

Carmontelle's Portraits of Musicians

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Carmontelle's Portraits of Musicians

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Scholars studying Carmontelle in recent years have concentrated in particular on his "garden of illusions"—a subject magnificently pioneered by Laurence Chatel de Brancion. Yet the literature devoted to the garden—its history, plantings, sculptures, and constructions—neglects one element. What did its visitors hear? How did they enjoy the garden for their musical entertainment?

Carmontelle himself supplies us with clues. His portraits of musicians—some sixty in all—help us to envision the soundscape of the Jardin de Monceau (and those of other Parisian gardens). A good half of the musicians he portrayed are depicted near an arcade opening onto a park; approximately ten are placed on a terrace giving onto trees; and another ten or so are found at the edge or in the middle of gardens or, far less often, in forests. Only three are shown in interiors. Four of these musicians were composers, three were professional performers shown in isolation, eleven were professionals portrayed in groups of various sizes, and the remainder—the vast majority—were amateurs.[i]

Carmontelle's portraits have received relatively little attention since Gruyer's seminal 1899 volume showcasing those in the Chantilly collection.[ii] Nor has there been any systematic investigation of the subset of portraits featuring musicians; only a few have received more than minimal commentary. In 1929 Georg Kinsky, in the French version of his *Album musical*, reproduced both a caricature engraved by Carmontelle in 1760 of Rameau walking in the garden of the Palais-Royal and Delafosse's famous 1764 print of the Mozart family.[iii] François Lesure, in his pioneering work on the social history of music as seen through images, was the first to address the subject of aristocratic "connoisseurs" in his comment on

these two portrait sketches.[iv] Far more developed was Albert Pomme de Mirimonde's analysis of twenty-eight Carmontelle portraits with respect to the instruments being played and their popularity among the aristocracy in his 1977 survey volume on French musical iconography.[v] In 1988 I gave a short introduction to Carmontelle's portraits of musicians in relation to five of his group portraits in the Musée Carnavalet that were shown in my exhibition *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens*. I divided images of composers, professional performers, and the private sphere of high society into separate groups to help reveal the vogue for certain instruments.[vi] Finally, much more recently (2017), Mary Cyr published a methodologically progressive article about three portraits of musicians: one showing Mlle Pitoin and her father; another depicting the demoiselles Royer, daughters of the composer Pancrace Royer; and the third a portrait of the marquis of Ussé.[vii]

Carmontelle's portraits of composers: from reflection to inspiration

Carmontelle portrayed several composers. Jean-Philippe Rameau is shown towards the end of his life working in an armchair on the edge of a terrace, near a harpsichord whose shape and decoration recall those of his contemporary, the Paris-based German instrument maker Jean-Henry Hemsch.[viii] Relaxed but deep in concentration, the composer is caught in the act of writing a manuscript which, undecipherable to the beholder, could be either music or theory. The harpsichord is closed, its cover strewn with books and sheet music. In the foreground, carelessly lying on the floor, is Rameau's theoretical work *Code de musique pratique ou Méthodes pour apprendre la musique*, which he published in 1760, the year the drawing was made, and whose title, or at any rate the beginning of it, is easily decipherable. While intellectual reflection characterizes this portrait, another, etched the same year by Carmontelle, focuses not without humor on the composer's lanky silhouette and expressive concentration. In this little caricature, unique in Carmontelle's oeuvre, Rameau is shown

walking in the garden of the Palais-Royal, bent over and deep in thought, completely oblivious to the trivial straw chair nearby that is included to evoke the public space of promenade. Baron Grimm, in his obituary of Rameau published just after the composer's death in 1764, said of him: "He was as remarkable for his figure as famous for his work. Much taller than M. de Voltaire, he was just as pale and emaciated. Since he was constantly to be seen out walking in public, M. de Carmontelle drew him from memory a few years ago. This witty little engraving is a very good likeness."[ix] The portrait would go on to be very successful, being variously copied and decked out with new accessories (trees, a young girl on the chair, an arcaded house). It was even used on the cover of a manual for debutant musicians, *Le Petit Rameau,* which of course was not the work of the great man himself.

After Rameau, Carmontelle drew the portrait of Egidio Duni, shown seeking inspiration at the harpsichord (the same black model with gilded trimming), his absent gaze lifted towards the light. He was the in-house composer at the Théâtre-Italien from 1760 to 1770; it seems probable that his likeness dates from this period, when he composed so many successful comic operas to French-language libretti, before being overtaken by Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny, François-André Danican Philidor, and André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry. Carmontelle drew Monsigny standing, in a dove gray coat with golden yellow braiding, with nothing to indicate his profession. Behind him is a bridge in the sloping garden of a large house with a dovecote.

Like Carmontelle, Monsigny had a connection with the Orléans court. On first arriving in Paris, when he was *Receveur général du Clergé de France* and training as a musician with Pietro Giannotti (d. 1765), he entered into contact with the duc d'Orléans (senior), who, a few years after Monsigny's first successes at the Théâtre-Italien (*Le Roi et le Fermier,* 1762; *Rose et Colas*, 1764), made him his *maître d'hôtel*. It is perhaps this new role that Carmontelle's

portrait was intended to celebrate just before the enormous success of Monsigny's comic opera *Le Déserteur* (1769), which premièred at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.

