, skirts with layers of pleated lace, and shoes of white leather. An equally long list of the wardrobe items for men is included, along with descriptions of numerous fabrics which are suitable for both men and women.

This issue, as noted earlier, identifies merchants which stock these items: the merchandise of four merchants are named in this issue alone. The first is a shop which sells fabrics:

On se sert aussi de Toiles qui imitent le Brocard, à bouquets & autres petites fleurs. Le fond est de couleur de Prince, & de noisete & aurore. Elles se vendent chez le Sieur Baroy, au Cloistre Sainte Oportune.³¹⁰

One avails oneself also of fabrics imitating brocade, with floral sprays and other small flowers. The backgrounds are the colors of Prince, hazelnut and “aurora.” They are sold by *Sieur Baroy*, at the address of the Cloister of Saint Oportune.

Another creates *manteau* sleeves in the style worn at the court:

Les Manches des Manteaux sont à present serrées par le bas, avec des bouillons par le haut. Ceux qui en voudront faire comme on les fait à la Cour, n'ont qu'à s'adresser à Madame du Creux, Rue Traversine, qui habille la plus grande partie des Personnes de la première qualité.³¹¹

The sleeves of the *manteaux* are close-fitting at the base, with fullness at the top. Those who would like to have theirs made like those worn at court, have only to visit Madame du Creux, Rue Traversine, who dresses the most elegant kinds of people of the best quality.

There is a shop which sells *coeffes* and *palatines*.

³¹⁰ *L'extraordinaire du Mercure Galant, Janvier, 1678, 404.*

³¹¹ *Ibid, 1678, 404.*

*Les Coeffes sont toujours brodées sur de la Gaze. On en porte de grands, où viennent de Palatines. On en trouvera de tres bien faites chez le Sieur Goussault au Palais, à la Reyne de Suede.*³¹²

Coifs are always made of embroidered gauze. One wears them in *grand* style, or just as palatines. One will find some very well made examples at the address of *Sieur Goussault*, at the palace , at the sign of the Queen of Sweden.

If these establishments aren't fine enough, the editor notes that the next merchant supplies the wardrobe of the king!

On trouvera de tous ces Rubans chez le Sieur le Gras au Palais, sur le Perrons vis-à-vis le May. Comme d'est luy qui fournit la Garderobe du Roy, on doit estre seûr de trouver toujours dans sa Boutique les plus beaux Rubans & qui seront le plus à la mode.

One will find all types of ribbons at the address of *Sieur le Gras*, at the palace, on the steps facing the May. As it is he himself who furnishes the wardrobe of the King, one is sure to always find in his boutique the very best ribbons which will be of the latest fashion.

Did these businesses pay for this publicity? And did those shops which were listed experience an increase in business? Unfortunately, there are no known extant records from the publication, or from the businesses, which would give answers to these questions. There were few editions of the *Extraordinaire*, and perhaps these names were included in the first issue as an experiment to see if merchants would pay for their businesses to be included in future editions. It is also possible that these were provided as a courtesy to the readership, when looking for the types of materials described in the texts.

The inclusion of this information in this special issue, juxtaposed with the fashion prints which were engraved by Le Pautre, suggests that the editors were experimenting with fashion as a subject which would interest their readers. This topic is approached from the position that it would be lucrative for circulation of the publication, as well as for merchants who might pay the

³¹² Ibid, 1678, 406.

publication in return for publicity. The extensive texts which accompany these descriptions of fashionable garments and fashionable textiles constantly refer to items being *à la mode*, or no longer *à la mode*. The admission that this is important, that things change from being “in fashion” to “out of fashion”, supports a type of consumerism which is concerned with status and rank, the type of cultural trait found among the *haute bourgeoisie* and *femmes de qualité* who read this journal (figure 210.)



Figure 210. 1688, François Gerard Jollain, *Dame de Qualité sur un Cannapé lisant Le Mercure Galant*, MMA.

In this print, a “young woman of quality” is shown at her leisure reading her copy of *Le Mercure Galant*. This is one of the few prints which shows any person, male or female, in the act of reading, and it is significant that it is a woman. Monique Vincent’s study of the publication as the first of its kind dedicated to a female readership is based on the content as well as the viewpoints expressed by the editor, Jean Donneau de Visé.³¹³ A female readership implies that when the special issues of the *Extraordinaire* were published, it was women who saw the fashion prints, read the descriptions, and were informed of where the materials of fashion could be purchased. The readership was also made aware of the need to change their fashions quickly to

³¹³ Vincent, *Le Mercure Galant: Presentation de la premiere revue féminine*, 2005.

avoid embarrassment. It is worth repeating the translation of the editor's advice to his readership on this point:

Observe these sleeves; I can assure you that they are appearing first in this manner in which you see them. Don't be astonished by seeing a ribbon *echelle*. They were still wearing them at the beginning of the current season. This fashion has not continued, and few people currently wear them.³¹⁴

Remarks such as this were sprinkled in amongst descriptions of fashion found in later issues, and occasionally businesses and shops were listed as the best places to purchase fashionable goods. These examples lend credence to Furetière's claim that the merchants profit when fashion changes often, as this readership was being informed of the importance of staying current and the names of the shops which could best accommodate their needs.

Foreign trade: a tax on coiffures?

It isn't true that a tax has been put on the *coiffures*, someone must have invented that tale as a joke.³¹⁵

The export trade is the other source of economic gain for merchants. The intent by Colbert for the development of domestic consumption and foreign export of luxury goods, particularly textiles, is well documented in the surviving state papers and documents. According to Cole, one of Colbert's major goals was to have "the products made within the country (form) a basis for both domestic and foreign trade."³¹⁶ Goods which produce wealth for merchants provide tax profits for the government, when goods are accessed for their value. The prospects of this lucrative opportunity were not lost on Louis XIV or his minister.

³¹⁴ *L'extraordinaire du Mercure Galant* (janvier, 1678): 391.

³¹⁵ Kroll, *Letters from Liselotte*, 71. Élisabeth-Charlotte is responding to a humorous jab at the current reputation of the French court for taxing everything.

³¹⁶ Cole, *Colbert and a century of French Mercantilism*, 139.

The history of the lace industry has been outlined in Chapter 2, but it is important to emphasize the effects of the change in lace design and quality which occurred during this period. In the 1660s, there were towns in the northern areas of France which were already involved in lace production, but compared to the products coming out of Italy and Flanders, the French products were poor in both quality and design (figures 211, 212 and 213.)



Figure 211. mid-17th century, Italy, *Point de Venise*, MTAD Lyon.



Figure 212. 1660s, Flanders, bobbin lace, V&A.

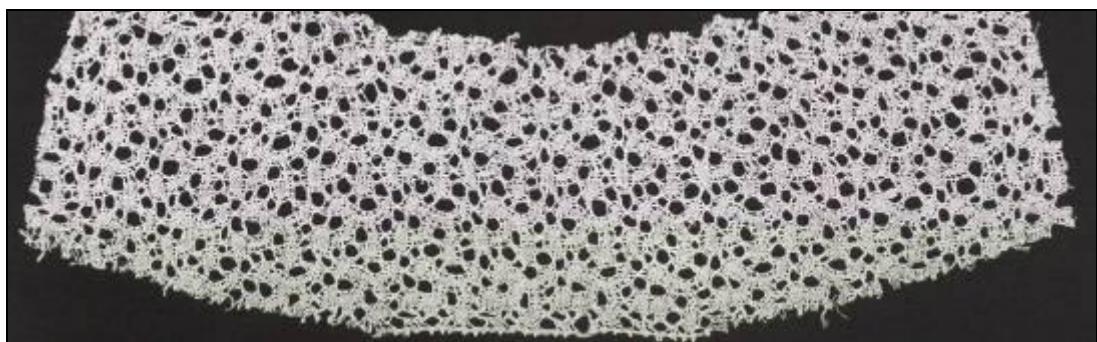


Figure 213. second half 17th century, France, bobbin lace, Musée national de la Renaissance (MNR.)

The primitive quality of the French lace is very obvious when compared side by side with its competitors. In devising a scheme which would develop this product and stimulate economic benefits, Colbert made three brilliant decisions concerning the lace production. First, he appropriated the name of the most popular lace in France, the Italian *Point de Venise*, and named the new French lace *Point de France*. Although this lace initially included both French bobbin and needlelace, the name later became associated with a particularly high quality French needlelace. Colbert then imported (or some say kidnapped) Italian and Flemish lace makers to teach technique to the local French lace makers, thus increasing the odds of a successful outcome. Finally, and perhaps Colbert's smartest move, was that he required the French lace makers to use new designs created by royal artists. This indicates that from the beginning of the efforts to stimulate French lace making, design was an important part of the government-supported effort.³¹⁷ It is this author's opinion that this last piece of the plan was the keystone to the success and later dominance of the French lace making industry (figure 214.)



Figure 214. late 17th century, France, *Point de France*, ARTC.

In this example, it is clear that the redesigned French lace affected its profitability, and this would be felt in both domestic and foreign markets. It will be shown later in this chapter that the fashion prints begin to depict fashion which is suitable for this newer style of lace, one

³¹⁷ de Laprade, *Le Poincts de France*, 1905.

that was lighter in overall weight than the heavy Italian and Flemish lace, and could be easily gathered into a cravat or *fontanges*. It can be surmised that the new, beautiful French lace was attractive to the members of the court, and indeed, this is found in a passage by Madame de Sévigné concerning the *Point de France* lace worn by Madame de Montespan at Versailles, described later in this chapter.

Whether this new enterprise was a purposeful attempt on the part of Louis XIV and his minister to increase the *rate* of change is debatable, though it may have had that effect. Diane de Marly states that this was the intent of Louis XIV and his minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, but this author believes the connections are more subtle.³¹⁸

Académie Françoise: definitions of morality

The other significant definitions of French fashion of the seventeenth century are found in the 1694 *Dictionnaire de L'Académie Françoise* by the Académie françoise. While Furetière's *dictionnaire* takes a cultural approach to its definition of *mode*, this work takes a moral tone, listing socially acceptable and unacceptable fashion practices; in other words, defining the boundaries of taste and fashion.

mode, la: *La maniere qui est, ou qui a été autrefois en vogue, sur de certaines choses qui dependent de l'institution & du caprice des hommes. Nouvelle mode. Vieille mode. Mauvaise mode. Mode ridicule, extravagante. Cela estoit, autrefois à la mode. La mode en est passée. La mode n'en est plus. Inventer(inventeur?) des modes. Suivre la mode. Se mettre à la mode. Ester à la mode du pays où l'on est. un habit à la mode. Une estoffe à la mode &c. on revient aux vielles modes. C'est un mot qui est fort à la mode. Ester esclave de la mode. Les caprices, les bizarries de la mode.*³¹⁹

Fashion: The style which is current, or which has been previously fashionable, dependent upon some things such as the institution or

³¹⁸ de Marly, *Louis XIV and Versailles*, 51.

³¹⁹ Académie Françoise, *Le Dictionnaire de L'Académie Françoise*, 2: 74. In the 18th century, French spelling became standardized, and *française* would be changed to *française*.

whims of men. New fashion. Old fashion. Bad fashion. Ridiculous and extravagant fashion. It was previously fashionable. The fashion is fading. It is no longer in fashion. To invent (inventor of?) fashions. Following fashion. Establishing oneself as fashionable. A fashionable fabric, etc. One reverts to older fashions. It is a word which is very fashionable. A slave to fashion. The whims, the bizarreness of fashion.

Bad fashion

These descriptions of fashion provide insight into the moral pressures on fashion commonly used in daily society. Of the examples given, the negative adjectives include “old”, “bad”, “ridiculous”, “extravagant”, “fading”, “slave”, “whims”, and “bizarreness.” These are barely balanced by the positive words and phrases, “new”, and “very fashionable.” The remaining examples are ambiguous, and if anything, lean towards a negative perception: “previously”, “no longer”, “invent”, “following”, and “reverts.” The overriding tone of disapproval which is expressed in this choice of words is unmistakable, and reveals a more disdainful attitude towards dress and fashion than seen in most contemporary letters, memoires and plays, which tended to be more light-hearted, or at least less formally critical.

Why does this definition seem to differ from those contemporary opinions? One reason may be that at its heart, the Académie françoise definition criticizes the vanity of fashion, and in such can be compared to the satire fashion prints, which do the same. These also were published in the mid-1690s, especially by Nicolas Guérard, and show much of the same disapproval of those who indulge in fashion. Words and phrases in his prints include, “stupid”, “*fracas*”, “suffer”, “pursuit”, “enemy”, “chagrin” and “everything that glitters is not gold.”

Except for the assertion by Furetière that the innovators of fashion are extravagant, the Académie françoise definition has a far more negative and judgmental tone than found in Furetière’s definition. By contrast, Furetière’s attitude is closer to the generic and fashion-portrait prints, which revel in beautiful clothes worn by beautiful people, including those who

attend the court. He uses a more neutral vocabulary, with words such as “manner”, “style”, “follow”, “change”, “invent” as well as a few unquestionably positive terms such as “gain”, and “beauty.” The prints which reflect his definitions have inscriptions which include, “woman of quality”, “man of quality”, “the highest quality”, “beautiful”, “casual”, “new fabric”, and “fashionable.” Obviously, these prints and Furetière share positive attitudes towards fashion which are quite different from those expressed by the Académie françoise.

Of these two works of seventeenth century French lexicographers, both provide important insights into French cultural and moral issues. Furetière’s dictionary definition is often quoted in present-day dress histories because it provides a window into the cultural structure of French fashion. The definition by the Académie françoise is rarely used, possibly because it is thought to be limited in its scope. However, without considering both of these viewpoints, the one a positive outlook, the other more satiric and negative, the twenty-first century perception of seventeenth century French fashion would be unbalanced. This is an example where consulting multiple sources of literature provides a richer dimension to the body of knowledge which comprises dress scholarship.

Dolls as transmitters of Fashion in France and abroad

The use of dolls as a form of transmitting current fashion cannot be overlooked as a recognized method for communicating fashion ideas in France, as well as in neighboring countries. Reference to this phenomenon is found in numerous entries, both primary and secondary. At times, however, dolls are characterized as the only transmitters of fashion information. This is true for Paola Placella-Sommella, who described the fashions recorded in the letters of Madame de Sévigné. She identifies dolls as the only form of fashion communication of the period.

Les seuls instruments utilisés pour diffuser les changements dans l'habillement et la coiffure sont constitués, dans la capitale, en province et à l'étranger, par deux poupées, la Grande Pandore et la Petite Pandore, qui présentent respectivement les toilettes les plus importantes et les négligées. D'autres poupées de cire sont peignées au goût du jour et expédiées pour illustrer les transformations dans la coiffure.³²⁰

The only sources used to disseminate the changes in dress and coiffure, in Paris, in the provinces, and in foreign countries, were the two dolls known as the “Grand Pandore” and the “Small Pandore,” which showed, respectively, formal and casual dress. Other wax dolls had their hair fashionably dressed and were sent to illustrate the changes in coiffure.

The source of this specific information concerning the two types of dolls is not cited, but letters by Madame de Sévigné are presented as evidence for the use of dolls as showing hairstyles, such as when Madame de Sévigné sends word to her daughter living in the provinces that she will be sending a doll dressed in the latest Paris coiffure.³²¹ Sommella seems to have ignored her own writing, however, as she uses numerous prints and texts from the *L'extraordinaire du Mercure Galant* in her explanation of fashions in these letters, thus showing that prints, too, carried significant fashion information to the city dwellers, provinces, and to foreigners.³²²

In England, the use of a French fashion doll as a form of fashion information is recorded in the London publication, *The Spectator*, on January 17, 1711.

I presume I need not inform the polite part of my readers, that before our correspondence with France was unhappily interrupted by the war, our ladies had all their fashions from thence; which the milliners took care to furnish them with by means of a jointed baby, that came regularly over once a month, habited after the manner of the most eminent toasts in Paris.³²³

³²⁰ Sommella, “La mode au XVIIe siècle”, 9.

³²¹ Ibid, 13, 18.

³²² At least one volume of the *Mercure Galant* was translated into English by John Dancer in his *The Mercury-Gallant* of 1673.

³²³ Joseph Addison and Sir Richard Steele, *The Spectator* (Cincinnati: Poundsford and Company, 1876), 341.

Following this information about the fashion doll, however, is a humorous letter from a “reader”, signed “Teraminta”, who proclaims her love for French fashion and describes her ecstasy at hunting down a recently arrived fashion doll. Finally viewing the doll, she proclaims that she had “a full view of the dear moppet from head to foot.”

You cannot imagine, worthy sir, how ridiculously I find we have all been trussed up during the war, and how infinitely the French dress excels ours. The *mantua* has no leads in the sleeves, and I hope we are not lighter than the French ladies, so as to want that kind of ballast: the petticoat has no whalebone, but wits with an air altogether gallant and *degagé*; the *coiffure* is inexpressibly pretty and, in short, the whole dress has a thousand beauties in which I would not have as yet made too public.

A doll in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum is an example of the type of doll which may have been sent to London to inform on the French fashions (figure 215.)



Figure 215. late 17th century, “The Old Pretender”, V&A.

The doll is dressed in high *fontanges* with lace lappets, curled hair framing the face, *manteau*, stomacher, *engageantes* at her sleeve cuffs, and a petticoat with tiers of fringed trim.

The use of fashion prints as a source of information is not mentioned in this article from *The Spectator*, nor is it mentioned in the Sévigné letters. None of this, however, negates the use of fashion prints as disseminators of fashion information.

From France to England: adoption and adaptation

In the seventeenth century, the negative and satiric responses to fashion which are sometimes seen in France are also evident in England. This is especially true of the English reaction to French fashion as it enters into common usage in England. The fashion terminology associated with French dress is not immune from this treatment and several interesting examples of adoption, followed by adaptation, reveal the nature of the English and their relationship with the French.

Mary Evelyn's definitions of French dress

In 1690, the *Mundus Muliebris: or the Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd and her toilette spread* was published in London. The author is traditionally listed as Mary Evelyn, but the work is thought to be by her father, John Evelyn, the writer of *Tyrannus*, a satirical criticism of the English use of French fashion.³²⁴

Mundus Muliebris is translated from Latin as “Worldly Women” or “Women of the World.” This humorous description of the needs of the educated woman of fashion states in the preface that it is a guide to the young University student, who having finished (or almost) his studies, finds himself in want of a wife, or even a mistress. It is meant for a guide to the needs of such a woman should he take this pursuit seriously: “The refined Lady expects her Servants and humble Admirers should Court her in the Forms and Decencies of making Love in Fashion.” There follows a short narration in verse, “A Voyage to Maryland, or, the Ladies Dressing-Room.”

³²⁴ Mary Evelyn, *Mundus Muliebris or The Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd prepared for the press by her father John Evelyn 1690*, ed. J. L. Nevinson (London: The Costume Society, 1977). John Evelyn, *Tyrannus; or, The mode*. Ed. J. L. Nevinson (Oxford : for The Luttrell Society by B. Blackwell, 1951). Nevinson believes the style of the writing in *Mundus Muliebris* to be that of John Evelyn, and therefore believes him to be the author.

Whoever has a mind to abundance of trouble,
Let him furnish himself with a Ship and a Woman
For no two things will find you more Employment,
If once you begin to rig them out with all their Streamers,
Nor are they ever sufficiently adorned,
Or satisfy'd, that you have done enough to set them forth.

The text continues with an exhaustive list of all the fashions worn by this idealized woman of quality, and most of these items are identified as French.

Of Point *d'Espagne* a rich *Cornet*,
Two *Night-rails*, and a *Scarf* beset
With a great Lace, a *Colleret*.
One black Gown of Rich Silk, which odd is
Without one Colour'd, Embroider'd *Bodice*:
Four Petticoats for Page to hold up,
Four short ones nearer to the Crup:
Three *Manteaus*, nor can Madam less
Provision have for due undress
Nor *demy Sultane*, *Spagnolet*,
Nor Fringe to Sweep the Mall forget.

As can be seen in the lines above, the author of this satire is familiar with French fashion, and words such as *Point d'Espagne*, *cornet*, *manteau*, and *Sultane* can also be found in French fashion plate descriptions of the 1680s. Several more pages of description follow, with more descriptions of French finery, including *bas de soy*, *mouchoirs*, *palatine*, *engageantes*, *echelles*, and *mouches*. One description in particular is notable: *Frelange*, *Fontange*, *Favorite*, a listing of three parts of an elaborate *coiffure*. Evelyn continues by describing this creation as a towering edifice, a description which bears close resemblance to the *coiffure en palisade* seen in the prints of the 1680s and early 1690s.

For *Tour on Tour*, and *Tire on Tire*
Like Steeple *Bow*, or *Grantham Spire*

However, Mary Evelyn died in 1685, so the headdress she describes is similar to those of the early to 1680s, as seen in a 1685 print by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean (figure 216.)



Figure 216. 1685, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité en robe de chambre d'hyver*, MMA.

These headdresses became much more massive near the end of the decade, so despite her obvious pleasure at their ridiculous heights, Mary was not witness to their most extreme forms.

After a description of all the items found on the lady's dressing table, which makes one wonder how all of these items could possibly fit on the small and delicate piece of furniture (mirror, pots, vases, candlesticks, snuff boxes, water, flasks, bottles, cups, etc) the verse ends with the conclusion that thus set up with all the finery fit for a queen, the young lady is finally ready to be courted.

Thus Rigg'd the Vessel, and Equipp'd
She is for all Adventures Shipp'd,
And Portion e're the year goes round,
Does with her Vanity confound.

What follows this narrative is a unique view of the reaction of the English to the many French words which describe dress. The "Fop Dictionary" defines many of the French fashion terms in the text which might be unfamiliar to the University student, or the reader. There are several words in this dictionary that are particularly pertinent to the study of the dissemination of the ideas and objects of fashion.

Transformations from French to English

Headdresses are important in French fashion, and they were much discussed in Mary Evelyn's description of women's finery. The French word *fontanges*, which was introduced in about 1679, continued to be used in France as a single word or with other descriptors until the early eighteenth century. At that time, the term *commode* entered popular usage. In the 1701 edition of Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*, the word *fontanges* is defined as "a ribbon bowtie which is worn by women in front of their coiffure and a little above the forehead. The name comes from Mlle. de Fontange, who wore it when she first began to appear at Court."³²⁵ In her Fop Dictionary, Evelyn spells the word, "Font-Ange" and then defines it as "the top-knot, so called for *Mademoiselle de Fontange*, one of the King's Misstresses, who first wore it." A top-knot, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, is "A knot or bow of ribbon worn on the top of the head by ladies towards the end of the 17th and in the 18th century; later, a bow of ribbon worn in a lace cap."³²⁶ Although there is little difference in these definitions, Mary Evelyn includes another word in her description of headdresses, the term *frelange*. She defines this simply as "Bonnet and Pinner together." According to Diana de Marly, the pinner is equivalent to the French *cornet*, the edging of lace worn around the face that was fashionable in the late 1670s.³²⁷

³²⁵ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, 1701. There are different opinions as to the correct spelling of this word, whether it is *fontange*, or *fontanges*, with a final "s." I have chosen to use the final "s", but Furetière's dictionary used the *fontange* version. Both are found in 17th century literature, sometimes spelled differently in the same work.

³²⁶ OED online. June 2011. Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/203396?redirect=From=top-knot>.

³²⁷ Diana de Marly, "The vocabulary of the female headdress, 1678-1713," *Waffun-und-Kostumkunde* 17(1975): 61. However, de Marly continues to redefine the pinner several times in this article, and does not quite settle on any definition. At one point it is something which is equivalent to a lappet, "long flaps hanging down the sides of the Cheeks" and then later a type of bonnet. Another variation offered is that it is a double layer worn on the top of the head with a ribbon inserted between the layers.

The word *frelange* is interesting because in English dress histories, it came to replace the word *fontanges* and was defined as the correct English term for that headdress. This is curious because it did not begin with this connotation in English, as is evident in Mary Evelyn's Fop Dictionary. Where did the word *frelange* come from? Mary Evelyn placed the word in italics, identifying the word as French. However, there is no word *frelange* in the dictionaries of Furetière or the Académie françoise and Mary Evelyn's source remains a mystery. There is one word in Furetière that is similar, and may shed some light on the derivation of the word. Furetière defines the word *frélon* as "a large savage fly with a yellow head." The appropriation of this French word as a fashion term in English is perhaps not as absurd as it first appears, especially in light of previous discussions on common reactions to new fashions. It is possible that it was presented in jest either by Mary Evelyn, or some other mischievous person, and placed in the Fop Dictionary for its wittiness. Either way, the word *frelange* became the acceptable word in English for the lace, ribbon and wire constructions that in France was labeled the *fontanges*. One other possibility for this enigma is suggested by the nineteenth-century English costume historian F.W. Fairholt, who defined *frelange* as nothing more than a corruption of *fontanges*.³²⁸

This change in meaning, especially the change of meanings in words as they move from French to English, is also seen in other adaptations. The word *frippery* in English is another example of this type of shift in meaning, in this case, a shift in the negative direction. According to Furetière, the seventeenth-century meaning of the French word *fripperie* was "used clothing, clothing of little cost." It may have carried some social stigma, but was not anything like the word when it was adopted into English. The word *frippery* appeared in the 1706 English

³²⁸ Frederick Fairholt, *Costume in England: Glossary* (Bohn's Artists Library, London: Chiswick Press, 1885), 171.

dictionary written by Edward Phillips, who defined it as “stuff of little value, lumber, trumpery.”³²⁹ In other words, the word related to showy but worthless finery, the English having added a connotation to the French word which implies superficiality and silliness. In this adaptation, the English can exhibit their distaste for a French concept relating to clothing which may have carried social stigmas in France, but the condemnation was more pronounced in the English definition. The recognition that this concept is related to inferior French notions is illustrated in a quote from an English play of the 1680s when one character describes a lady as having, “A little Pinke Laden with Toyes, and Fripperies from France.”³³⁰

Communicating fashion as idea and object: disseminating French fashion through prints

French fashion was taken seriously by those who wanted to stay current and express a connection to the center of fashion, France and the court of Louis XIV. , the duchesse d’Orléans, could not have expressed it more clearly when she wrote this sentence in a 1687 letter to her aunt.

