1 Fractured Perception

Drawings, Prints, and *Verres Cassés*

J. Cabelle Ahn

In 1926, Marcel Duchamp's *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even (The Large Glass)* was damaged in transit from the Brooklyn Museum to the collector Katherine Dreier's home in Milford, Connecticut. The result created the iconic fissures that Duchamp readily embraced as part of the composition. Thirty years after the incident, Duchamp claimed in an interview with James John Sweeney that "the more I look at it the more I like the cracks. They are not like shattered glass; they have a shape … there is almost an intention here—a curious extra intention that I am not responsible for, an intention made by the piece itself, what I call a 'ready-made' intention."[1] Over the past century, artists have embraced the direct and indirect breakage of glass as central to their praxis. For instance, in the *FedEx Boxes* series

Figure 1.1 Etienne Moulinneuf (1706–1789), *Trompe-l'œil after Jean-Siméon Chardin's La Pourvoyeuse*, c. 1770, Oil on canvas, 46.04 × 37.94 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles. Image in the Public Domain.

DOI: 10.4324/9781003478898-3

Figure 1.2 Gaspard Grésly (1712–1756), *Trompe-l'œil sketch in the style of Bouchardon, with broken glass,* c. 1750. Oil on canvas. 39.0 × 27.0 cm. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie. Photo: Daniel Arnaudet. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

(2007–present), Walead Beshty ships packages containing unprotected laminated glass containers fabricated to the exact dimensions of the boxes, with the incurred damage becoming part of the work. Others have found formal inspiration in the fragility of glass: Tara Donovan has made monotypes and paintings directly inspired by cracked tempered glass (2008–2009), and Ed Ruscha's *Busted Glass* series (2007) features hyper-realistic acrylic paintings of shattered panes of translucent glass on colored paper.[2] These contemporary projects stress the role of glass in the presentation, perception, and preservation of art across media.

These concerns find their historic precursor in an understudied sub-genre of paintings popular in France in the second half of the eighteenth century: *verres cassés* (Figures 1.1–1.4). These trompe l'œil paintings were premised on creating the illusion of a framed work on paper under glass that has been strategically "fractured" to showcase the artist's command over light, texture, and the mimicry of another draftsperson or printmaker's hand. Although *verres cassés* were occasionally exhibited in public art displays hosted by provincial art academies and drawing schools, this sub-genre of painting has received little critical attention owing to the paucity of contemporary historical literature and the difficulty in locating surviving works, as museums only began acquiring works of this type since the 2000s.[3] The most prolific painters of *verres cassés* were French artists, including Laurent Dabos, Gaspard Grésly, François Jouvenet, Étienne Moulinneuf, Jean Valette-Falgores Penot, and François Xavier Vispré. However, the little scholarship that exists on this sub-genre has often focused on Louis-Léopold Boilly as its best-known practitioner.

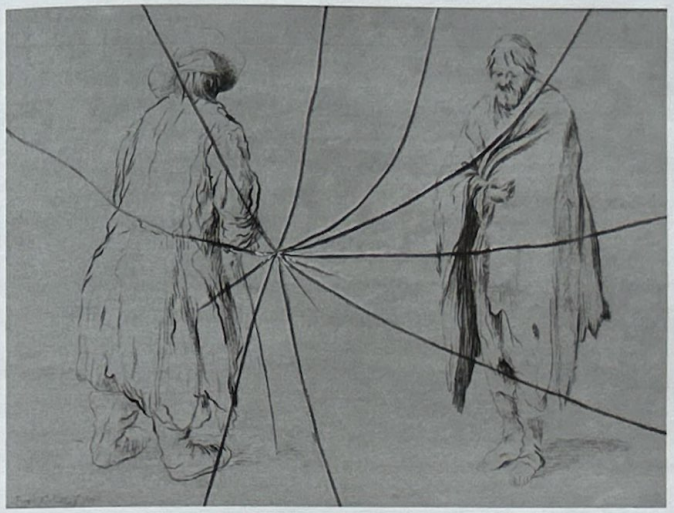

Figure 1.3 Etienne Moulinneuf (c.1715–1789), *A trompe l'œil (after Jacques Callot)*, eighteenth century. Oil on panel, en grisaille, 19.0 × 29.0 cm, The Marianne L. Dreesmann-van der Spek Collection Sale, Sotheby's (12 July 2021). Photo: Courtesy of Sotheby's.

Figure 1.4 Francois-Xavier Vispré (c. 1730– c. 1790), *Trompe-l'oeil after Anthony van Dyck's Madonna and Child with St. Anthony of Padua,* eighteenth century. Oil on board, 44 × 35 cm, Private Collection. Photo: Courtesy of Galen Galerie.

In my view, *verres cassés* reflect a specific moment in French visual culture when technical developments in glass production collided with the growing anxiety over the commercial valorization of drawings and prints over traditional paintings—a conflict I disentangle through a four-part approach. First, I unpack the multiple levels of illusion indexed in this sub-genre. I then examine how attention to framing drawings coincided with developments in plate-glass production in France after 1750. In the third section, I consider how *verres cassés* embodied trepidations over new forms of empiricism that resulted from the introduction of framed drawings and their subsequent re-arrangement of the academic hierarchy of values. Finally, I examine how *verres cassés* materialized the tensions between perception and reception, and between experience and effect, that precipitated the aesthetic turn of the 1750s. Tracing the confluence of new drawing displays, new domestic industrial processes, and the aesthetic turn at large illuminates how the framing not only attracted broader public attention to drawings and prints but also altered broader popular opinion concerning the possibilities, value, and trade of works on paper in eighteenth-century France.

The Artifice of the *Verres Cassés*

For artists, much of the appeal of painting *verres cassés* likely came from the multiple opportunities the sub-genre offered to showcase their makers' *technē* and erudition, as they had to first flawlessly translate a pre-existing work as the painting's visual base layer, then render the illusions of a frame, several shards of broken glass, and the varying reflections and distortions resulting from light's passage through the fractures onto the (allegedly) underlying work to combine it all into a convincingly unified illusion. At its highest level, the *verre cassé* format presupposes the existence of not only a spectator but a spectator with ample pre-existing knowledge of artistic production; beyond perpetrating the initial visual deception, a *verre cassé* also invites the viewer to play a game of identification: Do they recognize the "original" work under glass? If so, do they also know it well enough to appreciate the *verre cassé* painter's mastery in replicating the hand of the original draftsman or printmaker? Some *verres cassés* even offer clues in this game of identification by reproducing the title of the copied artwork or the signature of the original artist.

Figure 1.1, a painting by Moulinneuf based on a print after Jean Siméon Chardin, is an example of the former.[4] By including the title of the mimicked print—*La Pourvoyeuse*—Moulinneuf assists the viewer in their attempt to identify the work (here, perhaps, a version by Bernard Lépicié from 1742). Other hints are more difficult. For instance, Figures 1.2 and 1.3 omit the titles of the works "under glass," instead featuring only the signatures of the artists—Edmé Bouchardon in the former and Jacques Callot in the latter—thus compelling the viewer to tap a deeper well of knowledge to recognize the referenced work. Vispré's painting (Figure 1.4) presents an even greater challenge as the replicated work features neither a title nor a signature. Instead, the viewer must identify by their own devices that the print is Gilles Rousselet's engraving (c. 1670) after Van Dyck's *Madonna and Child with St Anthony of Padua* (1630–1632). The varying degrees of difficulty in these clues heighten the visual gamesmanship implicit in the sub-genre, with the spectator's success or failure in recognizing the underlying work either enhancing or detracting from their experience of the primary optical illusion on offer.

