THE LAYERS OF *A MIXTURE OF PRINTS REPRESENTING THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN 1713*: TROMPE-L'OEIL, THE PARIS PRINT MARKET AND THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Approved by:

Amy Freund (May 3, 2024 11:51 EDT)

Prof. Amy Freund
Associate Professor of Art History

Elizabeth Eager
Elizabeth Eager (May 6, 2024 13:27 CDT)

Prof. Elizabeth Eager
Assistant Professor of Art History

Adam Jasienski
Adam Jasienski (May 4, 2024 16:50 CDT)

Prof. Adam Jasienski
Associate Professor of Art History

THE LAYERS OF *A MIXTURE OF PRINTS REPRESENTING THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN 1713*: TROMPE-L'OEIL, THE PARIS PRINT MARKET, AND THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty of the

Meadows School of the Arts

Southern Methodist University

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the degree of

Master of Art History

by

Chloe Smith

B.A., Liberal Studies, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge
B.F.A, Fine Arts, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge
Master of Art History, Southern Methodist University

May 11, 2024

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work would not have been possible without my wonderful mentor Dr. Amy Freund whose knowledge and skill guided me through this process. I would also like to thank the entire Art History department for their aid throughout my time at Southern Methodist University.

Smith, Chloe B.A., Liberal Studies, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge

The Layers of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*:
Trompe-l'oeil, the Paris Print Market and
the War of Spanish Succession

Advisor: Professor Amy Freund

Master of Art conferred May 10, 2024

Thesis completed May 6, 2024

A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713 is a print about style, printmaking, and history. I will utilize popular trompe-l'oeil works both from Great Britain and the Netherlands to reconnect this work with its stylistic brethren. Through analyzing the self-referential letters and depictions of different printed media, I will illustrate how this print is both part of and about the Paris print market of 1713. Finally, I will reconnect the events depicted in the work to the War of the Spanish Succession as a primary source depicting the French perspective of the war. This work is a testament of its time as it details popular culture, economic adventures, and political and military achievements within the French nation in 1713.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES vii

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1: THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION 11

CHAPTER 2: THE PARIS PRINT MARKET 26

CHAPTER 3: TROMPE-L'OEIL 38

CONCLUSION 50

BIBLIOGRAPHY 51

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713,* Demortain, 1714 1

Figure 2: *Les Plans, Profils, Et Elevations de Ville et Château de Versailles,* Demortain, 1714 . 2

Figure 3: *Almanach of 1667,* Unknown Artist, 1667 24

Figure 4: *Family Tree of the Possible Successors (Yellow) of King Charles II of Spain (Red),* Created by Chloe Smith 9

Figure 5: *Portrait of Marguerite Le Compte*, Claude Henri Watelet, 1674 37

Figure 6: *Basket of Wild Strawberries,* Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin, 1761 43

Figure 7: *Trompe-l'oeil,* Samuel van Hoogstraten, 1664 44

Figure 8: *Letter Rack*, Edwaert Collier, 1698 44

Figure 9: *Woodhall Park Print Room: Looking North-East,* Photographed in 2023 by Matthew Hollow 45

Figure 10: *The Bubblers Medley, or a Sketch of the Times: Being Europe's Memorial of the Year 1720,* Thomas Bowles, 1721 47

This is dedicated to Trevor and my mother, my best friends and family.

INTRODUCTION

Papers, torn and bent, drape towards the viewer, barely held back by the brilliant blue ribbon which cuts across the work in five horizontal lines. A collection of printed images, playing cards, letters and music sheets are presented to the viewer. *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*[1] (Figure 1) is a self-proclaimed historical almanac engraving created in 1714. This engraving on the surface appears like typical propaganda in its display of the wars, treaties and social events that promote France's glory. However, I argue that through the use of Trompe-l'oeil and printmaking the artist subverts the initial propagandistic surface to comment on the underlying political issues of the War.

Upon first look, the engraving fully traps the viewer in the political status of eighteenth-century France from a royal family double wedding to the canonization of new saints and finally to many of the events of the War of the Spanish Succession which display the successful campaigns and negotiations at the end of the war. While clearly situated within the events of this war, the work also directly deals with the local print market in Paris, France. Through its depictions of the multiple kinds of printed memorabilia available, and its self-referential handwritten notes and letters, the work directly situates itself within this vibrant marketplace. Lastly, through its use of Trompe-l'oeil in the details of the torn, bent, and draping pages, and the pins and ribbon that protrude into the viewer's space, this engraving

[1] Original Translation: Estampes Mêlées qui representent les Evennemens arrives en 1713; The title comes from the upper left corner of the print.

Figure 1: *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713,* Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

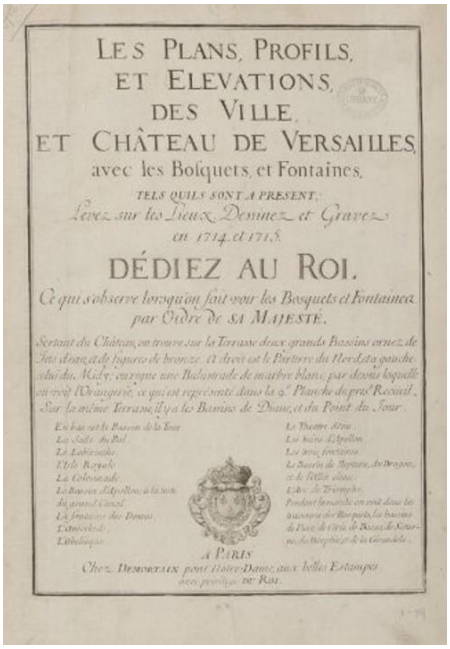

Figure 2: Les Plans, Profils, Et Elevations de Ville et Château de Versailles, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714-1715, Engraved Set, Victoria Albert Museum

interacts with the contemporary style of piled up papers as well as the theories for which to understand sight and illusion in art.

A Mixture of Prints was engraved by an unknown artist; however, it was published by a man named Giles Demortain. Demortain was a minor painter and print merchant who owned a shop on the Pont-Notre Dame entitled "Aux Belles Estampes."[2] This shop was located in the center of Paris and more so in the center of the arts shopping district of the famous Pont Notre-Dame. This was the main shopping district that helped the art market flourish.[3] Demortain however was not known for these types of work. Rather, he was more famous for his architectural prints, including a set that depicts the Plans, Cuts, Elevations, and landscape images of Versailles (Figure 2) which was made from 1714 to 1715 at the same time as this work.[4] Demortain does not have many recovered documents about his life. However, the scale, quality, and clientele of the works he produced speak to the importance of his family and his shop at this time. It is shocking that such a work would not have been noticed before now.

A Mixture of Prints has been long abandoned and unnoticed within the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's holdings. It has been shoved into a book with other prints from 1713 and

[2] Sophia Raux, "Virtual Explorations of an 18th-Century Art Market Space: Gersaint, Watteau, and the Pont Notre-Dame," *Journal 18,* no. 5 (Spring 2018)
[3] Ibid
[4] Ibid

1714, isolated from study within art history. By analyzing the multiple layers of this engraving, I will show how Demortain utilized a popular technique and style to undermine the propagandistic underpinnings of *A Mixture of Prints that Represent the Events that Happened in 1713.*

A Mixture of Prints has only appeared in one book which was an exhibition catalogue from 2015 titled *A Kingdom of Images,* which had a brief description of the work and only cited a singular source about the printing trade in the early eighteenth century.[5] This work has not appeared in any other scholarly sources and is only accessible through the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, as other copies have not been found. However, even the Bibliothèque and the Getty Research Institute understood its visual and cultural value as it was the cover image of *A Kingdom of Images.* This work draws an audience in through its appeal to sight and touch, forcing the viewer to touch it just to confirm its two-dimensionality. It is inviting as it is also a vision into the world of printmaking as it recalls the piles of prints from print shops. This research provides an avenue for which to study printmaking in France through the lens of originality and understand how it was used to subvert political agendas.

Literature on eighteenth-century French prints is centered around its collectability. They highlight its use as a more affordable reproduction of painting. Books like *Mariette and the Science of the connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe* by Kristel Smentek, do an amazing analysis of famous printmakers and collections during this time. However, a work like this only focuses on a type of collection of prints based on paintings. There are a few books like *Colorful Impressions: the Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* by Margaret Grasselli which look at the techniques of printmaking and especially the new experimentation of prints

[5] Peter Fuhring, Louis Marchesano, Remi Mathis, and Vanessa Selback. *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2015), 290-291

during the eighteenth century. This book in fact only looks at engravings at all, only etchings and a new style termed Chalk-style or crayon manner by art historians. On the whole printmaking in France as be marginalized in comparison to painting, sculpture and even the decorative arts.

When looking at scholarship about printmaking outside of France the scholarship starts to address printmaking as a medium of flatness such as in writings on the British Medley prints. Nina Dubin, in the book *Meltdown!: Picturing the World's First Bubble Economy*,[6] Maggie Cao, in "Trompe L'oeil and Financial Risk in the Age of Paper",[7] and Mark Hallet, in "The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London",[8] all start to see how printmaking is able to display original ideas through the medium itself. By allowing prints to shine, the works can highlight aspects of the medium that has not been fully delved into before. By using both scholarship on English and French prints, I can lay the foundation of a new way of analyzing early modern printmaking both as an original globalized medium through what it is depicting and begin deeply discussing prints within the French empire.

Another major component missing from this literature is a detailed understanding of the printmaking process as it was in the early eighteenth century. The production method is important because we can draw connections to the rich history of printmaking which will become very important in the second chapter. The production of prints starts just as any other art, with a drawing. Depending on what kind of print is being produced—reproduction print or original print—the artist creates a drawing. If they are drawing for a reproduction print, then they

[6] Nina L Dubin, Meredith Martin, and Madeleine C. Viljoen, "Introduction: Modernity Begins with a Meltdown" in *Meltdown! Picturing the World's First Bubble Economy.* (Belguim: Brepols Publishers, 2020)
[7] Maggie M. Cao, "Trompe l'oeil and Financial Risk in the Age of Paper." *Grey Room 78* (Boston: MIT Press Journals, 2020)
[8] Mark Hallett. "The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London." *Art History,* vol. 20, no. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997)

will make a drawing of an artwork they wish to reproduce as a print. For *A Mixture of Prints* that required meant drawing the base of how the multiple prints would be laid out, and the person drawing would look at the work they wished to replicate and draw it backwards.[9]

Once the drawing is made, the production will be transferred to the engraver. The engraver will transfer the drawing to the plate or matrix by tracing the basic outline and image details using a tool called a needle.[10] This is a metal tool that ends in a sharp point used to scratch through the top layer of wax or a thin layer of the copper plate. Once the image is visibly transferred to the plate, the engraver will use a tool called a burin. This is a handled tool that has a metal end in the shape of a triangular prism that has the edge cut at a 45-degree angle. Using the point of the tool, the engraver can carve into the plate and create grooves which is where the ink sits on the matrix.[11] The part of the copper that is carved out by the burin is called a burr which is cut off. This allows for a cavity to form that holds the ink. The deeper the line, the darker the ink. Engraving the plate requires a steady hand, and the technique does not allow much freedom for free-flowing lines. This is just one of the difficulties in engraving words onto the matrix. The plate must be turned as the burin is gouging out the burrs which requires precision with both hands equally. It is important to note that if the words are engraved into the plate like what appears in *A Mixture of Prints*, it would have been the last part of the image to be engraved and the artist who drew the original work with the words would have had to reverse the words for them to appear correctly to the viewer. It was more common for words to be added to the work by using a letter press after printing the matrix rather than engraving them onto the copper plate. The limitations, however, are that the words must be perfectly horizontal.

