SUBJECT TO DIANA:
PICTURING DESIRE IN FRENCH RENAISSANCE COURTLY AESTHETICS

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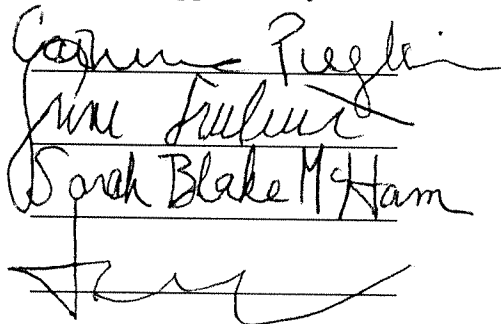
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ABSTRACT

Subject to Diana: Picturing Desire in French Renaissance Courtly Aesthetics

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My dissertation examines the visual representations of Diana, the chaste goddess of the hunt, in sixteenth-century French court imagery as a major example of how the intertwining of classical myth and allegory played a central role in shaping a new aesthetic and cultural identity at the French Renaissance court. Beginning with the reign of Francis I [r.1515-47], but in particular during the reign of his son and successor Henri II [r.1547-59], images of Diana pervaded the French Renaissance court, and were produced in a variety of media. Whereas earlier studies have emphasized Diana as a role model exemplifying chastity and ideal courtly behavior, my study reassesses Diana's significance for the French court in terms of intrinsically artistic concerns, such as patron identity, transference of motifs, shared imagery, and the emergence of a new style that defined French Renaissance art.

At once a forbidden image and an object of desire, Diana embodies a series of questions about the representation of ideal beauty, and the tensions between chastity, desire, and the depiction of nudity. This dissertation considers two major aspects that place the Diana iconography within a new context, while pointing to a set of underlying themes: namely, the symbolic association of Diana with the figure of the French king, a

tradition that harks back to late-medieval manuscripts and royal hunting practices, and

the connection between Diana and questions about artistic and intellectual production

that emerged along with the new French aesthetics of the sixteenth century. Part I

examines the allegorical hermeneutics of late-medieval manuscript traditions and their

continuity into the Renaissance, in their association between chastity, hunting,

knowledge, and the representation of nudity. Part II traces the development of sixteenth-

century print culture and the recasting of mythological themes in sensual terms, by

mapping the conflation between Diana and the *Nymph of Fontainebleau*. Based on a

close reading of a painting by François Clouet, Part III probes the issues of representation

underlying the numerous depictions of Diana and her nymphs while bathing, where

nudity is simultaneously eroticized and moralized, thus returning to some of the

interpretive problems discussed in Part I.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Introduction

Les mythes se pensent dans les hommes, et à leur insu.
Claude Levi-Strauss [1]

This dissertation examines the visual representations of Diana, the chaste goddess of the hunt, in sixteenth-century French court imagery as a major example of how the intertwining of classical myth and allegory played a central role in shaping a new aesthetic and cultural identity at the French Renaissance court. Beginning with the reign of François I [r.1515-47], but in particular during the reign of his son and successor Henri II [r.1547-59], images of Diana and her nymphs pervaded the French Renaissance court, a phenomenon that has been acknowledged in previous studies, the most comprehensive being Françoise Bardon's *Diane de Poitiers et le mythe de Diane* (1963).[2] Following Bardon's work, which underscored the identification of Diane de Poitiers, the mistress of Henri II, with the figure of Diana, scholars interpreted the depictions of the goddess mostly in terms of the identity of female members of the court. In the more recent *Actes du colloque, Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle* (2002), Diana's important symbolic role in sixteenth-century French aesthetics is confirmed and her manifestations in other cultural spheres are explored.[3] With few exceptions, however, scholars have continued to emphasize the relationship between Henri II and his mistress, Diane de Poitiers, as the turning point for the artistic and poetic manifestations of the theme, and for the subsequent production of allegorical portraits of women in the guise of Diana. Based on this

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[1] *Le Cru et le cuit* (Paris: Plon, 1964), 20.
[2] Françoise Bardon, *Diane de Poitiers et le mythe de Diane* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963).
[3] Jean-Raymond Fanlo and Marie-Dominique Legrand (eds). *Actes du colloque. Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle. E.N.S. Bd. Jourdan, 29-31 mai 2001* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002).

correlation, as well as on the development of the theme in Neoplatonic poetry, the Diana imagery has been principally interpreted as a metaphor for love and concealed desire.

However, a consideration of the imagery in a wider context, including late-medieval traditions, reveals aspects that have not been previously considered and that are intimately tied to questions of artistic production and the emergence of a new style that defined French Renaissance art. It is the premise of this dissertation that Diana functioned as an emblematic image of the French Renaissance court and its aesthetics at large, and on a number of levels that go well beyond Diane de Poitiers.[4] Indeed, there is significant iconographic evidence to demonstrate the ongoing presence of Diana in official royal imagery, and scrutiny of late-medieval manuscripts evidences a rich tradition that preceded the sixteenth century. Whereas the association of Diana with queens of France and with France herself, figured as the moon, was made in early-sixteenth-century royal entries,[5] this type of astrological connection became of great significance during the reign of Henri II. As has been demonstrated by Thierry Crépin-Leblond, it was following Valois tradition, rather than his mistress, that Henri adopted the crescent moon as his heraldic symbol.[6] His motto *Donec totum impleat orbem*, loosely translated as "until the cycle arrives to its completion," may thus be understood as a metaphor for his imperial aspirations whereby the image of the full moon (as opposed to the sun) embodies the idea of empire.

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[4] Although Olivier Pot, "Le mythe de Diane chez Du Bellay: De la symbolique lunaire à l'emblème de cour," in *Actes du colloque: Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle. E.N.S. Bd. Jourdan, 29-31 mai 2001*, eds. J-R. Fanlo and M-D. Legrand (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), has suggested that Diana, as a figure of mediation, served as an emblem of the court and of Henri II as seen through the works of Du Bellay (and Ronsard), he continues to emphasize Diane de Poitiers's influence.

[5] Edith Karagiannis, "Diane chez les 'antiquaires': les discours sur les medailles," in *Actes du colloque. Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle. E.N.S. Bd. Jourdan, 29-31 mai 2001*, eds. J-R. Fanlo and M-D. Legrand (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), 235.

[6] Thierry Crépin-Leblond, "Sens et contresens de l'emblématique de Henri II," in *Henri II et les arts: Actes du colloque internationale Ecole du Louvre et Musée Nationale de la Renaissance, Ecouen, 25, 26, et 27 septembre, 1997* (Paris: Ecole du Louvre, 2003), 77-78.

In general terms, the increase of images of Diana in mid-sixteenth-century France has been primarily read as the pictorial equivalent of Maurice Scève's *Délie* and its aesthetics of 'cold cruelty,' and the assumption has been that Petrarchan poetics prevailed over other interpretive models in such visual representations of classical myth.[7] Other approaches have not been adequately examined, and the differentiation between public and private uses of mythological allegory has not been sufficiently underlined. Whereas mythological allegory was used in public, official ceremonies as political propaganda, its function in a more private courtly context may be regarded as an exercise in hermeneutics, where classical myth was understood as a literary legacy whose symbols could encompass multiple meanings simultaneously. Indeed, a major characteristic of French Renaissance aesthetics was the creation of complicated and deliberately ambiguous visual presentations of classical myth, such as the cycle of the Galerie François Premier at Fontainebleau, where the king guided his visitors and served as the interpreter of complicated patterns of meaning.[8] Most importantly, the principal meaning accorded to the Diana imagery --as an allegory of courtly love-- requires revision and amplification. To begin with, the apparent contradiction and tensions that arise from using the chaste Diana as a symbol of love and desire have to be further explored. At the same time, a consideration of the theme in a broader historical context shows that a number of late-medieval

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[7] See for example André Chastel's influential article on this type of imagery, titled "L'eros de la beauté froide," republished in *Fables, formes, figures* (Paris: Flammarion, 1978).

[8] The obscurity of the Galerie François Premier was commented upon even in the sixteenth century, and scholars have proposed that it promoted a deliberate difficulty and ambiguity "in order to foster the multiplication of possible connections," for which see Henri Zerner, *Renaissance Art in France. The Invention of Classicism* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 87. The coexistence of multiple meanings corresponds with the allegorical hermeneutics to be discussed in Part I of this dissertation. François I played an important role in this process, for not only did he literally hold the key to his *galerie*, but may be seen as holding the interpretive 'key' to his images, for which see Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold. Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 45-57.

traditions coexisted and coalesced well before Diane de Poitiers's adoption of Diana as her emblematic image.

My study and analysis of a series of artistic projects have allowed me to draw previously unnoted connections, which may shed new light on the function and meaning of the images of Diana in the French Renaissance. These include a fresh reading of the Nymph of Fontainebleau type and an analysis of the iconography of the Escalier Henri II at the Louvre, which has not been previously studied. As projects directly connected with François I and Henri II, these provide major points of reference for placing the depictions of Diana within a wider context. This dissertation thus reinterprets the sixteenth-century images of Diana by connecting them directly to the French king, an association that, as I shall argue, is rooted in late-medieval literary traditions and courtly practices. For example, a significant variable that structures the Diana theme in the French Renaissance is the hunt, a major courtly activity that was simultaneously a form of exercise, entertainment, and ritual. I also explore problems of a metapoetic nature, which are inherent to Diana as a symbolic figure, and also regard questions of representation and ideal beauty that are essential to French Renaissance aesthetics.

My research has unearthed a rich literary and visual tradition stemming from profusely illustrated late-medieval manuscripts, which forms the basis of Part I. Although these manuscripts were produced well into the sixteenth century, and some surviving exemplars can be traced back to the sixteenth-century royal libraries, they have not been sufficiently considered in accounts of French Renaissance art. Yet the consideration of an earlier manuscript culture and its continuity into the sixteenth century is essential for understanding Renaissance courtly culture. Most importantly, the allegorical hermeneutics that characterize these manuscripts need to be taken into account; for, as shown by Ann Moss, allegory continued to be a valid method of

interpretation in sixteenth-century France, where it coexisted with the humanist approach to classical antiquity.[9] Such works include the *Ovid moralisé*, the *Glose des échecs amoureux*, and Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea*, all of which derive from the mythographic tradition that developed after the twelfth-century translations and fourteenth-century moralizations of classical texts. Cynegetic treatises and the legendary status of the stag in medieval literature provide a parallel tradition, as can be seen in the various sixteenth-century manuscripts and tapestries of the *Chasse d'un cerf privée* theme, in which the stag is allegorized as the human soul. All together, these manuscripts constitute an important point of convergence for understanding Diana's early configuration as a symbolic figure. Although they differ in their individual descriptions and representations of Diana, a series of common themes emerge, such as the tensions between chastity and the representation of nudity, as well as the connection between chastity and knowledge.

Similar themes, though recast in terms that emphasize sensual beauty, can be seen through the increased production of mythological prints in the 1540s. Their role in shaping the new aesthetics of the French court is discussed in Part II, which examines the conflation of the Nymph of Fontainebleau type with Diana, and suggests that this is an image intimately associated with the French king, beginning with François I. This iconography was reproduced throughout the 1540s in a variety of formats and media, and became explicitly associated with Diana through an engraving attributed to Pierre Milan and René Boyvin (ca. 1545-1554) and the placement of Benvenuto Cellini's *Nymph of Fontainebleau* (ca. 1543) at Anet in the 1550s. The points of intersection between these works provide the basis for my discussion of the Nymph/Diana as a type that exemplifies problems of artistic production and questions of

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[9] See Ann Moss, *Poetry and Fable. Studies in Mythological Narrative in Sixteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), chapter I, The Allegorical Tradition.

representation. As images of Fontainebleau's mythic origins, these works are concerned with the *paragone* and other self-reflexive issues of artistic production –myths about the origins of the arts, the king's identity as *père des lettres et arts*, and the establishment of Fontainebleau as a new artistic center. The emergence of Diana as a visual metaphor for such concerns needs to be contextualized within François I's reign and his patronage of the visual arts, which, in some respects, continued to shape that of Henri II, as can be traced through the printed materials of the mid-sixteenth-century and seen in the decorations of the Escalier Henri II at the Louvre.

Based on a close reading of a mid-sixteenth-century French painting of the tale of Diana and Actaeon, the so-called *Bath of Diana* attributed to François Clouet, Part III of the dissertation probes the issues of representation underlying the numerous depictions of Diana and her nymphs while bathing and reevaluates the traditional reading of such images as allegorical portraits. Both a way of eroticizing nudity and simultaneously raising questions about spectatorship, such images present the viewer with a problem of choice that is rooted in the moralizing tradition. The crucial point of Clouet's invention, deemed successful enough to have been copied in at least three variants, lies not only in its iconographic particularities (the unusual inclusion of satyrs in Diana's circle, the arrival of Actaeon in the guise of a courtly horseback rider, the allusions to the Judgment of Paris), but especially in its narrative structure. The implication is that the moment of transformation has been relocated outside of the pictorial space, and that the viewer is transformed into both Actaeon and Paris, thereby completing the narrative. My discussion explores how the picture duplicates the inherent structure of the principal tale whereby the encounter between the hunter and the goddess triggers the process of self-reflection and, together with its reference to the Judgment of Paris (a central theme in the *mirror for princes* genre), functions as a didactic mirror image for courtiers.

Methodology

In contrast to traditional iconographic studies, which privilege subject matter and textual sources, this dissertation emphasizes the relationship between visual form and content, and approaches the imagery of Diana not only in terms of what is being depicted but of *how* it is represented.[10] While developing a close reading of select images, this dissertation maps the ongoing transformation and overlapping of visual traditions. One of the particularities of the 'French Renaissance' was its inheritance of the medieval mythographic tradition and the *romans antiques*, which continued to shape the identity of the French court. The distinctive production of printed materials disseminating and reproducing the aesthetics of the French court in the later sixteenth century, a process that has been termed as "recombinant aesthetics," equally characterizes the French Renaissance.[11] As such, questions of continuity and the interconnectedness between various visual and textual traditions largely shape this study.

I have not attempted a systematic consideration of all the aspects or images of Diana produced in this period, but have instead concentrated on two overarching themes. The first is of a historical nature and forms the basis of Parts I and II. It is centered around questions of patronage and Diana's connection to the French king, a point that has been overlooked in previous scholarship. The second is of a more theoretical type and forms the basis of Part III, which focuses on issues of visual representation, as articulated by the image of Diana's nudity and the *mise-en-scène* of ideal beauty and choice. Each part of the dissertation develops close readings of select images that may be seen as central to the problematics of Diana as a symbolic

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[10] On the iconographic method, see the revisions and new directions proposed in *Iconography at the Crossroads*, ed. B. Cassidy (Princeton: Princeton University, 1993), whose title is based on Panofsky's well-known study of "Hercules at the Crossroads" (1930).

[11] Zorach, 144.

figure. These are not meant to represent the entire iconography of Diana in the French Renaissance, but should be taken as indexes of the larger picture.

Central to my analysis throughout the dissertation is the revision of the role traditionally attributed to Diane de Poitiers in the development of this iconography. The imagery of Diane de Poitiers's castle at Anet will be discussed in further detail in Part II, but I will begin by assessing the Diane de Poitiers problem which provides the background for my point of departure. I will then outline my contention that the 'aesthetics of hunting' is a theme that structures Diana's development in the French Renaissance and provides an alternative point of reference for understanding the French court's fascination with Diana.

The Diane de Poitiers problem

Although Diane de Poitiers's association with Diana is undeniable, the assumption that she was the one to impose this iconography upon the royal court and influence its subsequent production is problematic. Both Henri II and Diane de Poitiers made ample use of Diana imagery, but the reasons and ways in which they did so must be revised. As has been demonstrated by Thierry Crépin-Leblond, the idea that Henri II's emblems and colors were a mark of his intimate relationship with Diane de Poitiers is based on modern notions about love, and a confusion between public, official imagery and private sentiment. Rather, Henri II's adoption of the half-crescent moon finds its origins in earlier Valois heraldry and has important political connotations as an image of the imperial theme that dominated sixteenth-century courts throughout Europe. Similarly, his preference for black and white was part of a more general courtly usage, as shall be discussed in Part III of this dissertation. On the other hand, Diane de

Poitiers certainly employed royal symbols at her residence of Anet, and may have even played

on the ambiguity of the king's insignia --which has been variously read as an H with two

crescent moons, an H with two interlocking Ds, and an H with two Cs, standing for Catherine de'

Medici.[12] [**Figs. 1-2**] Yet Diane de Poitiers's use of royal emblematics does not necessarily

function as a declaration of intimate love. As did other courtiers, she referenced the king's

emblems in order to associate herself with the king's public *persona*; as attested by the heraldic

markings in other castles belonging to the nobility, this was common practice, especially under

Henri II when courtiers competed for the king's visits to their castles,[13] a topic to be discussed

further in Part II.

The traditional iconographic connections between Diane de Poitiers and the figure of

Diana may also be reconsidered. With the exception of the *Diane of Anet* fountain sculpture and

a medal that shows Diane de Poitiers on the obverse and an image of Diana trampling Cupid on

the reverse, few of the presumed depictions of Diane as Diana can be firmly connected to her.

[**Figs. 3-6**] None of the so-called mythological portraits of Diane de Poitiers are documented, and

the distinction between what may be ideal representations of female beauty and actual portraits is

a tenuous point to prove, marred by a long history of interpretive problems concerning the

definition of portraiture and its connection to physiognomy.[14] Nonetheless, the predisposition to

associate sixteenth-century-French images of unknown women with Diane de Poitiers is largely

the result of nineteenth-century constructions, and the attribution of many such works has been

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[12] Crépin-Leblond, 79. The ambiguity is also attested in early sources. As noted by Crépin-Leblond (82), the documents on the construction of Anet explicitly state that the "armoiries du Roy et par les costez les lettres de chiffres et devises" will be depicted at the site. The documents are published in Maurice Roy, *Artistes et monuments de la Renaissance en France. Recherches nouvelles et documents inédits. Avec une préface de M. Paul Vitry* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1929), vol. I, 310-319; this particular mention is found in Document I, 13 dec 1547.

[13] Monique Chatenet, *La Cour de France au XVIe siècle. Vie sociale et architecture* (Paris: Picard, 2002), 279.