Moving beyond the object-identification game, certain *verres cassés* address how framing complicates the connoisseurial knowledge intrinsic to different types of works on paper. In many cases, it is easy to identify the "original" work as a print, as indicated by the painted platemarks of Figure 1.1 or the uniform margins of Figure 1.4. However, works such as Figures 1.2 and 1.3 offer meta-commentaries on different levels of perception by finding other ways to complicate viewers' attempts to identify the media "under glass."

Consider Grésly's painting (Figure 1.2), currently cataloged in the Besançon Museum as after a drawing by Bouchardon. A comparison with Bouchardon's original red chalk drawing actually reveals the painting to be after Plate 1 from *Livre de diverses figures d'académies dessinées d'après le naturel par Edme Bouchardon*, etched by Pierre Aveline after Bouchardon.[5] Grésly has additionally reproduced Bouchardon's signature on the left and replaced the printmaker's signature with his own, changing it from "P. Aveline Sculp." to "G. Grésly pinxit." Without visible margins, the viewer thus must recognize the painting as a twice-removed reproduction of Bouchardon's original sheet, displacing the emphasis from the royal sculptor's command of the male figure to the very practice of reproduction itself. To a degree, the painted fissures of the "cracked glass" foreground the importance of the line in Aveline's translation of Bouchardon's drawing and in turn spotlight the dual artifice of Grésly's painting and the etching process itself—both are, in the end, imperfect copies of the original drawing. This muddling of graphic media on the one hand alludes to the burden of the printmaker, as exemplified by the engraver Robert Nanteuil's observation that he must be "a draftsman at the start of his work, an engraver and sculptor in the middle, and a painter at the end of it."[6] On the other hand, the broken glass intercedes in the exercise of connoisseurship and highlights in reverse how framing complicates the recognition of prints from drawings and vice versa.

Although many *verres cassés* depicted prints, Moulinneuf's painting after Jacques Callot (Figure 1.3) offers a particularly curious intervention. The two figures are inspired by Callot's etching series, *Beggars: Le mendiant à une seule béquille* and *Le mendiant à la tête découverte et aux pieds nus* (Figure 1.5), but Moulinneuf has painted them in the reverse direction of Callot's printed composition. To complicate matters further, some of Callot's etchings were posthumously reproduced in reverse, raising the question of whether Moulinneuf modeled his *verre cassé* after such an already-reversed edition or instead sought to test the spectator with an even more intricate identification game.[7] In my view, the work "under glass" appears not to be inspired by Callot's etchings but rather by a preparatory drawing invented by Moulinneuf on behalf of Callot. The painted composition is partly fictitious, as evidenced by the fact that Callot's *Beggars* were printed as sharply defined single figures, whereas Moulinneuf appears to have softened the etching's lines and shadows, translating the composition with a looseness more characteristic of Callot's draftsmanship. But definitively determining as much is nearly impossible, as the radiating trompe l'œil rupture of the "glass" once again frustrates the study of Moulinneuf's painting beyond a certain point.

Paintings such as Figure 1.3 thus invite the viewer not only to revel in the artist's deception but also to engage in the connoisseurial act of differentiating print from drawing—with this discernment specifically mediated by the presence of the frame (albeit a fictitious one). Studying these illusionistic paintings, in my view, therefore provides a vital contribution to unpacking how actual, physical framing imbued the process of

Figure 1.5 Jacques Callot (1592–1635), *Beggar Man with Bare Head and Feet*, seventeenth century, Etching, Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gray Collection of Engravings Fund, by exchange. Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, S4.26.5.

identifying drawings during the mid-eighteenth century with renewed connoisseurial, theoretical, and commercial importance.

Framing Works-on-Paper in the 1750s

The profusion of *verres cassés* in the 1750s capitalized on the increasing amount of attention paid to the display of works on paper and the subsequent developments in glass production that enabled their framing. In addition to the biennial Salons of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, drawings could be viewed from the 1750s onwards at the salons of the Académie de Saint-Luc (which held irregular public exhibitions from 1751 to 1774) and in the Luxembourg Galleries (opened on 14 October 1750, and publicly accessible two days a week).[8] At the Salon, drawings that were described as "*sous verre*" or as "*sous glace*" prior to the 1750s were often large sheets such as Antoine-Alexandre Marolles's *Place Royale de Bordeaux* (Salon of 1739), which measured

70.0 cm × 145 cm, or Charles Parrocel's *L'Europe, sous l'Emblème d'une Chasse de Sanglier* (Salon of 1745), which was composed of four vertically mounted sheets.[9]

However, the 1750s marked a turning point. Framing the decade as an era of "revolution" in drawings, Mickaël Szanto identified five factors that amplified interest in the visual presentation of drawings: the cementing of drawing instruction as a core component of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, the systemic matting of the King's vast collection of drawings, the increased production of domestic table glass, the rise in the number of spaces where drawings could be seen, and the parallel escalation in private collections of drawings that prioritized the framing of their works.[10]

While drawings were increasingly framed in both private sales and public displays starting around 1750, so too was the practice extending to other works on paper. The Salon of 1750 features the first prints described in the *livret* as "*sous verre*" (Cochin's prints for Charles Jean François Hénault's *Histoire de France*).[11] The same year, Johann Friedrich Christ asserted in *Dictionnaire des monogrammes, chiffres, lettres, initiales, logogryphes, rebus* (1750), his taxonomy of printmaker's marks, that "toute Estampe plus grande qu'une feuille ordinaire, pour être entièrement comprise ... dans l'œil du Spectateur, demande à être vue de la distance de trois pieds ou d'avantage"; thus, he urged collectors to eschew keeping their prints in portfolios in favor of installing them on walls to ensure they could be properly experienced—the same advice gaining momentum in private drawing collections at this moment.[12]

A confluence of commercial conditions catalyzed this mid-century focus on framing and mounting sheets. Patrick Michel noted that Paris in the 1750s benefited from the convergence of a stable economy, the rise of private art collectors, and the increasing popularity of the Salon—three factors directly related to the developing primary and secondary market for drawings.[13] To this, I might add that the suppression of duties on paper and certain metals following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 facilitated the domestic production of both works on paper and frames suitable for them.[14]

The ubiquitous painted fissures in *verres cassés* particularly foreground the role of plate glass as a mediator in the display of drawings. While the Manufacture royale de glaces de miroirs at Saint-Gobain produced glass in France from the late seventeenth century, it was only in the 1750s that the French perfected the specific process for manufacturing plate glass.[15] These flat glass panes were immediately used in the framing of art. In 1752, Henri Philippe de Limiers discussed different types of glass production—*verre blanc*, *verre cailleux*, *verre en plat*, and *verre en table*—and stated that "verre en plat ... on le réserve pour les Tableaux de pastel et de la miniature, ou pour les Estampes et les Tailles-Douces qu'on met en cadre."[16] Although his text does not explicitly discuss other media, additional contemporaneous evidence confirms plate glass was promptly used to frame drawings, too. For instance, in a sale organized by the art dealer and mount maker Jean-Baptiste Glomy in the same year, 1752, he described the drawings on offer as being framed "dans le même goût des Estampes du Recueil particulier," and that the prints were "ajustées proprement sur du papier d'Hollande avec Filets dorés et traits noirs."[17]

