

Georgia State University

ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University

---

Art and Design Theses

Ernest G. Welch School of Art and Design

---

Summer 6-1-2022

## Marriages, Mistresses, And Mockery: Gender Roles And Power Dynamics In The Saint-Aubin Livre De Caricatures Tant Bonnes Que Mauvaises

Madison Short

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/art\\_design\\_theses](https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/art_design_theses)

---

### Recommended Citation

Short, Madison, "Marriages, Mistresses, And Mockery: Gender Roles And Power Dynamics In The Saint-Aubin Livre De Caricatures Tant Bonnes Que Mauvaises." Thesis, Georgia State University, 2022.  
doi: <https://doi.org/10.57709/54S4-1S05>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Ernest G. Welch School of Art and Design at ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Art and Design Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@gsu.edu](mailto:scholarworks@gsu.edu).

MARRIAGES, MISTRESSES, AND MOCKERY: GENDER ROLES AND POWER  
DYNAMICS IN THE SAINT-AUBIN *LIVRE DE CARICATURES TANT BONNES QUE  
MAUVAISES*

by

MADISON SHORT

Under the Direction of Maria Gindhart, PhD

ABSTRACT

In a collection of nearly 400 drawings entitled *Livre de caricatures tant bonne que mauvaises*, Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin (1721-1786) ridiculed every aspect of French culture from King Louis XV and his court, to the poorest pockets of society. For the purposes of this thesis, I will be focusing on Saint-Aubin's drawings of anonymous women, wives, and mistresses. Along with the depictions of women, I will examine the instances in which he draws men dressed up as women. Charles-Germain uses the image of women to highlight the follies of man. I cannot and will not argue these images are in any way kind towards women, but I will aim to illustrate the ways in which they are critical of men.

INDEX WORDS: Madame de Pompadour, Caricature, Eighteenth-century, Women, Wives, Mistresses, Saint-Aubin, Gender.

MARRIAGES, MISTRESSES, AND MOCKERY: GENDER ROLES AND POWER  
DYNAMICS IN THE SAINT-AUBIN *LIVRE DE CARICATURES TANT BONNES QUE  
MAUVAISES*

by

MADISON SHORT

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of the Arts

Georgia State University

2022

Copyright by  
Madison Elizabeth Short  
2022

MARRIAGES, MISTRESSES, AND MOCKERY: GENDER ROLES AND POWER  
DYNAMICS IN THE SAINT-AUBIN *LIVRE DE CARICATURES TANT BONNE QUE  
MAUVAISES*

by

MADISON SHORT

Committee Chair: Maria Gindhart

Committee: Grace Harpster

Susan Richmond

Elizabeth Browne

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Academic Assistance

College of the Arts

Georgia State University

May 2022

## **DEDICATION**

For Andrew, Elizabeth, and Scarlet.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I owe immense gratitude to the aide of Dr. Maria Gindhart without whom this study would not have been possible. She graciously provided her knowledge, time, and effort throughout the arduous process of bringing this project to fruition. She was never far away with a reminder that “research is like an accordion”. It was an honor to work with her over the course of the last two years.

This work is also indebted to Dr. Juliet Carey who took the time to meet with me at Waddesdon Manor for an in depth look at the *Livre* and other Saint Aubin works. It was truly a pleasure to be shown the works from a historian I deeply admire.

Waddesdon Manor, where the volume is currently held and researched has a vast online database that catalogues the *Livre* from front to back. Without this resource, I would have no knowledge of its existence, or any idea where to begin my work. This database has been invaluable in my research process.

Dr. Elizabeth Browne generously provided her vast knowledge of the eighteenth century and art historical research. For this, I am extraordinarily grateful. A thank you is also owed to the rest of my committee who kindly agreed to provide feedback and input on the final project. Dr. Harpster and Dr. Richmond – I greatly appreciate your time and efforts.

Georgia State University allowed me to continue my research throughout a very tumultuous time in this world. Art and the study of art history have always been a comfort for me. Without this institution, my education would not have been furthered or fostered in such a caring way.

Finally, to my friends and family who provided support through numerous cancelled plans, sleepless nights, and collapsed accordion frustrations – thank you for still being there.



**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b><i>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</i></b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b><i>LIST OF FIGURES</i></b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>1</b> <b><i>Introduction</i></b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>2</b> <b><i>Marriages and Mistresses</i></b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>3</b> <b><i>Anonymous Women</i></b> .....	<b>21</b>
<b>4</b> <b><i>Men In Drag</i></b> .....	<b>36</b>
<b>5</b> <b><i>CONCLUSION</i></b> .....	<b>44</b>
<b><i>REFERENCES</i></b> .....	<b>46</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, ‘Elle croyoit avoir Epousé un homme, et ce n’etoit qu’une buche/She thought she had married a man, but it was only a log’, c. 1770-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.356).....	11
Figure 2.2: Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin. ‘J’ay bien de la peine a gouverner mon Empire/I have a lot of trouble governing my empire’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.165).....	13
Figure 2.3 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, ‘Ne blamons personne ils ont sans doute leurs raisons/Let us blame no one; they have no doubt their reasons’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.282).....	17
Figure 2.4 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, ‘Telle etoit ma premiere maitresse en 1740/Such was my first mistress in 1740’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (275.258). .....	21
Figure 3.1 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, ‘Ne Suis-je pas a plaindre d’avoir epousé un cocu?/Am I not to be pitied for having married a cuckold?’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink and graphite on paper. (675.178).....	24
Figure 3.2 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, ‘Chevalier d’honneur de la mere folle/Knight of honour of the Mère Folle’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink and graphite on paper. (675.179). ....	25
Figure 3.3 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, ‘Je ne passe jamais devant une jolie femme Sans la Salüer et luy faire politesse/I never pass by a pretty lady without showing her a courtesy’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.198).....	28
Figure 3.4 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, ‘Reponçe a la votre/Reply to yours’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.199).....	29

Figure 3.5 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, ‘C’est profiter de tout pour faire le galant/This is taking every chance to play the galant’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.129).....	31
Figure 3.6 : Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin. ‘Moyen de parvenir/The way to make a fortune’, 1774. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.102).....	34
Figure 3.7 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin. ‘Vestris. Il voulout 100 Louis pour dancier comme ça a l’Opera/He wanted 100 Louis to dance like this at the Opera’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.380).....	36
Figure 4.1 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin ‘Valet de chambre du Jour de l’an/Manservant for New Year’s Day’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper, 18.7 x 13.2cm. (675.88).....	39
Figure 4.2 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin. ‘L’Evantail/The Fan’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper, 18.7 x 13.2cm. (675.89).....	41
Figure 4.3 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, ‘Ah! Voila Genevotte. La mere de Grand Mere./Ah! Here is Genevotte. The mother of my grandmother’, c. 1768-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.161).....	43

## 1 INTRODUCTION

In a collection of nearly 400 drawings entitled *Livre de caricatures tant bonnes que mauvaises* (*The Book of Caricatures, both Good and Bad*) Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin (1721-1786) ridiculed every aspect of French culture from King Louis XV and his court, to the poorest pockets of society. For the purposes of this thesis, I focus on Saint-Aubin's drawings of anonymous women, wives, and mistresses. Along with the depictions of women, I look at the instances in which he draws men dressed up as women. While no one is spared from Saint-Aubin's mockery, his imagery of women is often used to highlight the follies of man. He turns his gaze toward the court officials who were susceptible to, and powerless in the face of, the influence of their mistresses; he draws satirical images of marriage in order to comment on the power the arrangement between a man a woman can have over politics; he draws men wearing the guise of women in order to characterize them as weak. I cannot and will not argue these images are in any way kind towards women, but I aim to illustrate the ways in which they are critical of men. Through the use of humor, wit, and inversion of gender roles, Saint-Aubin's drawings of women make a mockery of men in French society.

A history of humor and wit in French art has been a focus of scholarly research for decades. Much of the research focuses on either the Rococo style of the early eighteenth century, or the caricatures of the nineteenth century. But more recently, the idea there are earlier examples of caricature from the eighteenth century has been explored by historians.<sup>1</sup> One of the largest and most mysterious collections of works of this nature is Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin's *Livre de caricatures*. It is important to note a primary motivation for embarking on this study has been

---

<sup>1</sup> For more on caricature and its evolution through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Jennifer Milam, "Playful Constructions and Fragonard's Swinging Scenes" (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

the lack of research surrounding tradition of caricature in eighteenth-century France. Existent literature often focuses on the visual tradition of the toilette, or the tradition of wit in tandem with the Rococo era.<sup>2</sup> In *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth-Century*, Elizabeth Mansfield and Kelly Malone lay the groundwork for illustrating the idea of a satirical tradition that has roots in the eighteenth century. Scholarship on caricature has often been focused on the proliferation of satire in nineteenth-century France with the circulation of prints via newspapers, pamphlets, etc. Eighteenth-century caricature, on the other hand, was a more discreet happening. As seen with the existence of the *Livre*, drawings were done in private collections circulated only among closest family and trusted friends. The drawings seen in this collection are not as obviously dramatic and pointed as some that will come later via the hands of artists such as Daumier. This being said, the *Livre* can be classified within the category of satire and caricature because of its dealings in humor and wit, its sociability, and its function as a tool for making fun of French society.

