99
1946.7.9

The Italian Comedians
probably 1720

oil on canvas, 63.8 × 76.2 (25⅛ × 30)
Samuel H. Kress Collection

Technical Notes: The original support is a fine, somewhat tightly woven, plain-weave fabric. Its tacking margins have been cropped, and the painting has been lined. The current stretcher is slightly larger than the original fabric, extending the painting by 0.3 cm on all four sides. Moderately pronounced cusping is present along the top and bottom edges of the fabric but not along the vertical edges. The yellowish, off-white ground is a smooth layer of medium thickness. Over the ground is a very fluid, finely brushed red underdrawing, which outlines the forms and indicates the major drapery folds and the facial features. In some areas the artist may have deliberately left this underdrawing visible; in other areas the overlying paint appears to have "pearled up" over it, as a lean layer over a fatter layer; in still other areas, abrasion has made the underdrawing visible. There are a few minor contour changes from the underdrawing to the painted design, in all cases the painted version being narrower or smaller than the drawn version. The most notable changes are in the upper edge of Pierrot's hat and the bent arm of Harlequin.

The paint was applied fluidly with low impasto in the highlights. The yellowish ground serves as a warm middle tone, with lights scumbled and built up opaquely and darks, in many cases, glazed thinly over it. Glazes are used extensively. Thin scumbles of gray over the yellowish ground often become opalescent, serving as a transition between white and flesh-colored forms. Warm, vermilion-toned strokes are often used to highlight contours in the hands and faces. Characteristic of Watteau, there are brush hairs and lumps of different colored paint in the original paint layers.

The painting is in good condition, but the impasto has been flattened, and a fine fabric texture pattern has been imprinted into the upper paint layers, most likely during a past lining procedure. There are three tears in the fabric; a 7.5 cm horizontal one in the top right corner, a 2.5 cm vertical tear in the hip of the crouching jester at the bottom left, and a 12.7 cm irregularly shaped one through the proper right sleeve of the central figure. The paint layer suffers from moderate abrasion in the red drapery and the gray of the steps below the Fool at left; below Dr. Baloardo at right; in Pierrot's trousers; and in the thinly applied transition tones between the contours of figures and the background. There are scattered minor losses in the paint and ground layers, and a narrow, 16 cm-long, vertical loss extends down from the foliage to the left of Pierrot's proper right shoulder to his proper right hand. Characteristic traction crackle is present in the thin dark browns of the shadows and in Pierrot's hat. The painting was treated in 1984, when a discolored varnish was removed, losses were inpainted, and a clear varnish was applied. Prior to that, it had been relined and restored by Stephen Pichetto in 1943.[1] Neither the varnish nor the inpainting applied in 1984 has discolored.

Provenance: Possibly commissioned by Dr. Richard Mead [1673–1754], London; (his estate sale, Langford, London, March 20–22, 1754, 3rd day, no. 43, paired with no. 42, *A Pastoral Conversation*); Alderman William Beckford [1709–1770], London and Fonthill, Wiltshire, or his brother, Richard Beckford [d. 1756], London.[2] Roger Harenc [d. 1763], London;[3] (his estate sale, Langford, London, March 1–3, 1764, 3rd day, no. 52, a pair with *A Musical Conversation* [each day's lots begin with no. 1]); Augustus Henry, 3rd Duke of Grafton [1735–1811], Euston Hall and London. acquired between 1851 and 1857 by Thomas Baring [1799–1873];[4] by inheritance to his nephew, Thomas George Baring, 1st Earl of Northbrook [1826–1904], London; (Asher Wertheimer, London); purchased 1888 by (Thos. Agnew and Sons Ltd., London); sold the same year to Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st Earl of Iveagh [1847–1927], Elveden Hall, Suffolk, and Iveagh, County Down;[5] by inheritance to his third son, Walter Edward Guinness, 1st Baron Moyne [1880–1944], London. Baron Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza [1875–1947], Schloss Rohoncz, Rechnitz, Hungary, and Amsterdam, by 1930; (Wildenstein & Co., Inc., Paris, New York, and London), by c. 1936;[6] purchased 1942 by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, New York.

