

- 767 et consignati al sudetto ms Marcello
 768 Item un' libro sciolto de sacra scrittura, che tratta De confessione,
 769 et contritione, de oratione, de horis, et de alijs stazonato,
 770 et non si sa di chi sia
 771 Item cinque fogli de santini a' otto santini per foglio consignati
 772 al detto ms Marcello
 773 Item fogli reali stampati hoggi in tutto n.º 317.
 774 Item in cantina sotto la botteggha tre uettinucce da acqua
 775 Item un' cancello, che trameza la cantina che si dice essere della
 776 Compagnia, quale, e' uecchissimo
 777 Item doi pezi di tauola da sopressare la carta
 778 Item quattro risme e' mezo di carta bianca fioreto reale
 779 Item Vernice fatta libre .2. , o, poco piu, o' poco manco
 780 quae omnia bona sic ut supra descripta pariter remanserunt
 781 in custodiam, et sub custodia sup.ti, Marcelli sub obligatione,
 782 et hypotheca de qua supra, quam hic pro repetita haberi uoluit
 783 et ita tactis etc. iurauit etc. super quibus etc. Actum Romae
 784 in d.ta apotheca presentibus etc.sup.to d. Raphaele et Donato
 785 de Blanchis de Calitro diocesis [Conze?] stampatore Testibus etc.
 786 Dionisius Seraptus notarius rogatus

Claudine Bouzonnet, Jacques Stella and the *Pastorales*

Jamie Mulherron

In 1667 Claudine Bouzonnet Stella published *Les Pastorales*, a set of sixteen prints of rural subject-matter which have been called the *chefs d'œuvre* of the pastoral genre in seventeenth-century France.¹ Besides the charm and attractiveness of the scenes and figures, the quality of the drawing and the excellence of the prints themselves, perhaps the key success of the *Pastorales* was their reworking of traditional *bergerie* subject-matter in a modern classical idiom. It was a formula that was to last, and without Claudine's set of prints the profusion of pastoral imagery in the eighteenth century would be almost unthinkable.

For such a landmark set of prints the *Pastorales* are not as well known as they could be, and this is perhaps due in part to the difficulty in allocating responsibility

to the two artists involved. The prints are conventionally described as engraved by Claudine Bouzonnet Stella (1636–97) after a set of paintings by her uncle Jacques Stella (1596–1657) (fig. 157). But it has long been suspected that the situation was more complicated than this – there may never have been a set of paintings, and perhaps the designer was Claudine rather than Jacques.²

Throughout his career Jacques Stella had been involved with print; early on he had made a number of painterly etchings and he regularly provided designs for printmakers.³ But his printmaking ambitions may have been curtailed by his success as a painter. Certainly it was only after the death of his main patrons, Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIII, that he

The irregularity of Old French is kept in titles and direct quotations.

1. S. Laveissière and L. Widerkehr, *Jacques Stella (1596–1657)*, Lyons 2006, p. 221.

2. Most recently, Sylvain Laveissière has simply asked: 'Mais Stella a-t-il vraiment peint ces sujets?' *Ibid.*, p. 221.

3. See L. Laz, 'Le goût de l'estampe: Jacques Stella et la gravure', *ibid.*, pp. 32–34.

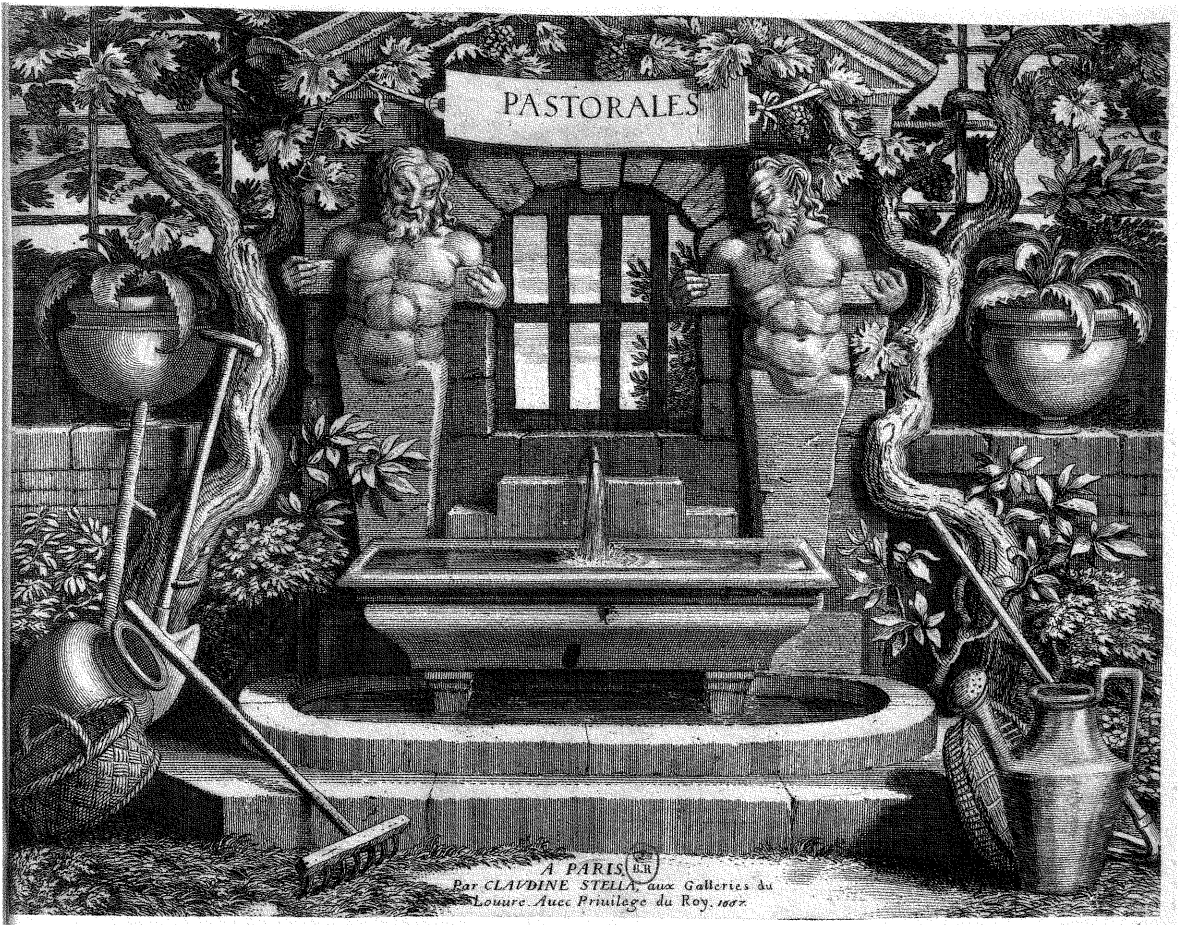
devoted himself to print design⁴ and, after a lifetime of working partnerships with professional engravers,⁵ finally established his own print workshop. For this, Stella required workers and collaborators and he turned to the children of his sister Madeleine, who had married the Lyons goldsmith Etienne Bouzonnet.⁶ In or around 1654 Claudine (who was the eldest) and her

sisters and brother François, Antoinette and Antoine all moved from Lyons to Paris,⁷ to live and work with Jacques in his apartments at the Louvre. While Claudine and her sisters received a comprehensive artistic training, including painting, their main task appears to have been the conversion into print of what Pierre-Jean Mariette called the 'grand fond de dessein'