[14] The difficulties of identifying Diane de Poitiers's portraits, and the complexities of establishing the exact relationship between Diane de Poitiers and Diana, have been deftly measured by Henri Zerner, "Diane de Poitiers, maitrisse de son image?" in *Actes du colloque: Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle. E.N.S. Bd. Jourdan, 29-31 mai 2001*, eds. J-R. Fanlo and M-D. Legrand (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), 335-343.

recently questioned.[15] As acknowledged by Bardon, the notion of Diane de Poitiers 'portrayed as Diana' is a later tendency that should be differentiated from what she calls the 'Diane theme' as inaugurated by Diane de Poitiers, which is more a question of associations of the type found in Gabriel Symeoni's writings.[16]

The only source explicitly to identify portraits of Diane de Poitiers in the guise of Diana is a description of Anet from 1640, which has been used as the base for modern reconstructions of Diane de Poitiers's iconography and patronage.[17] Written eighty years after the reign of Henri II, this document does not necessarily provide reliable evidence of sixteenth-century perceptions.[18] By the time this chronicler was writing, portraits of noblewomen in the guise of goddesses --in particular of Diana-- were immensely popular in the courtly circles throughout Europe, and it is likely that such an identification is informed by seventeenth-century views rather than those of the sixteenth century.[19] [**Figs. 7-8**] Furthermore, although the taste for Fontainebleau aesthetics continued under the reign of the early Bourbon kings, the ways in which the sixteenth-century images were understood had changed, as attested by the

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[15] Ann Rose Plogsterth, *The Institution of the Royal Mistress and the Iconography of Nude Portraiture in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1991). Paradoxically, of the only two confirmed 'mythological portraits' of Diane de Poitiers by Plogsterth, the identification of one, François Clouet's *Bath of Diana*, is questioned in Part III of this dissertation; while issues surrounding the provenance of the other one, the Althorp portrait of Diane de Poitiers, are questioned by Zerner (2002), 338-339 n.7.

[16] Bardon, 96-99. Indeed, Bardon's approach may be paralleled with Gabriel Symeoni's writings on Anet and dedicated to Diane de Poitiers, but her interpretation of the meaning of Symeoni's evocations in Neoplatonic terms (for which see Bardon, 57-59) may be reconsidered.

[17] The 1640 description by Denis Godefroy exists in manuscript form at the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, and is published in Pierre Désiré Roussel, *Histoire et description du château d'Anet depuis le dixième siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Imp. par D. Jouaust, pour l'auteur, 1875), 127.

[18] The emphasis given to this document and its reliability have also been questioned by Zerner (2002) and Crépin-Leblond.

[19] Indirectly acknowledged by Bardon, 99-100, who provides a teleological account for the seventeenth-century fashion for allegorical portraiture as beginning with Diane de Poitiers: "A l'époque où Diane de Poitiers triomphait, il y eut une mode du thème de Diane: il était encore trop tôt pour que les dames de la cour eussent la hardiesse de suivre la favorite [….] N'oublions pas que si le XVIIe siècle nous y a beaucoup habitués [aux métaphores allégoriques], au milieu du XVIe elles étaient encore très insolites. Il a fallu ce déploiement mythologique autour du personnage de Diane de Poitiers pour que l'on fît d'elle des portraits métaphoriques, et encore, la mode ne s'en établit-elle qu'à la fin du siècle, et par l'intermédiaire de Gabrielle d'Estrées."

seventeenth-century chroniclers of the Fontainebleau cycles, for they do not always recognize the subject matter or differentiate between styles.[20]

Our modern image of Diane de Poitiers is essentially the result of a nineteenth-century romanticized reconstruction, in which the seventeenth-century sources were being read in combination with a renewed, albeit much idealized, interest in French history. The idea of the Renaissance as a historical period was beginning to take shape at this time; it was mostly investigated in writings about the Italian Renaissance, whereas the notion of a French Renaissance was principally explored by romantic painters that mythologized it as a blossoming age of the arts.[21] This romanticized view of the French Renaissance is synthetically summarized in the numerous images showing François I holding the dying Leonardo in his arms, as well as in a painting by Alexandre Évariste Fragonard showing Henri II next to Diane de Poitiers while viewing the celebrated *Diane of Anet* sculpture inside Jean Goujon's studio, in which the royal mistress presides over both king and artist. [**Fig. 9**] The nineteenth century also conditioned our understanding of sixteenth-century images of mythological subject matter, often regarded as ways of 'disguising' erotic love through the use of veiled metaphor. A closer look at the extant imagery at Anet, however, suggests that most of its iconography is built around Diane de Poitiers's prominent status as the widow of Louis de Brézé, a major actor in French politics and military affairs, who was *grand sénéchal* and then governor of Normandy.[22]

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[20] An example of this seventeenth-century tendency, to be discussed in the Epilogue, is Père Pierre Dan's *Le trésor des merveilles de la maison royale de Fontainebleau, contenant la description de son antiquité, de sa fondation, de ses bastimens de ses rares Peintures, Tableaux, Emblemes, & Devises: de ses Jardins, de ses Fontaines, & autres singularitez qui s'y voyent* (A Paris: Chez Sebastian Cramoisy, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, 1642).

[21] On the emerging and romanticized notion of a French Renaissance as visualized in early-nineteenth-century images (a concept only generally noted in writings), see Janet Cox-Rearick, "Imagining the Renaissance: The Nineteenth-Century Cult of François I as Patron of Art," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50:1 (Spring 1997): 207-250.

[22] The romantic biographical readings of Diane de Poitiers are redressed through the archival research of Patricia Z. Thompson, "De Nouveaux aperçus sur la vie de Diane de Poitiers," in *Actes du colloque. Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle. E.N.S. Bd. Jourdan, 29-31 mai 2001*, eds. J-R. Fanlo and M-D. Legrand (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), 345-358. Thompson provides evidence demonstrating that Diane de Poitiers was already favored

Throughout Anet, the *grande sénéchale*, as she is sometimes referred to in sixteenth-century writings, celebrates and mourns her departed husband with recurrent images of death and rebirth: these include the sarcophagi adorning the castle grounds, including the base for the *Diane of Anet* that was initially a fountain sculpture, as well as the symbolism of the triumphal arch that once framed the castle façade inside the courtyard. [**Figs. 10-11**] Once again, this invocation of mourning should not be taken literally, as a sentiment, but as part of Diane de Poitiers' symbolic *persona*. Overall, Anet celebrates Diane de Poitiers's public *persona* and social status: not only as one the king's favorites, but as a powerful widow and patron of the arts. Her empowered status as a widow allowed her to become a major patron of the arts, and it is this particular aspect that is invoked by the Anet poets as they celebrate Diane/Diana as their muse.[23] [**Fig. 12**] It is also true that, on one level, the Anet iconography is ambiguous in its exact connection to the king, an ambiguity that may have been created, to some degree, by Diane de Poitiers herself. [24] Nonetheless, the invocation of the goddess of the hunt at Anet should be reconsidered within this larger context: as such, Diane de Poitiers's Diana is not so much about the recasting of the Diana and Actaeon tale in neo-platonic terms (with the king as Actaeon and his mistress as Diana) but about her positioning as a chaste widow and patron of the arts. Through her identification with Diana, Diane de Poitiers casts herself simultaneously as a chaste woman and muse for poets. It is important to note that the implicit tensions of the sixteenth-century iconography of the goddess of the hunt --depicted in full nudity while her chastity is

before the time of Henri II, noting that it would be highly doubtful that this would have been the case if she were indeed at such great odds with the Duchess d'Estampes (as has been traditionally portrayed), and that she continued to exert influence after the death of Henri II. Thompson's emphasis on Diane de Poitiers's prominent status as the widow of Louis de Brézé reinforces my reading of the Anet iconography in terms of mourning and chastity, a theme that is apparent when the various works are seen as a group.

[23] This can be seen in Gabriele Symeoni's writings, to be discussed in Part II. On the poets writing on Anet, see Jean Balsamo, "Dire le Paradis d'Anet," in *Travaux de littérature. Architectes et architecture dans la littérature française. Colloque international organisé par l'Adirel sous le patronage de l'Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne et avec le concours du C.N.R.S. En Sorbonne, les 23-25 october* 1997 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999), 339-349.

[24] As suggested by Zerner (2002), 338.

simultaneously recalled-- were present in Diane de Poitiers's choice of imagery. Yet this was not unique to Diane de Poitiers but inherent to the representation of Diana and forms part of a series of metapoetic concerns prominent in sixteenth-century French courtly imagery, to be amply discussed in this dissertation. In sum, the link between Diane de Poitiers and Diana was indeed made at the time, but the association was not necessarily as extensive or personalized as it has been portrayed in modern scholarship.

On the Aesthetics of Hunting

As has been acknowledged both by scholars who follow and question the Diane de Poitiers association, a major variable in the development of the Diana imagery is related to the aesthetics of the hunt. Indeed, it is within the sphere of hunting where the image of Diana first emerges in the sixteenth century, although her figure is already tied to a series of themes that go back to the medieval allegorical approach to classical myth. The importance of hunting as one of the major ritual practices defining French courtly culture is well known, and although it has been noted in passing that the French court's predilection for hunting may provide a significant clue as to the considerable symbolic role accorded to the figure of Diana in French Renaissance art and culture, the underlying significance of this connection and its implications have not been developed. [25] As will be demonstrated in this dissertation, Diana is tied to the primarily masculine activity of hunting and the aesthetics deriving from it, which are intimately connected to the notion that desire functions as an impulse for creativity.

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[25] The French court's passion for hunting is put forward by Bardon as the possible reason for which the iconography of Diana was principally developed in France rather than Italy. The sixteenth-century French interest in Diana has also been explained in relation to hunting and its mythological correspondences by Crépin-Leblond, n. 29.

It is not so much that hunting determined the iconography of Diana, but that its role should be considered as part of a larger ongoing dynamic, at the heart of which lies the intricate rapport between culture and nature. This relationship was a recurrent preoccupation for poets of the French Renaissance court, for whom the court and castle surrounded by wooded areas came to be represent this dynamic.[26] While the castle was the court's location, the woods provided an imaginary space inhabited by mythological creatures and filled with symbolic potential. Opposed, but also reliant on one another, these two spaces (castle and forest) were the sites where quotidian courtly activities evolved, and the ones to structure the relationship between pleasure and intellect. Considered an elaborate art that required both strenuous physical abilities as well as accumulated wisdom, hunting may be understood as an intermediary space between these two spheres. For the art of hunting was not only theorized through cynegetic treatises that go back to classical antiquity, and symbolized in art and literature as a metaphor for both war and love (also ancient *topoi*), but it was *the* major recreational activity of a French king and his courtiers to the point that it determined the location of their castles.[27] A case in point is François I, known for his particular penchant for hunting and whose castles are characterized by their placement amidst hunting parks or forests. Indeed, his express motivation for establishing Fontainebleau, the site that came to embody French Renaissance art, as one of his principal residences was its proximity to the hunting park. Such motivations are corroborated by

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[26] See for example the *Discours de la court, présenté au roy par M. Claude Chappuys son libraire, & Varlet de Chambre ordinaire* (Paris: André Roffet, 1543), in which Claude Chappuys theorizes on the court as a cultural institution of hierarchies and social rituals: while representing its values and members in allegorical and mythological terms, the court is celebrated as a "fontaine de civilité."

[27] The link between hunting and French Renaissance courtly architecture has been demonstrated by Chatenet; see especially 41 on the strategic placement of castles close to forests.

contemporary testimonies, where the king's castles are described as "maisons de plaisance" and the surrounding woods are cast as the site of mythological encounters and legendary events.[28]

It is at this crossing point between nature and culture, woods and castle, pleasure and intellect, where the activity of hunting takes place and where the figure of Diana, the goddess of the hunt, emerges and takes center stage in French Renaissance art. Starting with the mythic foundation of François I's hunting lodge at Fontainebleau, according to which a hunting dog discovered a nymph and her source of pure water, mythological allegory and sensual female nudity became fundamental pictorial motifs at the French court. The insertion of a historical figure from the French court into a mythological landscape also became recurrent at Fontainebleau, as attested in a number of manuscript illuminations from the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique* (BN Ms. fr. 13429) portraying François I's encounter with Diana while hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau; another example is a preparatory drawing (Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre), depicting François I at the edge of a forest inhabited by the Nymph of Fontainebleau and her followers. [**Figs. 13-14**]

As the goddess of the hunt, Diana also embodies a point of convergence between culture and nature, a theme that is developed in Guillaume Budé's *De Venatione*, where he invokes the goddess as a rhetorical strategy aimed at convincing François I to found the study of classical letters (to be discussed in Part I). In this sense, Diana stands at a crucial point between courtly practices and the intellectual revival of classical antiquity. Indeed, she comes to symbolize a type of crossroads in a tradition that begins with the *Échecs amoureux*, where Diana first plays a central role in the narrative of the Judgment of Paris. At the same time, Diana is emblematic of some of the major aesthetic concerns that define the French Renaissance. At once a forbidden

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[28] See Chatenet, 53, on the use of the term "maison de plaisance" for describing the Renaissance château.

image (based on the preservation of her chastity) and an object of desire, Diana embodies a series of questions about the representation of ideal beauty, and the tensions between desire, creativity, and the depiction of nudity. [**Fig. 15**] The existence of simultaneous, often contradictory, meanings associated with Diana seems to be one of her particular features. It is thus not surprising that Diana stands at a crossing point where different traditions merge together; unlike the other goddesses of the ancient pantheon, whose attributes seem to be more stably defined, Diana's image remains more flexible and is subjected to continuous variations. My dissertation thus reassesses Diana's significance for the French court by exploring two major aspects of the imagery that place it within a broader context: namely, the symbolic association of Diana with the figure of the French king, a tradition that is rooted in late-medieval manuscripts and royal hunting practices, and the connection between Diana and questions about visual representation that emerged along with the new French aesthetics of the sixteenth century.

Part I

Unveiling Diana: Late-Medieval Manuscript Traditions and Allegorical Hermeneutics

On at least two occasions, the French king was portrayed within a mythological scene where he encountered the female deities of the woods. In the second volume of the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique* of 1519 (BN Ms. fr. 13429), François I literally runs into Diana and Aurora while hunting in the forest of *Byeure* or Fontainebleau (f. 2 v). [**Fig. 13**] This encounter provides the entryway into an imaginary world, a reconstruction *all'antica*, in which the French king converses with Julius Caesar and learns the "truths about the Gallic wars" and about other matters that define a well-rounded military leader. At the end of the dialogue, Diana guides François back to the hunt and to his present time. In the corresponding manuscript illuminations, Diana appears as a lady, dressed in a courtly style, though identifiable through her bow and arrow as the goddess of the hunt. In a later depiction, a drawing from the 1540s (Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins), possibly a copy after Primaticcio for an unexecuted project at Fontainebleau, François I once again encounters Diana's entourage; this time, it is a group of nude nymphs bathing in the woods, including the *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, who was closely associated with the figure of Diana in the sixteenth century.[1] [**Fig. 14**] In the drawing, the king is being led into the forest by two clothed but barefoot women, who hold his hand while pointing towards the bathing nymphs. Though surrounded by members from his court and no longer alone as in the *Commentaires*, the king alone seemingly has the ability to see the

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[1] The iconography of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* and its connections to Diana are discussed in Part II.

mythological figures, for none of his courtly followers look in their direction or seem to be aware of their presence.

These two images represent the earlier and later stages in the French Renaissance figuration of Diana: traditionally depicted in the guise of a courtly lady in late-medieval manuscripts, she became increasingly associated with the reclining nude female type throughout the sixteenth century. If the aesthetics of the *Commentaires* mark the earlier part of François I's reign and seem to be the natural development of a late-medieval tradition in which Diana came to symbolize wisdom and reason, the image of the reclining nude becomes the later norm and is representative of the emphasis on female nudity in French Renaissance art. Yet, for all their differences, these two images share a common mythic structure, as well as a thematic connection: in both instances, the woods provide an entry into a mythological world in which the king experiences a vision or revelation; in both, Diana or figures closely related to her provide this revelation, one that, as will become evident, is connected to the acquisition of knowledge. As this first part of the dissertation will demonstrate, these representations of Diana derive from interdependent literary and visual traditions that go back to late-medieval mythographic manuscripts. While the visual transformation that took place during the 1530s and 1540s is the focus of the second part of this dissertation, in this first part, I will discuss the metaphoric process of 'unveiling' Diana through the lens of allegorical hermeneutics and its notion of *integumentum*, whereby multiple veils of meaning are slowly uncovered.

Albeit within the limits of the four interpretive categories --the euhemeristic or historical, the physical, the moral, and the allegorical-- the mythographic works of the Middle Ages allowed, even encouraged, a multiplicity of meanings in which the pagan

myths were constantly updated for edifying purposes. In the late-medieval manuscripts where Diana is represented, such a process may be observed: a number of different traditions and sources coalesce, and innovative connections to other pagan myths are made, as in the late-fourteenth-century *Échecs amoureux*, in which Diana first plays a significant role in the Judgment of Paris, well-known through the Trojan narratives and practically the most popular mythological tale in courtly circles of the medieval period. Simultaneously, with the increasing production of richly illuminated mythographic manuscripts, beginning with the fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé*, and followed by Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (1400), images begin to play a major role in enhancing the meaning given to the fables in the texts, sometimes even departing from their textual counterparts. Diana's appearances in texts and images of distinct genres of the late-medieval period --namely mythographic and didactic treatises, such as the 'mirror for princes'-- have not been analyzed in connection to one another or with respect to the developments of the sixteenth century. Yet, many of these manuscripts were kept in the royal and courtly libraries of the sixteenth century, and provided the base for a series of sixteenth-century texts addressed to the king, such as the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique* and Guillaume Budé's treatise on hunting of 1529, where Diana also plays a significant role. Thus, the analysis of these traditions is essential for understanding how and why Diana first became a major symbolic figure in sixteenth-century France.

I.1 Updating the Pagan Myths

As is characteristic of French late-medieval and Renaissance art works depicting classical mythology, the above scenes unite historical and mythological actors.[2] In some instances, the temporal divide is marked by differences in dress, as in the *Commentaires*, in which François appears in contemporary sixteenth-century garb, while Julius Caesar is appropriately dressed *all'antica*, or in the Louvre drawing, where the deities appear nude or barefoot as a sign of their divinity; in other cases, the gap is dissolved by dressing the goddesses in contemporary courtly clothes, as is the case of Diana in the *Commentaires*. Such 'disjunctions' may be explained as visual strategies used to represent temporal overlapping: both to connect distinct chronological moments and to distinguish the mythological past from the historical present. In their integration of divergent elements, such images also function as sophisticated mnemonic devices meant to imprint certain textual passages in the reader's mind, and not simply as a disjunctive in the Panofskian sense.[3]

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[2] This appears to be a particular emphasis of the French Renaissance that continues in later French courtly imagery and which distinguishes it, rather generally, from the Italian Renaissance approach to antiquity, where the overlapping between historical persona and mythological figures does not emerge with the same frequency.

[3] Panofsky's assessment of late-medieval images of classical subjects as 'corruptions' of classical form has been reconsidered in recent literature; see for example a discussion of the images in the *Glose des échecs amoureux* (BN Ms. fr.143) as mnemonic devices in Madeleine Jeay, "La mythologie comme clé de mémorisation: La *Glose des échecs amoureux*," in *Jeux de mémoire: Aspects de la mnémotechnie médiévale*, eds. Roy Bruno and Paul Zumthor (Montreal: J. Vrin, 1995), 157-166. As noted by Jeay, "ces images n'ont que le défaut d'appartenir à ces XIVe et XVe siècles trop souvent considérés non pas pour eux-mêmes, mais en fonction de ce qui a précédé et suivi" (158). In terms of the mnemonic function of such images, Jeay proposes "qu'elles fonctionnent comme procédés mnémotechniques destinés à intégrer en une seule image un ensemble de données et de connaissances" (159). This approach is indebted to Frances Yates's analysis of the figures in John Ridewall's fourteenth-century *Fulgentius Metaforalis*, in *The Art of Memory* (1966), as acknowledged by Jeay, 159, n.5 and n.7.