During the height of *verres cassés*' popularity, from roughly the 1750s to the 1780s, the industrial production of glass advanced rapidly, making the material significantly cheaper and thus significantly more accessible. In 1752, Limiers observed that "on n'y emploie le verre blanc que dans quelques appartements les plus magnifiques," and sales catalogs from this period corroborate that drawings and prints framed with *verre blanc* were only found in the collections of France's wealthiest individuals, such as that of the Duc de Tallard.[18] Two decades later, however, glass production in the Lorraine regions,

specifically at Saint-Quirin, had developed so much that, in 1774, the *Journal des sçavans* stated that "l'usage d'encadrer les estampes a rendu le verre blanc fort commun et il est devenu une partie essentielle de l'art du vitrier."[19] Once again, even though the writer fixates on prints (likely due to their more accessible market), French framers were using the same type of glass to protect drawings.[20] Also in 1774, Glomy noted in his description of a late seventeenth-century print in a sales catalog that "dans le temps qu'elles furent montées, il ne se trouvait pas de verres assez grands comme maintenant."[21]

These excerpts chart the progression of glass production during the second half of the eighteenth century, specifically in relation to the proliferation of frames for works on paper. In fact, these changes also appear in the *verres cassés* of the same era, as some of the painted "glass" takes on a visibly blue hue (Figures 1.1 and 1.2) indicating the type of lower-quality glazing that proliferated among less wealthy collectors as economies of scale reduced the material's cost and increased its obtainability. In contrast, other paintings in the sub-genre (such as Figures 1.3 and 1.4) likely represent higher quality *verre blanc*, as the glass itself seems to have no effect on the coloration of the replicated sheet beneath. In this way, artistic production intertwined with industrial production, making each a lens through which to better understand the other in late eighteenth-century France.

"Juger de l'effet"—The Value of Frames

Although democratizing access to glass activated a new cycle of market demand for drawings, this commercial turn also generated philosophical consequences. According to Krzysztof Pomian, the eighteenth century witnessed a transfer in the control of specialized knowledge from the connoisseur to the *marchand*.[22] Certain French art dealers quickly recognized the newfound option to frame and display works on paper like paintings as a way to add value to, and thus increase the prices of, the former medium. Some, including Pierre Rémy, Jacques Lenglier, and Vincent Donjeux, expanded their commercial activity into drawings and prints in the 1750s, while others, such as François Basan, Glomy, Gabriel Huquier, and François and François-Charles Joullain, began to specifically specialize in drawings.[23]

Of the latter group, Glomy remains one of the most important figures in the present discussion. He was instrumental in shaping collectors' and connoisseurs' taste for drawings in his triple role as *monteur*, *marchand*, and *expert*.[24] Glomy not only invented a new framing method (*verre églomisé*) featuring borders painted directly onto the reverse side of the glass but also made several types of frames and mounts for private collections and works consigned to auction, even creating drawn and etched borders that one could cut and paste around pre-existing works.[25]

The scale of Glomy's impact can be gleaned through the numerous sales catalogs he directed from the 1750s to the 1770s, many of them "en société," meaning co-directed by two experts.[26] He also appears to have not only consciously styled himself as having expert knowledge of drawings but also worked to portray this specialty as exceedingly rare (and implicitly, exceedingly valuable). For instance, he wrote in a 1763 sale catalog that "la connaissance de cette partie de l'art [les dessins], est peut-être une des plus difficile à acquérir," with his command over this hard-earned, specialized knowledge translating into his purportedly exceptional description of each drawing lot as well as the purportedly exceptional frame he might make for it.[27] Subsequently, studying the structure and content of Glomy's catalogs reveals how a wider adoption of drawings and prints "*sous verre*" and "*encadrés*" initiated a wariness toward inadvertently plunging the works on paper and their frames into competition for the viewer's attention.[28]

For Glomy, frames heightened collectors' appreciation of sheets by offering a type of material adjustment capable of superseding the work's own internal properties. Consider the catalog assembled for the sale of the Duc de Tallard's collection in 1756. Made *en société* with Remy, the publication asserted that the Duc framed his drawings "pour mieux jouir de quelques-unes de ces morceaux" but also recognized that the framing would enable their future owners to "juger de l'effet qui produit cet ajustement."[29] This effect, according to the catalog, was inextricable from the conceptual value of drawings; as Glomy and Remy asserted, "le meilleur moyen d'en découvrir le secret [the mystery of paintings] serait de bien étudier leurs Desseins; car dans ces savantes esquisses, les génies sublimes se montrent à découvert."[30] Enabling such discoveries were the adjustments largely made by Glomy in his role as framer and mount-maker. Similarly, the catalog sought to elevate the value of framed prints by constantly defining them in relation to the presented drawings. Initially describing prints pejoratively as the first work a collector would have (as prints were easier to find than paintings or drawings), Glomy's catalogs identified that prints captured "l'esprit des Desseins qui leur ont servi de modèles, et le caractère des Maîtres s'y reconnaît comme sur les originaux."[31] By linking the apparatus of presentation to the theoretical and material value of the presented drawings and prints, Glomy stressed how frames facilitated the viewer's access to the inner workings of a sheet.

Framing as a practice thus subjected drawings to a new type of empirical gaze. Kristel Smentek has written at length about the epistemological consequences of framing in eighteenth-century France by studying the amateur and connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette's iconic blue mats. Mariette began assembling blue mats for his drawings only after 1750, and his *passepartouts* improved upon the tradition of Vasari's *Livre des dessins* to materialize a new form of empiricism built on contemporary attention to taxonomic categorization and systematic comparison.[32] Certainly, the homogenized framing of drawings he endorsed contributed to a type of epistemic homogenization that made tangible the intangible "genius" and "secret" indexed in a master drawing. Similarly, Christ noted that framing removed the materiality of the print writing that once hung on the wall, "le travail du Graveur devient invisible, et l'on a raison de dire en ce cas, que c'est une Gravure sans Gravure."[33]

At the same time, the artificial damage of the *verres cassés* also alludes to a seldom-discussed casualty resulting from the framing of drawings and prints. As Anthony Griffiths has noted, as the price for plate glass fell over the second half of the eighteenth century, prints and drawings increasingly came to be glazed by default instead of varnished. Ironically, glazing sometimes destroyed the very sheet it was fabricated to protect, as the woodgrain patterns of the frame or the weave of the canvas backing might bleed from the verso to the recto of the sheet, sometimes even causing tears as the support expanded and contracted.[34] In this context, the emphasis on the fractured glass in *verres cassés* simultaneously addressed the positive contribution of glazed frames and alluded to their occasional limitations. By extension, the presentation of works "*sous verre*" thus altered the commercial, conceptual, and material properties of framed sheets, a reorientation ultimately embroiled in the changing relationship between vision and illusion.

Illusion and the Aesthetic Turn in the 1750s

The historical, industrial, and conceptual underpinnings of the themes summoned by the *verres cassés* highlight how the display of works on paper was mediated by, and contingent upon, their frames. In particular, the optical presence of the glazing undoubtedly competed with the works it was installed to protect by virtue of the reflections

it produced in all but the most ideal lighting conditions.[35] For instance, a painting by Marguerite Gérard (Figure 1.6) with contributions by her brother-in-law, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, shows a young woman holding a framed print (a stipple etching by Nicolas François Regnault after Fragonard's *Fountain of Love*, 1785). Here, the young woman's ivory silk sleeves are reflected on the glass of the frame, indicating how glazing diffused vision by not only centering the artwork it framed but also reflecting its surroundings. The modern invention of Tru Vue's Museum Glass®, with its anti-reflection feature, corroborates the unwanted effect a glass barrier can have on viewing art. As the popularity of *verres cassées* grew alongside the wider aesthetic turn of the 1750s, I argue that this sub-genre fundamentally commented on and materialized how frames impacted the very way of seeing works on paper, by creating a visual oscillation between micro details and the macro effect, the particular and the general, and the private spirit and the commercial product.