4. Andre Félibien, Roger de Piles and Pierre-Jean Mariette all recount that in the last decade of his life Jacques embarked on a concerted campaign to make sets of drawings for print. See A. Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes*, Paris 1666–88, II, pp. 657–58; R. de Piles, *Abregé de la vie des peintres, Avec des reflexions sur leurs Ouvrages, Et un Traité du Peintre parfait, de la connoissance des Desseins & de l'utilité des Estampes*, Paris 1699, p. 485; P.-J. Mariette, *Abecedario*, edited by P. de Chennevières and A. de Montaignon, Paris 1851–60, v, p. 253.
5. For some examples, including names such as Jean Couvey,

François de Poilly, Jérôme David, Pierre Daret, Giles Rousselet, Abraham Bosse, Jeremie Falck and Claude Goyrand, see M. de Marolles, *Catalogue de Livres d'Estampes et de Figures on Taille-Douce. Avec un denombrement des pieces qui y sont contenuës*, Paris 1666, p. 72.

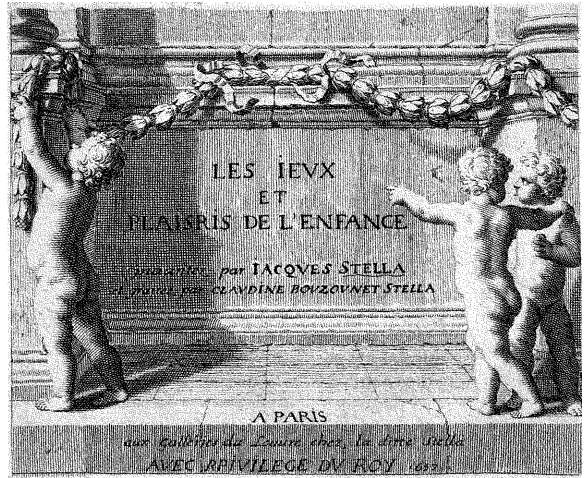
6. Jacques never married and is not known to have had any children.
7. The exact date is uncertain, but in 1654 Jacques Stella moved apartments in the Louvre, possibly to accommodate the Bouzonnets; see G. Huard, 'Les Logements des artisans dans la Grande Galerie du Louvre sous Henri IV et Louis XIII', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1939 (1940), pp. 20 and 32.



157. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, title-page from the *Pastorales*, 1667, etching and engraving, 245 × 310 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

prepared by their uncle.⁸

The sets of prints achieved from this *grand fond* are a drawing book, the *Mesure et Proportion du Corps Humaine*,⁹ two sets of ornamental prints, the *Divers Ornaments d'Architecture*¹⁰ and the *Livre de Vases*,¹¹ two sets of religious histories, the *Passion du Christ*¹² and the *Vie de la Vierge*,¹³ and the two acknowledged classics of the 'middling' genre, the *Jeux et Plaisirs de l'enfance* (*Jeux d'enfants*)¹⁴ (fig. 158) and the *Pastorales*. Yet Jacques was to die a matter of months before the newly founded workshop published its first sets of prints – the *Mesure et Proportion du Corps Humaine* and the *Jeux d'enfants*, both engraved by Claudine – in 1657. It is significant that the publisher of the entire printed *œuvre* was therefore not Jacques but Claudine. On Jacques's death Claudine, still only 21, became head of the family workshop and she was granted a special *privilege* giving her the exclusive right to publish her uncle's designs (fig. 159).¹⁵ In addition she was named, jointly with her brother Antoine,¹⁶ as the holder of Jacques's apartments in the Louvre.¹⁷ There can be little doubt that Jacques supervised the engraving of the two print sets published in 1657, but the same cannot be said of the *Pastorales*, which were published ten years later in 1667, by which time Claudine had become an independent artist in her own right.



158. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, title-page from the *Jeux et Plaisirs de l'Enfance*, 1657, engraving, 120 × 146 mm (London, British Museum).

In discussing the prints of the Bouzonnet Stella we are fortunate in having one of the most remarkable surviving documents of a print workshop – Claudine's inventory, which she drew up herself between 1693 and

8. 'Les trois sœurs s'attachèrent toutes trois à la graveure, et il leur fut d'autant plus facile d'y réussir et de s'y rendre recommandables qu'elles avoient acquis auprès de leur oncle un grand fond de dessein', Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 254. I have translated this as 'the three sisters applied themselves to engraving, and it was all the easier for them to succeed in this as they had acquired from their uncle a large stock (*fond*) of design', although an alternative interpretation of the final phrase might be that the three sisters 'had learned near their uncle a real and basic draughtsmanship'. Mariette spells *fond* without the *s*, and in modern French *fond* without the *s* can mean foundation or basis, while *fonds* with an *s* means stock or fund. In older, eighteenth-century French, however, *fond*, meaning stock or fund, was found interchangeably with and without an *s*. This is made clear in J. Savary des Bruslons' *Dictionnaire universel du commerce* (Paris 1723–30), which has seven entries under 'fond' including: FOND, OU FONDS. Signifie toutes les marchandises d'un Marchand. Ce Marchand s'est retiré, il a vendu son Fond. Il se dit pareillement de machines, métiers, instrumens, & ustenciles servant à une Manufacture.

FOND, OU FONDS. C'est encore l'argent que les Marchands & Négocians mettent dans leur commerce, dans leur négoce. On appelle Fond capital, le total du montant des effets d'un Marchand, d'un Négociant. Il a la même signification dans les sociétés, dans les compagnies de commerce, & dans les cargaisons des vaisseaux marchands. Le Fond de notre société est de cinquante mille écus: la Déclaration du Roi a réglé le Fond de la Compagnie d'Occident à cent millions: Ces Armateurs ont fait un Fond de cinq cens mille livres pour la cargaison de navire qu'ils font partir cette année pour la Chine. Et ainsi de toutes les entreprises de commerce.

The *Dictionnaire universel du commerce* also explicitly addresses

the matter of whether *fond* has or has not an *s* in a further entry, which concludes that most merchants of the time were unaware of any difference; Savary des Bruslons, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 110–11, 128. *Fond/fonds* is a very useful concept for print studies, as it not only refers to plates or drawings as a stock and a store of wealth, but to design itself as a form of transferable capital.

