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# THE SÈVRES PORCELAIN SERVICE FOR MARIE-ANTOINETTE'S DAIRY AT RAMBOUILLET: AN EXERCISE IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEO-CLASSICISM

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#### Introduction

The porcelain service made for the dairy at Rambouillet represents the first full expression of the archaeological neo-classical style which developed at Sèvres in the 1780s. Although famous, the service has not been thoroughly documented until now. This study will examine the developments at the factory which culminated in the design of the service, establishing the history of the production, the individual shapes, and their appearance. To place the Rambouillet dairy in context, a brief examination of the function of eighteenth century dairies is also included.

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#### The Rambouillet dairy and the function of eighteenth-century dairies

To indulge his passion for hunting, Louis XVI purchased the Rambouillet estate from the duc de Penthièvre in December 1783. According to his private diary he hunted there twice a week in the summer months between May and August from 1784 to 1788. Its proximity to Versailles meant that the King could go there for a day's hunting, accompanied by a few companions, and return to Versailles in the early hours of the morning. Rambouillet never became part of the series of *voyages* in which the whole court participated.

It is said that when Marie-Antoinette first visited Rambouillet she exclaimed, "Que deviendrai-je dans cette gothique crapaudière?"3 Although this cannot be substantiated, the château (parts of which dated to the fifteenth century) and the gardens must have certainly appeared old-fashioned in the mid 1780s. Plans to raze the château and rebuild it in a more modern style never materialized due to lack of funds. The painter Hubert Robert, who had been appointed Dessinateur des jardins du Roi in July 1784, was instructed to modernize the gardens by transforming them into the more fashionable picturesque style, with "point de lignes droites dans les chemins."4 A small area of the grounds had already been laid out as a jardin anglo-chinois in 1779 by the duc de Penthièvre for his daughter-in-law, the princess de Lamballe. It included a chinoiserie kiosk, bridge and gate, a thatched cottage whose walls were inlaid with shells, a chapel-like hermitage, an elaborate see-saw and a swing.5 As a place for leisurely walks embellished with amusing structures, the area resembled Marie-Antoinette's favorite retreat at the Petit Trianon, but it lacked a dairy. It is likely that the idea to construct a dairy at Rambouillet was conceived as a means of attracting the Queen to the château by completing the resemblance to the garden at the Petit Trianon.

By the 1780s dairies had become an integral part of the French picturesque garden. Their rise in popularity is directly linked to the manner in which these gardens were laid out and to the increasing fashion for touring gardens. As their name implies, picturesque gardens consisted of a series of natural-looking but carefully constructed views, resembling paintings. The garden could not be seen from a single vantage point, but had to be visited by means of meandering paths and waterways. The focal point of each "scene" was an isolated building created in a variety of styles. Often one of these was a dairy.

Visits to these gardens are recorded in many contemporary memoirs and detailed descriptions were included in Thiéry's Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris, issued in 1787 and 1788. The gardens were visited on foot, in carriages or in gondolas accompanied by musicians. Dairies served as the destination or final stop on the tour, where the visitor could be refreshed by their cool interiors and with a selection of fruit and milk products. The light meal was taken at any time of the day in which the garden was visited.

According to the duc de Croÿ, whose evocative account of his visit to the dairy at Chantilly is one of the rare descriptions of such a visit, the refreshment consisted of "une belle collation de glaces, de fruits et de toutes sortes de laiteries." By the 1780s the ice-cream was actually made with milk, rather than the sorbet usually served with dessert courses. This type of ice-cream "nommé beurre parce qu'elles ont la consistance, le goût, et la couleur de cette substance," was introduced in 1774, just as dairies were becoming increasingly polpular. Another variety of dairy ice-cream, made with cream and egg yolks, was called fromage glacé. In addition to drinking milk and cream the visitor could also sample fromage de crême frais, a soft cheese which was eaten sprinkled with sugar."