Another composer Carmontelle depicted was one of the last virtuoso lute players of Europe, Josef Kohaut, who was born in Vienna and moved to Paris in 1762 as a musician in ordinary to Louis-François de Bourbon, prince de Conti.[x] He is shown sitting comfortably in an armchair in a shady park (fig. 38), his crossed legs supporting a large lute with thirteen courses. It was no doubt made in Germany, given its stringing, chanterelle pulley, and three sound holes, which recall the work of Prague lute maker Thomas Edlinger, who built models inspired by the early seventeenth-century Venetian theorbos of Magno Tieffenbrucker, updated for new repertoires.[xi]

A young Viennese, Count Wenzl Anton von Kaunitz-Rietberg, ambassador to France in 1750–52, probably played a crucial role in introducing Kohaut and his elder brother, Karl, also a lute player, to Paris. Grimm wrote about the two ten years later: "This Mr. *Kohaut* [i.e., Josef] has an elder brother who came to France with Count von Kaunitz and who is sublime when he plays the lute. The Kohaut brother who stayed here also plays this same instrument, but coldly and unenthusiastically—the man of genius is in Vienna."[xii] In the service of Prince Hieronim Florian Radzivill in Biala Podlaska and Slutsk (today in Poland and Belarus, respectively) from 1753 to 1759, Josef afterwards spent six months in Italy. As of July 1762 he settled in France, in the service of the prince de Conti. He began performing at the Concert Spirituel (sixteen times from 1763), where he played duos for lute and cello as well as motets of his own composition.[xiii] Between 1764 and 68 he wrote three works for the Comédie Italienne and contributed to two others.

Professional performers

Carmontelle drew three famous Parisian opera singers, of whom one was Sophie Arnould. Carmontelle depicted her in the role of Thisbé in the fifth act of *Pyrame et Thisbé*, a tragic opera by Rebel and Francoeur. Premièred in 1726, *Pyrame et Thisbé* was revived in 1759, with more than forty performances up to 1761, and again in 1771, with eighteen performances in February and March. In the final act, when Thisbé sings "Amour! que ton flambeau me guide," the libretto stipulates that "the Theater represents a thick Wood: we see, through the trees, the Tombs of ancient Assyrian Kings."[xiv] Carmontelle's drawing bears the (apocryphal?) date 1760, which suggests that the stage set represented may have been that used for the first revival. Chatel de Brancion, however, suggests that what we see here is perhaps the second revival of 1771, since she sees a link between the background and Carmontelle's drawing for the twelfth plate of his *Jardin de Monceau* (1778), *View of the Wood of Tombs*, in which one of the graves in question, as in *Pyrame and Thisbé*, takes the form of a pyramid. Either way, Carmontelle beautifully captures Arnould's moving performance and "the astonishing expression of her acting" (as praised by the *Mercure de France* in February 1759). The newspaper's reviewer noted that her role "gave to the voice and soul of the young Actress every possibility of touching and charming the Spectators."

Mlle Chevalier, the second opera singer Carmontelle depicted, was drawn at the end of her career in two theatrical postures that adroitly suggest the expressive roles of witch and Fury that were often given to her. As for Regina Mingotti, Carmontelle met this Neapolitan singer, who worked in Dresden, Munich, London, and at the Spanish court, during one of her short stays in Paris. She performed at the Concert Spirituel, singing a program of Italian airs for the feast of Corpus Christi in 1752; took the stage again in September 1754; and performed in Pergolese's *Stabat Mater* for Palm Sunday 1760—the year Carmontelle depicted her. The image shows her standing by a harpsichord in a far more familiar manner than in Raphaël Mengs's 1745 portrait of her, now in Dresden.

Also in 1760 Carmontelle portrayed the three daughters of the late composer and harpsichordist Joseph-Nicolas-Pancrace Royer, who directed the Concert Spirituel from 1748 to 1754. At the edge of a terrace, near a very tall, circular topiary arcade, the three young women are playing together. On the music stand is an open score on which one can read the title *Zaïde*, a highly successful three-act ballet written by their father. Is this allusion just a posthumous homage? Indeed, none of the daughters seems to be singing, and their late father does not seem to have published a selection of airs from his ballet. This has led the musicologist Mary Cyr to query the combination of instruments visible in the portrait—violin, harpsichord, and guitar—which, she points out, were used by Pierre de Lagarde, one of Royer's colleagues at the Musique du Roi, in his 1764 *cantatille* (i.e., vocal piece) *Amarillis.*[xv] She also points out that the rondeau *La Zaïde*, transcribed in Royer's *Pièces de clavecin*, offers a fairly simple structure in three parts that could have been played by the trio shown in this image.[xvi]

Among Carmontelle's rare group portraits of professional musicians it is worth mentioning two from 1764. First is the very famous *Mozart Family*: Leopold on the violin, Marie Anna singing, and Wolfgang Amadeus at the harpsichord. There are four known versions of the portrait as well as an engraving that Jean-Baptiste Delafosse published the same year (see fig. 7). The print ensured continent-wide circulation for this spectacular image showing "Marianne Mozart, Virtuoso aged eleven and J.G. Wolfgang Mozart, Composer and Maître de Musique aged seven" under their father's command.[xvii] The other group drawing of musicians portrays the harpist Jean-Aimé Vernier (standing) reading sheet music, Jean-Pierre Duport (or his younger brother Jean-Louis) on the cello, Jean-Joseph Rodolphe on the horn, Pierre Vachon on the violin, and Ignace Prover on the oboe.[xviii] Not only is this image the first French visual source for the chamber role given to the orchestral horn (with the technique of putting the hand in the bell to ensure the full chromatic range),[xix] it is also the only visual

record of this famous ensemble of musicians who were in the employ of the prince de Conti.[xx] The drawing should probably be dated to after 1769, when Jean-Louis Duport entered the prince's service.