Sometimes, it is the historical figures that take on the attributes of the

mythological figures, as part of a genre that has been termed 'allegorical portraiture.'[4] A

particularly intriguing example is the miniature in which François I appears in the

combined guise of distinct gods that include Minerva, Mars, Mercury, Cupid, and Diana

(BN Estampes Rés. Na 255). Having long perplexed modern scholars for its

'androgynous' and seemingly ambiguous depiction of the king, this image is now

recognized as a composite portrait with a eulogizing function, and was a type that was

also adopted by Henri II in a medal of 1552.[5] [**Figs. 16-17**] The characterization of

images as 'allegorical' suggests a connection to the textual model of allegorical

interpretation, whereby christian exegesis susbstitutes the original tale. The strict

application of this textual model to the understanding of certain images has been

questioned.[6] Rather, it has been suggested, it is the responses generated by this type of

imagery that might be regarded as 'allegorical' in terms of a superposition of overlapping

concepts.[7] In this sense, such responses are still deeply indebted to the allegorical textual

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[4] The genre of 'allegorical' and 'composite' portraiture was first theorized by Edgar Wind, "Studies in Allegorical Portraiture I," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* v.1 (1937-38): 138-162. Allegorical portraiture has been explored in the analysis of specific works and of its predominance in distinct periods, as in Françoise Bardon's *Le portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII: mythologie et politique* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1974). However, a full-fledged study of allegorical portraiture as a genre, in terms of its definition and subtleties in function, has yet to be developed.

[5] On the function of this image as a eulogy in the context of emblematic literature, see Daniel Russell, "Emblematics and Cultural Specificity: Two Examples from Sixteenth-Century France," in *Emblematic Perceptions: Essays in Honor of William S. Heckscher on the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday*, eds. Peter Daly and Daniel Russell, (Baden-Baden, V.Koerner, 1997), 135-157. Also see Barbara Hochstetler Meyer, "Marguerite de Navarre and the Androgynous Portrait of Francis I," *Renaissance Quarterly* 48:2 (Summer 1995): 287-325, for a similarly positive assessment of the image in the context of neo-platonic literature and its understanding of androgyny. On the function of the image in the context of other Renaissance topoi of *eulogy*, see Anne-Marie Lecoq's analysis in *François Ier imaginaire. Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Macula, 1987), 405, and Françoise Bardon, "Sur un portrait de François Ier," *Information d'Histoire de l'Art* 8 (1963): 1-7. Henri II's medal is discussed in Part II.

[6] Zorach, 86-87, questions the pertinence of the term allegory; instances in which figures embody concepts, such as Nature or Abundance, might be more aptly described as personifications or *prosopopoeia*.

[7] Ibid., 87: "following the reemergence of allegory in postmodern theory, as in the work of Craig Owen and Paul de Man, we might see responses to these figures as allegorical, precisely because they refuse to restrict their referents to a single authoritative meaning."

tradition, which allows for multiple coexisting meanings. It is worthwhile to explore the

connections between the textual and visual aspects of the mythographic tradition, which

are of a complex nature and clearly more than a matter of common origins, according to

which the visual tradition has been traditionally posited as derivative of its textual

counterpart. In this first section, I will thus explore how the visual overlap between

mythological figures and historical persona may be connected to the medieval

mythographic tradition that provided historical or euhemeristic, physical, moral, and

allegorical explanations of the pagan gods, as this will pave the way for understanding

the ways in which Diana was represented and interpreted in late-medieval manuscript

culture.[8]

Based on the same methods of interpretation used in biblical exegesis, Fulgence's

Mythologies (sixth century) was the foundation for the development of later

mythographic texts, which include the Vatican Mythographies, the twelfth-century

flourishing of Ovidian-inspired works, the late-thirteenth-century Alberic of London's

Libellus, and fourteenth-century commentaries in which religious allegory was

predominant, such as Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus*, forming the twelfth book of

his vast compendium on symbolic interpretation, the *Reductorium morale* (1340).[9] As

part of a didactic method, in which he provided summaries and allegories of the fables of

the *Metamorphoses*, Bersuire presented Ovid's figures as noblemen, prelates, kings, and

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[8] For the development of the medieval mythographic tradition, see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*: *The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1953), and Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh. Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

[9] See Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (New York: Icon Editions, 1969), 75-81, on the growing interest in classical mythology as attested by numerous commentaries, handbooks, and vernacular recasting of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* from the twelfth century onwards.

other contemporary actors.[10] This approach was followed in the illuminations of

mythographic works throughout the late-medieval period, in which the pagan gods appear

in the guise of princely actors; examples include the depictions of the individual gods in

manuscripts that follow the tradition of the *De formis figurisque deorum* (the introductory

section of the *Ovidius moralizatus*) and Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* or *Genealogy of

the Gods*.[11] The depiction of pagan figures in contemporary guise can also be observed in

the manuscript illuminations that tend to emphasize the mythological narrative scenes (as

opposed to the static representation of individual gods), such as those of the near-

contemporary *Ovide moralisé*, a French verse rendering of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,

greatly influential for the later depiction of mythological imagery.[12] [**Fig. 18**]

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[10] See Ann Moss, *Ovid in Renaissance France: A Survey of the Latin Editions of Ovid and Commentaries Printed in France before 1600*. Warburg Institute Surveys VIII (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1982), 30, on the text of Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus*.

[11] For a discussion of the images in the *Ovidius moralizatus* surviving manuscripts, see Carla Lord, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Berchorius Before the Age of Printing," in *Die Rezeption der Metamorphosen des Ovid in der Neuzeit: Der Antike Mythos in Text und Bild*, eds. Hermann Walter and Hans-Jürgen Horn (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1995), 1-11.

[12] Despite the significance and innovative aspects of the illuminations of the *Ovide moralisé*, neither their iconographic program nor their influence for later depictions have been sufficiently considered, and both matters deserve a study in of themselves. One of the few studies that considers the influence of the *Ovide moralisé* for Renaissance art is Carla Lord, *Some Ovidian Themes in Italian Renaissance Art* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1968). An article on the illustrations in the fourteenth-century manuscripts is also by Carla Lord, "Three Manuscripts of the *Ovide moralisé*," *Art Bulletin* 57 (1975): 161-175. The most in-depth study of the iconographic tendencies of the *Ovide moralisé* is an unpublished M.A. thesis: Claudia Rabel, *L'illustration de l'Ovide moralisé dans les manuscrits français du XIVe siècle* (Université de Paris IV, 1981).

For the intricate combined history of the *Ovide moralisé* and the *Ovidius moralizatus* (often divided and included only in parts in certain manuscripts), and their imagery, see Panofsky (1969), 78-81, footnote 2 (begins on 78, but see mostly 80-81). He subdivides the manuscripts into four major groups as follows: Group A – late fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Ovide moralisé* in verse (not influenced by Bersuire in text or illustration) with narrative images; Group B – fifteenth-century manuscripts of the French prose version of the *Ovide moralisé* (not influenced by Bersuire in text or illustration); Group C – manuscripts and incunabula with a French translation of Bersuire's *De formis figurisque deorum* and its illustrations, which precede either the *Ovide moralisé* in verse or the French prose translation (which may be a translation of Bersuire or the redaction from Group B) with narrative images; Group D – manuscripts of the *Ovide moralisé* in verse that include images of the individual gods from Bersuire's *De formis figurisque deorum*, but include no narrative images.

When considering the manuscripts that do not combine the *Ovidius moralizatus* with the *Ovide moralisé* (i.e. groups A and B), a general observation may be made: unlike their Latin counterpart --the *Ovidius moralizatus*, of which only three of its ca. sixty surviving manuscripts are illustrated, and which concentrate mostly on the images of individual gods from Bersuire's section *De formis figurisque deorum*--

This mode of 'updating' classical mythology for contemporary purposes and beliefs was particularly endorsed at the Northern European courts, and may be linked to the euhemeristic or historical mode of interpretation, according to which the gods were mortal princes at the origins. In effect, the close ties between historical and mythological personae at the Northern courts might be seen as a reversal of this interpretive model.[13] This was especially so in France where, in addition to the twelfth-century *aetas Ovidiana* and the insertion of mythological references into courtly romances, classical mythology provided the legitimizing origins of princely authority and identity. After Benoît de Sainte-Maure wrote his renowned epic poem *Le Roman de Troie* (ca.1160-1170) under the patronage of Eleanore of Aquitaine, in which he turned Hector into the chivalric hero of his story, the Trojan War became an essential component of a new mythology that recast Trojan history into the world of medieval romance.[14] A rich iconography was developed for this purpose, as can be seen in the fourteenth-century tapestries of the *Nine Heroes* (Cloisters) that recast Hector and other classical heroes in the guise of medieval kings.[15] [**Fig. 19**]

The story of Troy not only provided medieval knights with role models, but also offered the nobility a story rich in mythic origins and possibilities. A long tradition for this type of association originates in Aeneas's mythic founding of Rome; like the Romans

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the *Ovide moralisé* manuscripts present allegorical imagery as well as narrative images that focus on the tales.

[13] On the hermeneutics of this process, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski's Chapter I, "Reading Classical Mythology in the Romances of Antiquity," in *Reading Myth: Classical Mythology and Its Interpretations in Medieval French Literature* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 15-51, for an analysis of how the *romans antiques* of the twelfth century provided a legitimizing base for the history of the nobility.

[14] In 1287, Benoît's version was translated by the Sicilian judge Guido delle Colonne into Latin as the *Historiae destructionis Troiae*, and diffused throughout Europe.

[15] On the 'updating' of classical heroes during the Middle Ages, such as the depiction of Achilles as romantic lover, see Catherine Callen King, *Achilles. Paradigms of the War Hero from Homer to the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

who traced their ancestry back to Aeneas, the French nobility claimed itself the direct

descendant of Hector's son, Francus. Throughout the fifteenth century, numerous

mystery plays celebrated the story of Troy, and in 1464, Raoul Lefèvre, chaplain of

Philip the Good, compiled all previous sources into his *Recueil des histoires de Troie*, a

work that may be connected to the production of the late-fifteenth-century 'Grenier'

Trojan War tapestries, the largest series and most extensive sets ever made of this theme,

recorded in various European courtly centers.[16] [**Fig. 20**] Once again, the heroes were

figured in late-medieval costume, while their stories were recounted in Latin and French

inscriptions that appear above and below the main scenes. Although the reasons for this

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[16] On the medieval revival of the Trojan war and its adapatation in the visual arts, see Scott McKendrick, "The Great History of Troy: A Reassessment of the Development of a Secular Theme in Late Medieval Art." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 43-82. For a summary of the literary sources see Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana. Studies in the History of Mediaeval Secular Illustration.* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1971). In the Middle Ages, two texts from the first or second century, by Dictys of Crete and Dares of Phrygia, replaced Homer's recounting of the events; describing the siege and the city's destruction as if having witnessed the events, these two authors became the most popular source throughout the medieval period. While Dares of Phrygia's account favored the Trojans, Dictys of Crete's leaned towards the Greeks, and because of the Western European preference for the Trojan heroes, Dares became the preferred text for the Western courts, while Dictys was favored in the East. Benoit condensed both sources into his epic poem.

In 1364, a tapestry dedicated to the Trojan war was recorded in the collection of Louis, duke of Anjou. Similar tapestries were owned by Louis's brother Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy; Charles VI, king of France; and Sir John Beaumont (which then passed into the collection of Richard II) at the end of the fourteenth century. In the early fifteenth century, tapestries with the theme of Troy were also recorded in the inventories of Louis, duke of Orleans; Henry V, king of England; and the Duke of Exeter. On these tapestries, see McKendrick, 44-48.

The most complete set of the fifteenth-century 'Grenier' tapestries (a total of four) survive in Zamora, while fragments of other sets are dispersed throughout the Metropolitan Museum, Worcester, the Burell Collection in Glasgow, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, and the Palacio de Liria in Madrid. Nine of the original *modelli* are at the Louvre and one is at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The composition of some tapestries was recorded in eighteenth-century drawings now at the Victoria and Albert Museum. From the various remaining fragments, art historians have concluded that the eleven-piece set was reproduced on various occasions for a number of different patrons. Although it is not possible to assert which series belonged to whom (or to determine an original over derivative versions), documents show that beginning in the 1470s, the most important kings and dukes across Europe owned sets of tapestries of the Trojan War, including Charles VIII, king of France; Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary; Henry VII, king of England; James IV, king of Scotland; Federico da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino; and Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan. The term 'Grenier' refers to the tapestry workshop of Pasquier Grenier in Tournai, a major center of tapestry production of the fifteenth century, which possibly produced these tapestries, for which see Thomas P. Campbell, "Merchants and Weavers in Northern Europe, 1380-1480," in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence.* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 29-39.

renewed interest in the subject towards the end of the fifteenth century remain uncertain --whether it was sparked by Lefèvre's *Recueil* or whether it was the result of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, as has been sometimes suggested-- these types of associations were continuously recorded throughout the late-medieval period and into the sixteenth century.[17] Indeed, a continued interest in establishing the Trojan origins of the French court can be seen in the late-fifteenth-century printing of Lefèvre's *Recueil* and its dedication to Charles VIII by the renowned Parisian publisher, Antoine Vérard, as well as in the multiple editions of Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Les Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye* (1511-13).[18] Writing at the Burgundy court under the patronage of Marguerite of Austria, Lemaire was the direct inheritor of Lefèvre's *Recueil*, and one of his goals was to unify the Austrian and French courts under a common mythic heritage. Another contemporaneous example is by Jean Thénaud, one of the protégés of Louise de Savoie, in his manuscript *La Margarite de France* (1508-1509) whose title alluded to Marguerite, the sister of François I, and which was ultimately a remake of Annius of Viterbo's fifteenth-century *Antiquities*, in which the mythic origins of the French royalty were expounded upon.[19] Later in the sixteenth century, Pierre de Ronsard's *Françiade*, begun in 1572, pursued a comparable endeavor under the patronage of Charles IX [r.1560-1574].

Likewise, Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus* was also very much in vogue between 1490 and 1520, and was printed both in Latin and vernacular renditions. A Latin edition

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[17] See McKendrick, 77-80, on the possible motivations both for the fourteenth-century tapestries and for the renewed interest in the theme during the fifteenth century.

[18] On Vérard's edition of Lefèvre (ca.1494), see Mary Beth Winn, *Anthoine Vérard. Parisian Publisher 1485-1512. Prologues, poems, and presentations* (Genève: Droz, 1997), 336-349. A Lyonnais edition of Lefèvre was also printed in 1490. On the editions of Lemaire's work, see Jacques Abélard, *Les Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troyes de Jean Lemaire de Belges. Etude des éditions. Genèse de l'oeuvre* (Genève: Droz, 1976).

[19] On Thénaud's *La Margarite de France*, see Lecoq, 74.

was first published by Badius in 1509 as *Metamorphosis ovidiana moraliter a magistro Thoma Walleys Anglico...explanata*, and reprinted numerous times in Paris until 1521; these Latin editions were primarily addressed to preachers, who could select fables for their sermons, but also to scholars, as a way of 'learning to read' Ovid and the classical authors. Concurrently, Bersuire's text also served as a mythographic handbook that exerted considerable influence on vernacular works such as the *Bible des Poètes*, which combined the *Ovidius moralizatus* and the *Ovide moralisé*, and was printed on at least six occasions between 1493 and 1531.[20] Antoine Vérard's editions of the *Bible des Poètes* circulated in noble circles: the finest surviving vellum and hand-colored copy of the 1493 edition most probably belonged to Charles VIII, while another similar vellum copy was recorded in the collection of François I's father, the Count of Angoulême, in 1496, and yet another version, a paper edition, belonged to François I.[21] Renowned for its rich illustrations, the *Bible des Poètes* was a prose rendition of the *Metamorphoses* that combined the texts of Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus* and the *Ovide moralisé*; initially

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[20] Six editions of the *Bible des Poètes* were published between 1493 and 1531; four of these were Vérard's, while Phillip Le Noir published editions in 1523 and 1531, whose woocuts were based on Vérard's 1507 edition (Winn, 271, n.2, 272). A revised version of the *Bible des Poètes* was published as *Le Grande Olympe des histoires poëtiques du prince de poesie Ovide en sa Metamorphose* (Lyon: Denys de Harsy, 1532), in which the allegorical interpretations were removed. The *Grande Olympe* may be seen as a replacement of the *Bibles des poètes*, which was not printed again, while the *Grande Olympe* was printed between 1532 and 1586, on at least thirteen occasions (Moss, 1984, 41). On the shift from the *Bible des poètes* to the *Olympe*, as a shift in allegorical interpretation, see Moss (1984), 41-49. However, it should be noted that the *Olympe* continued to reproduce the images of the *Bible des poètes*

Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* was also printed in France, both in French and Latin; the French translation was first published by Vérard as *De la généalogie des dieux* in 1498 (using selected woodcuts from the *Bible des poètes*), and then by Le Noir and Jean Petit in 1531 (Moss, 1984, 13). Le Noir's edition, which attests to the reuse of images in different books, is available as a facsimile (New York: Garland, 1976). The same frontispiece used by Le Noir for the *Bibles de poètes* and for the *De la généalogie…* was used for his edition of *Les Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye* (ca.1524-28), for which see Pierre-Yves Badel, *Le "Roman de la Rose" au XIVe siècle* (Genève: Droz, 1980), 139.

