



INSIDE THE EXHIBITION

TEMPORALITÀ, DISPOSITIVO, NARRAZIONE

a cura di Gloria Antoni, Matteo Chirumbolo, Gianluca Petrone, Célia Zuber



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*Graphic site-specificity:
The 1797 exhibition of drawings in the Louvre*

J. Cabelle Ahn

In 1771, the Parisian writer Louis-Sébastien Mercier anonymously published *L'An 2440, rêve s'il en fut jamais*, in which the narrator (a fictionalized version of the author) awakens nearly 700 years in the future and tours Paris. An instant best-seller, Mercier's travelogue was a vehicle for his expansive indictment of Ancien Régime policies and institutions. As the narrator visits the Cabinet du Roi and the Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, he particularly notes the presence of a public gallery featuring "la collection universelle de dessins et de gravures", a seemingly elementary proposal that remained a fantasy in Mercier's Paris¹.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Castiglionian conception of drawings as a courtly pursuit persisted, a viewpoint maintained by an elite coterie of informed patrons, collectors, amateurs, and connoisseurs. At the same time, public access to drawings increased as they were progressively included in the biennale Salon of the Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture from 1737 onwards and in alternative spaces such as auction rooms, semi-private galleries, and displays organized by private organizations and provincial academies. The French Revolution in 1789, however, disrupted the framework of the Académie and initiated radical openness in artistic participation. Mercier's prescient vision was thus realized in 1797 when close to five hundred drawings were conserved, framed, and exhibited in the opulent Galerie d'Apollon of the Musée central des Arts (presently Musée du Louvre).

This essay examines this first public drawing-centric display in Europe, which is still understudied by scholars as an independent phenomenon, but which had profound ramifications for how drawings were seen and understood by the art-viewing public in post-Revolutionary France. In 1988, the Louvre restaged the 1797 show by bringing together some of the drawings from the 1797 exhibition². In the decades since, scholarship has largely situated it within the institutional history of the Louvre, the history of pastels, and the role of portraiture during the Revolution³. Two aspects of the 1797 drawing exhibit have been particularly revisited by scholars: its relationship to the formation of the Musée Napoléon, and the presentation of Charles Le Brun's drawings in relation to discourses on physiognomy and expression at the turn of the nineteenth century⁴. My article, in turn, contextualizes the 1797 exhibition within the history of drawing displays through a tri-

partite analysis. I trace the historical genesis of drawing exhibitions to spotlight the originality of the 1797 installation. I then discuss previously unpublished archival documents and a drawing manual published in 1797 to demonstrate how the show capitalized on the apparatus of public presentation to rewrite artistic canons. Finally, I argue that the ways in which the display focused on visitor engagement with drawings can be compared to the modern notion of site-specificity. By mobilizing site, sight, and insight, the 1797 display was not only the first drawing-centric show in Europe, but also the first to stage exhibition praxis itself as a subject.

DRAWING DISPLAYS

The art theorist Peter Osborne asserted in 2013 that “the art market may still be trading in individual works, but it is the exhibition that is the unit of artistic significance, and the object of constructive intent”⁵. Osborne’s statement emphasizes how the format of an exhibition is itself an object replete with its own structural and theoretical logic, and how it in turn impacts the perception and reception of individual art works. Nonetheless, the study of drawings has traditionally not accounted for how they have been historically displayed.

Instead, scholars of modern and contemporary art have often turned to the third iteration of *documenta* (1964), where *Handzeichnungen* was added as an independent category of display, as the defining moment in the history of drawing shows⁶. Organized by Werner Haftmann and Arnold Bode, nearly five hundred works on paper representing 112 artists were installed in the Galerie an der Schönen Aussicht (rechristened the Neue Galerie in 1976) for *documenta* III. The show charted a survey of Haftmann and Bode’s vision of modern art history that was delivered under the rhetoric of unprecedented public access to intimate artistic insights. In the years since, institutions have mobilized drawing exhibitions as a locus for theoretical interrogations, with the prime example being the *Parti pris* series organized by Régis Michel in the 1980s and 1990s that invited artists and thinkers such as Peter Greenaway, Julia Kristeva, and Jacques Derrida to guest-curate drawing displays in the Louvre. Recent exhibitions such as the Drawing Center’s *The Pencil is a Key* (2019-2020) underscored the importance of drawing as a lifeline for the incarcerated, and the display of over 280 drawings by Paul Cézanne at the Museum of Modern Art (2021) demonstrated the continued relevance and distinctive critical perspective that only drawing as a medium can provide.

