

Articoli/Articles

FRAGONARD'S *ECORCHÉS* IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEW
PROJECT FOR A HISTORICAL MUSEUM OF VETERINARY
MEDICINE

CHRISTOPHE DEGUEURCE*

JONATHAN SIMON**,

*Directeur du Musée de l'Ecole vétérinaire d'Alfort, F.

**Maître de conférences, LEPS, Université de Lyon, F.

SUMMARY

This article presents a brief history of the collection held at the National veterinary school in Maisons Alfort, France. We consider the place of Fragonard's anatomical preparations with particular attention, but also try to understand the evolution of the whole collection from its origins in the Enlightenment to the twenty-first century. We discuss the recent museological choices made by the museum's current director. In particular, we contextualize the idea of presenting the museum close to the form it took a century ago. We also present the current research and teaching associated with the museum, underlining its integration into the veterinary school.

Introduction

In the autumn of 2007, the *Musée Fragonard* closed its doors to the public to undergo a long and costly renovation. In the end, this will mark the definitive closure of the Museum under this name because when it re-opens in September 2008 it will no longer be the *Musée Fragonard* but the Museum of the Maisons-Alfort Veterinary School (MévA, *Musée de l'Ecole Vétérinaire de Maisons Alfort*). While the collection of objects presented to the public will remain substantially

Key words: History – Museum – Medicine - Veterinary science

the same, the building that houses them will have been entirely renovated thanks principally to contributions from the French State and local authorities.

Here, we will describe the evolution of this museum from the eighteenth century to the present day, paying particular attention to its trajectory across the twentieth century. In this context, we provide a schematic summary of the choices that have confronted the museum's current Director since taking up the position in 1993. We hope that the history of the collection at Maisons Alfort and in particular our analysis of recent curatorial orientations will serve as a helpful example for other museum directors or boards of trustees when they reflect on the future of their own collections.

Let us start then with a paradox; the *Musée Fragonard* is the only Veterinary Museum to be included in this special volume of *Medicina nei Secoli* dedicated to Medical Museums. This paradox is, however, more apparent than real: while for most scientific researchers there is a continuum between human and animal medicine, historians in general, and with them much of the lay public, draw a disciplinary distinction between human medicine and the non-human. Be that as it may, the most significant reason for the dearth of articles on museums covering veterinary science in the current volume is their small number. Although the collection is oriented towards animal medicine and disease, the most famous objects in the *Musée Fragonard* are a small number of pieces of human anatomy of incalculable historical value. Indeed, the anatomical preparations made by Honoré Fragonard – the cousin of the painter – at the end of the eighteenth century, are remarkable relics from the Enlightenment era. While these écorchés are of exceptional quality, they were not, as objects, so nearly as rare at the time they were made as they are today. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable thing about them is that they have survived intact for over two centuries, while the majority of these kinds of specimens from this period disappeared long ago. Fabricated between 1766 and 1771 using

From the Musée Fragonard to the Méva

mummified human corpses, these preparations have become particularly topical recently in light of the controversies surrounding Gunther von Hagens' hugely successful Body Worlds exhibition that has made headlines around the world. Indeed, von Hagens has included his own 'plastinated' horse and rider in his exhibit, as a tribute to the original work by Fragonard¹.

Thus, the twenty dramatic surviving anatomical specimens prepared by Fragonard constitute a particularly important source of interest



Fig.1 - The horse and rider by Fragonard. End of the eighteenth century. Musée de l'Ecole Vétérinaire de Maisons Alfort (MéVA).

for the collection, and their preservation at Maisons Alfort provides substantial leverage for engaging public funds². Nevertheless, while constituting a majority of the pieces of human anatomy, Fragonard's écorchés form a tiny minority of the approximately 5 000 pieces held in this museum. As one might expect from a collection made by and for a veterinary school, the museum's holdings are dominated by material related to animals. Thus, one of the motives for abandoning the name '*Musée Fragonard*', despite the seductive appeal of this exceptional anatomist and the recent interest around his work, corresponds to a desire to valorize the complete contents of the collection, taken as a whole. This orientation poses the difficult question of how to treat Fragonard's écorchés with respect to the other pieces held at Alfort. Before reflecting on the recent curatorial choices that led up to the temporary closure of the museum, however, let us first briefly trace the history of the present collection.