Unlike ordinary working dairies, the interiors of pleasure dairies were luxuriously appointed. Most often they were covered in marble and in one case, mother-of-pearl. 10 Fine ceramic services were used for the serving of milk products: the prince de Condé had one hundred forty-eight pieces of porcelain and faience decorated with his arms in the dairy at Chantilly, the duc d'Orléans purchased dairy-ware from Wedgwood, while the service for Marie-Antoinette's dairy at the Petit Trianon was supplied by the Paris Rue Thiroux factory in 1786.11 Most of the services were composed of pieces in which the products could be served: cups and saucers, bowls, ewers, sugar bowls, and sometimes butter dishes. 12 Some included utilitarian articles like butter churns and milk-settling pans, indicating that these activities also formed part of the entertainment. In 1787, at the time when the Rambouillet dairy was being completed, Marie-Antoinette's femme de chambre was portrayed in the interior of a dairy, dressed in a simple milk-maid's costume.14 The pitcher she holds (most likely a Wedgwood piece) is clearly a luxurious item, indicating that she was not in an ordinary working dairy. Although butter dishes and milk-settling pans were originally commissioned for the Rambouillet service, they were not in its ultimate composition. It is likely, therefore, that the dairy at Rambouillet was intended to be a true pleasure dairy.

None of the extant documentation for the Rambouillet dairy refers to the precise date for the commission of the *jardin anglais* or the dairy. Hubert Robert was working at Rambouillet by August 1784, and the earliest reference to the dairy is Pierre Julien's letter accepting the commission for the sculpture, dated 29 November 1785. 15

The dairy was built by Jacques Jean Thévenin, an architect/builder of the Bâtiments du Roi. Robert had a supervisory role in most aspects of the commission. He acted as an intermediary between d'Angiviller and Julien. According to Georges Jacob's invoice for the Rambouillet furniture, it was made "d'après le dessin de mondit sieur Robert et sur le modèle qui en fut fait." Robert also played an unspecified role in the design of the porcelain.

The dairy was constructed at the end of one of the canals, adjacent to the jardin anglochinois of the duc de Penthièvre. Its location meant that it was accessible by gondola and confirms its association with the picturesque garden. <sup>18</sup> Julien's letters indicate that it was scheduled to be completed for the 1787 Rambouillet season. A portion of the porcelain service was delivered on 25 May, and most of the furniture was delivered a few days later. <sup>19</sup>

There are no verifiable accounts of when and if an official opening took place. The often repeated story, that on Marie-Antoinette's first visit a screen of branches that had been erected across the dairy's courtyard was lowered to reveal the dairy, is probably apocryphal.<sup>20</sup> Of the visits made by Marie-Antoinette to Rambouillet that are recorded in Louis XVI's journal, only one occurs after the May 1787 deliveries. The entry for 26 June reads: "Elisabeth a chassé, la Reine a suppé," but there is no mention of the dairy.<sup>21</sup> The King's household accounts record that a voyage planned for 15 June 1787 had been cancelled (probably due to the fatal illness of the couple's younger daughter).<sup>22</sup> This may have been the voyage which was intended as the official opening.

#### Archaeological neo-classicism and its development at Sèvres

The appearance of the dairy and its furnishings was marked by a reliance on classical antiquity. Whereas the earlier phase of neo-classicism had drawn inspiration from Roman architecture and sculpture as found on public monuments, the archaeological phase was inspired by the household objects and domestic interiors which were being excavated at Herculaneum and Pompeii. Knowledge of these objects, which were incorrectly generically classified as *étrusque* in the late eighteenth century, was disseminated by means of travellers' accounts, engravings, and private collections. Many of the engraved volumes stressed their commercial applications and expounded their intention to reform the arts. The preface to the catalogue of William Hamilton's collection of Greco-Campanian pottery, written by d'Hancarville, expresses the hope that "Artists thus enlightened in the true principles of their Art, will soon annihilate those Gothick forms which habit alone renders supportable." It was aimed at the "Manufacturers of earthern ware and China, and ... those who make vases in silver, copper, glass, marble, &c." To facilitate reproduction, each

example was shown in a three-dimensional rendering, followed by an illustration of its section with detailed measurements.

Severely geometrical, the facade of the dairy is unadorned except for rusticated columns. Julien's medallion of a cow suckling its calf, and the inscription *Laiterie de la Reine* above its door. Instantly recognizable as a classical form, the first room is a rotunda, lit solely by an oculus with a coffered domed ceiling decorated with rosettes. Marble consoles encircle the room and six rounded niches are carved into the walls.<sup>25</sup> The second room, on axis with the first, is rectangular with a coffered barrel-vaulted ceiling, also toplit, and ends in a grotto.