[21] On the ownership of Vérard's luxury editions of the *Bible des Poètes*, see Winn, 273. The BN Rés. Vélins 559, which includes hand-colored woodcuts, was probably the original copy made for Charles VIII; BN Rés. Vélins 560 (which is missing some leaves) was probably the one owned by the Count of Angoulême, as recorded in the 1496 inventory. A paper version with the call number 261 of François I's personal library (BN Rés. g. Yc 426) has been identified as part of François I's collection by Winn (189).

compiled in Bruges by Colard Mansion in 1484, the book acquired its title as *Bible des Poètes* in 1493 when published in Paris by Vérard, and continued to be printed as such until 1531. [**Fig. 21**] In their prologues, both Vérard and Mansion insist on the interpretive method in which the truth, hidden beneath the veil of fiction, may be discovered through "similitudes." In his dedication to Charles VIII --which was maintained in all subsequent editions-- Vérard expounds on the moralizing qualities of the book whose ultimate goal is to elevate the reader's knowledge and conduct, while simultaneously implying that his selection of the fables is directed at the king.[22]

Although the hermeneutics of the *Ovidius Moralizatus* were criticized by some humanists and writers --a well-known instance is Rabelais's prologue to *Gargantua*-- and finally condemned by the Council of Trent, the Christian allegorical reading of pagan myth continued well into the sixteenth century; Ronsard's *Hercule chrestien* of 1555 is just one example.[23] As suggested by Ann Moss, the continued appeal of the *Ovidius moralizatus* lies not so much in the interpretations themselves as in the habits already formed in readers and writers: "To regard a classical fable as veiled truth, necessarily open to interpretation on different levels, and to keep simultaneously in one's head several equally valid but self-contradictory 'meanings' for a single text and make the equations between them, is an attitude of mind which remained with sixteenth-century writers."[24] Indeed, in allegorical hermeneutics, meanings are not fixed; what may appear to the modern reader as contradicting significances happily coexist in Bersuire's commentaries. An example of coexisting meanings can be appreciated in Bersuire's

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[22] For the texts of the two prologues and a comparison between the two, see Winn, 269-280.
[23] See Moss, 23-26, on the printings of the *Ovidius moralizatus* and its continued influence into the sixteenth century.
[24] For the continued appeal of the *Ovidius moralizatus* in the early sixteenth century, see Moss, 26.

interpretation of Actaeon, an approach that continued to influence later mythographic

commentaries on the fable of Diana and Actaeon: according to the moral interpretation,

Actaeon is a worldly, rich man who is prey to Fortune's vicissitudes; yet in the allegorical

sense, Actaeon simultaneously symbolizes Christ.[25]

Allegory may be explained as a type of interpretation that depends on *similitudo*,

in which the "interpretation of a fable or personage will depend on the likenesses which

the reader can detect between elements in the narrative or description and the traditional

components and language (itself often highly metaphorical) of the particular allegorical

sensus which is being applied."[26] In Bersuire's recasting of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the

allegorical method presents the poetic fable as a "pleasant retelling of truth disguised, an

extended metaphor or allegory, to be read rather as riddle than as narrative."[27] Deriving

from typological readings and imbued with the notion of the *integumentum* (or the idea

that the truth is hidden beneath a veil), allegorical hermeneutics thus continued to be

applied in the sphere of later mythographic texts and images, and need to be considered

as part of the interpretative context of the late-medieval development of Diana's image.

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[25] Moss, 25.

[26] Ibid., 25. Moss suggests too that the continued popularity of the *Ovidius moralizatus* may be also because it "offers a type of mental exercise akin to that involved in appreciating the technical and verbal virtuosity admired in the French vernacular writers of the period" (26).

[27] Ibid., 24.

I.2 The Ovidian Mythographic Tradition and its Illuminations

The first ambitious project of post-classical mythological imagery

The first mythographic texts to be illustrated on an extensive scale are the fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé* manuscripts --the French verse translation and amplification of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*-- whose lavish illustrations provide a parallel structure to the text, dividing and organizing the narrative into visual chapters. [**Fig. 22-26**] With 72,000 verses, the *Ovide moralisé* is the longest French poem of the Middle Ages. It was produced under royal patronage, most probably first commissioned by the French Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne (r. 1316-1322) in the context of the fourteenth-century wave of royal commissions of translation projects.[28] Recent literary studies of the *Ovide moralisé* have signaled its innovative aspects as a project of *translatio*: "La nouveauté de l'Ovide vernaculaire vient moins de la traduction que du fait que celle-ci amène la rencontre des fables et de la glose, deux discours restés parallèles jusqu'à ce project de *translatio*. Le changement de code linguistique semble balayer la distinction entre récit et glose mythographique." [29] The author of the *Ovide moralisé* was therefore

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[28] Its dating is known through Bersuire's mention (ca. 1450) of the moralized fables that were produced under Queen Jeanne of Bourgogne, for which see C. de Boer, *Ovide Moralisé. Poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1915), 10. On the *Ovide moralisé*'s literary context, see Rabel, 28-30. Rabel (29) notes that in the early fourteenth century, the patronage of such literature was reserved for royal women; this shifts in the mid-fourteenth century with Jean Le Bon, the first French King to support significant translation projects.

[29] Ana Pairet, '*Les mutacions des fables.' Figures de la métamorphose dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), 102.
Only recently have literary studies been devoted to the text of the *Ovide moralisé*. In earlier studies, the text was often categorized in negative terms; see for example Lord (1975), who states that the *Metamorphoses* was "mercilessly reworked into a retelling, with endless interpolations of allegorical verses" (162), and notes Rosemond Tuve's analysis of "the poverty of imagination and strained parallels in the *Ovide moralisé*" (162, n. 14). For recent and in-depth studies on the hermeneutics of the *Ovide moralisé*, see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski's third chapter of *Reading Myth. Classical Mythologies and Its*

combining the allegorical tradition, as that of the *Ovidius moralizatus* (in which the tales were taken individually), with the narrative structure of the original text. In doing so, the *Ovide moralisé* creates an amplification by modifying the original text through its additive digressions, which simultaneously suggest a continuation of Ovid's celebrated *carmen perpetuum*. Unlike his predecessors, the author of the *Ovide moralisé*, "puise dans la transmission du poème un schéma narratif proprement métamorphique: se greffent sur une tradition vernaculaire naissante, les *membra disjecta* du poème ne cessent d'engendrer de nouvelles formes."[30]

In addition to his amplification of the *Metamorphoses* and the integration of two distinct traditions, the author of the *Ovide moralisé* also incorporates supplementary sources, including Ovid's *Heroides*, as well as Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, thereby placing a special emphasis on the Trojan and Theban narratives in an effort to update Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for the needs of his courtly patrons. Not surprisingly, the *Ovide moralisé* also relies on twelfth-century remakings of classical antiquity, such as Chrétien de Troyes's *Philomena* and a Norman adaptation of Pyramus and Thisbe, popular themes in courtly circles.[31]

In terms of its imagery, the *Ovide moralisé* includes allegorical subjects, but it is mostly made up of narrative images that focus on the Ovidian tales and show little evidence of allegorical content, despite the text's self-declared project as a prefiguration of the New Testament. A comparison between the three earliest manuscripts shows an increasing predilection for the narrative mythological images: one-fifth of the scenes (ca.

Interpretations in Medieval French Literature (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), as well as Marylène Possamaï-Pérez, *L'Ovide moralisé: essai d'interprétation* (Paris: Champion, 2006).
[30] Pairet, 105.
[31] On the classical and medieval sources of the *Ovide moralisé*, see Rabel, 24.

90 out of 453) in the earliest example, dated to ca.1330, are allegorical (Rouen BM Ms.

0.4), compared to one-tenth (ca. 30 out of 302) in a slightly later version (Arsenal Ms.

5069). In a manuscript from the later fourteenth century, only two out of fifty-seven

images are allegorical (Lyon BM Ms. 742).[32] This shift may be related to the changing

textual content of the manuscripts; for in the text of the later manuscripts, the allegorical

material has either been abridged or eliminated in some parts.[33]

The importance of the *Ovide moralisé* for the history and development of

mythological imagery cannot be discounted, for such manuscripts may be considered as

the starting point of a large-scale production of post-classical imagery on mythological

subjects.[34] Despite the renewed interest in classical mythology of the twelfth century, the

earliest illuminated manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* present marginalia with occasional

references to the text, but these are not narrative nor consistent in their choice of

depictions; their artistic context is that of Gothic marginal illustration, in which fantastic

figures populate the edges of the text or its initials, but there seems to be no common

pattern amongst the various manuscripts nor the establishment of a visual tradition for

picturing Ovidian passages.[35] Indeed, the visual tradition begins not with the texts of the

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[32] For a comparison of the illustrations between the three manuscripts, see Lord (1975), 169; and for their dating, see 162.

[33] Rabel, 40. The verses in the Lyon BM Ms. 742 (ca. 1400) have been reduced from 72,000 to ca. 45,000; as acknolwedged by Rabel, this had been previously demonstrated by Gaston Paris for the BN Ms. fr. 870 version (also dated to the early fifteenth century).

[34] The imagery of the *Ovide moralisé* is often simplified as 'allegorical' and deemed as disconnected to the Renaissance revival of antiquity. Yet, as the following discussion will show, the *Ovide moralisé* manuscripts are a complex and rich source for later imagery; the relationship between its text and images are a testimony to the tensions created through the translation process and the need to accommodate the content for edifying principles. On the few studies devoted to the iconography of the *Ovide moralisé*, see above n.12.

[35] See Giulio Orofino, "Ovidio nel Medioevo: l'iconografia delle Metamorfosi," in *Aetates Ovidianae. Lettori di Ovidio dall'Antichità al Rinascimento*, eds. I. Gall and L. Nicastri (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1995), 189-208. The earliest known illustrations of the *Metamorphoses* are marginalia decorating the borders of sixty-five pages of a manuscript at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples (ms.IV F 3), dated between the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century. For a description of the contents

Metamorphoses --which were reserved mainly for the clergy and for scholarly centers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries--[36] but with its fourteenth-century rewriting into French verse in the context of a courtly culture.

Visualizing Diana's nudity

The *Ovide moralisé* is the first post-classical rendition that stages the encounter between Diana and Actaeon at the bath, thereby depicting the goddess's nudity (Rouen Ms. 0.4 f.74v); the death scene is presented on the next folio (f.75), in which Diana appears fully dressed while Actaeon (as stag) is torn to shreds.[37] [**Figs. 27-28**] In the two major episodes of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in which Diana plays a significant role --Diana and Callisto (*Met*. II) and Diana and Actaeon (*Met*. III)-- chastity, nudity and visuality are the central themes, an emphasis introduced by Ovid with respect to his literary sources.[38] It is after Ovid that the visual representations of the myths place the protagonists at the

of each one of these manuscripts, see Lord (1968) Appendix II, 177-184. This codex was most probably produced in Bari between the late eleventh and early twelfth century, and it is probably based on a transalpine model probably imported to Bari by the Normans. According to Orofino, it is one of the most authoritative sources for Ovid's original text, and it is accompanied by fourteen books of Lactantius's *narrationes*.

As noted by Orofino (193-194), the number of illuminated manuscripts is so small that it is difficult to determine a pattern amongst them; out of the ca. 400 manuscripts of the *Metamorphoses* listed by Munari, only five dating between the eleventh and fifteenth century are illuminated. Yet see the differing figures offered in J. B. Trapp, "Portraits of Ovid in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," in *Die Rezeption der Metamorphosen des Ovid in der Neuzeit: Der Antike Mythos in Text und Bild*, eds. Hermann Walter and Hans-Jürgen Horn (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1995), 259, n. 24; Trapp notes that, of 388 manuscripts listed by Munari, approximately 1/10th are decorated. The major authority on the manuscripts of Ovid's Metamorphoses in the Middle Ages is Franco Munari, "Catalogue of the Mss of Ovid's Metamorphoses," *University of London Institute of Classical Studies in Conjunction with the Warburg Institute* (Bull. Suppl. 4. London, 1957).

[36] On the reading context of the *Ovide moralisé*, see Rabel, 22.

[37] In the Byzantine tradition, for example, the preferred iconography was Actaeon's death, probably following pre-Ovidian texts still available in Byzantium, for which see Kurt Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 16-17; ills. 6 and 10.
 See Lord (1968), 7, for the medieval invention of new iconographic renditions of myths, due to the unavailability of classical imagery.

[38] On Ovid's transformation and adaptation of his sources, see Hélène Casanova-Robin, *Diane et Actéon: Éclats et reflets d'un mythe à la Renaissance et à l'âge baroque* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), 47. Ovid's new emphasis is discussed in detail in Part III.

bath, as can be seen in some Campanian mural paintings; before Ovid, the visual tradition

(as evidenced in Greek vases of the 5th century B.C.) emphasized the moments of death

and transformation, rather than the confrontation between Diana and Callisto, or the

encounter between Diana and Actaeon.[39] [**Figs. 29-32**] With the exception of Titian's

Death of Actaeon (ca.1559-1575, National Gallery, London), the bath scene became the

norm for representing the tales. [**Figs. 33-34**]

Clearly, the late-medieval and Renaissance artists could not have been familiar

with the ancient Campanian murals; in the case of the illuminators of the *Ovide moralisé*,

they were responding indirectly to Ovid's text, through its translation. [**Figs. 35-37**] As

for the artists that followed, they were responding to the visual tradition established in the

Ovide moralisé; for it was the vernacular versions of the Ovidian tales --in which the

moralizations lingered on-- that were consistently illustrated both in their manuscript form

and as printed editions.[40]

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[39] Campanian mural paintings in Pompei sometimes combine the death scene with the bath scene, but for
the most part, they privilege the bath scene and this is where the pictorial tradition of placing Actaeon at
Diana's bath begins. For visual representations of the myth in antiquity, see Lamar Ronald Lacy, "Aktaion
and a lost Bath of Artemis," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 110 (1990): 26-42. For a discussion of Ovid's
direct influence on mural painting at Pompei, see Gianpiero Rosati, *Narciso e Pigmalione. Illusione e
spettacolo nelle Metamorfosi di Ovidio* (Firenze: Sansoni Editore, 1983), 22-23. On the representations of
Diana and Callisto, see Kathleen Wall, *The Callisto Myth from Ovid to Atwood: Rape and Initiation in
Literature* (Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).
[40] The connection between the vernacular versions and the visual tradition becomes clear from study of the
manuscripts and early printed versions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. As noted previously, Latin texts, such as
Bersuire's, were rarely illuminated; this has to do with function, for it was the vernacular works (intended
for a courtly audience, and then for a wider audience with the advent of printing) that were illustrated. In
the sixteenth century, the humanist editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (which no longer had allegorical
interpretations attached and whose function was to recover Ovid's original language) were rarely
illustrated; instead, it was in vernacular works such as the renowned 1557 Jean de Tournes's edition of the
Metamorphose Figurée, which continued to insert moralizing passages, where the visual tradition
flourished. The connection between the vernacular and the visual traditions, as well as its implications,
should be explored in a separate study.

Both in its classical version and in its allegorized form, the tale of Diana and Actaeon presents Diana's body as unattainable knowledge.[41] In the *Ovide moralisé*, the fable has a "double signification" (III. vv. 571), in which the meaning of Diana's nudity is veiled in religious allegory:

> Dyane, c'est la Deïté
> Qui regnoit en la Trinité,
> Nue, sans humaine nature,
> Qu'Acteon vit sans couverture (III. vv. 635-638)[42]

Yet, whereas the text declares Actaeon's encounter with Diana as the equivalent to a glimpse of the Trinity, the images of the *Ovide moralisé* emphasize Diana's bodily form.

Following the allegorical tradition, the *Ovide moralisé* finds no contradiction in presenting opposite meanings, so that Callisto is at the same time glossed as a prostitute and allegorized as the Virgin; in the case of the Lyon BM Ms. 742, the images opt for a descriptive visualization of Callisto's nudity. [**Fig. 38**] Much like the text of the *Ovide moralisé*, its images also tend towards an amplification by providing multiple scenes per tale, so as to allow a full visual unfolding of each narrative.

Lengthy descriptions of nudity are also rendered in the text, which offer more intricate details than those available in Ovid, only to then add on multiple moralizations; this particular emphasis may be connected to the type of anxieties revealed in contemporary courtly poetry, in which the poet struggles to explain love (after all, the central subject and motivation of lyric poetry), and provides detailed descriptions only to then condemn the act.[43] Despite the tensions arising from his project of translation, it

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[41] For a discussion of Diana as unattainable knowledge in the Classical and Renaissance tradition, see Leonard Barkan, "Diana and Acteon: The Myth as Synthesis," *English Literary Renaissance* 10 (1980): 317-359. In light of the allegorical renditions of the tale, this is also true of its medieval representations.
[42] Unless otherwise noted, the text of the *Ovide moralisé* is taken from Boer's edition.
[43] On the *Ovide moralisé*'s excessive descriptions of nudity, and the connection to lyric poetry, see Rabel, 26-28. Rabel also notes that the actual depictions of nudity in the illuminations only occur when the bodies

would seem as if the first translator of Ovid's original felt compelled to emphasize certain

Ovidian stylistic qualities (even the lengthy digressions are typically Ovidian), the very

ones that made Ovid's name synonymous to love, and caused his style to be celebrated

and taught in grammar classes. [44] Indeed, the reasons to commission this vast project may

lie not just in its edifying moralizations, but also in other motivations such as an emerging

interest in an encyclopedic compendium of marvelous tales about love.[45] One may

wonder whether this was not also what prompted the production of images of

mythological subject matter on such a scale for the first time.

Although the encounter between human beings and divinities is particularly

highlighted in the text of the *Ovide moralisé*, which renders the figures in the guise of

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must enter the water (26 n.81; 134). See Michèle Gally, *L'intelligence de l'amour d'Ovide à Dante. Arts d'aimer et poésie au Moyen Âge* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2005), in particular the first section "Les paradoxes de l'éloquence amoureuse," (17-51), on the observable tensions in lyric poetry in its attempts to explain love; it should be noted that the tensions arise with respect to matters of translation, for in writing about love, the poets were also transmitting tales from the Classical authors.

[44] On the various tensions evidenced in the *Ovide moralisé*, see Rabel, 25-28. These include: a systematic contradiction of Ovid (all that was positively rendered in Ovid, receives a negative connotation in the *Ovide moralisé*, and all that was negative in Ovid becomes positive); the details of the process of metamorphosis are supressed in the text, so that the transformation is abruptly presented, and the images tend to avoid the process of transformation; as the descriptions of nudity increase, so do the moralizations.
On the types of tensions connected to the late-medieval translation and adaptation of Ovidian myth, see Gally's II.3 "Une naissance bâtarde ou l'écriture de la traduction," 71-90.
  On the *Ovide moralisé*'s adoption of certain Ovidian traits, see Rabel's section on "Expressions." See Gally for a recent assessment and updated bibliography on the vast subject of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and its influence in the Middle Ages. As first proposed by K. Heitmann (1963), it was the attractiveness of Ovid's stories why they were chosen to "getting one started" in Latin grammar classes in the late Middle Ages. (cited in Rabel 19, n.53).
Specific Ovidian traits (such as style and narrative technique) and their use in Renaissance texts have been amply discussed by literary critics. See William Keach, "Ovid and 'Ovidian' Poetry," *Ovid, The Classical Heritage*, ed. William S. Anderson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 179-217, for example, on the question of 'Ovidianism' in the English Renaissance. For a summary of distinctive Ovidian features, see Kathryn L. McKinley, *Reading the Ovidian Heroine. "Metamorphoses" Commentaries 1100-1618* (Boston: Brill, 2001), 2-5. McKinley cites R.O.A.M. Lyne's analysis of the attributes shared by the Roman poets who consciously imitated Alexandrian poets such as Callimachus: a subjective emphasis; elaborate digressions; psychological turmoil; abundance of mythological allusion; and the use of imbedded narrators. McKinley notes that criticism has oversimplified the nature of 'Ovidian poetry,' and that "Ovid offered far more to his literary heirs than [...] a mythological handbook [...] one of his most important contributions was his reshaping of the dimensions of psychological narrative, his explorations of the individual psyche"; and one of Ovid's major contributions was to "*feminize* the treatment of narrative" (1) by exploring the inner self.