Lady harpsichordists or *Les amusements du Parnasse* (Michel Corrette, 1749)

In the study I undertook with Denis Herlin of portraits of eighteenth-century Parisian harpsichordists, we noticed a preponderance of excellent women players in the images, literary sources, and dedications of works for this instrument.[xxi] Some of these women have passed into posterity because they gave their names to harpsichord scores that preserve the memory of their virtuosity. One example is Mlle Pitoin (accompanied by her father on the viola da gamba), who posed for Carmontelle with the score of Jacques Duphly's *Médée* open on her harpsichord. In a tribute to her talents, Duphly composed a musical portrait of her. Titled *La Pothoüin*, it was written for the harpsichord with viol accompaniment ad libitum, the same combination of instruments depicted in this drawing.[xxii] Other harpsichordists are shown playing in highly stereotyped attitudes, their instruments more distinctive than their poses. Thus Mme de Maupassant is shown playing a ravishing harpsichord, its case "red inside with a sky-blue band on a white background" (using the terms employed in the sales advertisements of the time) (fig. 39). The support, with its cabriole legs, has sculpted decoration highlighted in the same blue, and all the colors match the player's floral dress perfectly. Mlle Desgots' instrument is "red inside" also, but has "gilded bands," while the exterior features garlands of roses on a gilt background. The most common model depicted by Carmontelle features bronze-finished or gilded bands on a black background. Sometimes the instrument is shown closed but with a musician nearby; in others it is reduced to an accompanying piece of furniture whose role is to symbolize the idea of sociability through music.

***L'art de chanter* (Jean Blanchet, 1756)**

There are six portraits by Carmontelle of women who seem to be singers or musicians, because they have musical scores open on a stand or balanced on their knees. Of them, Mme d'Epinay is the most famous (Jean-Jacques Rousseau mentions her musical talents in his *Confessions* and she took lessons in composition with Louis Dupin de Francueil), while Mlle d'Avenart is considered a "virtuoso of the greatest might, playing at the queen's concerts"—an affirmation that so far has proved impossible to confirm.[xxiii]

***Les Dons d'Apollon… avec l'histoire allégorique de la guitarre* (Michel Corrette, 1763)**

Guitar playing seems to have been a frequent female pastime in the entourage of the duc d'Orléans—between 1758 and 1784, Carmontelle depicted eight elegant noble ladies doing just that. Each is seated and has a guitar held in place by a strap attached to the headstock with a pretty red or blue bow; it features five double strings, a deep parchment sound-hole insert, and a *pistagne* pattern of marquetry in alternating ebony and ivory around the soundboard. All except one of the instruments depicted display the proportions of the models made by the Voboam dynasty of Parisian guitar builders, five members of which succeeded each other between 1630 and 1730. Their instruments are always recorded in revolutionary seizures of property.[xxiv] Some of the guitars drawn by Carmontelle even feature the decorative ebony "mustache" they employed on either side of the bridge (fig. 40). A new model appears in the 1784 portrait of Mme Alexandre de Damas, displaying a more scooped-out body and a distinctly trapezoidal headstock that is tilted slightly backwards, corresponding perfectly to those Voboam guitars that have come down to us from that decade.

Guitars weren't the only plucked string instruments that were appreciated in Carmontelle's day. Firstly there is the mandora: a round-backed lute with either a curved or perpendicular

headstock strung with five, six, or eight courses (according to an eighteenth-century German definition).[xxv] It comes as no surprise to find the baronne d'Holbach playing it, her instrument held in place by a blue strap. Mlle de Croimare is also playing a mandora; hers is strung with five courses and features three sound holes, and its body with alternating ribs recalls old Venetian lutes (like Kohaut's modern lute mentioned earlier). A little theorbo (or cittern-theorbo?) held by M. Le Dran, a small five-course cittern played by Mme de Meaux, and Abbé Allegri's Milanese mandolin demonstrate the diversity of plucked string instruments that attracted amateur players in the last third of the eighteenth century. Easy to learn, they were perfect for accompanying fashionable ariettas or the loveliest arias from comic operas.

***L'art de jouer de la Harpe* (Cardon, 1784)**

The chromatic harp with tuning pins and pedals was perfected in southern Germany sometime around 1730. It came to France mid-century and was played at the Concert Spirituel by Georges-Adam Goepfert in May 1749 and in 1760 by Christian Hochbrücker (a Bavarian musician and instrument builder in the employ of the prince de Rohan) and Philippe Jacques Mayer. It is hardly surprising that the instrument was rapidly adopted by amateur musicians, ladies of the court, and the aristocracy. La Live de Jully had himself portrayed at the harp by Greuze in 1759 and by Carmontelle a year later, and Étienne Aubry painted Mme Victoire playing the instrument in 1773. Even more sophisticated models became all the rage at the court of Marie-Antoinette.

***L'école d'Orphée* (Corrette, *Méthode de violon,* 1779 edition)**

Violins are fairly rare in Carmontelle's portraits. There is one almost carelessly cast onto the floor in the portrait of the marquis of Ussé, along with sheet music bearing the names of Vivaldi and Tartini. Cyr has rightly pointed out the old-fashioned tastes of this amateur

musician, who is shown gazing at scores of Lully's *Armide* and André-Cardinal Destouches' *Issé* that are open on his music stand.

