



CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES  
CENTRE DE RECHERCHE

KCG FOUNDATION

# COURTLY ARTS

*Artisans, Expertise, and Excellence  
at Versailles in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*

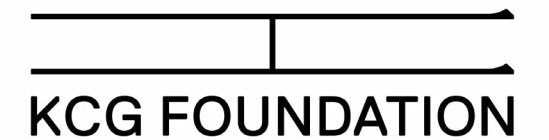


# CONTENTS

CONTENTS.....	pp. 1
FOREWORD.....	pp. 3
Prosocour, the social directory of the Ancien Régime.....	pp. 4
INTRODUCTION	
Adorning palaces and royal bodies. The strength of French craftsmanship and the power of the monarchy.....	pp. 6
ADORNING PALACES	
Upholsterer – the Bertheville family.....	pp. 10
Clockmaker – the Juhel family.....	pp. 12
Joiner – the Bazin family.....	pp. 16
Gilder – the Bardou family.....	pp. 18
<i>Collaborative furniture</i> .....	pp. 20
Trunk-maker – the Saussoy family.....	pp. 22
ADORNING BODIES	
Draper, mercer and passementerie maker - the Brochant family.....	pp. 24
Ribbon weaver - the Cercelot family.....	pp. 28
Tailor - the Barbry family.....	pp. 30
<i>Women in the shadows, queens of fashion</i> .....	pp. 32
Lace worker - the Pipar ladies.....	pp. 34
Collar-maker - the Audriand ladies.....	pp. 36
CONCLUSION	
Splendour on credit. Arrears, claims and the economy of royal power.....	pp. 38
Notes.....	pp. 40
Printed sources and selected bibliography.....	pp. 44
Credits.....	pp. 47

# FOREWORD

The Centre de recherche du château de Versailles has received support from the K11 Craft & Guild Foundation committed to developing PROSOCOUR, the database that lists individuals and offices at the court of France during the Ancien Régime. This generous backing will enable further development of the data in this database and help enhance the work of the Research Centre team.



As the first research center affiliated with a museum, the Centre de recherche du château de Versailles focuses on studying and training about the sites and symbols of power as they are depicted at Versailles and across Europe, mainly during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Like its subject, research at the Centre is meant to be diverse: fundamental and comparative, but also documentary to support its various outputs, and applied to achieve concrete results.

In the face of dispersed work, the lack of comparative studies, and the institutional, thematic, and geographical segmentation of specialists, the Research Centre is an international, multidisciplinary hub where researchers and practitioners collaborate. It aims to unify work within its fields, promote new research, and ensure its broadest dissemination.

Founded by Dr. Adrian Cheng in 2018, K11 Craft & Guild Foundation (KCG) is a registered charitable institution in Hong Kong. We conserve and rejuvenate fast-disappearing Chinese craftsmanship. Through domestic and international cultural projects, we foster research, revitalisation, education, exchange, and cross-disciplinary collaboration of Chinese traditional crafts and culture. This brings traditional craftsmanship into the present, connects Chinese culture and aesthetics with the world, nurtures the next generation, and achieves sustainable craft conservation and development.

Since the establishment, KCG has supported over 100 artisans and held more than 20 exhibitions, including the large-scale touring exhibition “K11 Voyage de Savoir-faire”, as well as “The Four Seasons Recipe of The Cao's” exhibition, which explores the aesthetics of Chinese living behind Dream of the Red Chamber. We have also engaged in global crossover collaborations with over 100 brands or institutions, including UBS Group, LVMH Group, Vacheron Constantin and Cartier, etc. aiming to integrate culture and commerce to build a craft culture ecosystem.

Joseph JUHEL (c. 1728–1803) ; François CARANDA (1704–after 1789)  
Clock titled “The Union of the Arts”, 1784, made of gilt and patinated bronze, enamel, and white marble  
Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, inv. V 5057



## THE ALMANACK OF THE ANCIEN RÉGIME

Launched on April 4, 2024, the Prosocour database is an online resource that consolidates information on individuals who held office under the Ancien Régime, along with details about their position. Biographical data on these individuals enhances the database, making it a valuable tool for researchers and history enthusiasts. Currently, Prosocour includes records for those who served in the King's Household from Louis XIV to Louis XVI, as well as in Queen Marie Leszczyńska's household.

Prosocour's data supports the open science movement and can be freely used and exported by anyone.

Prosocour is easy and quick to navigate: it offers searches by name if you're looking for a specific person and their court roles, or by office if you want to find who held a particular position under the Ancien Régime. Additionally, Prosocour highlights the networks that connected court figures by revealing the relationships they maintained. All data has been collected from historical documents preserved in archives.

Overall, the Prosocour database simplifies understanding the office system of the Ancien Régime, the operation of royal households, and the networks surrounding the king and queen.

Villars (Amable-Gabrielle de Noailles, demoiselle d'Ayen, demoiselle de Noailles, marquise de Villars, duchesse de) (18-02-1706 – 16-09-1771)

[Modifier les informations de l'individu](#)

Carrière

- Dame du palais de la reine Marie Leszczyńska : 13-12-1727 – av. 22-09-1742
- Dame d'atours de la reine Marie Leszczyńska : 13-09-1742 – 24-06-1768
- Dame d'atours de la dauphine Marie-Antoinette : 01-04-1770 – 16-09-1771

Résumé biographique Informations biographiques **Carrière** Réseaux Lieux Sources et bibliographie Remarques Suivi des modifications

Dame du palais de la reine Marie Leszczyńska : 13-12-1727 – av. 22-09-1742

Service de l'officier : Service annuel  
Numéro de la charge : Charge 3

Titularisation :

Type : Brevet

Date d'entrée : 13-12-1727

Cause d'entrée : Démission

Source(s) : Horowski (Leonhard), Die Belagerung des Thrones, Machtstrukturen und Karrieremechanismen am Hof von Frankreich 1661-1789, cd-rom : Prosopographie der französischen Hof- und Mächte (1661-1789), part. II : Prosopographie, Ostfildern, J. Thorbecke, 2012, p. 211.

Prédécesseur : Villars (Jeanne-Angélique de Rocque, demoiselle de Varengeville, marquise puis duchesse de) (hyp. 1675 – 03-03-1763)

Date de sortie : av. 22-09-1742

Cause de sortie : Démission

Source(s) : D'après France. Archives nationales, O/1/3723, f. 11r, 22JX.1742, brevet de sa successeuse.

Successeur : Châteauroux (Marie-Anne de Mailly de Nesle, demoiselle de Monchy, marquise de La Tournelle, duchesse de) (05-10-1717 – 08-12-1744)



### PROSOCOUR IN FIGURES

27 740

individuals

3 222

offices

11 162

interpersonal connections

1 569

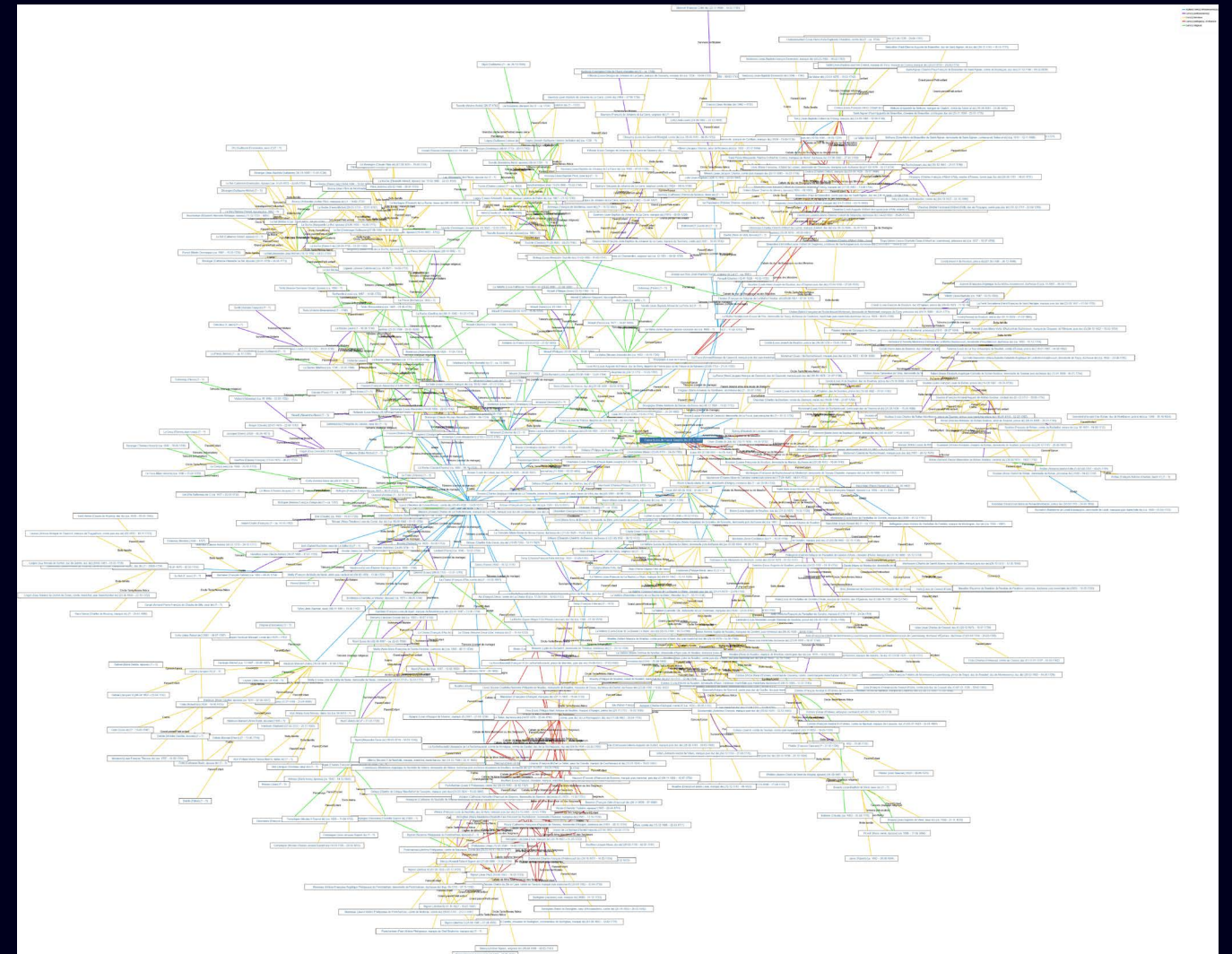
places

## PATRONAGE TO DEVELOP THE DATABASE

The fruit of the ambition and work of the Centre de recherche du château de Versailles, Prosocour benefits from the generous support of the K11 Craft & Guild Foundation.

This support has enabled the expansion of the database to include artisans who worked for the Crown, notably through the recruitment of researcher Natasha Shoory. It is now possible, for example, to identify some of the cabinet-makers, clockmakers, embroiderers, or varnishers who worked for the king or queen, and to understand their socio-professional trajectories.

Prosocour owes its development to MyScienceWork (MSW), which created a custom navigation and analysis platform. The funds received from the K11 Craft & Guild Foundation helped improve the platform, especially by enabling better data visualization, more intuitive search features, and a more refined user experience.



Example of the personal network graph of Louis of France (1661-1711), known as the Grand Dauphin, son of Louis XIV

# A SELECTION OF ARTISANS ACTIVE AT THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

## Introduction

# ADORNING PALACES AND ROYAL BODIES

*The strength of French craftsmanship  
and the power of the monarchy*

When people think of those who built the Palace of Versailles, the ones who shaped its spectacular display of luxury, power, art, and culture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the first figures that come to mind are often the great architects like Louis Le Vau (1612-1670) and Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646-1708), who transformed the site of a former hunting lodge; master painters such as Charles Le Brun (1619-1690) and later François Lemoyne (1688-1737), whose monumental decorations celebrate Baroque art while depicting the power of the monarchs Louis XIV and Louis XV; or exceptional cabinet-makers like André-Charles Boulle (1642-1732) and Jean-Henri Riesener (1734-1806), Marie-Antoinette's favorite.

Yet most of the artisans who worked on the palace's construction, decoration, and furnishings are largely missing from history<sup>1</sup>. William R. Newton's important *Almanach de la Cour* lists, among several thousand individuals, more than 460 artisans who worked at Versailles before the Revolution<sup>2</sup>. If one relies on the Crown's accounts and invoices preserved in the National Archives in Paris, with forty-five boxes of surviving documents, that number could easily be tripled<sup>3</sup>.