The secretive and somewhat transient nature of the Saint-Aubin *Livre de Caricatures* has left it untouched by historians until recent years. However, Waddesdon Manor has done an incredible job of documenting the collection. On their website they have provided free access to high-quality images of each page of the book along with descriptions of the image, interpretations of each caption and its relation to the image, and a list of scholarly resources that pertain to the collection. The largest body of scholarly work on the book is a collection of essays edited by Colin Jones, Juliet Carey, and Emily Richardson in tandem with Waddesdon Manor and the Rothschild Foundation. This collection served as my predominant source of information.

---

<sup>2</sup> Background information on the toilette was gleaned from Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, "Beauty and the Beast: Animals in the Visual Material Culture of the Toilette," in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* no. 42 (2013): 147-170; For humor and the Rococo, see Milam, "Playful Constructions".

The essays cover a vast range of topics that build the foundation of my research including, archaeology and materiality of the book, how the book relates to politics and religion, and the cultural perspectives the book provides.

Although the status of the King's official mistress, Madame de Pompadour is questioned and critiqued in the *Livre* and contextualized by scholars, less attention has been paid to the role of anonymous women, wives, and mistresses. Their humorous role in the book and their ability to influence political and social events will be a large focus of this study. In "Saint Aubin's jokes and their relation to...", Katie Scott categorizes and explores the ways in which Saint-Aubin's drawings were making fun of the world. As I have previously mentioned, no one was spared from his critical lens, and Katie Scott breaks down the reasoning behind the relentlessness. She highlights the idea that Saint-Aubin found humor in everything from the King to the most common citizen. For a section dedicated to marriage and mistresses, I reached outside of the literature covering the *Livre* and turned my lens toward gender roles in eighteenth-century France. For this, I looked to authors such as Mary Sheriff, Carol Duncan, and Melissa Hyde.

My preliminary research on historical crossdressing has led me to authors such as Sara Meizer and Kathryn Norberg and their book, *From the Royal to the Republican Body*. The existent literature on the subject of historical crossdressing, especially in France, is very focused on its origins in theater and dance. The traditions of crossdressing rooted in such things will be important to look at because many of the drawings included in the *Livre* are depictions of performers. Focusing on crossdressing aids in highlighting the ways in which Saint-Aubin applied inversion as a tool for humor. Not only did he show women directly manipulating men

and using them to influence politics, he shows men in the guise of women to demonstrate their weaknesses.

As embroiderer to King Louis XV, Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin was granted access to the lives of many court officials. This access allowed him to see the underbelly of the court's culture and their secret (and not so secret) affairs. It was not an uncommon occurrence for men to have mistresses in the eighteenth century. It was what one might call an "open secret". Kings and court officials would often house their mistresses at court, as we will see in the case of Madame de Pompadour and others. Marriages were treated as arrangements entered into for the express purpose of political alignment across borders. Saint-Aubin deals with the theme of marriages and mistresses over and over again in the *Livre*. In many of these drawings, Charles Germain showcases the relationship between court officials and their mistresses. Rather than focusing on brute sexual depictions, more often than not, he focuses on the ways in which mistresses influenced the political decisions of the men.

Charles Germain de Saint-Aubin had a deeply complicated relationship with women throughout his life. He inherited the role of embroiderer to the king from his father who inherited it from his father before him. Charles Germain was hesitant to enter the family business because he was not always proud of their history with the delicate and feminine craft of embroidery. He grappled with the idea of taking on the role for an extended period of time, during which he created an illustrated book of sexually explicit drawings with his brother Gabriel. Once he was married himself, Charles-Germain entered the family business. His wife, Françoise Trouvé, died during the birth of their fourth and final child, a son. After her death, Charles Germain decided he was unable to properly raise three children, so he decided to put two of them up for adoption.

Interestingly, he kept their eldest daughter.<sup>3</sup> While I want to be careful not to put too much weight on his relationship to women and femininity as the reason for creating nasty images of women, I believe it provides some insight into the complexity of the drawings and their meaning. I believe Saint-Aubin was always grappling between resentment for women and respect for them. This is in no way to say the images he created are respectful, but there is a potential interpretation of them which complicates a reading of pure degradation.

The Saint-Aubin volume of caricatures is a complex, and at times, hilarious compilation of images that provides a lens into an underground perspective on eighteenth-century Parisian life. While there is a limited body of research on the volume, it is a rich collection of images that earns its spot as a key work from the eighteenth century that should be considered when looking at art produced during this time. Richard Taws highlights this idea in his essay on the volume, “The Precariousness of Things”. He illustrates a world in which the *Livre* is used as an influential reference point despite the opaque nature of its circumstances of creation by saying,

Yet, despite this hermetic quality, there is undoubtedly value in tracing some of the ways in which aspects of the *Livre* unfold in time, and in examining how its themes were rearticulated several decades later, as part of one possible caricatural tradition (for there is no single lineage to caricature), and one possible means of negotiating the relationship between the private, playful world of individuals in a family, and the public, riotous world of the new body politic in which family was reimagined on a national scale.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> The biographical information on Charles-Germain and the Saint-Aubin family was sourced from Colin Jones and Emily Richardson, “Archaeology and Materiality” in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-century Paris*, (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012), 31-53.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Taws, “The Precariousness of Things” in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de caricatures*, 328.



Throughout this essay, the exact meaning of each illustration will be ambiguous in nature with my interpretation being one of many possibilities. This ambiguity is part of what makes this collection so fascinating in its own right. Any reader at any given moment could choose to focus on a different joke Charles-Germain attempts to make about his world. Here lies my fascination with the *Livre* in all of its absurd glory – how Charles-Germain was able to depict a perspective on gender roles in the eighteenth century that communicates the complex anxiety and confusion that existed and how we can look at it now with new insights.

The intention for this specific study is not, in fact, to provide a full reading of the volume, as that information can be gleaned from previous and ongoing scholarship. It is my goal to provide a thorough visual analysis of a few select drawings and interpret them through a lens of visual and political culture from eighteenth-century France in order to illustrate the ways in which the volume is a reflection of contemporaneous attitudes on marriage, mistresses, performance culture and politics. In order to provide an argument that one of the aims of the Saint-Aubin volume is to ridicule men of the eighteenth century and express anxieties surrounding gender roles, I have included several illustrations. Some of these illustrations are stand-alone figures, while others are intended to be grouped into pairs. The use of pairs will become relevant in the latter half of this study, as most of them are examples of men and women interacting with each other. What I find fascinating about the concept of Charles-Germain grouping these figures, intentionally or unintentionally, he creates an interesting dynamic which undergirds my argument.

## 2 MARRIAGES AND MISTRESSES

The examples I will use in the section on marriages and mistresses at court do not have gendered counterparts, or any counterpart for that matter. There is something deeply interesting about the fact that there is no instance of Madame Pompadour communicating across pages with the King. In almost every case, the woman is shown alone or with various other men who are unidentified and there is no rebuttal or comparison to be seen on another page. Is that power in and of itself? Charles-Germain does not dedicate much of the *Livre* to actual depictions of the king. This could be partially due to censorship concerns, but it could also be because these women were the actual figures of interest, power, and influence. This is a study about relationships between gender roles and the way these images can subvert traditional readings of those roles. This brings me to a discussion of the images that can be read as references to marriage and couples.

The business of Eighteenth-century marriage was incredibly complex. They were legal contracts negotiated by heads of families for the purposes of continuing family lines, paying off debts, gaining governance over territories, or making political alliances. The idea of entering a marriage for pure purposes of love and affection was essentially unheard of. Instead, if one was seeking a romantic connection to cushion the hard edges of their transactional arrangement, they would frequently opt to engage in illicit affairs once they were married. Development and passion would become focuses later on for eighteenth-century marriage, especially with the emergence of Rousseau's ideals, but nevertheless, people underwent the process of marriage as a lateral move. One such example of correspondence surrounding two people about to enter into a marriage, Dena Goodman writes of a man by the name of Bernard de Bonnard, a tutor to the sons of the duc de Chartres. She explains that he is considering marriage as a way to relieve his debts.