Exhibited: Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters. Winter Exhibition, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1871, no. 176, as *Pierrot: a group. Selection of Works by French and English Painters of the Eighteenth Century,* Art Gallery of the Corporation of London, 1902, no. 40. *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz,* Neue Pinakothek, Munich, 1930, no. 348. Loan to display with permanent collection, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 1930–1931. *French Art, 1200–1900,* Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1932, no. 177 (no. 260 of the commemorative cat., 1933). *Recent Additions to the Kress Collection,* National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1946, no. 774. *Picasso: The Saltimbanques,* National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1980, no. 1. *Watteau 1684–1721,* National Gallery of Art, Washington; Galeries nationales de Grand Palais, Paris; Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, 1984–1985, no. 71. *From El Greco to Cézanne: Three Centuries of Masterpieces from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,* National Gallery of Greece, Athens, 1992–1993, no. 26. *A Gift to America: Masterpieces of European Painting from the Samuel H. Kress Collection,* North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh; Museum of Fine Arts, Houston; Seattle Art Museum; California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 1994–1995, no. 36. *The Great Parade: Portrait of the Artist as Clown,* National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 2004, no. 1.

Cat. 99. Jean Antoine Watteau, *The Italian Comedians*

Numerous paintings with figures in theatrical costume attest to Jean Antoine Watteau's interest in the theater. In *The Italian Comedians,* however—as in others of his works in this genre—the identity of some of the characters remains uncertain or equivocal because he sometimes reused the same model for different figures and modified standard costumes according to his whim. Pierre Rosenberg has drawn attention to the announcement in the *Mercure de France* of the 1733 print after *The Italian Comedians* (fig. 1) by Bernard Baron (1696–1762): "These are almost all portraits of men skilled in their art, whom Watteau painted in the different clothing of the actors of the Italian Theatre."[7] It would seem, then, that the painting does not record an actual performance; and we lack evidence as to who these individuals might actually be. It was Baron's print (included in the *Recueil Jullienne,* the compendium of prints after Watteau's work) that gave *The Italian Comedians* its title.

The scene appears to represent a curtain call of the Comédie Italienne, the French version of the commedia dell'arte, which presented stock characters in predictably humorous plots. A red curtain has been drawn aside from a stage where fifteen figures stand together. At the center is Pierrot, standing resplendent in a white costume and gazing out with an ambiguous expression. He is positioned directly in front of a doorway in the stone wall forming the back of the stage; visible just beyond are trees and sky. The figure raising the curtain at the extreme right has been tentatively identified as Scapin;[8] the hunched old man at right as Pantaloon or possibly the Doctor;[9] and the figure gesturing to Pierrot as Scaramouche (perhaps Brighella).[10] The guitarist is probably Mezzetin, while the flirting figures at the far left may be Mario and Isabella.[11] The tall woman standing just to the right of Pierrot might be Flaminia, Sylvia, or perhaps "not . . . any particular stock character;"[12] beside her are an unidentified man and woman. Probably the only figures whose identity is unanimously agreed are Harlequin, recognizable by his mask and diamond-patterned costume, and of course the centrally placed Pierrot.

Fig. 1. Bernard Baron after Jean Antoine Watteau, *The Italian Comedians,* in *L'oeuvre d'Antoine Watteau (volume II),* c. 1740, engraving, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942.9.2093

Fig. 2. Louis Jacob after Jean Antoine Watteau, *The Departure of the Italian Comedians in 1697,* in *L'oeuvre d'Antoine Watteau (volume II),* c. 1740, engraving, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942.9.2093

Fig. 3. Bernard Baron after Jean Antoine Watteau, *Peaceful Love,* in *L'oeuvre d'Antoine Watteau (volume II),* c. 1740, engraving, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942.9.2093