Decorating and furnishing the palace was an enormous task: creating a simple chair often involved a decorator, a joiner, a sculptor, a gilder, an upholsterer, and sometimes even an embroiderer. The decoration of bodies required an even larger workforce: tailors, dressmakers, embroiderers, jewelers, wigmakers, shoemakers, and lacemakers, while ribbons and necklaces were also part of specialized trades. These artisans formed the core of the true «machine of trades» that Versailles was – a system designed and overseen by Colbertian policy. In this context, artisans and artisanal dynasties can be seen as a form of state technology, centralizing expertise, production, and power in service of the monarchy.

These shadowy figures merit much more sustained attention. Tasked with materializing monarchical splendor through tangible objects, they, alongside the royal dynasty, contributed to the creation of true dynasties of male and female artisans, revealing the behind-the-scenes world of craftsmanship and culture that made the spectacle of Versailles captivate and amaze its audience. These topics will be explored in turn through the ornamentation of royal palaces, the ornamentation of princely bodies, a particular focus on women artisans, and finally, an analysis of the royal accounts, which reveal an economy of credit composed of arrears and obligations as the material reflection of splendor.

In his memoirs from September 28, 1665, Jean-Baptiste Colbert wrote:

*"Nothing highlights the greatness and spirit of princes more than their buildings; and all future generations judge them by the grandeur of those magnificent houses they built during their lives"*<sup>4</sup>

Colbert and Louis XIV viewed art and architecture as the primary symbols of the monarch's and the nation's glory. As the historian and curator, Thierry Sarmant, summarized, «the splendor of the interior decorations had to match the majesty of the exterior»<sup>5</sup>. Beyond the major arts, even functional objects were expected to reflect monarchical grandeur, the kingdom's wealth, and French artistic excellence. In 1662, on Colbert's suggestion, Louis XIV, who became Superintendent of Buildings, Arts, and Manufactures officially in 1664, acquired the Gobelins factory in the faubourg Saint-Marcel and set up numerous workshops there: weavers, goldsmiths, founders, engravers, cabinet-makers, dyers, upholsterers, and painters, among others. Under the direction of Charles Le Brun, the institution was officially named the Crown Furniture Manufactory in 1667 and employed up to 800 artisans<sup>6</sup>.

One of the main goals of this policy was to promote French artistic craftsmanship and decrease reliance on foreign imports, especially by establishing a tapestry factory capable of competing with Flemish production. The Gobelins workshops thus consolidated those in Paris and Maincy, while the centers in La Marche, Aubusson, Felletin, and Beauvais continued to operate. The mirror market is equally telling: customs data alarmed Colbert, since in the first quarter of 1660 alone, mirrors worth 120,000 livres were imported, and 216 crates of Venetian mirrors<sup>7</sup> ventered France in 1665. Similar goals later guided the founding and expansion of the Sèvres manufactory, although the import of oriental porcelains persisted until the Revolution<sup>8</sup>.

The proximity of artists' and artisans' workshops at the Gobelins fostered close collaboration. Painters such as Charles Le Brun, François Verdier, François Bonnemer, Sauveur Lecomte, Guillaume Anguier, and François Francart, as well as Flemish artists such as Adam Frans van der Meulen, regularly created tapestry cartoons for weavers. Before the Renaissance, the line between artist and artisan was blurry; a clearer separation only became common from the nineteenth century onward. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, therefore, saw both increasing differentiation and a strong convergence between these professional groups<sup>9</sup>.

The artisan's goal was to create objects that were both useful and beautiful, aligned with the vision of Louis XIV and Colbert, to showcase the splendor of the monarchy and the kingdom. While today the term «artisan» typically refers to a specialist in manual work and traditional techniques, under the Ancien Régime it encompassed hierarchical realities. Denis Diderot thus wrote in the *Encyclopédie* :

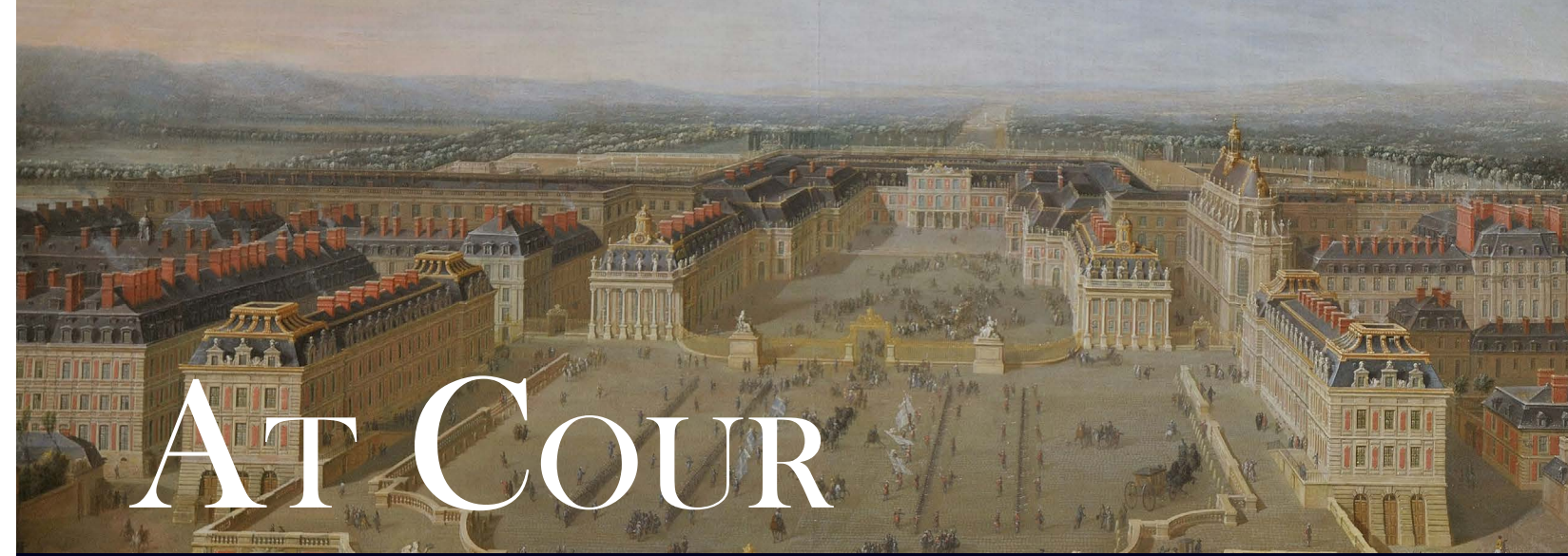
*"Artisan: the name used for workers who practice those among the mechanical arts that require the least intelligence. One says of a good shoemaker that he is a good artisan; and of a skilled clockmaker that he is a great artist."<sup>10</sup>*

Like the Royal Academy, where André Félibien sketched a hierarchy of pictorial genres at the end of the seventeenth century, the classificatory obsession of the eighteenth century also applied to artisans<sup>11</sup>. Yet the distinction between artists and artisans proved to be less rigid and more porous: while academies and manufactories organized hierarchies, production remained fundamentally collaborative. Far from a binary opposition, Versailles thus embodies a hierarchical synergy of trades, fully dedicated to a common goal.

## CORPUS AND METHOD

This study draws on the richness of the Minutier central and sub-series O<sup>1</sup> (Maison du roi), preserved in the National Archives, as well as the parish registers of the Yvelines departmental archives, which allow for the reconstruction of networks and dynasties. More broadly, these sources enable an analysis of trade organization, court spending, cultural and economic production, and, in some cases, the personal trajectories of artisans during the Ancien Régime. The National Archives hold forty-one boxes containing receipts, invoices, and accounts of orders and purchases made by the Crown. However, examining these holdings highlights a significant limitation of archival research: for the period 1725-1764, only a single file remains, whereas between 1765 and 1783 there is typically just one file per year, rising to two to four files annually until 1792. This uneven preservation suggests a probable «documentary bias»: the surviving records do not fully represent the spending practices of different generations of the royal family. Therefore, it is crucial to contextualize these documents carefully to develop a comprehensive and nuanced interpretation before drawing conclusions.

The primary heuristic value of these sources lies in their diversity, cross-checked and viewed within their context.



Pierre-Denis MARTIN (1663 - 1742), *View of the Palace of Versailles from the side of the Place d'Armes*, 1722, oil on canvas, Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, MV 726

Alongside purchases from the Gobelins Manufactory and other workshops, hundreds of artisans held positions at Court, serving either by quarter, half-year, or with the term «ordinary» added to their title. Artisanal dynasties did not form solely through the transfer of knowledge between generations.

At the Palace of Versailles in the 17th and 18th centuries, certain offices, like that of valet de chambre-upholsterer to the king, allowed their holders to choose a successor from among their relatives (son, nephew, brother, etc.). However, this person could not effectively take over the office until receiving letters of appointment from the king after the death or resignation of their predecessor. This method of succession was common during the Ancien Régime and helped shape the organization of trades and artisanal offices over time.

## GLOSSARY

**Post:** a position that allows someone to perform a public function without letters patent and for a limited time. This is a general term, different from «offices,» which required letters from the ruler guaranteeing the office-holder's title for life.

**Quarter / Half-year:** refers to officers serving for three months (quarter) or six months (half-year), as opposed to so-called ordinary officers, who serve throughout the year.

**Survivorship:** the resignation from an office, usually in favor of a family member, while still exercising the function and receiving its benefits. The person who benefits from survivorship remains an honorary officer and only becomes the official holder of the office upon the death or permanent retirement of the resigning holder.

**Ordinary:** when referring to an office, describes those activities carried out throughout the year rather than by quarter or half-year. In terms of expenditure, the term refers to those reserved for the king's exclusive use, mainly including accessories, from trinkets to clocks, from ribbons to toilet linen, as well as other expenses such as campaign furniture.

**Extraordinary:** in terms of spending, this category includes official court entertainments and ceremonies, such as funerals and baptisms of members of the royal family.

## THE BERTHEVILLE FAMILY

*Serving the King's Chamber across three generations*

# UPHOLSTERER

The earliest upholsterer in the family identified so far is Roch Bertheville, who lived on rue Beaubourg in Paris and married Marguerite Beaufort in 1653<sup>1</sup>. The upholstery family at the Palace of Versailles begins with **Louis Bertheville the elder** (c. 1657-1702<sup>2</sup>), valet de chambre and upholsterer of the King's Chamber in the October quarter of 1683<sup>3</sup>. He later served as the upholsterer to the Duke of Burgundy and his younger brothers during their "education"<sup>4</sup>.

At his death, around 1702, Louis Bertheville the elder (d. c. 1768) assumed the role of valet de chambre-upholsterer in the King's Chamber<sup>5</sup>. He served during the July quarter around 1715<sup>6</sup> and the October quarter in 1716<sup>7</sup>. During the same period, he was also the official upholsterer to the Duke of Burgundy starting in 1702 and served as upholsterer for Queen Marie Leszczyńska's Chamber during the January half-year in 1729<sup>8</sup>.

His son, **Louis Bertheville the son** (d. August 14, 1770<sup>9</sup>) was valet de chambre-upholsterer to the Dauphine for the first half of the year from 1744 to 1749<sup>10</sup>, then upholsterer of Queen Marie Leszczyńska's Chamber for the second half from 1749 to 1755<sup>11</sup>. He ultimately served as valet de chambre-upholsterer to the king for the January quarter, with the survivorship of his father, from 1751 until his death in 1770<sup>12</sup>. After his father's death in 1768, he took over his residence at the Grande Écurie, which led to a dispute among the king's valet de chambre-upholsterers<sup>13</sup>.

His son, François Victor Bertheville (born July 9, 1726<sup>14</sup>) served as valet de chambre-upholsterer to the king for the January and October quarters in survivorship of his father from 1751 onward<sup>15</sup>. He officially took over the office for the January quarter in 1768<sup>16</sup>, moved to the October quarter in 1772<sup>17</sup>, and kept this position after the reform of 1787<sup>18</sup>. He also served as upholsterer of the Queen's Chamber for

the October and April quarters, in survivorship of his father from 1755<sup>19</sup>, and remained in service until his honorary resignation in 1777<sup>20</sup>. He ultimately served as valet de chambre-upholsterer to the Countess of Artois when her household was established in 1773<sup>21</sup>. Artisans thus served not only the Crown but also the wider royal family.