In his hunt for a perfect wife, he considers their fortunes and even turns women down if he hears they do not come from affluent backgrounds. He finally settled on a girl half his age, Sophie Silvestre. They quickly entered into a marriage that would prove beneficial for Bonnard, a man who was once a “virtually penniless provincial noble” and dutiful for young Sophie.<sup>5</sup>

As the eighteenth century progressed, attitudes toward women and their virtue developed. Women were now involved in politics, and their place within that space was taken into consideration. In a study of body politics in the era of the French Revolution, Dorinda Outram turns her attention to the effect of “boudoir politics” on women. In analyzing how women constructed their self-image and how their image was constructed by outsiders, she poses the question, “How, if at all, could they relate such gender-specific experiences [childbirth, and breastfeeding] in the lived body, to the creation of a body which could carry public weight?”. As a political tool, women were consistently deployed for their ability to coerce men using sexual favors. They were also used as tools for political alliance via marriage. This consistent use, along with contemporaneous literature by authors such as Voltaire who created female characters in the role of the heroine, opened up questions about women’s virtue and self-image. In a description and analysis of the life of Mme Roland, Outram highlights an issue lying at the crux of this study – “Mme Roland’s uncertainty as to whether or not to regard herself as chaste or not, exactly mimicked the way in which, under both the old regime and the Revolution, chaste women were denied public authority and confined, for the preservation of that chastity, to their domestic roles, while women who aspired to public authority or influence were automatically regarded as sexually uncontrolled and thereby threatening to the political order.”<sup>6</sup> While I do not wish to

---

<sup>5</sup> Dena Goodman, *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters*, (Cornell University Press, 2009), 313-316.

<sup>6</sup> Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture*, (Yale University Press, 1989), 133.

claim that this is the view point that Charles-Germain held when he was creating the *Livre*, I do believe it to be useful in establishing the larger anxiety surrounding the roles of women in contemporary society. In fact, I want to make an argument that Charles-Germain, while grappling with some of these anxieties himself, was turning the issue on its head and trying to shine a light on why these anxieties surrounded women, when men were the ones being manipulated, coerced, and weakened by the very sex they were trying to manipulate, coerce and weaken.

The theme of marriage as a loveless transaction occurs throughout the *Livre de caricatures*. Commonly, Charles-Germain did not choose to show marriage in the form of drawing two people who were married to each other. Typically, there was an implication that one was having an affair or was unhappy within their arrangement. One example (fig. 2.1) is thought to show the marital bed of Marie Antoinette and King Louis XVI (at this time the duc de Berry). The inscription reads, “She thought she had married a man, but it was only a log”. The image shows a lavish bed raised up on a platform. A bolster with pink curtains hanging from it runs above the edge of the bed. The curtains open on the side to reveal a young woman lying next to a wooden log, looking at it expectantly. It can be inferred that Saint-Aubin was representing the marital bed of Marie Antoinette and King Louis XVI.<sup>7</sup> The marriage between Marie Antoinette and King Louis XVI was interpreted as a loveless, childless ordeal for quite some time. Some speculated that the King was impotent or had a disorder that caused intercourse to be painful, while others believed Antoinette was so unmoved and unattracted to her husband that they were unable to successfully consummate the marriage.<sup>8</sup> The bed that mattered for continuing the

---

<sup>7</sup> See the curatorial commentary from Waddesdon Manor website on this image. <https://waddesdon.org.uk/the-collection/item/?id=17252>.

<sup>8</sup> See Antoine de Baecque, “The Defeat of the Body of the King” in *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford University Press, 1997), 29-76.

lineage of his family was of little interest to King Louis XVI.<sup>9</sup> Saint-Aubin is poking fun at the idea of a King that is not succeeding in his private life by being unable to please his wife, and therefore unable to solidify a continuation of his family's position. In an analysis of the fascination with this story and the satirizing of it, Antoine de Baecque writes, "with the lampoonists of scandal at the end of the eighteenth century, the private life of the king is stressed. Their writing sets up Marie Antoinette and King Louis XVI as an actual married couple, but only in order to describe their secrets, misunderstandings and deceptions better. The ritual of the royal bed is no longer a ceremony, but a comedy, and the writing is a stolen glimpse of the sexual intimacy that is taking place (or that is not taking place – and here lies the intrigue)".<sup>10</sup> This image in the *Livre* can be interpreted as an example of the preoccupation with the king's private life. The imagery of the log plays two important roles in the drawing -- one being undoubtedly a phallic reference, and the other as a reference to someone who is a blockhead, an idiot, immovable in their own right. Not only was this man having affairs with women who would influence him and make him a puppet for their own interests, he was a man who could not perform the inherent duties of marriage. He was married to an attractive woman who was not attracted to him, and that makes him weak.

---

<sup>9</sup> For more on the marriage of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, see Vincent Cronin, *Louis and Antoinette*, (Harvill Press, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> De Baecque, *The Body Politic*, 46-47.



*Figure 2.1 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, 'Elle croyoit avoir Epousé un homme, et ce n'étoit qu'une buche/She thought she had married a man, but it was only a log', c. 1770-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.356).*

The *Livre* and Charles-Germain would also witness and take on the reign of Louis XV.<sup>11</sup> Charles-Germain aimed his humiliation at this king for being influenced by Madame Pompadour, but also for his preoccupation with domestic (feminine) tasks. In this image (fig. 2.2), King Louis XV is drawn inside a wooden, shed-like building with plants growing and climbing around its beams. He stands in modest dress – a black hat, plain yellow overcoat, white stockings, and simple black shoes. This is not a royal portrait showing off the king's wealth and power. He stands holding a saucepan in one hand while he lifts a spoon to his mouth in the other. His rounded face holds a joyful grin. He is clearly pleased with his cooking. A large, pink, high-

<sup>11</sup> For biographical information, information on influence from mistresses and other figures, see Julian Swann, "Politics and Religion" in *The Saint-Aubin Livre de caricatures*, 117-150; See also Julian Swann, *Politics and the Parlement of Paris under Louis XV, 1754-1774*, (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

heeled shoe sits in the bottom left corner of the structure – a reference to his mistress, Madame de Pompadour. I will take on the volume's use of Madame de Pompadour and full representations of her form later in this study, but for now it is important to understand this image's commentary on King Louis XV. The king has been put in a domestic space performing domestic tasks and enjoying them. The curatorial commentary from Waddesdon Manor makes note of how often the king would opt to make coffee for his guests.<sup>12</sup> While it is, in and of itself, an emasculating image of a king, the shoe in the corner emphasizes the feminine influence over a man in a position of power which takes him away from his courtly duties and distracts him with feminine tasks. It is more impactful to place a suggestion of female influence in the form of a pink heel than it is to place her in the image cooking and cleaning alongside him. He serves her. She makes him want to take on the role of homemaker. She is the ruling body even when she is not physically present. Her influence lives in his mind.

---

<sup>12</sup> See "Commentary" on Waddesdon website for 675.165 (fig.2.2). <https://waddesdon.org.uk/the-collection/item/?id=17063>.



Figure 2.2: Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin. ‘J’ay bien de la peine a gouverner mon Empire/I have a lot of trouble governing my empire’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.165).

Accounts of women involved in politics in the eighteenth century are fairly nonexistent. Recently though, research has expanded the scope of political history to look at the ways in which women influenced politics before they were allowed to take formal positions. This includes, but is not limited to, the dynamics between male political figures and their mistresses, and the roles women played in marriages as potential advisors to their husbands. In a study of gender and power, Merry Wiesner-Hanks illustrates this point, “Political historians make distinctions between power – the ability to shape political events – and authority – power which is formally recognized and legitimated – noting that while women rarely had the latter, they did have the former.”<sup>13</sup> This brings me to a discussion of Madame de Pompadour, a regular

<sup>13</sup> Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 289.



client, and understood friend of Charles Germain. Under this definition of power, Madame de Pompadour certainly had a great deal. While Saint-Aubin's images of Madame de Pompadour are not the focus of this body of work, they are important examples of the artist's contempt for women and men that fall under the influence of women.

A discussion of gender roles via themes of marriages and mistresses in the *Livre* would not be possible without a mention of Madame de Pompadour, King Louis XV's official mistress between 1745 to 1751. Over 30 pages of the *Livre* are dedicated to her, or symbols that directly reference her. The repetition of her image can be connected to Charles-Germain's close relationship with her as a client, and by many accounts, a friend.<sup>14</sup> The way he uses her image, on the other hand, does not indicate that she was a person he had the utmost respect for. The depictions of her as a monkey at the toilette applying rouge to its buttocks, the disembodied buttocks on a pedestal radiating light, and many other examples are lewd and objectifying. As with many of the works in the *Livre*, it is my opinion that these graphic images can be attributed to the common attitude surrounding Madame de Pompadour and what she represented – a dangerous woman who undermined the perceived power of the king by influencing his political decisions.<sup>15</sup> As Melissa Hyde has pointed out about the common perspective on women in the eighteenth century, “Much of the rhetoric of the French Revolution had laid blame for the ills of the world at the feet of society women and women of the court, with special hostility being

---

<sup>14</sup> Charles-Germain and Madame de Pompadour's relationship was complex. Some of his illustrated works outside of the volume are dedicated to her. Juliet Carey describes their relationship in her essay, “The king and his embroiderer” in *The Saint Aubin Livre de Caricatures*, 261-282.

<sup>15</sup> For more information on the life and art depicting Madame de Pompadour, see Colin Jones, *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*, (London: National Gallery, 2002). For a full biography of Madame de Pompadour, reference Christine Pevitt Algrant, *Madame de Pompadour: Mistress of France*, (Grove Press, 2003).

reserved for mistresses and queens.”<sup>16</sup> It is not my intention to take on a sweeping analysis of Madame de Pompadour and her role in court. Scholarship surrounding her life and influence is abundant. My aim is to show how Charles-Germain’s handling of her image both exacerbates and subverts the common portrayal of women as evil beings who are at fault for society’s ailments.