At a time when virtuoso Italian and French violinists dominated the concert circuit, amateur musicians often fell back on a hybrid instrument, the quinton, whose career marked a short period of transition. It enjoyed its hour of favor particularly among ladies, since it is easier to play than the violin and more becoming, because the arms do not need to be raised (it is supported on the knee). Like the pardessus de viole, the quinton has five strings—whence its name—that span a chord; frets on the neck, which are a useful guide for playing in tune; and a carved headstock. It resembles the violin in the form of its body, with its squarish shoulders, F-holes, slightly curved back, and curly bracket contours. Carmontelle depicted Mlle de Bernay playing such an instrument in 1764 with the bowing technique of the viol. She is sitting in a garden in front of a row of orange trees in tubs. Another drawing, dated 1758, shows Mlle Grimperel tuning up her quinton on her knees; the frets are clearly visible on the neck. Carmontelle is the only artist except Anne Vallayer-Coster (a still life in 1770 that was her *morceau de réception*, followed by a portrait in 1773), to have depicted this instrument at least three times (see appendix 1).

La vielleuse habile **(François Boüin, 1761) and** ***Les Amusements champêtres*** **(Nicolas Chédeville, 1729)**

Initially the hurdy-gurdy had a trapezoidal body. In the 1730s it changed shape when urban lute makers recycled lutes and guitars to satisfy noblemen in search of bucolic amusement. The refashioned instrument comprised two melody strings shortened by tangents operated by a push keyboard and drone strings rubbed continuously by a wheel turned by a hand crank. Beautifully made, the hurdy-gurdy replicated the aesthetic of baroque guitars.

The instrument became immensely popular in chamber formations with a violin, tenor instruments, and harpsichord accompaniment (as corroborated by the abundance of teaching manuals and sheet music). Carmontelle contributed to this aristocratic triumph by depicting Mme de Serré demonstrating her skill to Mme de Julienne in a drawing dated 1760.[xxvi] The hurdy-gurdy is often associated with another drone instrument (i.e., instrument capable of producing continuous sustained notes), the musette with bellows. In this very sophisticated version of the bagpipe, air is introduced with a pair of bellows held under the arm rather than by blowing into the instrument. Multiple drones are condensed into a very convenient cylindrical shuttle drone, while the chanters are equipped with keys that allow for chromaticism and ornaments. Charpentier played a hurdy-gurdy, accompanied by Danguy on the musette, at the Concert Spirituel in 1732 and 1733.

The musette's precious materials (ebony and ivory) made it a masterpiece of refined craftsmanship, and its fabric-covered bag could be matched to the player's outfit. It was suitable for pieces performed with harpsichord accompaniment, or given *concertante* with the violin, flute, or hurdy-gurdy. After Watteau painted his faux village minstrels, many indeed were the aristocrats who had themselves portrayed as Arcadian shepherds playing the musette (for example, the Marquis of Gueydan, as painted by Rigaud). Carmontelle took a different approach, depicting the instrument in the hands of Mme Blizet, who is accompanied by her husband on the violin (fig. 41), while the actor, Le Roy sits attentively. Apart from *Le Colin-maillard*, painted in 1736 by Jean-Baptiste Pater (Berlin, Charlottenburg), this is a rare case of an image showing the musette played by a woman.

Hunting instruments were played chiefly by men as well. Carmontelle had the opportunity to observe enthusiasts of hunting to hounds utilize a type of horn known as the *trompe Dauphine*.[xxvii] He portrayed the instrument in the hands of highly experienced horn blowers, including the duc d'Orléans himself (see fig. 4) and his master of the hunt. Both

show us how to carry the instrument without hindrance, whether on foot or on horseback; huntsman M. de Champignelles seems ready to put his to his lips.

Carmontelle's most unexpected portrait of a musician must surely be that of Narcisse, the duchesse de Chartres' black servant (fig. 42). Wearing a sword and a black coat with the arms of the duc d'Orléans on the pocket, he is blowing into a galoubet—a pipe with three holes that is played with just one hand—all the while banging his snare *tabor* (much like a tambourin de Provence). The latter is not shown in the image, but was indispensable in forming the inseparable rhythmic and melodic duo of dance instruments used at public and aristocratic balls, and on the stage at the opera since the era of André Campra.[xxviii] The large brown shadow cast onto the stone balustrade illusionistically evokes its throbbing presence.

Carmontelle depicted certain famously musical personages without their favorite attribute: the vicomtesse de Beaumont and Mme de Lamballe, who were talented harpists;[xxix] Princess Pälffy-Kinsky, whose harpsichords and pianoforte were mentioned in the revolutionary inventories of her rue St.-Dominique mansion;[xxx] and Benjamin Franklin, promoter of the bewitching glass harmonica, who is shown merely as the inventor of the lightning rod and the inspiration behind the constitution of Pennsylvania (see fig. 8). Also, many instruments are absent in Carmontelle's portraits of musicians: chamber organ, clarinet, bassoon, and serpent; trumpet, trombone, and double bass; timpani and military drums; triangle and cymbals. These lacunae reflect the fact that music was exclusively an amusement among high society; Carmontelle displayed an undeniable bias towards the favorite instruments of the aristocracy. As his portraits suggest, the extent to which music and musicians contributed to the activities in the Orléans family residences cannot be doubted. To the magic of the garden scenes he drew, a fourth dimension should be added— the sonorous music that filled them.