The interior walls were adorned only with Julien's bas-reliefs and medallions. The sculptural program was classically inspired, depicting scenes from mythology and figures in classical dress carrying out farm chores. The grotto stands the nymph Amalthea who nursed Jupiter in his infancy. The suite of furniture, made of solid mahogany, was described by Jacob in his bill as "de forme nouvelle du genre étrusque." Étrusque" was also the adjective used by the Sèvres factory to describe most of the pieces of the porcelain service.

It is likely that the dairy owes its appearance to the taste of the comte d'Angiviller who, as the Directeur général des Bâtiments du Roi, was in charge of the project. A keen proponent of the arts of antiquity, he stressed the importance of exposing artists to classical examples and extended the curriculum of the French Academy in Rome to include visits to the excavations around Naples. Thwarted in his desire to raze the old château and rebuild it in a neo-classical style, d'Angiviller must have seized on the opportunity to construct this smaller project in his chosen style.

Significantly, most of the artists chosen to work on the project had worked or studied in Rome. Julien was a pensionnaire at the French Academy from 1768 to 1772. Hubert Robert spent nine years in Rome from 1754 to 1772 and made several trips to southern Italy, including one with the abbé Saint-Non in 1760. Jean Jacques Lagrenée, the decorative artist who became co-artistic director at Sèvres in 1785, was in Rome from 1765 to 1769, According to his obituary, Lagrenée was "passioné par les ouvrages des anciens," reproducing "les peintures des Thermes, celles des vases étrusques et des arabesques." During his stay in Rome he developed a decorative vocabulary based on roman wall-paintings. He published several collections of engraved compositions "après l'antique." His Recueil de differentes compositions, frises et ornements dessiné et gravées à la manière du lavis par Lagrenée le jeune, published in 1782, consists of panels with figures similar to those on classical vases framed by decorative borders of motifs derived from wall-paintings. The plates are printed using a two-color process of an orange-red and a dark brown, emphasizing the allusion to classical vases.

The Rambouillet service is the ultimate expression of the changes which d'Angiviller had

been making at Sèvres from the time the factory came under his control in 1779. At a time when Wedgwood was already exploiting the commercial application of publications such as d'Hancarville, d'Angiviller sought to reform the style of the Sèvres factory to rely more closely on classical examples.

D'Angiviller was faced with overcoming the reluctance of the factory's director, Antoine Régnier, who was unsure of the style's commercial success. J.-E. Montucla, d'Angiviller's clerk and liaison with the factory, wrote to Régnier regarding the Arabesque service in 1783, emphasizing d'Angiviller's zeal and advising Régnier to bow to his wishes. If the service did not prove to be a commercial success, he said, "ce seroit uniquement parceque ce genre de beauté est trop au dessus du gout de la plupart des consommateurs." <sup>129</sup>

Possibly in order to further his own goals and to overcome Régnier's opposition, d'Angiviller made two appointments which would ensure that his wishes were followed more closely. In 1784 Jean-Jacques Hettlinger was named *Inspecteur* and co-director of the factory. He had far more influence on artistic matters than his title implies as he was "spécialement chargé de la partie de l'art; et aura en conséquence l'inspection particulière sur la fabrication de tous les ouvrages de la manufacture." <sup>(30)</sup>

In March 1785 d'Angiviller appointed Lagrenée as co-artistic director, a post he shared with Jean-Jacques Bachelier. Bachelier's work (he had been at the factory since 1749) may have seemed outdated to d'Angiviller by the mid 1780s.<sup>31</sup> In announcing Lagrenée's appointment, d'Angiviller stated that the decoration of porcelain at the factory "doit encore loin d'y avoir atteint le degré de perfection dont je la sens susceptible."<sup>32</sup> Resolved to remedy the problem, he diplomatically stated that the task necessitated "les Talens reunis de deux artistes." His choice fell on Lagrenée whose "compositions ingenieuses sont connues de tous les amateurs des beaux arts." Lagrenée's paintings, described in the catalogue of the 1785 Salon as "dans le style de ceux que l'on decouvert sous les ruine d'Herculaneum," were precisely in the style d'Angiviller wanted to encourage at Sèvres.<sup>33</sup>