9. R.-A. Weigert, *Inventaire du fonds français: Les graveurs du dix-septième siècle* (hereafter IFF, 17c), Paris 1951, II, p. 92.
10. IFF, 17c, II, p. 95.
11. IFF, 17c, II, p. 96.
12. IFF, 17c, II, p. 82.
13. The *Vie de la Vierge* series was only engraved later in the eighteenth century; see A. Blunt 'Jacques Stella, the de Masso family and falsifications of Poussin', *The Burlington Magazine*, cxv, 861, December 1974, pp. 745–51.
14. IFF, II, pp. 87–88.
15. Each set of prints was issued with a specially engraved *privilege* page. Claudine's inventory, for example, records the set of plates for the *Pastorales* as the seventeen pieces (sixteen plus a title) and 'une d'écriture pour le Privilege des Pastorales'; see C. Bouzonnet Stella, 'Testament et inventaire des biens, tableaux, dessins, planches de cuivre, bijoux . . . de Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, rédigés et écrits par elle-même, 1693–97', edited by J.-J. Guiffrey, *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, VI, 1877, p. 75.
16. For Antoine's career as a painter, see G. de Saint-Georges, 'Antoine Bouzonnet Stella', in *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des membres de l'Académie Royale*, Paris 1854, I, pp. 422–30, and S. Kerspern, 'Antoine Bouzonnet Stella, peintre (1637–82). Essai de catalogue', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1988 (1989), pp. 33–54.
17. J.-J. Guiffrey, 'Logements d'artistes au Louvre', *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 1873, I–220, pp. 70–71.

PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

L OVIS par la grace de Dieu Roy de France & de Nauarre, à nos amez & feaux Conseillers les gens tenans nos Cours de Parlemens, Maistres des Requestes ordinaires de nostre Hostel, Baillifs, Seneschaux, Preuosts, Iuges, ou leurs Lieutenans, & tous autres nos Iusticiers & Officiers qu'il appartiendra; salut. Nostre chere & bien-aimée Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, natue de nostre ville de Lyon, nous a fait remonstrer que defunt Jacques Stella, vivant nostre Peintre ordinaire, après l'auoir instruite & fait instruire en l'art de Peinture & Graueure en Taille-douce, luy a laissé plusieurs de ses Desseins tant de suiets d'histoire, que d'ornemens pour la decoration des edifices, qu'il a fait grauer de son vivant, avec l'explication d'iceux, tous lesquels ouurages l'exposante desireroit donner au public, mesme ceux qu'elle a designez de son inuention particuliere, ou qu'elle a recherchez curieusement d'autres excellens Peintres, qui n'ont encore esté grauez, imprimez & publiez, s'il nous plaisoit luy accorder nos Lettres de permission & Priuilege sur ce necessaires. A ces causes desirant fauorablement traiter l'exposante, & l'inviter à continuer son trauail, à l'exemple dudit feu Stella son oncle, dont les ouurages luy ont acquis vne tres-grande reputation parmy les personnes curieuses; Nous luy auons permis, & permettons par ces presentes de grauer & faire grauer, imprimer & faire imprimer, par tel Graueur & Imprimeur en Taille-douce, autant de fois, & en tels caracteres, soit de graueure ou d'imprimerie, raille, marge, grandeur, & langue que bon luy semblera, ou par volumes, ou en feuilles détachées, pendant le temps & espace de vingt années accomplies, à commencer du iour de l'acheuement de la premiere impression, faisant tres-expres des defenses à tous Graueurs, Imprimeurs, & toutes autres personnes de quelque qualité qu'elles soient, de grauer ou faire grauer, imprimer ou faire imprimer, vendre & distribuer lesdites Graueures & Desseins, tant en volumes qu'en feuilles, ny autres Figures extraites d'iceux, ou copiées & contrefaites en tout ou en partie, sans la permission de l'exposante, ou de ceux qui auront droit d'elle, à peine de tous despens, dommages & interests, confiscation des Planches, Stamples, & de deux mil liuirs d'amende applicable, sçauoir vn tiers à Nous, vn tiers à l'Hospital General de nostre bonne ville de Paris, & l'autre tiers au profit de ladite exposante; à la charge qu' auparauant l'exposition des susdits Desseins & volumes il en sera mis de chacun deux exemplaires en nostre Bibliotheque publique, & vn autre en celle de nostre tres-cher & seel le Sieur Seguier Cheualier Chancelier de France. Si vous mandons que du contenu en ces presentes vous fassiez iouir pleinement & paisiblement ladite Stella, & ceux qui auront droit & pouuoir d'elle, faisant cesser tous troubles & empeschemens à ce contraires, sans qu'il soit besoin d'autre signification de ces presentes, que d'en mettre vn extrait au commencement ou à la fin des volumes, & de marquer sur les feuilles détachées, que c'est avec nostre Priuilege: Nous voulons qu'aux copies d'icelles deuement collationnées par vn de nos amez & feaux Conseillers & Secretaires foy soit adioutée comme à l'original, nonobstant aussi clameur de Haro, Chartre normande, prise à partie, & autres choses à ce contraires: Car tel est nostre plaisir. Donné à Paris le dixieme iour d'Aoust 1657. & de nostre Regne le quinzième. Signé, par le Roy en son Conseil, COUPEAU.

1697. In it we find detailed information on all the sets of prints she published: their design models, intermediate stages, sets of plates and sets of impressions. The design models for the *Mesure et Proportion du Corps Humaine*, the *Liures de Vases*, the *Divers Ornaments d'Architecture*, the *Vie de la Vierge* and the *Jeux d'enfants* are all expressly listed as drawings 'de la main de mon oncle'.¹⁸ In actual transfer to the plates, tracings from these may have been used. The *Vie de la Vierge* drawings (see fig. 167), for example, are listed with a prepared set of outline drawings for transfer: 'Il y a aussi les trait desdit desseins qui serviront, s'il estoit gravé, affin de ne pas gaster les desseins en les contretirant sur le cuivre'.¹⁹ In some cases small paintings rather than drawings served as the design models, as was the case with the *Passion du Christ*, for which 30 small preparatory paintings appear in the inventory.²⁰ Somewhat astonishingly for so complete an inventory there is no specific mention of the models for the *Pastorales*,²¹ and we have no clear evidence as to what form, whether drawings or paintings, these models took.

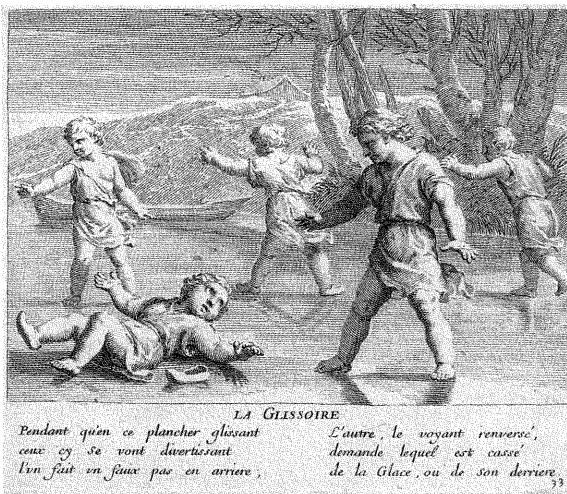
One way of approaching this problem is through the better knowledge we have of the *Jeux d'enfants*, which in many ways are the parallel figurative set to the *Pastorales*. Their models were drawings and they are listed in the inventory as:

Un autre petit livre de dix ponce de haut, couvert de parchemin où sont relié cinquante six feuille de papier bleu dans lesquelles sont cinquante deux petit dessein, de la main de mon oncle, représentant les Jeux d'enfants. Ce livre est dans le pupitre . . . 25 livres.²²

Forty of these drawings were in the library at Metz until World War II, when they were destroyed.²³ They were examined in the 1930s by Jeanne Lejeaux, who found that the drawings were of the same dimensions as the prints and that fragments of blue paper were still stuck to their edges; the inventory describes drawings stuck onto blue paper, which must have subsequently been removed. Most interesting of all, however, is that one of the drawings discussed by Lejeaux, *La Glissoire* (fig. 160), had a letter 'A' above the standing figure on the right and another 'A' with a horizontal line above it



160. Jacques Stella, *La Glissoire*, pen and ink with wash and gouache, 100 × 143 mm (Destroyed, formerly Metz, Bibliothèque de Metz; Photograph London, British Museum).



161. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella after Jacques Stella, *La Glissoire*, no. 33 from the *Jeux et Plaisirs de l'Enfance*, 1657, engraving, 120 × 146 mm (London, British Museum).

by the child's feet. On the back were two inscriptions,

18. Bouzonnet Stella, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–54.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

21. The absence is strange, particularly as the models for the other sets after Jacques are all present, suggesting that the workshop retained its masters. Yet while the *Pastorales* are not to be found in the inventory under the sections itemising drawings and paintings, in the sections 'mes planche de cuivre gravée par mes soeurs et par moy' and 'Impression des Livres' they are conspicuously listed first of the sets; see Bouzonnet Stella, *ibid.*, p. 75 and 79.

One perhaps telling consequence of the omission of the design models is that unlike the other sets, the *Pastorales* are not explicitly recognized as 'de la main de mon oncle'.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 54. It is interesting to note that the model drawings for the prints were valued at 25 *livres*, while the plates themselves were valued at 200 *livres*.

23. See J. Lejeaux, 'Les dessins de Jacques Stella et de Claudine Bouzonnet Stella à la bibliothèque de Metz', *Trésors des bibliothèques de France*, vi, 1938, pp. 141–48.

one of which read: *avertiman pour le graveur*,²⁴ and the other: *figure de petit enfant trop grande de toute la teste, il la faudrait desandre plus bas jusque au tres cy desous les pied, les mettre au niveau la marque de A*.²⁵ As can be seen from a comparison between print and drawing, the boy has indeed been altered and repositioned according to the instruction (figs. 160–161).

Despite this evidence the *Jeux d'enfants* are still routinely described as being 'after' a set of 'untraced' paintings²⁶ and the same assumption is also commonly made about the *Pastorales*; Alain Mérot for example writes that:

In a less formal vein, Stella painted a number of pas-

toral genre scenes (untraced) known through the engravings of his niece Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, daughter of his sister Madeleine. They have a simplicity and freshness far removed from the caricatural realism of similar works by his Netherlandish contemporaries. His paintings of the *Jeux d'enfants* (untraced, engraved) were admired by contemporaries for their light bonhomie . . .²⁷

David Landau and others have argued against the recurring inability to grasp that prints were often produced from drawings conceived specifically for this purpose – 'desseins pour graver' – rather than repro-

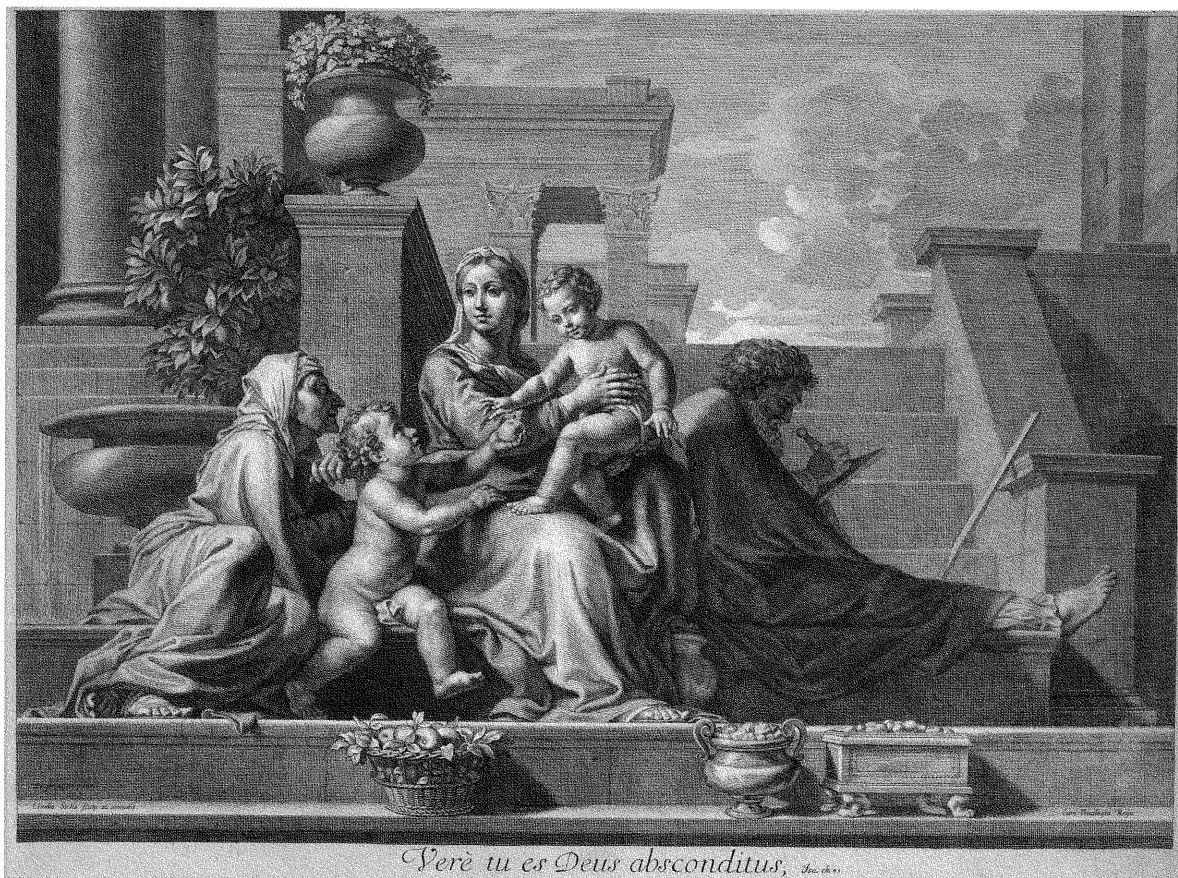
24. The instruction 'avertiman pour le graveur' is notably impersonal. The drawings for the *Jeux d'enfants* were almost certainly prepared before the Bouzonnets arrived in Paris, and before Jacques knew who the engraver would be. Mariette notes that six of the 52 prints were engraved by François de Poilly and Jean Couvey (Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 265; I.F.F., p. 88), and the rest by

Claudine.