APPENDIX 1

Carmontelle's Portraits of Composers, Musicians and Other Individuals, 1758–1785, Grouped by Musical Attributes

	PERSON	IMAGE TYPE	DATE	LOCATION	INSTRUMENT(S), accessories, sheet music or music books, other attributes
	Notable Composers, Singers, and Musicians				
1	Jean-Philippe Rameau. Composer.	drawing	1760	Chantilly, musée Condé (hereafter Chantilly), Car415	Harpsichord, score; *Code de musique practique*
2	Idem	engraved caricature	1760	BnF, Estampes AD-18-FOL et N2	Walking, without musical attribute
3a	Leopold, Wolfgang and Marie Anna Mozart	drawing	1764	London, British Museum. 1994.0514.48	Harpsichord (Wolfgang), violin (Leopold), Marie-Anne (score)
3b	Idem	drawing	1764	York, Castle Howard	Idem
3c	Idem	drawing	1764	Paris, Musée Carnavalet, D4496	Idem
3d	Idem	drawing	1764	Chantilly, Car418	Idem
4	Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart	drawing	1766?	Location unknown	Harpsichord, violin
5	Egidio Duni Romualdo. Composer.	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car416	Harpsichord
6	Regina Valentini Mingotti. Opera singer.	drawing	1760	Chantilly, Car431	Harpsichord, score
7	[Royer] The three daughters of composer Joseph-Nicolas-Pancrace Royer. Musicans.	drawing	1760	Paris, Musée Carnavalet, D04507	Harpsichord, violin, guitar (players unidentified)
8	Josef Wenzel Thomas Kohaut. Composer and lutist.	drawing	1764	Chantilly, Car426	Lute
9	Jean-Pierre or Jean-Louis Duport, Jean-Joseph Rodolphe, Pierre Vachon, Ignace Prover, and Jean-Aimé Vernier.	drawing	after 1769	Chantilly, Car424	Cello (Duport), horn (Rodolphe), violin (Vachon), oboe (Prover), Vernier (score [harp and violin])
10	Monsigny, Pierre Alexandre. Composer.	drawing.	n.d., after 1768?	Chantilly Car417	Standing, no attribute. [violin]
11	Sophie Arnould. Opera singer.	drawing	1760	Chantilly, Car420	Shown in the role of Thisbe in *Pyramus and Thisbe* of Francoeur and Rebel

12	Mlle Marie-Jeanne Fesch Chevalier. Opera singer.	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car422	Dressed as Hebe?
13	Idem	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car423	Holding a cane
	Professionals and Amateurs				
14	Mme the duchesse de Bourbon, Mmes de Barbantane, de Hunolstein, de Vauban, et de Fitz-James	drawing	ca. 1760–1765	Paris, Drouot June 24, 1981.	Harpsichord (player unidentified)
15	Mlle Desgots de Saint-Domingue and her black servant, Laurent	drawing	1766	Paris, Musée Carnavalet, CARD04498	Harpisord, score.
16	M. and Mme Despourdons	drawing	1766	Paris, Musée Carnavalet, CARD04499	Harpsichord (M), score
17	Mme de Maupassant	drawing	1759	Chantilly, Car 294	Harpsichord, score
18	M. Philippe, Mlle Delon, and M. Tellier or Texier	drawing	ca. 1763	Paris, Musée Carnavalet, CARD4500	Harpsichord (Delon); violin (Philippe); score
19a	Mlle Pitoin and her father	drawing	after 1768	Chantilly, Car432	Harpsichord (Mlle); viola da gamba (father) score of Jacques Duphly's *Médée*
19b	Idem	drawing	n.d.	Paris, Sotheby's, Sep. 14, 2017, no. 38	Idem
20a	Mme the marquise de Rumain, with her daughters the comtesse de Polignac and Mlle de Rumain.	drawing	n.d. (ca.1768)	Chantilly, Car322	Harpsichord (Mlle). score
20b	Idem	drawing	n.d. (ca. 1768)	London, Colnaghi, May 2000	Idem
21	Mother and her daughters (unidentified)	drawing	n.d. (1785–88 ?)	Chantilly, Car478	Pianoforte (daughter), score
22a	M. de La Live [de Jully] (master of ceremonies, art collector)	drawing	1760	Chantilly, Car349	Pedal harp
22b	Idem	drawing	ca. 1760	Montecarlo, Sotheby's 1989; private collection	Pedal harp
23	M. and Mme Longueil	drawing	1769	Chantilly, Car79	*Pedal harp* (attribute present; not being played)
24	Mme Moreau, Mlle de Flinville	drawing	1762	Chantilly, Car304	Pedal harp (Moreau). Music stand with score
25	Mme la comtesse de Polignac	drawing	1771	London, Sotheby's, June 30–July 1, 1988, no. 83	Pedal harp
26	Mlle Privée	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car433	Pedal harp
27	M. le chevalier de Dreneuc	drawing	1771	Chantilly, Car65	Violin

28	M. and Mme Lallemant de Nantouillet, their son, and MM. de Damas and de Lévignen	drawing	1772	Chantilly, Car440	Violin (Lallemant de Nantouillet)
29	M. and Mme Blizet with Monsieur Le Roy the Actor	drawing	ca. 1765	Washington, National Gallery of Art, 1987.56.1.	Violin (M.), musette (Mme)
30	M. the marquis d'Ussé	drawing	1760	Chantilly, Car198	Violin, music stand, music books
31	Mme la comtesse d'Auxy	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car209	Guitar and music book
32	Marie Josephine Catherine Collet, comtesse Alexandre de Damas-Tredieu	drawing	1784	Chantilly, Car238	Guitar
33	Sophie Septimanie de Richelieu, the comtesse d'Egmont	drawing	1758	Chantilly, Car253	Guitar
34	Mme de Montainville	drawing	1758	Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RT-1961-18	Guitar
35a	Mme Rigaud de Vaudreuil	drawing	1759	Chantilly, Car335	Guitar
35b	Idem	drawing	n.d.	Paris, Galliera, June 21, 1963 ; Paris, Drouot March 11, 1988, no. 40	Idem
36	Mme the vicomtesse de Rochechouart	drawing	1760	Chantilly, Car319	Guitar
37	Mme de Villaumont and Mme d'Escours	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car341	Guitar (player unidentified)
38	Two young women (unidentified)	drawing	n.d.	Paris, Musée Carnavalet, CARD04497	Guitar (player unidentified)
39	Woman, with a child, playing a guitar (unidentified)	drawing	n.d.	Paris, Sotheby's, September 14, 2017, no. 77	Guitar, music stand
40	M. l'Abbé Allegri (diplomat)	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car358	Lombardic or Milanese mandoline
41	M. et Mlle de Croimare and an unidentified young man.	drawing	1766	Chantilly, Car143	Mandora (Mlle), violin (young man), double music stand
42	Mme the baronne d'Holbach	drawing	1766	Chantilly, Car403	Mandora, pedestal table with music stand, score
43	Mlle de Bernay	drawing	1764	Chantilly, Car214	Quinton
44	Mlle de Grimperel	drawing	1758	London, Christie's, January 13, 1993, no. 92	Quinton
45	Young woman in profile, seated in a garden (unidentified)	drawing	n.d.	Paris, Sotheby's September 14, 2017, no. 17	Quinton
46	Mme and Mlle de Meaux and M. de Saint-Quentin	drawing	ca. 1758	Chantilly, Car429	Cittern (Mme), flute (Saint-Quentin), music book (Mlle)
47	M. Le Dran	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car428	Cittern-theorbo (?)