Lagrenée himself was aware of the reforming role he was meant to play at the factory. In thanking d'Angiviller for his appointment, he said he would "ferai touts mes efforts pour entrer dans vos vues, et satisfaire a l'envoie que vous avez de perfectionner les ouvrages de cette manufacture." Lagrenée's brother, at the time the director of the French Academy in Rome, came directly to the point, claiming that Lagrenée's appointment would give the factory "un Gout un peu plus Italien qu'elle n'a eu jusqu'alors." 35

A few months after joining the factory, Lagrenée designed the decoration for a cup which can be seen as one of the first experiments at Sèvres with a truly archaeological style: "en peinture etrusque, ... fond noir à Figures rouges-aurore, qui donne un air d'antiquité." In Hettlinger's opinion, "il auroit mieux valu de ne pas y mettre des Filets d'or, et que si cette Peinture etoit appliquées à des pièces de forme antique, et sans or, elle seroit recherchie du Public." According to the records of the factory's workshops, Lagrenée also

designed numerous étrusque shapes.38

The factory supplemented Lagrenée's knowledge of antiquity with a stock of engraved sources. In 1786 Montucla purchased the d'Hancarville volumes for the factory.<sup>39</sup> Also in that year the factory acquired the second volume "D'Antiquités" by "M. l'abbé de la chaux" in exchange for six plates.<sup>40</sup> In 1787 Lagrenée purchased three sets of engravings of Raphael's arabesques, presumably the engravings by Ottaviani of Raphael's decoration of the Vatican stanze.<sup>41</sup>

A final acquisition had extreme significance for the Rambouillet commission. In 1785 d'Angiviller negotiated the purchase of a collection of 525 "Etruscan" vessels, assembled by Dominique Vivant Denon in Naples. The agreed price was 30,000 livres, which d'Angiviller was unable to pay in 1786, but hoped to do so in 1787. The collection was destined for the museum which he was in the process of establishing in the Louvre, but as the space was not ready, he had the pieces transferred to the Sèvres factory in June 1786. He thought they "peut être très utile à la manufacture pour les formes." Denon had formed his collection recognizing its utility in reforming taste. He described his collecting as "un service signalé que je rendais au bon goût." D'Angiviller also hoped that the collection would serve as a source for "charmantes idées de décorations." Hettlinger did not share his view, finding the decoration "bien peu de chose," although agreeing that the shapes, "simples et elegantes, ... pourront etre etudiées utilement pour la Manufacture." Compared to the carefully delineated illustrations in d'Hancarville's volumes, the decoration on the Denon vases appeared very rough.

With the acquisition of the Denon collection, the factory was in the position to create the style advocated in Hettlinger's letter of 1785: étrusque decoration applied to shapes derived from antiquity, without any gilding. This was the style chosen for the Rambouillet service. Régnier apparently still had his doubts, as d'Angiviller had to urge him to co-operate, saying "Je scais que vous n'avez pas encore le gout Etrusque et que je vous parois un peu barbare, mais il faudra bien que nous nous y accoutumions tous, et vous finirez par me pardonner." That it was, in fact, the first realization of the style and therefore a novely which d'Angiviller wanted to spring on consumers in the best tradition of a keen marketing strategy is expressed in his letter to Régnier: "Je veut que cela se fasse en secret ... On parle, et cela détruit tout l'effet. Le secret est un des grands pivots des manufactures." This secrecy may have led to the dearth of correspondence regarding the service.

#### Production of the Rambouillet service

No document initiating the commission exists and there is a lack of correspondence documenting the many changes which took place during the production of the service. Furthermore, the service is not documented in the factory's sales records, and the records of the painters' workshop, with a few exceptions, only list payment for "Ouvrages à la laiterie" without specifiying the date or the individual pieces worked on. (See Appendix 1 for workers paid for "Ouvrages à la Laiterie.") Among the factory's records, the best source for determining the composition of the service, the shapes which were made, and the names by which they were known, are the records of the hard-paste workshop. All the shapes, with the exception of twenty jattes tétons, were made in hard-paste. In addition to these sources, the factory's archives preserve miscellaneous lists relating to the service, the most useful of which are: the list of undecorated items ready for the kiln in 1787, the 1787 delivery list including descriptions of the decoration, a list of the final composition of the service which also illustrates the pieces (hereinafter referred to as Profile des pièces), and the delivery list comprising the complete order signed by Deshayes, the concierge of the Rambouillet garde-meuble.<sup>49</sup> (See Appendix 2 for transcripts)