Figure 1.6 Marguerite Gerard and Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Interested Student*, c. 1786. Oil on canvas. 65.0 cm × 54.5 cm. Post Restoration. Musée du Louvre, Paris. RFML. PE.2019.51.1. Photo: Mathieu Rabeau. © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

Historians, sociologists, and theorists have often underscored the 1750s as a pivotal moment in eighteenth-century society for the dramatic expansion of spectacle culture.[36] The framing of works on paper in France developed in tandem with these broader social, cultural, and philosophical evolutions, but it was hardly the only step-change in the visual arts during this period. Scholars such as Marian Hobson, Jacqueline Lichtenstein, and Erika Naginski, among others, have also underscored the 1750s as a decade significant for the disruption of representation and its associated concepts, such as attention, illusion, and spectatorship.[37]

Hobson's study of changes in the theory of illusion from the early to the late eighteenth century is particularly germane to my discussion. She argued that the early eighteenth century saw the rise of illusion dependent on what she defined as the bimodal vision intrinsic to rococo art, whereby the experience of art initiated a self-sustaining cycle of illusion followed by a momentary awareness of having been illuded (meaning, having perceived something despite simultaneously having understood it as strictly artifice).[38] Central to this cycle is the concept of *papillotage*, a term often applied to rococo art to describe a mode of perception arising from the fragmentation of a viewer's attention—specifically, a fragmentation caused by a disruption on the surface of the artwork.[39] By the 1750s, new developments in optics and epistemology led to new scrutiny of this concept of oscillating vision, particularly as the public demonstrated a growing preference for artworks that functioned as self-sufficient replicas rather than as producers of illusion. This overall movement from fracture to stability was seen to shift power away from the artists with Hobson noting that the experience of art increasingly resided in "the subjective state of mind of the consumer."[40]

Contributing to this shift, *verres cassés* materialized the unavoidable clash between the fractured, consumerist gaze of the *marchand-mercier* and the stable, durational gaze of the connoisseur. As the framing of works on paper became more widespread in the second half of the eighteenth century, the two parties came to a type of theoretical resolution for their two inherently conflicting modes of viewing. Drawings were especially understood to be objects of prolonged and attentive study, as evidenced in various writings by contemporary theorists including the aforementioned *conférences* at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture delivered by the Comte de Caylus and Charles-Nicolas Cochin.[41] As they began to be framed, prints too were subject to the same type of visual deliberation as drawings—as evidenced by Glomy and Remy's constant attempts to link the prints to the visual and material condition of drawings in the Duc de Tallard sale. At the same time, the constant efforts toward visual homogenization resulting from framing created a constant *papillotage* between the media, the frame, and the illusion the latter created, ultimately transforming a framed drawing into a new type of hybrid medium: half-relief sculpture and half-painting.

This material transformation can be gleaned from the catalogs for many of Glomy's sales from 1752 onwards featuring framed works on paper together in a category in a section often called "Estampes & Desseins encadrés" (again, with Glomy himself often making the frames).[42] Elsewhere, framed drawings and prints would be featured under the painting section and in a way, framing homogenized the two entirely disparate mediums and allowed them to be a new type of work, one solely defined by their method of presentation. Through their placement in frames, then, these drawings superseded their typical material boundaries to become objects considered better suited to public presentation than private, individual presentation. In fact, even if some of the classifications in Glomy's sales were made in error, this mistaking of framed drawings for paintings or prints only reinforces the magnitude of the perception-altering effect the frames had.

To continue this line of inquiry, let us return to Vispré's painting. Figure 1.4 can be seen as not only a painted illusion of Rousselet's engraving after Van Dyck but also as a direct copy of Jean Jouvenet's *verre cassé* painting after the very same print (now in the collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen).[43] Here, the only way for viewers to differentiate between Vispré and Jouvenet's works is to detect the latter's signature and the slightest of differences between the fracture patterns of the trompe l'œil glass panes. Making a painted copy of a work that already featured several layers of illusion ultimately transforms Vispré's painting into a semaphore, as the physical and conceptual space in which it is housed dissolves the canvas into a symbol of the consumerism of framed artworks. In fact, the preface to a 1755 sales catalog organized by Remy discusses how the exercise of identifying the original from the copy unfolds across a series of different pictorial focuses and gazes, writing, "il ne faut pas s'en rapporter seulement à la Composition, ni se rappeler une Estampe qui nous la représente: mais il est toute nécessité…d'examiner avec attention si c'est sa manière, son coloris, sa touche, et la finesse de son pinceau; c'est là, le vrai et sûr guide pour connaître les véritables Originaux."[44] Here, more than in any other *verres cassés*, Vispré's painting actualizes Remy's roving eye of recalling, comparing, dissecting, and viewing, ultimately providing a historical framework for how the tools of display could convert a private artwork into an inherently public object to be observed and peddled—just as such public observation can transmute an artwork from a non-commercial identity to a commercial one today.

Framing publicly positioned the artwork within as an object worthy of spectacle and, in turn, presupposed its consumption as an object to be spectacularized. In his study of the social transformation of public spaces in the eighteenth century, Daniel Roche noted that the period witnessed the transfer of public judgment from the norms of court society to the operations of the market for cultural goods and values.[45] To frame drawings and prints was to enable their entry into this market for cultural goods—and once in this ecosystem, they manifested the presence of the consumerist spectator. Lichtenstein notably asserted that the 1750s saw "une nouvelle approche du phénomène artistique insistant sur le rôle de la sensibilité et centrée autour de la figure du spectateur," adding that, as the focus shifted from art's production to its public effect, a work could only be reaffirmed by the gaze of the spectacle culture.[46] With this intellectual scaffolding in mind, then, dissecting the many layers of cognitive illusion in *verres cassés* reveals these works as much more than technical marvels that reinvented the still life genre in late eighteenth-century France; they are also embodiments of one of the driving forces in aesthetic development during this period: the emergence of the spectator as a consumer, with frames both facilitating and symbolizing this economic and cultural force.

Conclusion

The experience of illusion in *verres cassés* unfurls across multiple levels: the acknowledgement of the painted artifice, the identification of the composition "under glass," and the appreciation of the artist's mastery at replicating the hand of the original draftsman or engraver and the appearance of the glazed frame itself. However, analyzing these layers of artifice also clarifies that *verres cassés* functioned as a rich framework for unpacking the symbiosis between framing and works on paper—and on a larger scale, surfaces the shifting hierarchies between perception, reception, and illusion at the very moment drawings and prints were adapting to the expansion of spectacle culture.