For this, I look to one image in which Charles-Germain employs Madame de Pompadour’s likeness to illustrate men’s inability to resist her sexual temptations as it is the image most relevant to this portion of this essay. Charles-Germain’s use of Pompadour on many occasions is example enough of his preoccupation with gender politics and the influence of women exacerbating foolish qualities in men.<sup>17</sup> Most of the illustrations of Madame de Pompadour are lewd and objectifying in nature, but there are examples of those that undermine even their most scandalous interpretations.

As mistresses, women such as Madame de Pompadour were given too much power, and men were too weak in the face of it to reclaim it. As with public opinion and the careful sway of court officials and lawyers, kings were susceptible to the influence of their mistresses. He writes, “The practical, experienced men who served the young Louis XV recognized that whatever the king’s divine right to rule, his actual ability to do so depended on the ‘opinions’ of his subjects, of ‘the public.’ Opinion, however, was by definition unstable and irrational, the opposite of knowledge, and this fact made the monarchy fragile indeed”.<sup>18</sup> As previously stated, it is rare that

---

<sup>16</sup> Hyde, Melissa, “Women and the Visual Arts in the Age of Marie Antoinette” in Eik Khang and Marianne Roland Michel, *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter in the Court of Marie Antoinette*, (Washington DC: National Gallery and Yale University Press, 2002), 75-76.

<sup>17</sup> For more on this topic, see Natalie Zemon Davis, “Women on Top: Symbolic Sexual Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe” in Barbara Babcock, *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*, (Cornell University Press, 1978), 147-190.

<sup>18</sup> See David A. Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France*, (Oxford University Press, 1994) for an analysis of public opinion, lawyers and political elite. Bell discusses the royal

Charles-Germain illustrates a direct interaction between Madame de Pompadour and King Louis XV. Instead, he chooses to show her interacting with people in his court that would influence him in the ways Bell highlights.

As seen in studies of gender dynamics throughout history, men and kings are imbued with a sense of divinity and are seen as having received their authority from God. As ordained by God, men hold the entirety of the power over their wives, their children, and their households.<sup>19</sup> In the *Livre*, Saint-Aubin uses the image of Madame de Pompadour in relation to religion time and time again. This creates an implication that she dictates religious values, and therefore holds a divine power. In one of the most overtly obscene illustrations of the famous mistress (figure 2.3), Charles-Germain shows her facing away from the viewer. It is clear she is completely nude. Her grey hair is tied up into a bun as she straddles what has been interpreted as a bidet. Five men gather around her. Two kneel and kiss her feet, two others stand in front of her with their arms outstretched as if in awe of her, the final one kneels before her with his hands clasped together in a motion resembling prayer as he looks up at her and smiles. It is said this is a reference to her “turn towards catholic devotion” and “the drawing implies an alliance with the Jesuits”. Are these men in awe of the sexual being on display? These men are portrayed as worshipping her body. They are powerless in front of the female form. This is a continuation of Pompadour’s objectification, but from another perspective, it is also an image showing men adoring her in a way suggesting they are as powerless under her influence as they would be in the presence of a divine being. As Wiesner-Hanks writes in a discussion of contemporaneous attitudes toward gender norms, “women or men who stepped outside their prescribed roles in other than

---

susceptibility to influence on state matters in depth. His work on the “public sphere” in France during the eighteenth century has also aided in this study.

<sup>19</sup> Wiesner-Hanks, *Gender and Power*, 314. See this also for an in-depth analysis of men’s divine authority in eighteenth-century marriages, politics, and society.

extraordinary circumstances, and particularly those who made a point emphasizing they were doing this, were seen as threatening not only relations between the sexes, but the operation of the entire social order.”<sup>20</sup> Charles-Germain deals with this disdain and worry in regard to women stepping out of their roles throughout the *Livre*. The *Livre de Caricatures* repeatedly deals with themes of marriages and mistresses. In many of these drawings, Charles-Germain showcases the relationship between court officials and their mistresses. Rather than focusing on brute sexual depictions, more often than not, he focuses on the ways in which mistresses influenced the political decisions of the men. In other instances, he turns his gaze toward the lackluster political and socioeconomic arrangements in the form of marriages. These images become humorous examples of contemporaneous attitudes towards gender roles in high society.



Figure 2.3 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, ‘Ne blâmons personne ils ont sans doute leurs raisons/Let us blame no one; they have no doubt their reasons’, c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.282).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 306

In a particularly fascinating image (fig. 2.4), Charles-Germain depicts himself. In the image captioned, “Such was my first mistress in 1740”, Charles-Germain bends over a waist-high bush and trims it with long gardening shears in his hands. As he trims the long, phallic tendrils of the unruly shrub, he turns his gaze down to lock eyes with a female figure laying down on the ground. She stares up at him as if in awe. She is not dressed elaborately. In fact, she is rudimentarily sketched and not filled in with color as other elements of the drawing are. Her lower half is obstructed from the viewer by the bush. I bring the positioning of the girl relative to the bush to the forefront with the intention of drawing a metaphor between the lower half of her body and the action Charles-Germain is performing. To be less delicate, it appears as though he is having sex (should I say engaging in sexual intercourse or is this funnier?) with the bush. To the right of the page, a woman stands with her back turned to Charles-Germain. She wears an enormous and lavish pink ballgown. Her hair is pinned up in a modest, yet elegant, coiffure. She is the epitome of eighteenth-century high fashion.<sup>21</sup> She is a lady of the court who performs the rituals of the toilette and Charles-Germain has absolutely no attention to give her. As Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell discusses in her essay on the toilette, “this idle time was thought to breed further moral failings, including narcissism, lust, and gossip”.<sup>22</sup> The irony of Charles-Germain’s preoccupation with depicting such things as he profits from the people participating is not lost on this study.

---

<sup>21</sup> For more on eighteenth-century fashion, including Madame de Pompadour’s influence over it, see Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715-1789*, (Yale University Press, 2002).

<sup>22</sup> Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, “Dressing to impress” in Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, Peter Björn Kerber, Joan DeJean and Mimi Hellman, *Paris: Life and Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, (Getty Publications, 2011), 53-73. This essay provides an analysis of the toilette and the ways in which its influence extended throughout Parisian art and fashion.

This image brings together multiple strands of my argument based on different possible interpretations. The first reading of this image could highlight the ways in which Charles-Germain's biography charge the *Livre*. Throughout his life, he was not interested in extravagance, courtly life or being part of high society. While he worked for wealthy patrons and gave himself the title of embroiderer to the king, his personal life took a different shape. He critiqued high society over 400 times in this secretive book of caricatures.<sup>23</sup> This is one of the only instances in the book in which he references himself in order to illustrate his aversion to cultural norms. This image shows him physically turning away from a beautiful woman dressed in elegant finery who would never be caught laying on the ground gazing at a man trimming the garden. Instead, he chooses to put all of his focus on the shrub in front of him and the modestly dressed female laid out in the garden. It is my interpretation this shrub is symbolic of two different jokes and references Charles-Germain makes. On one hand, it shows he does not have interest in the way of sexual affairs with women at court as so many others did. In fact, he does not see the appeal of these women and therefore turns his back on them in favor of a more modest woman.

Another interpretation involves Charles-Germain's other collections of drawings that were known to the public. He devoted much of his life to drawing embroidery motifs, especially florals, in order to eradicate the perception of embroidery as a feminine craft. He grapples with his anxieties about this perception of his principal profession throughout the *Livre*, including in the image, *Les Talens du Jour (The Talents of the day)*, but none show him directly involved

---

<sup>23</sup> The professional versus the private life of Charles-Germain is discussed by Juliet Carey in her essay, "The king and his embroiderer" in *The Saint Aubin Livre de Caricatures*, 261-282.

more so than this.<sup>24</sup> It would be impossible to not read this bush and his positioning behind it in a sexual manner, but I wish to highlight the bush could also be a reference to these drawings of flora and his love of natural themes. Maybe, his first mistress was not a woman, but his enjoyment of drawing plants and nature right before him. This could be seen as a reference to control and domination of the craft, as well as his defiance of the common gender the work of embroidery is associated with. This idea brings forth many issues with gender roles in eighteenth-century France and the concept of a man doing something that might be interpreted as feminine being in any way absurd or embarrassing. If one were to look at this image knowing Charles-Germain and the people of eighteenth-century France did not respect a woman being in a position of control, one would see this image as the embodiment of that ideal.

Charles-Germain's private views toward women stepping out of their roles as wives, mothers, and housekeepers is a reflection of a larger anxiety surrounding women and power in eighteenth-century France. While the *Livre* makes it very clear an unconforming woman is not to be respected, it also brings into question the role of men in letting women have power and control. Just as much as the volume aims hatred at women, it grapples with a resentment of the men who fell prey to the influence of these women.