[45] On the possible interests of medieval readers in the *Ovide moralisé*, see Rabel, 16; 27-28.

courtly actors, its images avoid picturing metamorphosis, preferring instead to show the

figures already in their transformed state, as is the case of Actaeon who appears as a

stag.[46] Overall, however, the *Ovide moralisé* presents more of a continuity with the

original Ovid than is usually suspected, though ultimately this is not so surprising if one

considers that allegorical versions (in both manuscript and printed form) continued to be

kept (and presumably read) in the court libraries, side by side with the sixteenth-century

humanist editions of the text. The provenance of the *Ovide moralisé* manuscripts can be

summarized as follows: while the Rouen Ms. 0.4 is thought to have entered the royal

collection of Phillip VI of Valois [r. 1328-1350] through that of Clemence of Hungary

[1293-1328] who had been married to Louis X [r. 1314-1315], the marks on its

frontispiece (f. 16) show that it was in the Poitiers family by the end of the fifteenth

century.[47] [**Fig. 22**] Both the Lyon Ms. 742 and the BN Ms. fr. 871 were originally owned

by the Duke de Berry in the early fifteenth century; the BN Ms. fr. 871 was recorded in

the library catalog of Anet in 1724, but it is unclear when the manuscript entered the

collection.[48]

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[46] Indeed, the literary theme of metamorphosis may be a source of anxiety; as noted by Barkan (1980), 33: "Metamorphosis becomes a means of creating self-consciousness because it creates a tension between identity and form." See Rabel, 26-27, on the images avoiding the process of metamorphosis; on the encounters between human and divine figures, see Rabel's section on "Gods & Men," 145 ff.

[47] This has led to speculations that this manuscript was first owned by the grandfather of Diane de Poitiers in the fifteenth century, and later passed to Diane de Poitiers in the sixteenth century, but there is no specific evidence in the manuscript that proves this.

[48] On the ownership of the various manuscripts, see Rabel, 33-34, and Lord (1975); also see Lord, "Marks of Ownership in Medieval Manuscripts: The case of the Rouen *Ovide moralisé*," *Source* 18, n.1 (Fall 1998): 7-11, in which an analysis of the recurring Ls and Cs in the Rouen BM Ms. 0.4 confirms that it was indeed owned by Louis X and Clemence of Hungary.

Diana as scholar and example in Christine de Pizan

Similar tensions between nudity and chastity are evidenced in Christine de

Pizan's *Epistre Othea* or *Letter of Othéa to Hector*, a mythographic work with close ties

to the *Ovide moralisé*. Written in 1400, the *Epistre Othea* is a collection of 100

mythological fables through which Othea --a goddess of wisdom of Christine's

invention-- imparts sound advice to Hector, the Trojan hero and protagonist of the text, in

the form of a letter or *epistre*. [**Fig. 39**] The moralized Ovidian tradition provides the very

structure of the book, which is cleverly organized in the fashion of a mythographic text so

that each fable is divided into a tripartite scheme consisting of verse text, prose moral

gloss, and allegorical explanation. The major sources of the *Epistre Othea* include the

Ovide moralisé, and the early-thirteenth-century *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, as well

as its late-fourteenth-century version that included a prose rendition of Benoît de Saint-

Maure's *Roman de Troie*. Amongst the numerous sources to have influenced Christine's

redaction (these include Dante, Machaut, and the *Roman de la rose* amongst others) is

also the *Glose des Echecs amoureux*, which was produced contemporaneously to the

Epistre and written by Évrart de Conty, a doctor from Christine's same courtly circle, and

which, as we shall see, introduced significant innovations with regards to the figure of

Diana.[49]

As demonstrated by Sandra Hindman, Christine's *Epistre* was not simply a

generic chivalric work with moral allegories, but a very specific political allegory

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[49] On the sources for the *Epistre*, see Gabriella Parussa in her critical edition of Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (Paris: Droz, 1999), 31-70. Parussa is the first to note the connection to the *Glose des Echecs*: "Il serait difficile d'établir avec exactitude l'importance de cette relation, qui pourrait tout simplement dériver de l'utilisation de sources communes. Toujours est-il que les resemblances de structure et d'une partie du contenu montrent bien les caractéristiques communes d'un certain genre de littérature à la mode à Paris, dans le milieu des cours, au tournant du siècle" (68-69).

directed at Charles VI (r. 1380-1422), written as a 'mirror for princes' or didactic book

for a ruler's education.[50] It therefore combines the 'mirror for princes' and the

mythographic genres, not unlike the previously noted *Glose des Echecs amoureux*. In

terms of its iconographic program, the *Epistre* has been recognized as an exceptional

work, in particular for its inclusion of a larger number of images than even the *Ovide*

moralisé: "No comparable text was written elsewhere in Europe, and in Italy the related

treatises, such as Boccaccio's […] were given only frontispieces or no illustrations at

all."[51] Of the numerous surviving manuscripts of the *Epistre* (ca. fifty), the most

spectacular are the luxury manuscripts that belonged to the Duke of Berry (BN Ms. fr.

606, ca. 1408), and that presented to the Queen of France, Isabelle of Bavaria (British

Library, Harley 4431).[52] Both of these versions formed part of manuscript compilations

containing Christine's collected works, and the Harley 4431, which was amply revised by

the author, has been taken as the most authoritative source for reading Christine's work.

As parts of compilations that were especially conceived for her courtly patrons, these two

manuscripts constitute significant evidence of her ideas, as well as of her appeal within

the major courtly circles of France in the early-fifteenth century. For this reason, they

provide a suitable base for analyzing the connections between text and image of the

Epistre Othea in the context of early-fifteenth-century French courtly culture.

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[50] Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othéa": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986).

[51] Millard Meiss, *The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries. French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry* (New York: Brazillier, 1974), 37. Hindman (62-99) has discussed Christine's role in the visual programs of her manuscripts.

[52] On the manuscripts of the *Epistre*, see Parussa, 87-101. Parussa's edition is based on the Harley 4431 with BN Ms. fr. 848, BN Ms. fr. 606, and Chantilly Musée Condé Ms. 492 as the control manuscripts. BN Ms. fr. 606 was originally bound together with other works by Christine, and would have been seen in the context of her collected works, as presented to the Duke of Berry.

Three fables of the *Epistre* (23, 63, 69) are explicitly dedicated to Diana: while one of the later chapters introduces Diana as the goddess of the hunt (63) and the other provides a lengthy gloss on the encounter between Diana and Actaeon (69), the first highlights her chastity (23):

> De Dÿane soies recors
> Pour l'onnesteté de ton corps,
> Car ne lui plaist vie soullee
> Ne deshonneste ne toullee.[53]

The text is then glossed as: *Dyane c'est la lune, et comme il ne soit rien tant mauvais qui n'ait aucune bonne proprieté, la lune donne condition chaste, et la nommerent d'une dame ainsi nommee qui fu moult chaste et tous vierge* […]. The allegory then proposes, *prendrons pour Dyane Dieu du paradis, le quel est sans tache aucune* […].[54] In this presentation of Diana, Christine has combined sources and traditions: while her allegory derives from the *Ovide moralisé* and its equivalence between Diana and God, the physical tradition is invoked in the gloss, where Diana's chastity is connected to the moon as established in the *Glose des Echecs amoureux*.[55]

Yet, the manuscript illuminations that correspond to this section in Christine de Pizan's collected works appear to be unrelated to the text, for in the corresponding images, Diana sits in the clouds with an open book in her hands, while seemingly leading a reading session for the ladies who sit on the ground, also clasping open books. [**Figs.**

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[53] All references to the text of the *Epistre* are from Gabriella Parussa's critical edition (1999); for fable 23, see 236-237. An English translation is available in Jane Chance, *Christine de Pizan's Letter of Othea to Hector. Translated with Introduction, Notes and Interpretative Essay* (Newburyport, MA : Focus Information Group, 1990), which is based on Harley 4431; for fable 23, see 59. The verses are translated as: *Of Diana be mindful / For honesty of your body / For a soiled life does not please her / Nor one dishonest or unclean*.

[54] As translated by Chance (59), the gloss exerpt reads: *Diana, that is, the moon, and as there exists nothing so evil that it does not have some good property, the moon gives chaste conditions; and they named it after a lady called so, who was very chaste and virgin* […]. The allegory excerpt as translated: *we shall take for Diana God of Paradise* […].

[55] On Christine's sources, see Parussa, 406.

40-41] This presentation of Diana in connection to the activity of reading is unrelated to her customary traits and it remains unique in her iconography. While this image may be linked to Christine's general interest in redressing female roles, it has also been suggested that it stands as a corrective to the popular medieval "Cult of Diana" described in a tenth-century text, the *Canon Episcopi* (and referred to in passing in the *Roman de la Rose*), as a practice in which the followers of Diana participated in "wild rides" or "night rides." In the corrective images of the *Epistre*, Diana's followers are turned into readers.[56]

The theory that 'Diana's readers' may be a corrective to this legend is further strengthened when the image is understood in the context of the *children of the planets* iconography that dominates an earlier portion of the *Epistre Othea*. The *children of the planets* is a genre connected to the astrological tradition in which the planetary gods impart various forms of influence or knowledge in connection to their traditional functions and attributes.[57] The gods are depicted in the skies, sitting on clouds, as they influence their followers; examples in the *Epistre Othea* include Venus, whose image caption describes *lovers [...] who present to her their hearts*, and Apollo, whose light illuminates the truth and *for this reason [...] people underneath [...] make the sign of swearing and promise to speak truth*.[58] [**Figs. 42-43**] The manuscript illuminations of

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[56] This interpretation of the image is suggested by Marilynn Desmond and Pamela Sheingorn in *Myth, Montage and Visuality in Late-Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 118-119; 126-131. As noted by Desmond and Sheingorn, the 'Cult of Diana' was mentioned in the *Roman de la rose*, which shows that it was known in educated, literate circles (131).

[57] On the *children of the planets* genre and its connection to astrology, see Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* IV (1932-1933): 228-280.
   While the planetary gods appeared in the *Ovide moralisé* and in Bersuire's XVth book, the way in which they are presented in the *Epistre Othea* closely recalls Évrart de Conty's introduction to his section on the planetery gods (Parussa, 391).

[58] Venus corresponds to the seventh fable, and Apollo to the ninth. The quoted texts are part of the image captions provided in the manuscript, beneath the corresponding images; for these translations, see Chance, 45, 47. Image captions (written in red) are placed under some of the images in the *Epistre Othea* manuscripts; while this was a traditional practice in manuscripts of the time, the detailed information

Diana in the twenty-third fable of the *Epistre Othea* present the goddess with the same

iconographic conventions of the *children of the planets* section, yet they are slightly

removed from the earlier section by a few tales.[59] The visual similarity, however,

suggests that this image was meant to be understood in connection to the earlier images.[60]

Indeed, based on the textual structure and visual organization of such luxury illuminated

manuscripts (not just around the images, but filled with visual pointers such as image

captions and other forms of paratext written in red ink), we can infer that they produced a

highly visual experience, comparable to our cinematic experience and internet

hyperlinking.[61] [**Figs. 44-45**] Such manuscripts were not necessarily meant to be

approached in a linear fashion or read from beginning to end, but could be read in parts.

This is especially true of the *Epistre Othea* as a work that is divided into 100 relatively

independent tales, all of which bear one corresponding image, and whose overall textual

composition results from the assembling of numerous textual sources and hermeneutic

approaches.[62] In the *Epistre*, the same figures resurface at different points of the narrative

(as is the case of Narcissus), sometimes the texts of one fable seem to correspond to the

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provided in the captions of the *Epistre Othea* goes beyond the norm, and may be seen as further evidence of Christine's involvement in the production of her manuscripts and her interest in the didactic function of imagery. The first such caption, which is placed after the preface and before the first fable (which is Othea's letter to Hector), is a paragraph that comments on the function of imagery and explains the iconography of the *images among clouds [...] to be understood that these are the figures of the gods or goddesses of whom the following book speaks according to the manner of the ancient poets* (as translated in Chance, 35). This provides further evidence of the importance given to imagery in this book. I recently reached this conclusion, so it may be worth exploring further. I am grateful to Professor Ana Pairet for our discussions on this subject.

[59] The similarity in composition to the *children of the planets* is noted by Desmond and Sheingorn (123).

[60] Although Desmond and Sheingorn comment that the "scheme of the planetary deities [earlier in the Epistre] included Phoebe, the goddess of the moon, an identification shared with Diana in this chapter, so that this image cites rather than extends the group of planetary deities" (123), they do not explore the significance of this connection back to the earlier depiction of Phoebe.

[61] The comparison to our cinematic experience is made throughout Desmond and Sheigorn's book. I thank Professor Ana Pairet for pointing out the connection between the *Epistre* as hypertext and our experience of hyperlinking on the internet.

[62] On the structure of the *Epistre* as *bricolage*, and its visual experience as *montage*, "a visual arrangment in which meaning is derived from unexpected juxtapositions," see Desmond and Sheingorn, 5-6.

images in another text (as in the abduction of Helen), and seemingly unrelated tales are visually connected through images (as are Actaeon and Paris).[63]

The illuminations of the twenty-third fable should be connected and compared to the tenth fable, in which the moon is both textually and visually presented as the planet that provokes *merencolie et folie* though she is not given the name of Diana but instead called Phebé. In the corresponding illumination, the Moon wounds her mortal followers with arrows, thus inflicting them with melancholy; the visual contrast to her brother Apollo's more positive influence is notable, for both are placed on the same folio. [**Figs. 46-48**] It is in reference to this earlier allusion that the gloss of fable 23 begins by underlining the *mauvais* aspect, and quickly corrects it through the celebration of Diana's *condition chaste*. With the visual presentation of Diana and other women as scholars (a theme that runs through Christine's work), the corrective is furthered; for in emphasizing women's ability to participate in intellectual abilities, Christine may be countering Boccaccio's *Cleres et nobles femmes*, also popular in the courtly circles of the early-fifteenth century, in which the author warned about the dangers of female literacy in connection to their sexuality.[64] I would further suggest that the source of inspiration for Christine's innovative presentation of Diana might be Évrart de Conty's lengthy presentation of Diana as a wise figure, who, as shall be seen in my discussion of the

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[63] On the division and disparity between text and image in the tales of Helen's abduction, see Desmond and Sheingorn, 6. The connection between Actaeon and Paris, which is my own suggestion, will be addressed in Part III.

[64] Desmond and Sheingorn, 123-125. Christine's criticism of mysoginistic texts, such as the *Roman de la rose*, was made public in the renowned *Querelle* of 1402. While Christine may not have known Boccaccio's *Famous Women* at the time when she composed the *Epistre Othea* (ca.1400), Boccaccio's text had already been translated into French and richly illuminated by the time that Christine's collected works were being produced; Desmond and Sheingorn suggest that Christine could have responded to Boccaccio's *Famous Women* through the illuminations of the later *Epistre* manuscripts. Christine's more direct (and textual) response to Boccaccio is in her later work, the *Cité des dames*, of 1405.

Glose des Echecs, is capable of delivering textual commentaries and providing interpretations of mythological tales, while emphasizing the value of chastity.

Diana reappears in fable 63 of the *Epistre*, where the gloss cautions the reader against the dangers of hunting; this entry follows the tradition established by the *Ovide moralisé* (I vv. 3688-89), in which Diana is described and depicted as a huntress in the woods. [**Figs. 49-52**] In fable 69, the tale of Diana and Actaeon receives a longer gloss than the other tales, and the same narrative moment that was first visualized in the *Ovide moralisé* is adopted: the illuminations focus on the encounter between Diana and Actaeon at the bath. At the same time, the *Epistre* significantly departs from the tradition established in the *Ovide moralisé*, for it does not collapse the moment of vision and the moment of transformation in the same way as the *Ovide moralisé*, an iconographic choice that becomes, for the most part, the norm in later representations that include both prints and large-scale works. While the *Ovide moralisé* presents Actaeon gazing at Diana and her nymphs while already transformed into a stag, the *Epistre* manuscripts provide some of the earliest examples to visualize Actaeon as a full-bodied man.[65] [**Figs. 53-54**]

Despite the textual presentation of Actaeon as penitence and Diana as chastity in this fable, the images share a similar eroticism with those in the *Ovide moralisé*.[66] [**Figs.**

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[65] The image that has been traditionally considered as the first depiction of Actaeon as a full-bodied man is Titian's 1556-1559 composition at the National Gallery, Scotland. However, a consideration of the *Epistre* illuminations and of the early-printed Venetian editions of the *Metamorphoses*, as well as of Vérard's luxury editions of the *Bible des poètes* and the early-printed editions of the *Epistre*, shows that this iconographic choice was already present in earlier works. In fact, a close study of possible sources for certain of Titian's pictorial choices, as is for example his pairing of Diana and Actaeon with Diana and Callisto, might reveal that some of these connections derive from the Ovidian mythographic tradition. I thank Professor Sarah Blake McHam for first pointing me in this direction.

[66] For a general discussion of the tensions between the textual and visual presentations of chastity and nudity in the *Epistre* and the *Ovide moralisé*, see Desmond and Sheingorn's section, "Eroticizing Chastity," 118-131. I depart, however, from Desmond and Sheingorn's comparison of the Diana and Actaeon imagery in the *Ovide moralisé* to that in the *Epistre*, in which they note that the Ovide moralisé "rather crudely juxtaposes the vulnerability of the bathing women's nude bodies to the phallic masculinity of Actaeon, a stag with large antlers [….] In the [*Epistre*] miniature Diana's companions attempt to protect her nude body

55-56] Set amidst a thick forest, the scene of Ms. fr. 606 (f. 31v) presents a male figure as he emerges from the trees and strides towards the nude females. His courtly attire contrasts with their nudity and the luminosity of their long robes, which are suggestive of a drapery-like shielding device. Only the central figure is fully nude, and despite the textual emphasis on the transparency of the fountain, the water conceals the lower half of her body.[67] Although the Harley 4431 seems to correct the sensuality of the earlier illumination by dressing the female attendants with heavier clothes and arresting Actaeon's purposeful stride, voyeurism remains inherent to the scene, whose essential structure remains untouched. At the same time, the images are filled with warning signs: looming behind and above the women is a stag whose body emerges from the darkness of the dense forest, while his antlers are mingled into the leaves of the trees. While the stag serves as a reminder of Actaeon's destiny, the juxtaposition of brightness versus darkness in the lighting of the scene suggests a moralizing reading.

Instead of collapsing two moments into one as in the *Ovide moralisé*, the *Epistre* divides the narrative into two sections and creates something close to a continuous narrative, the same narrative technique adopted in Italian fifteenth-century domestic

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from Actaeon's gaze" (119). However, this comparison is based on the juxtaposition of two images without taking into account the bigger picture: by juxtaposing only the images of the Arsenal Ms. 5069 *Ovide moralisé* (f.29r) and the Harley 4431 (f.126r), this highlights an apparent contrast between exposed and concealed nudity. By not including the *Ovide moralisé* Rouen 0.4 manuscript, upon which the Arsenal is based (the Arsenal in fact amplifies the figures of the Rouen version in relation to their frames and also constricts the format of the frame throughout the entire manuscript, which in this case results in Actaeon's apparent aggresiveness), or the more sensuous image in the *Epistre* Ms. 606, upon which the Harley 4431 is based, the subtle ways in which all of these images display tensions between chastity and nudity are not addressed. A close examination of the four images as an interrelated group shows that this is not a binary question of eroticizing nudity versus chastity, but that there are elements of both in every image.