Pierrot was a fixture in the performances of the Comédie Italienne from the early 1680s until 1697, when the company offended Louis XIV with a play titled *La Fausse Prude,* thought to be a satire of Madame de Maintenon. The king banished the players from France, an event that Watteau memorialized (though he did not witness it, arriving in Paris three years after the fact) in a lost work, *The Departure of the Italian Comedians in 1697* (fig. 2).[13] Here, Pierrot in his baggy white costume is seen in supplication. After the king's death the climate was right for reviving the troupe, which by then was seen as an unfortunate casualty of Madame de Maintenon's excessive control at Versailles. The regent Philippe d'Orléans arranged with the Prince of Parma, Antonio Farnese, for the return of the comedians in 1716; they performed at the Palais-Royal until the reopening of their old theatre at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.[14] The troupe that was invited back after the nineteen-year hiatus, however, "had nothing in common with the old Comédie-Italienne," according to François Moureau.[15]

On the assumption that *The Italian Comedians* was an early misnomer that had given rise to a long but erroneous interpretive tradition, Albert Pomme de Mirimonde set forth the hypothesis that the painting might represent a rival company, the Opéra-Comique. Established under that name in 1715, the Opéra-Comique was an itinerant and less formal company that had worked the popular theaters of the fairs around Paris, notably the Foire Saint-Laurent and the Foire Saint-Germain.[16] It seems that some of these characters, notably Pierrot, appeared with some transmutability in the Comédie Italienne, the Opéra-Comique, and other itinerant groups of players who constituted the various fair theaters. Watteau favored the Opéra-Comique over the more official French and Italian comedians. However, under pressure from the French and Italian factions, the regent forced the Opéra-Comique to disband in 1719; some players went to London, where Watteau was then staying. Under this scenario, Watteau painted the work as a final tribute to a moribund troupe, just as Pierrot is shown giving the last farewell. Watteau could not know that the ban was only temporary and that his death would precede the Opéra-Comique's triumphal reinstatement by a mere three days.[17] Mirimonde suggests that his interpretation avoids two major pitfalls of the more traditional one: Why would Watteau have chosen to celebrate the Italian comedians at a time when members of his preferred Opéra-Comique were visiting, and if he did so, why would he have put at the center of the composition Pierrot, who was the very personification of the Opéra-Comique? Despite their apparently related titles, the painting is not a pendant to *The French Comedians* of 1720–1721 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), which has often been read as a satire of their theater's more pompous airs.[18] In any case, the dimensions and the relative scale of the figures in these two paintings are different.[19]

Dora Panofsky proposed that Watteau invests Pierrot "with a prominence and significance not justified by his actual importance on the stage" for the purpose of his "isolation and glorification."[20] Indeed, in *The Italian Comedians* he stands both apart from and above the rest, presiding with apparent irony. Watteau's strategy of awarding Pierrot an elevated status while underscoring his melancholy detachment has encouraged speculation about the artist's own identification with this minor character.[21] Panofsky

Fig. 4. *The Italian Comedians* in its cleaned state, 1983, before restoration

Fig. 5. Jean Antoine Watteau, *Italian Comedians Taking Their Bows,* c. 1718, graphite and red chalk, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Gift of Gertrude Laughlin Chanler, 2000.9.27