---

<sup>24</sup> For a further description of anxieties, efforts to elevate craft, and the other Saint-Aubin projects, see Carey, "The King and His Embroiderer", 261-282.



Figure 2.4 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, 'Telle etoit ma premiere maitresse en 1740/Such was my first mistress in 1740', c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (275.258).

Charles-Germain's drawings of wives and mistresses are indicative of a complicated relationship with gender dynamics in his own personal life as well as in eighteenth-century politics as a whole. A perspective that takes into consideration the secret power of these women, and the danger that power may have posed to powerful men reveals a new reading of these images.

### 3 ANONYMOUS WOMEN

Madame de Pompadour, the wives, and the mistresses depicted in the *Livre de Caricatures* belonging to high society put Charles-Germain's attitude towards eighteenth-century Parisian court life on full display. At best, his attitude is tolerant. At worst, it is entirely disdainful. That category of drawings demonstrates the attitudes and anxieties surrounding gender roles in the



upper echelons of society, but what about the pockets of society Charles-Germain was not surrounded by every day? In the *Livre de Caricatures*, there are 45 pages dedicated to women who are not specifically identified or classified as wives, mistresses, family members of Saint-Aubin, etc. These images include allegorical figures, women of the theatre, dancers and performers, and the *Cris de Paris*.<sup>25</sup> In order to illustrate Saint-Aubin's relationship with women and his views on gender roles, it is important to look at how he portrayed women he did not work for.

In a pair of drawings, Charles-Germain applies the theme of unhappy marriage to a different social class. On the left page (fig. 3.1), a woman stands in a costume consisting of a form-fitting bodice and a full skirt that juts out from her waist. The dress is split evenly down the middle into two different colors – the left side of the dress is red, and the right side of the dress is teal blue. Her tall pointed hat is colored accordingly. She stands with her arm outstretched to the right, in what reads as a gesture towards the figure on the next page. Her gaze is also turned to the right. The inscription on the image reads, “Ne Suis-je pas a plaindre d’avoir epousé un cocu?/Am I not to be pitied for having married a cuckold?”. On the opposite page (fig. 3.2), a man stands in a costume made up of colors corresponding to the female figure's dress. The corresponding colors create a clear connection between the two. He stands with his head turned towards her and his arm outstretched to the left. From his outstretched hand hangs a temperature gauge. A loosely sketched female figure sits behind him on a bed with her legs crossed. She appears to be in a state of undress—barefoot, legs uncovered, etc. The upper inscription on this image announces the figure as a Knight of the *Mère Folle*. The bottom inscription reads, “Je suis froid d’un coté et

---

<sup>25</sup> For my research on the *Cris de Paris*, I looked to Katie Scott's essay, “Edme Bouchardon's ‘Cris de Paris in early modern Paris’”, *Word and Image*, 29 no. 1, (2013), 59-91. See this study for a more complete understanding of this genre of works. See also, Edourd Kopp “Pictures of the People: Edme Bouchardon's ‘Cries of Paris’”, (J. Paul Getty Museum, 2017), <https://blogs.getty.edu/iris/pictures-of-the-people-edme-bouchardons-cries-of-paris/>.

chaud de l'autre/I am cold on one side and hot on the other". From the matching costumes, and the mirrored gestures, it can be discerned that these two are intended to be a couple. It is unclear which one is the cuckold. Based on the sketchy image of a woman undressed in a bed behind him, one interpretation is that he is, in fact, the one who is doing nefarious things behind his wife's back. The ask to not be pitied and the duality of the colors, the temperature gauge, and the inscriptions all refer to an anxiety about gender roles. In this instance, the woman might be the victim of her husband's wrongdoings. As we have seen in other depictions of male-female relations, the husband is powerless against the temptations of a mistress, but the wife is not to be fooled. As we have also seen in other works, Charles-Germain is acknowledging the misfortune of a woman experiencing an unfaithful, loveless marriage. There is a sense of pity ascribed to the woman. The viewer is made to feel bad for her, but this woman is not dressed as though she is deserving of any pity. In fact, another interpretation of this image is possible if one takes into consideration that she could be cuckolding someone else. Is she making a fool out of the man with the temperature gauge? Is he the victim of her extra-marital affairs?

The analysis of this specific image and many of the others brings up these kinds of questions as well as a desire to understand to what extent Charles-Germain intended to create a narrative between two images, and what he intended to convey about the pairings. As Richard Taws describes in a discussion of two other images connected to one another, "it is clear that the preposterous balancing act in which these two figures are engaged is key to the work's comic effect, imparting a sense of narrative time that continues outside the image itself: the potential for imminent collapse, destruction and ridicule, and the sense of an impending change."<sup>26</sup> The beauty of this body of illustrations lies with the endless possibilities for continuous

---

<sup>26</sup> Richard Taws, "The precariousness of things" in *The Saint Aubin Livre de Caricatures*, 329-330.

interpretation. One can come to the *Livre* and bring their own knowledge or sense of humor. We may never understand it fully as anything but a man and his friends trying to work out their complicated feelings about the time in which they lived.



*Figure 3.1 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, 'Ne Suis-je pas à plaindre d'avoir épousé un cocu?/Am I not to be pitied for having married a cuckold?', c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink and graphite on paper. (675.178).*



Figure 3.2 Charles-Germain de Saint Aubin, 'Chevalier d'honneur de la mere folle/Knight of honour of the Mère Folle', c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink and graphite on paper. (675.179).

Charles-Germain takes on the theme of the lower classes by referencing popular imagery among artists and collectors of the time -- Bouchardon's 'Cris de Paris' or the 'Cries of Paris'.<sup>27</sup> The images he produces stylistically and thematically recall the Cris, but Charles-Germain's humor and wit are injected into the images from the *Livre* in order to illustrate the unkempt and impolite ways of society. Politeness and its role in blurring gender lines is discussed at length in *Fashioning Masculinity*. While the focus of his study is on British politeness forming based on French ideals, the concepts he describes are still fully applicable to this work. Politeness in French society is commonly attributed to politeness in French conversation and motherhood.

<sup>27</sup> Published between 1737 and 1746, this series of Drawings and prints were created by Bouchardon. The series consists of five sets of twelve images. From street vendors and tradesmen to starving people, each image consists of a single figure dressed in the clothing of and holding the typical tools of their trade. . The images were intended to show the laboring class who lined the streets of Paris in the eighteenth century. The term 'cris' or 'cries' references the shouting and raucous these groups would have produced. For more on this and different readings of this body of work, see Scott, "'Edme Bouchardon's 'Cris de Paris'".

Politeness in French society was merely seen as performative and fashionable. The English viewed French politeness as a disintegration of masculinity. As Cohen writes, “The ‘invasion’ of ‘Frenchisms’ into English society epitomized this seduction. The fear was that such ‘intimacy’ with French would debilitate and ‘enervate’ the masculine English tongue, just as consorting with women was apt to weaken and make men effeminate.”<sup>28</sup>

He shows them pouring chamber pots on each other, bearing their bare buttocks’ and with different scatological/fecal references. His gaze remains critical, but in many cases of impolite behavior from a man to a woman, there is an equal rebuttal from the woman to the man. The theme of two pages with figures referencing one another continues throughout the *Livre*. In one of the cruder examples, Charles-Germain draws a male-female conflict on another set of pages. In this case, the two figures demonstrate the impolite nature of lower society. On the left page, a figure stands bent at the knees with his back turned away from the right page. His head turns around, in an impossible fashion, to look at the figure on the opposite page. His facial features are long and sinewy as he scowls. His yellow striped britches have been pulled down to reveal his bare buttocks that he bends his knees in order to protrude out. He points toward the right with one hand, and at his rear-end with the lower as if to address the figure on the opposite page. Out from the buttocks comes a swirl of dashes, which can only be interpreted as, gaseous excrement. The inscription below reads, *Je ne passe jamais devant une jolie femme Sans la Saluer et luy faire politesse/I never pass by a pretty lady without greeting her and showing her a courtesy*”. On the opposite page, an older woman wearing glasses, a white bonnet, a red top, and a yellow skirt, responds in kind by lifting her skirt to reveal her own muscular legs and bare arse farting in his direction. The inscription below her reads, “*Reponçe a la votre/Reply to yours*”. An

---

<sup>28</sup> Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*, (Routledge, 2002), 7.

unflattering image of a man performing, what is obviously not a “courtesy”, becomes a humorous event in which a woman posts a powerful rebuttal. This is Charles-Germain’s way of commenting on the ill-mannered nature of lower society, but it can also be interpreted as a woman not accepting the disrespectful behavior of a man lying down. She stands up and gives it right back to him.<sup>29</sup> Even the way their bodies are drawn suggests a gender inverting power dynamic. She is drawn more typically masculine with large, muscular legs. Her stance is sturdier in comparison to his fluttery, buoyant positioning. His toes are pointed and attached to long lean legs that almost sashay away from her. In this image, it seems as though Charles-Germain is playing with the typical attributes of masculinity and femininity. Down to the rendering of the gas itself -- with the man’s product being drawn in a spiral that flutters away from his buttocks and the woman’ shown as straight lines aggressively shooting out of her -- Charles-Germain subverts common gender imagery and puts the woman in a position of making a fool out of this delicate man who unsuccessfully attempts to insult her.