The Original Collection, Le Cabinet du Roi

In 1765, Claude Bourgelat, an enthusiastic expert on horses who contributed a number of articles on equestrian issues to Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*³, was invited to found a Royal veterinary school on the model of the one he had already set up in Lyon, although this time in Paris. Unable to find a suitable site within France's cramped capital city, Bourgelat negotiated the purchase of a Chateau at Alfort to the East of the city. The chateau with its large grounds provided enough space for the school as well as the experimental herds that were needed for both research and teaching. The Royal Veterinary School was opened in 1766 complete with an anatomical cabinet, which was then known as the *Cabinet du Roi* on the model of the much larger natural history collection at the *Jardin du Roi* in Paris. Bourgelat's collection, overseen by Fragonard, had a double vocation; first, the elements were to be used for teaching the students at the school, but it also served as a public exhibition space,

From the Musée Fragonard to the Méva

intended to promote the glory of the King and France, as well as this particular royal institution. Thus, a number of the earliest accounts of this collection come from scientists and other gentlemen touring Europe who came to Alfort to visit the collection. These accounts provide interesting testimonies to the content and disposition of the cabinet as well as its general appreciation by a cultured audience, but they also suggest that there was a much larger, less sophisticated public that frequented the collection as well.

While it survived the French Revolution, the cabinet was not untouched by the social and political upheaval of the time. Evidently, the school had the 'Royal' removed from its title, but continued to teach veterinary medicine in the French Republic as it had under Louis XVI. Under the republican government, a commission was appointed to inventory and assess the collection in 1792⁴. This commission included Fragonard himself, who had been dismissed from his position at the school twenty years earlier, but had apparently gone on to develop a successful private trade in anatomical specimens in Paris. The result of this intervention by the *Commission des Arts* was that a large number of pieces of human anatomy were dispatched to the newly founded *Ecole de Santé*, and many others, particularly specimens touching comparative anatomy, were sent to the former *Jardin du Roi*, which the French Revolution transformed into the *Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris* in 1793. Despite this redistribution of a great many of the specimens held at Alfort, a significant part of the collection remained, and its holdings started to increase once again as the veterinary school continued to exercise its vocation, now as a Republican institution, across the nineteenth century.

1828 to 1900, teaching and research; the Cabinet de collections

In 1828, the collection, now known as the *Cabinet de collections*, was transferred to different premises at the Veterinary School. It

appears that it was at this point that the collection stopped being open to the public, although it continued to be used for teaching purposes. Indeed, despite the celebrity of Fragonard's preparations, and their spectacular appeal, we should not forget that the collection was always integrated into an active veterinary school. Training in the field of veterinary medicine demanded learning about anatomy, with a growing emphasis on comparative anatomy, which was easier to teach thanks to the growing number of animal skeletons and other such material held in the collection. Evidently, human anatomy formed only a small part of this teaching oriented towards the care of animals, so the human anatomical pieces prepared by Fragonard must have quickly assumed a largely decorative role.

From its founding in 1766, the Royal Veterinary School had as one of its principle scientific vocations the improvement of the art of animal husbandry in France, and so, to reflect this concern, the collection always had a particularly strong orientation towards commercially and military useful animals, notably the horse, the cow, and the sheep. Nevertheless, while it accumulated such pedagogically useful objects as wax casts of diseases found in domestic animals, parasitic worms and horseshoes, the large collection of comparative anatomy and pathology also acquired many 'exotic' animals and other elements that would not have been encountered in France. Thus, other pieces joined Fragonard's *écorchés* in illustrating the prestige and standing of the veterinary school rather than serving to teach students useful anatomical knowledge. The majority of the collection, though, was constituted by pertinent anatomical specimens and models.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the collection was re-oriented to reflect changing scientific priorities, signaling that it was not a fixed historical collection, but continued to grow and evolve as a function of the research interests of the professors at the school. A detailed plan of the museum from around 1860, for example, highlights the introduction of a microscope at the heart of the collec-