Locating the genesis of drawing exhibitions with *documenta* III, however, firmly roots drawing scholarship within the narrative of modern visual culture and neglects the robust public presence of drawing in early modern Europe. While watercolors and chalk drawings adorned private interiors and *Kunstkam-*



FIG. 1. Edmé Bouchardon, *Bacchanal* known as *Seal of Michelangelo*, red chalk, 12,3 x 17,3 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 23849-recto. Photo: Michel Urtado. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

mers, widespread public access to the graphic medium commenced in earnest in late seventeenth-and early eighteenth-century Italy. Drawings were sometimes included in exhibitions overseen by Giuseppe Ghezzi in the cloisters of San Salvatore in Lauro in Rome, most notably in 1704, when the Spanish ambassador to Rome loaned drawings to the display⁷. Contemporaneously, the Accademia del Disegno in Florence began staging public exhibitions at the Florentine Church of SS. Annunziata; in 1706, the installation featured drawings by Raphael and Andrea Sacchi⁸. The number of sheets exponentially increased in subsequent iterations and from 1706 to 1737, the Florentine collector, patron, and connoisseur Niccolò Gaburri loaned about 280 sheets to the Florentine exhibition⁹. Amongst the hundreds of Italian and Northern drawings on view in 1737 were sheets by two notable French painters – Antoine Watteau and François Boucher – thus indicating their international reputations for collectors and connoisseurs¹⁰.

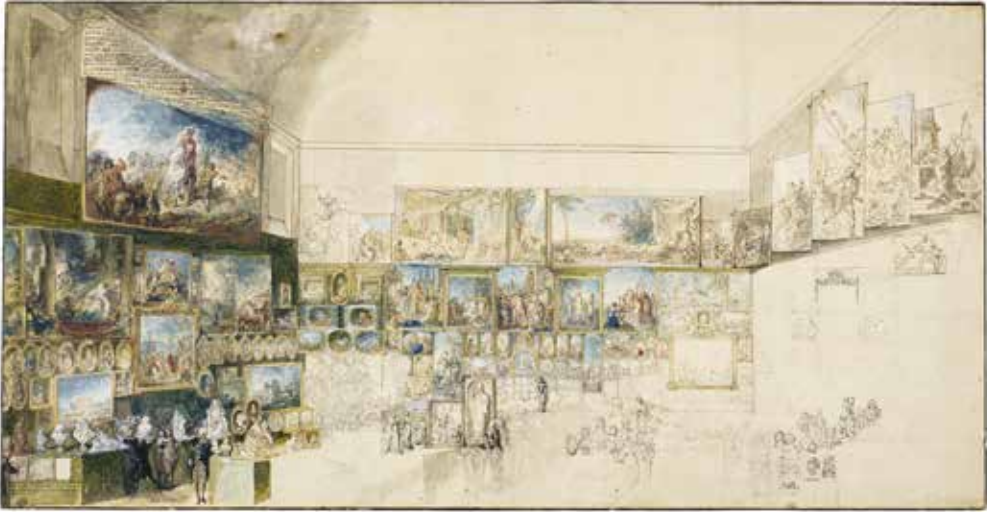


FIG. 2. Gabriel Jacques de Saint-Aubin, *View of the Salon of 1765*, watercolor, pen drawing, brown and gray ink, lead pencil and heightening white, 24 x 46,7 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 32749-recto. Photo: Tony Querrec. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

1737 is in fact the same year drawings were first included in the Salon of the Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris. While the Salon was initially inaugurated in 1667, drawings were shown only in 1737, finally facilitating public access to the medium redolently praised by the eighteenth-century French art critic Dezallier d'Argenville as “les premières idées d’un peintre, le premier feu de son imagination, son style, son esprit, sa manière de penser”¹¹. While it would take until 1745 for Boucher to exhibit drawings at the Salon, the 1737 display included a black chalk drawing by the painter Jean-Marc Nattier and five red chalk drawings by the royal sculptor Edmé Bouchardon. Amongst the latter was Bouchardon’s immaculate enlargement of the *Seal of Michelangelo* (FIG. 1), which is still meticulously preserved in a blue Mariette mount alongside a wax impression of the carnelian gem once mistakenly associated with Michelangelo¹². There is no firsthand account of why Bouchardon and Nattier specifically chose to display drawings in 1737, but Edouard Kopp has argued that by being one of the first to exhibit drawings, Bouchardon sought to publicize his talent both as a sculptor and a draftsman¹³.