[67] As noted by Meiss, representations of nudity in the *Epistre* are rare and often only included when they are needed by the story itself; see Meiss (29) for other examples of nude depictions necessitated by the story itself. As noted by Meiss, an exception is the depiction of the Apollo and Daphne myth, an innovative approach, for the *Epistre* are amongst the first manuscripts to show Daphne's nudity in post-classical art as well as the idea of metamorphosis in pictorial form.

paintings of the scene.[68] [**Fig. 57**] Christine thus presents the moment of encounter, with

Actaeon still in human form, while showing a type of aide-mémoire of the ensuing event:

Actaeon's transformation into a stag. This same format was later taken up in a manuscript

of the *Epistre* made for Philip the Good in 1461, with illustrations attributed to Loyset

Liédet, now in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 9392 fol. 26), and kept in at least one

of the early printed editions of the work.[69] [**Figs. 58-59**] In these later images, Christine's

original arrangement is preserved and certain features elaborated: the courtly attitude of

the male figure, who arrives on horseback to the scene, is further emphasized, as is the

circularity of the process of transformation. The space is arranged so that the male figure

seems to have come around the bath, in order to arrive at his final shape as a stag. This

tradition continues into Renaissance imagery of Diana and Actaeon as in the series of *The*

Bath of Diana, whose original is attributed to François Clouet (ca.1550s, Rouen, Musée

des Beaux-Arts), where the format of the Brussels manuscript and Pigouchet's 1500

edition of the *Epistre Othea* may well have influenced its making.[70] [**Fig. 60**] If this is

indeed the case, the *Epistre* both altered the pre-existing iconography of the myth of

Diana and Actaeon, and established a new prototype that was later adopted in sixteenth-

century French painting. Like the *Ovide moralisé*, Christine's *Epistre* manuscripts

remained in the royal and courtly collections, as is the case of the BN Ms. fr. 848, which

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[68] For the influence of the *Epistre* in fifteenth-century Italian depictions, see Lord (1968).

[69] See Meiss, 29-30; 439 n. 96, on how the images of the Brussels manuscript show a preference for a courtly setting and a domestication of myth.

[70] The connection between Clouet's painting and the Brussels manuscript was first noted by Claudia Cieri Via, in *Die Rezeption der Metamorphosen des Ovid in der Neuzeit: Der Antike Mythos in Text und Bild*, eds. Hermann Walter and Hans-Jürgen Horn (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1995), 153. See Lord (1968), 19, 44, on the representation of Diana and Actaeon in Christine de Pizan. She notes the separation of the two moments in Christine's depictions but says that this was not largely influential for later representations. In the light of the Clouet painting, however, this needs to be revised.

 A 1500 printed edition of the *Epistre* (discussed below) also includes the image of Actaeon arriving on horseback. The possible sources of the Clouet painting will be discussed in Part III.

shows ownership marks of Louis XIV, or that of BN Ms. fr. 606, which entered the library of François I in 1523.[71] The *Epistre* was also printed on at least two occasions in the sixteenth century, under the title *Les Cent histoires de Troyes*: in 1500 by Philippe Pigouchet, and in 1522 by Le Noir, who also published the *Bible des Poètes*.[72]

Diana and Actaeon reappear in other works by Christine, and it is significant that her interpretations in these cases also resurface in the sixteenth century. Diana was first explicitly invoked by Christine in the *Dit de la Rose*, in which the goddess's whiteness is celebrated and opposed to Venus, and where Christine declares, "Que je suis a Dyane amie" (v.279). In *Autres Balades*, Diana provides an intellectual model, thus reinforcing the aspect first presented in the *Epistre*. Diana's appearance in the *Autres Balades* also confirms Christine's familiarity with the *Echecs amoureux*, in which Diana was first connected to the narrative of the Judgment of Paris. In the VII ballad, Christine rejects Paris's judgment of the three goddesses; refusing Venus, she complains about Juno, and implores instead for Pallas's aid. The solution to the dilemma is then presented in the XIV ballad, in which Pallas is coupled with Diana, in opposition of Fortune and Venus.[73] As we shall see, the alliance between Pallas and Diana was already present in the *Echecs amoureux*, and is further developed in the sixteenth century.

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[71] On Ms. fr. 848, see Parussa, 105. On François I's ownership of Ms. fr. 606, as a result of his taking over of Charles de Bourbon's property in 1523, see *Paris, 1400. Les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris: Fayard, Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 133-135, cat. no. 62 B.

[72] Both editions (available at the BN) are fully illustrated; while Le Noir has reused some of the woodcuts from the 1500 edition, it is Pigouchet's edition which seems to follow the visual program of Christine's illuminated manuscripts more closely. Whereas Pigouchet includes the corresponding images of Diana's influence, her presentation as huntress, and the arrival of Actaeon (on horseback) to the scene of Diana's bath, the woodcuts in Le Noir seem to lack in narrative and do not necessarily correspond to the text. A study of Christine de Pizan's *oeuvre* as rendered in early-printed works has yet to be undertaken.

[73] On Diana in the *Autres Balades*, see Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "Sexualité et politique: Le Mythe d'Actéon chez Christine de Pizan," in *Une femme de Lettres au Moyen Age. Études autour de Christine de Pizan*, eds. L. Dulac and B. Ribémont (Paris: Paradigme, 1995), 84-85.

Actaeon also provides a model in Christine's *Mutacion de la Fortune*, in which he is presented as a martyr, a Christ-like figure, emblematic of Charles VI [r. 1380-1422]. The political, allegorical reading of the king as Actaeon --in the context of the war with England, in which the English are presented as the dogs that have betrayed their master-- was also implicitly presented in other contemporary works, including Philippe de Mézières's *Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, conceived as a mirror for princes for Charles VI. The allegorical reading is reinforced by its connection to Charles VI's emblem of a flying stag, as well as by other contemporary writings that make similar allusions to the "fable du roi devenu serf, du cerf mis à mort par ses serfs."[74] As we shall see, the connection between the French king and the stag continued to be elaborated in the sixteenth century, although in slightly different terms, as was the *Ovide moralisé* allegorical interpretation of Actaeon as Christ. An example of this continuity is the frontispiece of John Davies's *The Holy Roode, or Christ's Crosse: Containing Christ Crucified, described in Speaking picture* (1609), in which the encounter between Diana and Actaeon is depicted in the central medallion beneath the title; two putti hold a stag's head crowned with a crescent moon above the title; the caryatid-like figure to the right is recognizable as Diana through her bow and the crescent moon on her forehead; and the figure on the left is Pallas, identified through her armor, helmet, and owl. [**Fig. 61**]

More subtly, Diana and Actaeon reemerge in Christine's work through veiled allusions: in the *Cité des Dames*, for example, which is filled with exempla of strong women that Christine connects to knowledge and creativity, Diana does not play a central role; the goddess appears only indirectly, as an image within an image, for she is the

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[74] For an interpretation of Christine's political, allegorical reading of the myth, and of other contemporary works that make similar references, see Cerquiglini-Toulet, 85-86. For the quote, see 86.

subject of a painting by Thamar, "the daughter of Nicon, the painter."[75] Boccaccio also

included Thamar in his *Famous Women*, and in the manuscripts produced at the early-

fifteenth-century French court, the illuminations that depict Thamar at work while she

paints Diana sometimes show her painting the goddess nude. In other instances, however,

Thamar is shown painting religious works.[76] [**Figs. 62-65**] As noted by Jacqueline

Cerquiglini-Toulet, Thamar provides a parallel life to that of Christine: for both continue

their fathers' art instead of confining themselves to the roles intended by their mothers, a

theme much expounded upon by Christine in her work.[77] The implication is that Diana is

Thamar's emblem, and by analogy, Christine's.[78] Indeed, as suggested by Cerquiglini-

Toulet, Diana may well function as one of Christine's less explicit models, "modèles

discrets en ce qu'ils posent la question de l'amour sous l'angle de la sexualité, en ce

qu'ils articulent, par le biais du mythe de Tirésias notamment, la problématique du

changement de sexe, biologique et idéologique. Y aurait-il un 'complexe de Diane' chez

Christine comme […] chez Jeanne d'Arc, héroïne chantée par Christine?"[79] Indeed,

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[75] Cerquiglini-Toulet, 84, notes that, in the *Cité des dames*, Diana only appears "obliquement par l'entremise de l'image qu'en peint Thamar."

[76] It would be worthwhile to explore how Christine is responding to the Boccaccio passage (she quotes him as one of her sources in this passage, and the *Cité des dames* is in large part a response to his *Famous Women*); as far as I have been able to establish, there are no illuminations that correspond to this passage in the *Cité des dames.*

[77] On the parallels between Thamar and Christine as professional women who followed their fathers' art, see Cerquiglini-Toulet, 84, quoting Christine's words: Christine de Pizan "fait fonctionner sa biographie 'en consonance' avec celle de cette 'souveraine maistresse de l'art de peintrerie.'" Cerquglini-Toulet notes that Nicon is an anagram of icon. As a writer, Christine also follows her father, who was a well-known astrologer at the court of Charles V.

[78] It might also exemplify a difference with respect to the female artists of Boccaccio's *Clere et nobles femmes* (Ms. fr. 598), who paint traditional icons of the Virgin and Child (f.86) and of Christ (f.92).

[79] Cerquiglini-Toulet, 83. Cerquiglini-Toulet is referring to an article by Marie Delcourt, "Le Complexe de Diane dans l'hagiographie chrétienne," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 153 (1958): 1-33, which discusses examples of the "Diana complex," a psychoanalytic term used to describe a recurrent feminine type in hagiographic literature: women who often lived in isolation and who dressed as men in order to preserve their virginity intact. Yet, in the examples provided by Delcourt --including Joan of Arc-- it does not appear that this model of behavior has a direct connection to Diana. Rather, the model for the so-called 'cross-dressed female saints' are other saintly figures; the modern notion of the "Diana complex" seems more fitting to describe Christine de Pizan's construction of her female heroines (including Joan of Arc,

Tiresias is the major subtext for Christine's 'transformation into a man' in the *Mutacion de la Fortune*, and Cerquiglini-Toulet's question opens a window rich in possibilities.

Likewise, Acteaon may function as a less-explicit subtext in the *Mutacion*, for the words chosen by Christine to describe her own *mutacion* seem to emulate, in reverse, Actaeon's experience: like the dogs who bite every single part of their master's body, Fortune touches all of Christine's members as she transforms her; but unlike Actaeon's transformation into a fearful being, unable to talk and with a stag's heart, Christine's metamorphosis makes her strong, with a "coeur d'homme," which gives her the possibility of speech.[80] Differently from her allegorical, politicized reading of Actaeon as a negative transformation in the later part of the *Mutacion*, this first rendering is a positive one, in which Christine embodies "la fille élue de Carmenta, non le petit-fils maudit de Cadmus."[81] Once again, Christine has feminized the myth so that femeninity is allied to knowledge, while allowing for a multiplicity of meanings of one same figure within one single work, an approach that underlines yet again the nature of allegorical, mythographic interpretations.

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who she defended actively in her writing) and of her own authorial persona, for she was intimately familiar with classical myths, and after the death of her husband, had to turn to a professional male activity, a process that she metaphorically describes as her 'transformation into a man' in the *Mutacion de la fortune*; throughout her writings, Christine celebrated virginity as a feminine condition. In general terms, however, it is questionable that Diana was seen as a masculine figure in mythographic writings and visual representations, which, despite her activity as huntress, tend to underline, idealize, or desire her female body (a theme developed in the following parts of this dissertation).

[80] For an analysis of these striking parallels, see Cerquiglini-Toulet, 87-88.

[81] Cerquiglini-Toulet, 88. On the positive reading of Carmenta in medieval literature, in which Carmenta is connected to knowledge, also see Cerquiglini-Toulet, "Cadmus ou Carmenta: Réflexion sur le concept d'invention à la fin du Moyen Age," in *What is Literature? France 1100-1600*, eds. François Cornilliat, Ullrich Langer, and Douglas Kelly (Kentucky: French Forum, 1993), 211-230.

I.3 The *Glose des Échecs amoureux* as a Mirror for Princes

Contemporaneous to Christine de Pizan's writings is the *Glose des Échecs amoureux* (ca. 1400), a mythographic work attributed to Évrart de Conty, a doctor at the court of Charles V.[82] The *Glose des Échecs amoureux* is a lengthy prose commentary to a poem composed between 1370 and 1380 and titled the *Échecs amoureux*, where Diana makes a significant and innovative appearance.[83] At once deriving from the Ovidian mythographic tradition in its images of the individual gods as presented in the *Ovidius moralizatus*, the manuscripts of the *Glose des Échecs amoureux* present an innovative set of narrative images that depict the protagonist's encounter with a series of mythological figures, in particular Diana and the three goddesses of the Judgment of Paris, as he travels in search of wisdom.

There are six surviving manuscripts of the *Glose*, variously dated between the early and later fifteenth century, three of which are richly illuminated, and whose images provide a significant iconographic source for representations of Diana.[84] Two of the illuminated versions (BN Ms. fr. 9197 and its model, now at The Hague) differ from the third, the BN Ms. fr. 143, in a number of significant details, but it may be inferred that the works derive from similar traditions in a generic sense, one being the descriptive technique and visualization of the gods from Bersuire's *De formis figurisque deorum*, in

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[82] For biographical information on Évrart de Conty (ca. 1330-1405), see Françoise Guichard Tesson and Bruno Roy, *Le livre des Échecs amoureux*, ed. Anne-Marie Legaré (Paris: Chêne, 1991), 14-15.

[83] As noted by Guichard Tesson and Roy (9), the fourteenth-century poem is often referred to as *Échecs amoureux*, and they use *Livre des Échecs amoureux moralisés* to refer to Evrard de Conty's gloss commentary. In order to distinguish between the two, I will follow the designation used by Reginald Hyatte (see below): *Echecs* referring to the original poem, and *Glose* to the prose commentary.

[84] On the order of the prose commentary manuscripts, and their connections, see Reginald Hyatte, "The Manuscripts of the Prose Commentary (Fifteenth Century) on *Les Échecs Amoureux*," *Manuscripta* XXVI (1982): 24-30.

which each god is represented through a static portrait with complete attributes.[85] [**Figs. 66-67**] In addition, the two types of manuscripts present similar narrative scenes, although these differ in details and emphasis; for example, both Ms. fr. 9197 and Ms. fr. 143 show the protagonist's encounter with Diana in the forest, but do so differently. [**Figs. 68-69**] Whether the general iconographic program, in terms of the choice as to what scenes requires visualization, goes back to the fourteenth-century poem is hard to tell, for only one manuscript survives.[86]

BN Ms. fr. 9197 is dated to the late fifteenth century, and belonged to Marie d'Ailly and her husband, Antoine Rolin, the son of Nicolas Rolin, the renowned Chancellor of Philip the Good.[87] BN Ms. fr. 143 belonged to the mother of François I, Louise de Savoie, and has been dated ca. 1496, based on the arms of Orléans and Savoie (f.1) which demonstrate that the manuscript must have been made after her father became Duke of Savoie in 1496, the same year that her husband, Charles d'Orléans, Count of Angoulême, died. [**Figs. 70-71**] Whereas Ms. fr. 9197 is in a style characteristic of the Hainaut region, Ms. fr. 143 is attributed to Robinet Testard, a French artist who is documented as working with the Angoulême family since the 1480s.[88] After the death of

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[85] On the connection between the visual tradition of the *Ovidius moralizatus* and that of the *Glose des Échecs*, cf. Jeay, as well as Anne-Marie Legaré, "Splendeurs de la miniature en Hainaut," in *Le livre des Échecs amoureux*, eds. Legaré et al (Paris: Chêne, 1991), 89-90.
It should be noted that the Ms. 143 also has a treatise on wisdom, titled *L'archilogesophie*, by Jacques Le Grant; the two works also appear together in other manuscripts of the *Glose*, for which see Hyatte.

[86] The *Echecs* survives only in one incomplete manuscript (Venice), which is missing the ending that follows Pallas's discourse; the only other known manuscript (Dresden) perished almost completely in a fire after the Second World War.

[87] This can be deduced from the arms of Rolin and Ailly that appear, together with the intertwined A M initials and other heraldic insignia, throughout the manuscript. The manuscript has been broadly dated to the second half of the fifteenth century by Hyatte (26-27), based on the 1444 marriage date of Rolin and Ailly. Legaré (80) dates it to ca.1490-1495.

[88] On the style of BN Ms. fr. 9197, see Legaré, 80-93. For BN Ms. fr. 143, see the catalog entry n. 232 in François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 408. On Robinet Testard, see Patrick M. De Winter: "Testard, Robinet" *Grove Art Online*. Oxford University Press, [March 2006], http://www.groveart.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/

François's father, Testard continued to produce richly illuminated manuscripts for Louise de Savoie, including a copy of Ovid's *Heroïdes* (BN Ms. fr. 875) and Boccaccio's *Des cleres et nobles femmes* (BN Ms. fr. 599), and from around 1509 to 1515, worked closely with François Demoulins, the tutor of François of Angoulême, the future king François I; in 1523, he was documented as the king's illuminator and *valet de chambre*.

The textual problems posed by the different manuscripts of the *Glose des échecs amoureux* and the relationship between the fourteenth-century *Échecs* and the fifteenth-century *Glose* are both dealt with fully in literary studies.[89] Thus, my focus here is on the presentation of Diana in the manuscript owned by Louise de Savoie (BN Ms. fr. 143), as this would have been the version accessible to François I, while still a young prince. The very commission of the *Glose* may be regarded in the context of Louise de Savoie's educational program for her son, who, by the age of four, had become the presumed successor to the crown in 1498, when his uncle, the Duke of Orléans, became Louis XII at the death of Charles VIII.[90] Thus, this manuscript may be examined in terms of its function as an educational manual directed at the young prince, François of Angoulême. Indeed, it was the norm to commission such books of the *mirror for princes* genre since an early age. However, the implications of the function of this text as an educative manual for the future king and its importance for the later development of the figure of Diana have not been analyzed.

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[89] See Hyatte; Guichard Tesson and Roy. Although the publication of *Le livre des Échecs amoureux* is based on BN Ms. fr. 9197, I will refer to Guichard Tesson and Roy for summaries of the narrative and the allegories of the *Glose*, as these are also representative of the contents of Ms. fr. 143, which is not published.

[90] The important role of the manuscripts commissioned by Louise de Savoie in the education of François I has been brought to light by Lecoq; see in particular the chapter "Le fils de Dame Prudence," 69-117. Likewise, evidence of Louise's commission of early printed luxury books for a similar purpose has been posited in Winn's aforementioned study on Vérard; see in particular the section on Louise de Savoie as client of Vérard, 168-182.