[9] It was also common that they would not reverse the image and just print the image backwards.
[10] Abraham Bosse, *Traicté des Manieres des Graver en Taille-Douce sur l'airin*. (A Paris, Chez ledit Bosse, 1645). 20-21
[11]Ibid pp. 26-27 and 50-51

Therefore, it would have been impossible for the works which appear in *A Mixture of Prints* to have used a letter press.

After the meticulous engraving of the art and possibly words using hatching and cross-hatching the plate would be inked. This step would typically be transferred to a new person on the production line. In this step a viscous ink is carded onto the plate. This technique of inking allows for the ink to be firmly pressed into the carved lines. The inker will then remove as much ink from the top of the plate as he can with a hard card piece. Once the plate has been inked and the excess has been removed, the person inking will use a cloth called a tarlatan to buff out any remaining ink on the surface of the matrix. A tarlatan is a cloth like cheesecloth that is starched to be stiff. This is rolled into smooth ball to burnish the top of the plate. By forming it into a smooth ball, it skims over the engraved lines to remove ink only from the top of the plate. To complete the inking process and assure that the top of the plate is fully polished, the inker will use the palm of his hand or a flat paper to lightly rub on the surface of the plate. This will pick up the small amount of ink residue that is left behind from the inking process.[12]

Once inked, the plate moves to the final step in the production process, to be printed on paper. In the eighteenth century, the only printing press available was called a flatbed press or Gutenberg style press.[13] The press has a flatbed that the plate and paper would rest on. Then a flat board from the top presses the paper onto the plate. For this to work, however, the paper must be damp. This allows for the paper to be pressed into the grooves that dry paper would not be able to access. In the end to create a series of prints, the inking and printing steps must be repeated for each print. While this process allows for a reproduceable work, it still requires skill

[12] Abraham Bosse, *Traicté des Manieres des Graver en Taille-Douce sur l'airin*. (Á Paris, Chez ledit Bosse, 1645). 58
[13]Ibid pp.53-57

and time to produce. Now that we know the technique and skill required to create a print, it is possible to see what makes a print be considered high quality, outside of typical proportions and artistic skill that is required in the drawing step.

A Mixture of Prints displays thirteen printed images—twelve of which directly relate to the War of the Spanish Succession—eight hand-written letters, five playing cards, and one stack of music sheets. In Chapter One, I will look at the events depicted and written about in the work as a whole before delving into the details of the work. This engraving delves directly into the events of the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1701, this war broke out between two main parties which fought over who should become the next king of Spain since the late Charles II died childless. Charles II himself declared Philip the Duke of Anjou who was the grandson of King Louis XIV of France.[14] The second party in the war was those who believed Holy Roman Emperor Leopold's son Archduke Charles should be the next ruler as a Hapsburg (though a distant line in the family).[15] While this war is about who will succeed Charles II of Spain, the bigger issue is who will control the economic power of the New World.[16] This war lasted for 14 years from 1701 to 1715 in which neither party prevailed over the other.[17] The war ended in a peace treaty named after the town it was written in Utrecht, in which all parties agreed to cease their claim on the Spanish Throne and give it to Philip, the grandson of King Louis XIV, who renounced his claim to the French throne.

[14] Andrew Tumath, "The British Army in Catalonia After the Battle of Brihuega, 1710-1712," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* Vol. 91, No. 367 (The Society for Amry Historical Research, 2013). 182
[15] Ibid pp. 182
[16] Ibid pp. 182
[17] G.N Clark, "War Trade and Trade War, 1701-1713," *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1928). 262

In Chapter Two, I will look at two handwritten letters found in the top right corner and bottom left corner of the engraving. Both letters allude to the print market of which this print would have been a direct product. The first letter functions as an advertisement for the work and the print shop for which it can be found on the Pont Notre Dame. This letter is also interesting in its self-proclaiming of being an historical almanac print. This links the work to the practice of almanac prints, popularized as a calendar of Catholic holidays. This work, while it does claim itself to be part of this almanac tradition, does not adhere to the visual program that is typical of an almanac print which involves one large image with the calendar at the bottom of the page that has each day of the year written out with the Catholic holidays and moon phases. If we look at the *Almanac of 1667* by an unknown artist (Figure 3), there is one main image—typically a political image about King Louis XIV at the time—and at the bottom of the page is a calendar of the Catholic holidays and the moon cycles for the year. *A Mixture of Prints* is reinventing almanac prints as it looks backward towards the previous year rather than forward at the coming year. While this work does not visually fall in line with the almanac style, it does do the work of an almanac. It details major events of the year, though mostly about the War of the Spanish Succession. I will look closely at other accounts of the print market through the lens of both a publisher and a consumer. By

Figure 3: *Almanach of 1667*, Unknown Artist, 1667, Engraving and Letter Press, Louvre

connecting it to the print trade, I can highlight the economic nature of both printmaking and connect it to economic importance of the War of the Spanish Succession.

In the final and third chapter, I will focus on the curled edges of the papers, and the pins and ribbons as I analyze it alongside its contemporaries which utilize very similar trompe-l'oeil. This style of piled up paper and objects are very specific to the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. I will analyze "document Trompe-l'oeil" by looking to the near past at works by Dutch and Flemish artists called Letter Rack Paintings and to the near future at works from England called Medley Prints.[18] This allows me to reinsert this work into a timeline of the popularization of these types of paper trompe-l'oeil. Trompe-l'oeil as a technique is a clear play on the virtue of sight as given by Aristotelian principles, which trick the viewer into believing, falsely, in its three-dimensional nature.[19] This forces the viewer to contend with an abrupt halt of their hand as they reach for the work and in essence, subverts its nature as propaganda by forcing the viewer to think deeply about reality versus illusion.

Throughout the chapters, I will analyze and understand how the medium itself aids my interpretation and understanding of the work. Through its meticulous craftsmanship and printmaking as an illusion creating technique itself, printmaking is as important to the work as what is depicted. I hope to provide an understandable breakdown of the technique and how to visualize the use of the technique in order to understand a work that is seemingly straight-forward.

[18] Maggie M. Cao, "Trompe l'oeil and Financial Risk in the Age of Paper." *Grey Room 78* (Boston: MIT Press Journals, 2020). 11
[19] Clark Stuart. *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 90

As I work through each chapter, I will develop my larger argument of its power as a subversion of both sight and the power of propaganda through its use of technique and style, its allusion to the print market, and its direct depictions of the War of the Spanish Succession. *A Mixture of Prints* is a special tool that had been buried and forgotten. I will reawaken it and revive its potential as a document which illustrates a time and place outside of our own.

CHAPTER ONE:

THE WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION

The War of the Spanish Succession is not one that has been pieced together from the French side. While there are records and books dedicated to this war (all from the British perspective) even those are light on the details in relation to the French perspective. This chapter will use *A Mixture of Prints that Represent the Events that Happened in 1713* to isolate key moments from the War of the Spanish Succession in understanding the importance this war had on all of Europe. This war was a major political and economic war for all the countries involved and changed the course of many nations, including France. This war took a toll on every nation involved, including a strain on the country's finances. By understanding this war and its contribution to the creation of *A Mixture of Prints*, I will show how this work can be viewed as propaganda as it highlights the successful campaigns and negotiations while omitting the losses.

To begin with let me give an overview of the War of Spanish Succession and explain its importance to history. The war—which lasted from roughly around 1701 to around 1714—was answering the question of who would succeed the Spanish throne and gain access to Spanish holdings in Europe, America, and the East Indies.[20] This war in essence was an economic war based on who would become the ruler of Spain. Before the war began King Charles II of Spain

[20] G.N Clark, "War Trade and Trade War, 1701-1713," *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1928). 262

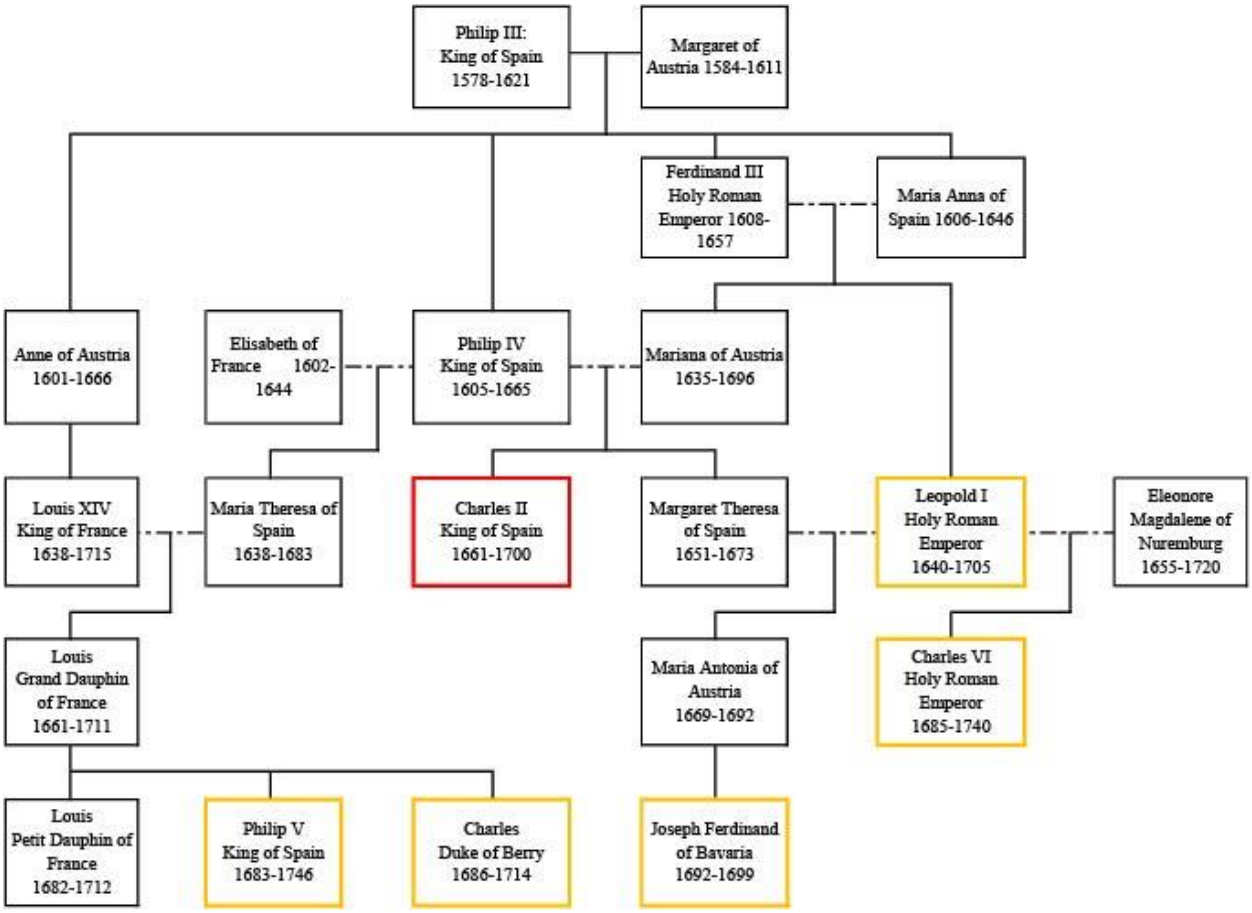

Figure 4: *Family Tree of the Possible Successors (Yellow) of King Charles II of Spain (Red),* Created by Chloe Smith

died childless in 1700.[21] He left the throne to Philip the Duke of Anjou who was the grandson of King Louis XIV of France and Charles II's sister, Maria Theresa, who was married to King Louis XIV (Figure 4). Because of his position that meant he was also a potential heir to the French throne. However, the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor Leopold pressed for his son Archduke Charles to be the next king.[22] Archduke Charles was the son of Leopold I and Eleonore Magdalene. Leopold I and his son were descended from Phillip III, which was two kings prior to Charles II and therefore further from the throne. This war was the deciding factor