The number of drawings exhibited in the Paris Salons waxed and waned over the course of the eighteenth century, a fluctuation proportional to the rise of new exhibition venues, developments in printmaking technologies, and market demands¹⁴. While there was a two-thousand percent growth in the number of exhibited drawings in this period, scholarship has yet to analyze early



FIG. 3. Constant Bourgeois du Castelet, *View of the Gallery of Apollo in the Louvre with a Drawing Exhibition*, pen and ink, wash, 33,6 x 44 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. RF 29455-recto. Photo: Michèle Bellot © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

modern drawing displays as objects of “constructive intent”, to repeat Osborne’s assertion¹⁵. This skewed historic attention is echoed in graphic works such as Gabriel de Saint-Aubin’s panoramic drawings of the Paris Salons. In his unfinished drawing of the Salon of 1765 (FIG. 2), Saint-Aubin expends his meticulous draftsmanship mainly on the paintings, while eight drawings are only fleetingly outlined in the lower left corner¹⁶. While Saint-Aubin’s sheets have been considered important visual documents of the Salon, his sheet fails to account for some twenty drawings exhibited at the Salon that year.

By contrast, Constant Bourgeois captures the immensity of the drawing installation that initially opened in 1797¹⁷ (FIG. 3). His exacting topographical draftsmanship fastidiously records individual sheets as well as the opulent architectural interior of the Galerie d’Apollon. Moreover, the sheet indexes multiple points of contact between the works and the visitors, as epitomized by their actions, such as copying, strolling, reading, conversing, and even looking in the

mirror¹⁸. I argue that while the 1797 display was embroiled in domestic cultural mythmaking through the arts central to the Napoleonic agenda, it also invented a new type of public exhibition space that fused together sight and site through drawings and their display.

STRATEGIES OF DISPLAY

The exhibition in the Galerie d'Apollon opened on August 15, 1797 (28 Thermidor, an V), just a month after the second convoy of works seized by Napoleon's campaign arrived in Paris. The display largely centered around drawings but included some portrait enamels by Jean Petitot and some marble sculptures¹⁹. The "checklist" continued to be amended over the next two decades with remnants of the exhibit persisting until 1815 when works were reclaimed by Napoleon's adversaries²⁰. The 477 sheets were initially selected by Léon Dufourny, the then administrative head of the nascent museum. Many of the drawings were from the *ci-devant* royal collection (aided by a comprehensive inventory conducted by François-André Vincent in September 1792), some were loans from private collections, few were new acquisitions, and several works were confiscated locally during the French Revolution in 1789 and from Napoleonic military campaigns in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy from 1793 onwards²¹. The installation adopted a mixed-school hang, and the sheets varied in terms of artistic school, size, and function. This illustrious compendium of works included Michelangelo's study of a hand, Paul Bril's landscapes, Primaticcio's *premières pensées* for Fontainebleau, Rosalba Carriera's pastel portraits, Giulio Romano's massive tapestry cartoons, and Charles Le Brun's physiognomic studies²².

According to a letter from the Minister of Interior in November 1796, the exhibition was envisioned initially as a temporary placeholder to provide "une nouvelle alimentation" to the curious public while the Grande Galerie was closed for repairs, and to offer additional art-historical context for the paintings that had just arrived from Italy²³. In practice, the importance of the exhibit lay in the number, quality, and provenance of the drawings on view, and in the primacy given to the medium instead of having the sheets be secondary to paintings and sculptures²⁴. In fact, the accompanying catalogue stressed that these drawings were being exhibited "pour la première fois," and had been "également inaccessible au public et aux artistes"²⁵.