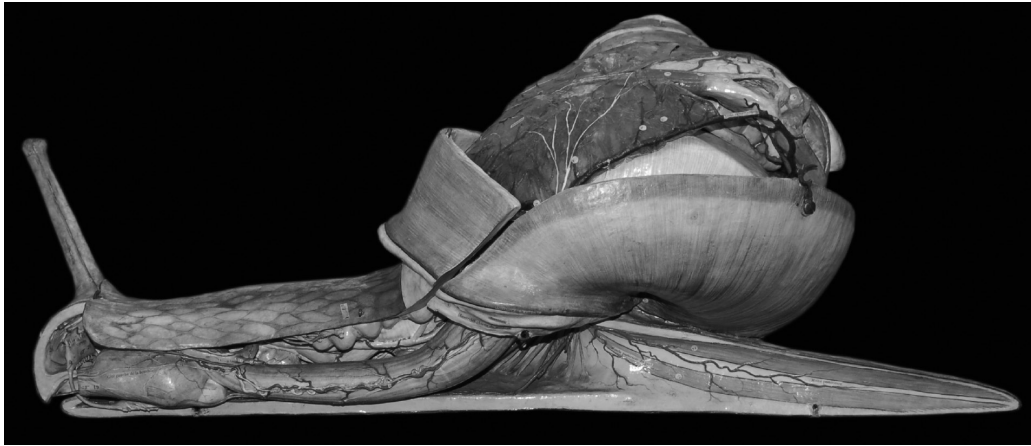


Fig. 2 - Demountable papier-mâché anatomical model of a snail, produced by the studio of Dr Auzoux. MévA.

tion. Thus, the pedagogical and scientific concerns of the collection remained up to date and the objects of current research sat side by side with older pieces without any particular engagement on behalf of the directors of the museum to make sense of the whole for the occasional visitor coming from outside the institution. As it turns out, the microscope was to prove an important element in the subsequent transfer of the collection to a new building, where it is still housed today. The microscope served the first microbiologists at the Veterinary School, including the pioneering researcher Onésime Delafond. This microbiological tradition persisted, and, in the 1880s the School was granted significant new resources in connection with its participation in Pastorian science. Indeed, Edmond Nocard, a professor at the school, and a long-term collaborator of first Louis Pasteur, and later Emile Roux at the Pasteur Institute, developed Pastorian microbiological research at the school, and this innovation was rewarded by generous new subsidies from the government of the Third Republic⁵. Part of this money was spent on a construction program involving the building of a new multi-purpose structure that would house the library next to the collection. In this new plan, the

museum would now be located above the school's dissection rooms, integrating different key elements of an education in veterinary science in the same building. For those who have visited the veterinary school recently, this is the same building in which one still finds the collection today.

1902 – A New Museum for the Twentieth Century

Opened in 1902, this new museum contained over 8200 objects, evidence of the continued collecting activity of the teachers at the veterinary school. While still not open to the public, the collection continued to serve a pedagogical function, being used every Thursday afternoon for lessons in comparative anatomy and pathology. Another important vocation of the collection, and one that resonated with its



Fig. 3 - The museum as it was when it opened in 1902. Photograph from early twentieth century. MévA.