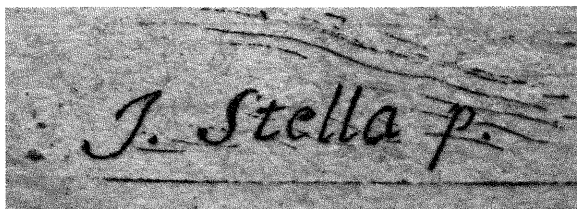
25. Lejeaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–44.

26. A. Mérot, *French Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, New Haven and London 1995, p. 175.

27. A. Mérot, 'Jacques Stella', in *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, edited by J. Turner, 1996, xxix, p. 623.



162. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella after Nicolas Poussin, *La Vierge sur les degrés*, 1668, engraving with some etching, 384 × 508 mm (London, British Museum).



163. Detail of *J. Stella p.* lettering from the *Pastorales*, and detail of *C. Stella sculp.* lettering from the *Pastorales*, taken from *La Pipée aux oiseaux*, no. 7 from the *Pastorales* (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum).

ducing paintings. As Landau points out, there is a great distinction between 'prints which are the fruits of a collaboration between artist and engraver' (in this instance Jacques and Claudine) where the drawing is made with the 'exclusive aim of having it transformed into a print',²⁸ such as the *Jeux d'enfants*, and literally reproductive prints such as *La Vierge sur les degrés* (fig. 162) by Claudine after Nicolas Poussin.²⁹

In contrast with the *Jeux d'enfants*, we know nothing of the design models for the *Pastorales*. The only paintings ever to have been associated with the *Pastorales* are copies and pastiches made after the prints, a type of painting that Jacques Thuillier has called 'cacopeinture'.³⁰ Similarly, a group of drawings has recently appeared on the art market mooted as possible originals, but these are clearly, to borrow the phrase, *caco-drawings*.³¹ Any influential set of prints inspired countless paintings and drawings – good and bad – after them. If we turn to the primary literature, according to Pierre-Jean

Mariette the models were drawings, whereas according to André Félibien they were paintings.³² In Félibien's favour, the *Pastorales* are considerably larger than the *Jeux d'enfants* (245 × 315 mm as opposed to 118 × 146 mm), representing fully resolved pictures rather than groups of figures set against minimal backgrounds. Furthermore, the *Pastorales* are inscribed *p* for *pinxit* (the plates are lettered *J. Stella p. . . C. Stella sculp.*; fig. 163) where the *Jeux d'enfants* are not. However, Antony Griffiths has recently cast suspicion over the use of *pinxit* on some seventeenth-century prints, notably those, including *Les Sept Œuvres de miséricorde*, produced by Sébastien Bourdon late in his career:

In a few cases the paintings survive, but of most no trace has been recorded, and one wonders whether Bourdon was not using Salvator Rosa's trick of claiming to have made paintings untruthfully, in the hope that someone seeing the print might order the painting from him.³³

28. D. Landau, 'Vasari, Prints and Prejudice', *Oxford Art Journal*, vi, 1, 1983, p. 4.

29. For Claudine's engraved work after Poussin, see G. Wildenstein, 'Les Graveurs de Poussin au XVII^e siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e période, xxxvi, année 97, 1955, pp. 75–371, and G. Wildenstein, 'Catalogue des Graveurs de Poussin par Andresen', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e période, lx, année 104, 1962, pp. 139–204.

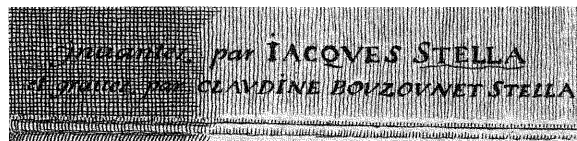
30. Jacques Thuillier writes of the *Pastorales* '... nous n'avons pu rencontrer jusqu'ici que de médiocres copies des gravures, que leur sujet destinait tout naturellement à servir de modèles aux «cacopeintres»; see J. Thuillier, 'Poussin et ses premiers compagnons français à Rome', in *Nicolas Poussin: Colloquium 1958*, edited by A. Chastel, Paris 1960, p. 107. Such paintings are often of reasonable quality and nearly contemporary with the prints, and they are often taken as 'originals'.

31. Three drawings after *Le Repas champêtre*, *La Moisson* and *Le Jeu de*

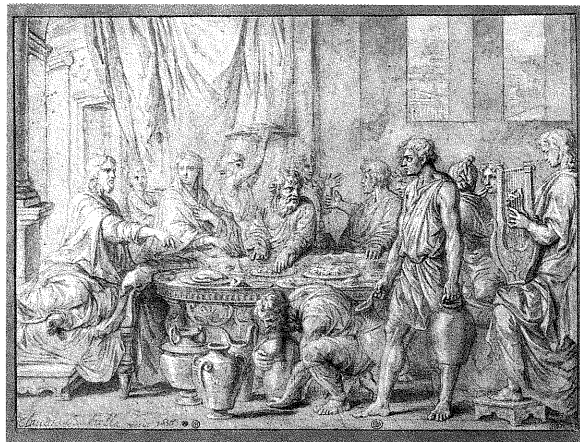
quilles et l'escarpolette from the *Pastorales* were sold at Christie's South Kensington, 26 July 1995, lot 100, described as 'Dutch School 18th century', 240 × 300 mm. They have been suggested as the original drawings in the recent Jacques Stella catalogue; see Laveissière and Widerkehr, *op. cit.*, p. 221. Drawings such as these have turned up before, including a highly finished drawing after *L'Hiver* (cat. no. 16), possibly from the same set of copies, sold at Sotheby Park Bernet, London, 11 July 1979, lot 75, also catalogued as Dutch school, eighteenth century, 237 × 300 mm.

32. Mariette, *op. cit.*, v, p. 254. Félibien, *op. cit.*, p. 657. With Mariette's understanding of prints and his particular interest in the Stella family, I would be inclined towards his account. Félibien was not a great print enthusiast, nor was he one to be hampered by the correctness of small details in the telling of a life story.

33. A. Griffiths, review article of J. Thuillier, *Sébastien Bourdon 1616–1671: Catalogue critique et chronologique de l'oeuvre complet*, Paris 2000, in *Print Quarterly*, xviii, 2001, p. 447.



164. Detail of *Invantez par IACQUES STELLA gravez par CLAUDINE BOUZONNET STELLA* lettering from the title-page of the *Jeux et Plaisirs de l'Enfance* (London, British Museum), and detail of *A PARIS, Par CLAUDINE STELLA, aux Galleries du Louvre. Avec Privilège du Roy, 1667*, lettering from the title-page of the *Pastorales* (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum).



165. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, *Les Noces de Cana*, 1658, black chalk with white highlights, pricked for transfer, 216 × 295 mm (Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts).