[21] Andrew Tumath, "The British Army in Catalonia After the Battle of Brihuega, 1710-1712," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* Vol. 91, No. 367 (The Society for Amry Historical Research, 2013). 182
[22] Ibid pp. 182

of whether the possessions of the Spanish Empire, which were vast, would go to the distant Habsburgs or the Bourbons and was about succession, and economic and political power over Europe and the Americas. England and their ally the Dutch Republic allied with the Emperor against allowing a Bourbon on the Spanish throne because allowing the French to control the vast Spanish empire would give France too much power.[23] Since Spain supported the French claim, England and the United Provinces signed the Treaty of the Hague with Leopold, reinstating the Grand Alliance.

The war was fought on many battle fronts—the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish Netherlands, Northern Italy and on the German side of the Rhine.[24] During the early years battle was equal between the two sides with both wins and losses. Five years into the war, there were early peace negotiations initiated by the Dutch and the French. [25] Unfortunately they ultimately failed by 1710 as Britian became worried about a treaty forming between the Dutch and the French that would undermine Britian's treaty with the Dutch.[26] However, that would not be the last. There were three separate peace agreements during the war that all failed. As both sides were becoming weary, Louis XIV was becoming more open to negotiation. When Philip V renounced his claim on the French throne and Louis XIV accepted this renunciation, the peace talks in Utrecht became more promising. In the end the Peace treaty of Utrecht was signed in

[23] Lucien Bély, "Chapter 2: Behind the Stage: The Global Dimension of the Negotiations," in *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713* (United States: Brill, 2015). 40
[24] Renger E. de Bruin, Cornelts van der Haven, Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink, "Introduction," in *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713* (United States: Brill, 2015). 2
[25] Ibid pp. 2
[26] G.N Clark, "War Trade and Trade War, 1701-1713," *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1928). pp. 262

April of 1713 and other than minor agreements that continued in Baden, Rastatt and Madrid in 1714 and 1715, relative and uneasy peace had been achieved.[27]

This war was an event that loomed large in the minds of the French people, as the outcome could change the entire political and economical situation of France. *A Mixture of Prints* includes a mixture of political, social, and economical imagery. The first that alludes to all three is the playing card of the King of Hearts, depicted with a sword in his left hand and the sovereign's orb in his right hand and found in the middle of the print. Along with Charles engraved on the top right of the card the Orb is an indicator of who is being depicted in this playing card. This cross surmounted orb was "a quintessential sign of temporal authority" and connected to Charles II of Spain, who died childless leaving the throne without a ruler.[28] He is also depicted wearing royal regalia decorated with fleur-de-lis' which are an emblem associated with the French crown. This symbolizes his connections to the French Crown and the authority he gave Philip, a direct descendant from Louis XIV, as the heir to the Spanish throne. It was common that the King of Hearts was associated with King Charles. However it is typically

Figure 1.2: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

[27]Renger E. de Bruin, Cornelts van der Haven, Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink, "Introduction," in *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713* (United States: Brill, 2015). 2
[28] Andrew Tumath, "The British Army in Catalonia After the Battle of Brihuega, 1710-1712," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* Vol. 91, No. 367 (The Society for Amry Historical Research, 2013). 182

associated with The Great Charles Charlemagne.[29] By using the card that is often associated with a King Charles, Demortain was able to allude to Charles II through name association and his association with the War. Therefore, Demortain is using the common lexicon of culture at the time to relay the war to individuals who would have wanted or owned a work like this.

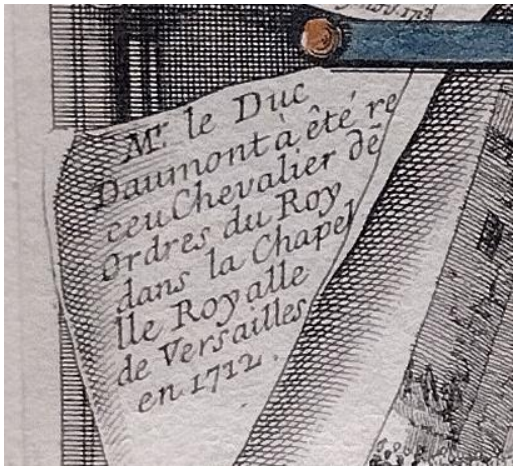

Figure 1.3: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

In the middle ribbon section to the left is a small handwritten note that reads "The Duke d'Aumont was received as Knight of the Order of the King in the Royal Chamber of Versailles in 1712."[30] This is not the only mention of the Duke d'Aumont as he is also mentioned in a print above and slightly to the right of this letter. d'Aumont is a very important character especially in the later part of this war as he was the official ambassador of France during the Peace negotiations in 1713 and 1714. We have evidence of his time during these events through his journal which he kept from 1712-1713 that details his time in London as an ambassador.[31] His role within the later part of the war was key to the peace negotiations and therefore is mentioned in this print performing his duties. While he was performing his duties and keeping records of his time there, he discusses the politics in England including the issues regarding the War of the Spanish Succession.

[29] Karin Leonhard, "Game of Thrones: Early Modern Playing Cards and Portrait Miniature Painting," in *British Art Studies,* Issue 17, (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2020)
[30] Mr. le Duc Daumont à êté receu Chevalier de Ordres du Roy dans la Chapelle Royalle de Versailles en 1712.
[31] D'aumont, *Ambassade en Angleterre du duc D'aumont.* 1712-1713, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits. Français 10715

The next handwritten letter which is found in the bottom left corner discusses two men named Desmarest and Chauvelin. Unfortunately, I have been unable to find specific information about them. However, this work clearly states that they are Commander of the Order and as Grand Treasurers. The letter to the right of the letter about Desmarest and Chauvelin details two other men who follow the same pattern. I cannot find specific information about Voisin or de la Moignon, however this work details their roles as commander of the Orders and Secretaires.

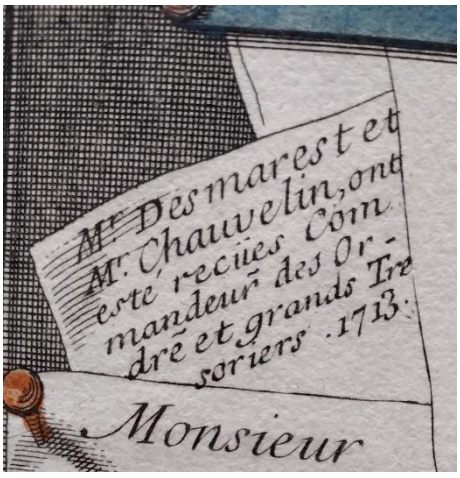

Figure 1.4: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Both letters detail important men within the government and most likely were part of the Chivalric order of the Saint-Espirit, or the Holy Spirit. This order was founded by Henry II of France in 1578 which was reserved for Princes and powerful nobles and included many roles like commanders, secretaires, and Grand Treasures.[32] Members of this order would be called *chevalier des ordres du roi* which is the exact phrasing used in both letters when detailing each man's role within the government.

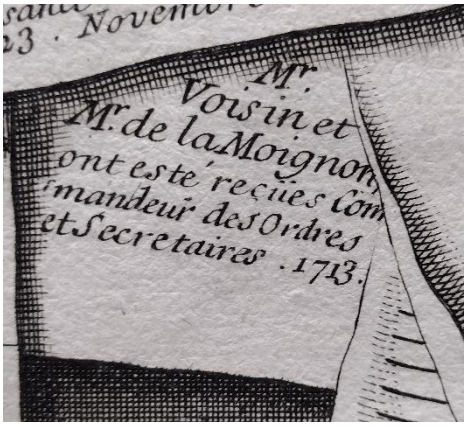

Figure 1.5: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

[32] John de Bry, "The Order of the Holy Spirit: An Important Decoration from a 1715 Plate Fleet Wreck," *The Florida Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 74, No. 1 (St. Augustine: The Florida Historical Society,1995). 57

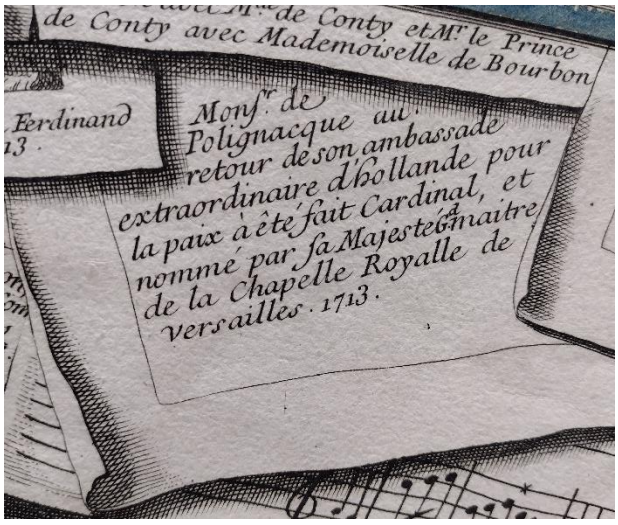

Figure 1.6: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713,* Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

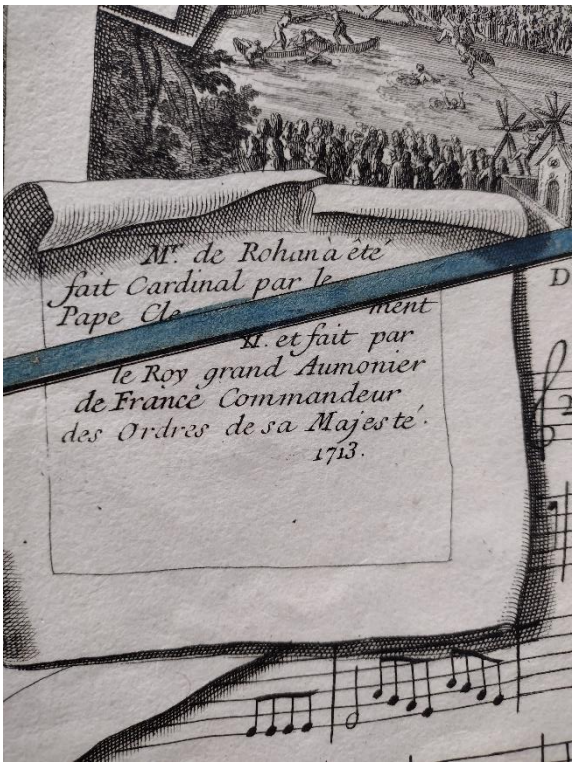

Figure 1.7: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713,* Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The next handwritten letter is slightly different. This letter gives more background and detail about Monseigneur de Polignacque and reads "Upon Mory de Polignacque's return from his extraordinary Dutch embassy for peace, he was made a cardinal, and named by his Majesty master of the royal chapel of Versailles." This is where we start seeing some intersection with religion play into this piece. While most of the elements seem very secularized it is important to remember that France was a large and powerful Catholic country and that played a part in everyday life. As a cardinal Polignacque became a higher ranking official within the Catholic church. With this he was able to also receive the role of master of the royal chapel, which makes him in charge of the chapel in Versailles.