From the Musée Fragonard to the Méva

status right from its origins in 1766 was to embody and convey the prestige of the veterinary school. Fragonard's *écorchés*, placed in new glass cases by the entrance, proudly proclaimed the school's 150-year heritage, while the sheer quantity of specimens served to impress the invited visitor, who was now usually a passing dignitary or colleague, underlining the status of this school among France's élite teaching institutions. The installation of the collection in these new rooms gave the school's authorities the chance to present the specimens as they wanted, using dark understated colors to bring out the vivid ones of the wax anatomical casts prominently displayed in imposing high glass-fronted cabinets. Nevertheless, this rebirth of the collection as the veterinary school's official museum marked the beginning of a long period of decline. Already by the 1920s, the collection had practically stopped being used for teaching, and the visits became increasingly rare. The school's bicentennial celebrations in 1967 provided the pretext for an effort at redecoration, although at the expense of the original color-scheme dating from the beginning of the century. These efforts for the 1967 anniversary were not followed up by any long-term investment in the collection or the building that housed it, and it slipped back into a state of abandon. This long decline into obscurity would most likely have continued had it not been for the arrival in 1989 of an enthusiastic new director, Jacques Sauret, who was determined to open the collection back up to the public.

1991 – The Musée Fragonard

In 1991, the Museum re-opened to the public under the title of the *Musée Fragonard*, privileging the Enlightenment anatomist's dramatic human preparations over the rest in the promotion and presentation of the collection. The museum was, however, run on a somewhat informal basis, with students from the school serving as staff, and visitors having to cope with irregular opening hours

that were subject to change at short notice. Furthermore, because of its reliance on students, the Museum was closed for the whole of the summer, thereby missing out on a large potential public of foreign visitors to Paris during the peak holiday period. The neglect of the buildings meant that the conditions were far from ideal for preserving the collection, particularly, although not exclusively, the more sensitive biological material. Furthermore, Fragonard's eighteenth-century *écorchés* provided their own particular conservation problems. Thus, apart from the classic problems such as liquid preservatives leaking from jars, the wax in the Fragonard preparations would periodically start to melt as a result of sudden changes in temperature. It was clear, however, that renovating the building would be a very costly undertaking that was beyond the means of the veterinary school. Meanwhile, the collection, and particularly the Fragonard preparations were gaining in notoriety. The loan of a bust prepared by Fragonard (see fig. 4) to the large and successful 1993 exhibition, *L'âme au corps* held at the *Grand Palais* in Paris helped raised interest and the increase the number of visitors to Alfort⁶.



Fig. 4 - The Fragonard bust (from the Musée Fragonard) that appeared in the exhibition *L'âme au corps* held at the *Grand Palais* in Paris in 1993. MévA.

In 1993, Christophe Degueurce took up the position of Director of the *Musée Fragonard*. Like all his predecessors since early in the nineteenth century, M. Degueurce was a professor of anatomy at the Veterinary School, untrained in Museum curatorship, and took on the task as best he could; learning on the job. The collection continued to be open to the public at regular, albeit limited times, but other efforts were also undertaken to valorize the collection, particularly within the Veterinary School itself. Thus, M. Degueurce started to offer a course in the history of veterinary medicine, giving students the possibility of undertaking historical research projects based on the collection. He also used parts of the collection to teach children at the high-school level, offering thematic tours based on topics in the national curriculum for the biological sciences.

The collection continued to grow in international renown, and the Director has found himself frequently solicited for newspaper articles and television features dealing with Fragonard and his work. This publicity has led to a significant increase in the number of visitors to the museum, which has had both positive and negative consequences. While the revenue from admissions rose and the museum became more visible at the level of the regional authorities, the larger public revealed that the museum was ill adapted to cope with large numbers of visitors. Indeed, the influx of people potentially threatened the collection itself.

The first phases of renovation date from 2003, and were oriented towards the management and development of the Museum in terms of tourism rather than culture. In France, the domains of culture and tourism are generally kept distinct, although the category of cultural tourism clearly cuts across the two. Nevertheless, in light of the problems facing the Museum, in particular the degradation of the Fragonard preparations (which suffered particularly badly during the heat wave of the summer of 2003), the Director emphasized the aspect of tourism, principally for the financial advantages of this strategy. Thus, the

current renovation project discussed below is largely financed in the context of a '*pôle touristique des boucles de la Marne*', a promotional initiative that coordinates contributions from the State, the Ile-de-France Region, and the Department of the Val-de-Marne. The goal of this initiative is to valorise the districts lying along the Marne, a river that flows into the Seine at Maisons Alfort.