It is not surprising that you are wearing fontanges because everybody here does from little girls seven years old to old women in their eighties, the difference being that young people wear bright colors and old ones dark shades or black.³³¹

She shows little surprise to learn that French fashions are being followed in Germany, assuming that anyone who is knowledgeable about how to dress is following the French style as the logical choice. This evidence of the influence of French fashion abroad agrees with the Furetière’s assertion that the foreigners are following French fashion.

³²⁹ Phillips, *The New World of Words*, s.v. “frippery”.

³³⁰ 1681: J. Crowne Henry VI. From the OED online, June 2011. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com. frippery&scope=QUOTATION&type=dictionarysearch>

³³¹ Kroll, *Letters from Liselotte*, 47.

What evidence is provided in the prints of this dissemination? In order to determine the influence, the connections between the economic policies, luxury fabrics and the court are examined. The impact of French fashion prints abroad is discussed, as it affected artists, collectors of prints and the public. In particular, the influences of French fashions in England are reviewed.

Fashion prints and French commerce

As discussed earlier, luxury textile manufacturing was considered an important endeavor for France. By promoting these industries, France hoped to increase its economic as well as political base. The products were aimed at the French court as well as the overseas markets. There is evidence that the success of these goals was at least partially achieved through the images of French textiles portrayed in the fashion prints.

During the forty-year period of this study, images of the royal family and noble members of court are characterized by complex dress assemblages made from luxury textiles. For men, the *ensembles* might include hats, wigs, cravats, jackets, vests, *manteaux*, *robes*, lace cuffs, britches, stockings, high-heeled shoes, gloves, ribbons, *echarpes*, feathers, fur, jewelry, masks, muffs, swords, *batons* and canes (figure 217.)



Figure 217. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Henri Jules de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, Grand Maitre de France*, MMA (early 18th century.)

Women of the court wear an equally abundant wardrobe, including an assortment of headdresses, *habits*, *manteaux*, *robes*, bodices, stomachers, lace cuffs, riding jackets, upper skirts, lower skirts, aprons, lace flounces, jewelry, high-heeled shoes, gloves, ribbons, *echarpes*, feathers, fur, jewelry, masks, muffs and fans (figure 218.)



Figure 218. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Madame la Princesse de Bade*, MMA (middle to late 1690s.)

For both men and women, the lavishness of the individual parts which make up the whole *ensemble* defines the subject as belonging to the rank of wealth and power. In particular, the exhibition of ornate, richly embellished textiles signals their noble status: brocaded silks, plush velvets, abundant ribbons, lavishly embroidered hems, intricately patterned lace, and exotic ermine furs.

The adoption of French luxury fabrics by the court is demonstrated in a 1676 depiction of the finery worn by one of Louis XIV's mistresses, Madame de Montespan.

She was dressed from head to foot in *Point de France*, her hair done in a thousand curls. From each temple they hung down low over her cheeks. Black ribbons on her head, the pearls of the Maréchale de l'Hôpital embellished with diamond festoons and pendants of exquisite beauty, three or four pins, no headdress – in a word a triumphant beauty to make all the ambassadors admire.³³²

This letter by Madame de Sévigné to her daughter relates her impressions after a visit during which she observed the dress and behavior of the assembled court. The description of the

³³² de Sévigné, *Selected Letters*, 203.

sumptuous dress worn by Madame de Montespan, the soon-to-be former mistress of Louis XIV, is particularly focused on the lace. Sévigné identifies it as *Point de France*, the lace which was promoted by Colbert beginning in the mid-1660s.³³³ Perhaps with a mixture of pride in the beauty of this French textile art, as well as deference to the lady, Sévigné unknowingly acknowledges the success of the French lace industry at marketing their products to the French aristocracy.

Fashion prints and French lace

As early as 1678, the fashion prints begin to illustrate styles of fashion which reflect the designs being produced in French lace and silks of the period. Of the ten fashion prints published in *Le Mercure Galant*, all of them showed silk garments and lace accessories. One of them, the *Habit de Printemps* from the January issue of *L'extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, specifically lists *Point de France* lace as being worn in the headdress. The other prints list a variety of lace types, including *Point d'Espagne* and *Point d'Angleterre*, as well as lace identified generically as *dentelle* or *point*.

A noticeable absence in the illustrations of menswear is the lack of acknowledgment of the cravat or its lace. All other areas formed of lace, for both men and women, are labeled and the lace is often identified by type. This seems an unusual omission, as by 1678, the industry was well underway. The explanation for this may lie in the observation that men's dress is more conservative than women's, as has been shown in the discussion of the changes occurring during the stylistic periods. In portraits of the period, it can be seen that men are wearing cravats made of Italian lace, the most popular lace in mid-century. A portrait dating from 1680 by Nicolas

³³³ Levey, *Lace: a history*, 35-36

Largilliere of an unknown gentleman features in beautiful detail an unmistakably *Point de Venise* cravat (figure 219.)



Figure 219. 1680, Nicolas Largilliere, *unknown sitter*, FAM

Perhaps the hesitancy on the part of the editors of *Le Mercure Galant* to label a cravat was to keep this very important item of men's dress visible, but to free themselves of any politically motivated criticism, especially if the general trend was to continue to wear Italian *point* lace. It should be noted that the style of cravat shown in this painting, as well as in the 1678 prints, is of a stiffly gathered piece of lace, the only form which accommodates the densely constructed *Point de Venise* needlelace.

However, there comes a time when the cravats illustrated in the prints express the style of lace being produced in France. By the late 1680s, *Point de France* needlelace has evolved into a finer textile than its Italian inspiration, and is particularly suited for gathering into soft, luxurious cravats (figure 220.)



Figure 220. late 17th century, *Point de France needlelace cravat*, MTAD Lyons.

An example of the use of lace such as this can be seen in a 1689 print of an *homme de qualité* by Jean Dieu de Saint Jean (figure 221.)



Figure 221. 1689, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Homme de qualité en habit garny de rubans*, BnF.

In this image, the cravat is tied around this throat and then draped over the top of the layered ribbons, a style particularly popular in the 1680s. Although the lace may be sewn onto a fine muslin center strip, which would be more comfortable against the skin, the print clearly shows that the lace is expected to gather softly and then fall easily over the top of the ribbons.

Although the inscription emphasizes the gentleman's extensive use of ribbons, the lace is clearly similar in weight to the extant cravat of *Point de France* lace. The stiff *Point de Venise* needlelace would not have accommodated this style of cravat, and would not have been a

preferred choice as a result. Those who viewed the print in hope of imitating its fashion, would need to choose a French lace in order to achieve the desired effect.

Fashion prints and French silk fabrics

As discussed earlier in this study, the French silk industry, centered mainly in Lyons, initially imitated the Italian decorative aesthetic. By the 1690s, French tastes for lighter, less stylized designs are being produced, such as this example woven at the end of the century, and thought to be produced in Lyons (figure 222.)



Figure 222. late 17th century, France, silk pattern weave with gold threads, MTAD Lyons

This type of patterned fabric is also seen in the prints of that period, and is particularly noticeable in this print by Claude-Auguste Berey, whose work emphasizes details of dress (figure 223.)



Figure 223. n.d., Claude-Auguste Berey, detail, *Anne Marie D'Orleans*, Morgan L&M (middle to late 1690s.)

Here the fabric design is curvilinear, but symmetric, with realistic flowers. This type of pattern structure is in contrast with the Italian style, which emphasizes interlocking motifs without as much attention to symmetry, and favors stylized designs to realistic ones. It is logical to speculate that a garment worn by Anne Marie d'Orléans, Louis XIV's niece, could be constructed of a fabric with contained gold threads, such as in the fabric shown above.

Other fabrics shown in the prints are often separate floral sprigs regularly interspersed on a plain background. The Musée des Tissus et des Arts Décoratifs in Lyons has in its collection a silk taffeta which matches this description (figure 224.)



Figure 224. late 17th/early 18th century, silk taffeta, MTDAs Lyons.

This type of decorative style can be seen in the skirt of a woman in a print by Jean Mariette dating from the late 1690s (figure 225.)



Figure 225. n.d., Jean Mariette, detail, *Anne Louise de Bourbon appellée Mle. D'Anguien*, Morgan L&M (middle to late 1690s.)

In this example, the skirt is primarily constructed of a fabric embellished with floral sprigs. Broad horizontal bands of fabric at the hem also feature this type of fabric, though the designs are not the same as those in the main section of the skirt.

Implications of the depictions of French fabrics in fashion prints

The expression of luxury fabrics, particularly French in style and quality, are an important feature of the fashion prints. Over time, the prints are increasingly focused on the luxurious fashions and textiles worn by the nobility of France. Once these prints are dispersed in France and abroad, the French aesthetic is broadcast to the viewers of these images. French silhouette and French textile design are presented as a single aesthetic. One can speculate that if someone wishes to follow the French mode of dress, that person would want the French fabric, or at least something close to it.

Are these prints subsidized by the government, or is it a lucky circumstance that they are produced at the same time that French textile manufacturing becomes more competitive with Italian products? The artists could be simply responding to market pressures to produce an image which shows the rich and powerful of the court in all their finery. Until solid evidence emerges which links the prints to a government subsidy, this problem remains unsolved.

French fashion abroad

The influence of French fashion in neighboring countries can be observed in copies of French prints made in Holland and England, in the choices of prints purchased by print collectors and in the extant garment from a family estate in Norwich, England.

Dutch and English copies of French prints

Copies of French prints were made by both Dutch and English printmakers in the late seventeenth century. Some of these prints were a direct copy of the original imagery and as a

result printed in the reverse. These are often revised to reflect a more regional taste, and certain parts of dress, and even the inscriptions, are changed in order to reflect different cultural meanings. Other Dutch copies are carefully rendered so as to be identical to the French prints, save for the attribution of artist or publisher.

Some background concerning the print culture of Holland and England may clarify the existence of so many copies of French fashion prints. The history of the printmaking business in Amsterdam and London is similar to that found in family businesses in Paris, where the artists and publishers are often connected by family and marriage. Some of these printmakers came from France, and were part of the exodus or artists in the emigration of French Protestants in the 1680s.

Jacob Gole and Pieter Schenck: Dutch mezzotints

The print collection at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns a number of Dutch mezzotints which are copies of French prints, among them the works of Jacob Gole and Peter Schenck. Both of these artists copied French prints, but changed them in order to make them more appealing to a Dutch market. The original inscriptions were substituted for new ones, adding Dutch inscriptions or even adding newly invented, French inscription.

Jacob Gole (1660 – 1724) was the son of the French cabinet maker, Pierre Gole, whose Huguenot family fled to Holland in 1684 following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Settling in Amsterdam, Jacob became an engraver and publisher of mezzotints.

There are several prints by Jacob Gole which are copies of popular French prints. The mezzotint he made of Robert Bonnart's *Dame qui prend du Café* is after Bonnart's second version of the print (figures 226, 227 and 228.)



Figure 226. n.d., Robert Bonnart, *Dame qui prend du Café*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s)
 Figure 227. n.d., Robert Bonnart, *Dame qui prend du Café*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s)

Figure 228. n.d., Jacob Gole, Smaak/ *Le Goust*, RJM (early 1680s to early 1690s)

Both Bonnart prints contain the same inscription and neither includes a printed date.

*Je chery dans cette liqueur
 Un goust particulier qui touché*

I cherish in this liqueur
 A particular taste which affects

*Ce qu'on trouve amer a la bouche
 Est bien souvent tres doux au coeur*

what one finds bitter to the mouth
 is very often sweet to the heart

Based on the style of the *coiffure* worn by the woman, a *coiffure en palisade*, Bonnart's original print was published in the late 1680s. The second version was probably made a few years later in the mid-1690s, as he updated the headdress to a *bonnet à la fontanges*, making it more contemporary. He also added a young page to the print, creating some compositional balance and interest.

Jacob Gole's print is copied from the second version, as the headdresses seen in these two prints are identical. Gole changed several parts of his own print, and in the process altered the meaning of the print. The young page is exchanged for a handsome gentleman, who gazes directly at the elegant lady. The model for the male figure has not been found among French prints, but he may be derived from a late 1670s or early 1680s print, as his cravat is appropriate for those years. In Gole's print, the young lady's smile has become more simpering, and she glances slyly at her admirer as she hands him his coffee. If the visual message is vague, the new

inscription is clear. It has been altered from the original, changing the meaning from an act of refreshment to an allegory about the senses, in this case, “Taste.” It is now in both Dutch (*Smaak*) and French (*Le Goust*) and reads, *Le GOUST nest pas le seul des sens, Qui peut contenter les Galans*, quite a sexy line and much more direct than the original French.

The prints in the Rijksmuseum collection show that Gole copied several other works by the Bonnart brothers, as well as a number of prints by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. There is one in particular which displays a Dutch sense of humor. The original 1689 French print is designed by Dieu de Saint-Jean but etched by Franz Ertlinger and shows a gentleman with his *manteau* thrown over his face so as to remain incognito (figure 229.)



Figure 229. 1689, Franz Ertlinger after Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Homme de Qualité allant par la Ville*, BnF.

Figure 230. n.d., Jacob Gole, *HYEMS*, RJM (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

There is no verse inscription to describe the gentleman other than the title, and the background is blank, and so provides no context to the illustration. By contrast, the mezzotint by Gole adds some background props and a short inscription, in Dutch and French, telling us why the man shields himself with his *manteau* (figure 230.) In the background Gole has added a table on which are placed a pair of unlaced ice skates, while through the window can be seen empty branches of trees, indicating the winter season. The print is entitled *HYEMS*, Latin for “Winter,” and Gole again turns a French print into an allegory. The French inscription reads as follows:

*Le Nés dans mon Manteau, Je ne crain la froidure.
Mais par Mars me faudra faire un austre figure.*

My nose in my coat, I don't fear the cold.
But by March I will need to make a different expression.

This humorous verse may well be teasing the elegantly dressed Frenchman, who despite his fur muff and heavy cloak, is unable to distract himself from the bitterness of the winter. He even disregards the waiting skates, which would take his mind off his troubles and let him enjoy the pleasures of winter sports. As he himself admits, he will be much happier once the warmer weather arrives in March!

Gole's other prints are similar to the two presented here. These mezzotints extract a figure from a French print, then add background and props to create a new and entertaining narrative. In fact, one gets the strong impression that Gole viewed the French prints as dull except for the elegance of the figures and their fashions, and felt compelled to add story lines to each of his prints in order to make them acceptable to a Dutch market.

Peter Schenk (1660-1619) also created mezzotints and was a contemporary of Jacob Gole. Schenk married the daughter of Gerard Valk, a print artist and publisher, and in 1680, Schenck and Valk became business partners in Amsterdam. Although they specialized in maps, other types of prints were also published. These fashion prints represent only a small selection of the topics they produced.³³⁴

Two mezzotints by Pieter Schenck were viewed at the Rijksmuseum print room, but unlike Gole, Schenck merely copied French prints onto his fresh plates. The results were new prints with the figures in a position reversed from the original. Both Schenck and Gole copied

³³⁴ Antony Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1988) 224-228.

prints by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, as can be seen in this example below, with the original French print and Schenck's copy (figure 231 and 232.)



Figure 231. 1693, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Femme de qualité en Stenkerke et falbala*, BnF.

Figure 232. 1694, Peter Schenck, *Femme de qualité en stenkerke et falbala*, RKM.

Schenck also used the same inscription as in the original print, and placed his name in the same location as Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. In this print, Schenck (or Schenk, as it is sometimes spelled) has copied in detail the fashions illustrated in the French print, but the face is touched up with pen and ink. It may be that the muted effects of the mezzotint did not produce the detail he desired in order for the print to be attractive.

Fortunately, the date was included on this print, which is only one year past the date of the French original. This must mean that an original French print was available in Amsterdam soon after its publication, and that the Dutch copy was made shortly thereafter. The element of speed implies that there was a market for French fashion prints in Amsterdam, and that producing copies quickly was advantageous to the printmakers. The other Schenck print in the Rijksmuseum collection is also a direct copy of a 1693 print by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. It does not contain a date, but is similar to the above example in that the final print was touched up with pen and ink in the area of the face.

Gerard Valk: Dutch etchings

Gerard Valk was father-in-law and son-in-law of printmakers. He was married to the daughter of Abraham Blooteling a Dutch publisher of mezzotints and engravings. Both he and his father-in-law worked in Amsterdam and London, but after 1680, Valk moved permanently to Amsterdam. As stated above, his sister had married Pieter Schenck, and once he settled in Amsterdam, the father-in-law and son-in-law became business partners.

Two prints in the collection have no artist attribution, but list the publisher as “G. Valk.” Gerard Valk published prints in imitation of French works, but unlike Gole and Schenk, his copies were etchings. Valk also liked the work of Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, and these are copies of two of his original French prints. The examples of the *Dame en dishabillé du matin* prints shows how the copy is a careful rendering of the original, only reversed due to the printing process (figures 233 and 234.)

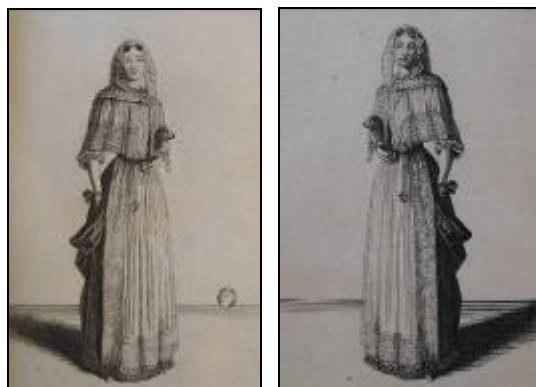


Figure 233. 1683, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Dame en dishabillé du matin*, BnF.
Figure 234. n.d., G. Valk, *Dame en dishabillé du matin*, RKM (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

The etched print published by Valk is identical in figure and title to the French original, but the attribution is different. In the original French print, the publisher's name and address are provided in the lower register of the print.

*Ce vend à Paris proche les Grands Augustins aux deux Globes. Avec Privil du Roy 1683
I.D.S^t Iean delin.*

By contrast, in the Dutch copy, only the publisher is listed in the lower register.

G. Valk Exc.

This is less information than found in the prints of Gole and Schenck, who listed their names but also listed Amsterdam as the location of their businesses. Their prints are mezzotints, and not easily mistaken for the French products, but the prints published by Valk are etchings, and only the reversal and publisher's name are clues that they are not the original imagery. The date of the French print is 1683, and one wonders if, like the Schenck example, Valk made his print soon after 1683. It is also possible that the copy was done in the early 1690s, on or about the same time as the Schenck's print, if a shipment of French fashion prints arrived together in a group in the Amsterdam market.

John Smith: English mezzotints

According to Antony Griffiths, John Smith was “the greatest native-born British printmaker of the seventeenth century.”³³⁵ He was both artist and publisher, and is best known in dress history circles as the creator of the mezzotint of Mary Stuart, Queen of England (figure 235.)



Figure 235. 1690s, John Smith *Maria D.G. Angliae Scotiae Franciae et Hiberniae Regina etc*, BM.

³³⁵ Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain*, 239.

Although this is not a copy of a French print, it shows Mary in French *fontanges* and *manteau* in the striped fabrics so popular in French fashion of the 1680s. This print was very successful, and Smith published numerous variations, with different inscriptions, but always with the same fashions.

Smith published mezzotints by Dutch as well as English artists, and one of the artists he collaborated with was Jacob Gole.³³⁶ At about the same time as the publication of the Queen Mary print by Smith, Gole created and published a mezzotint which celebrated the departure to England of William, Prince of Orange, with his wife Mary Stuart, who was heir to the English throne. Once in England, they were crowned Queen and King of England (figure 236.)



Figure 236, after 1688, Jacob Gole, *Ofscheyd van zyn K.I. H. den Heer Prins van Orangie gedaen aan zyn K. Gemalinne Mevrouwe de Princesse van Orange gaende na Engeland tot hulp van de Protestan*, RKM.

The inscription translates to “William III of England, as Prince of Orange, with his attendants before his departure to England.” For this event acknowledging the English acceptance of Louis XIV’s enemy, Gole wrote his inscription in Dutch only, and did not provide a parallel text in French. The two central figures of William and Mary are based on prints by Jean Dieu de Saint

³³⁶ Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain*, 245.

Jean print, but are slightly changed in gesture and facial features, in characteristic Gole tradition (figures 237 and 238.)



Figure 237. 1688, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Femme de qualité en Sultane*, V&A.

Figure 238. 1689, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Homme de qualité en habit garny de rubans*, BnF.

In the Gole print, the artist has attempted a passing resemblance to the actual features of William and Mary. This is also done in some French fashion-portrait prints, and Gole may have seen some of these by the time he made this print. Some of the other figures in the print seem to be loosely based on other Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean prints as well, with the remainder being Gole's own imagination. It is difficult to say which of these prints came first, Smith's or Gole's, but based on the headdress in the Gole print, it is likely that this was the earlier mezzotint.

Smith's print of Queen Mary is based on a painting by Jan van der Vaart, a Dutch painter and printmaker living in England. Copies of Smith's print were published by English and Dutch print artists, including Peter Schenk. As he did for the other prints he copied, Schenk reversed the print but then changed it by inserting a Dutch inscription in place of the original Latin used by Smith. This was a popular image, and the British Museum owns five different versions of the Smith print.

A final example of a mezzotint associated with John Smith is by an unknown artist, and shows a woman wearing French *fontanges* and *manteau* (figure 239.)



Figure 239. n.d., John Smith, *untitled print*, BM (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

The 'I Smith ex:' indicates that John Smith is the publisher, and the headdress is associated with the 1680s, as are the *à la Sultana* style of closure on the upper half of her *manteau* and the striped fabrics in her skirt. It is very possible this print is made by one of the Dutch artists, Gole or Shenck, both proficient in the mezzotint technique, and both associated with Smith. The style of the composition is closer to Gole, and one would expect to find a French print which would be similar to this print. A print by Nicolas Arnoult may be the inspiration for this print (figure 240.)



Figure 240. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, *untitled print*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

The Arnoult print dates from the late 1680s, and with her *fontanges*, *manteau à la Sultane* and striped skirt, the woman is dressed in a similar fashion as the figure in the above Jean Dieu de Saint Jean print (figure 37.) The gestures are similar as well, and would have made the alterations in the copy a simple matter of adjusting the angle of an arm, or the turn of a head. If

both prints were produced in France at about the same time and then bought and traded in Amsterdam, it is reasonable that Gole would have seen them both in about 1689 or 1690. Gole's trademark is here also, with the view through the window of the young cupid fountain appearing to be relieving himself.

Implications of Dutch copies of French fashion prints

It is evident that there is a great deal of interest in French fashion amongst the printmakers in England and Holland, and that in addition to copying the French prints, they also copy each others. The resulting prints, however, are no longer truly French, but a new incarnation of their former selves. The changes in imagery and language in these prints signify a transfer from French ownership to Dutch and English ownership. The altering of the inscriptions signals this change, allowing readers of different languages inclusion into the subject matter of the prints.

It is significant that details of dress are left unchanged in these transformations, an indication that it was important for this aspect of the images to reflect a truthful rendition of an admired fashion, specifically French fashion. The evidence for a market for French fashion is found in the quick replication of French prints, which may also indicate a certain amount of competition for buyers, especially if French prints were readily available in Amsterdam, where most of these printmakers worked. According to Marianne Grivel, traveling print merchants, or peddlers, sold prints in the provinces as well as abroad.³³⁷ They purchased their merchandise in Paris annually or several times a year, and would have access to current productions, if desired. The effect in both England and Holland of all of these images of French fashion would be that many more people would be exposed to the styles worn by the elite of France. These images

³³⁷ Grivel, *Le Commerce de L'estampe*, 37

would likely outnumber any prints which depicted Dutch or English dress. Indeed, few if any, prints of this nature were made at this time which illustrated the dress of those two countries, and certainly not in the numbers which were being created in France. The aristocracy of Holland and England were already following French fashion, as is evident in the diary and print collections of Samuel Pepys.

Pepys: London collector of prints and fashion

Interest in French fashions in England is confirmed by the prints collected near the end of the century by the famous London diarist, Samuel Pepys. His collection included 150 prints which he catalogued under two sections labeled “Habits de France” and “Modes de Paris.”³³⁸ A small number of these prints, twenty-eight in total, are the smaller scale prints by Bernard Picart. The remaining 122 prints are the standard-sized print measuring approximately 11 ¼ x 11 3/8 inches (286 x 187 mm.) Artists represented by the standard-sized prints are the Bonnart brothers, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, Antoine Trouvain, Jean Mariette, Claude-Auguste Berey, Nicolas Arnoult, Gérard Jean-Baptiste Scotin, and the Dutch artist, Jacob Gole.