This emphasis on novelty on the one hand acknowledged the primacy of drawings in the new artistic mission of the Louvre following the French Revolution²⁶. On the other hand, it concealed the very history of drawing exhibitions in the Salon, which had reached over 140 sheets at the Salon of 1781²⁷. Additionally, drawings that had been exhibited in the pre-Revolutionary Salons were

re-exhibited in the Galerie d'Apollon, including works by Bouchardon (including FIG. 1), Charles-Nicolas Cochin, Nicolas Pérignon, and Charles de Wailly. It is striking to find a post-Revolutionary display containing so many works by artists that were closely associated with the Ancien Régime at the very moment when French cultural supremacy was being articulated through works plundered across the continent. I would argue that the unrelenting emphasis on draftsmanship in the 1797 show facilitated a renewed canonization of these artists who otherwise should have been politically unfashionable. For example, during the planning of the exhibition, the Minister of the Interior urged the administrators of the Musée central des Arts to purchase drawings Cochin produced when he was *dessinateur* of the Menus-Plaisirs du Roi, arguing that they were worthy to be preserved as part of a collective national heritage, shifting the attention from the subject matter of the sheets (which were of royal festivities and events) to Cochin's obvious talents as a draftsman²⁸.

A letter written by the painter Jean-Jacques Le Barbier further exemplifies how the display of draftsmanship in the 1797 exhibition invited a post-Revolutionary review of certain Ancien Régime artists. On June 11, 1801, Le Barbier wrote to Bernard-Jacques Foubert, the then administrator of the Musée central des Arts, outlining the former's donation of a red chalk self-portrait by Bouchardon. Le Barbier began his letter thusly: "Si les dessins des Artistes célèbres sont précieux aux amateurs des arts et utiles aux progrès de ceux qui les cultivent, leur image tirée par eux même [*sic*] en offrant le double intérêt du talent et de l'homme, devient un objet vénérable pour tous. Leurs traits rappellent leur génie et ce souvenir est une Leçon"²⁹. The letter highlighted the "double interest" in draftsmanship and the draftsman facilitated through the Galerie d'Apollon exhibition. In fact, not only was Bouchardon's draftsmanship greatly prized throughout the eighteenth century, several of Bouchardon's drawings including the *Seal of Michelangelo* (FIG. 1) stayed on view even when many works in the display were replaced in 1802. While Dominique Poulot has argued that the 1797 drawing show reinforced the triumph of classicism through emphasis on the Italian school, these letters demonstrate how contemporaneous displays of French draftsmanship remained central to the exhibition and fortified the legacy of the French School at the very moment Old Master works were arriving at the French capital³⁰.

In addition to draftsmanship, it was exhibition as a praxis that was on display in the Galerie d'Apollon. One of the central objects that decoded the installation space was a drawing manual published on occasion of the show titled, *Recueil de principes élémentaires de peinture sur l'expression des passions, suivi d'un abrégé sur la physionomie et d'un exposé du système nommé Physiognomonie, extrait des œuvres de Ch. Lebrun, Winckelmann, Mengs, Watelet, etc. À l'usage des jeunes*



FIG. 4. Charles Le Brun, *Relationship of the Human Figure with that of the Lion*, black chalk, pen and black ink, brush and gray wash, white gouache on paper, 21,7 x 32,7 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 28156 recto. Photo: Mathieu Rabeau © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

artistes, et destiné à faciliter leurs études au Musée Central des Arts, principalement dans la galerie des Dessins. A review of account books from this period confirms that, between 1797 and 1800, the drawing manual sold better than any other catalogue produced by the Museum³¹. Scholars such as Thomas Kirchner and Melissa Percival have situated this book in relation to the primacy of physiognomy in aesthetic discourses and the legacy of Charles Le Brun in this moment³². If we consider Le Brun's works individually, his drawings of physiognomy and expression undoubtedly drew artistic and political attention when physical identity was at a moment of crisis³³. Considering them as a unit offers further insight into how central Le Brun's drawings were in articulating the singularity of the drawing exhibition.