While this subgenre operated at the margins throughout most of eighteenth-century France, *verres cassés* experienced renewed attention in the early nineteenth century due

to the painter Louis-Lépold Boilly, who would often incorporate such illusions in his painting practice. In fact, at the Salon of 1800, Boilly exhibited a (now lost) painting titled *Trompe l'œil* (1800, no. 38). The painting depicted an illusion in the style of a *verre cassé* but instead of a drawing or a print, he painted two half-open brochures. Identified by the viewers as *Arlequin au Museum* and *Jocrisse au Musée*, these were actual references to brochures of Salon criticism sold by the entrance of the Louvre.[47] On one of the pamphlets, Boilly wrote, "artistes, voici vos censeurs," and supplemented his critique by additionally painting caricatures of a donkey and a pig.[48] The painting was immediately celebrated for its innovation with one reviewer describing it as "un nouveau trompe l'œil, autour duquel la foule s'empresse," and its popularity is indissociable from how Boilly attracted the viewers through his illusion.[49]

Although most contemporary reviewers celebrated Boilly's painting as an innovation in trompe l'œil, one critic noted that it was essentially derivative of an existing genre—and that he himself even owned two *verres cassés* at home, recounting how first-time guests would initially reproach him for his carelessness in damaging the frame's glazing.[50] This rare account reveals, at the expense of Boilly, an equally rare insight into how this sub-genre of paintings commodified illusion by indexing different modalities of seeing, and how the practice of framing facilitated the entry of works on paper in a multitude of new spaces to ultimately enable their convergence with the wider spectacle culture of eighteenth-century France.

Notes

1 Acknowledgments: The author extends her thanks to Michael Yonan, Sonia Coman, and Ovidiu Prejmerean for their insightful comments and to Tim Schneider for his superb editorial guidance. James Nelson, *Wisdom: Conversations with the Elder Wise Men of Our Day* (New York: Norton, 1958), 90.

2 See the following exhibitions: *Tara Donovan: New Drawings* (10 April–2 May 2009), Pace Wildenstein, NY; and *Ed Ruscha: Busted Glass* (2 October–17 November 2007), Gagosian, London, UK.

3 *Verres cassés* were sometimes exhibited in provincial Salons, particularly at the Salons in Toulouse. Many of the figures cited in this chapter are either museums acquisitions or images from sales in auction houses and galleries made in the last two decades.

4 For more on Moulinneuf see Michael Schuler, "L'acquisition d'une œuvre d'Étienne Moulinneuf: Une première pour les collections publiques françaises," *La revue des musées de France: Revue du Louvre* 62, no. 3 (June 2012): 83–88; Lelia Packer, and Jennifer Sliwka, *Monochrome: Painting in Black and White* (London: The National Gallery Company, 2017).

5 For the drawing see Inv. no. 1999.22 at Harvard Art Museums. For the print, see Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris, Inv. no. NUM FOL EST 329.

6 Peter Fuhring, Louis Marchesano, Rémi Mathis, Vanessa Selbach, eds., *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 20n21.

7 See Inv. no. 47.100.739 and 47.100.740 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY.

8 Over the course of its irregularly staged exhibitions from 1751 to 1774, the opening date of the Saint-Luc exhibitions began to inch closer and closer to the actual opening of the Salon in mid-August, positioning it as a direct competitor to the Salons of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Jules Marie Joseph Guiffrey, *Histoire de l'Académie de Saint-Luc* (Paris: E. Champion, 1915); Jules Marie Joseph Guiffrey, ed., *Académie St. Luc, Livrets des expositions de l'Académie de Saint-Luc à Paris: pendant les années 1751, 1752, 1753, 1756, 1762, 1764 et 1774* (Paris: Baur et Détaille, 1872); Robert W. Berger, *Public Access to Art in Paris: A Documentary History from the Middle Ages to 1800* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999), 227–41. For more on the Luxembourg exhibitions, see Jean-Aymar Piganiol De La Force, *Description historique de la ville de Paris et de ses environs* 7 (Paris: Chez Les Libraires Associés, 1765), 160–87, especially 166–67.

9 However, the framing of drawings and prints was not necessarily a standardized practice at this moment; for example, although the majority of the Florentine connoisseur Niccolò Gabburri's drawings were framed behind glass (*cristallo*) from the late seventeenth century onwards, very few amateurs and collectors other than Jean de Julienne and Pierre Crozat consistently had their drawings framed in early eighteenth-century France. See Jacques Sargos, *Bordeaux vu par les peintres* (Bordeaux: Horizon chimérique, 2006), 98–99; Hervé Cabezas, Pierre Rosenberg, and Alastair Laing, *Renaissance de la collection de dessins du Musée Antoine-Lécuyer, 1550–1950* (Saint-Quentin: Musée Antoine-Lécuyer, 2005), 38. For more on framing of drawings see Nicholas Turner, "The Italian drawings collection of Cavaliere Francesco Maria Niccolò Gabburri (1676–1742)," in *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500–1750*, eds. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam and Genevieve Warwick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 183–204; Colin B. Bailey, "'Toute seule elle peut remplir et satisfaire l'attention': The early appreciation and marketing of Watteau's drawings," in *Watteau and his World. French Drawing from 1700 to 1750* (New York: Frick Collection, 1999), 68–92; Patrick Michel, "Collection de dessins et marche de l'art en France au XVIIIe siècle," *Liber Memorialis Erik Duverger* (2006), 169–220; Christian Michel, "Le goût pour le dessin en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: de l'utilisation à l'étude désintéressée," *Revue de l'art*, 143 (2004): 27–34; Catherine Monbeig Goguel, "Le dessin encadré," in *Revue de l'Art* in 1987, no 76: 25–31; and Rochelle Ziskin, *Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in early Eighteenth-century Paris* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 79–80.

10 Some 600 drawings were matted between 1747 and 1751 under Charles-Antoine Coypel in his role as *Garde des tableaux et dessins du roi*. For more on Coypel's drawing mats see Antoine Coypel, *Mémoire sur les frais qu'exigent les dessins à coller du Cabinet du Roy à la garde de M. Coypel premier peintre du Roy*, AN O1 1965 (2). Mickaël Szanto, "La révolution des dessins en France autour de 1750. De l'ombre à la lumière, du portefeuille au cadre," in *De Poussin à Fragonard: Hommage à Mathias Polakovits, ed. Emmanuelle Brugerolles* (Paris: École nationale superieure des Beaux-Arts, 2013) 11–22;

11 See Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, *Explication des peintures, sculptures et autres ouvrages de Messieurs de l'Académie royale* (Paris: Jacques-François Collombat, 1750), 29. Framing engravings in a gallery was unusual at the time. Comtesse de Verrue, for example, had two framed engravings in her home. Rochelle Ziskin, *Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in early Eighteenth-century Paris*, 61.

12 "Every print larger than an ordinary sheet, to be entirely comprehended...in the eye of the spectator, demands to be seen at a distance of three feet or more." Johann Friderich Christ, *Dictionnaire des monogrammes, chiffres, lettres, initiales, logogryphes, rébus* (Paris: S. Jorry, 1750), xlix. For depictions of framed prints in interiors see Jean-Michel Moreau, Le Jeune, *Seated Woman with a Cat*, c. 1776, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. no. 2008.396.

13 Patrick Michel, Le commerce du tableau à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle: Acteurs et pratiques (Paris: Septentrion, 2008), 21.

14 Richard Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 85

15 Szanto, "La révolution des dessins en France autour de 1750. De l'ombre à la lumière, du portefeuille au cadre," 11–22.

16 "Plate glass...we reserve it for pastel paintings & miniatures, or for prints and intaglios that we put in frames." Henri-Philippe de Limiers, Pierre Massuet, and Zacharias Chatelain, ed., *La Science des Personnes de cour d'epée et de robe commencée par mr. de Chevigni continuée par mr. de Limiers revue corrigée & considérablement augmentée* 7 (Amsterdam: Z. Chatelain & fils, 1752), 883–85.