The majority of prints in Pepys’ collection date from the 1690s, with many of these the works of the Bonnart brothers, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, Antoine Trouvain and Jean Mariette. Like the Dutch printmakers, however, Pepys shows a marked preference for Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. In his first group of 100 prints, listed under the title “Habits de France,” is a set of sixteen generic fashion prints by this artist, ranging in dates from the mid-1670s to mid-1680s, the only prints in the entire collection of fashion prints dating from this period. The remainder of the group consists of seventy-four fashion-portrait prints of French nobility, and ten generic fashion prints. All of the fashion-portraits are either by Trouvain or the Bonnart brothers, with the

³³⁸ Latham, Robert, ed. *Catalogue of the Pepys Library* III: 57-58, 254-256.

exception of one print by Scotin. Not surprisingly, the one print by Jacob Gole is a copy of a generic fashion print by Dieu de Saint-Jean print.

The second group of prints is listed under the heading, “Modes de Paris.” Pepys removed the inscriptions of eighteen of these prints in order to accommodate the size of the bound volume. This posed some problems, as the prints had been identified by the editors of the catalog as the works of Jean Mariette. In fact, these prints are by Mariette and Berey, and I have identified all but two of these prints.³³⁹ The print illustrated below is one by Berey, and was originally identified as a woman in a dressing gown (figure 241.)



Figure 241. Claude-Auguste Berey, *Homme de qualité en robe de chambre*, PLMC.

This is an especially interesting print because it shows a man in a dressing gown, the same garment worn by Pepys in his famous 1666 portrait by John Hayls. This garment has several names: banyan, “Indian gown” and *robe de chambre*. Pepys himself referred to these garments as “Indian gowns” in his diary.³⁴⁰ According to de Marly, these garments were originally imported by the East India Company, but later made by London tailors.³⁴¹ They became fashionable in London high society, a status Pepys attained with his highly-placed

³³⁹ A list of the eighteen prints with the newly identified artists and titles can be found in Appendix V.

³⁴⁰ Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, 2000.

³⁴¹ Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, VIII: 462 (October 5, 1667). Diana de Marly, “Pepys and the fashion for collecting,” *Costume* 21 (1987): 42.

government appointments. He mentions in his diary he bought an “Indian gown” for 34 shillings in 1661, but rented another in 1666 expressly to be worn in his portrait.³⁴² Pepys can equate himself to the status of the *homme de qualité* in this French print, who expresses his wealth and privileged rank with this robe worn in his leisure. The only other print in this collection which shows this garment is by Antoine Trouvain. Pepys actually collected one plain and one painted version of Trouvain’s print, *Monsieur Le C. de N. en Robe de Chambre*. Only six prints had a plain and a painted version, indicating a special consideration for these particular images.

Although Pepys’ diary ends in 1669, before the time of the creation of the earliest fashion prints, he lists several sources from which he purchases prints. He writes in his diary about his relationship with the Batelier family, wine merchants who resided in London, and especially his dealings with William Batelier, one of the older sons. It is William Batelier who travels to Paris on business, and brings back items which Pepys ordered. In all, there are four entries in 1669 which recount the many things which Pepys requested for Batelier to purchase in France, including French portrait prints by Nanteuil, scented gloves, a French *Sac* gown for Pepys’ wife Elizabeth, shoes and hoods.³⁴³

In addition to ordering directly from the Batelier family, Pepys also visited book and print sellers in London. He notes in 1663 his struggle for self-control over his desire to spend money on the prints he covets.

...and so to Cornhill, to Mr. Cades, and there went up into his warehouse to look for a map or two; and there finding great plenty of good pictures, God forgive me how my mind run upon them. And bought a little one for my wife’s closet presently, and concluded

³⁴² Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, II: 130 (July 16, 1661) and III: 85 (March 30, 1666); de Marly, “Pepys and the fashion for collecting,” 35.

³⁴³ Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, IX: 427, 450-1, 453, 464.

presently of buying 10*l* worth, upon condition he would give me the buying of them.³⁴⁴,

Although Pepys does not list the number of prints he purchases, ten pounds is a significant amount of money to purchase prints, considering the cost for the Indian gown was only 34 shillings. One wonders what the small print for Elizabeth was, and if it could possibly be something other than a map, even a small print by Hollar, of whose work Pepys had numerous examples.³⁴⁵ Pepys also mentions that he visits bookstores in London to purchase prints and books, and in 1666, he goes “to Faythorne the picture-seller’s, and there chose two or three good Cutts to try to Vernish.”³⁴⁶ This is probably William Faithorne, publisher of prints, who did numerous portraits of the period, several of which are in the collection of the British Museum.

Fashion as object and idea: The Kimberly mantua

What would a 1690s garment look like that would have been worn by a woman of Pepys’ acquaintance? Very few extant garments exist from this period, and only a handful of original complete garments remain. The value of examining one of these rare pieces in person is unmatched by records in books and photographs, but the opportunity to see one of these was not possible for this research. As a result, the following description relies on articles, books, photographs and line drawings by a number of researchers, as well as communications by e-mail with one researcher who had extensive knowledge of the piece.

Physical evidence for the movement of fashion as idea as well as object can be found in a rare example in the collection of the Costume Institute at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. One

³⁴⁴ Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, IV: 434. The editor notes that “give me the buying of” means to reserve them.

³⁴⁵ Latham, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, IIIi: 33-34. Pepys owned twenty-six of Hollar’s smaller prints which were part of the 1640 *Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus*, mostly in the first state.

³⁴⁶ Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, VII: 173.

of the few surviving extant whole garments from the period, the Kimberley mantua exemplifies the adoption of French fashion into the dress of the English nobility (figure 242.)



Figure 242. late 17th century, British, *Mantua*, silk pattern weave with gilt embroidery, CI. The garment had been in the possession of the Wodehouse family of Kimberley Hall in Norfolk, England until it was purchased by the museum in 1933. At that time, the mantua was identified as “an English winter dress” and “an English version of a French style.”³⁴⁷

Dating the silhouette

The Kimberley mantua has been assigned dates ranging from 1690 to 1700 by several dress historians, but the most extensive research on the garment by Adolph Cavallo defined the date as between circa 1690 to 1695.³⁴⁸ A brief review of fashions of this time span reveals two possible silhouettes, one from the early 1690s and the other from the mid-to late 1690s.

The early 1690s in France is represented by a print from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated 1690, by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean (figure 243.)

³⁴⁷ These descriptions are from John Goldsmith Phillips 1934 article announcing the exhibition of the mantua in the New Acquisitions room of the museum. John Goldsmith Phillips, “An English dress of about 1690,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 28,7 (1933): 123-124.

³⁴⁸ Adolph Cavallo, “The Kimberley Gown,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1970): 204.



Figure 243. 1690, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Femme de qualité en dishabillé*, MMA

This print cleverly shows the front bodice and back drape of the *manteau*. The bodice of the *manteau* is bordered by a decorative banding which frames the narrow stomacher insertion. The shape of the neckline is slightly angled from the waist up to the ribbons tied in bows, then more steeply angled towards the shoulder. Cuffed sleeves are worn with *engageantes*, although the length of the sleeves is shorter than elbow length. The lower ends of the *manteau* are pulled back and bunched up onto the high back hips, with some of the lining exposed. The skirt is bell-shaped, with decorative horizontal banding at the hem. Her headdress is of the *coiffure en palisade* style, before the replacement of all the layers with lace, and the scarves with lace lappets

The middle 1690s shows some variation on this silhouette. A good example of fashionable dress from the mid-1690s is found in a 1694 print by Scotin. (figure 244.)



Figure 244. 1694, Gérard Jean-Baptiste Scotin, detail, *Mesdemoiselles Loison se Promenant aux Tuilleries*, BnF.

By the mid-decade, the opening of the bodice has increased to accommodate a stomacher which is much wider at the top than in the previous fashion. The bands along the sides of the bodice are wider and are now straight, with very little angling at all. The lower edges of the *manteau* are still draped back on the high hips, but the skirt is beginning to fill out in the hips, becoming a little less bell-shaped than in the previous period. Layers of lace and lace lappets have replaced the fabric constructions of the late 1680s and early 1690s, and the *bonnet à la fontanges* includes a larger, softer bonnet than in the previous times.

Borrowing the ideals of fashion

Is the Kimberley mantua a French garment brought to England or is it “an English version of a French style”? Does it follow the fashions presented in the French prints or is there variation which indicates adaptation of those ideals? Without additional evidence, such as family records or purchase records, the first question remains unanswerable. However, the relationship between the design of the mantua and French fashions of the 1690s can be determined. Interestingly, if the *ensemble* was constructed in France, it would likely have been made by a dressmaker, a *couturière*, rather than a tailor. If made in England, it is more likely to have been a tailor who created it.

Fabric stripes

According to Adolph Cavallo, whose article thoroughly explores the historical context of this garment, the fabric of the mantua is “brownish” wool, with alternating weft stripes in colors which he characterizes as “ultramarine, terracotta, dark mustard yellow and magenta.”³⁴⁹ These richly colored stripes are an identifying mark of the garment, and their relationship with French fashion is important, as the depictions of stripes in French prints vary over time. They are found in *manteaux* and *jupes* in French fashion prints beginning in the late 1670s. By the 1680s, stripes of all kinds, wide and narrow, are commonly seen. In the 1690s, the preference moves in the direction of wider and bolder stripes, and most of these are positioned in the lower hem of the *jupe*. There is also a growing fondness for combining a variety of fabrics, plain and patterned, in the *ensembles* of the 1690s (figure 245.)



Figure 245. 1694, Antoine Trouvain, details, *Madame la Marquise de Richelieu*, BnF.

In this 1694 print by Trouvain, the cut of the garment is very similar to the Kimberley mantua: both exhibit a *manteau* with wide borders and elbow-length sleeves with rolled-up cuffs. The high, upper-hip drape of the back of the mantua closely follows the line seen in the print. The fabrics, however, are different, and the popular 1690s combination of wide stripes and different fabrics seen in the print is not found in the Kimberley mantua. This creates a situation

³⁴⁹ Cavallo, “The Kimberley Gown,” 202.

where the cut and embellishment of the mantua are similar to the early to mid-1690s, but the fabric preference is not. One explanation for this discrepancy is that the fabric was purchased several years before the mantua was constructed. This situation would not be unusual, as the expense of textiles was such that they were highly valued, whether they were the newest fashion at the French court, or a style dating back a number of years

There are numerous prints from the 1680s which show garments made up of one fabric entirely, often a finely striped pattern. Based on its overall patterning and finer proportions, it is far more likely that the fabric of the mantua dates from the 1680s period. A late 1680s print by Nicolas Arnoult is one of many examples which show a woman wearing a *manteau* and *jupe* made of fabric with an allover striped pattern (figure 246.)



Figure 246. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *L'Autumne*, BnF (early 1680s to early 1690s.)

Despite the similarity of fabrics, however, the style of the garment in this print differs from the Kimberley mantua in the sleeves, which are slightly shorter, and in the lack of distinctive borders to the *manteau* bodice front. Because of this difference, the Kimberley mantua cannot be dated to the late 1680s, despite the strong possibility that the fabric dates from that period.

Even if the fabric represented in the many French prints which show striped garments was meant to promote French textile goods, there is no guarantee that the fabric used in the Kimberley mantua is French. Wool fabric was manufactured in both countries, and the dissemination of designs of these textiles is an area where more research could be done in order to better determine the origin of this fabric.

The embroidery of the mantua

The design and layout of the embroidery provide additional clues to locating this garment within an appropriate time period. In this mantua, the embroidery was applied on top of the horizontally-striped wool. The use of superimposed embellishment on pattern is very baroque, especially when the designs combine different styles. A closer examination reveals the designs of this embroidery instead evoke the early rococo in a lighter, but still abundant, paradigm. The swirling, floral embroidery executed in gilt-covered thread in this mantua is similar to design motifs found in the lace of the 1690s, inspired by the early rococo art of Jean Berain (figure 247.)



Figure 247. late 17th century, *Point de France* needlelace, *Flounce*, ARTC.

This would suggest a French derivation to the design, and this assessment agrees with two previous analyses of the embroidery.³⁵⁰ Swirling patterning similar to that seen in the lace and in the Kimberley mantua can also be found on prints of the period. This print by Trouvain, dated

³⁵⁰ Jean L. Dru sedow, "In Style: Celebrating Fifty Years of the Costume Institute", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 45,2 (1987):5-7. Adolph Cavallo, "The Kimberley Gown, 203.

from the middle to late 1690s (Stylistic Period III), shows the facing “C” patterning which is typical of the design vocabulary of the period and is included in the *Point de France* lace and the embroidered motifs on the mantua (figure 248.)



Figure 248. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, detail, *Dame de qualité en habit de bal*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

At this point, the production locations of both the embroidery and the fabric remain uncertain.

The layout of the embroidery is one of the clues for interpreting the cut of the mantua. The garment was cut before it was embroidered, so that the final juxtaposition of embroidery and garment piece would be shown to their best advantage. On the mantua, the embroidery is found edging the wide front borders, from neck to hemline. The petticoat is embroidered down the center front and then horizontally along the hem, so as to meet at the lower back area with the embroidered sections of the mantua (figure 249.)



Figure 249. late 17th century, British, *Mantua*, detail, silk pattern weave with gilt embroidery, CI.

This beautiful, and no doubt expensive, embroidery was meant to be seen, and the final draping of the mantua over the petticoat would be arranged so that none of it would be hidden.

Interpreting the fashionable cut of an object

The cut of the Kimberley mantua is the most important key to understanding the style and date of this garment. Unfortunately, the mantua was altered several times before it was purchased by the museum, and as a result has various tracings of original and relocated seam lines. Several different curators have interpreted the drape of the mantua, and each of these interpretations is different. A critique of the various installations of the garment onto mannequins follows, with the objective of determining the most accurate understanding of the extant object in the context of the fashionable ideals portrayed in the prints. The interpretation of these seams has caused the mountings of the garment to vary from curator to curator, as they search for the closest silhouette to the original intention of the gown.³⁵¹

1934 interpretation

When the garment was originally shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1934, the bodice was left open, accommodating a stomacher, while the edges of the mantua were draped low on the hip (figure 250.)

³⁵¹ Phillips, "An English dress of about 1690," 1933; Elizabeth N Lawrence and Adolph S. Cavallo, "Sleuthing at the Seams," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 30, 1 (1971): 22-31; Druesedow, "In Style: Celebrating Fifty Years of the Costume Institute", 1987.



Figure 250. 1934 mounting of the Kimberley mantua, front and back, CI.

The source for this arrangement by the preparers of the mantua was a 1688 print by Jean Dieu de Saint Jean. The print showed the back view of a woman wearing a *manteau* accompanied by a *jupe* with stripes similar to those seen in the Kimberley mantua (figure 251.)



Figure 251. 1688, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Femme de Qualité en dishabille de Vestalle*, Morgan L&M.

There are some problems with this interpretation of the mounting of the Kimberley gown. Although the skirt fabric is similar in style to that seen in the 1688 print, there is a marked difference between the drape of the *manteau* in the print and in the garment. The drape in the mounted garment is much lower than seen in the print, and instead imitates the fashionably low drape of late 1670s (figure 252.)



Figure 252. n.d., Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Dame se promenant a la Campagne*, BnF (middle to late 1670s.)

The droopy arrangement of both the garment and this print is a very different silhouette from that seen in the 1688 print (see figure 251, above.) By 1688, the *manteau* is shown hitched up onto the back of the garment, with the edges of the *manteau* turned outward to expose the lining. If the Kimberley gown is accurately dated to the 1690s, the museum's presentation does not exhibit the preferred arrangement of the *manteau*, and does not conform to the fashionable silhouette of that period.

Despite the problems with the lower draping of the mantua, the bodice closely resembles the styles of the 1690s, which favored an open *manteau* with stomacher. The stomacher was an important element of fashion during this period, and the majority of the prints from the 1690s show the decorative borders on the *manteau* formed a “frame” for the stomacher. There must have been other prints which were consulted for the interpretation of the Kimberley bodice, as the 1688 print is a view of the dress from the rear only.

1971 interpretation

Another mounting of the garment occurred in 1971 and the team which devised this arrangement used a different model for their interpretation. According to the description by the authors of the article, “Sleuthing at the Seams,” they recognized that historical accuracy would

best be achieved by discovering and following the original seamlines of the different pieces. After careful examination, they identified the original stitching lines and tailor's snips, and used these as guides for arranging the drape of the final garment. Additional speculation concerning the role of missing parts of the skirt contributed to the final decisions of a proper silhouette. The results were quite different from the 1934 mounting (figure 253.)



Figure 253. 1971 mounting of the Kimberley mantua, front and back, CI.

As can be seen in the photographs of the front and back of the 1971 mounting, the bodice has been closed, creating a V-neck opening, while the lower edges of the *manteau* have been lifted towards the back and draped high up on the hips. The skirt (referred to as a "petticoat," the equivalent English term for the *jupe*) is fuller and its upper bulk matches the line created by the drape of the *manteau*. The curators used as their historic guide a different 1680s print, one by Nicolas Arnoult published in 1687 (figure 254.)



Figure 254. 1687, Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Fille de qualité en d'Eshabillé d'Esté*, BM.

Nicolas Arnoult depicted a young woman wearing a *manteau* which is closed at the center front of the bodice, with a gathered lace ruffle lining the V-shaped neckline. The lower edges of the *manteau* are pulled back and up onto the hips, similar to the set of the *manteau* in the Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean print (figure 251, above.) The overall silhouette of the Arnoult print is just as one would expect for the late 1680s: an upright posture which is emphasized by the high drape of the *manteau* and the sweep of the *coiffure*. Note also that the garment is constructed of a finely striped fabric.

It is clear that the 1934 mounting is different from the 1971 example, especially as regards the draping of the *manteau*, the set of the skirt and the arrangement of the bodice. However, problems remain which need to be resolved if this is truly to be an example of the fashions of the 1690s. These problems are in the interpretation of the bodice and drape of the *manteau*, which follows the arrangement seen in the 1687 Arnoult print. The authors were examining photographs from the earlier 1934 mounting and commented on what they felt was an awkward solution to the set of the bodice.

To begin with, the pleats over the breast were too wide. When we narrowed them, the embroidered lapels appeared wider and more

important by contrast, and it became fairly certain that the bodice was not intended to have a stomacher.³⁵²

By eliminating the stomacher, one of the key fashion elements of the early and mid-1690s, several questions arise concerning accuracy of the interpretation as well as the effects of fashion as it moves from one culture to the next. This neckline follows the example seen in the Arnoult print, but this style, though very popular in the 1680s, is not seen in the French prints of the 1690s. The *manteau* bodice of the Arnoult print is typical for its time, and does not include wide, decorative borders. Instead, the wide, decorative borders on the Kimberley gown identify a 1690s date. In this author's opinion, placing the *manteau* borders together at center front created an awkward gap at the top of the V-neck. An enlargement of the area at the center of the bodice indicates extra fabric was inserted into this area as a solution to this problem (figure 255.)



Figure 255. detail, 1971, detail, mounting of the Kimberley mantua, CI.

Arranging the *manteau* bodice in this manner gives the area a strained and make-shift appearance. This problem could be resolved if a narrow stomacher had been inserted between the borders of the mantua bodice. It is possible that there was an English preference for closed bodices, without stomachers, but the angled shape of the bodice borders, and the gap problem

³⁵² Lawrence and Cavallo, "Sleuthing at the Seams," 24.

described here, suggests that the original construction used a narrow stomacher, as seen in the Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean 1690 print (figure 243, above.)

1987 interpretation

The most recent photograph of a mounting of this garment can be seen in the 1987 article, "In Style: Celebrating Fifty Years of the Costume Institute." A third interpretation of the garment, different from the two previous ones, was created at this time (figure 256.)



Figure 256. 1987 mounting of the Kimberley mantua, front and back, CI

This garment was again draped onto the mannequin carefully following the original seamlines and tailor's snips, and with consideration of the effect of the undergarments. The bodice remains closed, as in the 1971 mounting, but the drape of the skirt has been altered and is lower on the hips than the previous example.

Although the bodice is closed in this interpretation, the problem of the gap seen in the previous mounting has disappeared. The shape of the body has been altered, most likely due to a more precise understanding of the effects of a corset, and the gap is not as problematic as before. Instead, the edging of lace has neatly fit into the V-neck created by the closed bodice (figure 257.)



Figure 257. 1987, detail, mounting of the Kimberley mantua, CI

This is a better solution than before, but still does not address the issue of design intent. The early 1690s initiated the use of the borders along the front of the bodice in order to create a visual frame for the narrow stomacher, and this bodice has those borders but is without a stomacher. A bordered bodice without stomacher is absent in the French prints of the early and middle 1690s.

This brings up the possibility that the borders on this garment were intended to borrow the French ideas, but were made to accommodate a closed bodice, and a different, English, aesthetic. The detailed photograph of the bodice of this garment shows that the angle of the bodice follows that seen in French prints from the 1680s, but is much wider at the bust area than in those images. Could this not be an English preference based on a French-inspired design? If the wearer of this garment had herself seen French fashion prints from the 1680s, she may have chosen the closed bodice arrangement, but preferred embroidery which reflected the newest fashions, even if they were applied so as to accommodate the styles of the 1680s. If the fabric is also from the 1680s, as suspected, this is not an unreasonable hypothesis about the final design of this mantua.

The mantua draping presents an opportunity for careful analysis, as the back folds are differently arranged from the solutions found in the 1934 and 1971 mountings (figures 258, 259 and 260.)



Figure 258. 1934 mounting of the Kimberley mantua, MMA

Figure 259. 1971 mounting of the Kimberley mantua, MMA

Figure 260. 1987 mounting of the Kimberley mantua, MMA

In some ways, the 1987 result is closer to the drooping drape seen in the 1934 example.

At first, this seems a conundrum, as both of the 1971 and 1987 interpretations used the original seam lines and tailor's snips, and both claimed to be considering the embroidery as a guide to the best possible drape arrangement. Could the embroidery guide both of these interpretations, yet result in such different arrangements of the material? The answer to this question was only determined after contact with June Bové, professional Dress Restorer and currently a lecturer at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York.³⁵³

Ms Bové was hired at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1971 and worked with Stella Blum, curator, and Elizabeth Lawrence, Assistant for Conservation and Master Restorer. She was involved with the draping of this dress in the 1981 exhibit of "The Eighteenth-Century Woman" which resulted in the dress mounting as pictured in the 1987 article "In style: fifty years of the Costume Institute." Her interpretation of the dress was the product of a study of the appropriate undergarments of the period and their effects on the posture of the body. She also

³⁵³ E-mail conversations between Elizabeth Davis and June Bové dating August 19 to August 22, 2011.

consulted prints, the tracings of the original seamlines and tailor's snips, and the layout of the embroidery placement. When asked how her final product could possibly result in a different interpretation than in 1971, it was revealed that Elizabeth Lawrence's original interpretation, which was likely to have been similar to Ms Bové's, was changed by Cavallo to reflect a different interpretation of the drape. The presentation in 1971 indeed copies the silhouette seen in the 1687 Arnoult print illustrated in the article, "Sleuthing at the Seams," but is not truthful to this garment's individual characteristics. As a result, the original intent to follow the layout of the embroidery, and use it as a guide to interpreting the drape of the mantua, was abandoned in favor of following the silhouette illustrated in the print.

Deconstructing fashion: a cautionary tale

It is curious that the articles from 1934 and 1971 never used illustrations of early 1690s prints for comparison of specific features of the mantua, such as the design of the bodice borders and accompanying stomacher. There are numerous prints from the 1690s which would be a better choice for use as historical reference than the ones used in these examples. It may be a case of unfamiliarity with the French fashion print history. This is understandable in the 1930s, as available records from the print collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art indicate the mid-1940s as earliest donations of late seventeenth century French fashion prints into the collection.³⁵⁴ In 1934, the print that was used as historical evidence was borrowed from Marion Hague, a collector of historic fashion. By the 1970s, there were a large number of prints dating from the 1690s in the collection. These images would have helped in the analyses of the proper arrangement of the garment in these installations. There is no mention in the 1987 published article about the use of particular prints as a basis for historical accuracy.

³⁵⁴ Collection of costume plates, published by Jean Mariette, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 46.150.

Although one print cannot justify the original intent of this interesting garment, it can indicate that a particular style was at least present during a time period. Such is the case with a Mariette print dating from the middle to late 1690s.



Figure 261. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Dame de Qualité en habit d'Esté*, MMA (middle to late 1690s.)

The elbow-length sleeves, bordered bodice, bell-shaped skirt with deep, embroidered hem and especially the drape of the *manteau*, are very similar to the details found in the Kimberley mantua. These similarities lend credence to a date which is closer to the later years of the 1690s decade, rather than the earlier years. The conclusion by this author is that the 1987 interpretation is indeed the original intent of the garment, according to all of the possible considerations which the materials present. Parts of the mantua borrow from the late 1680s, such as the fabric and closed bodice, while other areas borrow from the middle to late 1690s, such as seen in the Mariette print. Because of these issues, my dating for the mantua is middle to late 1690s.

A proper headdress

Determining the proper *coiffure* for the mantua required knowing that it borrowed from several fashion styles while at the same time allowing for individual preferences. If the French fashion was followed, the *coiffure* would likely be similar to the Mariette print, with a lace headdress accompanied by lace lappets (figure 262.)



Figure 262. n.d., Jean Mariette, detail, *Dame de Qualité en habit d'Esté*, MMA (middle to late 1690s.)