48	Mme de Julienne, Mme de Serré	drawing	1760	Paris, Musée Carnavalet, CARD04506	Hurdy-gurdy (Serré)
49	Narcisse	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car85	Pipe and tambourine de Provence
50	M. le duc d'Orléans	Drrawing	1763	Chantilly, Car2	Hunting horn
51	M. de Bois-Massot	drawing	1764	Chantilly, Car44	Hunting horn
52	M. de Champignelles. Bailiff.	drawing	n.d.	Chantille, Car54	Hunting horn
53	Mlle d'Avenart. Opera singer.	drawing	n.d. (not after 1762)	Chantilly, Car421	Desktop music stand with score
54	Mme d'Epinay	drawing	1759	Chantilly, Car256	Pedestal table with music stand, score
55	Mme the princesse royale de Hesse-Darmstadt	drawing	1769	Chantilly, Car19	Score
56	Mlle de La Hulière	drawing	1759	Chantilly Car278	Score
57	Mme Le Fèvre	drawing	1780–85 ?	Chantilly, Car287	Italianate music book
58	Mme the baronne de Talleyrand	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car326	Music stand with score
	Notable muscians represented without attributes				**Attribute associated with sitter, but not in portrait**
59	Mme the princesse Kinsky	drawing	1765	Chantilly, Car272	Harpsichord
60	Mme la vicomtesse de Beaumont, called in error, Mlle du Beaumont du Repaire	drawing	1759	Chantilly, Car212	Harp
61	Mme the princesse de Lamballe	drawing	n.d.	Chantilly, Car10	Harp
62a	Benjamin Franklin	drawing	ca. 1780-81	National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. NPG.82.108	Glass harmonica
62b	Idem	engraving	n.d.	Blérancourt, Musée franco-américain du Château de Blérancourt	Idem

APPENDIX 2

Index of Musicians Drawn by Carmontelle and their Musical Attribute

Musical attributes associated with the sitter in Camontelle's portraits are noted in parentheses. When multiple sitters are portrayed, but the identification of sitter to attribute is not established, the attribute depicted in the portrait is italicized. Musical instruments that an individual is known to have played, but that are not illustrated, are enclosed in brackets**.**

Numbers following names refer to Carmontelle's portraits in Appendix 1.

Composers
Duni, Egidio Romualdo (1708–75) (harpsichord), ***5***
Kohaut (or Kohault), Josef Wenzel Thomas (1734–77) (lute), ***8***
Monsigny, Pierre-Alexandre (1729–1817) [violin], ***10***
Mozart, Leopold (1719-87) (violin), ***3***
Mozart, Wolfgang (1756-91) (harpsichord), ***3***
Rameau, Jean-Philippe (1683–1784) (harpsichord), ***1***
Rodolphe, Jean–Joseph (1730–1812) (horn), ***9***

Professional muscians and performers
Arnould, Sophie (1740–1802) (opera singer), ***11***
Chevalier, Mlle. *See* Fesch, Marie-Jeanne
Duport, Jean-Louis or Jean-Pierre (1749–1819) (cello), ***9***
Fesch, Marie-Jeanne, known as Mlle Chevalier (1722–after 1789) (opera singer), ***12***
Mozart, Marie-Anne (Nannerl) (1751–1829) (score), ***3***
Mingotti, Regina Valentini (1722–1808) (opera singer) (harpsichord), ***6***
Prover, Ignace (1727–74) (oboe), ***9***
[Royer], the three daughters of Jean-Nicolas-Pancrace Royer (c. 1705–55) (*harpsichord, violin, guitar*), ***7***
Vachon, Pierre (1738–1803) (violin), ***9***
Vernier, Jean-Aimé (1769-after 1838) [harp, violin], ***9***

Amateur musicians and connoisseurs

Allegri, M. l'abbé, diplomat (Lombardic or Milanese mandolin), ***40***
Auxy, Marie-Louise de Monceaux, marquise de (guitar, music book), ***31***
Avenart, Mlle de, virtuosa at the queen's concerts (singing), ***53***
Barbantane, marquise de, and her two daughters (*harpsichord*), ***14***
Beaumont, Mme la vicomtesse de [harp], ***60***
Bernay, Mlle de (quinton), ***43***
Blizet, M. (violin) et Mme de (musette), ***29***
Bois-Massot (Boismassot), Guillaume-Marin de Rouil de, (head of the hunt for the duc d'Orléans) (horn), ***51***
Bourbon, Louise-Marie-Thérèse-Bathilde d'Orléans, duchesse de (1750–1822) (*harpsichord*), ***14***
Champignelles, M. de (hunting horn), ***52***
Collet, Marie-Joséphine-Catherine, see : Damas-Trédieu, Alexandre de
Croimare, Louis-Eugène, marquis de (no attribute), ***41***