The *Recueil* was simultaneously an exhibition catalogue, theoretical text, and an artist's sketchbook. Despite its belabored title, the text straightforwardly reproduced excerpts from *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* by Charles Le Brun³⁴. The emphasis on expression and physiognomy on the one hand disseminated foundational French academic theory, particularly at a moment when the Académie had been ousted as the purveyor of taste and discourse. On the other hand, it underscored the inimitability of the drawing display amongst oth-

er art exhibitions. In fact, the *Recueil* notably differed from earlier French drawing books. Previously, drawing manuals were published by *graveurs-inventeurs* – such as Gilles Demarteau, Louis-Marin Bonnet and Jean-Charles François – and stressed the technical over the theoretical by centering the manuals on images instead of text. The aim was to locate drawing pedagogy in making copies after prints and through this, disseminate the prints themselves³⁵. The 1797 *Recueil*, however, not only stressed theoretical discourses, but was also intended to be brought into the gallery. Naturally, it had no prints after the discussed works and instead included blank pages (FIG. 5) so that one could sketch *in situ*. The ability to make drawings at the Galerie d'Apollon



FIG. 5. *Recueil de principes élémentaires de peinture sur l'expression des passions...*, 1797, in-4, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Arsenal, 4-S-4610. Photo by Author.

was, in fact, a revolution. From the onset, the drawing exhibition was open only to artists during the first six days of each *décade* (the ten-day week of the Revolutionary calendar) while comparatively, on-site drawing had not been permitted at the Galerie du Luxembourg nor in the royal picture depots³⁶. Moreover, the publication directly cited *Numéros des Cadres* of drawings on view (including FIG. 4), and one could read the theoretical analyses of Le Brun's drawings in front of the works, in addition to copying them. The *Recueil* expressly stated that consulting Le Brun's original drawings in the gallery offered an advantage over “figures mal gravées” that otherwise circulated – echoing an on-going concern over false mannerism in prints which had haunted eighteenth-century art pedagogy, especially in drawing manuals³⁷. Thus, the strategies of exhibition were central to the drawing display, and one achieved by explicitly addressing the display as a singular event.

DRAWING SITE-SPECIFICITY

Both the drawing manual (*Recueil*) and the exhibition catalogue (*Notice*) published on occasion of the 1797 installation emphasized the architectural space, drawing sight to the site. The *Recueil* for example made an unusual recommen-

dation that users make drawings after their own expressions by observing their reflection in a mirror, a proposal uncommon to drawing books, but sensible considering the emphasis on physiognomy in Le Brun's drawings³⁸. Tall mirrors were indeed installed by the pilasters flanking the southern arch of the Galerie d'Apollon and remain visible in the far background of Bourgeois's drawing. In fact, contemporary visitors such as Mercier remarked on the popularity of mirrors for artists and general public alike³⁹. The installation, in conjunction with the manual, thus transformed the visitors themselves into objects of study, establishing an equivalence between the theoretical writings in the *Recueil*, the Old Master and contemporary drawings on the walls, and the individual's own unidealized reflection. The mirror's potential as a display strategy was most notably mined by Jacques-Louis David, as Ewa Lajer-Burcharth has argued that his inclusion of a psyché mirror in his private exhibition of the *Sabines* on 21 December 1799 was inspired by the 1797 display and facilitated a type of psychic projection by visitors into David's canvas⁴⁰. The incorporation of mirrors is one example of how the physical space of the Galerie d'Apollon remained central to how visitors experienced the exhibition and how it in turn was anchored in the architectural site itself.

The display particularly drew attention to the architectural space by deliberately spotlighting the gallery through drawings and exhibition didactics. The *Notice* included a six-page essay on the Galerie d'Apollon, unpacking its architectural history and the subject matter of its numerous ceiling paintings. The essay made explicit links to the exhibited drawings, one of which is Charles Le Brun's *Neptune and Amphitrite* (FIG. 6), a preparatory study for the painting in the southern arch of the gallery, with the latter clearly visible in the far background of Bourgeois's drawing. By linking the drawings on the walls with the gallery's ceiling, the 1797 display corresponded to the first time in which the architectural interior of the gallery was made legible to the public. Which converts the exhibition into a public site-specific installation, perhaps the first of its kind in Europe outside of artistic mediations in religious interiors.