In this image, the *bonnet à la fontanges*, with its slightly tilted lace layers and long lace lappets, would reflect the most up-to-date French fashion to be worn with the cut of the Kimberley mantua. However, an alternative suggestion is offered by the acknowledgement of the change which occurs as fashion disseminates. This is something which is difficult to imagine without a visual image of an English woman in the early 1690s, but there is evidence that the English changed the *coiffure* fashions to suit their own tastes. This example of a portrait of an English woman, Eleanor James, dates from about 1700 (figure 263.)



Figure 263. circa 1700, unknown artist, *Eleanor James*, NPG London.

According to the National Portrait Gallery, London website, James “was a British printer who used her own printing press to address public concerns throughout her adult life. At seventeen, she married Thomas James, a printer in London. Between 1681 and 1716 she wrote, printed, and distributed more than ninety broadsides and pamphlets addressing political,

religious, and commercial concerns.”³⁵⁵ She is seen here wearing what is recognizably a *fontanges* headdress, but one which is unlike anything seen in French prints of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Instead, she has interpreted the fashion to her own taste, which may reflect a very English taste. The French example would look more like the one in the example of the Mariette print above (figure 262.) Although the height is imitated, the shapes have been changed. Even the lace in Eleanor James’ headdress does not look French, but rather Flemish, a change from the small-scale *Point de France* lace seen in the French fashion prints. If the wearer of the Kimberley mantua altered her *coiffure* to suit an English taste, it too may have altered to a softer line or fewer materials, but still resembled the French headdress enough to be recognized as related.

Altering the terminology of an idea

For this example of a seventeenth-century English dress, fashion as idea is exemplified in the British term “mantua” and its French equivalent, *manteau*. Whatever the derivations of these two words, the British and French words both define the same garment.³⁵⁶ The “mantua” in the Costume Institute is virtually identical to the *manteaux* pictured in the French prints of the same period. The object is borrowed and becomes English dress, while at the same time, the word which expresses this idea of fashion is altered to suit a new vocabulary tradition. In this case, the traditions favor the alterations of French words, in pronunciation, meaning, or both, to a new form that is acceptable in the English lexicon. Examples noted above, such as *frelange* and *fripiperie*, also suit this need to claim ownership of an object through the ideas expressed in language.

³⁵⁵ National Portrait Gallery, London, *Eleanor James*, <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections>.

³⁵⁶ The origin of the word “mantua” is discussed in Chapter 1, “A review of literature concerning seventeenth-century French fashion and dress.”

Dissemination of fashion

The gown and terminology discussed in this section exemplifies the dissemination of fashion from one cultural group to another: it neither follows slavishly nor departs extensively from the original, but uses the information as a model from which to adjust parts to suit cultural and individual needs.

Both concepts of idea and object move together through time and space, though the degree of change may differ. During the late seventeenth century, the movement of fashion ideas emanated from France to England and Holland, but in the eighteenth century, ideas were to travel in the opposite directions, especially from England to France. These ideas were adapted by the French to suit their own ideas of beauty, just as done in this English mantua.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

*Rien ne plait advantage que les Modes nées en France, & que tout ce qui s'y fait a un certain air que les Estrangers ne peuvent donner à leurs Ouvrages.*³⁵⁷

“Nothing pleases like the fashions born in France, as everything made there contains a certain air which foreigners cannot give to their own works.”

In seventeenth century France, a growing fascination with images depicting fashionable dress would blossom in the later decades into a flourishing art form. The print artists who created these images worked in Paris during the city’s dominance as printmaking capital in Europe. Most of these artists lived and worked together within a small radius, whose center was the rue Saint-Jacques. They designed, etched, engraved, published, painted and sold hundreds of prints, and many worked in family businesses which were involved in some or all of these activities.³⁵⁸

This dissertation has classified the subject matter of these late seventeenth-century French fashion prints into four categories. The majority of the prints make up two categories, depicting “people of quality,” a group of unnamed fashionably dressed men and women of the aristocratic class, and “fashion-portraits,” illustrations of the nobility and royalty who frequented the court in Versailles. A third, smaller group of prints borrowed the images of the fashionably dressed and placed them within the traditional allegory theme, while the fourth and smallest group expressed opinions on fashion and society in the voice of satire (table 17.)

³⁵⁷ *Le Mercure galant*, 1673, T.III, 306-307.

³⁵⁸ Grivel, *Le Commerce de L'estampe a Paris au XVIIe Siècle*, 6-10.

Table 17. . Summary of 750 prints used in study

stylistic periods	generic	fashion-portraits	allegory	satire	total in stylistic period
I: middle to late 1670s	66	0	0	0	66
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	170	23	32	2	227
III: middle to late 1690s	147	209	50	14	420
IV: early 18 th century	11	25	1	0	37
Total in categories	394	257	83	16	750

The purpose of this dissertation is to categorize, describe and analyze these fashion prints, and respond to questions regarding their role in the development of the fashion print genre and the growing hegemony of French fashion. The four hypotheses proposed for this study are listed in the order in which they were originally proposed for the dissertation.

1. Seventeenth-century French prints produced between the mid-1670s and 1715 are early manifestations of the fashion print genre and signal the growing French hegemony of fashion.
2. The prints reflect the society that produced them, communicating social and cultural reactions to late seventeenth century French economic and political events.
3. The distribution of the prints is a fundamental component of a nascent fashion system developing in France.
4. The aesthetic as well as ideological appeal of these prints encouraged their production and sale, which led to a dissemination of French fashion ideals.

The fashion print genre and the hegemony of French fashion

Are these images fashion prints and are they part of a fashion print history which previous studies have identified as originating in the eighteenth century?

To answer these questions requires an acceptance that a definition is a tool which adjusts and alters so as to explain the world around us. It is not something written in stone, and must be changed when it no longer functions as a meaningful explanation of a particular phenomenon.

When the definition of a fashion print was formulated in the mid-twentieth century, it was based on the assumption that the earliest, true fashion prints emerged in the late eighteenth-century. The fashion print was defined primarily by John Nevinson, with other historians following his lead. The definition stated that a fashion print was primarily an illustration of dress, should present realistic clothing, shows the manner in which the clothing was worn, emphasizes the dress and not the wearer, signals current fashions as well as expected trends, and is presented in an artistic and pleasing compositional form. Portraits, genre prints and satires were not considered fashion prints.³⁵⁹

This definition corresponded closely to the particular characteristics of eighteenth-century fashion prints, and subsequently excluded any prints from belonging to this genre which did not exhibit the same attributes. Finding this formulation narrow and its terms restrictive, this study reconsidered the definition and revised it. The new definition encompasses a broader, more inclusive set of characteristics, and embraces many images which had formerly been rejected as fashion prints. The characteristics of fashion prints now include images which portray clothing that expresses a social and cultural ideal for the specific time, clothing that is a legitimate portrayal of fashion in the manner in which it was worn, images of stylized “fashion-portrait” fashion prints, images of popular and current dress styles, and presentations which are well-crafted and artistic. The fashion print can also include certain satires and allegories which contain the characteristics listed above. As a result of this newly revised definition, the seventeenth-century French fashion prints are now included in the genre traditionally identified as fashion prints. This newly revised definition, and the subsequent inclusion of late

³⁵⁹ Nevinson, “Origin and early history of the fashion plate,” 1967; Moore, *Fashion through fashion plates*, 1971; Olian, “Sixteenth century costume books,” 1977; Gaudriault, *La gravure du mode féminine en France*, 1983; Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 1994.

seventeenth-century French fashion prints as an early form of the fashion print genre, causes the traditionally acknowledged origin of the genre to be re-located away from the late eighteenth century to an earlier point in time. In fact, it is now asserted by this author that the origin belongs one hundred years earlier than the date acknowledged in previous scholarship, and is more appropriately located in the late seventeenth century, during the reign of Louis XIV.

If these were part of the fashion print genre, why did their production falter, only to be revised in the late eighteenth century?

There are several theories which respond to this query, including the withdrawal of government support, the movement of fashion centers from the central court at Versailles to the Paris salons and the response of the print trade to a changing world.

In the first argument, it has to be assumed that Louis XIV's government, likely in connection with Colbert, was aware of the potential of the fashion prints as a means of influencing public opinion. This influence could take the form of promoting different economic or political programs, as diverse as encouraging the consumption of French manufactured textiles, or supporting the institution of the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV. To date, no evidence has surfaced of direct remuneration for the publication of fashion prints which would support the government's endeavor to promote its different agendas. However, there was an early form of copyright which was being used at this time in France, and evidence of its use is found on many of these prints. In the inscription of the majority of prints is the inclusion of the line, *avec privilege du Roy*, which identifies the print as being granted some protection from being copied or stolen by other artists.³⁶⁰ This also suggests that the government, which registered the prints, was aware of the existence of the fashion prints. If so, other branches of the

³⁶⁰ Cole, *Colbert and a century of French mercantilism*, 2: 135.

government, such as that run by Colbert, may have recognized the potential for these prints, and granted the *privileges* upon request. The prints illustrate a recognizably French textile aesthetic, which can be interpreted as common enough to be purposeful, much as product placement is done in today's commercial advertising.

In the political arena, other forces may be at work which could have directly impacted the imagery of the prints. The evidence for this is seen in a shift in the balance of the subject matter in the fashion prints of the mid-1690s, which moves away from illustrating a range of image types (generic, fashion-portrait, allegory and satire) towards a single image type (the idealistic portrayals of royalty presented in the fashion-portraits.) This thematic change could be explained as part of an effort by Louis XIV to inspire confidence in his monarchy at a time when bleak conditions in France, including widespread hunger and poverty, not to mention corruption, were causing civil unrest. The fashion prints would be a very compelling venue for propaganda, as they could show a beautiful, youthful court in roles of leadership and strength. Although this is a reasonable argument, there is no documented evidence for such an arrangement between the government and the print artists.

The next reason which may have contributed to the disappearance of a robust production of fashion prints was a weakening market due to a disinterested audience. The mythology built around the Sun King as the center of French superiority and glory was replaced at his death in 1715 by a vacuum, and a court weary of the devastating effects of failed policies escaped Versailles for the more private *salons* of Paris. The competitive, power-starved courtiers, who had led the former excesses of fashionable silks, lace and jewels in their strivings to attain royal largess, were left to parade their fashions in a private, diminished circle of influence. Without the rival public displays of fashion in a large and potentially lucrative setting such as Versailles,

the engine of change was stalling, and the old ways with it. The painting by Watteau, *L'Enseigne de Gersaint*, illustrates the ready dismissal of associations with the prior regime, and fashion was certainly part of that perception.

The emerging Enlightenment writers spoke of fashion as a weakness, and this also would have influenced the opinions of the educated population, which made up the audience for the prints. It is likely this audience now rejected the purchase of fashion prints, associating them with the past and its troubles, and instead focused their attentions elsewhere. With this development, the response of the print artists would be to abandon fashion imagery in favor of subjects which would prove to be more popular. For the next several decades, the number of fashion prints diminishes significantly, and the transmission of fashion imagery by way of fashion prints remains curiously ambiguous until later in the century, when Versailles once again becomes a center of fashion. Fashion and fashion prints flourish at this time under the influence of another charismatic personality, Queen Marie Antoinette.

Is there evidence that eighteenth-century fashion prints are a continuation of the imagery established in seventeenth century?

Although the production of fashion prints was significantly reduced in the first half of the eighteenth century, it reappeared in the later decades. An examination of eighteenth-century prints reveals features which were borrowed from seventeenth century fashion prints, including the distinctive compositional form of monumental figures accompanied by inscriptions in the lower register of the print. Several eighteenth-century fashion prints are close copies of earlier prints, with some alteration of silhouette to make them contemporary (figures 264, 265, 266 and 267.)



Figure 264. 1686, Jean Dieu de Saint Jean, *Femme de qualité sur un Canapé*, BnF.

Figure 265. 1778, unknown artist, “Femme en deshabillé du matin couchée négligemment sur un Sofpa” “*Gallerie des modes et costumes*, MFA Boston

Figure 266. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Habit de Cavalier*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

Figure 267. 1778, unknown artist, “Acteur Bourgeois étudiant son rôle à la promenade”, *Gallerie des modes et costumes*, MFA Boston

The connection between the imagery is clear in these examples and shows that the eighteenth-century artists were well aware of the earlier prints, and felt them valuable models for their own presentations. Dismissing seventeenth-century fashion prints as part of a different tradition would be rejecting these and other eighteenth-century prints which followed the compositional forms established by the seventeenth-century fashion prints. This relationship between the two periods of activity supports the contention that the seventeenth-century prints belong to the fashion print genre, and are an early manifestation of its tradition.

Are these prints part of a movement which established a French hegemony of fashion?

According to Miriam-Webster, the definition of “hegemony” is “influence or authority over others” and “the social, cultural, ideological, or economic influence exerted by a dominant group.”³⁶¹ The political and economic struggles during this period in France would tend to dismiss this as a period where the hegemony of French fashion would emerge, but it is just those factors which create the environment for the development of new systems which can invigorate a

³⁶¹ Miriam-Webster, 2001. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hegemony>

state's progress. This is certainly the case in France, and with a history of trade with its neighbors, an increasing emphasis on the production of luxury fabrics and their potential as lucrative exports, an increased demand for changing fashion being stimulated at court and in Paris, and the communication of fashion through the popular and accessible medium of print technology, France was poised to begin a process of hegemony, even if its progress was uneven.

Prints contributed more than just a form of communication of fashion ideas, however. Their popularity supported an economy which was to continue until the advent of photography brought new forms of imagery to the market. The prints of the seventeenth century added to the general knowledge of the populace, as they combined a relatively low price tag, ease of transport, and appealing artistic imagery. These features created a compelling product for late seventeenth-century fashion-conscious populations both in France and among its neighbors. The French prints reflect a society and a culture which was increasingly interested in fashion as a form of self-expression, and developed a fashion and design vocabulary which became distinctively French. Without a threat of competition from Dutch or English fashion prints, the dominant fashion displayed in foreign print markets, in collectors bound volumes, in artists' workshops, and in the homes of the wealthy, was French. The allure of French fashion was displayed in prints until the early twentieth century, when photography was adopted as the primary form of fashion imagery.

Social and cultural reflections of economic and political events

What economic and political events affected the messages communicated in these prints?

The answer to this question is related to the rise in the notion of France as a sovereign nation with a distinctive French national character. Louis XIV was the spearhead of this new

spirit in France, though the concept of nationhood was simultaneously developing in other European centers.

Louis' personal reign began with a sense of optimism and opportunity, as the destructive elements which created the *Fronde* were marginalized as enemies of progress. Wishing to consolidate his power, the young king set in motion the necessary activities for controlling the formerly errant aristocracy as well as the population at large. Economic and political progress was the keystone to his new policies, which were designed to build France into a dominant European power, one that could surpass the current leaders of Spain and England.

Fashion and policy

One of the king's enterprises, developed by his minister Colbert, was the support of industries which would create products for consumption and trade, such as textiles for clothing (lace and silk fabrics) and textiles for furnishings (Gobelin tapestries.) Perhaps an unanticipated benefit of the promotion of French textile goods was the increased awareness in France of French design and French fashion. The king himself supported this awareness when he emphasized his own unique style of dress early in his personal reign. For the young Louis, the shoulder-draped *manteau*, short doublet, petticoat britches and high heels became his signature fashion early in the 1660s. His example inspired both imitation of fashion and consumption of fashionable goods among his courtiers as well as in others, especially the aristocracy and *haute bourgeoisie* of Paris and the provinces. This was an atmosphere which would please those who wished to participate in a newly formulated worldview which emphasized French royal leadership, dominance and brilliancy. It would also benefit those who created visual constructs which reinforced this newly awakened nationalistic self-image.

Fashion prints and current events

It was a happy coincidence for Louis XIV that many great French artists and playwrights were active during this period, and that the center of printmaking in all Europe was in Paris.³⁶² What better way to communicate the superiority of the young king and his nation than by all avenues of art, including prints? Prints were a direct medium for visualizing fashion ideas as they were made in multiple copies, were easy to transport, were relatively quick to produce, could be changed to suit new fashionable styles, and were inexpensive when compared to the cost of a painting. These qualities of the prints combined with the nationalistic optimism found expression in fashion prints which reflected the current ideals of French society: handsome people of quality who wore beautiful, elegant clothing and epitomized French aspirations of wealth, prosperity and superiority.

The fashion prints did not emerge, however, until the mid to late 1670s, about fifteen years after Louis' personal reign began.³⁶³ In fact, their appearance coincides with the turning point of French ascendancy in its domestic and European ventures. From this point onward, the king and his ministers would increasingly experience failure in their attempts to build France into the role of leadership they had originally envisioned. This fact suggests that the popularity of the fashion prints may have been linked to a cultural need to restate as well as reinforce the promise of earlier years. This pattern of bolstering the ideal, while the ability to realize it gradually slips further away, can be seen for the next two decades, as France's hope of progress dims and the production of fashion print imagery increases. By the mid-1690s, the height of production occurs, with more artists creating fashion prints than in any other stylistic period. The 1690s are

³⁶² Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe*, 6; Préaud, "Intaglio Printmaking in Paris in the Seventeenth Century," 6-11; Grivel, "The Print Market in Paris from 1610 to 1660," 13.

³⁶³ Gaudriault, *Répertoire de la gravure de mode française*, 35. Ruppert et al, *Le Costume français*, 108.

a time of severe winters, food shortages, massive starvation, civic unrest and numerous defeats and loss of life in the wars with Holland, England and Spain.³⁶⁴

In 1701, the War of the Spanish Succession begins, lasting until 1713, when Louis' son the Duc d'Anjou becomes heir to the Spanish throne. This was the last war waged by Louis XIV, and it served to complete the descent begun in the 1670s. The war drained the treasury and depleted the nation of a generation of young men, leaving a bitter population which blamed their sufferings on a misguided monarch. If government subsidies for printmakers had even existed, they would surely have been discontinued during this desperate period. As long as economic and political hopes had been sustainable, the fashion prints continued to be popular, but with the collapse of confidence in the self-proclaimed *grand siècle*, there came an accompanying decline in an interest in fashion prints.

Louis XIV understood the power of fashion, as can be seen in the famous image from the Gobelin tapestry, but perhaps the concept that fashion follows power was also familiar to him. A Europe that dressed in French fashion, possibly constructed of French fabrics, would recognize France as a leading political power in the region, certainly a goal of the king and his ministers. The failures of the government to rein in spending on conflicts with its neighbors and the subsequent depletion of the state's wealth meant a loss of political power for Louis, but not necessarily the destruction of newly found fashion hegemony. It is possible that the fashion prints extended a perception of power, but even more importantly, extended the influence of French design, such that during the years after Louis XIV, the French lace and silk were to remain as the paragon of taste in Europe.

³⁶⁴ Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 108-133; Beik, *A social and cultural history of early modern France*, 326-341.

Were there conscious as well as unconscious social messages in the prints?

Many examples support the existence of both types of communication, both a conscious visible message, and a more subtle, unconscious type.

Social messages in early fashion prints, middle to late 1670s

The unconscious message is found in the earliest prints, when the majority of images were of the generic fashion print variety. During this period, a light-hearted, almost innocent, celebration of beautiful fashion is seen in the print imagery. A preference for elegance, for the coquetry of the well-dressed lady of quality, for the gallantry of the smartly dressed gentleman; these were portrayed as the social apex of perfection. Activity and leisure are also seen in the prints, as women embroider, promenade through the city, play their instruments and attend to their *toilette*. Men read in their libraries, promenade through the city, play their instruments, and proudly display their most important symbol of social rank, the sword. These prints convey a sense of enjoyment and peace, without too many worries to cloud their views (figures 268 and 269.)



Figure 268. n.d., Jean LePautre, *Dame allant à la Campagne*, BM (middle to late 1670s.)
Figure 269. n.d., Jean LePautre, *Homme en robe de Chambre*, BM (middle to late 1670s.)

This imagery can be interpreted as a reflection of a worldview which embraces an unclouded vision of the future. The modern France of the 1670s still held promise, and any disturbing events to the contrary did not signify a changing trend.

Social messages in the middle periods, early 1680s to late 1690s

By the middle stylistic periods (early 1680s to late 1690s), the imagery has broadened to include images of mourning dress, religious habits, opera costumes, riding habits and *robes de chambre*. The social messages are changing, too. Women are now described by the fabrics or types of garments they wear, such as “new fabric”, “velvet”, “ermine”, *echarpe*, and *manteau*, or by styles which are seasonal, “spring”, “summer”, “autumn” and “winter.” Also seen are particular styles borrowed by foreign dress *à la Sultane*, *à la Chinoise*, *à la Siamoise* and *à la Grec*. Men are seen in parallel arrangements, also wearing garments typified by fabric, cut and foreign origin.

The introduction of the fashion-portraits of royalty enters into the repertoire of available fashion prints at this time. Although these rarely contain inscriptions beyond identifying the names of the noble persons, it is significant that the marked increase in fashion descriptors occurs in the generic fashion prints at the time of the appearance of the fashion-portraits. The increase of types of imagery, as well as the vocabulary which describes them, projects a new ideal, one which considers consumption as the sign of social and cultural superiority, and complexity of dress as an important medium for this expression (figure 270.)



Figure 270. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, detail, *Gens de qualité en famille a la promenade*, BnF
(middle to late 1690s.)

Beautiful clothing and peaceful endeavors are no longer sufficient for the people of quality: the public display of wealth holds far more significance. This is also true for royalty, whose dress must surpass that of the general aristocracy. A superficial reading of these prints would easily assume these to be the reflections of a healthy economy, as a sign that there were excess funds to spend on luxury goods. However, in this case, the ostentatious dress and manners signify a need to project wealth and power at a time when it is waning. The general wealth of the aristocracy had been gradually depleted once Louis XIV became king in the 1660s, as the increase in absentee landlords resulted in increasingly poor returns from their lands.³⁶⁵ The need for additional funds to finance the wars between France and its neighbors in Holland and England contributed to this situation, as the aristocracy was expected to provide both soldiers to fight and silver to melt down for coin.³⁶⁶ The resulting drain in national wealth was difficult to bear after the earlier successes and promises of a new vision for France. A show of bravado is evident in the late 1690s, and brings to mind the stories by Saint-Simon and Madame

³⁶⁵ Ojala and Ojala, *Madame de Sévigné*, 50.

³⁶⁶ Ibid, 159.

de Sévigné of the expenditures on wedding clothing at court at a time when budgets were strained and money scarce.³⁶⁷

Social messages in the last decades, late 1690s to 1715

By the end of the 1690s and beginning of the eighteenth century, the social messages have again changed. The self-consciousness present in the prints of this time is in stark contrast to the light-hearted generic prints of the earliest years, but in many ways is the natural extension of the middle periods. The messages are a mixture of reactions to disappointed hopes, the result of years of economic loss followed by political weakening. The dark messages seen in the Mariette images are one piece of this picture, as are the satiric prints created by Guérard which mock fashion and expose social depravities. The fashion-portraits of royalty seem to exhibit a form of desperation, as they strain to present as triumphs the increasingly unsuccessfully policies of war and aggression waged by the king. Changes in choices of fashion occur at this time, too. As the reign of the old king is ending, earlier forms of dress are abandoned, and few new forms enter into the repertoire to replace them. The rate of change decreases, but the man and woman of quality have found new ways to express their privileged positions: enjoying themselves as they abandon the last vestiges of the *grand siècle* (figure 271.)



Figure 271. n.d., Bernard Picart, detail, *untitled print*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

³⁶⁷ Saint-Simon, *The Memoirs of Louis XIV*, 1: 124; Ojala and Ojala, *Madame de Sévigné*, 134.

The social and cultural messages found in the fashion prints are both covert and overt, but to uninformed eyes, they represent the ideal life: the figures and their dress are attractive as art and as fashion, and present a compelling image which could well be envied by those who wished to be like the man or women of quality portrayed so beautifully in the prints. This is a similar effect to that caused by today's fashion imagery as presented in various forms of modern media.

The Role of prints in a nascent fashion system

Were these prints involved in a nascent fashion system in France?

A mass fashion system requires excess wealth for spending on fashionable clothing, the ability to produce the materials of fashion, a transportation system for moving these manufactured goods, and a means of communicating fashion ideas.³⁶⁸ These different facets of this model of mass fashion system as it was beginning to occur in France, and the role of prints in this system, are summarized below.

"Excess" wealth and the necessity of court fashion

The population in France with excess wealth and motivation to spend on fashion was the aristocracy, the highest-ranked class in French society. In the court of Louis XIV, fashion and modernity were synonymous, and attendance at court required an understanding of the importance of this relationship.³⁶⁹ The brilliancy of the court, its projection of power and superiority, was judged by the lavishness of its fashions.³⁷⁰ This was the model established at Versailles by the king, and the resources spent on this necessity were prodigious: lace from Flanders and Italy, silks from Italy, and woolens from England. The large amounts of wealth leaving France to supply fashionable courtiers with luxury goods was observed by the king's

³⁶⁸ Hamilton, "The silk worms of the East must be pillaged," 40-48.

³⁶⁹ Elias, *The Court Society*, 63.