17 In the same taste as prints in private *recueils*...properly adjusted on Holland paper with gilded and black lines." Jean-Baptiste Glomy and Pierre-Charles-Alexandre Helle, *Catalogue d'un cabinet de diverses curiosités contenant une collection choisie d'estampes, de desseins, de tableaux & une suite unique de petits portraits de personnages illustres qui ont vécu depuis plus de trois siècles, & dont plusieurs sont peints en émail, par le célèbre Petitot* (Paris: Veuve Delormel et fils, 1752), 8, 26. For additional descriptions of Glomy's mounting of works in paper in sales catalogues see the following: Jean-Baptiste Glomy and Charles-Adrien Picard, *Catalogue raisonné des fossiles, coquilles, minéraux, pierres précieuses, diamants, desseins des grands maîtres des trois écoles & autres curiosités qui composent le cabinet de feu M. Babault* (Paris: Chez Tabari, 1763), 46–47; Jean-Baptiste Glomy and Pierre-Charles-Alexandre Helle, *Catalogue d'une collection de desseins et estampes des meilleurs maîtres des trois écoles d'Italie, de Flandres & de France, et de quelques tableaux, pour servir de continuation à celui de feu M. Bailly* (Paris: Chez Huart, 1767), 2.

18 "White glass is only used in a few of the most magnificent apartments." Limiers, Massuet, and Chatelain, eds., *La Science des Personnes de Cour d'epée*, pp. 883–85; For *verre blanc* in elite collections see Glomy and Helle, *Catalogue d'un cabinet de diverses curiosités contenant une collection choisie d'estampes, de desseins, de tableaux*, 31, 36; Jean-Baptiste Glomy and Pierre Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, sculptures, tant de marbre que de bronze, desseins et estampes des plus grands maîtres, porcelaines anciennes, meubles précieux, bijoux et autres effets qui composent le cabinet de feu Monsieur le duc de Tallard* (Paris: Chez Didot, 1756).

19 "The use of framing prints made white glass are very common and it became an essential part of the vitrier/glazer's practice." The *verrerie* of Saint-Quirin was reorganized in 1753. See "L'art de la Peinture sur Verre et de la Vitrerie, par feu M. le Vieil," *Journal des sçavans* (November 1774): 96–98; Monbeig Goguel, "Le dessin encadré," 25–31.

20 To a degree, the preference for prints as the primary object of illusion in these *verre cassés* might have resulted from the larger accessibility to prints for collectors of all levels.

21 "In the time that they were mounted, there were no glasses as large as those of now." Jean-Baptiste Glomy, *Catalogue des estampes, desseins, tableaux, coquilles, échantillons d'agathes, jaspes, cailloux, marbres & autres curiosités qui composent le cabinet de feu M. Brochant* (Paris: L. F. Delatour, 1774), 76. To a certain extent, it reached a crescendo in the 1790s in the case of Quentin de La Tour's pastel of *Madame de Pompadour*. The pastel portrait was consigned to public auction during the Revolution, with Paillet's catalogue noting the value of the glass and the frame, stressing the "belle Glace Blanche, faite exprès à Saint Gobain." While Paillet had to buy-in the work, Vivant Denon eventually acquired the work, as he worried that someone would buy the pastel for the glass alone and destroy the work within. See AN 20144779 /2 and Xavier Salmon, *Pastels in the Musée du Louvre: 17th and 18th Centuries* (Paris: Hazan: Louvre éditions, 2018), see no. 90; Neil Jeffares, "La Tour, Mme de Pompadour," Pastels & Pastellists. www.pastellists.com/Essays/LaTour_Pompadour.pdf.

22 Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectionneurs Amateurs Et Curieux: Paris Venise Xvie-Xviiie Siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987); Michel, *Le Commerce du tableau*, 91.

23 Michel, *Le Commerce du tableau*, 29.

24 Michel, *Le Commerce du tableau*, 91, 218–22. For full list of Glomy's work, see Jean-Baptiste Glomy, *Journal des Ouvrages*, Fondation Custodia, Paris, MS 9578; *Procès-verbal de la vente après décès de J.-B. Glomy, 1786*, INHA, Paris, Inv. no. Collection Doucet, MS 119.

25 See Anonymous Album of Prints, ENSBA Inv. no Est Les 89; Peter Fuhring, "Jean-Baptiste Glomy's Etched Borders for Drawings and Prints," *Print Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2011): 369–75.

26 Glomy kept track of "catalogues dressés par J. B. Glomy." See Jean-Baptiste Glomy and Denis-Charles Buldet, *Catalogue raisonné des estampes, tableaux, bronzes, porcelaines & autres curiosités qui composent le cabinet de M...* (Paris: Chez Saillant & Nyon, 1769), 67–68; Michel, *Le Commerce du tableau*, 218–22.

27 "Knowledge of this part of art [drawings] is perhaps one of the most difficult to acquire." Jean-Baptiste Glomy and Charles-Adrien Picard, *Catalogue raisonné des fossiles, coquilles, minéraux, pierres précieuses, diamants, desseins des grands maîtres des trois écoles*. To a degree, Glomy's assertion counters d'Argenville's assertion that "en général, les desseins sont moins difficile à connaître que les tableaux." in Antoine Joseph Dézallier d'Argenville, "Discours sur la connoissance des desseins et des tableaux," in *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres* (Paris: Chez De Bure l'aîné, 1745), xix.

28 Szanto, "La révolution des dessins en France autour de 1750. De l'ombre à la lumière, du portefeuille au cadre," 11.

29 "To better enjoy some of these pieces... judge the effect produced from this adjustment." Glomy and Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, sculptures, tant de marbre que de bronze, desseins et estampes des plus grands maîtres*, 94.

30 "The best way to discover the secret would be to carefully study their drawings, because in these learned sketches, the sublime geniuses are revealed." Glomy and Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, sculptures, tant de marbre que de bronze, desseins et estampes des plus grands maîtres*, 91–93.

31 "Toujours la première que l'on possède as les estampes se trouvent avec plus de facilité que les Tableaux & les Desseins." Glomy and Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, sculptures, tant de marbre que de bronze, desseins et estampes des plus grands maîtres*, 182, 191, 195.

32 Kristel Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014); Louis Frank and Carina Fryklund, ed., *Giorgio Vasari Le Livre Des Dessins: Destinées D'une Collection Mythique* (Paris: LienArt Editions, 2022); Giada Damen, "Hidden Prints in Pierre-Jean Mariette's Collection of Drawings," in John Marciari ed., *A Demand for Drawings: Five Centuries of Collecting* (New York: The Morgan Library & Museum, 2016), 91–101.

33 Translation: "the work of the engraver becomes invisible, and one is right to state that in this case, this is an engraving without engraving." Christ, *Dictionnaire des monogrammes, chiffres, lettres, initiales, logogryphes, rebus,* xix.

34 Anthony Griffiths, "The Archaeology of the print," in Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam and Genevieve Warwick, ed., *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500–1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 10.