The last letter found at the bottom of the image is about Mr. de Rohan who becomes "Cardinal by Pope Clement XI and made by the king Grand Chaplain of France, commander of the Orders of his Majesty." Here we have another

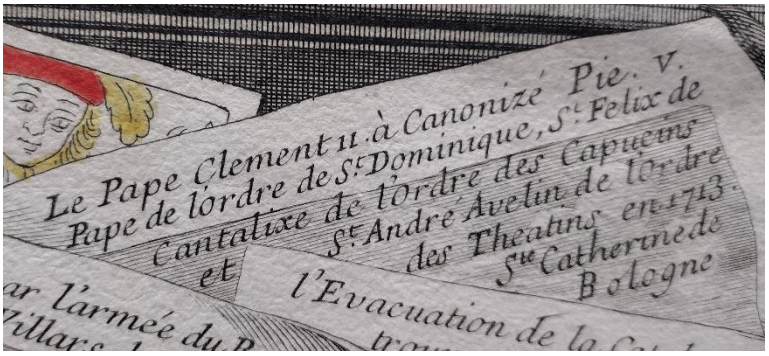

Figure 1.8: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713,* Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

intersection between church and state that typically is not discussed during the events of this war. We do have another connection to this Order of the Holy Spirit as de Rohan was the command of the orders of his Majesty. This means he held a lot of political power during this war. The very last letter of the work is the only piece of this work not directly related to the war. It is detailing the three saints Pius V, Felix and Andre Avelin who were canonized in 1713.

Figure 1.9: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713,* Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The next undated piece of this work is a printed image depicting the double wedding between the Duke of Bourbon, the royal family line, with the Mademoiselle of Conti and the Duke of Conty with the Mademoiselle of Bourbon. In the image the two couples are taking turns to be married by a Catholic Bishop before a crowd of people in the background and King Louis XIV who is positioned looking toward the viewer in the front right of the image. I believe the marriage depicted is that of Louise Elisabeth de Bourbon, King Louis XIV's granddaughter, and Louis Armand II Prince

of Conti descended from the Conti line within the family tree. These were princes by blood and were in line for the throne were something to happen. By marrying within the family like that France is reconnecting the lines to keep them tied together. While this does seem like an important event in which a princess is being married with King Louis XIV there to sponsor the marriage there is no indication that it is related to the war and is one of the few events that I have found that was unconnected to the War of the Spanish Succession.

The printed image in the second ribbon section from the bottom to the very right shows a naval battle reenactment titled The Shot Goose which was put on for the Elector of Bavaria. The Elector of Bavaria at the time of this work was Maximilien-Emmanuel de Bavière and he was an ally for the French side of the War of the Spanish Succession. This naval battle is depicted as two men on boats fight each other with the other actors in the water surrounding the two boats. In the middle of the river is a rope strung between the two sides with a winged man floating above the river on this rope reaching towards a man in the water. Crowds of people are surrounding this show on either side of the river. It is

Figure 1.10: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Figure 1.11: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

also interesting how the mountain depicted in the background displays three crosses seeming to symbolize the presence of religion within this scene.

While most of the print refers to the war through the connection of the people listed, the peace treaty of Utrecht was one of the most important moments. All the people and countries were weary and tired of battle and willing to finally come to an agreement of peace, as uneasy as it was. At Utrecht it was decided that Philip V would be king of Spain as it was written in the will of the late king, Charles II. The meeting of the Peace Treaty of Utrecht was held in April which is depicted in the scene in the second ribbon section from the bottom to the very left of the print. Ten men are seated around a round table conversing to one another. The description accompanying this says that what is depicted is the "Room where the Peace Treaty of Utrecht was signed on April eleventh and twelfth."

Figure 1.12: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

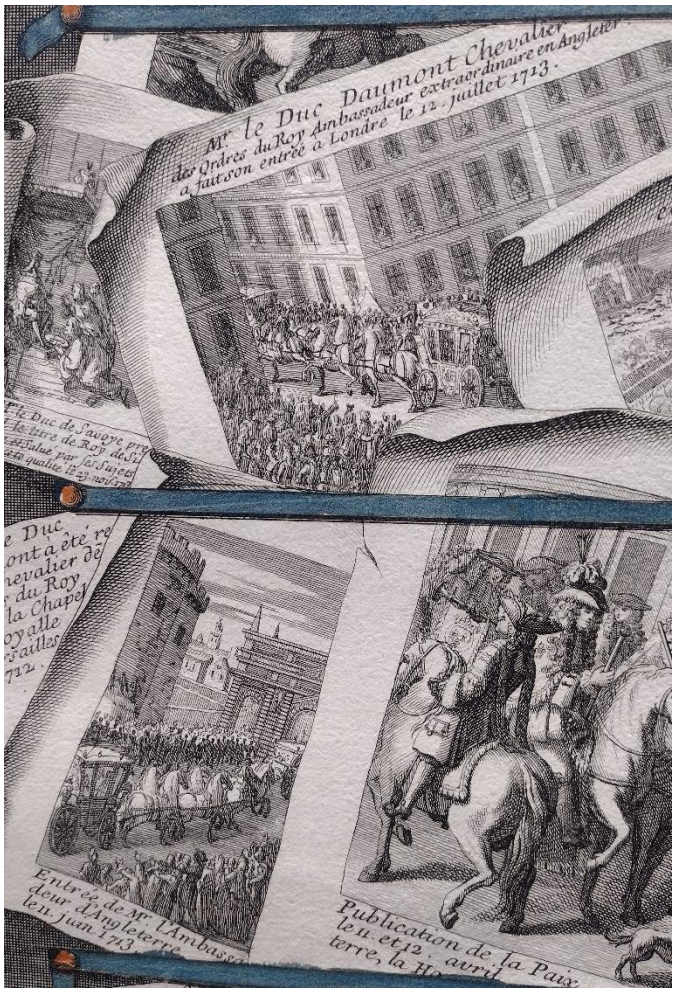

Figure 1.13: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The two images that depict a royal procession are to the left of the image. One is in the second ribbon section from the top and the other is in the middle ribbon section. These two images show the trade of ambassadors between England and France. While the main negotiations of Utrecht were concluded and signed many of the nations still had independent issues that needed to be addressed. England and France continued their negotiations into June of 1713. Depicted in both scenes is a crowd of people tightly packed in on the side of the road watching a horse drawn carriage travel to the castle of their respective country.[33]

After the official announcement and signing of Urecht and before the official peace agreements between France and the Low Countries, France initiated what became known as the Rhine Campaign of 1713. This is because of its location on the Rhine with the towns of Landau and Fribourg. This was one of the most successful campaigns by the French of the War of the

[33] Renger E. de Bruin, Cornelts van der Haven, Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink, "Introduction," in *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713* (United States: Brill, 2015). 1

Figure 1.14: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Figure 1.14: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Spanish Succession. The first battle of this campaign depicted is the Capture of the Town of Landau which happened in August of 1713. This is seen in the printed image in the very top left corner of the print in which we see a row of generals and commanders in the foreground pointing towards the action of the foot soldiers in the middle ground. The second battle is split between two images. The first in the middle of the second ribbon section from the top depicting the French soldiers pushing the German troops back. It follows the same stylistic patterns as the Capture of Landau with the high-ranking military officials pictured in the foreground pointing towards the foot soldiers who are active in the war. The last part of this battle at Fribourg is the capture of the town in November 1713 located directly to the right of the previously mentioned image. Once again it follows the same pattern in the depiction of battle scenes.

Figure 1.15: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713,* Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

At the end of the war after it was decided that Philip V would become king of Spain and retain Barcelona and Catalogna, the Allies—those of the Grand Alliance including England, the United Provinces, and the Holy Roman Emperor—had to evacuate Catalogna as depicted in the image in the top ribbon section in the middle. This happened a few months after the official Peace Treaty of Utrecht as it took many more months and years for each country to come to their personal agreements with each other.

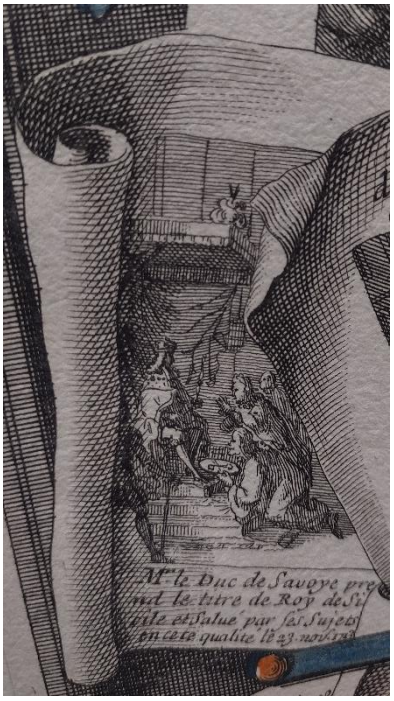

Figure 1.16: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713,* Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The small image in the second ribbon layer from the top, all the way to the left shows the Duke of Savoy becoming King of Sicily. The duke was an important figure throughout the war and one of the main contributors to this war of succession. While he had close relations to France, having one daughter married to Philip V himself and the other married to the Dauphin of France's eldest son, he still made himself an enemy of France during this war as he believed he too held rights to the throne.[34] He eventually sided with the Grand Alliance to stop the succession of Philip V. What is depicted here is the Duke of Savoy sitting upon a throne with people bowing at his feet and

[34] James Faulkner, *The War of the Spanish Succession 1701-1714* (UK: Pen and Sword Books Ltd, 2015). 32

giving him gifts as he is crowned the King of Sicily. Throughout the peace agreements in Utrecht, the map of Europe was being debated. It was decided that the Duke of Savoy would gain Sicily and become king, which he fully enacted in November.[35]

Figure 1.17: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The last event depicted is the birth of Dom Ferdinand. Ferdinand was born 1713 and he was the son of Philip V who will become the successor of the Spanish empire, ensuring the Bourbon rule in Spain for at least another generation. This also shows how Philip V was able to secure the Spanish throne not only through battle and war, but through marriage and children.