³⁷⁰ Saint-Simon, *The Memoirs of Louis XIV and the Regency*, 2: 245.

own minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, as destructive to the goals of economic and political dominance set forth by the king and his council.³⁷¹ What better way to gratify these fashion desires than by the establishment of French industries which would supply French luxury goods for this free-spending population? This would keep the courtiers fashionably dressed, retain French money within French borders, supply employment for French people and create a lucrative product for export.³⁷²

Hamilton states that excess wealth is a prerequisite for a mass fashion system. Wealth was indeed in excess of basic necessities for a segment of late seventeenth-century French society, but Colbert's scheme to clothe those with the greatest amount of expendable funds may not have been intended for the wealthy bourgeois, even though their ability to spend was increasing as the excess wealth of the aristocracy was decreasing. As noted earlier, the motivation for fashion at the court was not so much to lead fashion, as it was for competition for the king's favor. The continued economic success of French lace and fabrics may owe as much to the rate of change inspired by the court as by the consumption of the bourgeois class. Either way, the fashions of Louis' brilliant court were exposed to a wide audience both in France and abroad as the fashion-portrait prints became increasingly available and popular. The evidence for this popularity is seen in the rising number of fashion-portraits created from their introduction in the early 1680s by the Bonnart brothers, until the very end of the period of the study, 1715. These visualizations of an ideal French court, possessing beauty, fashion and power, were displayed on easily transported paper fashion prints which could disperse information relatively quickly. The seductive nature of the art and fashion portrayed in these particular images produced on the rue Saint-Jacques sent a message that the French style was the most prestigious, and the most

³⁷¹ Cole, *Colbert and a century of French mercantilism*, 2: 132.

³⁷² Ibid, 134-140.

desirable, fashion. It was, in fact, the only fashion worth emulating in the entire region, especially when few alternatives of equal quality and design were being produced in other countries. This scarcity is echoed in the lack of fashion prints emanating from these countries, as well as the practice of copying fashions which captured local attention, as the French fashions did.

The quality of luxury goods

The manufacturing of French textiles was a particular focus for economic development during the reign of Louis XIV.³⁷³ This endeavor fits well into Hamilton's model, as she defined the manufacture of fashion goods as a necessity for the establishment and growth of a mass fashion system. Colbert chose the production of luxury goods, particularly lace and silk, as the enterprise which would best serve the needs of the state. This industry was structured to satisfy the fashion demands in France as well as be a product for export. The latter function was aimed at bringing foreign money into France, thereby reversing the former movement of French funds to neighboring countries. The success of this plan was in large part due to the plan conceived by Colbert which focused on quality and design as keys to developing a sustainable, and distinctly French, product. For lace, this was implemented by an emphasis on technical training for the French workers by Italian and Flemish lace makers, and the insistence on the use of designs created by royal artists. Colbert also realized the suggestive power of words, and appropriated the new name for this lace from the universally popular Italian *Point de Venise* to a French *Point de France*.³⁷⁴ The result of his efforts was that the French forms of lace, particularly needlelace, became the new European standard in quality and design. Without the kind of government

³⁷³ Tuchscherer, "Woven Textiles, 21 – 22; Cole, *Colbert and a century of French mercantilism*, 2: 132.

³⁷⁴ Kraatz, "The Lace Industry," 118.

support being offered in France, the Italian lace declined in design and quality, and then fell in prestige and value.

The French silk fabric industry fared in a similar manner to the lace, as it followed a parallel pattern of improvement, importing Italian workers to help train French weavers and using Italian designs until it developed its own French versions. Lyon became a center for quality silk pattern weaves, and continued as a successful center for silk production well into the nineteenth century. As in lace, the emphasis on quality and design, in a product that was always recognized as being for the luxury market, was the key to the survival of the textile manufacturing in France. It established the association of quality with the French product, and was instrumental in the growing hegemony of fashion which has been associated with France up to the present day.

The advantages of fashion prints in such a scheme are in their visualization of the very fabrics and laces which were being promoted by Colbert. The prints created the image of the fashionable ensemble alongside a cultural ideal, which would find its appeal in a population receptive to following the lead of the court and the fashionable *beau monde* of Paris. This would be a variety of audiences, such as described above, and certainly include the readers of *Le Mercure Galant*, who could read the text and see the accompanying images, when available. The single prints, produced in much greater quantity, would expose an even larger audience, both French and foreign, to the elegant fashions of the “people of quality” and the royal family. This publicity would create a need for the fashion fabrics shown in the prints, resulting in an increase in demand for those products which could be purchased to create the styles displayed in the print imagery. This is exactly the scenario Colbert hoped for, and it seems logical that fashion prints encouraged the sales of the luxury textiles being manufactured in France, and which were featured in the prints. A tracking of the styles of men’s cravat, for instance, shows

that these changed almost as often for men, as headdresses did for women.³⁷⁵ In order to stay current, the correct style required the appropriate lace or fine muslin, but also an understanding of how this worked with the hat, wig, coat, breeches, hosiery and shoes. The fashion prints displayed all of this information in one quick glance, and would have been established as a ready source for fashion information.

Transporting fashion

The means for transporting goods, necessary according to Hamilton's model, was established well before the reign of Louis XIV. The mode of transporting goods in the late seventeenth century was carriages, wagons and ships, and although slow compared to modern methods, was successful enough to make foreign items available. Until the late 1660s, lace was imported from Flanders, Italy and sometimes Spain into France, though there may not have been a great deal of export of French lace at this time. These types of foreign lace can be seen in the paintings and prints from the middle of the seventeenth century. In addition to the trade in lace, examples of trade in fashion fabrics between Holland, England and France can be found in descriptions of dress in the written literature. Descriptions following the fashion prints seen in the 1678 publications of the *Extraordinaire du Mercure Galant* describe English taffeta and Holland wool as being particularly desirable fabrics used in French clothing³⁷⁶.

Even easier to transport than bolts of fabric and rolls of lace would be the lightweight, flat, paper prints which were being produced in Paris in the late seventeenth century. The record of merchants and peddlers traveling from France to sell prints in foreign markets is documented by Marianne Grivel in her descriptions of the commerce of prints in seventeenth-century Paris.

³⁷⁵ See Appendix IV.

³⁷⁶ *L'extraordinaire du Mercure Galant*, avril, 1678, 288.

³⁷⁷ Certainly there is evidence that these traveling salesmen sold their wares in England and Holland. This is clearly seen in the number of prints which found their way into the workshops of print artists in England and Holland, where copies of French prints were produced soon after they were published in Paris.³⁷⁸ The ease with which a London merchant brought a number of items back to Pepys in London also implies that prints might be part of a mixed cargo, and easily added to the rest of the goods without encumbering the load. In 1669, Pepys records the visits from William Batelier, part of a large family of London importers, who returned from a trip to Paris with fashions for Pepys' wife Elizabeth and prints for Samuel.³⁷⁹

Prints as communicators of fashion information

In order to be part of the fashion system, prints need to demonstrate an ability to effectively communicate fashion ideas to a broad populace. Late seventeenth-century fashion prints fill this role very well, and even serve multiple purposes: they communicate basic fashion ideas, facilitate understanding of the relationship between the body and the garment, and insert fashion into a social and cultural context. These unique qualities of prints are not found in any other media source of the period, including fashion dolls or written accounts.

A review of the information contained in Appendix IV, the database summaries, makes it clear that many items of dress are featured in prints dating from all stylistic periods. For example, a print by Nicolas Arnoult (figure 272), dating from the middle 1690s to late 1690s, illustrates eleven items in the man's ensemble (hat, wig, plumes, cravat, coat, sword, ribbons, lace, gloves, hosiery, and high-heeled shoes) and eleven items in the woman's (*bonnet à la fontanges*, ribbons, necklace, fan, gloves, chatelaine, lace, *manteau*, stomacher, belt, skirt.) The

³⁷⁷ Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle*, 37.

³⁷⁸ For example, Peter Schenk's copy of Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean's 1693 *Femme de qualité en Steinkerke et falbala* is dated only one year later, in 1694.

³⁷⁹ Latham, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, IX: 427, 450-1, 453, 464.

young servant has six items of dress (turban, gloves, livery coat, breeches, hosiery and high-heeled shoes.)



Figure 272. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, *Femme de qualité à la promenade*, MMA (middle to late 1690s.)

This print is able to show the fashionable clothes of a man, woman, and a young servant in livery all at the same time, in one convenient format. It illustrates the details of fabric patternings, various embellishments on the fabric surfaces, accessories and their placement and overall drape and fit of the garments for these three people. Besides the elements of dress, the mannerisms of the times are illustrated by the postures of the three figures in the print. For the woman, her erect form and thrown back shoulders would reflect the ideal presentation of the period, while at the same time suggesting particular undergarments which encourage the desired stance. Her modesty is suggested by her fan and her slightly downcast eyes, a statement of the social expectations of the period. The man's garments, especially the coat with heavy horizontal banding, suggest a possible military involvement, or at least the attributes which accompany that activity, such as bravery and courage. He addresses the young lady directly, staring into her eyes as he talks to her (he is the only one speaking in the image.) The garment, stance and behavior all contribute to the vision of the ideal man, the *honnêt homme*, of the period. The servant looks whimsically at the viewer, sharing this moment with the world which seems invisible to the two

young lovers. None of this, neither the details of dress, nor the appropriate posture, nor the social and cultural context, could be transmitted through the use of a dressed wax doll, or even the written word. The doll would only carry some of the dress information, while the written word might catch the social and cultural nuances, but be burdened if it also included as much detailed information on dress as presented in the print.

The example above illustrates why prints were so powerful as a tool of communication at the time, and why French fashion, as portrayed in the many hundreds of prints being produced, was becoming well known throughout France and in the rest of Europe. It is also why prints contributed to the four-part definition which Hamilton proposed as necessary for the development of a mass fashion system. All of the elements of that definition have been shown to be present in this discussion, demonstrating that the earliest movement towards a French hegemony of fashion began in the late seventeenth-century.

The dissemination of French fashion through prints

Who was the audience for these prints in France?

Although documentation is lacking which records reactions by French individuals to the fashion prints, other means exist for answering this question. The data collected for this study has been analyzed to show the trends in production of these prints from their beginnings in the mid-1670s until the end of the reign of Louis XIV in 1715. Counting the numbers of prints made after the genre was introduced in the mid-1670s reveals a dramatic increase in the number of prints in a short period of time, as well as an accompanying increase in the number of artists who created them. This rise in production must indicate a rise in interest on the part of the buying public. For a period of about twenty years, this increasing demand would have resulted in an increase in production, indicating an increasing popularity.

While previous works identified the audience for these prints as primarily print collectors, I do not think this group alone could account for the dramatic numbers of prints produced by the middle to late 1690s.³⁸⁰ There must have been a broader appeal to have stimulated these kinds of publication numbers in France. This interest may have been stimulated by artistic merits, such as beautifully dressed people placed in attractive compositions, as well as by financial advantages of the art form, such as availability and price. The emulation of the nobility by the wealthy bourgeoisie merchant class is another possible reason for their popularity, as they presented idealized versions useful for imitation of the fashions and style of the most prestigious personages in the country. Another reason for their appeal to a French audience could be their reflection of a French style which evoked a sense of national pride on the part of the French buyers. This is similar to the sentiment expressed in the quote above from 1673, *Mercure Galant*, which expresses this sense of superiority in French style. The date of the publication of this opinion also would indicate that this view was in place before the advent of the fashion prints, and that the fashion prints were introduced to a receptive French audience.

Educated audiences, male and female

The audience for these prints is an educated one, and would include both women and men.³⁸¹ The inscriptions on the prints, many including a rhyming verse describing the action in the illustration, were meant to inform the owners of the prints on the importance of the subject

³⁸⁰ Nevinson, “Origin and early history of the fashion plate,” 1967; Moore, *Fashion through fashion plates*, 1971; Olian, “Sixteenth century costume books,” 1977; Gaudriault, *La gravure du mode féminine en France*, 1983; Roche, *The culture of clothing*, 1994.

³⁸¹ In terms of concrete evidence, there are numerous collections of prints amassed by French men of letters, as well as Pepys collection in England, and the duchesse d’Orléans, sister-in-law to Louis XIV and author of hundreds of letters to her family and friends, also collected prints. Her reference to the portrait prints in her collection is ambiguous as to whether these are the formal portraits or the fashion-portrait prints, but her frequent descriptions of fashion in her letters suggest that she may have collected some of the latter type.

matter. These were written in French, rather than Latin, in order to communicate better with the buying public. In fact, several prints show men and women of fashion reading or holding books, correlating the interest in fashion with the acknowledgment of at least a limited level of education.

Collectors

Collectors were undoubtedly an important audience for fashion prints, as seen in the numerous volumes of bound prints at the Bibliothèque national de France in Paris, the collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Morgan Library & Museum in New York, and at the Pepys Library in Cambridge. Many of these were compiled in the early years of the eighteenth century, such as the one created by Monsieur Dargenville, the royal comptroller for Louis XIV, which is housed at the Arsenal library in Paris (figure 273.)

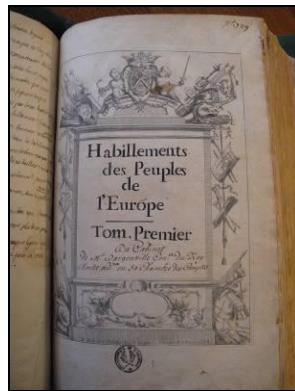


Figure 273. early 18th century, *Habillements des Peuples de l'Europe*, Tom. premier, BnF.

The standardization of a reliably consistent compositional form and size was a brilliant stroke on the part of the print artists, as it made a ready product for binding into the leather volumes so beloved of print collectors of the period. It also left a legacy of well-preserved, extant fashion prints for modern scholars to study.

People who collect prints come with different interests and viewpoints, and this is true of collectors of fashion prints as well. Different priorities are found among the collected volumes of fashion prints, and these are illustrated in the manner in which the prints are grouped together. Some are organized by artist as the most important feature, while others are by subject matter. Some collectors, such as Pepys, used both approaches, organizing the early prints of Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean in one group, while another group is identified by its membership in the French royal family.³⁸² Monsieur Dargenville organized his prints purely by date, though the subject matter, French fashion, was consistent throughout his first volume of fashion prints, which formed part of a larger project covering the dress of all the people of Europe. The primary interest in all these collectors is a need to establish related groups of prints, by whatever organization hierarchy, and fashion may well have been a secondary interest for some.

The prints would have had a different meaning for many of these collectors than for someone who might be interested in the print for its fashion message. It is not known what percentage of buyers were collectors, but there is evidence that not everyone who bought these prints placed them in albums. People who bought these prints also hung them on the wall, as their compositions lent themselves to both framing in volumes and displaying as single images, and at least one untrimmed print in the collection of the Morgan Library & Museum shows the faded marks left after being framed.³⁸³ This is a rare find, as so many of the prints which have survived were trimmed in order to fit into the bound volumes. As a result, identifying print collectors as the single audience for these prints is unjustifiable, even though many which have survived were originally bound into folio volumes.

³⁸² Latham, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, vol. IIIi, xvii.

³⁸³ 1687, Robert Arnoult, *Femme de qualité aux Thuilleries* (see Figure 157.)

Female audiences

Female audiences are an important audience for these prints, and one particularly interesting print by a member of the Jollain family, shows a young woman reading a copy of *Le Mercure Galant*. Aimed at a female readership, this journal reported on current events, literature, plays, and the court, and included descriptions of the most current fashions.³⁸⁴ The print by Françoise Gérard Jollain of the *Dame de qualité sur un canapé lisant Le Mercure Galant* (figure 274) reinforces this relationship, as it identifies a woman of quality as both fashionable and literate.



Figure 274. 1688, François Gérard Jollain, *Dame de qualité sur un canapé lisant Le Mercure Galant*, BnF.

Jollain's print illustrates the ideal woman of French society, wearing tastefully elegant clothes and reading for pleasure. It owes much of its social message to the salons, as they were influential in promoting the educated woman as a leader in philosophical as well as literary discourse.³⁸⁵ Although education for the highest ranks of women was inconsistent, attention to the domestic arts and religious devotions being considered by society as the primary functions for women, those who attended the salons were exposed to the arts, literature and science.³⁸⁶ In

³⁸⁴ Vincent, *Présentation de la première revue féminine d'information et de culture*, 10.

³⁸⁵ Gibson, *Women in seventeenth-century France*, 168-169; Harth, *Cartesian Women*, 15.

³⁸⁶ Gibson, *Women in seventeenth-century France*, 39. The most famous writers associated with the salons are Madame de La Fayette, Madame de Sévigné and Mademoiselle de Scudéry.

fact, the popularity of the salons among the highest ranks of society in Paris was copied by those of the bourgeois class, spreading interests in these subjects to a greater circle of women.³⁸⁷ This would imply that the literate female was not uncommon in late seventeenth-century France, and the image would not have been considered controversial.

The reading choice of *Le Mercure Galant* would provide the woman of quality an opportunity to stay current with literature and the visual arts, subjects which were discussed in the salons. Indeed, the juxtaposition of fashion and this particular journal is noteworthy, as it identifies both as important elements of modernity, in line with the social vision of the ideal woman of quality. Staying informed was required, and editorials in the forms of letters in *Le Mercure Galant* were expressly written for the purpose of sending fashion information to provinces. They could also be just as informative for the woman of quality in Paris, as substantiated by Jollain's print. The women who read this publication would likely have been interested in the prints which were included in the 1678 *Extraordinaire* supplements, as they lent visual evidence to the detailed descriptions in the texts. By extension, other references to manners and fashion, such as the individual fashion prints, could provide an additional source of current information, especially as the inclusion of images in *Le Mercure Galant* was infrequent. Women who were familiar with the 1670s prints by Jean LePautre would recognize a similar image in the published prints of the Bonnart brothers and Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, also working during the late 1670s.

Bedroom fashion

The fashions for the bedchamber are certainly of interest among women at this time and these are found in prints dating from the early 1680s to the late 1690s (figure 275.)

³⁸⁷ Ibid, 103-104.



Figure 275. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, *Dame de Qualité en Robe de Chambre*, BnF (middle to late 1690s.)

A subset of these prints seems to have been simultaneously aimed at a male audience, and is notable for its more voyeuristic handling of the subject matter. This can be seen in a number of prints by Antoine Trouvain, Jean Mariette and Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean (figures 276, 277 and 278.)



Figure 276. n.d., Antoine Trouvain, *Dame de Qualité en deshabille reposant sur un Lit*, Réunion des Musées nationaux (RMN; middle to late 1690s.)

Figure 277. n.d., Jean Mariette, *Dame en Desabillé, à son Lever*, MMA (middle to late 1690s.)

Figure 278. 1688, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, detail, *Femme de Qualité en Deshabille reposante sur un Lit d'Ange*, BnF.

These prints usually show a young woman either still lying in bed, or just leaving her bed and wearing an open *robe de chambre*. A handwritten inscription on the print by Jean Mariette (center, above) reads, “*c'est après la position de M^l D'urville dame de Port...*,” leaving few questions about the interpretation of the viewer. Although by no means a significant number of

prints compared to the total number produced, they are still considered within the fashion print genre, as they contain all the characteristics of the fashion prints, and continue to inform about women's fashionable dress of the bed chamber. These are tame compared to other, more explicit prints of both the seventeenth and eighteenth century, but their inclusion by these artists suggests a willingness to attract additional audiences to their works.

Secondary female audiences

Another female audience may also have existed, one which was more concerned with practical matters. These people may have formed a secondary audience for fashion prints, one more involved with fashion design and construction than art or nationalism. A hint of this can be seen in several prints showing women in the dressmaking and *coiffure* trade as well as men in the tailoring trade (Figures 279, 280, 281 and 282.)



Figure 279. n.d., unknown artist, detail, *La Coifeuse*, middle to late 1690s, BnF.

Figure 280. n.d., unknown artist, detail, middle to late 1690s, *La Couturiere*, BnF.

Figure 281. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, *La Bonne Coutiererre*, middle to late 1690s, BnF.

Figure 282. n.d., Nicolas Arnoult, *Le Tailleur François*, middle to late 1690s, MMA.

Prints which showed trades people at work were popular in the mid to late 1690s. Other prints illustrating the trades focus on food (bakers, cheese makers, butter makers, pastry chefs) and peddlers or merchants (oyster sellers, cookware sellers, fish mongers, used clothing peddlers.) This emphasis on the production and marketing of clothing is conspicuous, as other

trades are represented by far fewer print examples. In addition to the prints shown here, there are additional images of wigmakers, lingerie sellers, and ribbon-makers. The majority of people in prints which illustrate the fashion trades are women. With the entrance in 1675 of the *couturières* into the professional guilds, the number of women in the fashion business had increased, and the importance of fashion as a business for women is reflected in these prints. Fashion prints, though not necessarily ones which illustrated the trades people, might have been purchased by wealthy customers who then brought them to their dressmakers to be used as inspiration for new *manteaux*, just as was done in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Did the prints appeal to a foreign audience?

The interest in the prints in other European countries is evident in the number of foreign collections of French prints which were assembled abroad, as well as the number of foreign artists who copied the French fashion prints.³⁸⁸ For foreign audiences, it may be that there was an element of exoticism which attracted interest in the prints. This attraction for the exotic might have been based on the perception that French style was superior, interesting, or just different. French fashion was already an influence in English dress, as illustrated by the story of the sixteenth- century meeting of François I and Henry VIII.³⁸⁹ Another possibility, though more speculative, would be people with an interest in French fashion, such as wealthy women, and even dressmakers. In the late eighteenth century, fashion prints were sent from Paris to England, Holland and the American colonies in order to inform women of the latest French fashions. Although most of the documented information about selling seventeenth-century prints abroad

³⁸⁸ Pepys is the best known of these collections, but some of the collections housed in museums in Germany, Denmark, England and Holland have provenances which include collectors from those countries.

³⁸⁹ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*, 2007.

refers to their being sold to particular print collectors and print artists, this type of activity cannot be completely ruled out as a possibility, especially if the interest were present.

The reaction in England was not always positive, though, and John Evelyn's *Tyrannus*, published in 1661, includes a diatribe on the foolish English who so willingly adopt the dress of foreigners, particularly what Evelyn considers the ludicrous styles of French dress.³⁹⁰ How many were swayed by Evelyn's pamphlet to avoid French dress, or even an interest in French style, is difficult to judge, but it obviously did not influence his good friend, Samuel Pepys, who collected over 150 French prints depicting costume and dress, nor the wearer of the Kimberley mantua, whose garment reflects various elements of French fashion.³⁹¹

Pepys

Samuel Pepys is an example of an English print collector who purchased French fashion prints over a period of about fifteen years. His source for these prints were print and book merchants in the city of London, as well as the Batelier family, importers of French wine and other goods.³⁹² For Pepys, the son of a tailor, the appeal may have been the fashions, as his collection includes numerous generic fashion prints. However, the presence of so many fashion-portraits of royalty suggests a curiosity with royal wealth and prestige, and perhaps not a small amount of pride in his ability to secure and view portraits of these high-ranking individuals. This illustrates another possible appeal of the prints: that the fashion-portraits of royalty allowed a sense of familiarity with the rich and powerful of the times, a feeling which could have existed for both French and foreign audiences. Pepys could be classified in the same class as the French high bourgeoisie, as he held a position of responsibility in the government as Secretary of the

³⁹⁰ Evelyn, *Tyrannus; or, The mode*, 1951

³⁹¹ Latham, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, 1980; Cavallo, "The Kimberley Gown," 204.

³⁹² Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. IV, 434; vol VII, 173; IX, 313, 427, 450-451, 453, 464.

Navy.³⁹³ The desire to emulate those of higher rank would be strong for him as it was for the French high bourgeoisie, who also held office in Louis XIV's government, Jean-Baptise Colbert being one of the most famous examples. The phenomenon of admiring the rich and famous is known today as well, though is more often linked to images of celebrities, rather than royalty.

Foreign artists

For the Dutch and English print artists who copied the prints, the appeal of these prints was most likely the same things that made them successful for the original French print artists: they were a profitable venture because the artistic merits, availability and price range attracted a large and diverse group of buyers. These copies, especially those created by the Dutch print artists, were often altered to appeal to a cultural sensibility associated with their own audiences. An example of this was presented in this paper when comparing the original images by Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean with copies by Jacob Gole, who transferred and re-arranged backgrounds and even gestures to suit the purposes of his Dutch clients.

Did prints disseminate French fashion?

The dominance of the French fashion print production makes itself clear at this time, both in terms of numbers and artistic worth. Print artists in Holland and England failed to create their own distinctive group of prints which could be identified as a fashion print genre. In fact, the majority of fashion prints created in Holland and England are copies of the French prints. This is significant, as an increased circulation of French fashion imagery, both the original French and the Dutch or English copies, would be released into the markets. Populations who viewed fashions prints offered for sale by local merchants would have little exposure to anything but French fashions. If the only prints which are circulating are showing French fashion, or

³⁹³ Latham, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library*, vol. IIIi, xvii.

variations on French fashion, then the result would be a dissemination of French fashion ideas. It is this scenario which supports the earliest signs of French hegemony in fashion, when no other country is supplying alternatives to the French style.

Fashion as idea and object

The effects of this dissemination of French fashion are reinforced by an examination of the concepts of fashion idea and fashion object. The fashion idea, as communicated through language, traces the movement of fashion ideas through time and space. This alteration of language parallels the kinds of changes seen as fashion moves across borders, and can be applied to the interpretation of garments as well. Fashion prints serve as a conduit for the ideas of fashion, expressed verbally, and the objects of fashion, the actual wearable clothing. Many prints describe the type of woman who wore this fashion, the “woman of quality” or the member of the royal family, and the type of fashion she is wearing, *à la Sultane, en manteau, en étoffe nouvelle, en coiffure à la mode*, etc. Examining terminology as it moves from one region to another reveals an adoption as well as adaptation by the new culture. This transference of words and their meanings can be identified as a sign of the dissemination of fashion from one center to another. Examples in the study derived from the adoption and adaption of original French terminology into the English language, including the French word *manteau*, a vocabulary found in print inscriptions. Although this particular word changed its sound as it entered into the new language, became the English term “mantua,” the meaning remained the same.³⁹⁴

The Kimberley mantua and its French influences

The Kimberley mantua is an example of a fashion object which is highly influenced by French dress of the late 1680s and early 1690s. Whether the materials and workmanship are

³⁹⁴ Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 1690; Académie Françoise, *Le Dictionnaire de L'Académie Françoise*, 1694; Coles, *An English Dictionary*, 1713.