In *Laughing Matters*, Sara Beam elaborates on the ways in which laughter and humor were deployed during this time and how that humor can be studied in order to demonstrate cultural movements, shifts, and opinions. In an analysis of French mockery and images of passing gas, she writes, “laughter is often a political act. As a result, where one can document humor’s shifting context and impact over time, laughter can function as a litmus test in people’s ideas about themselves and the political culture in which they live.”<sup>30</sup> French citizens such as Charles-Germain and his contemporaries were reclaiming laughter in private collections like the

---

<sup>29</sup> Scatological images occur consistently throughout the *Livre*. Charles-Germain employed this genre of humor in order to mock polite society. For more on this and the other images included in the category, see Katie Scott, “Saint Aubin’s Jokes and their relation to...”; Valerie Mainz, “Gloire, Subversively”; and John Register, “Decoding the *Livre de caricatures*” in *The Saint Aubin Livre de Caricatures*. These essays each discuss different examples of illustrations including allusions to, and direct use of, excrement used in a humorous manner.

<sup>30</sup> Sara Beam. *Laughing Matters: Farce and the Making of Absolutism in France*, (Cornell University Press, 2018), 2.

*Livre* in order to comment on political culture in a way that relieved the tension felt towards the political censorship and seemingly polite society. While images of two figures farting on each other are neither profound, nor serious in nature, they are examples of humorous indictments of impolite society and high society's impolite ways.



Figure 3.3 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, 'Je ne passe jamais devant une jolie femme Sans la Saluer et luy faire politesse/I never pass by a pretty lady without showing her a courtesy', c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.198).



*Figure 3.4 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, 'Reponce a la votre/Reply to yours', c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.199).*

I bring in the *cris de paris* and Charles-Germain's use of thematically similar imagery in order to understand the different influences on the types of illustrations he was making and the potential meanings behind those illustrations. The visual root of Charles-Germain's illustrations becomes clear when looking at the *Cris*. When one also takes into consideration the meaning behind the *Cris*, they can ascribe some semblance of why Charles-Germain chose this format for the images of lower-class society. In this instance, it is worth noting that the images of performers, street vendors, and those not at court are less ornate in regard to the setting in which these characters are placed. As we looked at with the royal images, Marie Antoinette sits in an elaborate bed with a sketched backdrop, Madame Pompadour straddles a bench in a decorated room. While the settings by no means are handled intricately with an attention to detail, there is



still usually a suggestion of some kind of space. This spatial suggestion designates a line between the drawings of the rich and royal and those of the rest of society.

Conflicts between men and women in which the female is an object of pity can be seen in another drawing from the *Livre* (fig. 3.5). In this example, Charles-Germain draws a man pouring a chamber pot over a resting woman. The inscription reads, “C’est profite de tout pour fair le galant/This is taking every chance to play the galant”. A woman sits on a half-barrel and rests her head on her crossed arms atop a second barrel. She wears a white bonnet and a green and red striped dress with a white apron over it. A man in more elaborate clothing stands behind her. He wears brown breeches with yellow embroidery, a red cape-like garment, white stockings, black shoes, and a black hat with a plume of feathers coming out of the top. His left arm is bent toward his face. His pointer finger extends to touch his lips as if to make a hushing gesture. His right arm is extended as he holds an upturned white pot. The contents falling out of the pot are yellowish-brown. The caption on this particular image is where Charles-Germain finds his satirical footing. He references a gallant, or a man who gives special attention to a woman in a flirtatious manner. It is obviously not a polite gesture to pour excrement onto a woman’s head. Charles-Germain is making a reference to polite society and their crooked ideas of how people are to be treated. In this instance, the man is rude and inconsiderate. Instead of making a gesture that is not deserving of a polite response from the woman. Yet again, the viewer of the page is made to feel bad for this woman who is the victim of a man’s abuse. Throughout the *Livre*, men are indecent, ridiculous and not deserving of their status in society



*Figure 3.5 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, 'C'est profiter de tout pour faire le galant/This is taking every chance to play the gallant', c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.129).*

Again, we see an indictment of French politeness. As Cohen says, “French politeness is born out of deception, subjection and emasculation, and functions to perpetuate them. One consequence is that French noblemen’s conversation is frivolous and sprightly, just like that of women. Their voice has no authority”.<sup>31</sup> Charles-Germain illustrates this point perfectly. By drawing men deceiving and treating women poorly, their politeness is undermined, and their authority is eroded. The man is not a gallant. He is a fool.

No one is spared from Charles-Germain’s mocking gaze. While we have taken a look at the upper echelons of society, we must also turn our attention toward the depictions of anonymous women, performers, and the lower classes in the *Livre*. In images of this kind, we see Charles-Germain putting indecent male behavior on display. From emasculating depictions of

---

<sup>31</sup> Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 50.

greedy men, to men who marry cuckolds, to men who are openly and grossly disrespectful to women, it is clear that Charles-Germain does not hold eighteenth-century Parisian men in high regard. By humorously depicting them as childish, impolite fools who mistreat women, even women who are objectified throughout the book, he tears down any implied power they may have.

Illustrations of performers play a large role in the *Livre*. From dancers and singers, to actors and actresses, Charles-Germain demonstrates an affinity for this aspect of society throughout the book.<sup>32</sup> It is well documented that Charles-Germain and his brothers were deeply entranced by the production of stage performances. On many occasions outside of the *Livre*, Charles-Germain took on the subject of performers.<sup>33</sup> When discussing this category of works in the *Livre*, Mark Ledbury writes, “The *Livre de caricatures* presents abundant evidence of their knowledge of the theatrical scene from the insider’s perspective, and individual images recall the rich and constantly shifting panorama of musico-dramatic production in the second half of the eighteenth century.”<sup>34</sup> While it is important to demonstrate the ways in which Charles-Germain and the Saint-Aubin family were fascinated by theatrical life, for the purposes of this essay, I want to shift focus back to the rendering of women in the theatre and the work these images do to subvert and mock gender roles.

In one example of this, he draws a woman who seems to be singing. She wears a hooped dress with an extremely full skirt. Her arms are outstretched as if to emulate the motions of opera singing. She is the only figure on the page. At the base of her skirt, her high-heeled shoes are

---

<sup>32</sup> The Saint-Aubin family’s, and eighteenth-century society’s fascination with theatre is discussed continually in *The Saint Aubin Livre de Caricatures*. See specifically, Charlotte Guichard, “Connoisseurship: Art and Antiquities”, 283-300; Mark Ledbury, “Theatrical Life”, 193-214; and Katie Scott, “Saint-Aubin’s Jokes and their Relation to...”, 349-403.

<sup>33</sup> See Mark Ledbury, “Theatrical Life” in *The Saint Aubin Livre de Caricatures*, 193-214 for more on this. also follow his source on the Saint-Aubin fascination with theatre.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 196.

exposed as well as the coins that have been potentially tossed at her feet. The inscription on the image reads, “The way to make a fortune”. It is said that this could be an illustration of Anne Heinel, a star of the Opéra ballet from 1767 to 1782. Heinel was a dancer who became the subject of much male adoration. The coins could be considered a reference to the monetary support of her many powerful lovers. She was a woman who enjoyed the act of wealthy men throwing money at her literally during a performance and metaphorically in her day-to-day life. This image is not overtly sexual or political in nature, but the coins do suggest a certain preoccupation with financial growth and an ability to gain the attention of wealthy men.<sup>35</sup> Once again, we see a woman in an unexpected position of power. She is still a spectacle, an object to be adored, but she wins over the hearts of men who throw their fortunes at her feet. This image stands alone as an example of female influence, but when juxtaposed with the next image, it becomes an example of Charles-Germain’s gender bending tactics that put male weakness on display.

---

<sup>35</sup> Used curatorial commentary and description from Waddesdon Manor’s webpage on this image. <https://waddesdon.org.uk/the-collection/item/?id=17006>



Figure 3.6 : Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin. 'Moyen de parvenir/The way to make a fortune', 1774. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.102).