What is important from each one of these vignettes is their depiction of the events of the War of the Spanish Succession. This war was one of the largest and most global until World War I. It is evident from my research that much the English language scholarship is written from the British perspective which was part of the Allies who were fighting against the French. Because of that much of the literature is skewed to that side of the war. However, as we are seeing in this print, the French perspective was and is still available if we look hard enough. It is also notable that the French perspective is just as skewed towards propaganda for their country and their side of the war. By the time the war progressed to the Peace Treaty of Utrecht, the French had suffered many defeats and had on multiple accounts agreed to allow Charles, the Habsburg heir, to take the Spanish throne if Philip retained some of

[35] James Faulkner, *The War of the Spanish Succession 1701-1714* (UK: Pen and Sword Books Ltd, 2015). 8

his rightful ownership of the Spanish Empire. Almost no one won in this war. What happened was the British protected themselves from a Catholic rule, Spain continued to hold the major imports and exports of the Americas or the new land, and the French retained a close relationship with the Spanish Empire. However, because of the financial situation of this war many of the countries had financial issues which led to economic issues and strains on the people. There was one man who seemed to have benefited more than anyone else in the war and that was the Duke of Savoy. He was able to become King of Sicily in the peace negotiations whereas before he had no claim to any throne.

A Mixture of Prints tells of this story of the battle for succession in Spain in a way that compels the viewer of the French success within the war by displaying both battles won, and the peace treaty signed by all those involved. Each element connects to major wins of the French government and details important players in these events from marriages to battles won, and finally to Phillip V becoming King of Spain. A print like this almost appears like propaganda on the surface. There are no scenes of defeat or the losses that had largely accumulated over the wins within the War. There is no mention of the concessions that King Louis XIV and Phillip V had to make in order to secure his throne and end the war. This print is one of glory and national pride in what the French were able to accomplish against the Allies.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE PARIS PRINT MARKET

Diving a step further into the work, *A Mixture of Prints* details the early eighteenth-century print market through its recall of *recueils*, connoisseurship, types of prints produced and the self-reflexive letters. This work ties itself to this particular moment in time through these details and forces the viewer to acknowledge its authority on printed media at the time. In this chapter, I will take a detailed look at two important letters which appear in the top right corner and bottom left corner of the print in order to understand the print's place within the larger sphere of the market.

A Mixture of Prints dives directly into the print market by forcing the viewer into a chaotic, jumbled assortment of printed images and daily objects like almanac prints, playing cards, and music sheets. Almanac prints are important to understanding *A Mixture of Prints* because of its self-proclaimed nature as an historical almanac. Traditional almanac prints are large and sometimes oversized works which show a detailed scene typically the King with a calendar in the bottom middle that detailed each day of the year, the information of the major

Figure 3: *Almanach of 1667*, Unknown Artist, 1667, Engraving and Letter Press, Louvre

Catholic holidays, and moon phases, as seen in Figure 3. These types of prints were "instruments of communication."[36] This print functions as an almanac by communicating political events and it is historical since it is relaying events from the year before. The print calls itself an historic almanac officially linking itself to the almanac practice of the print trade. The use of the description historic however, places it within a different time framework than a typical almanac. This work discusses past events rather than portraying the future potential of the year. While the image depicted on a typical almanac depicts an event from the past, the calendar which is dated and the main functioning piece is detailing the future. The work also links itself to the moment in time through its references to the print trade as it was understood in the early eighteenth century while. Almanacs were important as a calendar, and we have many almanacs even from the same year that shows their popularity.

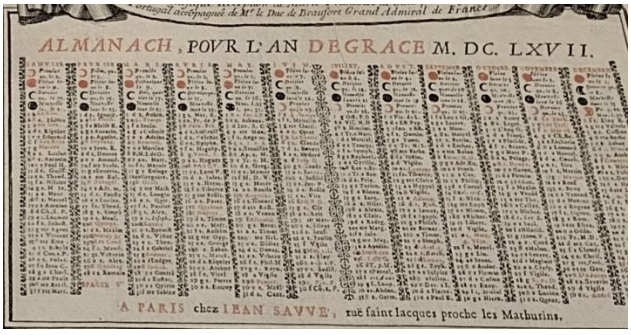

Figure 3.1: Detail of *Almanach of 1667*, Unknown Artist, 1667, Engraving and Letter Press, Louvre

[36] Peter Fuhring, Louis Marchesano, Rémi Mathis, and Vanessa Selbach, ed(s). *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2015). 13

The second type of printed objects available through a print shop are daily objects such as playing cards and music sheets. Playing cards are a major category of the print trade. The cards depicted within *A Mixture of Prints* are clearly decked out with colors, as well as special images which made them higher quality. However, as playing cards were a product that all were able to utilize it was commonly made more affordably. Because of this there are a wide range of quality in playing cards. *A Mixture of Prints* depicts playing cards that are a standard middle-class deck. They have typical images depicted on them. However, they utilize hand coloring to complete the cards' images. Music sheets were also for a wider audience. If a household was wealthy enough to afford tutoring, which many middle-class families could, then music sheets were useful learning tools and guides.[37] *A Mixture of Prints* shows a stack of music sheets in the bottom right corner connecting to this production. Printmaking allowed the production of these types of materials which would otherwise not be affordable to those of middle-class families unless they were especially wealthy.

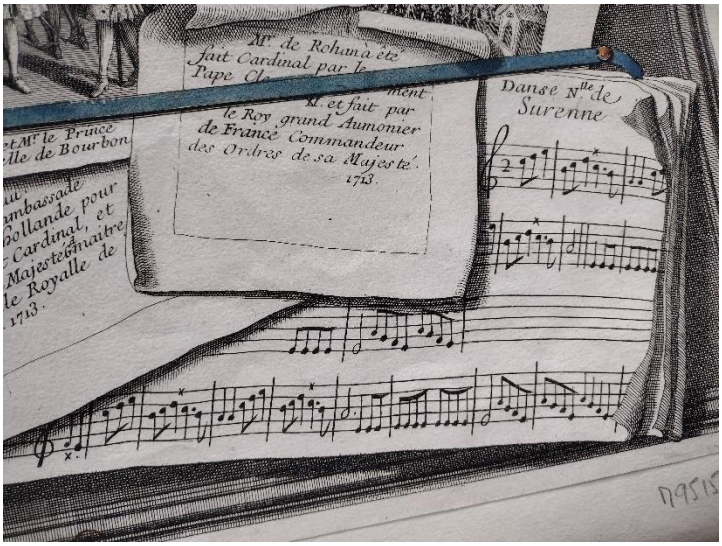

Figure 1.18: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713,* Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

A Mixture of Prints is connected to the print market even more securely through the letters which appear in the top right corner and bottom left corner discussing an advertisement,

37 *Helibrunn Timeline of Art History.*

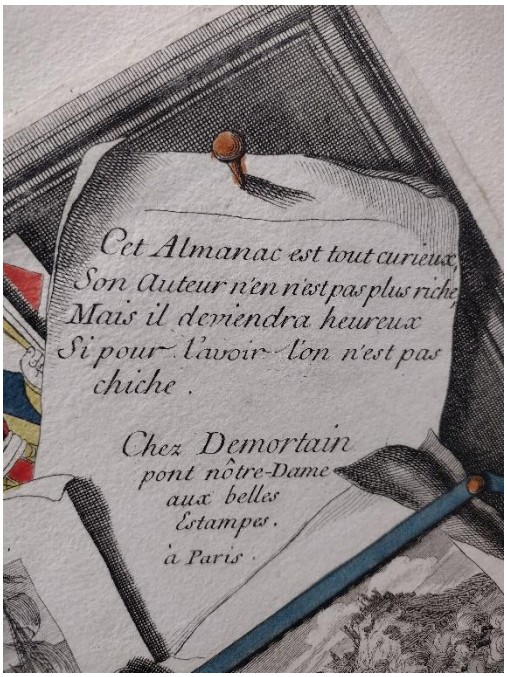

Figure 1.19: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

location, and customer review of this print. *A Mixture of Print that Represent the Events that Happened in 1713* refers to the market which it came. However not in any coincidence as the "print is normally its own publicity. The *address* appearing on most prints told where they could be procured—directly from the printmaker, occasionally from the artist, increasingly from the print sellers and agents throughout France and Europe."[38] This is exactly what occurs within the top right corner of this work. The letter reads "This Almanac is very curious | Its author is not richer for it | But he will become happy | if to have it | one is not stingy."[39] This is a poem which is an advertisement for the print in a way unusual to us as the author is both saying why they should buy it and calling them out to not be stingy or tight-fisted. The author or in this case the publisher Demortain is telling the consumer who is seeing this that this work is something that will bring happiness and richness in their life. It will fulfill not only a part of their life but a part of their collection. The rest of this is detailing the address of Demortain's shop "Aux Belles Estampes" which is located on the *Pont Notre-Dame* located in Paris.[40] By locating Demortain's shop in Paris it connects the work to this particular place in time. We and they—the connoisseurs and viewers in the eighteenth century—are being drawn to this location. As an art

[38] W. McAllister Johnson. *The Rise and Fall of the Fine Art Print in Eighteenth-Century France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016). 37
[39] Cet Almanac est tout curieux | Son Auteur n'en n'est pas plus riche, | Mail il deviendra heureux | Si pour l'avoir | l'on n'est pas chiche.
[40] Chez Demortain | pont notre-Dame | aux belles Estampes | a paris

historian, I am investigating the space which allowed for the creation of this work as well as understanding its function for both the eighteenth-century viewer and today's viewer.

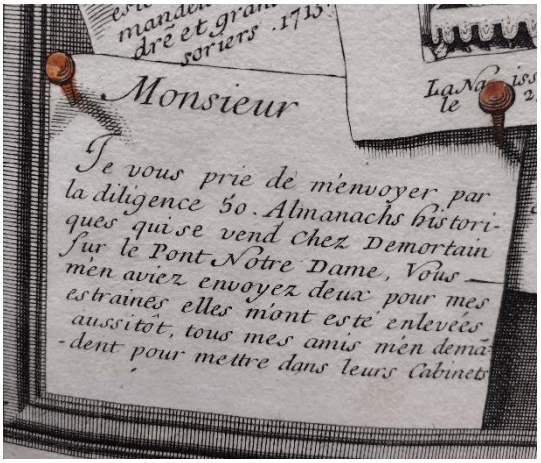

Figure 1.20: Detail of *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713*, Publisher Giles Demortain, 1714, Hand-colored Engraving, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The second note that contributes the print being "its own publicity" is in the bottom left corner.[41] This letter appears to be a customer writing to the publisher about the work saying "Sir, I ask you to send me by diligence[42] 50 historical almanacs which are sold at Demortain on the Pont Notre-Dame. You sent me two for my celebration of the new year, they were taken away immediately, all my friends ask me for them to put in their cabinets."[43] This note can be read one of two ways. The first is that it is a patron who simply admired the print and bought it for his own cabinet. This means he was a customer who is inquiring about more copies to give as gift to his friends. The other interpretation is that he is another print salesman who had his few copies sold very quickly and is ordering a larger number because he is sure that they will be sold at a steady rate because of its quality as discussed in chapter one. Either reading gives this work a glowing review which would heighten the appeal for the work as it is attested for and made appealing through the advertisement in the form of poetry.