French or English, it is the cut and the particular use of surface embellishment which points to a French-style derivation, though not necessarily materials or construction. It is obvious that modern interpretations of this dress, which used prints to recreate the silhouette, had difficulty settling some of the conflicting issues of this garment. While the drape suggested by the original seamlines is closer to the late 1670s, the fabric is similar to the French fabrics that were popular in the late 1680s, and the embroidered embellishment is like the styles of the middle 1690s. The juxtaposition of fabric, embellishment and drape suggest that the original French concepts were altered to suit a different taste, which can be interpreted as either an English taste, or an individual taste. Either way, the mantua does not conform exactly to what would be expected of a French dress of a particular period, and is an example of the way fashion is influenced, and then adapted, to suit the wearer.

Although prints were used to recreate the appropriate appearance of this mantua, this does not prove that the seventeenth-century woman who wore this garment also consulted French prints in order to understand its proper design. But was her familiarity with French dress a result of viewing fashion prints or examining a fashion doll, or possibly even both? French fashion prints were available in England, or at least in the shops of London merchants or from merchants who traveled to France on commission.³⁹⁵ Dolls dressed in the current fashions were sent both within France and from France to England for the purpose of communicating fashion information.³⁹⁶ However, certain characteristics of a fashion print suggest advantages in an understanding of dress and fashion. These include cultural contexts and social mannerisms, subjects which are not communicated through a dressed fashion doll. It is true that a doll can be dressed in the appropriate undergarments and overgarments, and fabrics can be directly

³⁹⁵ Pepys, *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, IV: 434; VII: 173; IX: 313,427, 450-451, 453, 464.

³⁹⁶ Sommella, *La mode au XVIIe siècle*, 9; Addison and Steele, *The Spectator*, 341.

exhibited, but a doll lacks the ability to illustrate the interplay of garment, posture and mannerisms of an adult woman wearing the garment.

As described in the study, the manner in which a garment is worn includes not only attention to appropriate fabrics, colors and drape, but also the appropriate interplay of garment parts and accessories which make up the fashionable style. The knowledge of French fashionable fabrics, such as horizontal stripes, and decorative patterns which are so similar to those seen in French lace and French prints, was just as likely to have come from fashion prints as a fashion doll. In this case, the advantage of the fashion prints would be one of proportion, where the juxtaposition of stripe size and appearance on the body are presented in a more realistic manner and ratio than the same fabric fitted onto a small doll. It may even be true that an intelligent interpretation of a fashion print provided all the information needed to create a French-inspired dress. If indeed, as speculated by this author, the practice of showing prints to dressmakers in France was practical, it would probably be true in England as well. A good dressmaker or tailor would be able to determine the correct weight of fabric, the interplay of textures, the necessary undergarments and the appropriate accessories to create a good imitation of the original image illustrated in the print. In other words, with the possible exception of color, the bridge between the fashion idea and the fashion object would be accomplished easily by a French fashion print. This logical connection suggests that other garments worn in England may also have been influenced by the prints, and would equally have changed according to regional tastes and available materials.

The value of fashion prints as disseminators of fashion

Fashion prints present large amounts of detailed information relating to dress and society in a convenient, artistic format which is unmatched by any other form of seventeenth-century

communication, including paintings, the written word, extant garments, or dressed dolls. This unique ability surely establishes their worth as disseminators of fashion at a time when interest in fashion was growing in France, as both a form of national expression and economic benefit.

Although their production faltered, their messages continued to resonate even when the *grand siècle* ended. The perception of the French superiority in dress they illustrated contributed to the hegemony of French fashion which was established by the end of the eighteenth century.

Finally, their value as a source of information on dress of the period has been described in this dissertation and shown to be more valuable than previously acknowledged. It is hoped that this will secure their inclusion in future volumes of dress and art history as worthy representations of this unique period in French and European history.

Further studies related to French fashion prints

There are a number of areas related to the topic of seventeenth-century French fashion prints which would benefit from further research. One of these is the nature of the role of women in the fashion print business. Only one French print artist has been found from this period, Élisabeth Bouchet Le Moine. Bouchet Le Moine exhibits a mature style which is reminiscent of LePautre, but neither the history of her family nor her teachers has been studied. According to the IFF XVII, she engraved only eleven prints, of which nine are fashion-portraits. Two of these are included in this study, but the remaining seven remain unexamined by this author. Interesting results might be obtained by comparing her subject matter, composition and technique to those of other print artists working in at the same period and in close geographic proximity.

Another woman who was active in seventeenth-century prints is the wife and widow of Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean. Several illuminated prints in the BnF collection are hand inscribed with

words identifying her as the painter of these prints. In addition, after the death of her husband in 1694, she continued to publish prints, listing herself as the publisher in the inscriptions as her husband's widow, *ce vend à Paris sur le Quay Peltier à la Pomme d'Or chez la Veuve S^t. Jean.* These prints often identify Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean as the designer of the image, but no name is included as the etcher of the print. Is it possible that she etched prints for her husband before his death and continued to do so afterwards, in neither instance identifying herself as the artist? Her husband etched only a few of his prints, maintaining the role of publisher for the majority, so this may not be a remote possibility. Tracing the history of these two women and their involvement with the printmaking world would provide information about the role of women print artists in the seventeenth-century, a topic which has never received the attention it deserves.

There are also gaps in print history which involve the importation of prints from France to England and Holland. A study of seventeenth-century print dealers, in the cities of Paris, London and Amsterdam, would be an area which could contribute to the current body of knowledge concerning the relationship between buyers and sellers of fashion prints during this period. Was Amsterdam or London the better market for French fashion prints? More Dutch artists produced copies of French fashion prints than English artists, but this is not enough evidence to surmise that Amsterdam was the better market. Are there more extant seventeenth century collections in Holland than England? These are avenues of inquiry which could begin this research.

The Kimberley mantua is an expensive garment due to its fabric and gilt-thread embroidery, and the family of the wearer was wealthy, with a landed estate in Norfolk, England. Although many scholars have examined, measured, photographed and mounted it on mannequins many times, there are always more questions to be asked about this very unique and rare

garment. There are questions about the history of the garment and the family which owned it. Are there extant records or inventories which refer to the purchasing of materials for garments? Were there members of the family who were print collectors? Did the family regularly visit London and frequent its shops? Did a family of this social status create their own garments, did they hire a tailor, or did they go to shops in London to be fitted? What was the function of this garment, and are there records of special events in the life of the family during the early 1690s which might indicate its use? There are also questions about construction of the mantua. Is this particular construction found elsewhere in English dress? What characteristics of construction are found within the interior of the garment which might indicate its origin as English or French? Are there elements of the style of embroidery which indicate its origin? Where did one find an embroiderer to commission the execution of such fine work? It would be interesting to research the inventories from the Kimberley estates, if any still exist. Many of the items from this family were preserved for years in the Norfolk home, only to come to market in the early twentieth century. It is possible that among those dispersed family belongings are items which could provide answers to some of these questions and reveal more about the adoption of French fashion ideas which shaped the habits and preferences of English taste during this period.

Finally, a number of issues involving the commerce of these prints remain unresolved. The basic print production – the number of prints produced from plates, the circulation numbers of *Le Mercure Galant*, and the network of distribution for these materials – is still to be documented. Inventories, government documents and public records may be sources which could shed light on this subject.

There is also the question of the span of years between the decline of the fashion print market in the early eighteenth century, and its revival in the later years of the century. There are

several artists identified by Gaudriault as being active during this period, but their numbers are few compared to the late seventeenth-century artistic participation in the genre.³⁹⁷ What caused there to be so few images produced at this time? Was the scarcity of fashion imagery related to an overall negative attitude towards fashion as advocated by the Enlightenment movement? Were there economic or political factors which affected the production? The activity of artists outside of France would be an interesting avenue of inquiry as well, as the printmakers of Amsterdam and London continued producing prints during this period as well.

³⁹⁷ Gaudriault, *Répertoire de la gravure de mode française*, 109-127.

APPENDIX I

TIMELINE, 1638-1715

- 1638: Birth of Louis XIV, son of Louis III and Anne of Austria.
- 1640: Birth of Philippe, duc d'Orléans.
- 1643: Death of Louis XIII; Regency of Anne of Austria begins.
- 1648: Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years War; first *Fronde*, protest of Parlement.
- 1649 - 1653: second *Fronde*, uprising of aristocracy.
- 1658 – 1659: War against Spain; ends with Peace of Pyrenees.
- 1660: Louis XIV marries Marie-Thérèse, daughter of Philip IV of Spain.
- 1661: chief advisor Cardinal Mazarin dies; beginning of personal rule of Louis XIV.
- 1665: Jean Baptiste Colbert announces new plans for textile manufacturing in France with his *Déclaration du 12 août 1665*.
- 1667-1668: War of Devolution; Louis claims then attacks Spanish Netherlands in name of Queen Marie-Thérèse; conflicts end with Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
- 1670: Secret treaty of Louis XIV and Charles II; death of Henriette-Anne, duchesse d'Orléans.
- 1671: Philippe marries Élisabeth-Charlotte, princesse du Palatine; also known as "Liselotte."
- 1672 - 1678: Louis XIV declares war on Holland; fights against Stadholder William of Orange; ends with Peace of Nijmegen. *French fashion prints begin to be published.*
- 1679: Affair of the Poisons begins.
- 1680: Françoise d'Aubigny, Madame Scarron, joins court in service of dauphine.
- 1682: Court officially moves to Versailles.
- 1683: Death of Queen; death of Colbert. Vienna attacked by Ottoman Turks. Madame Scarron becomes Madame de Maintenon and morganatic wife of Louis XIV.
- 1685: Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; emigration of Huguenots to England, Holland.
- 1688 - 1697: War of League of Augsburg; ends with Peace of Ryswick.

1701 - 1713: War of Spanish Succession ends with Peace of Utrecht and Louis XIV son as king of Spain.

1714: Peace of Rastatt final ending to War of Spanish succession conflicts.

1715: Death of Louis XIV; succeeded by Louis XV, aged five; under Regency of his uncle, duc d'Orléans, nephew of Louis XIV and son of his brother Philippe and wife Liselotte.

APPENDIX II

Data Collection Sheet: **17th Century PRINTS**

Elizabeth Davis

Date 8/13/09	Museum/Collection RIJKSMUSEUM
Date of print	1680s & 1690s?
Artist (s)	Jacob Gole (1660-1737)
Title	See individual print descriptions
Acc. #	<p>Jacob Gole RP-P-1906-3216 (rec # 43827) See individual prints for catalogue raisonné (Joseph Edward Wessely, <i>Verzeichniss seiner kupferstiche und schabkunstblätter. Hamburg :</i> Haendcke and Lehmkuhl, 1889.)</p> <p>See individual print descriptions</p>
Country of Origin	Netherlands
Subject matter category (generic, portrait, allegory, satire)	Generic, portrait, allegory
Description of composition	<p>most of these are mezzotint copies of other artists' works.</p> <p>Wess. 173: <i>inscription in Dutch “King William III of England, as Prince of Orange, with his attendance before his departure to England” Shows William III and Mary Stuart (a la Sultana)</i> 257 x 345 mm</p> <p>Gole is printmaker and publisher of this print. Inscription at lower edge in Dutch, but “cum privilegie...” in Latin. In the center of the print are Mary and William, with the ladies-in-waiting to Mary on the left of the print (two dressed in stripes, one horizontal and one vertical, the third in patterned swirls; all have similar high headdress to Mary's though two are tied below their chins; similar bead choker necklace.) One lady-in-waiting is holding a mask. Check Diane de Marly for name of this headdress, as it is not quite a fontange, though it is piled high. One of lady-in-waiting is portrayed solo in a print entitled “Herest....L’Otonne” (Wess 321.)</p> <p>William wears the French style: curled wig, bow ties under lace cravat, coat embellished with horizontal button closures, high -heeled, square toed short boots, hat in right hand. His two gentlemen are dressed in similar style,</p>

	<p>though one is more ornate (stands in front of the other gentleman) than the other.</p> <p>Wess 226. Portrait originally by Watteau, now identified as Crispin, then added to another print with an Arnoult fashionable lady.</p> <p>Wess 260 (II) genre and fontange.satire.</p> <p>Wess 285 inscription in both Dutch and French: De Vyf Sinne/ Les Cinq Sens. Man looking at himself in a mirror – Bonnart? Copy. Original French may not have been divided into the five senses.</p> <p>Wess 290: copy of Bonnart, but has Dutch and French inscription! Woman looking into mirror, with man coming through door at right. She has a high fontange. In French, “La veue d'un objet charmant/ anime et embrase lamant”</p> <p>Wess? Holl? 293: Gole's interpretation of Arnoult's chocolate scene.</p> <p>Wess 298: Pictura. Dutch and French inscriptions. See Bonnart. Being allegories, the dress tends to be a combination of fashionable dress and perceived classical dress.</p> <p>Wess 301: Poesis. Women as muse. Copy of Bonnart.</p> <p>Wes 318: copy of Mariette (?) by Jacob Gole , mezzotint. Inscription in Dutch and French. Identified as “Winter” allegory, though this is a man (usually these allegories are women – see above print also)</p> <p>Wess 346: Copy of Bonnart. Elegant man and woman, with woman seated and holding a piece of music; man leaning against the base of a pillar, legs crossed. This also might be a combined composition, as the one with Watteau. If there was an inscription, it has been trimmed off.</p> <p>Wess 321: The lady –in-waiting from the William and Mary print. She is identified here as “Herest...L'Otonne” so has been transformed into an allegorical set.</p> <p>Wess 322: “Winter...L'Hiver” of the same set.</p> <p>Hol 294a Jongedame in jachtkostum (riding costume)</p>
Description of dress	See above descriptions for individual prints

APPENDIX II (cont.)



Photo 1: William of Orange and Mary Stuart



Photo 2: copy of Bonnart becomes an allegory of “Taste.”

APPENDIX II (cont.)

Data Collection Table: **17th Century TEXTILE**

Elizabeth Davis

Date 11/19/2009	Museum/Collection: Antonio Ratti Textile Center
Date of textile	Ratti database information: early 18 th c Due to shape of <i>fontanges</i> , this <i>fontanges</i> is much more likely to date from middle to late 1690s, rather than early 18thc
Acc. #	09.68.207
Country of Origin	Ratti database information: Southern Netherlands Flemish/Belgium
Function of textile(s) Fiber content technique	Fontanges (headdress) Linen Ratti database information: identifies as <i>point d'Angleterre</i> in body of piece and lace edging of Brussels technique)
Description of textile	Measurements (inches and centimeters): lower length: 60 9/16 inches; 151.5 c (Ratti measures as L. 60 x W.8, or 152.4 x 20.3cm) upper length: 63 7/16 inches; 158.8 c width at edges: 2 1/4 inches; 5.8 c width at center: 7 3/4 inches; 19.8 c border in central lower edge: 7/16 inches; 1.2 c border in sides lower edge (different lace edging) same size, 7/16 inches; 1.2 c Ratti database information: “design of horsemen similar to statues of Louis XIV, figures in ballet costume, pineapple forms and detached sprays; one side edged with narrow bobbin lace, a Brussels technique.” ESD: Long shape, with greatest width in center (about 8”) and narrowing and both ends to about 2”. Central axis of symmetry, with image of Native American in center, drawing his bow, wearing a decorative headdress, possibly short cape and short tunic. On either side are facing men on rearing horses, two birds, and men who seem to be servants carrying rods on which birds are perched. These are the only figures on the <i>fontanges</i> ; the rest of the piece is stylized motifs which frame, in an abstract manner, these identifiable figures. The dancers identified in the database must be the Native American and servants, but this does not seem to be a

	documented identification. The prints of opera and dance costume do not usually include a person shooting with a bow, nor men in very plain dress carrying birds. I think this a hunting theme instead, and has nothing to do with dance. Since several women of the court enjoyed hunting, it may have been made for one of them.
Historical context	Part of historic Blackborne collection purchased in 1909 by Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Miscellaneous information	Compare to <i>fontanges</i> at V&A (needlelace technique but longer) and Bowes Museum (needlelace technique and similar measurements.)



Photo 1: entire piece



Photo 2: detail, center area

APPENDIX II (cont.)

Data Collection Table: **17th Century DRESS**

Elizabeth Davis

Date 11/20/2009	Museum/Collection: Antonio Ratti Textile Center/Metropolitan Museum of Art
Date of garment	Ratti database information: 17 th century
Acc. #	30.135.186
Country of Origin	Ratti database information: France
Function of garment(s)	Accessory. Small needlepoint embroidered bag.
Description of garment, accessory:	Ratti database information: silk and metal thread. Probably for a wedding; cloth of silver embroidered in gold (flat metal wound around core), outlined with black silk; design of cupids, butterflies, hearts, foliate scrolls, etc.; lined with green silk.
Cut and construction	L. 3 7/8 x 2 1/2 inches (9.8x 6.4) Inscriptions: AV PLVS FIDEL (to be faithful) VOILA MON TRESOR (here is my treasure) IE FVIT LA FOVLE (I fly from the crowd) RIEN ME MARETE (nothing stops me.)
fabrics, including trims, lace,	Designed for the space, four sides; different images of putti, with references to heart (love.) Vertical stitches used to create design. Top and side edges are bound in woven strip made of metallic threads. Draw string about 1/2 inc down from top edge appears to have degraded and is now only the core threads of a previously wrapped cord. Current fold may have been caused by storage. Origins of design motifs? Writing in French, but putti look more Italian.
Historical context	Love tokens
Miscellaneous information	Part of Mrs. Edward Harkness 1930 collection, which includes 17 th century lace as well.

*photograph or sketch of garment on page 2



Photo 1: *Je fuit la foule.*



Photo 2: *Au plus fidel*



Photo 3: interior

APPENDIX III
DEFINITIONS OF TERMINOLOGY FOR CATEGORIES AND SUB-CATEGORIES USED
IN CONTENT ANALYSIS

print category: the organization of prints by subject matter.

generic fashion: etched and engraved prints which feature current dress and fashion of the wealthier classes, and share a recognizable compositional form.

fashion-portraits fashion prints: stylized portraits of the nobility which emphasize dress and fashion, and share the attributes of the fashion prints.

allegory fashion prints: prints which incorporate allegorical subject matter into the framework of fashion prints.

satire fashion prints: prints which replicate the fashion print compositional form, but mock and satirize fashion.

print composition category: The basic compositional design format used in the prints.

title inscriptions: a short, descriptive title, in French, located below the fashion illustration; these might include the name of the engraver, the designer of the image, the name of publisher, and the date of publication.

verse descriptions: rhyming verses which describe the person or action illustrated in the print, or descriptive sentences identifying the family associations of the subject(s) of the print.

fashion descriptors: descriptive vocabulary of dress and fashion in the title inscriptions (à la mode, habit déshabillée, en deuil, en manteau, à la Sultane, etc.)

male only: prints which illustrate a single, male figure.

female only: prints which illustrate a single, female figure.

female and page: prints which include a female figure accompanied by a young, male servant.

females: prints with two or more females.

males: prints with two or more males.

females and males: prints with one or more male and one or more female together.

composite: a print which has been reissued with additional background scenery or human figures.

no background: the subject(s) appears alone, without any background detail.

simple props: the subject(s) appears with a few props, such as a chair, table, or instrument.

partial background: some foreground or near background accompanies the subject(s) of the print.

full background: foreground, middle and far background accompanies the subject(s) of the print.

public/private dress category: The local setting in which the figures are placed.

public dress: fashion worn in public, such as military dress, or dress identified as “de ville,” “aux Tuilleries,” “à la promenade,” “à la campagne.” Also, female with page was classified into this group.

public games: subject(s) are participating in social outdoor games such as bowling and tennis.

public hunting: male or female subjects dressed for the hunt, “en habit de chasse.”

public shopping: subject(s) is in the setting of a merchant’s shop.

public/private dancing: fashionable stage dress of dancers, or social dancing among peers.

public/private music: subject(s) performing on instruments.

private dining: activity is taking place in the privacy of interior dining area.

private needlework: The subject(s) is occupied with her needlework, a home-centered activity.

private la toilette: female subject preparing her toilette, with or without maid.

private interior: interior setting illustrating private moments.

ambiguous public/private: setting is not clearly identified as private or public, such as an open terrace or garden.

group/stylistic association category: Terminology found in print inscriptions which informs the viewer on class, dress function, stylistic derivation, occupation, formal dress, informal dress, military association.

déshabillée: a term used in the title inscription which denotes casual or informal dress, and not the fashion required for official events at Court. Also, casual dress worn by “les gens de qualité.”

de qualité: a term used in the title inscription which signifies nobility.

portraits of nobility: prints with title inscriptions which identify the name(s) of the noble subject(s) in the illustration.

portraits of actors, dancers: stage performers in plays, opera and dance.

habit d'epée: a term used in the title inscription which identifies the subject as belonging to a noble rank linked to the older, land-based French aristocracy, who were granted by law the privilege of wearing a sword.

seasonal dress: a term used in the title inscription which identifies the dress as appropriate for “printemps,” “été,” “automne,” and “hyver.”

de ville: a term used in the title inscription which identifies the dress as city fashion.

mourning dress: dress worn by males and females for mourning and identified by the term “deuil” in the title inscription.

à la Sultane: terms used in the inscription such as “à la Sultane,” “Siamoise”, “Chinoise,” “Grec,” and “Vestalle” which signify fashions influenced by foreign dress, most often seen in prints of the 1680s.

military: subject(s) is illustrated in military attire, and is often pictured in a battle landscape.

historical characters: famous Roman women of strong character, such as Lucretia and Cleopatra (but dressed in seventeenth-century fashion.)

allegories/satires category: The different allegorical themes utilized in fashion prints; the use of a satiric voice in a fashion print.

arts & science: female personification of the arts, such as poetry, painting and sculpture, as well as female personification of the sciences, such as astrology, geometry and medicine.

ages of man: females in fashionable dress illustrating the history of man according to metallurgy, such as “the age of iron,” or “l'aage de fer.”

senses: female personification of the five senses of taste, smell, touch, sight and sound.

seasons, months: female personification of the four seasons and the twelve months of the year.

elements: female personification of the four elements of earth, air, water and fire.

human character: female personification of human traits, such as sincerity and pride.

muses: female personifications of the classical muses, such as Melpomene, Philis and Vrainie.

times of day: female personification of the morning, midday, evening and night.

continents: female personifications of the four continents of Europe, Africa, Asia and America.

social satire: Mocking or satirizing the excesses of fashion in general, as well as direct satirizing of particular fashion plates and the idealized themes they promote.

men's dress category: The different accessories and garment types found in men's seventeenth-century fashionable dress.

sword: signifies rank of nobility; usually worn alongside the subject(s) and held by a "baudrier," or sash.

muff: small muff worn on the wrist, or very large muff tied at waist and worn in front.

plain britches: slightly loose fitting britches which reach just below knee; plain or decorative fabric.

full britches: "petticoat" britches, very full cut and often embellished with ribbons, reaching just below knee.

manteau: for men, this was a long, full cloak, mid-calf in length.

jacket: also known as "justaucorps," this is a long-sleeved, knee-length, outer garment.

banyan: a loose-fitting, full-length robe worn at home, usually constructed of decorative fabric; identified as *robe de chambre* in the prints.

cane: usually carried by hand, and in most cases, in addition to a sword.

hat: large and small hats, worn on the head or carried under the arm.

plumes on hat: ostrich feathers embellishing the crown of the hat.

ribbons: found as bowties or streamers, on hats, cravats, shoulders, sashes, sword hilts, britches, shoes.

lace: men wore lace in their cravats and at the ends of their sleeves, as cuffs.

curly wig: men of quality wore wigs, short and long, and usually curly.

cravat: a short or long decorative accessory made of lace and/or fine muslin worn around the neck which hung down the front of the jacket.

steinkerk: a long cravat named after the 1692 Battle of Steenkerque which was twisted and then inserted into a buttonhole of the jacket.

echarpe: the men's version was a long sash with decorative ends which was tied around the hips.

mask: the only true mask worn by a man is on a harlequin stage costume and is a full-faced, black mask.

book: learned men hold books, or are pictured in libraries; pages hold books for ladies.

gloves: gauntlet leather gloves with fringe embellishment were typical menswear of this period.

turban: worn by some pages who are also pictured in loose dress; a reference to Turkish dress, exoticism.

women's dress category: The different garment types and accessories found in women's seventeenth-century dress.

echarpe: a long, wide shawl worn over the shoulders, and sometimes edged in very wide lace and/or ruffles.

fontanges: the first variation which consists of a simple ribbon tied in a bow and worn on the top of the head.

coiffure à la fontanges: ribbon tied in a bow and worn with a softly draped cornette and coiffe.

fontanges en palisade: ribbon tied in a bow, lace edgings (usually two) a second ribbon tied in a bow, fabric covered wire structure which covers back of headdress; may be horizontal or vertical in orientation.

bonnet à la fontanges: lace layers, with one or two ribbons tied in bows, lace lappets and bonnet.

slanted *bonnet à la fontanges*: as above, and sometimes worn with a larger bonnet which hugs the face and with lappets edging the sides of this bonnet .

commode fontanges: a fluted fabric headdress, lower than earlier headdresses, which retains the bonnet and lace lappets.

unique headdress: unusual, one-of-a-kind hairstyles, often found in allegories and stage costumes.

piled-up hair: hair arranged in a tall shape on top of the head, with or without a headdress.

herluberlu hair: a head full of short curls accompanied by two long, sausage curls, one on each side of the head, which drape down over the shoulders.

muff: a fur role, sometimes decorated with ribbons, which warm hands during cold, winter days.

fan: a decorative, hand-held accessory which is used to cool oneself; often made of precious materials, it was considered an essential part of feminine dress.

book: held by religious women, women attending church, and in allegories about the arts and sciences.

pet: usually a small dog, carried in the arms or alongside a woman; also, occasionally birds resting on a hand.

instrument: women are seen playing harpsichords, guitars, and at least one viol.

handkerchief: a small, decorative fabric square often edged with lace and carried in the hand.

steinkerk: a long cravat named after the 1692 Battle of Steenkerque which was twisted and then inserted into a buttonhole of the *manteau*; one of the few items borrowed from menswear other than riding habits.

mask: usually black and covering either the top half of the face or the whole face.

mirror: a mirror reflected the beauty of the figure in the print, and could be a fixture on a wall or a hand-held object.

ribbons: silk ribbons were worn in the headdress, as bowties down the front of the stomacher, edging sleeve cuffs, on *manteaux* as tiebacks, as closures for *robe de chambre*, and as a form of decorative bracelet.

plumes: feather plumes are seen in headdresses worn with stage costumes, and also in opera and ball dress.

engageantes: long, shaped sleeve cuffs, made of lace or fine muslin, and worn with the longer side covering the elbow.

sleeve ruffles: gathered straight edgings of lace or fine muslin, which is worn in layers at the sleeve ending.

livery: young pages which accompanied women of quality wore a uniform which identified them as a servant of a particular family.

lace: worn in headdresses, bodice edgings, sleeve ruffles, *engageantes*, *echarpes*, *palatines*, capelets, edging *manteaux*, hems of skirts, aprons, fans, handkerchiefs, steinkerk, *robes de chambre*, *habit de chasse*, stage costumes, opera/ball dress.

manteau: a one-piece garment put on like a robe, but close-fitting in the torso and usually belted at the waist; below the waist, the ends were pulled back and tied in order to expose the decorative skirt.

habit: the two-piece garment that preceded the *manteau*; the bodice was heavily boned, and several layers of skirts were worn. The *grand habit* was the court equivalent, which remained a requirement long after the *habit* was no longer fashionable.

robe de chambre: a loose-fitting robe, worn open or closed, which was worn in the home when one received guests.

habit de chasse: the riding habit was borrowed from menswear, with the only change being the substitution of a skirt for britches.

ball, opera dress: fancy dress worn by the nobility which often combined fashionable dress and stage costume.

stomacher: when the front of the *manteau* was left open, a decorative stomacher was inserted into the space.

gloves: women wore close fitting gloves in winter, though are also seen wearing gloves in other seasons; gloves fashioned after men's gloves are worn with the *habit de chasse*.

palatine: a small shoulder shall, made of fur, silk fabrics, or lace.

capelet: worn when preparing the *toilette*, and always shown as made completely of lace.

apron: short, decorative aprons were part of fashionable dress in the 1680s, and sometimes had sewn-in pockets which were edged in decorative fabrics.