Thus the project will allow the Museum to accommodate a far greater number of visitors, as well as providing audio-guides and other infrastructure considered essential for a modern tourist destination.

The conservation and presentation of Fragonard's *écorchés* to the public has in turn been greatly helped by a collaborative scientific research project that has elucidated many of the mysteries associated with their production⁷. Thus, although the funding was initially obtained for a project concerning tourism, it gave rise to research that was of considerable historical and scientific interest. This illustrates well the mutual support provided by the different missions of the museum, as this research was conducted with the goal of helping to conserve the objects in the museum. How can one protect such objects without knowing how they were made?

In 2006, M. Degueurce took the very important step of integrating the museum into the exclusive group of the *Musées de France*. This demand emphasized the cultural importance of the collection, although the museum, as explained above, has the goal of finding the appropriate balance between culture and tourism. Becoming a *Musée de France* – a statute first created by the French government in 2002 – had several immediate consequences. First, it provided more protection for the collection held at the museum, which was now under the aegis of the Ministry of Culture and Communication. It also opened up contacts with the other directors in the group, and gave access to regular meetings and workshops on important themes including conservation and funding. The status also gave access to specialized structures providing expertise, such as the Centre for

Research and Restoration (*Centre de recherche et de restauration des Musées de France*) and the Direction of the Musées de France (*Direction des Musées de France*) which both provided important technical help during the renovation of the Museum.

Finally, the fact of being a *Musée de France* opened up new possibilities for obtaining funds, facilitating donations from businesses, for example, as these were now tax-deductible. Furthermore, certain local authorities have a policy of only financing such museums. Globally, the advantage is that the status that comes with this label of *Musée de France* makes the Museum much more credible when approaching potential funders.

In order to qualify as a *Musée de France*, the collection had to be catalogued following very specific and demanding guidelines, and the Director would henceforth have less liberty in what could be done with the collection. This move represents a change in status that took the Museum out of the situation in which most French university collections find themselves. While in principle the researchers responsible for these collections are obliged to preserve specimens of historical interest, in practice they are free to do as they wish with the material under their control. In the absence of reliable up-to-date catalogues, there is little possibility for knowing in detail what is in these collections, let alone policing what happens to their contents. Furthermore, these collections are generally handled by the university as just another part of their extensive material assets, to be managed as rationally as possible, like the glassware in a chemistry teaching laboratory. Unfortunately, the relatively low status of such collections also means that they do not often receive the funding necessary to keep them in a suitable state for preserving the objects they contain, however rare or interesting they might be. Thus, we can only guess how many university natural history or even anatomy collections around France are locked away in ill-adapted storage rooms at the mercy of mites and damp. Finally, overworked

researchers find themselves charged with a collection in addition to their research and teaching responsibilities, leaving them insufficient time to preserve the material, let alone develop any feasible museological projects. This was the case of the Fragonard Museum, until it became a *Musée de France*. Thus, while this change in status did in a sense limit the freedom of the Director to do as he wished, as henceforth every inventoried piece has to be accounted for, it did mean that he could plan the future along the lines of other museums, and, perhaps more importantly, have access to national and local funding from outside the university system. As we noted at the beginning of this article, the museum is currently closed for renovation using funds from without the university.

Research and Educational Projects Associated with the Collection

Despite this change in status, however, one of the director's priorities is to keep the museum integrated into the university structure of the National Veterinary School of Alfort or ENVA (*École nationale vétérinaire de Maisons-Alfort*). The principle way of ensuring that this link stays strong is by mobilizing the collection in the context of the teaching and research that are essential to any university.

In 2000, M. Degueurce introduced an optional course in the history of veterinary sciences and medicine for students at the ENVA. Starting with 25 students, it reached over 60 in 2004, and was integrated into the new curriculum in the wake of subsequent reforms. It now forms part of a module that allows students to reflect on their position as veterinarians in society, comprising both historical and contemporary considerations concerning the profession. This teaching integrates the collection held at the museum, and, as we have already mentioned, students regularly prepare their final research papers (required to qualify as veterinarians) on subjects related to the collection.