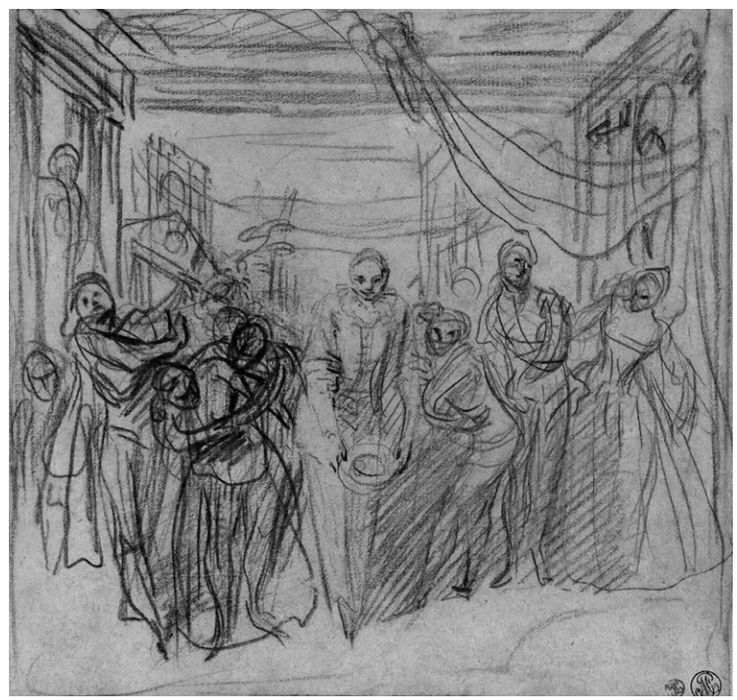

Fig. 6. Antoine Watteau, *An Actor,* c. 1719, red chalk, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund

Fig. 7. Antoine Watteau, *Man Raising a Curtain,* c. 1719, red chalk, London, British Museum

ventured to link Watteau's *The Italian Comedians* with several of Rembrandt's religious etchings that use similar figural groupings.[22] But her bold conclusion—that Scaramouche/Brighella's gesture is an intentional reference to that of Pilate and that the pure, white-clad Pierrot with a halo-like glow around his head is in turn a secular version of Christ presented to the people—has not found general acceptance.[23] Pierrot's costume matches that of his double, the so-called "Gilles" (but now generally recognized as Pierrot)[24] in the famous painting of that same name in the Musée du Louvre. The identity and significance of the Pierrot figure in these paintings is doubtless the key to their true meaning, but so far it remains elusive.

Eighteenth-century sources refer to *The Italian Comedians* as one of two works dating from Watteau's yearlong stay in London shortly before his death. Suffering from tuberculosis, he had come to the city in 1719 to consult Dr. Richard Mead, the celebrated physician, art collector, and Francophile. One of the works that Watteau painted for Dr. Mead was *Peaceful Love* (fig. 3); the other was "A company of Italian Comedians by the same [artist] and of the same size. Watteau being in England and not in the best of health or financial circumstances, Dr. Mead likely relieved him in both and employed him in painting these two pictures, which are engraved by Baron."[25] The announcement for Baron's engraving indicated that the painting on which it was based was "in the cabinet of Mr. Mead, physician to the king of Great Britain. He commissioned it from Watteau during the latter's sojourn in London."[26]

Craig Hanson has proposed that *The Italian Comedians* alludes to a pamphlet war in London in 1718 and 1719 between Mead and his supporters and Dr. John Woodward concerning in particular their respective treatments for smallpox.[27] In this reading, the hunched and wizened Doctor at the right of the composition stands in for Woodward, whose quackish notions have been exposed by the character of Pierrot and are ridiculed in a dialogue between Scaramouche and Harlequin in a satirical stage production.[28] Ingenious as this reading may be, we are not persuaded that the evidence is sufficient to identify Scaramouche, Harlequin, and Pierrot (a surrogate for Mead?) as representing the triumphant triumvirate of the Mead camp versus the embittered Doctor "Woodward," cringing at stage left. Watteau's *The Italian Comedians* still keeps its secret.

Did Watteau paint the National Gallery's picture[29] We believe he did, but this authorship has been questioned. For example, Colin Eisler speculated that it might be a work completed by the artist Philippe Mercier or else "an excellent, very early copy."[30] Donald Posner wrote categorically, "The original painting has unfortunately disappeared, but a fine old copy in the National Gallery in Washington is some compensation for the loss."[31] Baron's engraving is faithful in composition, although in places the print is worked out in more detail, as Eisler has noted.[32] In many respects it is more generously proportioned: from the roundness of the jester/puppeteer's head and features to the thickness of the Doctor's walking stick or the guitarist's fingers. Details such as hands are more exactly rendered in the print, while the sleeve of Harlequin's raised arm has a scintillating, crinkled texture somewhat lacking in the painting. The roses in the print appear more luxuriant. Other differences in the print are the vertical foliage in Flaminia's bodice

and the straight-falling bangs of the child in the corner. But these differences may be ascribed to the engraver's personal style and/or to later losses to the original painting. The dimensions noted by Baron are slightly larger than the present painting, but the canvas may have been trimmed.[33]