35 It should be noted that occasionally, paintings were framed under glass—but these are not as common as framed works on paper in sales, probably owing to the overall larger size of paintings, and thus the need to purchase proportionally larger plate glass. See Jean-Baptiste Glomy and Pierre-Charles-Alexandre Helle, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, desseins, estampes des plus grands maîtres qui composent le cabinet de feu Monsieur Potier, avocat au Parlement* (Paris: Chez Didot, 1757), 156; Glomy and Buldet, *Catalogue raisonné des estampes, tableaux, bronzes, porcelaines & autres curiosités qui composent le cabinet de M...,* 44–45.

36 For instance, in his classic research into private libraries, Daniel Mornet pinpointed 1750 as a turning point in scientific and physiocratic ideas, while Jonathan Israel split his study of the European Enlightenment into two distinct periods before and after the 1750s, locating the mid-century as a moment of profound shift in intellectual, ideological, and socio-cultural norms. Additionally, Wittman and Melton have expanded upon Habermas's study of the rise of the public sphere in the 1750s and have located the decade as a critical era of change in journalism and periodicals. Wittman, in his exploration of the development of a public for architecture, noted that the number of European periodicals quadrupled over the first half of the eighteenth century, from 30 in 1700 to 115 in 1750; Melton, meanwhile, has argued at length that the 1750s inaugurated the French Crown's deliberate participation in journalism to counter the growing power of public opinion being channeled through print publications. Daniel Mornet, "Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750–1780)," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 18 (1910): 449–96; Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Israel, *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy Revolution and Human Rights 1750–1790* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Dan Edelstein, *On the Spirit of Rights* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021); Robert Darnton, "The Encyclopedie Wars of Prerevolutionary France." *The American Historical Review* 78, no. 5 (1973): 1331–52. James van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Wittman, *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France.*

37 Erika Naginski, for example, discussed how attention to formal discernment of composition, spatial dispositions, and the anthropomorphic form transformed public art and sculptural practice from 1750 onwards. See Erika Naginski, *Sculpture and Enlightenment* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009).

38 Marian Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 29–31, 47–59.

39 Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-century France*, 53–54, 80–81, 298–304.

40 Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-century France*, 38–43, 299–304.

41 See Comte de Caylus, "On Drawing," (June 3, 1747) and Charles-Nicolas Cochin, "On Knowledge of the Drawing-Based Arts," (November 4, 1758) in Christian Michel, Jacqueline Lichtenstein, Chris Miller, ed., *Lectures on Art: Selected Conférences from the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture 1667–1772* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2020), 281–98, 398–407.

42 Glomy and Helle, *Catalogue d'un cabinet de diverses curiosités contenant une collection choisie d'estampes, de desseins, de tableaux*, 31; Glomy, *Catalogue des estampes, desseins, tableaux, coquilles,* 70; Jean-Baptiste Glomy and Jean Nicolas Dufresne, *Catalogue d'une collection de desseins et estampes provenant en partie du cabinet de feu M... de Versailles* (Paris, 1776), 44. See also Glomy and Picard, *Catalogue raisonné des fossiles, coquilles, minéraux, pierres précieuses, diamants, desseins des grands maîtres des trois écoles,* 67; Glomy and Helle, *Catalogue d'une collection de desseins et estampes des meilleurs maîtres des trois écoles d'Italie, de Flandres & de France,* 44; Glomy, and Buldet, *Catalogue raisonné des estampes, tableaux, bronzes, porcelaines & autres curiosités qui composent le cabinet de M...,* 43, 45.

43 For an image, see Didier Rykner, "Le Temps des Collections et les Trésors enluminés de Normandie," *La tribune de l'art.* https://www.latribunedelart.com/le-temps-des-collections-et-les-tresors-enlumines-de-normandie.

44 "Not only referring to the Composition, nor recalling a print that depicted it, but it is absolutely necessary...to examine with attention if it is his manner, color, touch, and the finesse of his brush; this is the true and sure guide to recognizing the true Originals." Pierre Remy, *Catalogue des tableaux et des portraits en émail du Cabinet de feu M. Pasquier, Député du commerce de Rouen; cette vente se fera, en détail, le lundi 10 mars, & jours suivants, à deux heures de relevée, rue de Richelieu, au coin de la rue Villedot* (Paris: Chez Barrois, 1755), 5.

45 Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the eighteenth century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Daniel Roche, *France in the Enlightenment*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

46 "A new approach to the artistic phenomenon emphasizing the role of sensibilité and centered around the figure of the spectator." Jacqueline Lichtenstein, *L'argument de l'ignorant: le tournant esthétique au milieu du XVIIIe siècle en France* (Dijon: Presses du reel, 2015).

47 *Le Verre Cassé de Boilly, et les Croutiers en déroute: Ou Nouvelle Critique des objets de Peinture & Sculpture, exposés au Salon, en prose, en vaudeville & en vers; an VIII Faisant suite à Gilles & Arlequin, au Muséum* (Paris: Chez les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1800), 4–5; *La Clef du cabinet des souverains* (10 October 1800), 6; John P. O'Neill, ed., *Masterworks from the Musée des Beaux-Arts Lille* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1992), 150. For another example of a *verre cassé* by Boilly, See Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Portait d'homme au verre brisé*, vers 1800, Saint-Omer, Musée de l'hôtel Sandelin.

48 The donkey is an existing trope for critics, see Comte de Caylus's etching, *Assemblee de Brocanteurs*, (1727). *Le Verre Cassé de Boilly, et les Croutiers en déroute: Ou Nouvelle Critique des objets de Peinture & Sculpture, exposés au Salon, en prose, en vaudeville & en vers; an VIII Faisant suite à Gilles & Arlequin, au Muséum* (Paris: Chez les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1800), 4–5.

49 *La Clef du cabinet des souverains* (10 October 1800), 6.

50 *Le Verre Cassé de Boilly, et les Croutiers en déroute,* 4–5.

Bibliography

"10 October 1800" *La Clef du cabinet des souverains* no. 1354 Paris: Chez la Veuve Panckoucke, 1800.

Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. *Explication des peintures, sculptures et autres ouvrages de Messieurs de l'Académie royale.* Paris: Jacques-François Collombat, 1750.

Argenville, Antoine Joseph Dézallier de. *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux peintres.* Paris: Chez De Bure l'aîné, 1745.

Bailey, Colin B, and Alan Wintermute. *Watteau and His World. French Drawing from 1700 to 1750.* New York: Merrell Holberton, 1999.

Baker, Christopher, Caroline Elam and Genevieve Warwick, ed. *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500–1750.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

Berger, Robert W. *Public Access to Art in Paris: A Documentary History from the Middle Ages to 1800.* University Park: Penn State University Press, 1999.

Brugerolles, Emmanuelle, ed. *De Poussin à Fragonard: hommage à Mathias Polakovits.* Paris: École nationale supérieure des Beaux-arts, 2013.

Cabezas, Hervé, Pierre Rosenberg, and Alastair Laing. *Renaissance de la collection de dessins du Musée Antoine-Lécuyer, 1550–1950.* Saint-Quentin: Musée Antoine-Lécuyer, 2005.

Christ, Johann Friderich. *Dictionnaire des Monogrammes, Chiffres, Lettres, Initiales, Logogryphes, Rebus.* Paris: S. Jorry, 1750.