From the Musée Fragonard to the Méva

The teaching has also been extended to other publics, including trainee teachers. Teaching more specifically treating questions of conservation and the funding of a museum has also been offered to students in biology and conservation, at University Paris VI and the National Institute for Patrimony (*l'Institut National du Patrimoine*) respectively.

The combined teaching and curatorial work involving the museum has also led to various research projects, greatly helped by the constitution of a complete digital inventory of the museum; a precondition for obtaining the title *Musée de France*. There have been two recent scientific research projects specifically concerning Fragonard's écorchés. The first was launched in 2003 in collaboration with the National Geographic Channel, and involving scientists from the University of Quinnipiac (USA), the Boston Museum of Fine Art (USA) and the Surfaces Laboratory of the Western Ontario University (Canada). This was followed by a French project involving the Laboratory for Research on Historic Monuments (Mme P. Hugon) and a Group for Chemical Analysis at Paris University XI (Pr A. Tchapla).

A similar collaborative project was also launched to prepare the way for the restoration of a papier mâché anatomical model of a horse from the workshop of Dr. Auzoux. The museum is preparing a publication on the whole of the collection which will be widely available, providing a follow-up to the DVD ROM that was already produced in 2004⁸.

2007-2008: The Renovation Project

Having procured the status of *Musée de France* for the collection, the current director of the former *Musée Fragonard* has chosen to pursue a particular museological direction that is instantiated in the renovation work currently in progress. As for any neglected, under-financed museum, the choice that faced the director was not so much whether to renovate and protect the collection but rather how to



Fig. 5 - Two views of the renovated museum from 2008. M  vA.

go about this task. For science-oriented material there seem to be three possibilities, which, while not mutually exclusive, tend to be seen as such. So, at the risk of caricaturing the available choices, we can conceive the options in terms of three models for presenting a historical medical collection to the public. The first model is the ‘science center’ model, where the collection is put to work in a pedagogical framework with the aim of bringing science to the public. While these kinds of centers are usually dominated by installations intended to teach the fundamentals of the sciences, historical objects can also find their place in this scheme. Thus, they are often used to provide a historical introduction to a theme, with the specimens being presented in these terms. While such centers are becoming increasingly common, they are usually created *de novo* either using

From the Musée Fragonard to the Méva

purpose-built spaces (such as the proposed *Musée des confluences* in Lyon) or using renovated spaces initially built for another purpose (like the *Cité des sciences et de l'industrie* at La Villette in Paris).

The second model is one that emphasizes the aesthetic appeal of the historical objects, without taxing the visitor with too much information. Museum pieces seen as survivors of a past era are put in surroundings that focus attention on their elegant craftsmanship and archaic appearance. Here, artists (rather than designers) are often employed to conceive a sensorial context in which the piece will be seen and yet not really registered at the same time. In this approach, the content is sacrificed to a play on the form of the objects, with the historical specimen being treated like an idiosyncratic work of art.

A third alternative, and the one favored by the new MévA that will replace the *Musée Fragonard*, is to articulate the museological project around the history of the museum itself. In this case, the idea is to valorize the collection as representative of ways of assembling and displaying scientific collections in the past. Thus, the presentation is supposed to acquire meaning through its 'authentic' style of presentation rather than through artificial or artistic ways of associating it with another era. At Alfort, the Director of the Museum has made the choice to try and recapture the spirit of the Museum when it first entered the building it now occupies, in 1902 (see fig. 3). The century that separates the renovation from the Museum's original incarnation has allowed the introduction of various technical innovations, particularly in the areas of lighting and climate control. Nevertheless, the goal of the renovation process has been to be discrete, and to try and return the presentation of the collection to its original appearance. In particular, the walls are being repainted their original off-white color, and the large glass-fronted cabinets kept as before, with the brightly colored wax anatomical castings being able once again to stand out against a uniform background. The Fragonard pieces, however, will not be placed at the front of