The painting may have been in better condition when Gustav Friedrich Waagen described it in 1857 as "of such vivacity in the heads, clearness of colouring, and carefulness of execution, that I do not hesitate to pronounce it one of the most remarkable works of the master I know."[34] The work we see today is somewhat marred by losses, abrasion, and flattened impasto, perhaps due to previous restorations. Once the discolored varnish and overpaint were removed in 1984, an extensive bright red underdrawing typical of Watteau emerged, applied with a brush. Moreover, the original technique was consistent with Watteau's reputation as a technically sloppy artist: brush hairs were found in the paint, and it appeared that some colors had run together on his disorderly palette (see fig. 4, the stripped-down canvas before inpainting).[35]

Watteau must have worked out this dense composition with some care: four surviving drawings can be related to the disposition of the different characters, culminating in figure 5 (although it is not yet a final version), where the backdrop suggests an outdoor urban setting.[36] At least nine studies exist, which Watteau employed for the poses or details of individual figures: for Mezzetin;[37] Harlequin;[38] the young actress at left;[39] her beau (fig. 6);[40] the young man raising the curtain (fig. 7);[41] the old doctor;[42] the actress standing next to Pierrot;[43] the child at lower left;[44] and Brighella.[45] It remains an open question how far any of these drawings was made with *The Italian Comedians* in mind, or whether Watteau combined them into the painting from his large repertoire of existing graphic observations.

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Notes

1. During this most recent treatment, the NGA scientific research department used x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy to analyze the pigments, February 14, 1984.
2. See Raines 1977, 62, for a discussion of which Beckford might have purchased the painting. William was his brother Richard's heir, and although William always resided in England, Richard lived mostly on the family's plantations in Jamaica. He only lived in London from late 1754 until late the next year, and he died in France early in 1756. If Richard owned the painting, it might possibly have been part of the "useful and ornamental furnishings" of his London house that were sold by his executors in April 1756 to Sir James Colebrooke, whose name is sometimes included in the provenance. See F. H. W. Sheppard, *Survey of London,* vol. 33, *The Parish of Saint Anne Soho* (London, 1966), 89, for details about ownership of the house by Beckford and subsequent purchasers.
3. Sometimes spelled "Harene." The title page of the 1764 sale catalogue clearly spells the name with a final "c." If this is the same Roger Harenc whose daughter, Susanna Mary Harenc, married Sir Archibald Edmonstone, 1st Baronet Edmonstone, Harenc appears to have been born in Paris, came to England in the early 1720s, married an Englishwoman, and prospered in business. He is recorded as the buyer of Watteau paintings in sales in England in the 1740s and 1750s.
4. Waagen 1857: 96–97, records acquisitions to the Baring collection since his visit in 1851.
5. See Richard Kingzett, Thos. Agnew and Sons Ltd., letter to Colin Eisler, November 21, 1968, NGA curatorial files: "[W]e bought the picture from the famous dealer, Wertheimer, in 1888 and sold it to Lord Iveagh in the same year. No provenance is given in our entry for the picture." Later references identify the Wertheimer as Asher, rather than his brother Charles, who was also an art dealer.
6. Eisler 1977, 304 and n. 48, on the basis of a remark in Gimpel 1963, 275, assumes the painting was with Wildenstein in 1924. However, this is discounted by Joseph Baillio of Wildenstein (see Raleigh, Houston, Seattle, and San Francisco 1994–1995, 210 n. 3). The provenance supplied by Wildenstein to the Kress Foundation (NGA curatorial files) incorrectly lists Walter Guinness and Lord Moyne as separate individuals and places the Thyssen-Bornemisza ownership between them, but it does not indicate the company had the painting more than once.
7. Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 442, citing the *Mercure de France,* March 1733, 554: "Ce sont presque tous portraits de gens habiles dans leur art que Watteau peignit sous les différens habits des acteurs du Théâtre Italien."
8. Eisler 1977, 300.
9. Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 515; Eisler 1977, 300.
10. For various identifications of these figures, see

Panofsky 1952, 335; Eisler 1977, 300; Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 510; Schéfer 1896, 187.