Croimare, Elisabethe-Thérèse, mademoiselle de (lute), ***41***
Damas-Trédieu, Marie-Joséphine-Catherine Collet, comtesse Alexandre de (guitar), ***32***
Damas, M. de (relation of Lallemant, see below) (no attribute), ***28***
Delon, Mlle (harpsichord), ***18***
Desgots, Mlle, de Saint Domingue (harpsichord), ***15***
Despourdons, M. et Mme (harpsichord in background with open score), ***16***
Dreneuc, chevalier de (violin), ***27***
Egmont, Sophie Septimanie de Richelieu, comtesse d' (guitar), ***33***
Epinay, Louise-Florence-Pétronille-Tardieu d'Esclavelles, Mme La Live d' (1726–83) (score), ***54***
Escours, Mme d' (*guitar*), ***37***
Fitz-James, Marie-Claudine-Sylvie de Thiard de Bissy, duchesse de (*harpsichord*)**,** ***14***
Flinville, Mlle de (no attribute), ***24***
Franklin, Benjamin (1706–90) [glass harmonica], ***62***
Gimperel, Mlle de (quinton), ***45***
Hesse-Darmstadt, Caroline, princesse royale de (sheet music), ***55***
Holbach, Charlotte-Suzanne d'Aine, baronne d' (1733–1814) (mandora), ***42***
Hunolstein, Charlotte Gabrielle Elisabeth Aglaé de Puget de Barbantane, comptesse d' (*harpsichord*)**,** ***14***
Julienne, Mme de (no attribute), ***48***
Kinsky, Marie-Léopoldine-Monique, comtesse Pälffy d'Erdöd, princesse (1729–94) [harpsichord], ***59***
La Hulière, Mlle de (score), ***56***
La Live de Jully, Ange-Laurent (1725–79), master of ceremonies, art collector. (pedal harp), ***22***
Lallemant de Lévignen, Charles-Louis-François, (relation of following) (no attribute), ***28***
Lallemant de Nantouillet, Charles-Marie-François Xavier, M. et Marie-Adélaïde de Damas-Crux, Mme (no attributes), ***28***
Lallemant de Nantouillet, Alexandre-Marie-Louis-Charles, (son of previous) (violin), ***28***
Lamballe, Marie-Thérèse-Louise de Savoie-Carignan, princesse de (1749–92) [harp], ***61***
Le Dran, Henry-François (1685–1770), surgeon (theorbo or cittern-theorbo), ***47***
Le Fèvre, Mme (music book), ***57***
Le Roy, M. (actor), ***29***
Longueil, M. and Mme (pedal harp), ***23***
Maupassant, Mme de (wife of a military officer) (harpsichord), ***17***
Meaux, Mme (cittern) et Mlle de (music book), ***43***
Montainville, Mme de (guitar), ***34***
Moreau, Mme (pedal harp), ***24***
Narcisse, black servant boy of the duchesse de Chartres (pipe and tambourine of Provence), ***49***
Orléans, Louis-Philippe, duc d' (1725–85) (hunting horn), ***50***
Philippe, M. (violin), ***18***
Pitoin (or Pothoüin), M. (viola da gamba) et Mlle (harpsichord), ***19***
Polignac, Gabrielle-Yolande-Claude-Martine de Polastron, comtesse, then duchesse de (1749–93) (pedal harp), ***25***
Polignac, Constance-Gabrielle-Bonne de Rumain de, eldest daughter of the marquise de Rumain. *See* Rumain.
Privée, Mlle (pedal harp), ***26***
Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Mme (guitar), ***35***
Rochechouart, vicomtesse de (guitar), ***36***

Rumain, marquise de (no attribute), and her daughters, comptesse de Polignac (no attribute) and Mlle de Rumain (harpsichord), ***20***
Saint-Quentin, M. de (artist) (flute), ***43***
Serré, Mme de (hurdy-gurdy), ***48***
Talleyrand, baronne de (music stand and score), ***58***
M. Tellier or Texier (no attribute), ***18***
Ussé, Louis-Sébastien Bernin, marquis d' (violin) ***30***
Vauban, Henriette de Puget de Barbantane, cometesse de, (*harpsichord*) ***14***
Villaumont, Mme de (*guitar*), ***37***

Unidentifed individuals

A mother and her daughters (pianoforte, score), ***21***
Two young woman (*guitar*), ***38***
Woman, with a child, playing a guitar. (guitar, music stand), ***39***
Young woman in profile seated in a garden (quinton), ***46***
Young man (violin), ***41***

The author would like to thank Laurence Chatel de Brancion for attentively reading the initial draft of this contribution. It was translated from the French by Andrew Ayers and Joseph Disponzio.

[i] See appendix 1 for Carmontelle's portraits of composers, musicians, and other individuals grouped by musical attributes, and appendix 2 for a comprehensive index of persons represented in the portraits.

[ii] F[rançois]-A[natole] Gruyer, *Chantilly: Les portraits de Carmontelle* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1902).

[iii] Georg Kinsky, *Album musical* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel; Paris: Delagrave, 1929), 214, 278.