APPENDIX IV

stylistic period	total prints	generic fashion	pseudo-portrait	allegory
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	66	66	0	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	227	170	23	32
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	420	147	209	50
IV: early 18th c to 1715	37	11	25	1
Total	750	394	257	83
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	100%	100%	0%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	100%	75%	10%	14%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	100%	35%	50%	12%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	100%	30%	68%	3%
Total	100%	53%	34%	11%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	satire	title inscription	verse inscription or description	fashion descriptor (habit, mode, coiffure, etc)
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0	62	32	46
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	2	222	96	96
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	14	370	119	75
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	30	13	4
Total	16	684	260	221
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	94%	48%	70%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	1%	98%	42%	42%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	3%	88%	28%	18%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	81%	35%	11%
Total	2%	91%	35%	29%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	male	female	female & page	females together
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	33	24	4	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	57	122	16	14
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	103	244	9	16
IV: early 18th c to 1715	12	18	0	2
Total	205	408	29	32
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	50%	36%	6%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	25%	54%	7%	6%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	25%	58%	2%	4%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	32%	49%	0%	5%
Total	27%	54%	4%	4%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	44 total males	33 total female	57% males	43% females
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	92 males	187 females	33% males	67% females
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	183 males	335 females	35% males	65% females
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	19 males	25 females	43% males	57% females

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	males together	males & females	composite	no background
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0	5	1	39
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	1	17	2	120
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	7	43	4	113
IV: early 18th c to 1715	1	4	0	5
Total	9	69	7	277
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	8%	2%	59%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	0%	7%	1%	53%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	2%	10%	1%	27%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	3%	11%	0%	14%
Total	1%	9%	1%	37%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	simple prop/s	partial background	full background	public/dress & gesture
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	2	2	23	18
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	50	17	43	25
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	43	37	227	44
IV: early 18th c to 1715	2	4	26	5
Total	97	60	319	92
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	3%	3%	35%	27%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	22%	7%	19%	11%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	10%	9%	54%	10%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	5%	11%	70%	14%
Total	13%	8%	43%	12%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	public/games	public/hunting	public/shopping	public & private/ dancing
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0	0	1	2
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	0	4	0	3
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	4	6	0	16
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	1	0	0
Total	4	11	1	21
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	0%	2%	3%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	0%	2%	0%	1%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	0%	0%	0%	0%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	3%	0%	0%
Total	1%	1%	0%	3%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	public & private/music	private/dining	private/needlework	private/la toilette
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	6	0	1	1
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	12	7	4	8
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	15	3	1	12
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	0	0	0
Total	33	10	6	21
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	9%	0%	2%	2%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	5%	3%	2%	4%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	0%	0%	0%	0%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	4%	1%	1%	3%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	private/ interior	ambiguous private/public	religious association	Déshabillée
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	3	36	1	6
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	18	136	16	28
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	37	267	13	12
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	27	0	0
Total	58	466	30	46
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	5%	55%	2%	9%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	8%	60%	7%	12%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	0%	0%	0%	3%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	73%	0%	0%
Total	8%	62%	4%	6%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	"de qualité"	portraiture of nobility	portrait of theater actor, dancer	habit d'epée
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	3	0	0	7
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	109	23	0	17
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	88	195	12	0
IV: early 18th c to 1715	4	16	0	0
Total	204	234	12	24
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	5%	0%	0%	11%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	48%	10%	0%	7%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	21%	46%	3%	0%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	11%	43%	0%	0%
Total	27%	31%	2%	3%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	seasonal dress	"de ville"	mourning dress	à la Sultane, Siamoise, Chinoise, Grec, Vestalle
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	16	11	2	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	42	4	4	14
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	15	4	2	1
IV: early 18th c to 1715	1	0	0	0
Total	74	19	8	15
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	24%	17%	3%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	19%	2%	2%	6%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	4%	1%	0%	0%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	3%	0%	0%	0%
Total	10%	3%	1%	2%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	military (cavalier, mareschal, etc)	historical character	allegory/ Arts & Science	allegory/ages of man
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	5	0	0	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	5	0	6	7
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	25	7	5	0
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	0	0	0
Total	35	7	11	7
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	8%	0%	0%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	2%	0%	3%	3%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	6%	2%	0%	0%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	5%	1%	1%	1%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	allegory/senses	allegory/ seasons, months	allegory/ elements	allegory/human character
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0	0	0	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	4	7	3	1
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	5	13	8	2
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	1	0	0
Total	9	21	11	3
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	0%	0%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	2%	3%	1%	0%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	0%	3%	2%	0%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	3%	0%	0%
Total	1%	3%	1%	0%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	allegory/muses	allegory/ times of day	allegory/ continents	social satire
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0	0	0	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	3	0	1	2
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	1	5	5	14
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	0	0	0
Total	4	5	6	16
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	0%	0%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	1%	0%	0%	1%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	0%	1%	1%	3%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	1%	1%	1%	2%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s				
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s				
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s				
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715				

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	men's parts of dress: sword	men's muff	plain breeches	full breeches
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	25	2	20	14
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	53	3	60	3
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	119	15	136	0
IV: early 18th c to 1715	16	0	17	0
Total	213	20	233	17
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	38%	3%	30%	21%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	23%	1%	26%	1%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	28%	4%	18%	0%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	43%	0%	46%	0%
Total	28%	3%	31%	2%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	25 of 44=57%	2 of 44=5%	22 of 44=50%	13 of 44 =30%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	53 of 92=58%	3 of 92=3%	60 of 92=65%	3 of 92= 3%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	119 of 183=65%	15 of 183=8%	136 of 183=74%	0%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	16 of 19=84%	0%	17 of 19=89%	0%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	men's manteau	man's coat	robe de chambre	men's cane
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	5	34	5	13
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	5	73	1	11
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	14	145	4	18
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	16	0	3
Total	24	268	10	45
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	8%	52%	8%	20%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	2%	32%	0%	5%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	3%	35%	1%	4%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	43%	0%	8%
Total	3%	36%	1%	6%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	5 of 44=11%	34 of 44=77%	5 of 44=11%	13 of 44=30%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	5 of 92=5%	73 of 92= 78%	1 of 92=1%	11 of 92=12%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	14 of 184=8%	145 of 183=79%	4 of 183=2%	18 of 183=10%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	0%	16 of 19=84%	0%	3 of 19=16%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	men's hat	hat plumes	men's ribbons	lace
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	38	20	34	34
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	64	47	61	64
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	131	106	33	94
IV: early 18th c to 1715	13	10	2	10
Total	246	183	130	202
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	58%	30%	52%	52%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	28%	21%	27%	28%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	31%	25%	8%	22%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	35%	27%	5%	27%
Total	33%	24%	17%	27%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	38 of 44 = 86%	20 of 44=50%	34 of 44=77%	34 of 44=77%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	64 of 92=70%	47 of 92=51%	61 of 92=66%	64 of 92=70%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	131 of 183=72%	106 of 183=58%	33 of 183=18%	94 of 183=51%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	13 of 19=68%	10 of 19=53%	2 of 19=11%	10 of 19=53%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	curly wig	cravat	steinkerk	echarpe
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	28	38	0	7
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	52	67	0	5
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	118	75	56	25
IV: early 18th c to 1715	15	11	0	2
Total	213	191	56	39
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	42%	58%	0%	11%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	23%	30%	0%	2%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	28%	18%	13%	6%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	41%	30%	0%	5%
Total	28%	25%	7%	5%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	28 of 44=64%	38 of 44=86%	0%	7 of 44=16%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	52 of 92=57%	67 of 92=73%	0%	5 of 92=5%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	118 of 183=64%	75 of 183=41%	56 of 183=31%	25 of 183=14%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	15 of 19=79%	11 of 19=58%	0%	2 of 19=11%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	mask	book	men's gloves	turban
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0	0	25	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	1	4	33	7
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	0	4	63	7
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	0	8	0
Total	1	8	129	14
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	0%	38%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	0%	2%	15%	3%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	0%	1%	15%	2%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	0%	22%	0%
Total	0%	1%	17%	2%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	0%	25 of 44=57%	0%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	1 of 92%=1%	4 of 92=4%	33 of 92=35%	7 of 92=8%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	0%	4 of 184=2%	63 of 183=34%	6 of 183=3%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	0%	0%	8 of 19=42%	0%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	livery	women's echarpe	cornette and coiffe	fontanges
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	4	6	14	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	17	8	2	16
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	11	32	0	1
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	3	0	0
Total	32	49	16	17
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	6%	9%	21%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	7%	4%	3%	7%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	3%	8%	0%	0%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	8%	0%	0%
Total	4%	7%	2%	2%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	4 of 44=9%	6 of 33=18%	14 of 33=42%	0%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	17 of 92=18%	6 of 187=3%	2 of 187=1%	16 of 187=8%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	10 of 183=5%	32 of 335=10%	0%	1 of 335=.3%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	0%	3 of 25=12%	0%	0%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	coiffure à la fontanges	coiffure en palisade	bonnet à la fontanges (lace)	tilted bonnet à la fontanges
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0	0	0	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	45	83	0	0
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	4	12	126	86
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	0	1	0
Total	49	95	127	86
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	0%	0%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	20%	37%	0%	0%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	1%	3%	30%	20%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	0%	3%	0%
Total	7%	13%	17%	11%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	0 of 33=0%	0 of 33=0%	0%	0%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	45 of 187=24%	83 of 187=44%	0%	0%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	4 of 335=1%	12 of 335=4%	126 of 335=38%	86 of 335=26%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	0%	0%	1 of 25=4%	0%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	commode fontanges	unique headdress	piled-up hair	herluberlu
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0	16	0	13
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	0	8	9	7
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	0	54	52	0
IV: early 18th c to 1715	21	1	2	0
Total	21	79	63	20
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	24%	0%	20%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	0%	4%	4%	3%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	0%	13%	12%	0%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	57%	3%	5%	0%
Total	3%	11%	8%	3%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	0%	16 of 33=48%	0 of 33=0%	13 of 33=39%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	0%	8 of 187=4%	9 of 187=5%	6 of 187=4%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	0%	54 of 335=16%	52 of 335=16%	0%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	21 of 25=84%	1 of 25=4%	2 of 25=8%	0%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	women's muff	fan	book	pet
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	8	7	0	1
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	21	51	12	11
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	54	114	12	17
IV: early 18th c to 1715	4	11	1	1
Total	87	183	25	30
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	12%	11%	0%	2%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	9%	22%	5%	5%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	13%	27%	3%	4%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	11%	30%	3%	3%
Total	12%	24%	3%	4%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	8 of 33=24%	7 of 33=21%	0%	1 of 33=3%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	21 of 187=11%	51 of 187=27%	12 of 187=6%	11 of 187=6%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	54 of 335=16%	114 of 335=34%	12 of 335=4%	17 of 335=5%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	4 of 25=16%	11 of 25=44%	1 of 25=4%	1 of 25=4%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	instrument	handkerchief	steinkerk	mask
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	3	1	0	4
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	6	5	0	18
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	10	9	16	16
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	0	0	0
Total	19	15	16	38
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	5%	2%	0%	6%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	3%	2%	0%	8%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	2%	2%	4%	4%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	3%	2%	2%	5%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	3 of 33=9%	1 of 33=3%	0%	4 of 33=12%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	6 of 187=3%	5 of 187=3%	0%	18 of 187=7%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	10 of 335=3%	9 of 335=3%	16 of 335=5%	16 of 335=5%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	10 of 25=40%	0%	0%	0%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	mirror	ribbons	plumes	engageantes
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	2	22	2	0
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	12	140	5	47
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	22	129	29	254
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	8	2	14
Total	36	299	38	315
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	3%	33%	3%	0%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	5%	62%	2%	21%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	5%	30%	7%	60%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	22%	5%	38%
Total	5%	40%	5%	42%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	2 of 33=6%	22 of 33=67%	2 of 33=6%	0 of 33=0%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	12 of 187=6%	140 of 187=75%	5 of 187=3%	47 of 187=25%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	22 of 335=7%	129 of 335=39%	29 of 335=9%	255 of 335=67%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	0%	8 of 25=32%	2 of 25=8%	14 of 25=56%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	sleeve ruffles	lace	stomacher	gloves
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	25	27	4	18
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	92	142	34	59
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	18	271	168	158
IV: early 18th c to 1715	4	15	15	9
Total	139	455	221	244
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	38%	41%	6%	27%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	41%	63%	15%	26%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	4%	65%	40%	38%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	11%	41%	41%	24%
Total	19%	61%	29%	33%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	25 of 33=76%	27 of 33=82%	4 of 33=12%	18 of 33=55%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	92 of 187=49%	142 of 187=76%	34 of 187=18%	59 of 187=32%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	18 of 335=5%	271 of 335=81%	168 of 335=50%	158 of 335=47%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	4 of 25=16%	15 of 25=60%	15 of 25=60%	9 of 25=36%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	palatine	capelet	apron	women's manteau
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	4	1	4	23
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	1	7	28	119
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	6	4	31	203
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0	1	2	16
Total	11	13	65	361
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	6%	2%	6%	35%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	0%	3%	12%	52%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	1%	1%	7%	48%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	0%	3%	5%	43%
Total	1%	2%	9%	48%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	4 of 33=12%	1 of 33=3%	4 of 33=12%	23 of 33=70%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	1 of 187=0%	7 of 187=4%	28 of 187=15%	119 of 187=64%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	6 of 335=2%	4 of 335=1%	31 of 335=4%	203 of 335=61%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	0%	1 of 25=4%	2 of 25=8%	16 of 25=64%

APPENDIX IV (cont.)

stylistic period	"habit"	robe de chambre	habit de chasse	bal, opera costume
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	7	1	0	2
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	22	16	5	4
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	19	30	7	44
IV: early 18th c to 1715	2	0	0	3
Total	50	47	12	53
I: middle 1670s to late 1670s	11%	2%	0%	3%
II: early 1680s to early 1690s	10%	7%	2%	2%
III: middle 1690s to late 1690s	5%	7%	2%	10%
IV: early 18th c to 1715	5%	0%	0%	8%
Total	7%	6%	2%	7%
% according to gender, middle 1670s to late 1670s	7 of 33=21%	1 of 33=3%	0%	2 of 33 = 6%
% according to gender, early 1680s to early 1690s	22 of 187=12%	16 of 187=9%	5 of 187=3%	4 of 187=2%
% according to gender, middle 1690s to late 1690s	19 of 335=6%	30 of 335=9%	7 of 335=2%	44 of 335=13%
% according to gender, early 18th c to 1715	2 of 25=8%	0%	0%	3 of 25=12%

APPENDIX V
SAMUEL PEPYS: PRINTS NEWLY IDENTIFIED
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- 153a: Jean Mariette, *Homme de qualité en habit d'esté*
153b: Henri Bonnart, *Monseieur le Duc de Chartres, fils de Monsieur*
- 154a: Jean Mariette, *Officier en manteau*
154b: Jean Mariette, *Officier en manteau*
- 155a: Jean Mariette, *Dame de qualité chantant*
155b: Claude-Auguste Berey, *Homme de qualité en robe de chambre*
- 156a: unidentified artist and subject
156b: Claude-Auguste Berey, *Madame la Princess de Montbazon*
- 157a: Jean Mariette, *Dame de qualité en habit d'hyver*
157b: Jean Mariette, *Elisabeth-Charlotte Palatine, duchesse d'Orléans*
- 158a: Claude-Auguste Berey, *Madame la duchesse de Baviere*
158b: Jean Mariette, *Madame la Marquise de Grancy*
- 159a: Jean Mariette, *Madame la Marquise de Richelieu*
159b: Jean Mariette, *Dame de qualité en echarpe*
- 160a: Jean Mariette, *Dame de qualité en habit d'esté*
160b: Claude-Auguste Berey, *Madame la duchesse de Bourgogne*
- 161a: Jean Mariette, *Dame en conversation*
161b: unidentified artist and subject

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GLOSSARY³⁸⁸

aiguillettes, les: Metal tipped cords or pieces of fabric which are used to attach one thing to another. *One attaches the haut-de chausses with an aiguillette.* Also called *aiguillettes* are tufts of ribbon or iron-tipped cords which one puts at the base of the britches for ornamental use only. They may also be used in imperial horse drawn carriages for decoration only. The *haut-de-chausse* was attached to the pourpoint with many *aiguillettes* (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) These metallic tipped string ties were used to attach men's britches to the *pourpoint*. They were referred to in English dress as 'points' (Ruppert, 92.)

assasins, les: Beauty patches, known as *assassins*, are part of the play of gallantry and manners of the times. These are worn by coquettish women in order to appear more beautiful (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

barbes, les: Although not defined as an aspect of dress in either Basnage/Furetière, 1701, or Académie Française, 1694, it is found in the 1798 *dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*. *Les barbes* are the bands of toile or lace which hang from the *cornettes* of women (Académie Française, 5th ed., 1758.) In the 1690s, the scarf worn with the *bonnet à la Fontanges* was replaced by two long lace streamers, called "lappets" in English. They varied in length, and could be worn hanging down the front or back shoulders, or tied up onto the top of the bonnet. Over time, the lace design used in *barbes* became increasingly sophisticated and ornate (Davis.)

bas-de-jupe, le: This woman's garment was worn as a skirt over the *friponne*, petticoat. If constructed as a one-piece garment with a *corps-de-jupe*, bodice, the resulting garment was known simply as the *jupe*. (Ruppert. 96, 98)

³⁸⁸ These references provided definitions for the glossary. .Beckerig, Vincent and Tania Sutton. *Lexique bilingue de la Mode/Bilingual Fashion Glossary*. Paris: Éditions Falbalas, 2009. Blum, André. *Histoire du costumes au XVII et au XVIII siècles*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1928. Fairholt, Frederick. *Costume in England: Glossary*. London: Whittingham & Company, 1885. Furetière, Antoine. *Dictionnaire universel*. 2nd edition. edited by Henri Basnage. De la Haye et Rotterdam: A.R. Leers, 1701. Godard de Donvilles, Louise. *Signification de la mode sous Louis XIII*. Aix-en-Provence: aEdisud, 1978. Ruppert, Jacques and Madeleine Delpierre. *Le Costume français*. Paris: Flammarion, 2007. Viallon, Marie. *Paraître et se vêtir au XVIe siècle, Actes du XIIIe Colloque du Puy-en-Velay*. Puy-en-Vilay: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006.

bas-de-robe, le: The *robe* formed the outermost layer of a woman's garment. The *bas-de-robe* was a skirt worn over the *bas-de-jupe* or *jupe*. If constructed as a one-piece garment with a *corps-de-robe* (robe bodice), the resulting garment was known simply as the *robe*. (Ruppert, 96,98)

basque,le: The *basque* was a short, skirt-like extension attached below the waist of a man's doublet. It was popular in first half of century. (Ruppert, 92)

bonnet, le: The bonnet is a part of dress which serves to cover the head and frame the face. Examples include a child's bonnet and the *bonnet à l'Angloise*. One puts one's hair under a bonnet (to curl it??) There are some plumed bonnets, round bonnets, and iron bonnets (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

brandebourgs, les: A large coat which has recently become fashionable. It is mid-leg length and with sleeves longer than the arms. For ornament, numerous buttons are lined up one upon the other. This name crossed into France in 1674, when the Électeur de Brandebourg entered to Alsace. The people of this Électeur wore this type of coat. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

Horizontal bandings called *brandebourgs* were used to decorate the vertical closures of women's bodices and skirts, or as decorative button closures on men's jackets and coats. They were named after the décor found on garments worn by the German *Brandebourgeois* and were popular throughout the century. (Ruppert, 98)

busque/busc, le: Piece of wood, ivory or baleen, which women put in the *corps-de-juppe* (bodice) to keep it straight. They were also made of steel. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

busquiere, la: This is the opening in the *corps-de-jupe* into which women insert their *busques*. It is also the round end of their *corps-de-jupe* where they insert their *busques*. A *busquiere* also refers to a small piece of embroidered material, which the women who are dressing in a manteau put in front of their stomach on the *corps-de-jupe* and which leaves a small amount exposed (stomacher.) It may also be a style of small hook, which women wear at their waist, and which to one end is very often in the form of a small rose adorned with diamonds, pearls or other

precious stones (chatelaine.) There are *busquieres* of silver or of polished steel for the simple bourgeoisies. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

canons, les: A close-fitting half-stockings which extended to the middle of the thigh or leg, made of silk or wool. They were sometimes worn with boots. They were attached below the *haut-de-chausses*, britches. They was at one time a fashionable variation made from a large gathered circle of fabric which attached below the knees and covered the leg. These were sometimes embellished with lace or ribbons which attached to the lower edge of the britches.

(Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) By the time of Louis XIV, these were no longer worn. (Blum, 98)

casaque, la: A *casaque* was a man's coat which was worn as an outer layer and had long sleeves which covered the arms. It was convenient for wearing while riding on horseback.

(Basnage/Furetière, 1701)

chause, la: A leg stocking which one used to cover nudity or supply warmth.

(Basnage/Furetière, 1701)

chemise, la: The first garment which one puts on, it is located next to the skin. The person who gives the *chemise* to the king is the one of the greatest quality present at his *lever*. They make the *chemise* from Holland fabric, of cotton or *chanvre* (hemp...linen?) To be *en chemise*, or nude *en chemise* is to have nothing on but one's *chemise*. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) The *chemise* was a staple article of clothing for both men and women. The sleeves and collar were plain or embellished with lace, and allowed to show according to the fashion of the times.