Diana's wisdom in the *Échecs amoureux*

In order to understand Diana's role in the *Glose*, it is best to begin with a summary of the narrative in the original *Échecs amoureux*. The original *Échecs amoureux* is an anonymous French poem in verse, essentially an allegorical treatise on a variety of topics that include the arts of love, and whose narrative is partially based on that of the renowned thirteenth-century *Roman de la rose*. In the *Echecs*, the young protagonist follows along the same path as the poet-lover of the *Roman de la rose*, who, as part of his first love experience, enters the Garden of Déduit (or Pleasure) where he finds his beloved rose in a fountain's reflection. The Garden of Déduit also plays a central role in the *Echecs*, but a new element is introduced: instead of a rose, the allegorical object inside the garden is a chessgame that takes place between the protagonist and a lady. Thus, the *Echecs* inscribes itself in the tradition of courtly romances in which the chessgame functions as a metaphor to explain the nature of love; inevitably, the chessgame always results in checkmate, and within this tradition, love is synonymous with inescapable suffering.[91]

The author of the *Echecs* also takes a popular narrative device from the *Roman de la rose*: that of the *dédoublement* of the narrator. Like the narrator of the *Roman de la rose*, the poet-narrator opens his tale by recalling an adventure of his youth; the *Echecs* begins when the goddess Nature appeared to the young poet while still in bed (a typical device used to initiate a vision). She invites him to travel the world while following the path of reason, which is more advisable than that of sensuality, the other path available for humans. But soon after beginning his travels, the poet meets Mercury along with

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[91] This literary tradition is summarized in Guichard Tesson and Roy's section, "Les échecs et l'amour," 8.

Juno, Pallas, and Venus. Mercury asks him whether Paris was correct in his judgment of the three goddesses, a recurrent theme in late-medieval poetry that was symbolic of the three paths of life: active, contemplative, sensual.[92] In the narrative of the *Echecs*, the young poet confirms Paris's choice, and Venus rewards him by sending him towards the Garden of Déduit. The insertion of the Judgment of Paris --one of the predominant mythological episodes in medieval literature, because of its inclusion in the Trojan narratives-- is innovative here with regard to the *Roman de la Rose*, and may be seen as a rewriting of the *Rose* in that this scene replaces the fountain of Narcissus in function.[93]

Another major innovation of the *Echecs* with respect to the *Rose* is the poet's encounter with Diana, while on his way towards the Jardin de Déduit. In spite of Diana's words of wisdom, in which she first reproaches the poet's choice and then proceeds to remind him of the classical exempla that show love's wrongdoing, the poet continues towards the Garden. Allowed inside by "Oiseuse" (Laziness), he finds the fountain of Narcissus, and sees Déduit, who is playing chess with a lady; the poet enters the game of chess, in which each piece symbolizes a behavior connected to love. After loosing the game, he meets Pallas, the goddess of wisdom, whom he asks about the meaning of Diana's advice. Pallas, who takes Diana's side on the matter, provides a lengthy

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[92] In fact, this scene is considered to be the interpretive key of the *Echecs*, for which see Pierre- Yves Badel, *Le "Roman de la Rose" au XIVe siècle* (Geneve: Droz, 1980), 81. See also E. Baumgartner, "Sur quelques versions du Jugement de Paris," in *De l'histoire de Troie au livre de graal* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994), 221-229. Pointing to Baumgartner, Gally notes that "[l]es deux mythes ovidiens fondamentaux du Moyen Age sont mis en concurrence et reposent une nouvelle fois, après les romans du XIIe, les rapports de l'amour et les autres activités humaines" (134).

[93] See Gally, 134, on how the Judgment of Paris in the *Echecs* replaces the function of the mirror of Narcissus, the central symbolic motif of the *Roman de la rose*. See also 133 on how the narrative of the *Échecs* differs from the *Roman de la rose*: for example, in the *Échecs*, the figures systematically guide the protagonist; see 134, on how the insertion of the Judgment of Paris "déplace la signification profonde du roman du XIIIe siècle [the *Roman de la rose*]. Il en infléchit la 'sentence.'"

explication on the two major paths of life (reason and sensuality), advising him to maintain an active life, while following the path of reason.[94]

Diana's appearance as a major protagonist of the narrative is significant, and it has been suggested that she takes the place held by Reason in the *Roman de la rose*.[95] Michèle Gally contextualizes Diana's discourse in the *Echecs* within the complex tensions that arise in lyric poetry between "reason" and its opposite, madness or "folie," which is ultimately given as the impulse that sparks the very creation of poetry.[96] As noted by Gally, it is not so much that Diana represents Reason in the *Echecs* (for Pallas already fulfills that role, as the mythological representation of Reason), but that Diana "en assume la fonction polysémique vis-à-vis de l'amour."[97]

Unlike Lady Reason in the *Roman de la rose*, Diana intervenes before --and not after-- the discovery of the beloved object. Diana's initial complaint, in which she tells of a golden age in which she reigned supreme, but then was forced into retreat by Venus in the silver age (an equivalent of the Christian reading of the move from the Garden of Eden to sin and decadence) is an implicit connection between pagan mythology and the Christian teachings. But Diana's position is too extreme, and the poet does not opt for this restrained lifestyle. That Diana's forest is not an obstacle, but rather, easy to traverse, suggests the emphasis in the *Echecs* is on the protagonist's possibility of choice. In her analysis of the poem, Gally proposes that the *Echecs* simplifies the *Roman de la rose* in order to present the message that love is a necessary step for achieving maturity; thus, the

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[94] For this summary of the narrative, see Guichard Tesson and Roy, 9-10.
[95] See the section "Diane, Incarnation de Raison," in Gally, 135-143.
[96] Ibid., 125-130.
[97] Ibid., 136.

Echecs provides a reconciliation between reason and love.[98] As interpreted by Gally, the *Echecs* is part of a long tradition in which love and knowledge are connected through reason, and in which the 'art of loving' is also a way of accessing knowledge.[99]

The connection established in the *Echecs* between Diana and the Judgment of Paris is equally significant, and this seems to be the first time this connection is made.[100] In lecturing the poet for his choice of Venus, Diana provides exempla from over twenty Ovidian tales about excess and love gone wrong (including those of Narcissus and Echo, Envy and Aglauros, and King Midas). Thus, Diana takes on the role of a 'commentator within the commentary'; she first tells the stories, to then conclude with a moralizing interpretation of them. In doing so, she rewrites them within the mythographic tradition. This innovative rendering may indeed have sparked Christine de Pizan's depiction of Diana as a goddess connected to intellectual knowledge, which she would have known, if not through the original poem, then through Évrart de Conty's commentary, as previously noted. Likewise, Christine's placement of the Diana and Actaeon fable (69) immediately after the Judgment of Paris (68) may also be inspired by the *Echecs*; for the two fables appear on the same folio in the *Epistre* and although they are not textually related, they are interconnected visually for both share a similar visual narrative, in which a young nobleman is faced by three females next to a fountain. [**Figs. 72-73**] Regardless, it is with the late-fourteenth-century *Echecs* that Diana makes an innovative appearance into the mythographic scene, in the context of the Judgment of Paris.

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[98] The notion of reason is based on natural knowledge and is presented in accordance with the philosophical views of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For the ideas summarized in this paragraph, see Gally, 135-142.

[99] Gally, 129-130; 174; 178 ff.

[100] This connection is explored at length in Part III.

Diana's image in the *Glose*

The fifteenth-century prose commentary attributed to Évrart de Conty follows the structure of the original poem, while adding lengthy glosses of a moral and encylcopedic type --as well as full treatises on mythography, the medieval sciences, the liberal arts, the education of the prince, the symbolism of colors and flowers, and the virtues of gems, amongst others-- to the point that the *Echecs* becomes just one of the many references of the *Glose*.[101] The author of the commentary explains his intentions in his prologue; with this commentary, he seeks to clarify the obscure and difficult passages of the *Echecs*. However, he does not include Pallas's final discourse, and instead focuses on the components of the chessgame. At the section where Mercury asks the protagonist to correct Paris's judgment, Conty includes his mythographic treatise, which is made up of lengthy descriptions of the ancient gods --in the style of Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus*-- which he uses to expound on cosmological, historical, and ethical matters, while combining the various hermeneutics: historical, physical, moral, and allegorical.[102]

In general terms, the *Glose* is essentially a didactic exercise in metaphorical thinking, and its images correspond to this function. As suggested by Jeay, in the descriptive section of the sixteen gods (which takes up almost half of the *Glose*), each "figure functions as an exemplum, as a metaphor that allows one to search for the hidden

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[101] See Guichard Tesson and Roy on the relationship between the *Glose* and its source, which is not commentated verse by verse, but becomes one of the authorities cited by Évrart: "Le poème [*Echecs*] disparaît alors derrière son commentaire, qui s'affirme en tant qu'oeuvre dotée de sa propre autonomie" (10). For Conty's allegorical approach, see Guichard Tesson and Roy, 11, as well as Jeay, 159; Conty does not emphasize theological readings in the manner of Bersuire, and instead focuses on explanations of a moral and encyclopedic type.

[102] Guichard Tesson and Roy, 11.

meaning [….] Or rather, the multiplicity of meanings offered by the commentary."[103] Indeed, the *Glose des échecs* may be understood as "a collection of different forms of knowledge, references, and juxtaposed, even contradictory, points of view."[104] And it is in the images of the individual gods where these meanings are synthesized and which allow the reader to absorb and manage the large quantities of material glossed in the text.[105]

In the case of Diana, the *Glose* doubles its treatment of the goddess of the hunt, for in both of her appearances, her various meanings are extensively glossed (Ms. 143 f. 116; 168v-198v). She is first enumerated along with the other planetary gods, whose attributes are first described and then interpreted, one by one (Ms. 143 f.116r,v); Diana's lunar qualities are emphasized for their dominating force over all things humid, and she is especially celebrated for her whiteness, a color with two properties "qui conviennent bien à la virginité. L'une est que la couleur blanche s'accorde avec le froid et qu'elle est engendré par lui, spécialement quand il s'associe à l'humidité [….] L'autre proprieté, c'est que la couleur blanche ne souffre ni tache ni souillere."[106] Although this aesthetic would be much celebrated in sixteenth-century French female portraiture, the illuminations of the *Glose* depict Diana in courtly guise, out hunting with her nymphs, in the tradition of the *Ovide moralisé*. [**Figs. 74-75**]

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[103] Jeay, 160: "La figure fonctionne comme un exemplum, comme métaphore qui permet d'aller rechercher le sens caché, la sentence. Ou plûtot la multiplicité des sentences que le commentaire sait dégager."

[104] Jeay, 161: "la *Glose* se présente comme une collection de savoirs, de références, de points de vue juxtaposés et parfois contradictoires. Elle tient de la somme, du speculum, et dans une visée encyclopédique, aspire à l'éxhaustivité. Le glossateur travaille dans le discontinu, en compilateur qui doit resoudre le problème d'avoir à intégrer la diversité de ces données disparates et, de ce fait même, volatiles, difficiles à garder en mémoire. Il lui faut donc établir des liens entres elles, les classer, les organiser de façon à ce qu'elles puissent être emmagasinées."

[105] Jeay, 162: "Le système des figures mythologiques des dieux et des déesses […] présente en même temps celui de fonctionner comme technique d'intégration et de présentation. Il permet […] au lecteur de s'orienter dans la masse de la matière et des informations stockées dans cet énorme fichier qu'est la *Glose des Échecs amoureux*, véritable mémoire au sens que l'informatique donne actuellement à ce terme."

[106] Guichard Tesson and Roy, 45, 47.

Unlike the other gods (with the exception of Mercury), Diana also plays a role within the narrative structure of the poem. As previously discussed with regards to the *Echecs* of the fourteenth century, Diana takes on an intellectual position in which she interprets more than twenty Ovidian tales as a warning on the dangers of following Venus. For immediately after the image of Venus thanking the protagonist for his choice (Ms. fr. 143, f. 165) is the depiction of the meeting between the protagonist and Diana (Ms. fr. 143, f. 168v), which initiates Diana's innovative discourse (which lasts over 30 folios), the longest in the poem after the final allegory on the chess game (Ms. fr. 143, f.198v ff.). [**Figs. 76-77**] When the protagonist encounters Diana in the forest, the commentator expands the connections between chastity and the activity of hunting, and the forest is interpreted as the long, straight path of reason, to be followed throughout one's life.[107]

The following miniature appears at the end of Diana's discourse, and shows the protagonist (now depicted as the older poet that had initially appeared on f.1) as he stands by the Garden of Nature. [**Fig. 78**] The scene is presented as a continuous narrative; in the background, we can see the poet as he says goodbye to Diana (they shake hands) at the edge of the forest, before crossing over the river to the side of the Garden. This scene contrasts with its equivalent in Ms. 9197, for while the Ms. 9197 follows the Garden of Déduit of the *Roman de la rose*, Ms. 143 presents a more global metaphor, one that may be seen as encompassing the entire meaning of the commentary. [**Fig. 79**] For the poet has arrived to the doors of Nature's garden (symbolized as the world in the first pages of the *Glose*), and inside it, he is to find again the three goddesses that represent the three paths of life. One wonders whether the shift in the narrator-protagonist's presentation,

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[107] Jeay, 163.

from the young poet-lover first seen together with Diana to his older counterpart (as seen saying goodbye to Diana at the end of their meeting), is not a metaphor symbolizing a transformation. Could it be that the protagonist of the *Glose* (in contradiction with its original source) gives heed to Diana? Indeed, the *Glose* does not include the final section of the original *Echecs* poem, and the final image presented in Ms. 143 also displaces the earlier visual tradition.

Inside Louise de Savoie's 'library'[108]

It has been suggested that the first illumination of Ms. fr. 143 (f.1) includes a portrait of François and his sister Marguerite, together with their tutor, Artus de Gouffier. [**Fig. 80**] The miniature presents the writer of the text at his desk, in a typical author-portrait representation, while a window opens onto a scene in the background, where one can see a chess game taking place between a lady and what appears to be a young boy (seen from the back, he is significantly shorter than the female player), while a third figure leans over the woman to view the game. Paulin Paris first proposed that portraits of the Angoulême siblings and their tutor could be recognized in the scene, and although this has been sometimes accepted in passing, it has also been recently questioned.[109]

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[108] Strictly speaking, and in spite of her importance as a patron of manuscripts and early printed books, Louise de Savoie did not have a personal collection of books. As noted by Myra D. Orth, the Angoulême library and the books commissioned by Louise after her husband's death in 1496 passed into the royal library of Blois. See Orth, "Louise de Savoie et le pouvoir du livre," in *Royaume de Fémynie. Pouvoirs, contraintes, espaces de liberté des femmes, de la Renaissance à la Fronde*, eds. K. Wilson-Chevalier and E. Viennot (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 72.

[109] See Paulin Paris, *Les manuscrits français de la bibliothèque du roi*, I (Paris: Techener, 1836), 280-281. While R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7, fig.3, reproduces the image under the title "Francis of Angouême and his sister, Marguerite, playing chess," Avril (143) and Hyatte (26) reject the attribution; Avril argues that François would have been too young at the time, while Hyatte considers the image to be of a generic reference to the text but not to particular individuals. While some authors question that the manuscript was intended for

While the window is a common pictorial device used to show a temporal disjunction, in which the narrator remembers an event that happened in his youth (as is the case of the *Roman de la rose* and the *Echecs*), it may also serve as a generic opening into an imaginary space, that of the narrative invented by the author. Yet these interpretations are not necessarily exclusive of the portrait theory, and in the light of other manuscripts that were conceived for François and in which he appears as a child, the possibility of a reference to the young prince (albeit not necessarily a likeness) may be reconsidered.

As has been demonstrated through the manuscripts unearthed by Anne Marie Lecoq in her brilliant study, *François Ier imaginaire*, the role played by Louise de Savoie in her son's moral education through manuscript commissions is significant.[110] These included numerous political manuals (ca.1508-1509) that expounded upon the virtues of an ideal king, and some of which were explicitly dedicated to François of Angoulême, who in 1508 had been called to the king's court.[111] Other --more specifically tailored-- cases include an anonymous work titled the *Compas du Dauphin*, whose frontispiece shows Louise de Savoie holding a giant compass as her young son walks inside it, while she takes him by the hand (BN Ms. fr. 2285 f.5).[112] [**Fig. 81**] Mother and son reappear in the dedication page of *La Vie Nostre Dame* (BN Ms. fr. 985 f.2v), in which Louise and François sit side by side, receiving the manuscript; like other images celebrating the birth

François I (Avril, dating the manuscript to ca.1496-98, argues that François would have been too young at the time), others accept that it could have been conceived for the education of François I, for which see Legaré (80) and Hyatte (24).

[110] See Lecoq's chapter "Le fils de Dame Prudence," 69-117, which shows how Louise de Savoie also took on certain attributes and embodied specific symbolic figures as part of her role as educator of her children. The significance of a strong female presence (his mother and sister) in François's early life has been much commented upon, for this was unusual for kings, and only happened to François due to his particular circumstance, in that he was not originally designated to become king.

[111] On these manuals and their dedications, see Lecoq, 69-71. In 1498, Louise de Savoie was moved from Cognac to Amboise together with her two children by the king; and in 1508, Louis XII called his nephew to the court.

[112] First published by Lecoq, 76-77.

of possible future kings, this scene draws a parallel with the Virgin and child, who appear in the next page (f.3).[113] [**Figs. 82-83**]

As part of her role as educator of the Dauphin, Louise was personified both as Prudence, whose common attribute is a compass, and as Pallas. This role is exalted in various didactic manuscripts, such as François Demoulins's *Traité sur les Vertus* (ca.1510), probably illuminated by Robinet Testard, in which Louise is again portrayed as Prudence holding a compass (BN Ms. fr. 12247 f.4), as well as Demoulins' *Dialogue sur le jeu* (BN Ms. fr. 1863, dated 1505), in which Louise appears numerous times, first allegorized as Dame Prudence (f.2v), then as one of the three graces (f.13v), and finally, portrayed as the patron of the text (f.14v).[114] The *Dialogue*, which opposes vices and virtues, also shows images of a young prince together with his tutor (f.2 / f.2v), a clear reference to François and Demoulins, who appears in the *comptes* of Louise de Savoie as "maistre d'école" of her son (1501-1508).[115] [**Figs. 84-87**]

More obscure mythological allusions are present in BN Ms. fr. 2082, attributed to Demoulins by Lecoq, which contains the horoscopes of Louise de Savoie, François, and his sister Marguerite for the year 1511. [**Fig. 88**] The manuscript also includes an image of Latona being rescued from Python by her two children, Apollo and Diana, who appear as little children (f.4); the small Diana is handing an arrow to her brother, who has already shot the monster once. [**Fig. 89**] Although the general significance of this unusual

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[113] See Lecoq, 334-336, on this tradition, and other examples in which Louise is compared to the Virgin, as well as exalted for having brought hope to France.