the Museum as they were in 1902. The Director has chosen to place these *écorchés* along with other material from the eighteenth century in a separate section of the Museum. While the rest of the Museum will form a continuous whole, the older material will be separated off by an opaque closure. The idea is to present this material as an illustration of the content of the cabinet that preceded the twentieth-century (and even the nineteenth-century) museum. This approach of separating this section off from the rest of the collection evidently provides practical advantages as well, as the older material, and the anatomical preparations in particular, are especially sensitive to the climatic conditions of the room. Thus, the separation of this reconstituted eighteenth-century ‘cabinet’ from the rest of the collection using closed doors and opaque walls permits the regulation of two different atmospheric regimes in the same Museum. This physical division of the space of the Museum not only helps to preserve the collection but also mirrors a conceptual division between the two historical parts; the recreation of a museum from the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and a sampling of the content of the eighteenth-century cabinet. Finally, putting around 4200 objects on permanent display in the new MévA can only lead to a multiplication of the readings that visitors can make of the museum. In the view of the Director, this can only be a good thing, as a central objective of the Museum is precisely to accommodate as wide a public as possible. This means avoiding an overly limited presentation or offering an excessively directive vision of what is on display.

Conclusion

As we suggested at the beginning, most people know the collection at Maisons Alfort for the historic human anatomical preparations by Fragonard. And yet, for the reasons we have just presented, the renovated Museum will not be constructing its display around these justly famous pieces, and is even going to drop the name Fragonard

from its title. Nevertheless, it is clear that a significant proportion of visitors to the Museum will still be coming to see these well known *écorchés*. Indeed, one possibility might have been to re-construct the whole museum around Fragonard's work, but the director has instead chosen to emphasize the coherence of the whole collection. The principal idea is to present a museum that will show the visitor what a museum was like at the beginning of the twentieth century, and will help them to understand the beliefs and conceptions that motivated this kind of museum and its mode of presentation. Of course, Fragonard's anatomical preparations will still occupy an important place in this Museum, but they will no longer serve as its museological focus.

Thus, we have seen how the Director of the Musée Fragonard was confronted with a choice that is faced by many museums with more or less urgency. He could have modernized the style of the Museum, presenting the older artifacts as 'art' objects, or historical introductory objects for contemporary pedagogical material. In the context of the *Musée Fragonard*, this kind of approach would have meant completely changing the presentation if not renewing the collection. Instead, the decision was made to identify a particular period from the collection's past and to try to revive the spirit of those who conceived the Museum at this point. To summarize this orientation, we could say that the Museum is about to start a new life as a museum of or for museums of medical science.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES

1. VON HAGENS G. (Ed.), *Body Worlds – The Anatomical Exhibition of Real Human Bodies*. Heidelberg, Institut für Plastination, 2002, p. 182.
2. DEGUEURCE CH., *Les écorchés de Fragonard: Une recette de longévité*. La Recherche, décembre 2007; 414: 66-73.
3. DIDEROT D. & D'ALEMBERT J., *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné*

Christophe Degueurce and Jonathan Simon

- des sciences des arts et des métiers*. Paris, Panckoucke, 1751-65.
4. SIMON J. *The Theatre of Anatomy: The anatomical preparations of Honoré Fragonard (1732-1799)*. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 2002; 36: 63–79.
 5. CHAUVAU, LECLAINCHE E. & ROUX E., *Edmond Nocard 1850-1903*. Paris, Masson et Cie, 1906.
 6. CLAIR J. (Ed.), *L'âme au corps, arts et sciences 1793-1993*. Paris, Gallimard, 2002.
 7. Cfr. op. cit. note 2.
 8. DEGUEURCE C. (Ed.), *Trésors de l'Ecole Vétérinaire d'Alfort. Balade au coeur de son histoire et de son patrimoine*. DVD ROM, Maisons Alfort, ENVA, 2004.

Correspondence should be addressed to:

zxsimon@yahoo.com