[41] W. McAllister Johnson. *The Rise and Fall of the Fine Art Print in Eighteenth-Century France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016). 37
[42] This is a form of postal service at the time.
[43]Monsieur, Je vous prie de m'envoyer par la diligence 50 Almanachs historques qui se vent chez Demortain sur le Pont Notre Dame, Vous m'en aviez envoyez deux pour mes estraines elles m'ont este enlevees aussitot, tous mesa mis m'en demadent pour mettre dans leurs Cabinets.

This self-referential nature of the print brings many questions to the forefront that need to be addressed. The first is the economic status of printmaking at the time. Printmaking was never part of the guild system as King Louis XIV officially decreed against printmaking becoming a part of the guild system in saying:

> His Majesty maintains and protects the art of printmaking by intaglio, that is by burin and etching and whatever other methods there may be, and those whose profession it is, whether nationals or foreigners, in the freedom that they have always possessed to exercise this profession in the kingdom, without anyone being able to reduce them to guilds or trade bodies nor subject them to other rules or controls under any denomination at all leaving all things as they have been until now in this profession.[44]

Having the support from the king and the freedom from the guild system allowed for printmaking to become its own economic product and for it to be controlled by the individual rather than an organization. It is important when discussing the formation of the print market that they were never part of the guild system in France and, therefore, unlike the other media never had to battle with the guilds for control over their own economic practice. It was also not until later that printmaking would be part of the Royal Academy of Painting and even so a very small part. Printmakers were not the upper echelon of the Academy and could not hold very important roles.

[44] Marianne Grivel. *Le commerce de l'estampe: A Paris au SVII e siècle* (Genève: Droz, 1986). 406-407; Sa Majesté entretient et protège l'art de la gravure en taille-douce, c'est-à-dire au burin et à l'eau-forte et toutes autres méthodes possibles, ainsi que ceux qui en exercent la profession, nationaux ou étrangers, dans la liberté qu'ils ont toujours eue d'exercer cette profession. dans le royaume, sans que personne ne puisse les réduire à des corporations ou à des corps de commerce ni les soumettre à d'autres règles ou contrôles sous quelque dénomination que ce soit, laissant toutes choses telles qu'elles ont été jusqu'à présent dans cette profession.

Printmaking, while cheaper and more efficient to make over paintings, held drawbacks as a media that is still being developed when keeping up with new styles of the time. Because it was a common misconception that the media was "directly bound to technique, [and] to craft", many of the new techniques are overlooked.[45] When we look at scholarship of printmaking, we see a lot of focus on reproductive engravings in France, however, much of the intaglio techniques were being developed in this period. In the catalogue *A Kingdom of Images,* they look at many printmaking works from the time of King Louis XIV and make this claim. However, they show an isolated case study of 109 prints. If we look beyond that, there was mezzotint, created to allow for printmaking to follow the style in Italy of *tenebroso* by creating very dark and mysterious work in a way that allowed for a softer gradient with darker darks. This is from a technique created in the mid-seventeenth century called Mezzotint, translated to "the dark manner."[46] This technique allowed printmaking to rival paintings in the depth of tone they were able to achieve as well as the smooth gradients available from the technique. If we push forward in time, we see the creation of what termed chalk manner or crayon as depicted in. This is a technique that allows printmaking to mimic the soft lines seen in chalk pastel work in the mid eighteenth century. In order to achieve this, the artist would utilize a tool that allowed for dots of many different sizes to be hammered into the material in a way that mimicked the pencil line. Printmaking is never left behind nor does it stop developing as tastes, styles, and technology evolve.

[45] Peter Fuhring, Louis Marchesano, Rémi Mathis, and Vanessa Selbach, ed(s). *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715.* Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2015. 36
[46] Elizabeth E. Barker, "The Printed Image in the West: Mezzotint", 2003, Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000)

The importance of printmaking goes beyond its ability to mimic and keep up with the times as it was also popular among connoisseurs. Intellectuals such as Michel de Marolles, Roger de Piles and Florent le Somte "recommended prints to *amateurs."*[47] They believed that "whatever one's rank, fortune, or occupation one could find a print that met one's aspirations."[48] Roger de Piles dedicates his twenty-eighth chapter from his treatise *Abregé de la vie des peintre* which discusses the utility and usage of printmaking.

One important use that both primary and secondary scholarship can agree on is found in the creation of *recueils*. These are volumes in which prints are organized either by subject and theme or by artist in a type of "ready-made" volume for connoisseurs. The labor was commonly left to dealers.[49] What was especially useful with the ready-made is that they had remarkable organization and were complete in the moment of creation. When made by the consumer it would be created "in different times and circumstances, [because] print production itself was by nature open-ended and unpredictable."[50] As a connection to this practice, *recueils* were books which combined high-quality reproductive engravings with descriptive text, which upon description could be mistake for the work in question. Without the context of the book as in separate pages bound which would force the viewer to flip through the work, *A Mixture of Prints that Represents the Events that Happened in 1713* is a print representing this practice. It is a ready-made collection of prints that follow them with a short description of each work shown.

---

[47] Peter Fuhring, Louis Marchesano, Rémi Mathis, and Vanessa Selbach, ed(s). *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2015). 36

[48] Peter Fuhring, Louis Marchesano, Rémi Mathis, and Vanessa Selbach, ed(s). *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2015). 36

[49] Kristel Smentek. *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe.* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014). 18

[50] W. McAllister Johnson. *The Rise and Fall of the Fine Art Print in Eighteenth-Century France.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 216

A Mixture of Prints easily falls into a similar market of collecting as all the items depicted within the work follow a theme generally and utilize short descriptions added to the boarders of the work. This is part of the importance of the descriptive text. The collector or connoisseur would be able to utilize this print as a collection or a *recueil* by itself and have legible recreations which have text helping the viewer understand what is happening in each of the images. *A Mixture of Prints* is a ready-made *recueil* as depicted by a collection of similarly linked, high-quality prints. Recalling this practice locates the work specifically within this time. We as art historians can recall these specific practices that aided in the creation of a work like this. While the other Trompe-l'oeil we will see were made to respond to economic bubbles and moments of crisis, *A Mixture of Prints* instead responded to the practice of collecting in this time specific way within France.

The *recueil* was a type of collection made for what was termed a connoisseur. The connoisseur would have been the main consumer of a work like *A Mixture of Prints.* The connoisseur in both primary and secondary text is a person, typically part of the bourgeoisie, that has "a disciplined way of seeing and knowing, one in which perception, reason, and judgment were applied to the classification and interpretation of works of art."[51] Connoisseurs were the individuals who honed their intellect through printmaking to understand art and culture at the time. Part of this is the study of the hand or touch of the artist. This was seen "through the collation and comparison of engravings, woodcuts and etchings" which allowed for connoisseurs and amateurs to "develop their taste [and] learn to recognize the distinguishing characteristics of various artists and schools."[52] This taste, as discussed by Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, is also known as

[51] Kristel Smentek. *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe.* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014). pp. 3
[52] Ibid pp. 17

tact or this ability to distinguish a unique set of characteristics about an artist through their artwork. This can include certain types of strokes, contrasts, soft or hard lines, and even if the work seems forced. Lajer-Burcharth describes many different touches that an artist can have when describing and analyzing their work. Tact is essentially the same term as touch in the early eighteenth century as "it is precisely under "tact" that one could find the main entry on touch in Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopedie.*"[53] This was an important factor that popularized printmaking because of its ability to widen "visual experience" and "visual acuity" through its nature as "multiple originals" and rather than existing in "splendid isolation" were seen together to form a central canon.[54] It was through the *recueils* that "connoisseurs like Mariette mobilized the potential of the printed image to copy a historical work of art."[55] Printmaking allowed for this type of intellect to develop because of the connoisseur's ability to collect multiple for a less expensive price than the original paintings and it allowed connoisseur's to collect art that was privately owned or not available to the public. Because of printmaking, the connoisseur, and *recueil* was created in order to study and collect art that otherwise would not be able to be looked at side by side nor collected by multiple individuals.

A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events of 1713 illustrates its connection to the print market in the eighteenth-century Paris through its depiction of daily objects—playing cards, music sheets, and almanacs—its nature as a historical almanac, its connection to *recueils*, and its self-referential letters from both the publisher and from a consumer. This chapter details the

[53] Ewa Lajer-Burcharth. "Boucher's Tact" In *The Painter's Touch: Boucher, Chardin, Fragonard* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018). 13; Tact: Le Toucher l'attouchement, celuy des cinq sens par lequel on connoist ce qui est chaud ou froid, dur ou mol, unio u rebateux. (Touch, Touch, that of the five sense by which we know what is hot or cold, hard or soft, smooth or rough) From the entry from 1694
[54] Ewa Lajer-Burcharth. "Boucher's Tact" In *The Painter's Touch: Boucher, Chardin, Fragonard* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018). 13
[55] Kristel Smentek. *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe.* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014). 7

history of connoisseurship and the print's connections back to the print as it shows the promises of the print market, and the physical marketplace on the Pont Notre Dame. If we as art historians use this work we are able to visualize a space that recalls a jumbled conglomeration of printed memorabilia, a busy loud street with venders calling to people to grab the latest reproduction of some famous artist's work, and a bustling economic center focused on printmaking in its utilitarian modes of books, and daily objects as well as its luxury qualities in reproduction prints.

Figure 5: *Vue et Perspective du Pont Notre-Dame,* Pierre Aveline, end of 17th century, etching

If we envision this bridge leading to the center island of Paris with two-story buildings flanking each side and carriages and people walking around looking at the shops surrounding them, we start to see an idealized image of the Pont Notre Dame, the location of Demortain's print shop. Works like *Vue et perspective du Pont Notre-Dame,* created at the end of the seventeenth century by Pierre Aveline, show what the shops represented to the people of Paris, or at least the upper middle-class citizens. The work of recreating a virtual model of the Pont Notre Dame has been done by Sophie Raux in collaboration with the Carnavalet History Museum in Paris.[56] This work utilizes prints like the one above, as well as firsthand accounts of the bridge, to recreate it and provide a sense of what it would have been like to walk down the avenue. Raux even went as far as identifying where each shop was located on the bridge,

[56] Sophie Raux, "Virtual Explorations of an 18th-Century Art Market Space: Gersaint, Watteau, and the Pont Notre-Dame," *Journal18,* no. 5 (Spring 2018)

including Demortain's shop, which was located next to the famous shop of the art dealer Edmé Gersaint.[57] This research gives us a sense of the importance of the bridge and how interconnected each seller was. Raux includes how internationally connected each seller was by providing contact information to dealers in places like Amsterdam and Lyon.