Tapestries are among the most expensive objects, their value surpassing that of other pictorial works like paintings. Yet, the work of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century upholsterers is now largely forgotten, despite their crucial and prolific role in royal residences during the Ancien Régime. In the National Archives, files O<sup>1</sup> 3497 to 3523 detail the estimates, annual statements, and valuations of eighteenth-century tapestries, carpets, and textiles. However, aside from the Gobelins and Beauvais manufactories, the makers are rarely mentioned, with the records primarily focusing on the subjects or destinations.

We still have a fairly clear idea of their productions. Ordinary upholsterers were responsible for creating the main furnishings, while valet-upholsterers produced campaign furniture, supervised the renewal of the beds for the first valets de chambre, wardrobe valets, and chamber boys, and crafted furniture for festivities and ceremonies<sup>22</sup>. Their daily duties also included general maintenance, especially helping the valets de chambre in making the royal bed<sup>23</sup>.

Bureaucratic rigor was also strictly enforced. In 1779, François Victor Bertheville requested 5,000 livres in compensation for losses from supplying furnishings to the Countess of Artois; however, since he had not obtained prior authorization from the intendant of Crown furnishings, it was decided he would only receive 1,500 livres<sup>24</sup>.

Charles LE BRUN (1619 – 1690) (designer)  
*Hanging from the History of the King: The King Visiting the Gobelins Manufactory*,  
1729, high-warp tapestry from the Gobelins Manufactory  
On deposit from the Mobilier national at the Palace of Versailles, GMTT 98/010

## THE JUHEL FAMILY

*Setting Court Time: family alliances*

Artisanal dynasties sometimes brought together multiple families, as illustrated by the family tree connecting the clockmaking families of Juhel, Vilbar, and Sicot Dujardin.

**François Juhel**, born in 1713<sup>1</sup>, served as the clockmaker for the Versailles estate until his death on December 6, 1767<sup>2</sup>. His father, **Jacques Juhel**, was a valet de chambre and the king's clockmaker; his brother, **Joseph Juhel** (c. 1728 - 1803), also held the position of the king's clockmaker. A clock made by the latter is still kept at the Palace of Versailles today.

In February 1744, François Juhel married Marie-Françoise Sicot Dujardin<sup>3</sup>, with whom he had a son, **Pierre-François Juhel**. He was baptized on February 3, 1750, at Saint-Louis Church in Versailles, just a day after his birth<sup>4</sup>. Marie-Françoise Sicot Dujardin died shortly afterward, on April 7, 1750, and was buried at Saint-Louis in Versailles<sup>5</sup>. She was the granddaughter of Jacques Sicot, a clockmaker, and the second daughter of **Jacques Sicot Dujardin**<sup>6</sup> (born around 1689), who was the king's clockmaker before 1733<sup>7</sup> and served as valet de chambre-clockmaker between 1743 and 1745<sup>8</sup>. She was also the sister-in-law of the clockmaker **Claude Vilbar**, known as Villebart (circa 1722-1786)<sup>9</sup>.

In January 1752, François Juhel entered into a second marriage with Marie Dessencaux<sup>10</sup>. When François Juhel died, it was decided, according to a contemporary document, that «there is no other means of rescuing her from misery [the Juhel widow] than to grant the post to the son aged eighteen»<sup>11</sup>. The office was then assigned to Pierre-François Juhel, on the condition that his uncle Claude Vilbar would perform the duties and travel until Pierre-François reached the age of twenty-five<sup>12</sup>.

Claude Vilbar, both uncle and father-in-law of Pierre-François Juhel<sup>13</sup>, was a journeyman clockmaker in 1741<sup>14</sup>, a clockmaker for Madame Adélaïde in 1767<sup>15</sup>, and then the clockmaker to the domain during his nephew's youth<sup>16</sup>. He officially took on the title of clockmaker to the domain in 1773 after Pierre-François Juhel was judged «unworthy of his post because of his bad conduct»<sup>17</sup>. Vilbar later became Marie-Antoinette's valet de chambre and clockmaker following the death of Jean-Baptiste Baillon in 1772, a role he held until around 1786<sup>18</sup>. He was

responsible for maintaining the clocks at Versailles, Marly, and Trianon until his death in 1786, when his nephew **Jean-Baptiste-Claude Sicot Dujardin** succeeded him<sup>19</sup>. Claude Vilbar was also connected to the Sicot Dujardin family through his marriage in 1741 to Marie-Louise Sicot Dujardin<sup>20</sup>.



## CLOCKMAKER

Opposite: Joseph JUHEL (c. 1728 - 1803); François CARANDA (1704 - after 1789)  
Clock titled «The Union of the Arts» (detail) 1784, gilt and patinated bronze, enamel, and white marble  
Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, inv. V 5057  
Center : JUHEL, Clock with female mask, c. 1770, gilt bronze, enamel, private collection

# CLOCKS

An inventory dated 9 January 1751 mentions two clocks made by «Juhel».

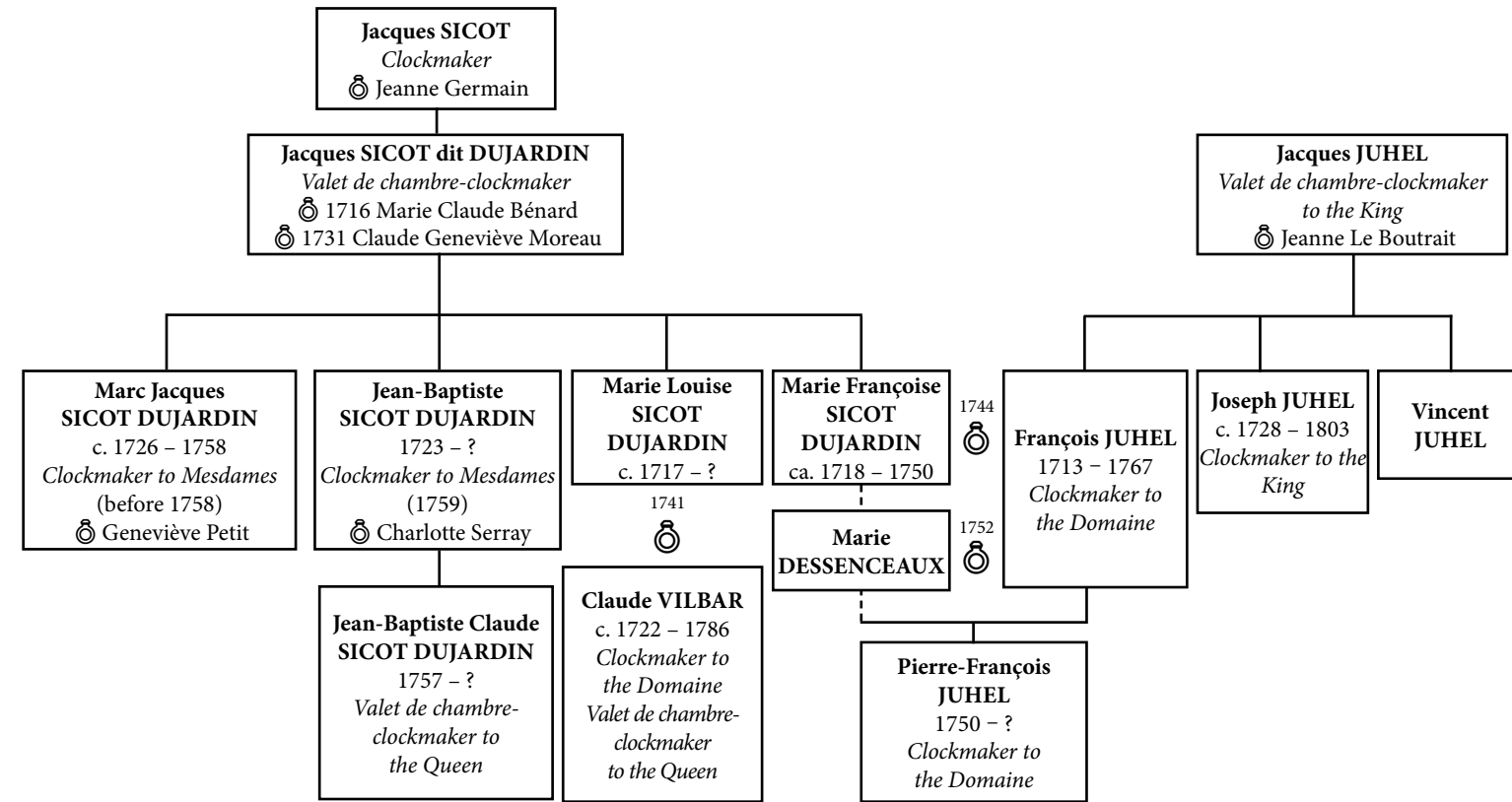
The first is described as "a clock, the marquetry case surmounted by a child holding a dart, with its console stand of the same marquetry, made by Juhel".

The second clock, housed in the apartments of the Duke of Burgundy, is described in more detail: "a clock of black tortoiseshell marquetry and copper, adorned with colored bronze ornaments. The top of the case is surmounted by a male figure with ram's feet, holding a whistle in his left hand and seated upon a rock. At the bottom of the door is a winged dragon. The dial is made of copper with enamel for the hours. The clock, created by Juhel at Versailles, strikes the hours and half-hours, and runs for fifteen days. It measures two feet high and eleven inches wide. The stand, a console of matching shell and marquetry, is decorated with colored bronze ornaments and measures nine and a half inches high by thirteen inches wide"<sup>21</sup>.



Two clocks attributed to Joseph Juhel (c. 1728 - 1803) are now preserved and identified: one at the Palace of Versailles, known as *The Union of the Arts*, and the other in a private collection, titled *The Return of Love*. The latter is based on a model by bronzier François Vion, with a preparatory drawing preserved at the Institut national d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris.

# GENEALOGY OF THE SICOT DUJARDIN AND JUHEL FAMILIES



Claude VILBAR (c. 1722 - 1786)  
Wall cartouche clock with matching wall bracket  
c. 1750-1770, horn veneer, brass  
Private collection

## JOINER

## THE BAZIN FAMILY

*Wood in the King's service: daily life and the Menus-Plaisirs*

At Versailles, joinery was not only about permanently furnishing the royal apartments. Artisans were also mobilized for ceremonies, spectacles, and festivals organized by the Court. These events, being short-lived, required quick responses and involved many trades working under tight deadlines.

The Menus-Plaisirs, the institution responsible for organizing official ceremonies, entertainments, and court travels, provides through their records preserved in the National Archives valuable insights into this spectacular aspect of artisanal work.

**Denis Bazin** (circa 1740), a joiner of the King's Chamber from 1721<sup>1</sup>, carried out work for the Palace of Versailles until 1735<sup>2</sup>. In 1736, he was granted the position of grand valet de pied to the king, with his son **Jean-Denis Bazin** inheriting the role<sup>3</sup>. Jean-Denis, a master joiner, held this office from 1741<sup>4</sup> until he died on May 28, 1754<sup>5</sup>.

The palace accounts mention several projects completed by Denis Bazin from 1721 to 1734<sup>6</sup>. In 1723, he received 1,095 livres for various works performed for the king<sup>7</sup>, notably for the Salle de comédie and the construction of a royal box. These included a folding table made of nested oak, a carved armchair, eight stools, two sofas, nine folding seats for a princess's box, and a chair intended for the comedy wardrobe<sup>8</sup>.

In 1726, he received 274 livres for carved gaming tables with folding legs<sup>9</sup>; in 1727, 60 livres for two large armchairs accompanied by their walnut footstools<sup>10</sup>. In 1729, he received 1,391 livres, ten sols, and ten deniers for the execution of the painted decorations for the grand fireworks celebration on December 5th, marking the birth of the dauphin<sup>11</sup> — an exceptional sum that highlights the scale of these festivities.

Among his most notable works was a suite of stools for the King's cabinet, decorated with shells, fluting, leaves, and cartouches, then silvered by the painter Goulet<sup>12</sup>.

Denis Bazin trained several apprentices, including **Nicolas Daigremont** (from 1711), **François Fouchère** (1713), and **Philippe Bocault** (1715)<sup>13</sup>. His son Jean-Denis, in turn, took on apprentices in 1750<sup>14</sup>, notably **Étienne Gelin** and **René-Charles Fleury**, showing the ongoing continuity of the workshop.