Perhaps rather than Rosa's 'trick', Claudine and Bourdon may have used *pinxit* to suggest that prints such as the *Pastorales* and the *Sept Œuvres* were based on self-contained, and therefore disinterested paintings, rather than stating their true status as speculative print ventures. Griffiths describes the *Sept Œuvres* as 'quasi-reproductive' – they look as though they could be reproductive when they are not – and the *Pastorales* fit very much into this category. Of course, if the models for the *Pastorales* had been small made-for-print paintings, as was the case with Jacques and Claudine's *Passion du Christ*, the *pinxit* would not be a lie, if not exactly within the spirit of the letter. The likelihood is that there never was a cabinet or gallery set of paintings for the *Pastorales*; whether the models were drawings or paintings, the *Pastorales* were conceived as print designs from the beginning.

Claudine must have been working on the plates of the *Jeux d'enfants* under the supervision of her uncle, but it seems likely that the execution of the plates for the *Pastorales*, published in 1667, ten years after Jacques

died, was Claudine's alone. This may have left considerable room for manoeuvre in the interpretation, and possibly even in the invention, of the designs. As early as 1658 Claudine's growing independence from her uncle is demonstrated by two drawings, *L'Entrée du Christ à Jérusalem* and *Les Noces de Cana*, the latter of which is signed and dated *Claudia B. Stella fecit* (fig. 165).³⁴ Although the inventory does not specifically list the models for the *Pastorales*, a number of other items such as a *folio* containing 'plusieurs desseins, tous de ma main, tant après des tableaux de mon oncle, que de moy'³⁵ show how 'layered' the family production could become. This ambiguity over authorship extends to the inscriptions on the prints themselves. Where the title-pages of the *Jeux d'enfants*, the *Mesure et Proportion du Corps Humaine* and the *Livre de Vases* all carry the attribution *inventez par Jacques Stella*, and the *Divers Ornaments d'Architecture* is described as *après l'antique par Jacques Stella*, the title-page of the *Pastorales* is inscribed simply as *Par Claudine Stella* (fig. 164). Perhaps they were. Just as there were good reasons to use *pinxit* rather than *invenit* on the *Pastorales*, there were equally good reasons to use Jacques's rather than Claudine's name. Sylvain Laveissière has rightly drawn attention to the commercial usefulness of Jacques Stella's name to the Bouzonnets, noting: 'Les problèmes d'attribution que pose l'existence de cette famille aussi douée artistiquement qu'attachée – sentimentalement et économiquement – à la survie du nom de l'oncle illustre dont elle détenait l'héritage.'³⁶ Jacques (as Claudine's *privilege* states) had a 'tres-grande reputation' and his name was undoubtedly a better seller than that of his precociously talented niece.

Claudine was granted an extremely liberal and powerful *privilege* on Jacques's death, which not only gave her the exclusive right to publish his designs, but extended to designs of her own invention – 'qu'elle a dessinez de son invention particuliere' – and even those that she might engrave of others, 'qu'elle a recherchez curieusement d'autres excellens Peintres' (see fig. 159).³⁷ But what we find is that Claudine never did publish

34. Although in the vein of Jacques's religious subject-matter, the designs are not in fact part of the *grand fond* left by the uncle and may well constitute and independently conceived project for a 'Life of Christ' series. Right down to the signature on *Les Noces de Cana*, the drawings have all the appearance of print models, and indeed they are pricked for transfer, although no impressions are known.

35. Bouzonnet Stella, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

36. S. Laveissière and L. Widerkehr, *op. cit.*, p. 233. Sylvain Kerspern has also acknowledged 'le problème de l'atelier des Stella et la part inventive de Claudine Bouzonnet'; see S. Kerspern, 'Jacques Stella ou L'amitié funeste', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e période, cxxiv, année 136, 1994, p. 136. As Mariette puts it,

'ç'auroit une espèce d'injustice de separer une si illustre famille, et chaque chose separement auroit peut-être perdu de son prix'; see Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 255. The collaborative nature of the family workshop was acknowledged even earlier by Michel de Marolles in his poem *Les peintres et Graveurs*; see M. de Marolles, *Le Livre des Peintres et graveurs par Michel de Marolles*, edited by G. Duplessis, Paris 1872, p. 24.

37. Once the prints were published they were protected from the copyists for twenty years. For a discussion of another exceptional *privilege*, granted to Charles Le Brun, see P. Fuhring, 'The Market for Prints under Louis XIV: Charles Le Brun', *Print Quarterly*, xix, 1, 2000, pp. 3–11.

designs of her own invention under the protection of her *privilege*, which she would have been entitled to do. On the other hand, she frequently signed her 'free-lance' work *Claudia B. Stella in. sculp.* – that is to say, those designs that she herself did not publish, from the Louvre, under privilege.³⁸ In effect, Claudine compartmentalized her work, and only when she worked for other publishers did she claim invention of the designs.

We must also bear in mind the delicacy of

Claudine's situation as a woman at the head of a major workshop, and as a leading artist in her own right. The amount of royal privilege and preferment shown to her was quite extraordinary at the time for a woman artist, but it came at a cost. The *brevet* granting Claudine and her brother Antoine quarters at the Louvre stated explicitly that if Claudine took a husband she had to ask the King's permission.³⁹ To have done so may well have changed her legal position in relation to the apart-

38. For example, in her illustrations for the *Missel romain* published by Joseph de Voisin and for those of the *Vie des Saints Pères du Désert* published by Arnauld d'Andilly; see IFF, II, pp. 89–90.
39. Guiffrey has transcribed the Letters Patent granting Claudine and Antoine lodgings in the Louvre in succession of their uncle: 'Brevet accordant à Antoine Bouzonnet Stella et à la Claude Bouzonnet Stella, sa soeur, conjointement et en survivance l'un

de l'autre, l'appartement occupé au-dessous de la grande galerie par feu Jacques Stella, peintre, leur oncle, sous la condition que Claude Masso, mère de Jacques Stella, demeure avec eux dans ledit appartement et que si Claude Bouzonnet prent un mari, elle le fasse agréer de Sa Majesté. 29 Avril 1657'; see J.-J. Guiffrey, 'Logements d'artistes au Louvre', *Nouvelles Archives de L'Art François*, 1873, 1–220, pp. 70–71.



166. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, *La Moisson*, no. 8 from the *Pastorales*, 1667, etching and engraving, 245 × 310 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

ments at the Louvre, perhaps even to the *privège* – in short, everything might have been reversed if she had married. She never did. Claudine seems to have been condemned to a choice between career or marriage, and she chose career. In this context, when it came to publishing under the auspices of the Louvre and of the King, it may have been advisable to continue using Jacques's name regardless of her own inventive input.