[iv] François Lesure, *Musica e Società* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1966), pl. 13 (the marquis de Croimare and his daughter) and pl. 16 (M. Philippe, Mlle Delon, and M. Tellier).

[v] Albert Pomme de Mirimonde, *L'iconographie musicale sous les rois Bourbons: La musique dans les arts plastiques (XVII^e^-XVIII^e^ siècles),* vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1977), 29, 31, 36, 39, 41, 44, 52, 54, 66–69, 99–100.

[vi] Florence Gétreau, "Carmontelle et la société musicienne de son temps," in *Instrumentistes et luthiers parisiens. XVII^e^-XIX^e^ siècles,* ed. Florence Gétreau, ex. cat. (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1988), 106–7.

[vii] Mary Cyr, "Carmontelle's Portraits of 18th-Century Musicians," *Musical Times* 158, no. 1941 (Winter 2017), 39–54.

[viii] Florence Gétreau, "The Portraits of Rameau: A Methodological Approach," *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 36, nos. 1–2 (2011), 281–82, 285–88.

[ix] Florence Gétreau, "Satirical Portraits and Visual Lampoons of Rameau and His Works," *Early Music* 44, no. 4 (2016), 527–29.

[x] Jana Frankova, *La migration des musiciens dans l'Europe des Lumières: Le cas de Joseph Kohaut (1734–1777)* (PhD diss., Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2016), 2:7–9. Frankova's attribution corrects that of Gruyer, who names Charles (Karl) Kohaut, Josef's older brother, as the portrait's subject.

[xi] Joël Dugot, "Parcours, détours et pièges," in "De l'image à l'objet: La méthode critique en iconographie musicale: In memoriam Geneviève Thibault de Chambure (1902-1975)," ed. Tilman Seebass, special issue, *Imago Musicae* 4 (1987), 251–54.

[xii] [Grimm], *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique de Grimm et de Diderot depuis 1753 jusqu'en 1790*, nouv. éd., vol. 5 (Paris: Chez Furne, 1829), 445 (June 15, 1768).

[xiii] The Concert Spirituel was a Paris-based association of musicians that gave public concerts at the Salle des Suisses in the Tuileries from 1725 to 1790.

[xiv] [Jean-Louis-Ignace de la Serre], *Pyrame et Thisbé, tragédie, représentée par l'Académie royale de musique l'an 1726* (Paris: Chez la V. Delormel & Fils, 1759), 47.

[xv] Musique du Roi: The ensemble of musicians attached to the various divisions of the royal household—the *Chapelle* (chapel), *Chambre* (Chamber), and *Écurie* (stables).

[xvi] Cyr, "Carmontelle's Portraits," 51.

[xvii] Florence Gétreau, "Retour sur les portraits de Mozart au clavier: Un état de la question," in *Cordes et claviers au temps de Mozart; Bowed and Keyboard Instruments in the Age of Mozart,* ed. Thomas Steiner, Actes des Rencontres Internationales harmoniques, Lausanne, Switzerland, April 2006 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 77–82.

[xviii] Gruyer errs in describing this portrait. He has Jean-Aimé Vernier playing the oboe, but Vernier is not known to have ever played that instrument. Rather, the oboist is Ignace Prover, not "Philippe Provers" as he is called elsewhere by Gruyer.

[xix] Florence Gétreau, "The Horn in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century France: Iconography Related to Performances and Musical Works," in *The Horn—History and Musical Use,* ed. Boje E. Hans Schmuhl, Monika Lustig (Michaelstein: Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, 2006), 43–76.

[xx] Thomas Vernet, "Que leurs plaisirs ne finissent jamais," *Spectacles de cour: Divertissements et Mécénat musical du Grand Siècle aux Lumières; L'exemple des princes de Bourbon Conti* (PhD diss., École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2010), 141 et seq.

[xxi] Florence Gétreau and Denis Herlin, "Portraits de clavecins et de clavecinistes français. II," *Musique • Images • Instruments* 3 (1998), 64–88.

[xxii] Gétreau and Herlin, "Portraits de clavecins," 77; Cyr, "Carmontelle's Portraits," 45–47.

[xxiii] David Hennebelle, who has meticulously gone through the available archives, does not cite her in his *Les Concerts de la Reine (1725–1768)* (Lyon: Symetrie, 2015).

[xxiv] Florence Gétreau, "Recent Research about the Voboam Family and Their Guitars," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 31 (2005), 5–66.
[xxv] James Tyler, "Mandora," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, 2nd ed., ed. Laurence Libin (London: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3:385–87.
[xxvi] Florence Gétreau, "Les belles vielleuses au XVIII[e] siècle: Du triomphe au sarcasmes," *Musique • Images • Instruments* 16 (2016), 74–109.
[xxvii] Gétreau, "The Horn in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century France," 54–59.
[xxviii] Composer André Campra (1660–1744) was born in Aix-en-Provence. He became *maître de musique* in Notre-Dame de Paris in 1694. Campra devoted himself to musical theater and popularized the tambourin de Provence, an instrument of his native region.
[xxix] Robert Adelson, "The Viscountess de Beaumont's Harp and Music Album (1780)," *Galpin Society Journal* 62 (2009), 160.
[xxx] Felia Bastet, "La princesse Kinsky et la musique," in *Le faubourg Saint-Germain. La rue Saint-Dominique. Hôtels et amateurs,* ex. cat. (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1984), 117–18, no. 163; Florence Gétreau, "Les instruments reflets de l'histoire du goût," *Musiques et musiciens au faubourg Saint-Germain*, ed. Jean Gallois, ex. cat (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1996), 56–58, "Clavecin de la princesse Kinsky."

Supprimé: He was a friend of the duc de Chartres.