11. Panofsky 1952, 337; Eisler 1977, 301; Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 510. See also Shackelford 1994–1995, 210, which corrects the identification of Mezzetin in Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985.
12. See, respectively, Panofsky 1952, 335; Eisler 1977, 300; Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 516.
13. On *The Departure of the Italian Comedians in 1697,* see, most recently, Plax 2000, 7–52.
14. Information on the theater comes from Eisler 1977, 301–302; Adhémar and Huyghe 1950, 100; Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 490–491.
15. Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 490. Headed by Luigi Riccoboni, the post–1716 troupe had eleven roles: two pairs of lovers (Lelio, Mario, Flaminia, and Sylvia); two old men (Pantaloon and the "Doctor"); two schemers (Scaramouche and Scapin); a valet-buffoon (Harlequin); and a singer and a maidservant. Pierrot was introduced as a character from the itinerant Théâtre de la Foire.
16. Mirimonde 1961, 271–274; on the fairs, see Crow 1985, 44–53.
17. July 18 and 21, 1721, respectively. See Mirimonde 1961, 272–274, for the War of the Theatres.
18. See Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 438–439.
19. As discussed by Rosenberg in Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 440.
20. Panofsky 1952, 331, 337. See Mirimonde 1961, 271 on the tradition in eighteenth-century vaudeville of Pierrot, "personnage préféré des spectateurs," delivering the final couplet. See also Posner 1984, 265, on this topic, and Eisler 1977, 302, on the consequences for nineteenth-century notions of Pierrot/Gilles of his inflated importance in *The Italian Comedians.*
21. Panofsky 1952, 332.
22. Watteau would have known Rembrandt's works well, not least because his friend Edme Gersaint, the Parisian art dealer and collector, was a Rembrandt connoisseur who published a catalogue raisonné of his prints.
23. Panofsky 1952, 339. Rosenberg, in Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 441, characterized the formal resemblance as "undoubtedly fortuitous"; Posner 1984, 265, showed that Pierrot's central, frontal position was not an a priori choice but instead evolved over three preparatory drawings.
24. Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 433.
25. Mead 1755. However, according to the legend on Baron's engraving of *Peaceful Love,* it was the same size as the engraving (33.5 × 40.1 cm), so therefore smaller than *The Italian Comedians.* George Vertue, writing in 1725, referred to "two pictures painted by . . . Watteaux. Conversations, painted in England," in Vertue 1933–1934, 23.
26. Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 440, citing the *Mercure de France* 1733, 554, "dans le Cabinet de M. Mead, Medecin du Roy de la Grande–Bretagne. Il le fit faire à Watteau dans le voyage qu'il fit à Londres."
27. Hanson 2003, 265–272.
28. *Harlequin-Hydrapses: Or the Greshamite, A Mock Opera,* performed at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in 1719.
29. For a long time no other full-size version of the painting was known. In 1890 the so-called Groult version appeared and was enthusiastically hailed as the original: "incomparably brilliant, executed with superb assurance" (Josz 1903, 430); "a Watteau of premier importance" (Mantz 1890, 225). The bibliography in Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 443, lists separately the references to the Groult copy, all of which transfer to it the early history of the National Gallery's painting. The painting that Georges Wildenstein presented as the Groult version to the National Gallery in 1960 does not merit such praise and can only be a copy; see NGA 1960.13.1 in Works in the Special Collection, p. 474. Correspondence in the NGA curatorial files suggests that the Groult painting may still be at large. Other related works include a reduced version once reported in the collection of Ries and a tapestry in the Lehmann collection (Eisler 1977, 301, and Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 443).
30. Eisler 1977, 303.
31. Posner 1984, 263.
32. Eisler 1977, 303.
33. Rosenberg, in Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 443, suggests that Baron made a measurement error.
34. Waagen 1857, 4:96–97.
35. See the Technical Notes above and the full discussion by Sarah Fisher of her treatment of the picture in Washington, Paris, and Berlin 1984–1985, 465–467.
36. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 1: nos. 179, verso; 2:552, 621, 622.
37. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 1: no. 219.
38. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 2: no. 481.
39. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 2: no. 519.
40. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 2: no. 623.
41. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 2: no. 507, verso.
42. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 2: no. 624, counterproof.
43. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 2: no. 647.
44. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 2: no. 649.
45. Rosenberg and Prat 1996, 2: no. 651.