This is a much less flattering image than that of Heinel. Vestris stands in an elaborate costume made up of delicate lace and flowers. His short, hooped skirt, unlike that of his female partner, reveals his arms and legs. The torso of the costume is form-fitting and sheer enough to reveal his navel. Even though his exposed limbs are muscular, his stance negates any implied masculinity. His pose is effeminate and almost shamefully demure. His knocked knees lead down to toes that are turned inward and pointed toward each other. He awkwardly squats with a slight bend in his knees. His torso is curved to the right. His left arm is raised and bent to touch his head, and his right arm is bent uncomfortably at his waist. The entire image is inelegant and deeply unflattering.<sup>36</sup> The caption on this image reads, "Vestris. Il vouloit 100 Louis pour dancer

<sup>36</sup> Due to the aforementioned complications and mysteries surrounding the *Livre* it is not known whether or not these images were intended to be next to each other, but they are certainly in conversation with one another.

comme ça a l'Opera/He wanted 100 Louis to dance like this at the Opera". It is not perfectly clear why Charles-Germain chose to point his mocking lens at Vestris, but Ledbury offers an interpretation that points at Charles-Germain's reasoning. In an explanation of Vestris and his entitled attitude that Charles-Germain supposedly took umbrage with he writes, "Vestris was famously self-serving, and the self-styled 'Diou de la danse/God of dance' was often embroiled in disputes over money and status with opera authorities".<sup>37</sup> In the previous example, this man's wife is using her talents for financial gain and praise. This man is emasculated and making a fool out of himself in order to avoid financial ruin. Upon seeing the image of Heinel, the viewer potentially does not understand Charles-Germain's use of irony and humor, but when juxtaposed with the image of Vestris, it comes into full effect. Amelia Rauser's analysis of the ways in which irony was used in these kinds of images she writes, "the distancing effects of irony are held to work within the divided seld, allowing those with marginalized identities both to speak the language of the powerful and undermine it. Irony is also said to enable the performativity of identity...as when a contemporary singer, for example, invokes stereotypes of femininity, leaving viewers unsure about the degree to which she is subverting or complicit with dominant norms".<sup>38</sup> Heinel is just an ordinary performer, but when paired in conversation with Vestris, she becomes the more dominant individual. Once again, Charles-Germain chooses to ridicule men in positions of power, and men who give their power and money up under the influence of women.

---

<sup>37</sup> Ledbury, "Theatrical Life", 208.

<sup>38</sup> Amelia Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity and Individualism in Eighteenth Century English Prints*, (University of Delaware Press, 2008), 99.



*Figure 3.7 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin. 'Vestris. Il voulout 100 Louis pour dancier comme ça a l'Opera/He wanted 100 Louis to dance like this at the Opera', c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.380).*

#### 4 MEN IN DRAG

Gender ambiguity and questioning of how men and women should act, interact, and present themselves came into view as the Revolution raged on. As with the image of Vestris, we have taken a look at how Charles-Germain enjoyed emasculating certain men by portraying them with delicate feminine features, but he takes this a step further in other images by drawing men wearing women's clothing.

During this time, especially in England, men began looking to French men as examples of men who took on feminine traits in a negative way. In the book, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*, Michèle Cohen takes an in depth look at how English men formed their ideas of masculinity based on the goal of subverting French effeminacy. Cohen writes, "effeminacy designated a category of meanings expressing

anxiety about the *effect* women – or the feminine – on the one hand, and desire, on the other, might have on the gentleman”.<sup>39</sup> While the anxiety Cohen addresses primarily lies amongst the English, it is not hard to discern these anxieties would have been held by men in France as well. Charles-Germain directly grapples with these anxieties and uses them as a tool for humor via illustrations of effeminate men.

Thus far, we have taken a look at relationship dynamics between different figures. We have assessed their relationships on and off the page, and the things Charles-Germain was implying about the individuals beyond the humorous depictions. The main focus was also on images of women, but this brings to our attention the question of whether or not Charles-Germain used the image of a single man to make commentary about gender dynamics in eighteenth-century France. An interesting example to look to that could possibly answer this question lies in the next pair of images.

Until very recently, there was very little known about the *Livre* and Charles-Germain’s usage of gender inversion as a humorous tool to highlight the follies of eighteenth-century Parisian society. When studying this overwhelming body of work, John Shovlin chose to take a look at Charles-Germain’s depictions of political alliances and marriages. In a pair of images on pages, Shovlin noticed an offering of peace and marriage between two figures that seemed abnormal. On the right page, a ridiculous looking man rides a donkey. In this image, one can see the beginnings of caricature and what it will become in later centuries – overly exaggerated facial features, comical dress, and laughable proportions.<sup>40</sup> The man appears to be comically

---

<sup>39</sup> Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 8.

<sup>40</sup> It is important to note that this body of work is an early example of caricature and pushes the boundaries/common knowledge of when caricature was first occurring – the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The edited volume is a great example of a study that takes on analyzing this work in order to insert it into the timeline of caricature’s evolution. For more on this evolution, see Colin Jones, “French Crossings: II. Laughing Over Boundaries” in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, no. 21, (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1-31.



rotund as the donkey is dwarfed underneath him. Atop the man's head rests a teal, oddly shaped hat with a long white fringe hanging from the top, almost emulating the tail of the donkey. Underneath the hat, the man's shoulder-length, brown curly hair peaks out. His long, sinewy nose holds a pair of laughably large and round glasses. Underneath a yellow and black cape, the closures of his teal waistcoat and white flowy shirt appear strained as they cling to his belly. His black boots rest in the stirrups of the donkey's saddle. Adding to the feeling of the man's weight being too much for the animal to bear, the donkey's back legs almost buckle as it rears its front legs up. Instead of gripping onto the reins, the man's left hand holds a tray of various fruits and his right hand holds a cartoon red heart. While this is not considered to be a man wearing women's clothing, it is in conversation with such an image on the next page.

The object of the man's affection wears a black hooded cape with lace trim that frames the figure's wispy grey hair. The face of the figure is more masculine than their partner's. This can be seen in the large nose and blunt chin that has a slight shadow suggesting facial hair. The figure wears a yellow, white and teal striped skirt that billows over a layer of pink satin. The figure wears elongated and pointy teal boots and holds a large teal and white fan in stretched out fingers. This figure also rides a donkey. Although the size of the figure is disproportionate to the donkey, it is less obvious how cumbersome their weight is for the animal. The billowing skirt camouflages any suggestion of a body except for the masculine forearm that pokes out from the right sleeve. A yellow drawstring bag is hung around the donkey's neck. Unlike in the previous image, there are no reins or stirrups to be seen. The donkey wears blinders over its eyes and buckles its legs to support the weight of the figure.



Figure 4.1 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin 'Valet de chambre du Jour de l'an/Manservant for New Year's Day', c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper, 18.7 x 13.2cm. (675.88).

I bring in these images and a complete visual analysis in order to highlight the oddities in Charles-Germain's illustration of male-female interactions. Again, an example of pairs across two pages of the *Livre* interact with each other in an unexpected way. John Shovlin suggests that these figures could be a comical rendition of William IV's political courtship to George II in which the stadholder (left) marries the British King's daughter, Anne (right), creating a political alliance between the Orangist party and the British Crown.<sup>41</sup> As I previously mentioned, Shovlin points out that the masculine features of the figure on the right may suggest that it is a man in drag. While the political overtones are important to the interpretation of the images, for the

<sup>41</sup> John Shovlin, "War, Diplomacy and Faction" in *The Saint Aubin Livre de Caricatures*, 102.

purposes of this study, I want to focus on the ways Charles-Germain draws the figures. The man on the left is more feminine with elongated features, shoulder-length hair, and a brightly colored dress. The supposed woman on the right has rough facial features and manly arms. The woman would almost certainly be taller than the man if she were to stand up from the donkey. If the man, as Shovlin speculates, is making a gesture of peace and alliance, why is he more feminine? This is where a reading of the inscription becomes relevant. It says, “Valet de chambre du Jour de l’an/Manservant for New Year’s Day”. Why does the caption specify that this servant is a man? Could it be inferred that this man is merely a servant to the figure on the next page? If this is a stately man, as Shovlin suggests, why does the caption insinuate anxiety or undermining of his position as such? Is Charles-Germain commenting on the untold power imbalance between men and women by showing, yet again, a woman of more masculine stature who holds the power to accept peace and create an alliance between two political factions? She can dress in the guise of a woman and make all attempts at being demure, but if she were to take his offering and enter a courtship, the political map of two countries would change drastically – a fact that makes her approval more powerful than his offer. An overweight, goofy man offers his heart and his country to the figure on the opposite page making him look weak and silly. While seemingly ridiculous, it aids in my endeavor to illustrate how Charles-Germain employed humor to comment on a larger opinion possibly held by French society – that women were huge players in politics via courtship and marriage. This reading is substantiated by the caption below the woman. It reads, “L’Evantail Sert Souvent de Signal a l’amour, Met un beau bras dans tout son jour. Donne un maintien, invite a prendre. Des airs aisés et naturels: Enfin, entre les mains d’une femme jolie. C’Est le Sceptre de la folie. Qui comande a tous les mortels/The fan is often a signal to love, shows a fine arm in all its glory, gives poise, invites one to assume an easy and natural

air: in sum, in the hands of a pretty woman, it is the scepter of folly which commands over all mortals”. This inscription has been studied and linked to the hand of Charles-Germain, so we know that this is his interpretation of the image. Here he specifically writes that women and their gestures of love are the folly of all mortals, but more specifically when tied to the image on the right, the folly of men.



Figure 4.2 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin. 'L'Evantail/The Fan', c. 1740-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper, 18.7 x 13.2cm. (675.89).