Perhaps the most important commission entirely of Claudine's own invention was for the 23 illustrations for the *Missel romain* published by Joseph de Voisin in 1660 (see figs. 167, 168).⁴⁰ In discussing these pieces Pierre-Jean Mariette draws our attention to a neglected yet important aspect of her independent work – the technique. Claudine was an early and brilliant exponent of the mixed manner where etching was combined with engraving:

Vingt trois petites pièces de sainteté; toutes inventées et gravées au burin en 1660 par Cl. B. Stella. Elles sont gravées en partie au burin et en partie à l'eau forte, j'y vois peu d'eau forte s'il y en a, – et elles ont été faites pour le missel Romain de Voisin; elles sont très-difficiles à trouver en belles épreuves et surtout avant d'avoir été imprimées dans le livre [...] A toutes: Claudia B. Stella in. sculp. Sans cela on les prendroit pour être de l'invention du Poussin.⁴¹

The reason, incidentally, that they were very difficult to find was that the missal had been banned 'to eternal perdition' by the Pope, and most copies were burned.⁴² However, whereas Mariette thought highly of the *Voisin Missal*, more recent opinion has been less favourable. Sylvain Kerspern, for example, speaks disparagingly of the 'puissance et épaisseur des personnages' and the 'minceur des décors',⁴³ a criticism of the



167. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, *Saint Anne venant à la recontre de Joachim* from Joseph de Voisin, *Le Missel romain, selon le règlement du Concile de Trente, traduit en françois*, Paris 1660, I, p. 434, etching with engraving, 135 × 80 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).



168. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, *La Visitation* from Joseph de Voisin, *Le Missel romain, selon le règlement du Concile de Trente, traduit en françois*, Paris 1660, V, p. 530, etching with engraving, 135 × 80 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

40. Joseph de Voisin, *Le Messel romain, selon le règlement du council de Trente, traduit en françois, avec l'explication de toutes les messes*, Paris 1660. Claudine's drawings for the *Voisin Missal* illustrations were lost at Metz, along with the drawings for the *Jeux d'enfants*.

41. Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

42. Voisin's *Missel romain* was made for the French Catholic market and had initially received support from Louis XIV, but vernacular missals were prohibited by Rome, and on 12 January 1661, a year after its first publication, Pope Alexander VII banned it; see L. J. Swidler, *Aufklärung Catholicism, 1780–1850: Liturgical and other Reform in the Catholic Aufklärung*, Ann Arbor, MI 1978, p. 7, n. 16. Claudine, although by all accounts a devout woman (she is described as having a 'piété sans fard') none the less managed to spirit away six volumes of the perfidious object and a set of 'très-rare' proofs of the illustrations: 'dans mon œuvre il y a les figures du Messel traduit françois, lesquelles sont très-rare, n'y ayant que celui-là en blanc'; see Bouzonnet Stella, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 and 60–61. The proofs were in turn owned by Mariette.

43. S. Kerspern, 'Mariette et les Bouzonnet Stella: Notes sur un atelier et sur un peintre-graveur, Claudine Bouzonnet Stella', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1993 (1994), p. 34.



169. Jacques Stella, *La Rencontre d'Anne et Joachim à la Porte dorée*, black chalk, ink and grey wash, 345 × 258 mm (Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts).



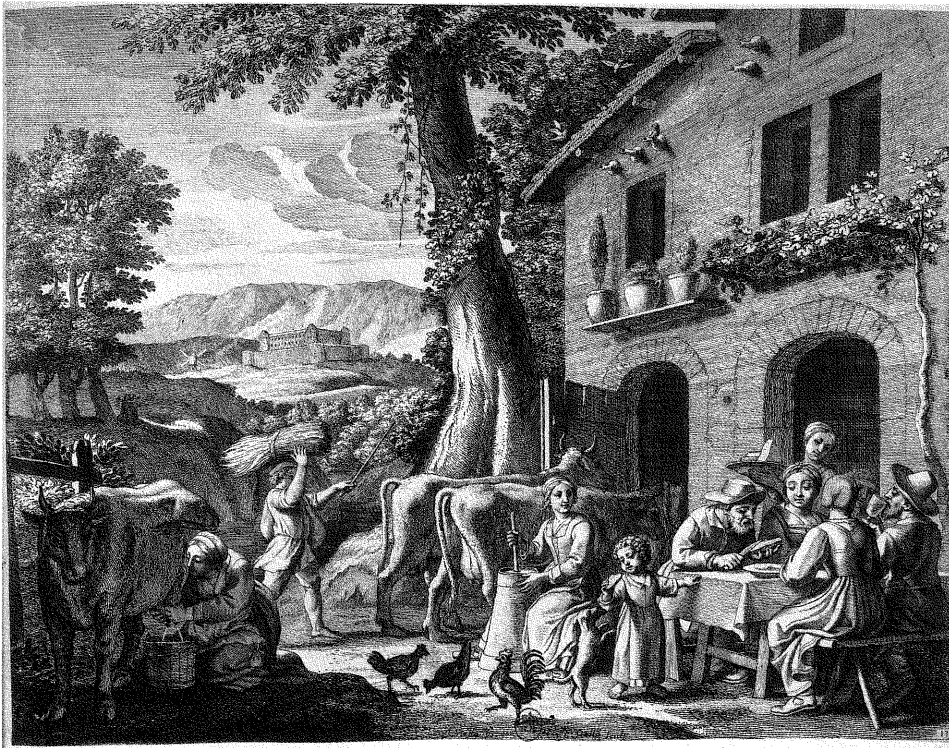
figurative qualities of the prints that *does* not take into account the technique or the aesthetic aims to which it was put. Claudine's prints were made in what Griffiths calls a 'new style': 'an original blending of etching and engraving, of a type that is deeply unfashionable today, but at the time looked forward to much that followed in France and Italy'.⁴⁴

The contrasting 'épaisseur' and 'minceur' are the effect of a cultivated interplay between etched ground and engraved figure. Used in this way, the mixed manner was a perfect means of expressing contemporary academic ideas of clarity of action found, for example, in Charles Le Brun's *conférence* on poussin's *La Manne*.⁴⁵

44. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

45. C. Le Brun, 'Les Israélites Recueillant la Manne dans le Désert par Nicolas Poussin', in *Conférences de L'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, edited by H. Jouin, Paris 1883, p. 52. Notably, Gérard Audran's prints after Le Brun's *Histoire d'Alexandre* series were a combination of etching with engraving.

170. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, detail from *Mes Fiançailles*, no. 14 from the *Pastorales*, 1667, etching and engraving, 245 × 310 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).



171. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, *Un fermier attablé avec sa famille*, no. 13 from the *Pastorales*, 1667, etching and engraving, 245 × 310 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

The use of etching for the background allowed a freedom of expression in the landscapes and interiors and subsidiary motifs that did not interfere with the clarity of the figures. Mariette took pleasure in the very qualities which Kerspern and others dismiss, in part because he paid close attention to their execution. So enthusiastic was Mariette over another of Claudine's independent commissions, the *Vie des Saints Pères du Désert* commissioned by Arnould d'Andilly, that to emphasize his observation on their technique, he repeats himself: 'gravées en partie au burin et en partie à l'eau-forte. Des belles choses de Melle Stella. – Les figures au burin, les fonds à l'eau-forte.'⁴⁶ Claudine's mixed technique was integral to her individual style as a printmaker, and what Griffiths describes as 'deeply unfashionable today' was quite the reverse in late seventeenth-century Paris.