Throughout this chapter, I have connected *A Mixture of Prints* to many of the practices of printmaking through the collecting of works and the creation of *recueils* I have also connected *A Mixture of Prints* to its display of printed memorabilia that promotes Demortain's shop as much as the handwritten letters directly referencing this trade. By referencing its nature as a print, it is starting to undermine its surface level intentions. Printmaking is an illusion-making technique which utilizes new science and technology to recreate, distribute, and promote other memoribila.

[57] Sophie Raux, "Virtual Explorations of an 18th-Century Art Market Space: Gersaint, Watteau, and the Pont Notre-Dame," *Journal18,* no. 5 (Spring 2018)

CHAPTER THREE:

TROMPE-L'OEIL

This final chapter will analyze the small details of *A Mixture of Prints* and discuss Trompe-l'oeil both as a technique itself and how it shows a fascination with illusion through reconnecting it to the technique history of letter rack paintings and document prints. Through understanding this process and technique I can argue that this print forces the viewer to confront reality as it is hidden behind illusion and think deeply about sight as the sense of truth and about the realities of the War of the Spanish Succession. Trompe-l'oeil allows the printmaker to subvert the clear propagandistic nature, as discussed in Chapter One, by seducing the viewer into the scene, and abruptly halting their continuation, forcing them to think about what they are seeing depicted.

Trompe-l'oeil—literally translated to "trick the eye"—is a technique of illusion creation. It is used to describe art that tricks the viewer into believing in its three-dimensionality and creates a window to another plane.[58] It requires the viewer's participation as dictated by the artist through providing moments that appear on the edge or verge of dropping. This fosters the viewers' instinct to reach out and grab the object or, in this case, the papers before they can fall off the edge. The artist controls the realm in which the work is viewed and invites the viewer to reach towards the work and interact with the image. The term used at the time by scholars like

[58] Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "trompe l'oeil," accessed April 22, 2024, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/trompe%20l%27oeil.

Roger de Piles was *tromperie* which means deception and was "intimately related to imitation."[59] This visual *tromperie* became linked to Enlightenment understandings of sight and vision as the authoritative sense for which to assess scientific truth.[60]

This visual deception was popularized by the dominating thoughts of "Aristotelian theories of perception and cognition" that evoked "the eyes and the optic nerves" as the master sense.[61] The eyes were the sole authority of reality. Because of this understanding, artists began to take liberties with vision in their works to enlist an optical illusion and "undermine [the] inherited confidence" in sight as we see in Chardin's *Basket of Wild Strawberries* (Figure 6). This "disrupted the relationship between human being and what they observed."[62] The human being or viewer is tricked and not able to fully rely on what they are observing which creates an unbalance and out of control experience that disrupts this relationship. Because vision held "a commanding place in science, in the field of political power, and in the construction of communal solidarity and personal identity in bourgeois societies," the artist held a role in challenging this authority and power.[63] *Vanities of the Eyes* is a book that comes to terms with this cognition theory and understanding in the eighteenth century and illuminates the degree of

Figure 6: *Basket of Wild Strawberries,* Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin, 1761, Oil Painting

[59] Thomas Puttfarken, *Roger de Piles' Theory of Art.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 50
[60] Clark Stuart. *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 90
[61] Ibid 2
[62] Ibid 2
[63] Ibid 9

perception authority. It is important to understand that this was part of the Enlightenment understanding of the senses and that undermining this authority was in a sense a source of pride for the artist. These Trompe-l'oeil paintings and prints were just one source of this underpinning and were incredibly important to the thought and practice at the time.

Trompe-l'oeil becomes a tool of subversion in *A Mixture of Prints* as the viewer must respond to the reality of not only the prints on the wall but also the subject matter of those prints. As the viewer reaches out their hand and is abruptly stopped by the flatness of image, so too might the viewer understand the lies hidden behind a few successful campaigns within the War of the Spanish Succession. Using trompe-l'oeil allows the artist to subvert both intellectual knowledge and to accounts of the war distributed by the French government.

Trompe-l'oeil painting used this technique to "[heighten] the paradox by aiming for the most perfect copy" of reality to trick the senses. Being able to accomplish this aim was considered desirable. The artist was able to display his or her intelligence through this technique as it speaks directly to a "sentiment about perception itself."[64] Trompe-l'oeil held a strong place in art of the eighteenth century—such as works by Chardin and even the female still-life artist Anne Vallayer-Coster—because of the authority of sight and because of the artist's ability to undermine that. Art theory itself looked towards these ideas. Charles Du Fresnoy was a French painter in the mid seventeenth century but became known for his poem *De arte graphica (The Art of Painting).* This work was translated and published later by Roger de Piles in 1668. This work details the principles taught at the Royal Academy in Rome which caters to the French

[64] Clark Stuart. *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 90

taste of illusion and deception.[65] Du Fresnoy's *The Art of Painting* claims that art is meant to elicit "pleasure…by Deceipt."[66] This nature of deception was "promoted… as a venerable and venerated aspect of pictorial production" within Samuel Van Hoogstraten's art-theoretical treatise in 1678. [67] Hoogstraten was one of the leading painters of letter rack paintings during the seventeenth century. Hoogstraten claims that "a perfect painting is like a mirror of nature which makes things which do not actually exist appear to exist and thus deceives in a permissible, pleasurable, and praiseworthy manner."[68] Both of these artists and writers are known for their written understanding of art. They are both important as they are first-person sources that demonstrate how art was thought about, understood, and practiced in the moments leading up to the creation of *A Mixture of Prints.* This illusion is part of a trend in art to keep poking at the viewer's understanding of the world around them and allows *A Mixture of Prints* to respond to major texts about art that are typically reserved for what was considered the important art, painting. It is also important to link the different arts together as they all respond to each other. None of the arts were isolated and uninvolved with the leading practices of the others.

These forms of illusion and deceit are linked to the "aristocratic notion of *honnêteté* in which cultural power resided in a nonchalant artifice which captivated the interlocutor through seduction rather than force."[69] *Honnêteté* is not easily translated into English. It is a term that in a sense means sensual seduction. It is the aspects of art that draw the viewer in and seduces the

[65] Quoted from the introduction of the English translated version; Charles du Fresnoy, *De Arte Graphica: The Art of Painting*, introduced and translated by John Dryden (London, 1695). 20
[66] Quoted from the introduction of the English translated version; Charles du Fresnoy, *De Arte Graphica: The Art of Painting*, introduced and translated by John Dryden (London, 1695). 20
[67] Mark Hallett. "The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London." *Art History,* vol. 20, no. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997). 217-218
[68] Celeste Brusati. *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel Van Hoostraten.* (Chicago, IL: university of Chicago Press, 2003). 159
[69] Mark Hallett. "The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London." *Art History,* vol. 20, no. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997). 218

viewer to keep looking or in the case of Trompe-l'oeil to actively reach out or try to participate with the objects.[70] *Honnêteté* is linked perfectly to this practice as the painting seduces the viewer into reaching out for the object on the edge of the table or which appears to almost fall off the wall. Rather than be immediately faced with illusion the viewer slowly slides into it, unwittingly. *Honnêteté* was an essential asset to being a gentleman and can include the capacity to be accommodating and understanding of the needs of others by means of pleasure.[71] These notions of the sensual gentlemen were written about in manuals that show how this idea was ingrained into society at the time. It is not a jump to say that it became ingrained into art and Trompe-l'oeil is a perfect example of this type of sensual pleasure that entraps the viewer, forcing them to come closer, or reach out their hand. Trompe-l'oeil and what engraver John Sturt terms "Deception Visus"[72] in 1717 is an important practice that sparks an understanding of space, sight, deception, illusion, and elicits the viewer to be seduced by the work. While these treatises are discussing mostly painting. Prints were still actively part of this *honnêteté* or sensual seduction into a well formulated visual trap.

Understanding this seductive deception is important to *A Mixture of Prints* as it resides firmly within this history and speaks directly to these thoughts and practices. *A Mixture of Prints* seduces the viewer with images, cards, and music sheets through their illusion. Deception has always been an important part of printmaking, whether it is through the print looking like a drawing, painting, sketch, or pastel work or through this Trompe-l'oeil technique. Because of this, printmaking is the ultimate medium to connect this history. *A Mixture of Prints* is even more

[70] Ibid pp. 218
[71] Mark Hallett. "The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London." *Art History,* vol. 20, no. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997). 218
[72] Latin translation: illusion of sight

special as it is a print, made on paper, about prints, made on paper. The fabric of the work is integral to its deception and crafts an alluring trap for its viewers.

Figure 6: *Basket of Wild Strawberries,* Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin, 1761, Oil Painting

The artists can illicit this trompe-l'oeil or *tromperie* in many ways, the first is one of the more common methods of employing Trompe-l'oeil in the eighteenth century through the illusion of an object intruding into the viewer's space. Typically, this is done by an object being foreshortened off the edge of a table. If we look at *Basket of Wild Srawberries* (Figure 5) by Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin, Trompe-l'oeil is employed through the stem of the flower that is foreshortened off the edge of the table and pointed towards the viewer. The second demonstrates a flattening of space while still creating believable three-dimensional obects as it uses two-dimensional objects, within a two-dimensional plane to allude to a shallow three-dimensional space. *A Mixture of Prints* enlists this style through the curled, bent, and draping edges of the works, and the ribbons and foreshortened pins holding the papers in place. This provides an illusion of the viewer being able to pluck the pages from the wall and interact physically with the work.

Trompe-l'oeil, as it is linked visually to *A Mixture of Prints,* recalls other types of works like the letter rack paintings and the English medley prints. The timeline of Trompe-l'oeil is not simple as it travels between countries and in time. We have records of a Dutch and Flemish style

of Trompe-l'oeil known as *rack* or letter rack paintings as early as the mid-seventeenth century. We start seeing this type of Trompe-l'oeil style utilizing a pin-board in works like *Trompe-l'oeil* (Figure 6) by Samuel van Hoogstraten in 1664. While this work does not hold papers it does hold many objects including books and a roll of papers. This style further develops into what we recognize as a *letter rack* painting in works such as *Letter Rack* (Figure 7) by Edwaert Collier in 1699. This work holds newspapers, a roll of papers, a letter and a book of music sheets spilling open. These works start developing what we as art historians can understand as Trompe-l'oeil. While both works are paintings like Chardin's *Basket of Wild Strawberries,* they utilize trompe-l'oeil in a new way. Rather than tricking the viewer into seeing a full three-dimensional table like Chardin does, the viewer is now confronted with a very two-dimensional space made up of three-dimensional objects. In this

Figure 7: *Trompe-l'oeil,* Samuel van Hoogstraten, 1664, oil painting, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 8: *Letter Rack*, Edwaert Collier, 1698, Oil Painting, Art Gallery of South Australia

sense, objects become more important than the space in which they reside to make the trompe-l'oeil effect.