As the reader moves through the book with a heightened awareness that Charles-Germain is playing with gender ambiguity in his drawings, one begins to notice more examples. In figure 4.3, a man piggybacks on top of an elderly looking woman. The man wears a black brimmed hat, a red shirt, red and green chevron-striped pants. Due to a distinct line around his face that lays over his hair line and a difference in color between his neck and face, I am opting to infer that

the man is wearing a mask. The mask appears to have holes around his eyes that give him a wide-eyed appearance. He stands on the woman's back as he is held in by some sort of sling contraption. In his right hand, he holds a bulbous, unidentifiable object. In his left hand, he carries a bundle of twigs. As the eye moves down the image, it becomes difficult to discern whether or not the woman underneath him is part of an elaborate costume, or a real figure. The curatorial commentary provided by Waddesdon Manor points to the fact that there is only one set of feet on the ground, suggesting that this is, most likely, a costume.<sup>42</sup> The woman, as I will choose to call the figure, is also wearing what appears to be a mask. If this is a costume, it is possible that this is the inference of a sewn seam. Her eyes are sunken in. Her nose and chin are dramatically elongated. Her back is hunched under the weight of the man and the board that he leans on between them. Her hands are tucked into a brown muff that matches the rest of her clothing. The lower inscription reads, "ah! Voila Genevotte. La Mere de Ma Grand Mere./Ah! Here is Genevotte. The Mother of my Grandmother." Again, we see a man wearing the guise of a woman for comedic purposes that bring immediate attention to a degradation of women. Beyond that, we see a man riding on the back of a woman using her disguise to excuse his nasty behavior.

---

<sup>42</sup> Reference the curatorial commentary and physical description for the image on Waddesdon website. <https://waddesdon.org.uk/the-collection/item/?id=17059>.



Figure 4.3 Charles-Germain de Saint-Aubin, 'Ah! Voila Genevotte. La mere de Grand Mere./Ah! Here is Genevotte. The mother of my grandmother', c. 1768-1775. Watercolor, ink, and graphite on paper. (675.161).

Cross-dressing was a common behavior in theatrical performances before and during this time. Androgyny was embraced in the seventeenth century as a way to depict King Louis XIV as a representation of the nation.<sup>43</sup> His gender ambiguity was used to represent a body politic encompassing the people he ruled over. But what is that to say of these images Charles-Germain drew of men in women's clothing? The images of cross-dressing men are deeply fascinating to me. While this study aims to acknowledge their existence and begins to ruminate on their meanings, I hope they will be worked out in the future.

<sup>43</sup> Sara E. Meizner and Kathryn Norberg, *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century France*, (University of California Press, 1998).

## 5 CONCLUSION

The *Livre de caricatures tant bonnes que mauvaises* in all of its unknown complexities, humorous depictions and private mockery is a beautiful and rich example of eighteenth-century caricature. Each page of this volume deserves to be considered when studying the time period. From attitudes toward royal court to views on lower classes, the book reveals numerous public and private secrets that were held by the Saint-Aubin family and Parisian society. While the volume in its entirety is too dense for one person and one project, it is my intention to further its inclusion into the study of the eighteenth century, especially in regard to gender roles.

Charles-Germain takes men in eighteenth-century marriage to task by illustrating conflict and scandal within the private lives of public figures. In the volume, King Louis XVI becomes a log who cannot fulfill his duties as a man in the marital bed. The mere existence of Marie Antoinette and her unfertilized womb makes a mockery of the king. This illustration highlights the fact that the power does not lie with the king, but the perception of power that comes with successfully consummating his marriage and producing an heir. The woman has the corporeal responsibility of carrying the royal child. By showing her full form, Charles-Germain alludes to the fact that she is the one who is ready, willing and able to perform her part, but the log next to her drags her and the future of France down.

Subsequently, mistresses come into play when Charles-Germain wants to illustrate the ways in which King Louis XV has lost control. The preoccupation with the personal life and affairs of the king allows for contempt to blossom. Figures such as the king in the domestic sphere, Madame de Pompadour, the couple with the split costumes and the scale, and Charles-Germain himself ignoring sexual endeavors in favor of his work all demonstrate the dangers of a woman having too much influence over a man.

It is also clear throughout the volume that the subtle power of women does not end at court. It bleeds into performers, everyday citizens, and the poorest pockets of society. In each of the images in this section, Charles-Germain highlights the strength of women for their resilience in the face of impolite and underserving men. Whether that is through a woman returning a hideous 'favor' shown to her by a silly man or making a fool of a man who chooses to enact violence on a woman by pouring excrement on her head, or a wife out-performing her husband to be, Charles-Germain finds a way to erode any respect a man might inherently receive. While these images are not a feminist call to arms, they do successfully undermine the implied power of men.

Charles-Germain's images of men dressed in the garb of women is are compelling examples of subversion. The threat of effeminacy imposed on these figures undermines their legitimacy as men and shows their susceptibility to weakness. It is my hope that these images are the focus of a future study in which they can be interpreted taking into account new information that is being explored on gender dynamics in the eighteenth century.

My goal for this study is to insert a perspective on this rich volume into how caricature in the eighteenth century is considered. I want to demonstrate how caricature, even secretly, was used to critique all walks of life. A look into the ways in which these images could be more complex than they seem upon first reading shows layers to how people dealt with their feelings toward the different genders. The images that I bring forward are not strictly indictments of women that call them to stay in their place. They are also critical of men who display weakness by letting women out of their roles as wives and mothers and objectified beings.



## REFERENCES

- Beam, Sara. *Laughing Matters: Farce and the Making of Absolutism in France*. Cornell University Press, 2018.
- Bell, David A. *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France*. Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Carey, Juliet, Colin Jones, and Emily Richardson. *The Saint-Aubin Livre de caricatures: Drawing Satire in Eighteenth-century Paris*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2012.
- Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly. "Beauty and the Beast: Animals in the Visual Material Culture of the Toilette," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 42 (2013): 147-170.
- Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly. "Dressing to Impress" in Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, Peter Björn Kerber, Joan DeJean and Mimi Hellman, *Paris: Life and Luxury in the Eighteenth Century*, Getty Publications, 2011: 53-73.
- Cohen, Michèle. *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*. Routledge, 2002.
- De Baecque, Antoine. "The Defeat of the Body of the King" in *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell. Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Donahue, Charles, Emlyn Eisenach, and Silvana Seidel Menchi. *Marriage in Europe 1400-1800*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- Duncan, Carol. "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in French Art," in *Art Bulletin* 55, no. 4 (1973): 570-583.
- Cronin, Vincent. *Louis and Antoinette*. Harvill Press, 1996.

- Goodman, Dena. *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Hyde, Melissa, “Women and the Visual Arts in the Age of Marie Antoinette” in Eik Khang and Marianne Roland Michel, *Anne Vallayer-Coster: Painter in the Court of Marie Antoinette*. Washington DC: National Gallery and Yale University Press, 2002.
- Hyde, Melissa and Jennifer Milam. *Women, Art and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. Abington, Oxon: Routledge, 2016.
- Hyde, Melissa and Mary Sheriff. *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Enlightenment: French Art from the Horvitz Collection*. The Horvitz Collection: 2017.
- Jones, Colin. “French Crossings: II. Laughing Over Boundaries” in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1, no. 21, (Cambridge University Press, 2011): 1-31.
- Jones, Colin. *Madame de Pompadour: Images of a Mistress*. London: National Gallery, 2002.
- Malone, Kelly and Elizabeth C. Mansfield. *Seeing Satire in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2013.
- Meizer, Sara and Kathryn Norberg. *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century France*. Berkely, California: University of California Press, 1998.
- Milam, Jennifer. “Playful Constructions and Fragonard’s Swinging Scenes,” The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000
- Munns, Jessica and Penny Richards. *The Clothes that Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999.

- Outram, Dorinda. *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture*, Yale University Press, 1989.
- Pevitt-Algrant, Christine. *Madame de Pompadour: Mistress of France*. Grove Press, 2003.
- Rausser, Amelia. *Caricature Unmasked: Irony, Authenticity and Individualism in Eighteenth Century English Prints*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008.
- Ribeiro, Aileen. *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715-1789*. Yale University Press, 2002.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jaques. *Julie, or the New Eloise: Letters of Two Lovers, Inhabitants of a Small Town at the Foot of the Alps*. Translated by Judith McDowell. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986.
- Scott, Katie. "Edme Bouchardon's 'Cris de Paris' in early modern Paris", *Word and Image*, 29 no. 1, (2013), 59-91.
- Sheriff, Mary. *Made for Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth Century France*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Stein, Perrin. *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18<sup>th</sup>-century France*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013.
- Swann, Julian. *Politics and the Parlement of Paris under Louis XV, 1754-1774*. Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Waddesdon Manor. "Saint-Aubin." The Collection. <https://waddesdon.org.uk/the-collection/research-publications/saint-aubin-2/>
- Wiesner-Hanks Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Zemon Davis, Natalie. "Women on Top: Symbolic Sexual Inversion and Political Disorder in Early Modern Europe" in *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*,

Cornell University Press, 1978. 147-190.