The earliest mention of the service occurs in the postscript of a letter written by d'Angiviller to Régnier, dated 16 October 1786, referring to "des vases qui doivent être executées pour une laiterie." Work on the production of the shapes in the hard-paste workshop began in November 1786. The majority of the work took place between December 1786 and May 1787, although production of some shapes, particularly the cups, continued throughout 1787. Two thirds of the factory's hard-paste workers were employed on the service in 1787, including the most highly paid workers in each category. All pieces with sculptural decoration were made by Godin, the top répareur. All the shapes were made in greater quantities than were required for the service. In the case of the cup and small bowl shapes, less than ten percent of the numbers made were required for the service. Clearly these shapes were regarded as commercially viable, and many examples of Rambouillet cup shapes exist with later decoration.

Whether for lack of funds, time, or due to problems in production, two separate deliveries of the service were made. The first delivery took place on 25 May 1787. It included some unfinished pieces which were taken back to the factory to be included in the second delivery on 15 May 1788. It is unclear why there were two deliveries. An undated document entitled "Commande pour un des cotés de Table de la Laiterie," clearly represents only the pieces intended for one side of the rotunda, thus half the service. Subsequent documents refer to "première table" and "seconde table," dividing the pieces intended to be arranged on the console tables on either side of the rotunda. Possibly two deliveries, each corresponding to one half of the service, were envisaged from the start.

According to the list of pieces for one side, the complete service (counting composite pieces as one) totaled one hundred eight pieces. At some time following the first delivery, the

numbers were reduced to sixty-seven composite pieces, as indicated by the plan of the rotunda on which the placement and quantity of the shapes are indicated. (fig. 1) Prior to the 1788 delivery further changes were made, and some of the pieces which had been delivered in 1787 were removed. The final composition of the service, as documented in the 1788 delivery list signed by Deshayes, consisted of just sixty-five pieces.

#### The Designers

Traditionally the design of the service has been attributed to Lagrenée, in association with Hubert Robert, but no documentary evidence has been published to confirm this claim. Robert is in fact mentioned in d'Angiviller's letter of 16 October 1786: "Je marque à M. Hettlinger que j'ai chargé M Robert de se concerter pour des vases qui doivent être executées pour une laiterie." Two sheets of drawings by Robert of vase, ewer, and cup shapes may represent sketches of shapes for the service. 54

The attribution of the service to Lagrenée stems from the inscription on the reverse of the Profile des pièces: "Laiterie Vases en differentes formes de pieces de Service par M" Lagrené j[eu]"." Although Lagrenée may have been responsible for the design of some of the shapes, his primary contribution must have been their decoration. A group of watercolors attributed to him, which are preserved in the factory's archives, corresponds closely to the detailed description of the decoration in the 1787 delivery list, although differing in some instances from the ultimate shape of the pieces. 55

Evidence that Louis-Simon Boizot (the director of sculpture at the factory) designed at least six of the service's shapes is provided by the hard-paste records, the kiln list, the 1814 inventory of models, and working drawings for some of the shapes (discussed individually below). One of the cup shapes is attributed to Charles-François Bolvry, the head of the hard-paste workshop: "gobelet de la laiterie forme Bolvry." It is most likely, therefore, that the design of the shapes was a joint effort, probably with the advice of Robert, while Lagrenée was principally responsible for the decoration.

#### The Decoration

Evidence for the decoration of the pieces comes from the 1787 delivery list, supplemented by the Lagrenée watercolors and the *Profile des pièces*. (fig. 2a, b) The accuracy of the descriptions and illustrations is confirmed by the few surviving examples of the service.

Human figures and animals, constituting the primary decoration, are painted onto the white body of the piece, bordered by colored bands embellished with ornamental motifs. The division of the decoration into registers, creating a central frieze encircling the body of the piece, is characteristic of Greek pottery. The figures are also depicted in a single plane, without a background, dressed in classical clothing, and with an expression of movement similar to that on classical pottery. Although generically related to antique examples, it is more likely that the individual figures were Lagrenée's invention, like the figures in his Recueil de differentes compositions. One exception is the decorative motif of a female bust

surrounded by scrolling foliage which is a typical motif on Greek kraters, and could be found in the Denon collection, as well as being illustrated on a vessel in the d'Hancarville volumes.<sup>57</sup> The figures are accompanied by animals associated with milk: goats, sheep and cows. Meadow flowers, befitting the pastoral theme of the service, and bull-rushes provide supplementary decoration.