First defined by Miwon Kwon in relation to art of the late 1960s and theorized as a reaction against the modernist fetishization and commodification of an art work's autonomy, site-specificity comes to mind insofar as the 1797 exhibition was uniquely moored in its architectural space, with drawings specifically selected for their explicit and implicit connections to the Galerie d'Apollon⁴¹. At their core, site-specific work – whether they follow interruptive or assimilative approaches as distinguished by Rosalyn Deutsche – aim to expose institutional conventions and expose hidden operations and operators⁴². When considered dialogically with the 1797 display, the emphasis on the architectural specificity of the gallery spotlights the on-going institutional reprogramming of the Louvre



FIG. 6. Charles Le Brun, *Neptune and Amphitrite* or *The Awakening of the Sea*, ca. 1663, pen and brown ink, black and red chalk, grey wash, on beige paper, 49,5 x 88,9 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 27686-recto. Photo: Thierry Le Mage © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

by rooting the concept of radical accessibility to the architectural interior, instead of the intangible and opaque universality of the pre-Revolutionary Salons. Likewise, the exhibit drew attention to the architecture of the Louvre as a product of collective cultural heritage and one accessible through copying, viewing, and understanding its interior. In turn, the display channeled all other artworks on view at the Louvre, especially the works looted from locations throughout continental Europe, into the same shared national inheritance. For example, the catalogue for the 1798 exhibition of works confiscated from Lombardy linked paintings by Ludovico Carracci and Giulio Romano to drawings by the respective artists displayed in the Galerie d'Apollon⁴³.

The installation and the *Recueil* not only transformed the architectural interior into the primary subject of display but highlighted it as a specific object rooted in a particular site – the Louvre and its transformation into a museum. Scholars have outlined the Musée central des Arts and Musée Napoleon as the locus of legitimization for the French Republic⁴⁴. Indeed, from 1794, the “effect of the ensemble” – that is, exhibition strategies – was seen as an approach to neutralize the politicized contents of artworks that glorified the reign of the Bourbon Monarchy⁴⁵. The 1797 drawing gallery thus not only served as a tool of normalization that reframed the vanity projects undertaken by the state under Napoleon, it also demonstrated a moment when this normalization was achieved

via display strategies rather than individual works. Intentionally spotlighting the public's attention to the act of exhibiting through the *Recueil* and the choice of drawings linked to the Galerie d'Apollon can be seen to counter the common critique that the nascent museum was reminiscent of an art dealer's warehouse⁴⁶. Ultimately, the central subject of the 1797 drawing display was the machinery of exhibition making itself, a strategy that exploited the discursive, reproducible, accessible, and materially expansive nature of drawing as a medium.

CONCLUSION

Contemporary scholars of exhibition history have often discussed exhibition as a medium, from World Fairs to artists practicing institutional critique⁴⁷. By applying similar approaches to this display of Old Master drawings, I propose that the 1797 show facilitated a spatial conceptualization of drawing. Studying how the materiality of drawing historically intersected with systems of display may illuminate forces at play in contemporary curatorial practices. Going further, I argue that the synchronicity of the drawings, the accompanying drawing manual, and the architectural interior offer an example of an instance where drawing was activated and the exhibition space subjectively produced by the visitor, akin to an immersive and experiential art installation⁴⁸. In the end, as the act of drawing oscillated between the works contained in the passepartouts, the copyists' hands, and their reflections, drawing transitioned from an autonomous artform to an inherently public and participatory medium.

NOTE

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¹ MERCIER 1771, pp. 288-289.

² *Lan V* 1988.