References

1733 *Mercure de France:* 554.
[1762–1771] 1876 Walpole, 2:295.
1857 Waagen, 4:96–97.
1875 Goncourt: 66–67, no. 68.
1902 Staley: 68, 147.
1932b Wildenstein: between 74 and 75, repro.
1933–1934 Vertue: 23.
1944 *Art Digest:* 5, repro.
1944 *Illustrated London News:* 249, repro.
1944 *The Magazine Antiques:* 288.
1944 Cairns and Walker: cover, 110, color repro.
1944a Frankfurter: 78, no. 73, color repro.
1944b Frankfurter: 10, 24, repro.
1945 NGA: 158, repro.
[1946] NGA: 51–54, color repro.
1948 New York: 4.
1950 Adhémar and Huyghe: 231, no. 211, pl. 146.
1952 Panofsky: 333, fig. 9, 334–340.
1956 Einstein: 217, fig. 3, 218, 220–221.
1956 Walker: 46, repro.
1958 Courville, 3:197–198, pl. 20.
1959 Cooke: 26, color repro.
1959 NGA: 350, repro.
1961 Mirimonde: 272–276, 283, fig. 27.
1963 Walker: 208, repro.
1965b NGA: 139.
1966 Cairns and Walker, 2:302, color repro.
1967 Brookner: 8, 17, 18, 23, 40, pl. 46, color repro.
1968 NGA: 126, repro.
1975 NGA: 374, repro.
1977 Eisler: 300–306, figs. 267–269, as Attributed to Watteau.
1977 Raines: 57, 62, no. 53.
1978–1979 Chan: 107–112, fig. 1.
1978 King: 66, pl. 38.
1981 Bryson: 77–79, fig. 28.
1981 Sutton: 329–330, 338 n. 9, fig. 6.
1981 Tomlinson: 12 n. 18, fig. 3b.
1982 Washington: 60–61, fig. 20.
1982 Rosenberg and Camesasca: 121, no. 203, repro.
1983 Posner: 97–99, fig. 2, as After Watteau.
1984 Posner: 120, 263–269, 291 nn. 62–64, fig. 192, as After Watteau.
1984b Roland Michel: 64, pl. 11, color repro., 109, 177.
1984 Walker: 330, no. 438, color repro.
1984–1985 Washington, Paris, and Berlin: 439–443, 465–467, 490, 510, fig. 17, 515, 516, no. 71, color repro.
1985 NGA: 434, repro.
1987 Grasselli, 2:390–395, 542–545, nos. 289–293, nos. 295–296; 3: fig. 468.
1992 NGA: 166, repro.
1992 Vidal: 41, 134, 146–147, pl. 144.
1994 Shackelford: 207–210, no. 36, color repro.
1999 Heck: 2–5, fig. I.1.
2000 Börsch-Supan: 53–54, 62, 52, color repro., as by Unknown Copyist, after Watteau.
2003 Hanson.
2009–2010 Washington: 102, fig. 1.

Jean Antoine Watteau, *The Italian Comedians* (detail), cat. 99