Coypel, Antoine, *Mémoire sur les frais qu'exigent les dessins à coller du Cabinet du Roy à la garde de M. Coypel premier peintre du Roy*. AN O1 1965 (2).
Darnton, Robert. "The Encyclopédie Wars of Prerevolutionary France." *The American Historical Review* 78, no. 5 (1973): 1331–1352.
Duverger, Erik, Henri Pauwels, A. van den Kerkhove, and Leo Wuyts, eds. *Liber Memorialis Erik Duverger: Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis van de Nederlanden*. Wetteren: Universa, 2006.
Edelstein, Dan. *On the Spirit of Rights*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021.
Frank, Louis, and Carina Fryklund, eds. *Giorgio Vasari, Le livre des dessins: destinées d'une collection mythique*. Paris: LienArt Editions, 2022.
Fuhring, Peter. "Jean-Baptiste Glomy's Etched Borders for Drawings and Prints." *Print Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2011): 369–375.
Fuhring, Peter, Marchesano Louis, Mathis Rémi, and Selbach Vanessa, eds. *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015.
Glomy, Jean-Baptiste. *Journal des Ouvrages*. Undated manuscript housed at the Fondation Custodia, Paris, MS 9578.
Glomy, Jean-Baptiste. *Catalogue des estampes, desseins, tableaux, coquilles, échantillons d'agathes, jaspes, cailloux, marbres & autres curiosités qui composent le cabinet de feu M. Brochant*. Paris: L. F. Delatour, 1774.
Glomy, Jean-Baptiste, and Denis-Charles Buldet. *Catalogue raisonné des estampes, tableaux, bronzes, porcelaines & autres curiosités qui composent le cabinet de M.*... Paris: Chez Saillant & Nyon, 1769.
Glomy, Jean-Baptiste, and Jean Nicolas Dufresne. *Catalogue d'une collection de desseins et estampes provenant en partie du cabinet de feu M... de Versailles*. Paris, Pierre Remy, 1776.
Glomy, Jean-Baptiste, and Pierre-Charles-Alexandre Helle. *Catalogue d'un cabinet de diverses curiosités contenant une collection choisie d'estampes, de desseins, de tableaux & une suite unique de petits portraits de personnages illustres qui ont vécu depuis plus de trois siècles, & dont plusieurs sont peints en émail, par le célèbre Petitot*. Paris: Veuve Delormel et fils, 1752.
Glomy, Jean-Baptiste, and Pierre-Charles-Alexandre Helle. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, desseins, estampes des plus grands maîtres qui composent le cabinet de feu Monsieur Potier, avocat au Parlement*. Paris: Chez Didot, 1757.
Glomy, Jean-Baptiste, and Pierre-Charles-Alexandre Helle. *Catalogue d'une collection de desseins et estampes des meilleurs maîtres des trois écoles d'Italie, de Flandres & de France, et de quelques tableaux, pour servir de continuation à celui de feu M. Bailly*. Paris: Chez Huart, 1767.
Glomy, Jean-Baptiste, and Charles-Adrien Picard. *Catalogue raisonné des fossiles, coquilles, minéraux, pierres précieuses, diamants, desseins des grands maîtres des trois écoles & autres curiosités qui composent le cabinet de feu M. Babault*. Paris: Chez Tabari, 1763.
Glomy, Jean-Baptiste, and Pierre Remy. *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, sculptures, tant de marbre que de bronze, desseins et estampes des plus grands maîtres, porcelaines anciennes, meubles précieux, bijoux et autres effets qui composent le cabinet de feu Monsieur le duc de Tallard*. Paris: Chez Didot, 1756.
Guiffrey, Jules Marie Joseph, ed. *Académie St. Luc, Livrets des expositions de l'Académie de Saint-Luc à Paris: pendant les années 1751, 1752, 1753, 1756, 1762, 1764 et 1774*. Paris: Baur et Détaille, 1872.
Guiffrey, Jules Marie Joseph, ed. *Histoire de l'Académie de Saint-Luc*. Paris: E. Champion, 1915.
Hobson, Marian. *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-Century France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
Israel, Jonathan. *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
Israel, Jonathan. *Democratic Enlightenment: Philosophy Revolution and Human Rights 1750–1790*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
Jeffares, Neil. "La Tour, Mme de Pompadour." www.pastellists.com/Essays/LaTour_Pompadour.pdf, accessed 10 September 2024.
"L'art de la Peinture sur Verre et de la Vitrerie, par feu M. le Vieil. 1774." in *Journal des sçavans* (November 1774): 666–76.
Le Verre Cassé de Boilly, et les Croutiers en déroute: Ou Nouvelle Critique des objets de Peinture & Sculpture, exposés au Salon, en prose, en vaudeville & en vers; Faisant suite à Gilles & Arlequin, au Muséum. Paris: Chez les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1800.

Lichtenstein, Jacqueline. *L'argument de l'ignorant: Le tournant esthétique au milieu du XVIIIe siècle en France*. Dijon: Presses du reel, 2015.
Limiers, Henri-Philippe de, Pierre Massuet, and Zacharias Chatelain, eds. *La science des personnes de cour d'epée et de robe commencée par Mr. de Chevigni continuée par mr. de Limiers revue corrigée & considérablement augmentée* 7. Amsterdam: Z. Chatelain & fils, 1752.
Marciari, John. ed. *A Demand for Drawings: Five Centuries of Collecting*. New York: The Morgan Library & Museum, 2016.
Melton, James van Horn. *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
Michel, Christian. "Le goût pour le dessin en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: De l'utilisation à l'étude désintéressée." *Revue de l'art* 143 (2004): 27–34.
Michel, Christian, Jacqueline Lichtenstein, and Chris Miller, eds., *Lectures on Art: Selected Conférences from the Académie Royale De Peinture Et De Sculpture 1667–1772*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2020.
Michel, Patrick. *Le commerce du tableau à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Septentrion, 2008.
Monbeig Goguel, Catherine. "Le dessin encadré." *Revue de l'Art* 76 (1987): 25–31.
Mornet, Daniel. "Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750–1780)." *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 18 (1910): 449–96.
Naginski, Erika. *Sculpture and Enlightenment*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009.
Nelson, James. *Wisdom: Conversations with the Elder Wise Men of Our Day*. New York: Norton, 1958.
O'Neill, John P. ed. *Masterworks from the Musée Des Beaux-Arts Lille*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and H.N. Abrams, 1992.
Packer, Lelia, and Jennifer Sliwka. *Monochrome: Painting in Black and White*. London: The National Gallery Company, 2017.
Piganiol De La Force, Jean-Aymar. *Description historique de la ville de Paris et de ses environs* Vol. 7. Paris: Chez Les Libraires Associés, 1765.
Pomian, Krzysztof. *Collectionneurs, Amateurs, et Curieux: Paris, Venise, XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècle*. Paris: Gallimard, 1987.
Procès-verbal de la vente après décès de J.-B. Glomy. Paris: INHA, 1786. Collection Doucet, MS 119.
Remy, Pierre. *Catalogue des tableaux et des portraits en émail du Cabinet de feu M. Pasquier*. Paris: Chez Barrois, 1755.
Roche, Daniel. *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
Roche, Daniel. *France in the Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
Salmon, Xavier. *Pastels in the Musée du Louvre: 17th and 18th Centuries*. Paris: Hazan, 2018.
Sargos, Jacques. *Bordeaux vu par les peintres*. Bordeaux: Horizon chimérique, 2006.
Schuler, Michael. "L'acquisition d'une œuvre d'Étienne Moulinneuf: Une première pour les collections publiques françaises." *La revue des musées de France: Revue du Louvre* 62, no. 3 (June 2012): 83–88.
Smentek, Kristel. *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2014.
Wittman, Richard. *Architecture, Print Culture, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
Ziskin, Rochelle. *Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012.