The Bazin family lived in Paris. Denis lived on rue de Bourbon until 1738, then moved to rue Montorgueil<sup>15</sup>. His father, **Henri Bazin**, also a joiner<sup>16</sup>, had already established himself on this street in 1712<sup>17</sup>; Jean-Denis was still living there in 1750<sup>18</sup>.

J·D·BAZIN

Opposite: Jean Denis BAZIN (d. 1754)  
Six armchairs for the Queen (détail), vc. 1745, beech and silk, private collection  
Right: Jean-Denis Bazin's stamp (© Pierre Lemaitre, Galerie de l'Astrée)

## THE BARDOU FAMILLY

*A widow in the Court's artistic trades*

Women cannot be absent from this history of the artistic trades. In the field of gilding and painting on wood, the figure of the Bardou widow stands out as one of the most significant examples of their presence at court.

Between 1765 and 1786, crown accounts relating to painters and gilders are largely dominated by her workshop. The set of thirty-six chairs mentioned earlier bears witness to her role in major royal commissions. Her husband, **Gaspard-Marie Bardou**, founded the business and held the position of ordinary painter and gilder to the king before his death in 1765<sup>1</sup>. The exact identification of this Bardou remains debated: although Antoine Maës proposed that he was Charles Bardou and Marie Bouteiller<sup>2</sup>, Charles died in 1752<sup>3</sup>. He was likely related to Gaspard-Marie, who is mentioned in the accounts of 1764, but the relationship remains uncertain.

**Marie-Catherine Renon, known as the Bardou widow**, had been married for only one year when her husband died<sup>4</sup>. She nonetheless took over the workshop and successfully ensured its continuity. The gaps in the documentation, with only one box of accounts surviving from 1725 to 1764<sup>5</sup>, make it hard to evaluate earlier activity; however, the period from 1765 to 1786 shows a business consistently serving the royal family<sup>6</sup>. Her workshop worked for Louis XV, Marie Leszczyńska, the dauphin and dauphine, Mesdames, then for Louis XVI, Marie-Antoinette, the Count of Artois, and other members of the royal household, in the palaces

of Versailles, Saint-Hubert, Compiègne, Marly, and Fontainebleau.

Production was extensive, including seats, beds, screens, candelabra, ceilings, and overdoors. The workshop did not limit itself to leaf gilding but also carried out whitening and painting of wood, used powdered silver, and applied bronze mounts.

The typical amounts billed ranged from 10,000 to 20,000 livres per year. The year 1770 is a notable exception: nearly 114,000 livres was billed, including 42,000 livres for twenty-eight "large candelabra"<sup>7</sup>. There is also a noticeable change in her title: from an ordinary painter and gilder to the King in 1765, she became by 1775 an ordinary painter and gilder to the Garde-Meuble of the Crown<sup>8</sup>, indicating a more formal administrative role.

Unlike other more utilitarian trades, many works by the Bardou widow survive today, offering rare testimony to the activity of a woman running a major workshop at the heart of the Versailles system.



# GILDER

Opposite: Jacques GONDOIN (1737 - 1818) (designer); Pierre-Edmé BABEL (1719 - 1775) (sculptor); workshop of the BARDOU widow (gilder), *Gueridon supporting a girandole delivered for the Great Gallery on the occasion of the dauphin's marriage* (detail), 1769, carved and gilded oak, Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, inv. VMB 14506  
Above: Jacques GONDOIN (1737 - 1818) (designer); attributed to Nicolas-Quinibert FOLIOT (joiner); workshop of the BARDOU widow (gilder); Claude-François CAPIN (upholsterer), *Folding seat from the winter furnishings of the bedchamber of the Countess of Artois at Versailles*, 1773, carved and gilded beech, Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, inv. V.2022.30.1

# COLLABORATIVE FURNITURE

The creation of furniture for royal palaces rarely relied on the work of just one craftsman. This set of thirty-six chairs, a fire screen, and a folding screen, made in 1785 for Louis XVI's gaming salon, clearly shows the sequence of steps involved in furniture production at Versailles.

The beech structure was crafted by the joiner Jean-Baptiste Boulard, a master renowned for the quality of his frames and the precision of his joinery. The carved ornaments, including shells, foliage, vegetal motifs, and cartouches, were then executed by sculptors Nicolas Vassal and Nicolas-François Vallois, whose work gave the seat its relief and decorative character. The entire piece was then entrusted to the workshop of the Bardou widow, painter and gilder for the Garde-Meuble, for gilding. The attachment of the textiles, probably done by an upholsterer, completed the work, in collaboration with silk merchants.

This process highlights a workflow structured around specialization and a hierarchy of skills. The joiner provided the framework, the sculptor brought the material to life, the gilder enhanced the surface, and the upholsterer added the textile element. Although the finished object appears as a cohesive aesthetic unit, it is actually the result of close collaboration among different workshops.

This collective work also demonstrates how the Versailles system functioned institutionally. Rather than being a collection of isolated talents, furniture production was part of an economy managed by the Garde-Meuble of the Crown and organized through official offices. The coordination of trades thus contributed to the material display of monarchical power

Jean-Baptiste BOULARD (joiner); Nicolas-François VALLOIS (sculptor); Nicolas VASSAL (sculptor); workshop of the BARDOU widow (gilder)

*Two chairs for Louis XVI's gaming salon, 1785*

Carved and gilded beech, silk, gold thread (textiles rewoven in Lyon by Tassinari & Chatel)

Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, inv. V 4881 (right) and VMB 14435 (below, detail)



# TRUNK- MAKER

## THE SAUSSOY FAMILY

*Transporting the Court: chests, trunks and royal itinerancy*

Trunk-makers were responsible for creating campaign chests, trunks, valises, and other containers used to transport royal belongings. Their role was vital at Court: in a traveling monarchy, where trips between Versailles, Marly, Compiègne, and Fontainebleau were common, the sovereign's furniture and personal effects had to be easily transportable and secure. Trunk-makers thus contributed to the infrastructure supporting royal mobility.

In the King's Chamber, two trunk-makers generally held this position at the same time. **Pierre du Saussoy** (or Saussoye) is recorded in 1695<sup>1</sup>; he remained in office until he resigned in 1719<sup>2</sup>, when **Philippe du Saussoy**, sometimes spelled "Saussey," took over<sup>3</sup>. Philippe held this role until 1736<sup>4</sup>.

The archives also help place these artisans within the Parisian cityscape. Pierre du Saussoy lived on rue des Petits-Champs, in the Saint-Eustache parish<sup>5</sup>; Philippe lived on rue Montmartre, in the same parish<sup>6</sup>. Although the exact family connection is unclear, Pierre du Saussoy appears to have been related – possibly the brother – to **Jean du Saussoy**, a trunk-maker for the Queen's Chamber until his death in 1728, who was also based on rue des<sup>7</sup>.

These elements indicate the existence of a family network established in the same Parisian neighborhood, combining royal offices and urban anchorage. Like other trades of the King's Household, the role of trunk-maker depended on a close

connection between family continuity and court service.



No trunk stamped Du Saussoy is known today. Unlike cabinet-makers or clockmakers, trunk-makers left few identifiable objects. This relative lack of material evidence is not accidental: it reflects the implicit hierarchy of the arts under the Ancien Régime. Display furniture was preserved, inventoried, and sometimes rescued from revolutionary sales; logistical objects, on the other hand, were replaced, repaired, and dismantled.

Opposite: *Traveling trunk delivered for the service of the Music of the King's Chapel*, 18<sup>th</sup> century, softwood, oak, leather, iron, textiles, Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, inv. V 5874

Above: Robert BÉNARD (1734 - 1777) (engraver), *Coffretier-Malletier-Bahutier*, plate from Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, 18<sup>th</sup> century, etching, Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris, G.36705

# DRAPER, MERCER & PASSEMENTERIE MAKER

## THE BROCHANT FAMILY

*From cloth to braid*

The Brochant family formed a significant Parisian merchant dynasty whose activities, from 1615 to 1789, were closely linked to the Court. Drapers and mercers, they held the position of regular merchants supplying the king's stables, and later also became passementerie makers. Unlike cloth manufacturers, merchant drapers handled the sale and distribution of fabric. Mercers, members of the Six Corps of Paris, sold a wide variety of goods, especially textiles, accessories, and other clothing-related items. Passementerie makers, in turn, created and sold braids, lace, tassels, cords, plaits, aiguillettes, and buttons – essential elements for making and decorating liveries.

Unlike merchants who “followed the court” and served by quarter, those “supplying the royal stables” were ordinary merchants: they maintained their business in the city while working for the Court on a permanent basis. Their appointment was made by royal edict. In 1615, an edict granted **Mathurian Brochant** (1584–1647)<sup>1</sup> “the office and charge of merchant supplying the King’s Stables,” following the death of Jean Coustard<sup>2</sup>. In his will<sup>3</sup>, Mathurian passed the business on to his two sons, **Paul** (c. 1615–1704<sup>4</sup>) and **Mathurian** (d. 1653).

An addition to the appointment in 1649

allowed Paul Brochant to supply “all sorts of drapery and mercery goods”<sup>5</sup>, thus considerably broadening the scope of the family business. In 1683, Paul’s sons, **Pierre-Paul** (d. 1698), **Philippe** (1653–1728)<sup>6</sup> and **Jean-Baptiste** (d. 1733)<sup>7</sup>, were appointed in survivorship to the offices of draper-merchant and mercer-merchant<sup>8</sup>; a third office of passementerie maker was soon added<sup>9</sup>. Philippe and Jean-Baptiste became holders of the draper-merchant office in 1704, Pierre-Paul having died in 1698 before his father.

The fourth generation was formed by Jean-Baptiste’s sons: **Charles** (1696–1771), **Claude-Jean-Baptiste** (c. 1698–1750)<sup>10</sup> and **Jacques** (d. 1785), appointed in survivorship to the three offices in 1712<sup>11</sup>. After Jean-Baptiste’s death in 1733, they became the owners<sup>12</sup>, except for Jacques, who withdrew in 1726. Transmission continued through the fifth generation between cousins,

**Charles-Jean-Baptiste** (d. 1783) and **Claude-Jean-Baptiste II** (d. 1791)<sup>13</sup>, then into the sixth generation with **Pierre-Jean-Baptiste** (1748–1826) and **Félix-Baptiste** (1752–1816), in survivorship from 1774 onward<sup>14</sup>. This continuity of nearly two centuries demonstrates the strength of the family model and the sustainability of the office.



Opposite and centre of page: *Ceremonial coat in the livery of the king of France, between 1775 and 1793, dark blue wool cloth, lining, red wool serge, waxed linen canvas, braids, silk and linen passementerie, Palais Galliera, inv. 1990.183.X*



Pierre-Denis MARTIN (1663 – 1742), *View of the château of Marly* (detail), 1723, oil on canvas, Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, MV 741

The Brochants held the exclusive right to supply clothing and liveries for the staff of the royal stables, which numbered between 1,500 and 2,000 people<sup>15</sup>. The invoices kept in the National Archives<sup>16</sup> demonstrate the extent of this activity. Most are under 10,000 livres, but some reach substantial amounts: in 1775, nearly 60,000 livres were billed for "undershirts and other supplies for the musketeers" (more than 400 items)<sup>17</sup>. Supplies related to the mourning for Louis XV alone exceeded 700,000 livres<sup>18</sup>. In 1745, they were responsible for providing the livery for the arrival of the dauphine at Versailles<sup>19</sup> and for the dauphin's marriage<sup>20</sup>. A letter dated 13 January 1745 emphasizes the urgency of these orders:

*"It is, sir, for the arrival of Madame la Dauphine that the king's livery must be supplied, and as rumour has it that this princess will enter Versailles on the 15th of next month, you see that there is no time to lose."*<sup>21</sup>