Significantly, the *Pastorales* are also executed in the mixed manner; with their large figures set on landscape backgrounds, the combination of etching and engraving was particularly appropriate.⁴⁷ Everything but the principal figures is etched in the vein of the pastoral landscape etchings of innumerable seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish artists and indeed a number of French ones, including Laurent de La Hyre. Yet at the same time the reinforcement by the burin of the principal figures gives them the 'weight' one would expect from a pure engraving. In effect, the mixed technique of the *Pastorales* combines the genre of the etched landscape with a predominately figural type of engraving used for history subjects. This can be seen in *La Moisson* (fig. 166), where the foreground figures are robust and clearly outlined, whereas the mid-ground threshers begin to merge into the landscape, and those in the very background threaten to disappear completely into the abstract mesh of etched line.

Claudine's combined use of etching and engraving must be put down to her own rather than her uncle's initiative. None of Jacques's own prints were made in

this way (he only ever made etchings), and Claudine's independent work and her plates for the *Pastorales* date from the 1660s and 1670s, well after he had died. In addition, the use of a mixed technique by contemporaries such as Sébastien Bourdon, in sets such as the *Sept Œuvres de miséricorde*, only began to establish itself as common practice in the 1660s. There are echoes of Jacques's early etchings in the grounds of the *Pastorales* that might indicate that he passed on his skills and something of his etching manner to Claudine, but there is nothing to suggest that Jacques was ever a 'graveur de profession', or that he could have trained Claudine to the level of engraving at which she practised.⁴⁸ She was, according to Michel de Marolles, Pierre-Jean Mariette, Louis Doisin and many others 'au rang des plus excellens graveurs'.⁴⁹ A number of other excellent engravers were neighbours to Claudine in the Louvre, such as Michel Dorigny, Israel Silvestre, Michel Lasne and Claude Mellan,⁵⁰ any one of whom could have instructed her in engraving. Moreover, there had been earlier connections between Jacques and the pioneer of the mixed manner, Abraham Bosse.⁵¹

The final decisive influence on Claudine's artistic make-up was Nicolas Poussin. Her study collection included paintings and drawings purchased directly from the artist by Jacques,⁵² and we know that Claudine made tracings from them.⁵³ She was also well versed in following Poussin's line through her many engravings after him – indeed, she was generally considered to be the best engraver Poussin had (see fig. 162).⁵⁴ Where Jacques remained very much a Baroque artist, Claudine, of the next generation and directly influenced by Poussin, was an early exponent of the 'style classique'. The differing styles of niece and uncle can be seen in their respective portrayals of the *Meeting of Saint Anne and Joachim* from Jacques's *Vie de la Vierge* series and Claudine's *Voisin Missal* illustrations (figs. 167–69). The serpentine lines and billowing drapery of Jacques's *Meeting of Anne and Joachim* are quite different

46. Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

47. I am grateful to Maxime Préaud and the staff at the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale for their help in confirming this.

48. For Jacques's early etchings, see Laveissière and Widerkehr, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–69.

49. Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 267. Claudine also receives high praise in L. Doissin's *Scalptura carmen* and *La Gravure Poème*, Paris 1753, pp. 54–55, 62–63. In the Duc de Tarrard's sale of 1756 she was described as 'la célèbre Claudine Stella' (cited in I.F.F., II, p. 84), and her reputation continued into the nineteenth century: see F.-É. Joubert, *Manuel de L'Amateur d'Estampes*, Paris 1821, III, p. 93.

50. See M. Préaud, 'L'Imprimerie Royale and Cardinal Richelieu', in H. T. Goldfarb, *Richelieu: Art and Power*, Montreal 2002, pp.

210–17.

51. De Marolles, 1666, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

52. Bouzonnet Stella, *op. cit.*, *passim*. For the correspondence between Jacques Stella and Poussin, see 'Correspondence de Nicolas Poussin', edited by C. Jouanny, *Archives de l'art français*, V, 1911, reprinted Paris 1968.

53. Bouzonnet Stella, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

54. 'Jamais on n'a mieux rendu le véritable caractère d'un tableau que cette artiste recommandable; et si le Poussin avait pu voir ses ouvrages, il n'aurait eu que des éloges à lui donner et des actions de grâces à lui rendre ses travaux raisonnés, judicieusement établis, accusant les plans avec justesse, font sentir la couleur de maître et rendent avec une précision rare, la perfection du dessin qu'on admire chez le peintre'. Joubert, *op. cit.*, III, p. 93.



172. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, *La Culture des plantes et la greffe de l'arbre*, no. 2 from the *Pastorales*, 1667, etching and engraving, 245 × 310 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

from Claudine's severe and dramatic composition. Claudine's account also has a homely touch in keeping with its function as a missal illustration, but also closely akin in style to the *Pastorales* (figs. 170–73). It is this unusual combination of severe classicism and homely domesticity that is the hallmark of Claudine's style (fig. 170). While Mariette's opinion that Claudine's *Voisin Missal* compositions, if not for her signature, could be taken for Poussin⁵⁵ is perhaps overstating the case, his most developed description of Claudine's style again refers to Poussin, and significantly the passage ends with a reference to the *Pastorales*:

Pour Claudine, elle s'est servie indifféremment tantôt

du burin, tantôt de l'eau-forte. Presque toujours occupée à graver d'après les desseins de son oncle ou d'après les merveilleux tableaux du Poussin qui luy appartenoient, elle s'est particulièrement attachée à en conserver le caractère, et, ce qui ne se peut presque jamais dire des graveurs et en général des imitateurs, bien loin d'affaiblir les beautés de ses originaux, elle leur en a prêté de nouvelles, de façon que le Poussin, quelque grand quelque majestueux, quelque correct qu'il soit, le paroît peut-être encore davantage dans les estampes de Claudia Stella que dans ses propres tableaux, et il règne dans les sujets champêtres qu'elle a gravé d'après les desseins de

55. Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 268.



173. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella, *La Fenaïson*, no. 1 from the *Pastorales*, 1667, etching and engraving, 245 × 310 mm (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

son oncle, un caractère naïf et de simplicité que l'on ne trouve point ailleurs.⁵⁶

For Mariette, from specific detail to general character, from the line of the drawing to the technique of the prints, the *Pastorales* are examples of Claudine's style and not Jacques's, and of her indebtedness to Poussin's classicism rather than the playful lines of her uncle. Somewhat later Thuillier was again close to the mark when he noted that the *Pastorales* 'ne manquent pas d'esprit, mais semblent alourdir considérablement le dessin

de [Jacques] Stella',⁵⁷ which seems to imply that while the prints say '*J Stella p.*', as designs they do not seem like '*J Stella in.*'. 'Tous de ma main, tant après des tableaux de mon oncle, que de moy'; perhaps the full story of Claudine, Jacques and the *Pastorales* will never be known, but what can be said with some confidence is that in the 1660s Claudine achieved a distinctive style both in her drawing and her printmaking, which is as fully represented by the *Pastorales* as by her work signed *Claudia B. Stella in. sculp.*

56. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

57. Thuillier, *op. cit.*, p. 107.