The secondary decoration usually executed in black, or sometimes carmine, over the colored borders, is generically referred to as "ornements étrusque" in the 1787 delivery list. It appears on every piece except the ones decorated to resemble wood. This group of motifs clearly derives from clasical pottery. Although the motifs are commonly found on examples in both the Denon collection and the d'Hancarville engravings, the former are usually quite badly executed which may indicate that the engravings were the principal source. The characteristic motifs are the row of lappets, the circle of dots enclosing a larger dot, and the continuous line of dots. The dotted cross-hatched motif on the gobelet cornet, now in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres, is derived from an Attic kylix in the Denon collection. The only motif specifically described in the delivery list ("decoration étrusques sous arcades"), consisting of palmettes linked by arches, appears frequently as a border in the d'Hancarville volumes. It appears on the gobelet à anses étrusques in the Sèvres museum.

A separate group of colored motifs can be described loosely as "arabesque." They consist of scrolling foliage, leaf-shaped sprigs, festoons, star-shaped flowers and a characteristic parasol-shaped floral motif, and are best seen on the grande terrine basse. They represent the decorative vocabulary Lagrenée assembled from wall-paintings in Roman baths and from Raphael's Vatican decoration. Similar motifs can be found in the Ottaviani engravings, and those of Smuglewicz and Brenna of the wall-paintings in the Baths of Titus, which include the grapevine motif on the gobelet cornet.<sup>59</sup>

Reflecting Hettlinger's opinion that gilding was not appropriate to pieces of antique shape decorated in the étrusque style, the service was not gilded. In fact, the gilding was replaced by black or carmine lines. The "fond" (ground) colors referred to in the 1787 delivery list are actually only used as the background color in the ornamental borders, with the body of the piece remaining in white. The two predominant colors were "grès" and "étrusque." Grès (meaning sandstone) was particularly appropriate as it was the material with which the dairy was constructed. The dairy service is the only occurrence of this name for the color, although a similar buff-orange color, called Nankin, became popular in the early nineteenth century. The color, clearly showing its mottled, stone-like appearance, is represented on the grande terrine basse.

No surviving examples display the "étrusque" ground color, but it must have been a reddishbrown similar to that on Greek vases, and like the color on the decorative borders in Lagrenée's watercolors. Single instances of an "Etruscan" color scheme had occurred at the factory prior to the Rambouillet service: the 1785 cup decorated after a Lagrenée design (referred to above) and a piece with "fond rouge et noir, figures Etrusques" decorated by Asselin in 1786.<sup>61</sup> The dairy service represents the first use of this ground color on a large scale.

Two other unusual colors employed on the service were bois (resembling wood) and Dauphine (unidentified). The remaining colors were typical of those used at Sèvres in the late eighteenth century for decorative borders framing white-bodied pieces: "petit violet, gris de lin, gris, petit gris, petit bleu, jonquille, violet tendre," and "verd anglais."

#### The Shapes

As the composition and appearance of the service have never been thoroughly documented, the following section will discuss each shape made for the service, including those removed from the dairy in the final delivery. The names by which the shapes were known will be established, as well as the attribution to a designer, sources for the shape, the appearance of the decoration (from the description in the 1787 delivery list), and the quantities delivered. The principal title is taken from the *Profile des pièces*, with alternative titles from other Rambouillet documents, primarily the hard-paste records. Dimensions are taken from the scaled drawings in the *Profile des pièces*, converted using 2.707 cm. to the *pouce*, and have proven to be very close to those of surviving pieces.

#### 1. Tinette and passoire (fig. 2a)

height of pail: 48.7 cm. diameter of sieve: 58.2 cm.

The plaster model for the pail is preserved at the factory. The pails and their sieves were the most expensive of the Rambouillet shapes made in the hard-paste workshop, valued at 378 livres each, undecorated. A pail took at least one month to make. Two milk pails, each the centerpiece of one of the side consoles, were ordered for the dairy and four examples of the shape were made in hard-paste. One was delivered in 1787, the other in 1788. According to the 1787 delivery list, the pails were painted to resemble wood: "peints en bois." A rare reference to the Rambouillet service in the painters' records documents one decorated by Rosset in 1787: "I Tinette pour la Laiterie - peint en Bois - 100 livres." It passed through the painters' kiln on 26 March 1787: "I Cuvette pour la Laiterie - sapin - Rosset." Unlike the majority of the service, the shape was not derived from classical examples, but copied the shapes of contemporary coopers' objects, in this case the tinette à beurre fondu illustrated in Diderot's Encyclopédie.