- ³ McCLELLAN 1994, pp. 125-154; BERGER 1999, pp. 252-254; HALLIDAY 2000, pp. 137-139; HASKELL 2000, pp. 30-45; MARTINEZ/TREY 2017, p. 322; SALMON 2018, pp. 33-40.
- ⁴ See KIRCHNER 1991; MONTAGU 1994; PERCIVAL 1999.
- ⁵ OSBORNE 2013, p. 167.
- ⁶ *Documenta* is a quinquennial exhibition of contemporary art founded in 1955 by Arnold Bode and normally staged in Kassel. JULLIARD 2015, p. 5.
- ⁷ DE MARCHI 1999, pp. 190-191; HASKELL 2000, p. 12.
- ⁸ *Nota* 1706, p. 9.
- ⁹ Gaburri was a part of a circle of Florentine connoisseurs, who corresponded regularly with other European amateurs and connoisseurs such as Pierre-Jean Mariette and Jonathan Richardson Sr. See SALVADORI 1974; TURNER 2003, pp. 183-184.
- ¹⁰ *Nota* 1737, pp. 39, 47; SCHREIBER JACOBY 1986.
- ¹¹ DEZALLIER D'ARGENVILLE 1745-1752, I, p. XVI.
- ¹² For more on the *Seal of Michelangelo*, see MEYER 2000, pp. 399-415.
- ¹³ KOPP 2017, pp. 113-149.
- ¹⁴ See Chapter 1 of forthcoming PhD dissertation, J. Cabelle Ahn, *Multiple Exposures: Drawing Exhibitions in Eighteenth-century France*, Harvard University, 2023.
- ¹⁵ McCLELLAN 1994 and CROW 2000.
- ¹⁶ The hang of the Salon of 1765 would have been overseen by the painter Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin, who had been the *tapissier* in 1755 and from 1761-1773.
- ¹⁷ MARTINEZ/TREY 2017, p. 322. It captures the second iteration since the sheet has been dated to 1802 by Juliette Trey.
- ¹⁸ See McCLELLAN 1994 for further discussion of the Luxembourg galleries and the hang at the Palais Royal.
- ¹⁹ *Notice* 1797, pp. 93-99.
- ²⁰ The original checklist was amended in 1802. See also, BERGVELT/MEIJERS/TIBBE/VAN WEZEL 2009, pp. 125-135.
- ²¹ Archives Nationales (abridged as AN) 20144779/2 D2 (1792), 20144779/6, D4 (1797).
- ²² Many of these attributions have since been amended, such as the sheets formerly attributed to Raphael and Rubens.
- ²³ The Galerie d'Apollon hosted art exhibitions during the Ancien Régime such as the concours on history paintings in 1727 and 1747. In 1755, the marquis de Marigny proposed to turn Galerie d'Apollon into a public museum, but the project was never realized. AN 20144779/1, D1 (1796), AN 20144794/31, T16 (1794).
- ²⁴ The Luxembourg Gallery is a prime example of an installation where drawings were displayed in service of paintings. See McCLELLAN 1994, pp. 13-48 and SZANTO 2013, pp. 11-22.
- ²⁵ *Notice* 1797, p. I.
- ²⁶ POULOT 1997, pp. 85-89, 272-277.
- ²⁷ My calculation from forthcoming dissertation. See note 14.
- ²⁸ AN 20144779/6 D4 (1797).
- ²⁹ AN 20144779/7 (1801). Bouchardon's self-portrait is now conserved at the Louvre, inv. RF 23847. The author extends her thanks to Axel Moulinier for his help with the transcription.
- ³⁰ POULOT 1997, pp. 215-216.
- ³¹ My analysis of archival documents in AN 20150539/3.
- ³² See note 4.
- ³³ For example, Richard Taws has complicated portrait drawings in this period vis-à-vis newly instituted passports (which consisted of verbal descriptions of the holder) which proved systematically biased against women and Black citizens. TAWS 2013, p. 50.
- ³⁴ MONTAGU 1994, pp. 184-185.
- ³⁵ Charles-Antoine Jombert particularly remarked on the dearth of "discours" or "le moindre élément du dessin" in contemporary drawing books. For more on drawing manuals see GUICHARD 2004, p. 49.
- ³⁶ CANTAREL-BESSON 1992, p. 140; McCLELLAN 1994, p. 101.
- ³⁷ *Recueil* 1797, p. 3.

³⁸ Gérard de Lairesse suggests the same in *Groot Schilderboek* (1707, French edition, 1719).

³⁹ MERCIER 1798, p. 8.

⁴⁰ LAJER-BURCHARTH 1999, pp. 130-235.

⁴¹ KWON 1997, pp. 85-110.

⁴² I echo Kwon's analysis of two essays by Rosalyn Deutsche (1988, 1992). KWON 1997.

⁴³ *Notice* 1798, p. 22, 79.

⁴⁴ See particularly GOULD 1965; McCLELLAN 1994; BERGVELT/MEIJERS/TIBBE/VAN WEZEL 2009.

⁴⁵ VARON 1795, pp. 391-392. For further re-

search on the hang in the Louvre see McCLELLAN 1994, pp. 106-114.

⁴⁶ McCLELLAN 1994, pp. 106-114, 138-145; BERGVELT/MEIJERS/TIBBE/VAN WEZEL 2009, p. 23.

⁴⁷ For recent scholarship see *Exhibitions* (2014) from the Whitechapel Gallery's series, *Documents of Contemporary Art*, as well as VOORHIES 2017.

⁴⁸ The most recent example of this may be Superblue, an experiential art installation launched in Spring 2021 by Pace Gallery in Miami.