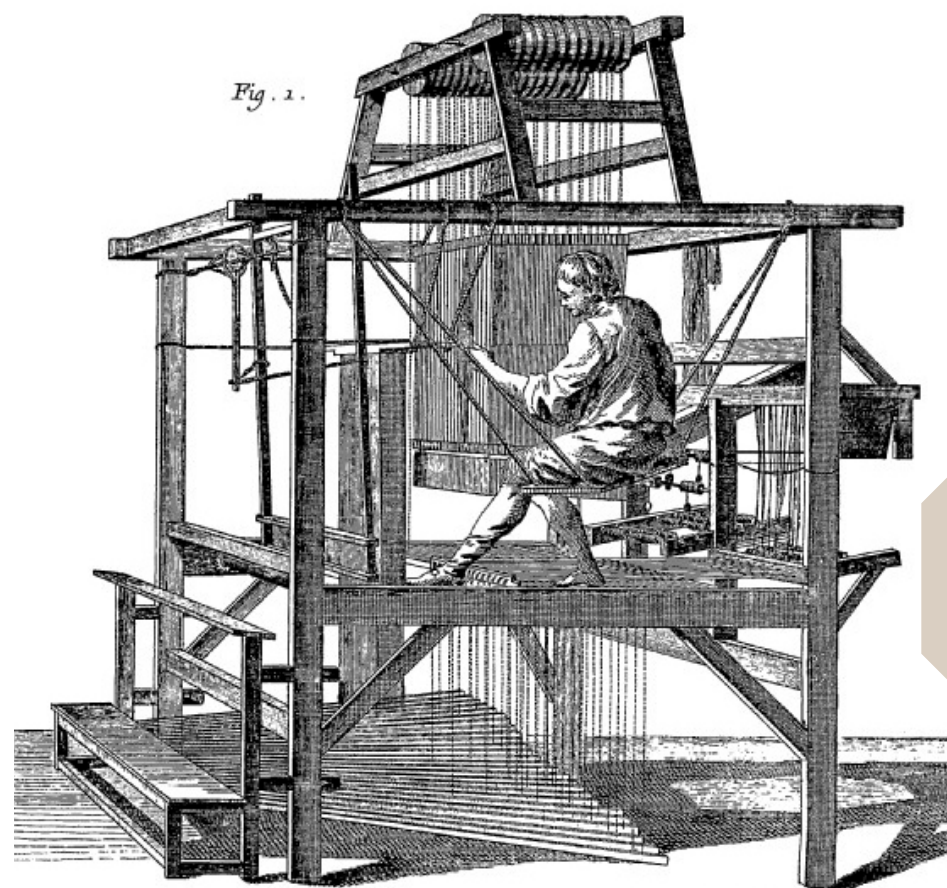
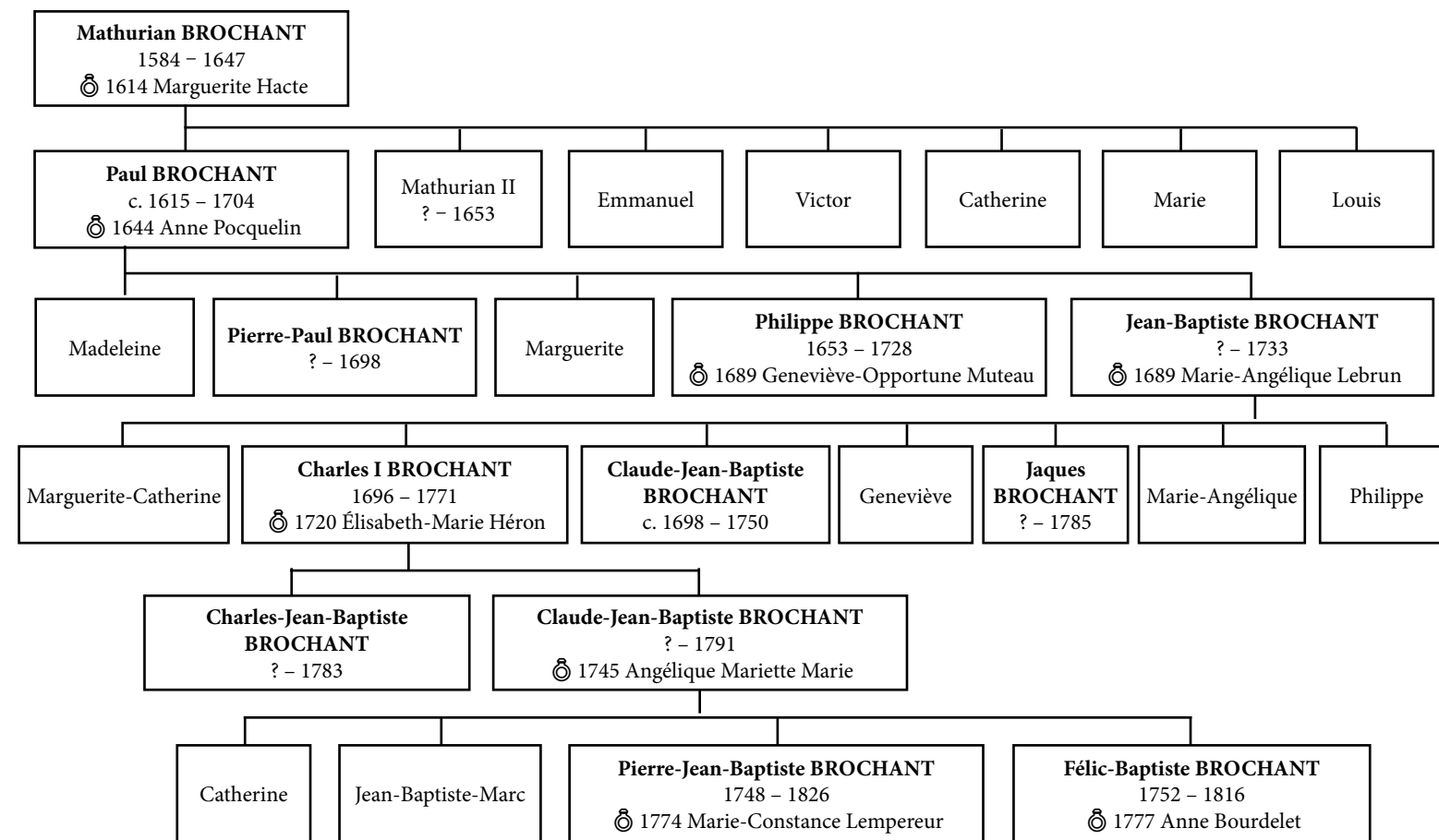
The creation of these garments involved close collaboration among specialists. In 1743, an order included gold and silver braids, fabrics, and various supplies, while Nicolas Vincent Du Trou, embroiderer to the Grande Écurie, was responsible for the embroidery. The tailors of the Grande Écurie then assembled the pieces. Just like with furniture, clothing also relied on a chain of specialized trades.

The activity of "Brochant and company" was highly profitable. By the late 1770s, it was valued at 1.4 million livres. According to Nicolas Lyon-Caen's calculations, the family's fortune grew consistently: 360,000 livres for Paul Brochant; 600,000 livres for Philippe in 1732; 800,000 livres for Jean-Baptiste the following year; 1.6 million for Claude-Jean-Baptiste I; and 2 million for Claude-Jean-Baptiste II in 1791<sup>22</sup>.

This prosperity was reflected in their lifestyle. In 1687, the family left rue Saint-Honoré to buy the Hôtel de Sourdis, in the parish of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, for 66,000 livres<sup>23</sup>. The property included both a residence and a shop; in the eighteenth century, the Brochants even had a private chapel. The surviving death notice of Jean-Baptiste (1733)<sup>24</sup> attests to their social standing and prominence in the city.

However, this success was built on a fragile economy. Payments from the Crown were often late. A complaint letter around 1777 shows that the monarchy owed the family more than 2.3 million livres for 1774-1776<sup>25</sup>. The inventory after death in 1790 still lists claims on the King's Household totaling 782,000 livres and 115,000 livres on the Public Treasury<sup>26</sup>.

## GENEALOGY OF THE BROCHANT FAMILY



Robert BÉNARD (1734 - 1777) (engraver)  
*Passementerie* (detail)  
Plate from Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*  
18<sup>th</sup> century (facsimile), etching  
Bibliothèque nationale de France, FOL-V-12670 (39)

## THE CERCELOT FAMILY

*Ribbons and ambitions at Versailles*WEAVER  
RIBBON-MAKER

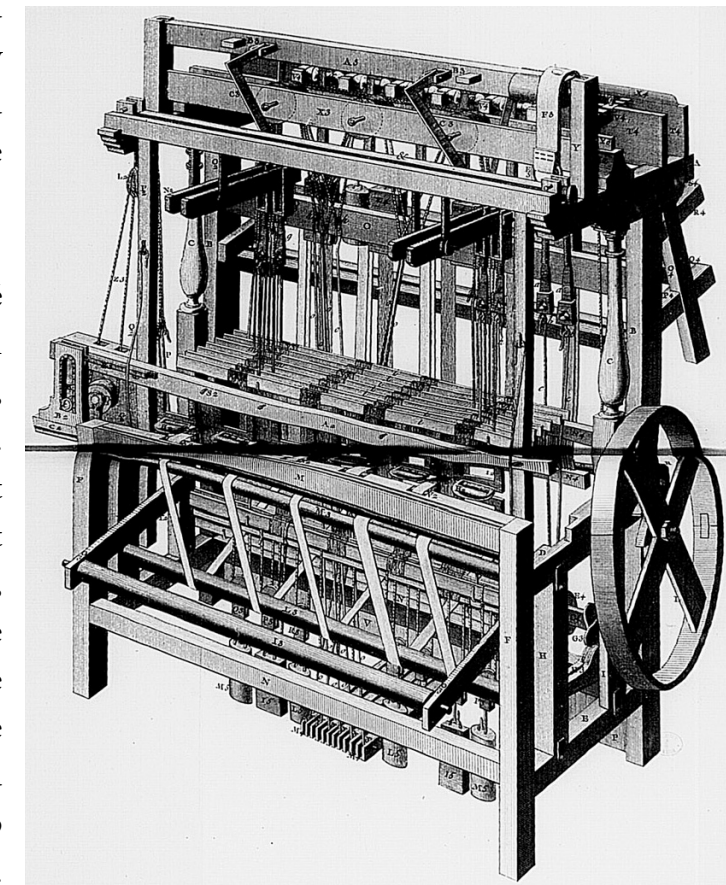
Ribbon-makers produced small objects such as ribbons, braids, and cords, which might seem modest next to furniture or goldsmith's work. Yet, the plates in Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* reveal the sophistication of the looms, the precision of the gestures, and the technical complexity needed for their production. The ribbon, far from being just an accessory, played a key role in body ornamentation and the display of visible hierarchies at the Court.

**Antoine-André Cercelot**, a ribbon merchant in Paris<sup>1</sup>, presents a unique case. There is no evidence that he practiced his trade at Versailles. His brother, Louis Cercelot, on the other hand, held the position of usher of the hall starting in 1774 and requested a survivorship for himself in 1781<sup>2</sup>. However, no records confirm that Antoine-André actually performed this role, likely because Louis remained in that post until around 1790<sup>3</sup>.

The archives of the Minutier central show

that the Cercelots belonged to a family of ribbon manufacturers: as early as 1702, an **André Cercelot** was recorded as a master weaver and ribbon maker in Paris<sup>4</sup>. In the *Encyclopédie*, "rubanier" specifically refers to these Parisian masters who specialized in making ribbons and braids from silk, gold, or silver<sup>5</sup>. This occupation contrasts sharply with that of the usher of the hall, an officer of the Maison-Bouche responsible for overseeing the king's ceremonies, leading processions, and controlling access to the hall<sup>6</sup>.

Why would an artisan from a dynasty of master ribbon-makers consider such an office, far from his trade? Without explicit sources, we can only propose hypotheses. However, this case emphasizes the appeal of Versailles offices: beyond preserving know-how, survivorship provided legal security, social prestige, and long-term integration into court networks. At Versailles, advancement was not always based on specialization but sometimes involved moving into the institution.



## THE BARBRY FAMILY

*Cutting and fitting: clothing the king's stables*

## TAILOR



Mastery of artisanal skills within family dynasties, maintained through the system of survivorship, was a key part of how work was organized at the Court. It ensured the transfer of know-how and continuous service. However, this model was not universally accepted: some saw it as a form of office monopolization or as excessive or abusive domination.

The tailors associated with the Grande Écurie numbered six at any given time. In 1689, these positions were split among five families<sup>1</sup>, creating a balance within the trade. Their role was crucial: they made and adjusted the liveries for the staff of the Stables, using fabrics and supplies supplied mainly by merchants such as the Brochants. Their work involved close cooperation with drapers, passementerie makers, and embroiderers.

In the eighteenth century, however, one family came to dominate these offices: the **Barbrys**. In 1722, three members of the same family held three of the six positions simultaneously – **François, Charles, and the**

latter's son, **Louis** – thus concentrating a significant share of the work and income. This situation fueled tensions.