The Letter Rack Paintings were unique to the space in which they were made for because they would have had the background painted to match the wall which it would have hung.[73] The illusion was deepened as lighting and room arrangement played a part in its illusionistic depth. These further distances it from trompe-l'oeil paintings like Chardin's as the illusion is dependent on the wall in which it hangs. Similarly, I would argue, engravings such as the one from 1714 were hung in the same manner. The work is presented in a vertical format in which it would be displayed like that of the Letter Rack Paintings. It would not be a stretch to suggest that they were displayed within the same format. Without the colored background of the painting, the illusion would not be as dependent on wall colors which would make the trick more universal. It could be displayed in anyone's home with the hope of tricking a friend or two.

Figure 9: *Woodhall Park Print Room: Looking North-East,* Photographed in 2023, courtesy of Matthew Hollow

While records of hung prints in France is scarce, it was in style in the eighteenth century in English to produce rooms called "Print Rooms" which was an interior design style of cutting prints and pasting them

[73] Maggie M. Cao, "Trompe l'oeil and Financial Risk in the Age of Paper." *Grey Room 78* (Boston: MIT Press Journals, 2020). 11

to the walls to look like decorations.[74] Looking at the Print Room at Woodhall Park in Hertforshire, created in 1782, there are more than 350 prints that make up the wall decorations. Some are merely decorative additions while others are prints of portraits, scenes of war, and even reproductions of famous art. This type of room is closely linked to Trompe-l'oeil as it involves using these two-dimensional surfaces to allude to three-dimensional objects such as bows, ribbons, garlands and even columns. This vogue for decoupage however was seen across Europe not just England.[75]

This type of trompe-l'oeil "enjoyed a brief fashion as a collectable form of graphic art."[76] Including a type of document trompe-l'oeil which utilizes papers in a tight space to trick the viewer into believing that they can grab the sheets in front of them. Hoogstraten and Collier were two masters of this illusionistic technique to the point that they "exploited the capacity of paper representation to create an impression of three-dimensionality."[77] Using two-dimensional objects on a two-dimensional plane to inform the eye, i.e. the sense of truth, of three-dimensionality, furthers this play with illusion. It is the ultimate play on the authority of sight to utilize the imagery of two-dimensional objects to recall three-dimensionality. However, letter rack paintings were not the end of this, as we move forward in time to English medley prints.

Both Hoogstraten and Collier spent much of their time in England as showcased by the English paper and address in Collier's *Letter Rack.* These types of paintings provided "a

[74] Kate Retford, "Cutting and Pasting: The Print Room at Woodhall Park." *British Art Studies,* Issue 24 (March 2023).
[75] Ibid
[76] Mark Hallett. "The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London." *Art History,* vol. 20, no. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997). 225
[77] Nina L Dubin, Meredith Martin, and Madeleine C. Viljoen, "Introduction: Modernity Begins with a Meltdown" in *Meltdown! Picturing the World's First Bubble Economy.* (Belguim: Brepols Publishers, 2020). 15-16

powerful model for the working of the medley print."[78] What further links these rack paintings and Medley prints are the memorabilia that allude to the contemporary economic and political environment. Collier's *Letter Rack* includes documents about unions, philosophical pamphlets, and commons speeches whereas *The Bubbler's Medley* includes ephemera about the South Sea Bubble. The popularization of this type of work leads to the English medley prints which are a version of this style of trompe-l'oeil that shows a pile of papers. Prints like *The Bubblers Medley, or a Sketch of the Times: Being Europe's Memorial of the Year 1720* (Figure 8) created in 1721 showcase the evolution of this style as it progressed into the eighteenth century. We also see the progression of depictions of papers. This further deepens the illusion as the image no longer replicates the paper through paint but instead through paper.

Hand-colored Etching and Engraving, British Museum

This complicates the history of the trompe-l'oeil style as both the paintings and prints appear throughout the European world around roughly the same time. Following the appearance of these prints in England and *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713* in France, a major connection is found in political turmoil. As Medley prints are held down by "gravity, rather than ribbons pinned to the wall"[79] you start to notice a difference in the use of paper to relate to their audience. At once you have a

[78] Mark Hallett. "The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London." *Art History,* vol. 20, no. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997). 220
[79] Maggie M. Cao, "Trompe l'oeil and Financial Risk in the Age of Paper." *Grey Room 78* (Boston: MIT Press Journals, 2020). 11

Medley print like *The Bubblers Medley* which displays a unique flatness. The only dimensional detail is the bug crawling on the paper. Each paper is laid flat on top of one another. Conversely in *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713* each flat paper is bent, torn, and draping towards the viewer. There is an inherent three-dimensional addition to the work is not present in its English counterparts. This dimensionality in turn provides a sense of the travel of the work and the handling. Then you have the added elements of pins and ribbons. This work was not meant for flat display.

Both Nina Dubin and Maggie Cao discuss an idea prevalent in the Medley prints and that is the absolute flatness to the image which gives way to understanding of the "flattening of all social relations in a culture of paper."[80] This culture of paper they discuss is the reliance of knowledge, news, and a newly instituted reliance on paper money and assets. Dubin discusses how the Medley print provides a mirror into society as it starts to rely on the flimsiness and flatness of a world mediated by paper. What is interesting here is the added trompe-l'oeil aspect. Dubin understands these prints in terms of flatness. But the letter rack paintings or even *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713* have more of a sense of dimension.

While I agree that a society mediated by paper has the possibility of collapsing as seen a few years later in both the English South Sea Bubble and the French Mississippi bubble. Both used paper as a form of currency for the hope of forming a stabilized community on a material easily succumbed to weather, handling, and time, the three-dimensionality of *A Mixture of Prints* resists this interpretation. Rather than flatness, this work illustrates the life of paper and prints.

[80] Nina L Dubin, Meredith Martin, and Madeleine C. Viljoen, "Introduction: Modernity Begins with a Meltdown" in *Meltdown! Picturing the World's First Bubble Economy.* (Belguim: Brepols Publishers, 2020). 46

The extra dimensionality provided by these curling and bent edges in *A Mixture of Prints* show usage and handling. This alludes to an important aspect of printmaking, a form of art meant for touching, holding, and sharing that breathes life into the medium. We see that through its connection to Europe broadly and to the flourishing art market.

What connects them all is the *tromperie*. Understanding this type of deception, its connection to printmaking, and how it connects works from across Europe, we are able to analyze the work's visual illusion and connect it to the prevailing understanding of the truth of sight by showing its subversion and play. Printmaking is a form of illusion making as it mimics other forms of art and becomes known for this type of play between medium. *A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713* uses Trompe-l'oeil and *tromperie* to illustrate and challenge sight as the prevailing sense. It is, however, sight that allows the mind to be tricked with visual deception. This isolates this work in a particular time as it speaks to a thought of the early modern period. Furthermore, this Document Trompe-l'oeil, as Cao deems it, is specialized in its creation and printmaking technique to the early eighteenth century, through its use of prints to allude to other prints.

CONCLUSION

A Mixture of Prints Representing the Events that Happened in 1713 is exactly that. However, it is also so much more once you dig deeper. Not only do we see images detailing the War of the Spanish Succession, but we also see social interactions and letters of major officers and a few key details about figures within the Catholic Church. While this work appears to be a straightforward depiction of the glory of the French Empire as it depicts military victories, peace summits and joyful social engagements, the trompe-l'oeil style and printmaking media poke at this understanding through illusion. If the papers themselves are an illusion, how are their depictions trustworthy?

The viewer is entranced and seduced by the images and letters. As they walk closer, they see this empire that has won battles, sealed alliances, and brokered peace. As they reach out to touch these documents their hand stops suddenly as it is met with a flat surface. Suddenly everything starts to fall apart. As they interact with it more, they see that the entire image is an illusion of paper. A flat reality pokes through and forces the viewer to contemplate what is not being depicted. What is not being shown is the loss and the financial issues because of the long war. The disparity between the beautifully printed trompe-l'oeil collection of prints and reality gets pulled to the surface as the illusion is dropped. The viewer then must contend with these ideas as this work has at once made them believe in the glory of France and then taken that away through the flatness of illusion. Through an understanding of the War of the Spanish Succession, the print trade, and the style of trompe-l'oeil, *A Mixture of Prints* functions not as propaganda but instead as a subversion of propaganda. The illusion is dropped and the truth of what is not depicted gets brought to the forefront of the viewer's mind.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arkenberg, Rebecca. “Music in the Renaissance.” In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History.* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000)

Barker, Elizabeth E. “The Printed Image in the West: Mezzotint”, 2003, Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000)

Bosse, Abraham, *Traicté des Manieres des Graver en Taille-Douce sur l’airin*. (Á Paris, Chez ledit Bosse, 1645)

Brusati, Celeste. *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel Van Hoostraten.* (Chicago, IL: university of Chicago Press, 2003)

Cao, Maggie M. “Trompe l’oeil and Financial Risk in the Age of Paper.” *Grey Room 78* (Boston: MIT Press Journals, 2020)

Clark, G.N “War Trade and Trade War, 1701-1713,” *The Economic History Review,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1928)

D’aumont, *Ambassade en Angleterre du duc D’aumont.* 1712-1713, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits. Français 10715

de Bruin, Renger E., Cornelts van der Haven, Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink, *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713* (United States: Brill, 2015)

Dubin, Nina L and Meredith Martin, and Madeleine C. Viljoen, *Meltdown! Picturing the World’s First Bubble Economy.* (Belguim: Brepols Publishers, 2020)

Faulkner, James. *The War of the Spanish Succession 1701-1714* (UK: Pen and Sword Books Ltd, 2015)

Fresnoy, Charles du. *De Arte Graphica: The Art of Painting*, introduced and translated by John Dryden, (London, 1695)

Fuhring, Peter and Louis Marchesano, Rémi Mathis, and Vanessa Selbach, ed(s). *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660-1715* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2015)

Goldstein, Carl. *Print Culture in Early Modern France: Abraham Bosse and the Purposes of Print.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Grivel, Marianne. *Le commerce de l'estampe: A Paris au SVII e siècle.* (Genève: Droz, 1986)

Hallett, Mark. "The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London." *Art History,* vol. 20, no. 2 (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997)

Johnson, W. McAllister. *The Rise and Fall of the Fine Art Print in Eighteenth-Century France.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016,

Lajer-Burcharth, Ewa. "Boucher's Tact" In *The Painter's Touch: Boucher, Chardin, Fragonard* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018)

Leonhard, Karin. "Game of Thrones: Early Modern Playing Cards and Portrait Miniature Painting," in *British Art Studies,* Issue 17, (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2020)

Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "trompe l'oeil," accessed April 22, 2024, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/trompe%20l%27oeil.

Puttfarken, Thomas. *Roger de Piles' Theory of Art*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985)

Raux, Sophie. "Virtual Explorations of an 18th-Century Art Market Space: Gersaint, Watteau, and the Pont Notre-Dame," *Journal18,* no. 5 (Spring 2018)

Smentek, Kristel. *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe.* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014).

Stuart, Clark. *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture. (*Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Tumath, Andrew. "The British Army in Catalonia After the Battle of Brihuega, 1710-1712," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* Vol. 91, No. 367 (The Society for Amry Historical Research, 2013).