(Ruppert, 82, 84, 85, 92, 96, 109)

chemisette, la: A partial garment which is located at the waist, and covers the arms, back and stomach. Men wear *chemisettes* under the *pourpoint*, and made up of various fabrics, including satin, chamois, cotton, etc. Women wear a *chemisette* of serge, or other fabrics, over the top of their bodice.

chiquetade, la grande: This fashionable embellishment consisted of long slashes cut into the fabric of men's doublets and was popular in the first half of the seventeenth century. (Ruppert, 90)

chiquetade, la petite: Also fashionable were short slashes that were cut into the cloth of men's doublets in the first half of the seventeenth century. (Ruppert, 90)

col rabattu, le: This flat, rectangular collar tied around the neck and was worn at the center front, over the *pourpoint*, doublet. The *col rabattu*, also called the *rabat*, evolved from the falling collar. (Ruppert, 92, 108)

collerette, la: A type of small collar which women wear to cover the throat; especially the peasant and lower class women (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

collet, le: A piece of clothing which encloses the neck, which is placed around the neck. They chiefly call it the top part of a *pourpoint* which encircles the neck. A *chemise* may have a *collet*. The *collet* of a *manteau* is a piece of fabric which is worn on top of the *manteau* and along the shoulders. It is also a linen accessory that one puts on the *collet* of the *pourpoint*. For men, one calls this a *rabat*. For women, they no longer wear them, but they used to wear a collar, raised in front and supported by the use of a metal wire frame, called a *collet monté*. They still call an old, critical woman, a zealous chaperon, a *collet monté*. Moliere made a pleasing usage of this word in "Les Femmes Sçavantes", when Belise says that the word "solicitude" is better referred to as the *colet monté*. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

collet débordé, le: An extremely large ruff, this fashionable woman's accessory was popular in the early years of the seventeenth century. Although in France it was later replaced by the falling collar, it retained its popularity in the Netherlands up until the middle years of the century. (Ruppert, 88)

commode, le: The term for the modern coiffure of women is *commode*. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) This term changed meaning during the reign of Louis XIV. Originally, it referred to the

wire support of the cap frill, but later denoted the entire cap (de Marly, 93.) After 1696, the new and simpler *coiffure* which replaced the *fontanges*, was known as the *commode*. (Ruppert,122)

cornette, la: In the past, this referred to many types of headdress. No longer now in commonly used language, that of the coifs or linens, that the women put at night on their heads, and when they are in *deshabillé*. This *accouchée* (a mother who has just given birth) has a beautiful *cornette* of lace of Point de France. The coquets put around their faces *cornettes* made of *toile d'ortie*, (fine fiber extracted from nettle plants) as well as yellow *cornettes* in order to protect their fresh complexions. One calls this headdress a *cornette*, because of the two ends which resemble horns. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

corps-de-cotte, le: The stitched bodice that the women wear under their *robes*, on which they attach their *jupes* and their *cottes*. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701)

corps-de-jupe, le: The *corps-de-jupe*, also called *corsage*, was the separate bodice of a woman's two-part layer of clothing. If the layer was unified into a one-piece garment, the entire piece would be referred to as the *jupe*. (Rupert, 96,98) The bodice area of the garment , whether *manteau* or *habit*. See Basnage/Furetière, 1701 definition for *le piece d'estomac* below (Davis.)

corsage, le: This is a popular term used to identify the figure of a person. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) The *corsage* and the *corps-de-jupe* are two different terms which translate as the bodice of a woman's outfit.

corset, le: The corset worn by villagers. Also a small quilted, unboned corset worn by women who are in *en deshabillé* (L'Académie françoise)

cotte, la: A partial women's garment, which attaches at the waist and extends below. It is no longer worn only by peasants, but is also now worn by persons of the quality, who call it *jupe*, especially those that are worn as upper layers, and are trained. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701)

cravate, la: This is a collar piece worn by men, when they are dressed for campaign or in *justaucorps*, which they tie around the neck, with the two ends hanging down below the chin. Several fabrics were used for this piece, such as Point de France lace and taffeta, as well as

muslin for mourning. The fashion of this modification dates from 1636. It came from Germany, and is first attributed as an invention of the Croates, who were referred to as *cravates*. A *cravat* was also a neck piece worn by women around their robe, which went around their chest and shoulders. They could be made of lace or plain fabric. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701) This accessory replaced the *rabat* as fashionable men's neckwear in the late 1660s. It consisted of a wide piece of lace or lace-edged cloth which was gathered in front and tied with cord around the neck.

(Ruppert, 84, 92, 113)

criarde, le: The manteau was pulled back and bunched up to form a bustle, which maintained its shape due to a stuffing made up of a roll of gummed fabric. This support structure was called a *criarde*. (Blum, 32)

culotte, la: Type of short *haut de chausse* with metal-tipped cords to which one sometimes attached the stockings, the *canons*, or the *rhingraves*. They promised to this valet a *justaucorps* and a *culotte*. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

culotin, le: A type of *haut de chausse* which is narrow and only on the thigh, which is tight for holding the stockings. It sometimes has some buttons on the side of the knee and around the top of the knee, it may have some *aiguillettes* and ribbons (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

culotte courte, la: These slightly loose fitting men's britches replaced the *rhingraves*, or petticoat britches. The *veste*, *justaucorps* and the *cullotes* were the three basic parts of menswear during the later years of the rule of Louis XIV. (Blum, 97; Ruppert, 113)

décolleté,e: A woman's neckline is *décolleté* when it is low-cut. In the seventeenth century, this type of neckline was worn by the aristocracy and nobility, and signaled high social and economic class. (Beckerig, 69; Ruppert, 82)

déshabillé, le: A state of the *toilette*, when one is wearing a *robe de chambre* or other need for which it serves, when one is in private; for example, when one is dressing, or when one is undressing. You cannot speak to Monsieur, as he is still in his *déshabillé*, in his *robe de chambre*. *Déshabillé* is also a colored garment which women wear at home and which is

opposite of the black garments which are worn when they make ceremonial visits.

(Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) In the seventeenth century, *déshabillé* described informal dress, or dress inappropriate for Court. Representations of *déshabillé* vary in their degree of simplicity (Ruppert, 88,117)

escharpe, or écharpe, la: This wide sash or scarf was made of silk taffeta, silk tissue, lace or silver. Women wore the *écharpe* as wide stoles around the shoulders, while the men's version was worn like a belt at the waist. (Godard de Donvilles/Furetiere, 263) A large and wide piece of taffeta which the military wears sometimes as a belt, sometimes in the manner of a *baudrier* (baldric, or sword sash.) It often is used to distinguish the unit. The red *écharpe* is worn by the Spanish, the white by France, while England and the Savoyards are blue, and Holland is orange An *écharpe* is also a piece of taffeta which women put on their head to protect them from rain. It is also used to cover the shoulders when they go out in *dishabilie*, or in colored and *negligee* dress. Sometimes one called it a *cappe*, but this is when it is deliberately cut or rounded, or when there is some lace or ornament attached. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) Both men's and women's *écharpes* are seen edged with deep borders of lace (Davis.)

écoussons, les: Located on the side seam of men's britches in first half of seventeenth century, this *passementerie* embellishment was trimmed with buttons and pearls (Ruppert, 92)

engageante, l': Colored ribbon ties which young women wear on their breasts. Every day she changes her *engageant* and her *fontange*. A type of sleeve of fabric, or of lace, which hangs from the end of the arms (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

falbala, la: A band of pleated and gathered fabric which women place on the front part of their skirts and which decorates the lower edges of these skirts. They presently place them almost completely on the upper part of the skirt. They wear them also on their small aprons (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) The *falbala* was a horizontal skirt ruffle which appeared in the 1690s. At the turn of the century, these ruffles migrated to the vertical sides of the manteau and the sleeves edges, creating a full silhouette. (Davis)

fontanges, la: Ribbons bowties which the women, who present themselves neatly, wear on the back of their coiffure, and a little at above the forehead and which holds the coiffure in place. This name comes from Mlle de Fontange who first wore this bowtie when she began to appear at Court. A *fontange* could be yellow, red, blue, etc (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

Fontanges, bonnet à la: In this version of the *fontange*, hair is pulled back into a chignon and then covered by a bonnet. A tiered column of lace is worn on the top front of the head, held into place with wire and pins. Two long lace *barbes*, lappets, were often worn with the *bonnet à la Fontanges*, which could be tied up onto the top of the bonnet, or left to hang down the front or back shoulders. See *commode* and *frelange*. (Ruppert, 120)

Fontanges, coiffure à la: The *coiffure à la Fontanges* is a piling-up of tiered curls, of tufts, of twists of hair. A *fontanges* referred to the coiffure that used ribbon to tie up the hair. (Ruppert, 120; de Marly, 93)

fraise, la: This is the general French term for “ruff,” the circular, pleated, starched and often lace-edged collar that was worn by both men and women in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. (Ruppert, 82)

fraise à la confusion, la: The *fraise à la confusion* was a limp, unstarched ruff, known as a “falling ruff” in English. It enjoyed a short popularity in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. (Ruppert, 92)

frelange, la: The term is a corruption of the word, *fontanges*. (Fairholt, 171) A cap that has lace lappets is a *frelange* (de Marly, 93)

fripoone, la: The term for the petticoat used during the period of Louis XIII was *fripoone*. (Ruppert, 97,98,100)

galons, le : In the first half of the century, *galons*, a type of decorative braid; was used to embellish men’s britches. (Ruppert, 92)

gourgandine, la: The type of stomacher or corset which is laced on the exterior (Boursalt, *Les Mots à la mode*.) A prostitute (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

habit, le: That which serves to cover the nudity of man. Adam and Eve made the first *habits* of fig leaves, when they became aware of their own nudity. The long *habit* is worn by priests and the robe nobility. The short *habit* is worn by courtesans, military, as much in the city as in the country, and for the hunt. The French often change the fashion of their *habits*.

(Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

hauts-de-chausses, les: The part of the men's dress which is from the waist to the knees
(Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) In the late seventeenth century, French men wore *hauts-de-chausses*, called trunk hose or britches, in English. (Ruppert, 82,92)

hauts-de-manches, les: The part of the body of the *jupe* or the *pourpoint* where one attaches the sleeves (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

houppelande, la: This garment was originally a cape or shepherd's *manteau* made of leather, which was later worn by travels to protect them from rain. It had a side opening with button closures. Since then it has been used as a *manteau de parade*, which was embellished with embroidery along the length of the side seam, along the two sides of the shoulders in front and in back. It was also a woman's *habit* cut into the shape of a long trailing *manteau*. It had a large collar and cuffed sleeves, and was embellished with fur. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

hurluberlu, le: In 1671, Mme de Sévigné described the *hurluberlu* thus: "Imagine hair parted in two, like a peasant's, just into two fat rolls. One cuts the hair of each side, stage by stage, of which one makes two large round negligee curls which come below the ear. One puts ribbons as usual and a large curl tied between the rolls and the coiffure." (Ruppert, 120)

jardinière, la: A piece of cloth with lace edging which encircles the face (Boursalt.) One who works to cultivate a garden (Basnage/ Furetière)

jupe, la: Women's dress which is worn from the hips to the floor, and which they wear under a manteau or a *bas-de-robe*. The outer jupes are trained, and have a long trailing edge. Because of this, the women are obliged to carry their *jupes*. When they say to their servants, "bring my *jupe*" they mean the *bas de la robe* of *jupe*. There are underneath *jupes*, also. There are also

some inbetween *jupes*, and these are worn between the robe and the underneath *jupe*. They make *jupes* of many types of rich fabrics, some *jupes* with embroidery, some with point lace. There are flounced *jupes*, light *jupes* for summer of taffeta, gauze, and linen (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) This women's garment was worn over the *chemise* and under the *robe*. It could be a one-piece garment that included a skirt or a skirt with a separate bodice. (Ruppert, 96-101)

jupon, le: A small, very short underneath *jupe*, which was worn by women. For men, a *jupon* is a type of large *pourpoint*, or small *justaucorps* which has a long *basque* but does not have a *busquiere*. It is not a tight garment and is a type of vest suitable for wear in the summer. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) One of the terms for 'petticoat,' *jupon* was used to describe men's petticoat britches as well as women's underskirts (Ruppert, 96.98,110, 115)

justaucorps, le: A type of (sleeved) vest which ends at the knees, which is close fitting, forms to the waist, and which has pockets that are sometimes high, and sometimes low, according to the changes in fashion. For some time, the fashion has been that each one goes about in *juste-au-corps*, dressed in *juste-au-corps* of velour, wool fabric, etc. In the past it was worn only by the military. There is also a *juste-au-corps* worn by women, which is open in the back and comes just to the mid-thigh. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) This form of men's jacket emerged during the reign of Louis XIV. It opened at the front and reached below the knees. It was cut with an increasingly full skirt towards the end of the century. (Ruppert, 111,113)

justaucorps à brevet, le: This version of the *justaucorps* was embroidered in precious metals of gold and silver and lined in red fabric. The lace on this *justaucorps* is *Point de France* or *Point d'Espagne* (*Le Mercure Galant*, Oct. 1678, 367-368). The wearing of this garment was restricted by Louis XIV. He granted permission only to a finite number of courtiers, who considered it a mark of royal favor. (Ruppert, 106)

manche, la: Part of the chemise or of the clothing which covers the partly or entirely covers the arms. The sleeves of a priest's garment, the *soutane*, reach the wrist. The sleeves of the female angels rarely pass the elbow. The sleeves of a *casaque*, of a sleeved *manteau*, of a *brandebourg*,

are so long, that they turn them up. This *pourpoint* is embellished on the sleeves. This *robe* is open at the *manches*. The Spanish wear hanging sleeves attached to the back of their *pourpoint*. The pages wear them also. False sleeves, or *fausses manches*, are large cuffs which serve in place of fine chemise sleeves and which can be changed in favor of clean ones. This term is also used for sleeves with a removable lining of *ratine*, or *doüate* which serves to keep the arms warm. *Garde-manches* are made of fur which they put on the sleeves to preserve them. Some sleeves are encircled with lace or ribbon embellishment which on puts between the bottom of the sleeve and the *manchette*. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

manchette, la: The *manchette* is a small strip of ornamental fabric which one puts on the wrists at the bottom of the sleeves. The *rabat* and the *manchette* are usually of the same lace, of the same type. Some *manchettes* are of plain fabric, without lace, simple and lined. The people of the church or those who are in high mourning wear the small *manchettes* or only the small pieces of fabric attached at the bottom of their sleeves (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

manchon, le: Fur that is worn in winter, for putting one's hands into, while keeping them warm. The *manchons* were formerly for women only; but today men wear them. The most beautiful *manchons* are made of sable. The Cavaliers have *manchons* made of otter or tiger. A woman puts her nose into her *manchon* to hide her identity. A small dog *de manchon* is one which women can carry in their *manchon*. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

mante, la: A long black floor-length and trailing veil which is worn by women of high quality during mourning. They are also worn by religious groups, both men and women (L'Académie françoise.)

manteau,le: Large and ample outer garment, which is worn in summer for decoration and in the winter to defend from the cold and rain. In the past, a complete *habit* consisted of a *pourpoint*, *haut-de-chausses* and the *manteau*. Now they wear the *manteau* on top of the *justaucorps*, but only in winter. In the country, they wear the *manteau* to safeguard themselves from the cold. For women, a *manteau* was part of the *robe de chambre*, which women wear on top of their

corps de juppe. These include embroidered *manteaus* and quilted *manteaus*. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) There is also a garment called a *manteau* worn by women which is a pleated *robe* fitted at the waist with a belt (Académie Française, 1694.)

meule de Moulin, la: Millstone ruff; large ruff. (Ruppert, 82)

mode, la: Most particularly, the manners of dressing oneself, of adjusting one's attire to follow the styles set by the court.³⁸⁹ The French change fashion every day. The Spanish are constant in their manners and never change fashion. The most extravagant are those who invent fashion. This woman is coiffed *à la mode*. There are fashionable games, fashionable devotions and fashionable beauties, who rule the day. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) Merchants gains from changes in fashion.³⁹⁰ (Furetière, 1690)

mouche, la: A small piece of back taffeta (beauty patch) which women put on their faces for decoration, or to make their skin appear whiter. There are some *hommes galans* who put on *mouches* for pleasure. The *devots* cry out against the *mouches*, as a mark of coquetry. The *mouches* that are cut long are known as *assasins*. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

négligé,e: casual. “The fashionable dress at the maturity of Louis XIII would crystallize some attributes which would survive until the Revolution: long masculine hair, the taste of both sexes for lace and ribbons, the charm of a certain disheveled, carelessness and a new liberality of appearance, purely French, which traversed the centuries.” (Ruppert, 88,92.)

palatine, la: A fur which women put on their neck in winter to cover their throat and keep them warm. “One considered buying a palatine for 40 pistoles.” (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

panne, la: A sort of hairy fabric made of silk or linen, but usually of silk. When one simply calls for *panne*, it is silk they are referring to (Académie Française, 1694.)

³⁸⁹ In the second edition of 1701, this sentence was changed to read, “Most particularly the manners of dressing oneself, of adjusting one's attire to follow the styles set by the court, or by the fashionable set.

³⁹⁰ This sentence referring to the merchants is absent from the 1701 edition.

panseron, le: part of the doublet, stuffed at the front and pointed, giving to the silhouette a Punch and Judy aspect. It imitated a piece of armor called *pansièr* (Ruppert, 82,86; Viallon, 284)

pantelon, le: A *pantelon* is a one-piece garment that begins at the neck and ends at the feet, usually worn by comedic actors. It is also a type of under garment which is constructed as one piece and worn on the lower half of the body (Académie Française, 1694.)

passement, le: Bobbin lace used for embellishment, for applying onto *habits*. It is made of gold, silver, silk and linen thread. The word *passement* is almost general for all sorts of lace. It is different from *galons*, and *veloutez*, which are woven, and are only a simply fabric. Instead; the *passements* and the *dentelles* are made on a pillow with bobbins and following the points and prickings of a pattern (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) A fabric that is flat and narrow and made of gold, silk or wool thread. It is used as embellishment on garments and furniture (Académie Française, 1694.)

passe-poil, le: A small taffeta border made of satin or other fabric, which is different from the cloth of the *habit*, and is located at its hem (Académie Française, 1694.)

piece d'estomac, le: A strip of fabric which women put at the front of their *corps de juppes*, sometimes for ornament, sometimes to be careful of and conserve their *habits*, like the Marchandes. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

piergeries, les: Precious gems worn by women who go to balls (Basnage/Furetière.) Also, found commonly inserted into the coiffure, both hair and headdress.

pourpoint, le: A man's garment for the upper part of the body which begins at the collar and ends at the waist. Some pourpoint were slashed. They were constructed of scented leather, satin, drap and toile. A pourpoint without sleeves is worn in summer under the *soutane*. Some *pourpoints* have large *basques*, some small (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) This men's garment was equivalent to the English doublet; and similarly had sleeves. In the 1670s, the *pourpoint* was replaced by a *veste* and *justaucorps*. (Ruppert, 82, 89, 92, 109; Blum, 97)

rabat, le: The piece of *toile* which men put around the collar of their *pourpoint*, as much for ornament as for propriety. A *rabat à dentelle*, a *rabat de point*, a plain *rabat*, a starched *rabat*. One attaches the *rabat* with some tassles. The Jesuites do not wear any *rabats*. Menage (French scholar) says that *rabat* comes from the verb, *rabattre* (to pull down over something), because the *rabat* in the past was only a collar of the chemise which fell down onto the shoulders (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) Usually a *rabat* refers to the flat, rectangular collar popular in the early years of the reign of Louis XIV. It is a general term referring to a falling, or turned down, collar rather than a ruff ; different forms worn by both men and women (Ruppert, 82, 84, 86, 92, 97, 108, 109, 113, 114.)

rayon, le: At the end of the century, women's headdress evolved into a row of frills which encircled the head like the rays of the sun and called a *rayon*. (Basnage/Furetière 1701)

ratine, la: Ratine is a type of fabric made of wool, and is made in Florence, Spain and Holland (Académie Française, 1694.)

rebras de dentelles, les: lace ruffles at the sleeve endings that were reversed upwards towards forearm. (Ruppert, 88, 92, 97)

rhingraves, les: These petticoat britches were popular during the 1660s and were characterized by a gathered band of lace or ribbons that extended below the lower hem of the britches.

Brought to France from Holland (Ruppert, 85, 110, 11, 113; Blum, 97)

robe, or robbe, la: Ample garment which covers all the body and which is different according to the person who is wearing it. A *robe de chambre* is worn for comfort at home, while having one's hair combed, to arrange oneself, or to take care of the *chambre*. One dresses infants in a robe, when one takes off their *maillot*. Women have their *visite de ceremonie* wearing their robes *detroussée* (un-trussed/loosely/without ties); they wear a *corps de robe* and a *bas de robe*. When one salutes the princesses, one kisses the hem of the Princesses' *robes* to show respect.

In regard to men, it is not only the garment which is worn by the people of Justice and the *Graduez* (Graduates?), these being the *gens de robe*, or *gens de robe longue*. It is also the ample

garment that one puts on top of the standard *habit*, which reaches just to one's heels, and which has very large sleeves in regard to the lay people and very narrow in regards to the clerics. The counselors of the royal court and the doctors (*médicins*) wear the red robe. The doctors are always in robe and bonnet at la Sorbonne (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

charrette, la: cartwheel ruff; large ruff. (Ruppert, 82)

satin, le: Silk fabric , shiny and lustrous, with very fine warp threads, and beyond that, the weft is thick and hidden ; this is what gives it its lustre. The most beautiful satin is that of Florence and Genoa and then that of Lyon. The satins of Bruges are a warp of linen and a weft of silk; which gives them the name of cassard (caffard ?) The plain satin is that which is brilliant and one color. It is the other types that are which are figured, and have a diversity of several colors or figures, such as one adds of new warp or weft to make the construction. One makes robes, jupes, culottes of satin. They print images, such as Thesis, on satin (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

A silk fabric of one color, flat and lustrous (Académie Française, 1694.)

surcot,le: An old word which signified in the past a rich garment, which the Princesses and the Dames put on top of their *habits* (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) This garment dates from the Middle Ages and was worn over *la cotte*, from whence its name. At that time, it was usually short for men and long for women. (Viallon, 290) Identified in several seventeenth century prints.

(Davis)

tablier, le: A piece of cloth, or of toile, that women put on the front of themselves for adornment. A *tablier* might be of *Point de France, d'Angleterre*, or of muslin. One wore in the past *tabliers* in the front of the skirts, of the same cloth as the lower part of the robe. *Tablier* is also that which one wore in front to protect the *habits*. The servants have *tabliers de cousine* (kitchen aprons) of coarse *toile*. The artisans have *tabliers* of leather. The women of the markets have *tabliers à bourse* for keeping their money. The Marechaux (blacksmiths?) wear them for storing their *cloux* (nails) and their *manteau* (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

taffetas, le: Fine, silk fabric of one color. It is usually used to make lining or lightweight *habits*.

It is also used for headdresses, *écharpes* and ribbons. The *taffetas armoisin* comes from Italy and Lion. These are made in numerous colors. The taffeta of Avignon is called *demi-arnoisin*, and is the lesser in quality, while the English is the best. Taffeta and carpets are distinguished by their thread counts. There are in the lesser, three to four thread count, while the better has six to eight thread count. (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

toile, la: A finer interwoven fabric, of which some are stretched lengthwise and others crosswise. The width of *toile* is wider than a meter due to the stretching. *Toile* made of hemp is household cloth, yellow *toile* which becomes white with use, or in the laundry, or when one puts it in lime. The *toile* made of linen is finer, of which are made linen works and damask. The *toiles* of Holland and demi-Holland. Cotton and painted *toiles* comes from Asian countries. *Toiled'orties* (fibers extracted from nettle plants) is used by women to make their *cornettes*. Silk *toile* is used to make *mouchoir de cou* (neckerchief) which does not prevent them from having their neck show through (ie, transparent.) *Toile cruë* has not been wetted. *Toile cirée* is coated with wax or gum, and is impervious to water, which is used to protect against rain. *Toile d'or* or *toile d'argent* are fabrics with fibers of gold or silver (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

toilette, la: Linen, silk or other fabric with covers a table used for undressing in the evening, and dressing in the morning. One speaks of a *toilette* coffer, a *toilette* mirror, and a *toilette* cloth of brocaded satin, velour or *Point de France*. The place where one keeps make-up, pomades, essences, *mouches*, etc. as well as pincushions and jewels, or a box for powder. Women meet in the Thuilleries to display their beautiful fabrics and be admired for their *toilette*.

(Basnag/Furetière, 1701.)

velours, le: Silk fabric, of which the weft threads are sent around a small knife-edged rod and cut. This creates a piled fabric which is shorter than *panne*. They make *habits* and *robes* of velours (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

velouté, e (adj.): Describes an object made in the manner of *velours*. The colorful *habits* of the *valets* are covered in *veloutez*, of *passements de velours* (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

vertugade, la: Big and full roll of padding which the women were accustomed to wearing below their *corps du robe* (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) This term was used in sixteenth century, and then changed to *vertugadin* in seventeenth century. The seventeenth century marked the decline of the *vertugade* (Ruppert, 82, 88, 96, 98.) The English equivalent of this term is the *farthingale* (Davis)

vertugadin, le: This is an old word which is the diminutive of *vertugade*. It was a part of women's dress which they put at their waist to lift their skirts four or five *pouces* (inches.) It was made of a large, tight *toile* on top of a large iron wire. It would guarantee attention, and was very favorable to girls who were intent to indulge their figures. This fashion is still in use in the Spanish dress, and is called the *garde-infante* (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)

veste, la: Piece of the justaucorps which extends to the knees. In France they wear light *vestes* under their justaucorps. In the Orient, they wear *vestes* on top of their *habits*, and they are a little longer than the French *vestes* (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.) The *pourpoint* (doublet) evolved into a sleeved garment called a *veste* (Blum, 97.)

vestement, or vement, le: Garments, which one puts on one's body to protect from the injuries of the air. The *pourpoint*, the *haut-de-chausse*, and the *manteau* are the *vemens* of men. The *corps*, the *robes*, the *jupes*, the *cotte* are the *vemens* of women (Basnage/Furetière, 1701.)