By 1776, the Prince of Lambesq, then in charge of the Grande Écurie, criticized what he saw as an excessive accumulation of offices by a single family. Referring to their "roguery"<sup>2</sup>, he wrote:

*"I am very much of my mother's opinion not to leave several offices in the same family"*<sup>3</sup>

This remark shows the resistance that the concentration of artisanal offices could provoke. The system of survivorship, designed to ensure stability and competence, could also seem like a corporate lockout preventing other masters from entering the field.

The prince's wish was finally fulfilled: by the late 1770s, the positions of tailors in the Grande Écurie were again divided among several families, returning to a setup similar to that of 1689<sup>4</sup>.

Opposite: *Woman's jacket interior*, late 18<sup>th</sup> century, silk, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 2010.151

Above: Robert BÉNARD (1734 - 1777) (engraver), *Tailor of garments* (detail), plate from Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, 18<sup>th</sup> century, etching, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Littérature et art, Z-371

## WOMEN IN THE SHADOWS AND QUEENS OF FASHION

No figure is arguably more famous or more controversial for her influence on fashion at the end of the Ancien Régime than Rose Bertin, Marie-Antoinette's marchand de modes. Yet, although her name is well known in history, the other women working for the royal Wardrobe have almost entirely faded into obscurity.

Apart from Bertin, whose creations helped shape European trends, the queen's dressmakers largely remain anonymous. In 1788, two women, **Marie-Jeanne Cassac** and **Marie-Victoire Cassac**, known as **Sainte-Foye**<sup>1</sup>, worked under her orders. However, the archives reveal almost nothing about their lives. This scarcity of documents highlights a broader phenomenon: women artisans of the Ancien Régime appear only rarely in the historical record, either because the documents have vanished or because they were never documented.

The queen's wardrobe traditionally employed an ordinary seamstress, appointed by commission, responsible for alterations and repairs to garments made by tailors. However, only three names appear in the archives: the Sainte-Foye women and a "Mlle Berton" who came before them<sup>2</sup>. Under Marie-



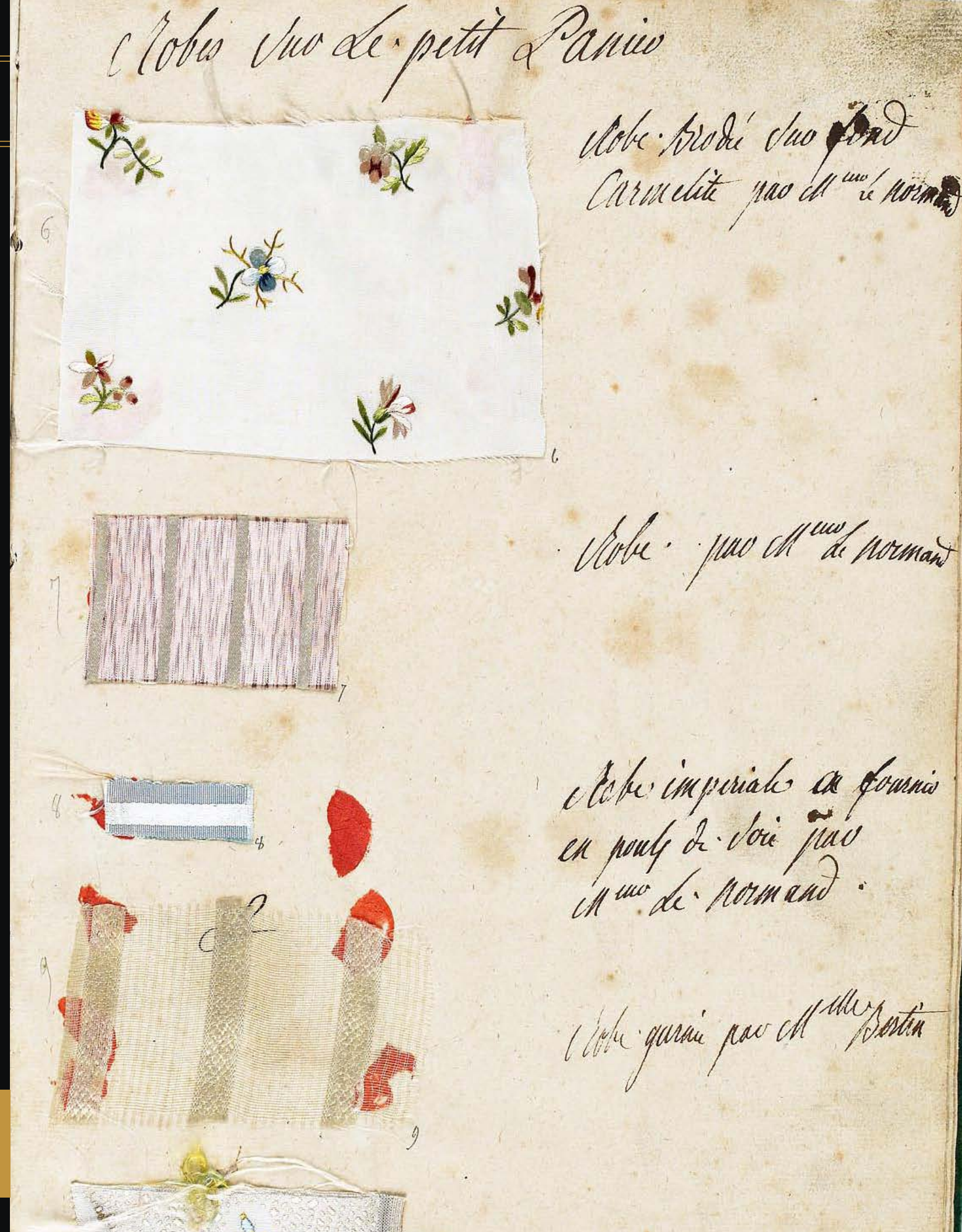
Antoinette, the role of tailors gradually declined, as the sovereign favored the services of Rose Bertin<sup>3</sup>, whose workshop handled an increasing share of orders.

The general statement of expenditures for the queen's wardrobe in 1788 reveals the extent of this textile economy. Despite a reputation for preferring simplicity in her later years, Marie-Antoinette spent about 190,721 livres on clothing and supplies<sup>4</sup>: dressmakers, merchants, perfumers, shoemakers, tailors, washerwomen, fabrics, buttons, and ribbons. That same year, "Mlle Sainte-Foye, seamstress" received 4,622 livres, while Rose Bertin was paid 61,992 livres.

This contrast highlights the internal hierarchy of women's work: alongside the prominent and well-known figure of the marchande de modes, a whole network of seamstresses, linen workers, and female laborers contributed to creating the royal appearance. Although their names often stay in the shadows, their contribution was crucial to the material and symbolic construction of the queen's image.

Above: Presumed portrait of Rose Bertin (1744-1813), 1805-1815, oil on canvas, Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris, inv. P835

Opposite: Gazette des atours of Marie-Antoinette, 1782, Archives nationales, AE/I/6/2



*Robe duo de petit Panier*

*Robe brode duo pour  
Carmélite par M<sup>lle</sup> de Normand*

*Robe par M<sup>lle</sup> de Normand*

*Robe imperiale de fournie  
en poulx de soie par  
M<sup>lle</sup> de Normand*

*Robe garnie par M<sup>lle</sup> Bertin*

## THE PIPAR LADIES

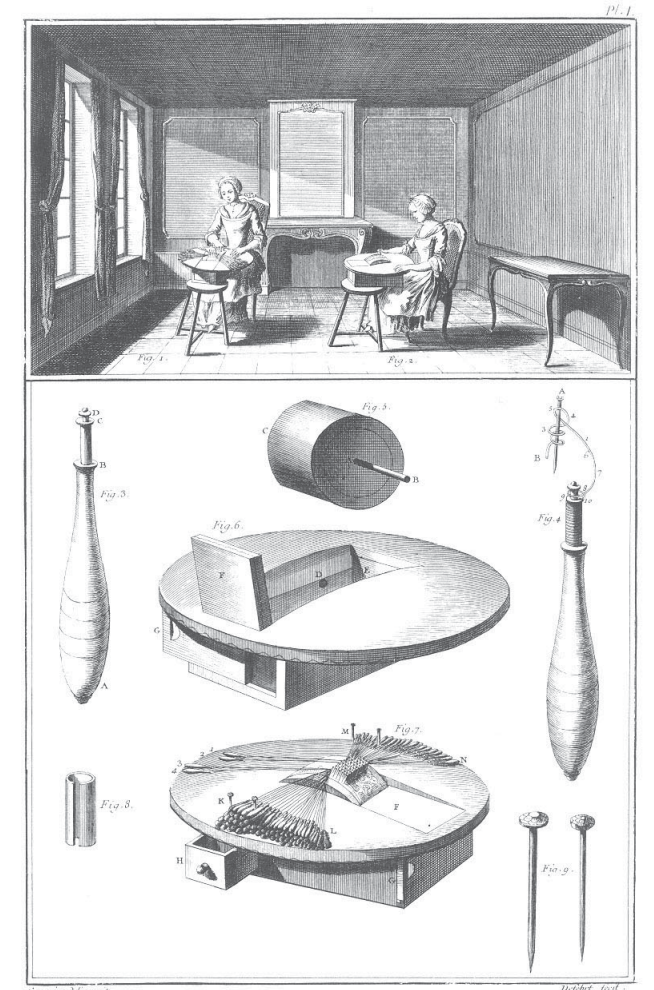
*Mending and maintaining royal lace*

**Anne-Catherine Baritault** (spelled Barbault by William R. Newton<sup>1</sup>), known as the **Pipar widow**, was born on September 24, 1700, and baptized on the 29th of the same month at Saint-Sulpice church in Paris<sup>2</sup>. Her baptism record mentions her father, Isaac Baritault, an officer at Les Invalides, and her mother, Anne Bougon. Interestingly, the record was created on April 28, 1735, although her pension patent confirms 1700 as her birth year<sup>3</sup>.

The documentation then becomes more complicated. In 1779, two individuals appear in the pension records: a "dame Pipar" receiving 500 livres and an "infirm dame Pipar" receiving 700 livres<sup>4</sup>. The identification of these beneficiaries remains uncertain. A "dame Pipar" is also mentioned as a "lace mender" serving Louis XV's Wardrobe before 1758, retiring in 1778<sup>5</sup>. This record is preserved alongside that of Anne-Catherine Baritault, who is noted to have received a pension of 500 livres in August 1774<sup>6</sup>.

Several receipts from 1765 are signed "Anne-Catherine Baritault widow Pipar" as well as "F. Pipar" or "daughter Pipar"<sup>7</sup>, implying collaboration with a relative, possibly her daughter. The amounts received are modest: 96 livres for four pairs of cuffs and 300 livres for lace maintenance. These payments were considered part of the Wardrobe's regular expenses and were paid by the Treasurer of the Menus-Plaisirs, similar to the wages of secretaries and lace workers.

The parish registers of Yvelines unfortunately do not allow for further clarification of these family connections, a common gap in the study of women under the Ancien Régime. However, the importance of lace at court is undeniable: the existence of specific roles such as washerwomen, menders, lace workers, and starchers demonstrates the symbolic and material value of these decorations in royal displays.

*Dentelle.*

Opposite: *Pieces of lace* (detail), eighteenth century, bobbin lace, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 08.48.25  
 Above: Robert BÉNARD (1734 – 1777) (graveur), *Lace*, detail, plate from Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, 18<sup>th</sup> century (facsimile), etching, Bibliothèque nationale de France, FOL-V-12670 (39)

## THE AUDRIAND LADIES

*Shaping the queen's collars*MAKER  
OF  
COLLARS

The decoration of the royal body involved artisanal craftsmanship down to the smallest details: even collars had their specialists. Emblematic of Renaissance fashion, especially in the form of the ruff, collarettes – "a kind of small linen collar, which women sometimes use to cover the throat and shoulders" (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 4th edition, 1762) – gained renewed interest in the eighteenth century with new variations. In the second half of the century, the "Medici collar," raised and often decorated with lace, framed the face and emphasized the verticality of the silhouette – a revival of the open ruff popularized by Marie de' Medici and a sign of the post-Revolutionary "chérusque." Less voluminous than the ruffs of the sixteenth century, these collars still fit into the aesthetics of appearance, demanding great precision in cutting, starching, and assembling fine lace.