#### 2. Beurrier

Length of stand: appr. 41 cm. on the scale drawing of the rotunda (fig. 1, "L") According to the 1787 delivery list, the butter dishes were bucket-shaped with two handles: "forme baquet ... à deux anses." They are depicted as an elongated octagon, representing the stand, on the plan of the rotunda. Their shape may have been similar to the shape of an oval bucket-shaped butter dish with attached, boat-shaped octagonal stand made by the Valenciennes factory c. 1785-1795.<sup>67</sup>

Four butter dishes were planned for the dairy, and two were delivered in 1787. These were the "2 Beurier pour la Laiterie - peints en Bois" and the "2 petits pieds pour la laiterie - peints en Bois" (the stands) decorated by Rosset to resemble wood, like the milk pails. They are annotated "suprimé, remplacé par 2 sucriers ronds" on the plan of the rotunda and did not, therefore, form part of the final composition. Five beurriers from the "service de la Laiterie" are listed in the factory's Stock List of 1790, with a value of 9 livres each.

# Téton avec son pied à têtes de chèvres (fig. 2b, "i") Jatte sein de femme Jatte téton (avec petit pied à têtes de chèvres)

height of stand: 7.4 cm., diameter of bowl: 14.2 cm.

The bowl, with a slightly flaring rim, terminates in a nipple on the base of the exterior. It is supported on a tripod stand, the supports terminating in sculpted goat heads. Pairs of goat hooves are attached to the bottom of the triangular stand, below the flattened corners.

The unusual idea of a breast-shaped bowl may derive from the Greek mastos, a classical pottery shape with the same profile. Although the author has not been able to find one in an eighteenth-century engraving, an example may have originally been in the Denon collection or have been seen by Robert or Lagrenée in Italy. In section the tripod support resembles a classical altar with rams' heads, which was engraved by Caylus in his Recueil d'Antiquités. 71

Four examples were ordered for the dairy. Curiously, in addition to the five examples made in hard-paste, twenty bowls were made in soft-paste, the only soft-paste pieces in the service (see Kiln List in Appendix 2). Three "petits pieds à trois têtes de chèvres en sculpture, colorées, ... Decorations Etrusque," (two in "fond gris de Lin" and the third in "fond grès") were delivered in 1787, but the bowls were not ready. The additional pieces, making a total of four examples, were delivered in 1788.

#### 4. Sucrier rond (fig. 2b, "K")

height: 9.5 cm., diameter: 21.6 cm.

According to the drawing on the *Profile des pièces*, the sugar bowl had bulging sides below a flared rim, and a flared foot. It does not appear to have a cover. No sucriers de la Laiterie are listed in the hard-paste records, but they may be represented by the entries for "jattes à bordure de la laiterie" because of their flaring rim.

Two sugar bowls were delivered in 1787, decorated with "fond grès, ornements Etrusques." An additional two were delivered in 1788, to replace the butter dishes.

#### 5. Écrémoire "à anneaux" and "forme soucoupe"

diameter: appr. 13.5 cm. on the plan of the rotunda (fig. 1, "N")

The écrémoires must have been shallow basins in which milk was stored, allowing the cream to form and be separated. There are no drawings of this shape although a plaster model of a large basin (width 43.5 cm.) with spouts at either end is labeled "Cuvette de pot

à l'eau de la Laiterie."<sup>72</sup> The spouts indicate that it may have been a milk-settling pan as ones made by other factories, such as Wedgwood, are of similar shape, but the size does not correspond to that on the plan.

Two types were made in the hard-paste workshop and fired in the spring of 1787: "à anneaux" and "forme soucoupe." Other documents refer to "écrémoires et leurs pieds," suggesting that the shape was a bowl with ring handles which stood in a saucer-like stand.

Eight examples were initially ordered for the dairy and four were delivered in 1787, decorated "en guirlandes colorées et Bordure de meme." They were removed prior to the final delivery, and ultimately did not form part of the service. Eleven "Ecrêmoires" at 2 livres each were recorded in the list of laiterie service items in the Stock Lists of the Magazin Blanc de Porcelaine Dure in 1789 and 1790.73

## Grande terrine basse (fig. 2a) Jatte de la laiterie 1<sup>re</sup> g' anses à rouleaux avec pied uni

height: 16.2 cm., width: 44.7 cm.