During Queen Marie Leszczyńska's reign, a family of women worked as collar makers. **Marie-Marguerite Audriand (or Audriand) Boulet** (c. 1719<sup>1</sup>–1754<sup>2</sup>), known as **Sophie**<sup>3</sup>, was recorded as a collar maker in 1747<sup>4</sup>. She married Noël Boulet, a regular officer of the Queen's Chamber, in 1751<sup>5</sup>. When she died in 1754, her niece,

**Anne-Marie Audriand**<sup>6</sup>, took over and worked until her death in 1757 at age nineteen<sup>7</sup>. Her sister, **Adélaïde-Élisabeth Audriand**, then took her place<sup>8</sup> and held the job until 1765<sup>9</sup>. **Françoise Brossard**, born in 1714<sup>10</sup> and wife of Claude-Louis Audriand and mother of Anne-Marie and Adélaïde-Élisabeth, also did this work before<sup>11</sup>.



This case illustrates how positions could circulate within the same female family network, thereby ensuring continuity of service. It also highlights the importance of parish registers in filling the gaps left by administrative archives. Thus, in 1756, at Notre-Dame de Versailles<sup>12</sup> Anne-Marie Audriand married François-Victor Bertheville, the King's valet de chambre-tapissier. This apparently minor detail reveals the interweaving of trades and marital alliances in the formation of artisanal dynasties.

At Versailles, marriages between artisans did not belong solely to the private sphere: they reinforced professional networks and contributed to the functioning of the Court as a social and institutional "machine".

Opposite: Élisabeth-Louise VIGÉE LE BRUN (1755 – 1842), *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France* (detail), 1788, oil on canvas, Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, inv. MV 2097

Above: Jean-Marc NATTIER (1685 – 1766), *Marie Leszczyńska, Queen of France* (detail), 1748, oil on canvas, Palace of Versailles and Trianon National Museum, inv. MV 5672

## Conclusion

# SPLENDOUR ON CREDIT

*Arrears, claims and the economy  
of royal power*



Jean-Léon GÉRÔME (1824 – 1904), *Reception of the Grand Condé by Louis XIV (Versailles, 1674)*, 1878, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, RF 2004 15

An exhaustive analysis of the royal accounts would exceed the limits of this study. Although several historians have conducted in-depth research on what the abbé de Véri called a "monstrous tree," their explanations remain only partially understood<sup>1</sup>. What matters here is the economic logic behind them: that of a credit economy.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most transactions were not settled in cash but on credit, using instruments like the bill of trade or the bill of exchange. Payments thus took the form of debt acknowledgments that could circulate among creditors<sup>2</sup>. This system, both advanced and fragile, is reflected in the accounts of the King's Household by the constant accumulation of arrears.

Under Louis XV, delays in payments to artisans became a regular issue. The archives show the buildup of significant arrears in the 1740s, recorded in the Obligations of 1745<sup>3</sup>. Correspondence from the late 1770s mentions more than 2.3 million livres owed to a major court supplier (the Brochants) for 1774–1776 alone<sup>4</sup>. Post-mortem inventories confirm the size of these claims, sometimes reaching several hundred

thousand livres on the King's Household and the Public Treasury<sup>5</sup>.

These figures are not just anecdotal; they demonstrate a system where the monarchical state functioned reliably on credit. Artisans, whether gilders, textile traders, or equipment suppliers, provided the materials, managed their cash flow, and waited for payments that were often postponed for several years. The Bardou widow's workshop, for example, received 114,000 livres for a single year's work in 1770; by 1788, Marie-Antoinette's clothing expenses surpassed 190,000 livres. These amounts highlight the size of orders but also the constant tension between luxury spending and available liquidity.

The dispersal of royal belongings after the Revolution is a perfect example. August 11, 1794, marked the end of the revolutionary sales: over 17,000 lots from the Crown collections were auctioned off<sup>6</sup>. These objects, once centered around the sovereign as symbols of monarchical power, were then scattered. Their physical dispersal symbolizes the breakdown of royal authority itself.

# NOTES

## Introduction – Adorning palaces and royal bodies

- 1 Detailed studies have been carried out on other trades at Versailles; see, for example DA VINHA, 2015.
- 2 NEWTON, 2020 [2017].
- 3 France, Archives nationales, O<sup>1</sup> 3616 à O<sup>1</sup> 3656.
- 4 COLBERT, 1868, t. V, p. 269.
- 5 SARMANT, 2019, p. 22.
- 6 SARMANT, 2019, p. 26.
- 7 HAMON, 2017, pp. 135-156.
- 8 CASTELLUCCIO, 2012, pp. 45-70.
- 9 GARCIA, 2003, pp. 227-251.
- 10 DIDEROT et LE ROND D'ALEMBERT, « Artisan », *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Paris : chez Briasson, David, Le Breton et Durand, 1751 (1ère éd.), t. I, p. 745.
- 11 For Félibien's theories on the hierarchy of genres and genre as a marker of genius, see FÉLIBIEN, 1699. For a different view, one that distinguishes genre from genius, see PILES (DE), 1708, p. 53-54. Although he too granted primacy to history painting, Roger de Piles regarded other genres as worthy fields of artistic endeavor, maintaining that their quality was limited only by the artist's talent: "There is an infinity of beautiful paintings that represent no history at all: such as allegorical paintings, landscapes, animals, seascapes, fruits, flowers, and many others which are merely the product of the painter's imagination." PILES (DE), 1699, p. 29.

## Upholsterer – the Bertheville family

- 1 France, Archives nationales (henceforth AN), Y//190, 16.XI.1653.
- 2 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 46, f. 57v, 01.V.1702 ; France, Archives départementales des Yvelines, (henceforth AD78), BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame) 5Mi 161 TER [1080413/5], f. 26 [vue 31/94], 23.IV.1702, burial certificate.
- 3 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 27, f. 303v, 16.X.1683 ; AN, Z<sup>1A</sup> 475, f. 337v, year 1683, marginal notes ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 716, f. 29, 1689 ; quoted by NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 1776.
- 4 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 716 f. 29 [1689] ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3785, *Etat des sommes que reçoivent les officiers de Monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne...*
- 5 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 46 f. 57v, 01.V.1702.
- 6 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 2811, d. 1.
- 7 France, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Clairambault, 814, f. 460, *État général... 1716* ; quoted by NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 1776.
- 8 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3717, f. 36v.
- 9 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 726, f. 125, 14.VIII.1770 ; AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame) 4E 3509 5Mi 179 BIS [1112506/3], f. 46 [vue 51/79], 15.VIII.1770, burial certificate.
- 10 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3745B, f. 78, 24.III.1745 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3745A, f. 33, 23.V.1750.
- 11 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3717, f. 58v, 08.IV.1750 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3717, f. 343, 06.IX.1756 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3732, f. 13, 30.XII.1755.
- 12 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 95, f. 267, 13.IX.1751 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 1077, n° 22, 24.I.1768.
- 13 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 1077, n°378.
- 14 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 668, n°257, 09.VII.1726 ; AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame) 5Mi 156 [1080406/2], f. 57v-58 [vue 66/123], 09.VII.1726, baptismal certificate.
- 15 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 95, p. 267, 13.IX.1751 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 202, f. 47, 09.IX.1751, application for survivorship by Bertheville senior in favour of his son approved ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 195, f. 268, 09.IX.1751, application for survivorship by Bertheville senior in favour of his son approved ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 718, p. 60 (mention of the year of death [1770] of Louis Bertheville and the date of survival of his son, François-Victor Bertheville [13.IX.1751]).
- 16 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 198, f. 77, 10.V.1768 ; quoted by NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 1775.
- 17 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 726, f. 124, 04.IV.1772.
- 18 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 820, n°51, s.d. [08.1787].
- 19 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 196, f. 87v, 26.XI.1755 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3732, f. 13, 30.XII.1755.
- 20 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 199, f. 187, 05.I.1777.
- 21 AN, R<sup>1</sup> 279, d. 3, *État des officiers...1773*.
- 22 BONNET, 2017, p. 78.
- 23 NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 308.
- 24 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 199, f. 265v ; NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 308.

## Clockmaker – the Juhel family

- 1 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Saint-Louis), 4E 3671 5Mi 192 [1112518/8], f. 1v, 08.I.1752, marriage certificate of François Juhel, aged 38, and Marie Dessenceaux.
- 2 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Saint-Louis), 4E 3714 5Mi 196 [1112625/11], f. 39v, 07.XII.1767, burial certificate of François Juhel. He was a "watchmaker" at the time of his first marriage in 1744 and "king's watchmaker" at the birth of his first son in 1750 ; AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame), 4E 3430, f. 10, 12.II.1744, marriage certificate for François Juhel ; AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Saint-Louis), 4E 3664, f. 8v, 3.II.1750, baptismal certificate of François Juhel.

- 3 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame), 4E 3430, f. 10, 12.II.1744, marriage certificate of François Juelle [Juhel] and Françoise Sicot dit Dujardin.
- 4 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Saint-Louis), 4E 3664 5Mi 192 [1112518/1], f. 8v, 3.II.1750, baptismal certificate of Pierre-François Juhel.
- 5 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Saint-Louis), 4E 3669 5Mi 192 [1112518/6], f. 20r, 24.V.1751, burial certificate of Marie Françoise Sicot Dujardin, wife of François Juhel.
- 6 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame), 4E 3349 5Mi 159 [1080410/7], f. 21v-22r, 14.VII.1716, marriage certificate between Jacques Sicot dit Du Jardin and Marie Bénard.
- 7 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame) 4E 3396, f. 9, 31.I.1733, baptism certificate of Marie-Geneviève Sicot Dujardin, daughter of Jacques Sicot Dujardin, "clockmaker in ordinary to the king" and Geneviève-Claude Moreau.
- 8 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 87, f. 60 – 1, 23.II.1743 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 202, f. 45, 20.X.1742 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 194, f. 191, 20.X.1742 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 202, f. 45, 03.III.1745 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 194, f. 317v, 3.III.1745.
- 9 «AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame), 4E 3421 5Mi 169 BIS [1080422/2], f. 8v-9r (vue 13/45), 08.II.1741, marriage certificate of Claude Villebart, aged 19 and Marie-Louise Sicot Dujardin ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 285, n°653, 03.XII.1786.
- 10 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Saint-Louis), 4E 3671 5Mi 192 [1112518/8], f. 1v, 08.I.1752, marriage certificate of François Juhel and Marie Dessenceaux.
- 11 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 285, n°219, 20.XII.1767.
- 12 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 285, n°219, 20.XII.1767.
- 13 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 285, n°278, 09.IV.1773.
- 14 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame), 4E 3421 5Mi 169 BIS [1080422/2], f. 8v-9r (vue 13/45), 08.II.1741, marriage certificate of Claude Villebart and Marie-Louise Sicot Dujardin.
- 15 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 285, n° 219, 20.XII.1767.
- 16 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 285, n° 219, 20.XII.1767.
- 17 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 285, n°278, 09.IV.1773.
- 18 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 198, f. 252v ; *Almanach de Versailles*, 1786, p. 135.
- 19 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 285, n°653, 03.XII.1786, Dujardin's appointment authorised following the death of his uncle Vilbar: probably Jean-Baptiste-Claude, master watchmaker.
- 20 AD78, BMS (Versailles, Paroisse Notre-Dame), 4E 3421 5Mi 169 BIS [1080422/2], f. 8v-9r (vue 13/45), 08.II.1741, marriage certificate of Claude Villebart and Marie-Louise Sicot Dujardin.
- 21 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3446, p. 9-10, 09.I.1751, *Inventaire par chapitre des meubles de différente nature qui sont au château de Versailles*.