The body of the large bowl is divided horizontally into two sections by a projecting ledge which extends upwards at either side to form the tightly scrolled handles. The foot is bell-shaped and separated from the body by two coils. Lagrenée proposed several alternative designs for large bowls, elements of which were incorporated into the final design, as documented by the working drawing for this shape.<sup>74</sup>

The horizontally divided shape, consisting of contrasting superimposed curves, is derived from classical footed bowls and *kantharoi*, examples of which were in the Denon collection.<sup>75</sup> This profile became a theme of the Rambouillet service and seems to have been regarded as particularly *étrusque* by the factory. The stack of two coils joining the body of the bowl to its foot is characteristic of the Rambouillet service. Used on Attic pottery to hide the joint of separately made sections, it can be found on many examples in the Denon collection as well as in the d'Hancarville volumes.<sup>76</sup>

Four examples were originally intended for the rotunda but only one was partially ready, in "grès" ground color, in 1787. Ultimately only one example was included in the service, standing on the central table in the rotunda. It is one of the few extant pieces of the service, and its primary decoration of goats amid bull-rushes derives from Lagrenée's watercolor of proposed alternatives. (fig. 4)

#### 7. Grande terrine à pieds de chèvre (vaches) (fig. 2a) Jatte de la laiterie 1<sup>re</sup> g' à quatre pieds de chèvre

height: 27.8 cm., diameter of bowl: 45.3 cm.

The large bowl has a profile similar to the grande terrine basse. The handles, however, turn inward at a right angle to join the body of the bowl, with the turning point marked by a knob. The bowl rests on a stand of four animal legs supported by a plinth, with a central baluster-shaped element.

Elements of the shape (the baluster, the animal leg stand, the type of handle) are found in two Lagrenée designs, although none of the drawings corresponds exactly to the shape as it was made.<sup>77</sup> In appearance and rendering, the animal legs are almost identical to a stand which forms part of an antique *capriccio* in one of Lagrenée's engravings in his 1782 Recueil.<sup>78</sup>

Illustrated in countless engravings of excavated tripod tables and braziers, the animal-legged stand became a symbol of antiquity. Thus, although the shape of the grande terrine appears curious, it was a true expression of the archaeological style. None of the published examples is very close to the Sèvres piece, reinforcing the possibility that Lagrenée was its designer.

Four grandes terrines were ordered to flank the milk pails in the center of each side. Requiring the employment of the most highly skilled répareurs for the stands, the shape was the third most expensive to make (after the milk pails and the largest vases). Only one bowl ("fond grès peinte en arabesque et Groupes de chaque coté composées d'une figure de femme et chevres et vaches") and two stands (à quatre pieds de Chevres colorées et fond grès et ornements Etrusque") were ready in 1787, the three other complete examples were delivered in 1788. Two of these were decorated by Sinnesson.<sup>80</sup>

#### 8. Jattes

Three types of small bowls were designed for the dairy, although the inconsistency of their titles makes it difficult to positively identify the shapes in the hard-paste records where five different titles are used. All the small bowls were intended as stands for the gobelets cornet as all the documents refer to "jattes avec leur gobelets cornet."

Five entries in the inventory of plaster models refer to bowl shapes made for the dairy, although only two can be identified today.<sup>81</sup> Two of the plaster models are attributed to Lagrenée.

A total of two hundred twelve examples of the small bowl shapes were made, yet only eight were delivered to the dairy. A further forty-two were inventoried in the 1789 Stock List for "Service de la Laiterie," and thirty-three in 1790.82 The remaining examples must have been painted with other decoration and sold to the general public.

a. Jatte écuelle (fig. 2b, "b")

Jatte à anses de cuire

Jatte à anses cuire refendu

Jatte à anses relevées

height: 8.1 cm., diamter: 19.0 cm.

The footed bowl, of simple spherical shape, has two handles at either side which rise up before curving downwards to attach themselves to the rim. The working drawing for the shape shows that each handle divides into two, attaching to the body on either side of the stem.<sup>83</sup> (fig. 5) This detail is confirmed by the surviving plaster model lacking handles and