## Joiner – the Bazin family

- 1 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 65, f. 76, 7.IV.1721, *Registre du secrétariat année 1721* ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 66, f. 12, 13.I.1722, *Registre du secrétariat année 1722*.
- 2 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 79, p. 323-325, 09.VIII.1735.
- 3 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 80, p. 31, 21.I.1736 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 872, n°39 ; quoted by NEWTON, p. 1661.
- 4 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Saint-Louis) n°1112515, vue 20/56, 23.IV.1741, burial certificate of Denis Bazin.
- 5 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 99, p. 286, 24.X.1755 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 855, n°35, and AN, O<sup>1</sup> 883, n°413 et 414 ; quoted by NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 1661.
- 6 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 2853, 2854, 2856, 2857/A, 2857/B, 2858, 2859/A, and 2861.
- 7 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 2854, *Argenterie 1723*, f. 183v – 185 and f. 167v – 168v.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 167v – 168v.
- 9 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 2856, *Argenterie 1726*, f. 197v.
- 10 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 2857/A, *Argenterie 1727*, f. 172v – 173.
- 11 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 2858, *Argenterie 1729*, f. 264 – 265v.
- 12 SALVERTE (de), 1923, p. 13.
- 13 AN, Minutier central, ET/XV/433, 22.XII.1711, apprenticeship ; ET/XV/454, 18.IX.1713, apprenticeship ; ET/XV/471, 9.IX.1715, apprenticeship.
- 14 AN, Minutier central, ET/XXXVIII/386, 24.XI.1750, apprenticeship ; ET/XXXVIII/382, 10.V.1750, apprenticeship.
- 15 AN, Minutier central, ET/XV/433, 22.XII.1711, apprenticeship ; ET/XXXV/610, 22.V.1738, deed of sale.
- 16 AN, Minutier central, ET/XV/446, 26.XII.1712, marriage contract of Henri Bazin's daughter.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 AN, Minutier central, ET/XXXVIII/386, 24.XI.1750, apprenticeship ; ET/XXXVIII/382, 10.V.1750, apprenticeship.

## Gilder – the Bardou family

- 1 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3617.
- 2 MAËS, 2013.
- 3 AN, Y//13377, 17.XI.1752, sealed after the death of Charles Bardou.
- 4 AN, Minutier central, ET/XXVIII/338, 25.VIII.1764, marriage contract.
- 5 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3616.
- 6 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3617 to O<sup>1</sup> 3640.
- 7 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3622.
- 8 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3624.

## Trunk-maker – the Saussoy family

- 1 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 39, f. 02, 03.I.1695 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 826, n<sup>o</sup>327, [s.d.] ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 43, f. 378v, 25.XI.1699.
- 2 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 63, f. 306, 28.X.1719.
- 3 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 63, f. 306, 28.X.1719, deduction from his father's resignation as a box-maker and trunk-maker of the chamber (obtains a second deduction for 'such a charge' on the same date, also upon his father's resignation).
- 4 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 79, p. 504, 11.XII.1735 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 80, p. 380, 26.VI.1736.
- 5 AN, Minutier central, ET/XVI/637, 20.V.1712, receipts of the creditors of Count Crouilly Du Saussoy (Pierre), ordinary coffreier-malletier of the King, on Rue Petits-Champs.
- 6 AN, Minutier central, ET/X/382, 09.VIII.1728, inventory after the death of Jean Du Saussoy, box-maker and trunk-maker.
- 7 *Ibid.*

## Draper, mercer & passementerie maker – the Brochant family

- 1 All dates without a source are taken from AN, 791AP/34, Bertrand COR, « Les Brochant, marchands drapiers fournissant les Écuries du Roi (1615-1790) » et LYON-CAEN, 2009, p. 245-262.
- 2 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>1, 06.V.1615, 07.V.1615, 21.X.1639, 24.II.1649.
- 3 AN, Minutier central, ET/LIX/107, 08.II.1647, Mathurian Brochant's wil.
- 4 AN, Minutier central, ET/CXV/320, 17.XI.1704, inventory after death.
- 5 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>1, 29.II.1649.
- 6 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 883, n<sup>o</sup>94, 06.III.1728.
- 7 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 883, n<sup>o</sup>154, 24.III.1733.
- 8 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 27, p. 63, 01.IV.1683 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>2, 01.IV.1683 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>6, 18.V.1683.
- 9 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>6, 18.V.1683, retention of a marchand passementier supplying the Stables: the three brothers, Pierre-Paul, Philippe, and Jean-Baptiste, retained together; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>11, 01.VI.1683, retention of a marchand mercier supplying the King's Stables: the three brothers, Pierre-Paul, Philippe, and Jean-Baptiste, retained together; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 872, n<sup>o</sup>16, *Etat général des officiers des écuries du roy 1689*.
- 10 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 883, n<sup>o</sup>343, 12.XI.1750 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 883, n<sup>o</sup>344, 14.XI.1750.
- 11 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 56, f. 87v, 26.III.1712, survivance for the three brothers Charles-Claude, Jean-Baptiste, and Jacques Brochant, upon the resignation of Philippe, their uncle, and Jean-Baptiste Brochant, their father; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>3, 27.III.1712, survivance (of the position of draper serving the King's Stables) for the three brothers Charles-Claude, Jean-Baptiste, and Jacques Brochant, upon the resignation of Philippe, their uncle, and Jean-Baptiste Brochant, their father ; France, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Clairambault, 713, p. 2718, 1712, *Table des expéditions du secrétaire d'État de la Maison du roi*, survivances.
- 12 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 872, n<sup>o</sup>33, 1722, *Etat général des officiers des écuries du roy* ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 872, n<sup>o</sup>39, 1741, *Etat général des officiers des écuries du roy*.
- 13 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 89, p. 139, 10.IV.1745, survivance of Charles and Claude-Jean-Baptiste Brochant for their respective sons Jean-Baptiste and Claude-Jean-Baptiste II; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>4, 10.IV.1745, survivance of Charles I and Claude-Jean-Baptiste Brochant for their sons Jean-Baptiste and Claude-Jean-Baptiste II (cloth merchant charge); AN, O<sup>1</sup> 871, n<sup>o</sup>48, 49, 50, 04.IV.1745.
- 14 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 121, [end of register, no folio number], 18.I.1774, , survivance patent (for the two brothers, upon their father's resignation); AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>5, 18.I.1774, survivance patent for the position of cloth merchant (for the two brothers, upon their father's resignation); AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>15, 18.I.1774, certificate from the Prince of Lambesc concerning the survivance of the three offices ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 869, n<sup>o</sup>116, 18.I.1774, certificate from the Prince of Lambesc concerning the survivance of the three offices; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 855, n<sup>o</sup>38, 18.I.1774, approval for the resignation of Claude-Jean-Baptiste in favour of Pierre-Jean and Félix.
- 15 LYON-CAEN, 2009, p. 246.
- 16 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 893 (whole carton). See also AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3716 to O<sup>1</sup> 3651.
- 17 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3624 (1775).
- 18 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>29, after 1777.
- 19 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 891, n<sup>o</sup>202, 06.II.1745.
- 20 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 891, n<sup>o</sup>203, 20.X.1744.
- 21 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 891, n<sup>o</sup>206, 13.I.1745.
- 22 LYON-CAEN, 2009, p. 246.
- 23 AN, Minutier central, ET/CXXII/1634 17.IX.1640, exchanges between Anne Peraton, widow Bechue, draper merchant, and Mathieu Brochant, also a draper merchant, of a house on Rue Saint-Honoré... ; AN, Minutier central, ET/LXXV/341, 01.XII.1687, acquisition.
- 24 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 883, n<sup>o</sup>154, 24.III.1733.
- 25 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>29, after 1777.
- 26 AN, Minutier central, ET/XCI/1271, 27.XII.1790, inventory after the death of Marie Constance Lempereur, wife of Pierre Jean Brochant.

### Additional archives concerning the Brochants:

AN, Minutier central, ET/LXXXVI/191, f. 132-134, 14.IX.1614, marriage contract between Mathurian Brochant and Marguerite Hacte.

AN, Minutier central, ET/XVI/454 28.XI.1651, inventory after the deaths of Mathurin Brochant, cloth merchant, a citizen of Paris, and Marguerite Hacte, his widow, who respectively occurred on 7 February 1647 and 31 October 1651, residing in Paris, Rue Saint-

Honoré.

AN, Minutier central, ET/XVII/922, 23.VI.1768, partnership between Charles and Claude-Jean-Baptiste II Brochant.

AN, Minutier central, ET/XCVII/482, 08.V.1774, marriage contract between Pierre-Jean Brochant and Marie-Constance Lempereur.

## Weaver ribbon-maker – the Cercelot family

- 1 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 766, n<sup>o</sup>433, undated document.
- 2 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 200, f. 52, 30.X.1781 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 766, n<sup>o</sup>432, 30.X.1781 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 761, f. 135v, 30.X.1781.
- 3 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 728, f. 60 (Louis Cercelot) ; quoted by NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 2165.
- 4 AN, Minutier central, ET/XLI/320, 25.II.1702, postponement.
- 5 LOUIS DE JAUCOURT, « Rubanier » dans DIDEROT et LE ROND D'ALEMBERT, 1751 (1ère éd.), t. XIV, p. 423.
- 6 NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 130.

## Tailor – the Barbry family

- 1 NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 409.
- 2 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 865, n<sup>o</sup>164, 16.III.1776.
- 3 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 865, n<sup>o</sup>186, 01.IX.1776.
- 4 NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 409.

## Women in the shadows and queens of fashion

- 1 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3792, n<sup>o</sup>88, undated document ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3792, n<sup>o</sup>87, 06.VI.1788 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3792, n<sup>o</sup>89, 29.VI.1788.
- 2 NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 783.
- 3 NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 809.
- 4 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3792, *État général des dépenses de la Garde-robe de la Reine pour l'année 1788*.

## Lace worker – the Pipar ladies

- 1 NEWTON, 2020 [2017], p. 4586.
- 2 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 685, d. 1, 28.IV.1735, extract from the baptism register of the parish church of Saint-Sulpice in Paris.
- 3 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 685, d. 1, 01.VII.1779, pension brevet.
- 4 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 820, n<sup>o</sup>239, 01.I.1779, *Etat des pensions...*
- 5 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 685, d. 1, 08.V.1778, « Lady Pipar was attached to the king's wardrobe for more than twenty years ».
- 6 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 685, d. 1, 01.VII.1779, pension brevet.
- 7 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 820, n<sup>o</sup>13 to n<sup>o</sup>21, 1765.

## Collar-maker – the Audriand ladies

- 1 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame) n<sup>o</sup>1080426, f. 30v, 27.IV.1754, burial certificate of Marie-Marguerite Audriade.
- 2 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame) n<sup>o</sup>1080426, f. 30v, 27.IV.1754, burial certificate of Marie-Marguerite Audriade ; France, Archives nationales, O/1/1076, n<sup>o</sup> 366, 05.V.1754.
- 3 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 1076, n<sup>o</sup>159, 09.IV.1747.
- 4 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 1076, n<sup>o</sup>159, 09.IV.1747 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3717, f. 53r, 01.II.1747, certificate *ad honores* for ruffle maker for Marie-Marguerite Audriard.
- 5 AN, Minutier central, ET/CXXI/351, 13.IX.1751, marriage contract ; AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame) 4E 3451, vue 35/46, f. 29v, 22.IX.1751, marriage certificate of Noël Bouillet and Marie-Marguerite Audriard.
- 6 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3717, f. 343, 30.IV.1754 ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 1076, n<sup>o</sup>366, 05.V.1754.
- 7 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame) 5Mi 174 [1080427/6], f. 63r, 04.XII.1757, burial certificate of Anne-Marie Audriard ; AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3734, f. 11, 18.XII.1757.
- 8 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3734, f. 11, 18.XII.1757.
- 9 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 3740, f. 15v, 01.VII.1765, order of 300 l.
- 10 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 666, n<sup>o</sup>413, 01.X.1781.
- 11 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 666, n<sup>o</sup>413, 01.X.1781.
- 12 AD78, BMS (Versailles, paroisse Notre-Dame) 4E 3466 5Mi 174 [1080427/2], f. 2 [vue 07/55], 07.I.1756, marriage certificate between François-Victor Bertheville and Anne-Marie Audriard.

## Conclusion – Splendour on credit

- 1 CARRÉ, 2025.
- 2 LUCKETT et LACHAÏER, 1996. pp. 266-292.
- 3 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 891, n<sup>o</sup>213 et 214.
- 4 AN, O<sup>1</sup> 882, n<sup>o</sup>29.
- 5 AN, Minutier central, ET/XCI/1271, 27.XII.1790, inventory after the death of Marie-Constance Lempereur, wife of Pierre-Jean Brochant.
- 6 BAULEZ, 2021, pp. 71-92.

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Waistcoat "Voltaire and Rousseau" (detail), c. 1790-1795, taffeta, silk and silver-wrapped threads, wooden buttons, Palais Galliera, 1962.108.385

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