[114] She is recognizable through her characteristic widow's black veil and the use of contemporary, sumptuous clothing (a yellow dress with black and white spots lining underneath), which distinguish her from the mythological figures. She also appears in an allegorical presentation as Euphrosine, one of the three graces (Ms. fr. 1863 f.13v); her identification as Euphrosine is confirmed for Louise appears portrayed as the patron of the work in the following page, again dressed as a widow.

[115] On the *Traité sur les Vertus*, see Lecoq, 85-100; on the *Dialogue sur le jeu*, see 77-85; on Demoulins as "maistre d'école," see 77-78. For a 1515 reference to the new king as "Filz de Pallas," and a 1530 dedication to "Pallas de Savoie," see Lecoq, 74-75.

scene and its connection to the horoscopes remains mysterious, it may well be another

example of the royal family taking on allegorical personifications; for, a few years later,

Louise was identified as Latona, and François as Apollo, throughout the second volume

of another didactic treatise, Jean Thenaud's *Triumphes de Vertuz* (BN Ms. fr. 144), which

celebrated the virtuous triumphs obtained by the royal family.[116] In the dedication image

(f.B), the author presents his book next to the dedicatory inscription: "DIVE LATHONE

APOLLINIS ET DYANE MATRI VIRTVTV(M) FONTI" (divine Latona, mother of

Apollo and Diana, fountain of all virtues), while Louise/Latona is personified as the

central fountain whose streams feed the four surrounding fountains of virtues, each of

which was embodied by her direct descendants in the text. [**Fig. 90**]

As noted by Mary Beth Winn, Louise de Savoie's manuscripts and early printed

books "stand out for their individuality"; while few of her "personalized" manuscripts

were printed, the luxury printed editions dedicated to her by the renowned Parisian

printer, Antoine Vérard, were tailored to fit her needs, with special hand-painted

miniatures inserted into the frontispieces, in lieu of the woodcuts that accompanied the

ordinary editions.[117] Based on an analysis of the dedication texts and images, Winn has

shown that a dozen of Vérard's luxury editions (very close in look to the manuscripts that

they were replacing) were dedicated to Louise de Savoie and her son; indeed, the

dedication images show striking similarities to the manuscripts analyzed by Lecoq

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[116] On BN Ms. fr. 2082, and on the allegorization of Louise as Latona (and the connection to Thenaud's later work), see Lecoq 124-127; 338. Lecoq notes that there are some marginal notes next to the drawing, that show a connection to Marguerite, who appears as Diana. Thenaud's *Triumphes de Vertuz* survives in parts, in different manuscripts, dated ca.1513-1520. The first volume (Leningrad, State Library Ms. fr. F. v. XV. I.) commemorates Prudence (in Marguerite) and Strength (in François); the second volume (BN Ms. fr. 144) is dedicated to the triumphs of Justice and Temperance obtained by the son of François I and Claude, the queen. On Thenaud's treatise, in which Louise figures again as Prudence holding her compass, see Lecoq, 101 ff. As noted by Lecoq (77), Thenaud called Demoulins his master and inspiration.
[117] Winn, 181-182.

(previously discussed), which depict the small François next to his mother. Examples include two books from 1505: *Le Passetemps de tout homme* [BN Rés. Vélins 2249, fol.a1v] and *Le Sejour d'Honneur* [BN Rés. Vélins 2239, fol.1v]; in this last instance, it is François who comes forward to receive the book. [**Figs. 91**] Based on this evidence, it is clear that Louise was the one to maintain Vérard at the court of Louis XII (1503-1508), during the very period that the king was worried by his health and the lack of a direct heir; indeed, this was Louise's way of promoting her son as the Dauphin.[118]

Amongst these luxury books printed by Vérard is a 1504 edition of Jacobus de Cessolis's *Le Jeu des eschez moralisé*, originally a Latin text by an Italian Dominican, which was translated into French, whose presentation scene [BN Rés. Vélins 1018, fol.a1v] shows Louise sitting in a rose garden as the book is presented to her; most suggestive is how she holds the hand of her young son, who is placed in the center of the scene, while she gestures towards him with her other hand; might this be an indication that the book is actually meant for the young prince? [**Fig. 92**] Most interestingly, Winn has suggested that this miniature may have been inspired by the illuminations in Louise's copy of the *Glose des échecs*, for Louise's placement within a rose garden is unusual and recalls the central symbolic space of the *Glose des échecs*; indeed, Vérard is known for his sensitivity towards "manuscript aesthetics" and this connection seems plausible.[119] Furthermore, as has been shown by Gally, one of the major sources for the *Glose* was

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[118] Winn, 168-182. Although the texts do not mention Louise by name, the references to her son in text and image, shows they must have been dedicated to Louise, and not to the Queen who had no son. Indeed, through Vérard's editions, Louise was thus promoting her son as the dauphin (see Orth, 73, on this last point). In 1506, François and Claude, the king's daughter, were engaged; and in 1508, when François was moved to the king's court, Vérard began catering to the dauphin directly, for which see Winn, 181.

[119] On *Le Jeu des eschez moralisé* and its possible connection to Ms. 143, see Winn, 376-382. On Vérard's "manuscript aesthetics," see Sheila Edmunds, "From Schoeffer to Vérard: Concerning The Scribes Who Became Printers," in *Printing the Written Word*: *The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 37.

Jacques de Cessoles's late-thirteenth-century treatise, later translated into French as *Le Jeu des échecs moralisés* and a popular text in courtly circles, of which multiple copies were recorded in 1411 in the royal library.[120] These connections would have been clear to the readers of these texts, and this strengthens the possibility that Vérard's edition was making a specific link to the *Glose*.

In light of these examples, it is not inconceivable that the frontispiece of the *Glose des échecs* Ms. fr. 143 may well include a reference to Louise's young son; shown from the back, the chessplayer is clearly a boy, younger than the woman in the image. [**Fig. 93**] François was younger than his sister, and this difference in age might also be recorded in the frontispiece of *Le Sejour d'Honneur*, which may also depict Marguerite, as has been tentatively suggested.[121] Most significantly, a comparison to the previously noted appearances of François as a young boy in other miniatures shows that the boy consistently wears the same clothing.[122] For in these images, the identity of the figures is not so much a case of portrait likeness, but the fact that they appear with the same attributes over and over again; Louise is recognizable by the headdress and black outfits that identify her status as a widow, while the young François consistently wears a cylindrical hat, a short outfit with numerous folds that come down to his knees, and red stockings. The boy in the *Glose* illumination is dressed exactly in this manner, thus confirming his identity as François. The boy's outfit and the older man's chain decorated

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[120] See Gally, 172-173, on the sources for the *Glose*. See Guichard Tesson and Roy, 12, on the text's popularity in courtly circles: at least three French translations of Cessoles's text were made in the fourteenth century, and six such manuscripts were recorded in the 1411 inventory of the royal library.

[121] On Marguerite's possible appearance in *Le Sejour d'Honneur*, see Winn, 177, fig. 4.18.

[122] Winn has recognized François's consistent appearance in a short gold robe and red stockings in Verard's personalized luxury editions (182), but this argument has not been used to identify the boy in the Ms. 143.

with the *ordre du roi* (another telling detail) were noted by Paulin, but have not been

considered by later scholars.[123]

A close look at the image reveals additional details that seem to bear an

idiosyncratic significance: these include the *fleur-de-lys* on the table, the plants on the

children's heads, the insignia on the boy's hat, the dog held by the teacher with a chain,

and an owl on the ceiling of the front room. Unlike the more generic images that evoke

the chess match (as in a miniature from the destroyed Dresden manuscript), which follow

the textual narrative and take place outdoors in the garden of Déduit, the scene in Ms. fr.

143 takes place indoors, in what seems to be part of a learning experience with a 'coach'

that oversees the lesson.[124] The specific details of this image thus indicate that this is not

a generic reference to the chess game of the narrative, as has been suggested. It is also

worth pointing out that the frontispiece of Ms. fr. 143 is the only image without an

equivalent in the Ms. 9197 manuscript (which shares a common iconographic program

with another exemplar); therefore, the inclusion of the author portrait and the chess game

in Ms. fr. 143 is further evidence that this is a "personalized" version, much like the

works previously discussed, in which the hand painted frontispieces were specifically

tailored to fit Louise de Savoie's program.

Furthermore, the careful visual distinctions made in Ms. fr. 143 between the poet-

narrator and the poet-lover (the narrator in his youth) suggests a sophisticated

iconographic program, in which the illuminator is clearly aware of the multiple narrative

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[123] For this reason, Paulin identified the man as the children's tutor who was also Chevalier of the Ordre du roi, but he did not compare the image to those in other books. If Ms. 143 does indeed date to ca.1496-98, it would be the earliest such depiction of François as a young boy; the next would be in Vérard's 1504 edition of the *Jeu*, which, as argued by Winn, may have been inspired by the *Glose*. On the other hand, Ms. 143 might date slightly later; it is unclear why Avril says it was done in Cognac (before Louise moved to Amboise in 1498), for the only evidence for dating shows it *must be after* 1496, since the manuscript shows the arms of Savoie and Louise's father became Duke of Savoie in 1496.

[124] Indeed, chess was a major part of a courtly education, as discussed further ahead.

levels of the *Glose* in its demarcation of commentator (author of the *Glose*), *aucteur*

(author of the *Echecs*), narrator (the poet-narrator), and protagonist (the young poet-

lover).[125] This too differs from the iconographic program of Ms. 9197, in which no such

visual distinctions are made, and the narrator-protagonist is consistently labeled *aucteur*

throughout the manuscript. Although Robinet Testard's style has been labeled as

'didactic' in a slightly pejorative sense,[126] it may be worthwhile reassessing the value of

his 'didactic style' as a strategy and product of illuminating works that were indeed

conceived as educational manuals. Furthermore, Testard worked closely with Demoulins,

the tutor of Louise de Savoie's children in the first decade of the sixteenth century,

producing manuscripts such as the aforementioned *Traité sur les Vertus* (BN Ms. fr.

12247), in which the iconographic program is based on sophisticated allusions to the

Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, whose 1499 edition was owned by Louise and later passed

into the library of François I.[127]

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[125] The visualization of this distinction has been analyzed by Anne-Marie Legaré and Bruno Roy in "Le 'je' d'Évrart de Conty: Du texte à l'image," in *Auteurs, Lecteurs, Savoirs Anonymes, "Je" & encyclopédies.* Cahiers Diderot no. 8. Edited by Bernard Bailluad et al. (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1996), 39-54.

[126] See Avril's description of Testard's syle, which ultimately confirms its clarity and didactic nature: "Comme dans toutes ses oeuvres, Testard a délibérément sacrifié les séductions de l'illusionisme et opté pour la clarté et la lisibilité. Avec leurs silhouettes nettement découpées et leur coloris aux tonalités franches et peu modélées, ses personnages sans grâce ni mièvrerie se gravent aisément dans la mémoire, répondant ainsi aux exigences particulières de l'illustration du livre" (409).

[127] On the influence of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* for the *Traité sur les Vertus* and various illustrated examples, see Lecoq, 89-99; see in particular 97, for the reuse of the anchor with a wrapped dolphin from the *Hypnerotomachia*, which in the *Traité sur les Vertus* becomes a reference to the Dauphin and to his mother, who is symbolized as the author's anchor, which lies amidst a bed of marguerites (the classic reference to Marguerite). Also see Lecoq, 90, on the collaboration between Demoulins, the illuminator and the scribe, even in the incorporation of the celebrated typographic innovations of the *Hypnerotomachia*. Indeed, this is an early entry of the Aldus Manutius type into France, which further demonstrates the sophisticated environment of Louise's patronage, and should counter any assumptions about Testard's simplicity. Although Avril doubts Testard was the artist of the *Traité des Vertus* (see 364, cat. no. 204), the work is still attributed to Testard by Winter.

The *Glose* as a didactic tool for a prince's education

On a different level, the central allegorical symbol of the *Glose* --the chess game-- suggests that the book's commission by Louise de Savoie was indeed conceived as a didactic tool for the prince's education. For chessgames were aristocratic games considered an important part of a young nobleman's training, on the same level as hunting and the liberal arts.[128] In addition to the interpretation of chess as a game of love given in courtly romances, chessgames were also taken to be didactic illustrations of the functioning of society in late-medieval symbolic readings, in which each piece represented different groups or members of the society; such treatises were immensely popular in European courtly circles of the late-fourteenth century and early-fifteenth century, as can be documented from the numerous surviving manuscripts. This meaning of the chess game was first presented in Jacques de Cessoles's late-thirteenth-century work, [129] later known through its French translations as *Le Jeu des échecs moralisés* and first published by Vérard, as previously noted.

Along similar lines, another metaphoric interpretation of the game was devised by Philippe de Mézières in his *Songe du vieil pelerin*, a work predating the *Glose* by a few years and which, as previously mentioned, made an implicit presentation of Charles VI as an Actaeon-like figure. In the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, which was conceived as a mirror for princes and a manual on the art of governing, the pieces of the chess game symbolize the virtues and actions of a prince.[130] Mézières does not comment extensively on the individual pieces of the game, while Conty provides multiple allegorical interpretations

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[128] Guichard Tesson and Roy, 12.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.

for each piece, as well as an extensive commentary on the king as a piece that plays a major role as symbol of the amorous heart and center of the battle.[131] Through these examples, whose traditions come together in the *Glose*, it is clear that such treatises were conceived as didactic tools for princes, and that a number of these could be found in the royal library accessible to the young François of Angouleme. Indeed, the introduction of the *Glose* (placed underneath the image of the author and the chess match) explains the reasoning of the original poem, thereby suggesting that the commentary, didactic in nature, is also geared towards a youthful audience: "L'amour étant un sujet agréable en soi […] surtout chez les jeunes gens du monde à qui il convient bien, l'auteur du poème des ECHECS AMOUREUX a souhaité raconter comment il fut en sa jeunesse épris d'amour pour une jeune fille."[132] When considered through this didactic lens, the author's *dédoublement*, as he recalls his youth and sets the narrative in the past, also functions as an instructive example for a youthful audience. This may be yet another possible reason for the emphasis in the illuminations of Ms. 143 on distinguishing between the older poet-narrator and the young lover-protagonist; while the older poet appears mainly 'outside' of the narrative, it is the young lover-protagonist who travels along the path and who is faced with the difficult choices.[133]

After explaining why the original author wrote his poem, the author of the *Glose* states his own aim: his is a didactic project, written to clarify the verses and provide a prose rendition: "Et pour ce fut il fait en prose parce que prose est plus clere a entendre"

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[131] For an analysis of the chessmatch in the *Glose*, see Guichard Tesson and Roy, 13-15.

[132] I am using the abridged version available in *Le livre des Échecs amoureux*, eds. Guichard Tesson and Roy, 18. I have checked their version (based on Ms. fr. 9197) against the text of the Ms. fr. 143, and it corresponds in meaning.

[133] Although Legaré and Roy have discussed the visual differentiation in Ms. 143 between the different levels of narration (as noted earlier), my understanding of the possible motivations for this choice differs significantly from their interpretation.

(Ms. fr. 143 f. 1).[134] Like the original *Echecs*, the commentary makes explicit references to the *Roman de la rose*, and might be deemed a corrective to the *Rose*. For in the comments that follow the protagonist's choice of Venus, the author directly quotes the *Rose* and celebrates Reason's discourse in the *Rose*, in which she affirms that "l'amour est une maladie de la pensée" (f. 165). As he continues to expound on the nature of love, the commentator emphasizes that love is an internal force to be controlled, and not one resulting of external forces, as has been naively thought (f.165). A manuscript of the *Rose* (Bodl. Ms. Douce 195) was also in the collection available to the young François, for it was one of the earliest to be illuminated by Robinet Testard for the Angoulême family (in the 1480s, before the marriage of Charles d'Angoulême to Louise). The two works would have inevitably been compared, and this connection again reinforces the idea of the *Glose* as an educative manual, which 'corrects' the less edifying *Rose*.[135]

Although neither the poem nor the commentary were ever printed, the *Glose des échecs amoureux* continued to exert influence well into the sixteenth century, as can be seen in its adaptation by Geoffroy Tory in his *Champ Fleury*, a treatise on the typography of *all'antica* lettering, and whose allegories on the shapes of letters derive from those in the *Glose*.[136] First written in 1526, *Champ Fleury* was printed in 1529 by Tory, who first used the title of "Imprimeur du Roy" in 1531, but who had held a close connection to the royal family since 1524.[137] Although not explicitly dedicated to François I, the book promotes the status of the French language, and introduces a number of mythological

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[134] Rendered by Guichard Tesson and Roy in modern French: "C'est pourquoi il a été écrit en prose parce que la prose est plus facilement accessible que les vers" (18).

[135] Louise seems to have been keen on books concerning women; her books included a Mirror for Ladies, Boccaccio's *Des cleres et nobles femmes* (BN Ms. fr. 599) and her prized *Heroides* manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 875, ca.1498), some of which were also illuminated by Testard.

[136] On its influence on the *Champ Fleury*, see Hyatte, 24, and Barbara C. Bowen, "Geofrey Tory's Champ Fleury and Its Major Sources," *Studies in Philology* 76:1 (January 1979), 24-26.

[137] On the relationship between Geoffroy Tory and François I, see Orth, 73; 85-86.

references that are implicit praises of the king; these include a *Hercule Gaulois* as

eloquence and strength of words, and a Triumph of Apollo, another early example of the

sun king thematic well before the time of Louis XIV, which had already appeared in

Thenaud's *Triomphe des Vertus* as discussed earlier.[138] Equally significant is the fact that

Tory would probably have known the *Glose* through the manuscript in François's

possession, and such references could have been overt only to the king and his intimate

circle, those who would have been familiar with the manuscript traditions initiated when

François was a child.[139] Although François's first introduction to the pagan gods could

well have been through the *Glose des Echecs*, his interest may have been furthered

through his copy of Vérard's *Bible des poètes*, also recorded in his possession.[140]

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[138] For the discussion of the mythological references in the *Champ fleury* as implicit allusions and praises to the king, see Ortha, 86. See the earlier discussion in this chapter, on Louise as 'Latona' and the allegorization of François as Apollo in Thenaud's *Triomphe des Vertus*, first noted by Lecoq, 124-127; 338.

[139] Badel (291, n.31) has suggested that BN Ms. fr. 19114 may be Tory's direct source.

[140] Cf. above note 21 on Vérard's editions of the *Bible des poètes* for members of the court.

I.4 Cynegetic Treatises

François I meets Diana in the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique*

The encounter between Diana and the youthful protagonist of the *Glose* is comparable to the interaction that takes place between François I and Diana in the second volume of the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique* dated ca. 1519 (BN fr. Ms. 13429). In both works, Diana, depicted in the guise of a noble lady, embodies a type of wisdom and acts as a guide for the protagonist as he travels through the forest. While he was actively engaged in a stag hunt (f. 1),[141] François suddenly "rancontra la chaste Diane, montee sur ung cheval Libyque moult gorgiasement abillee" (f. 3). Diana is then described wearing blue and gold, as her golden hair illuminates the forest's shadows:

> Son manteau estoit de couleur celeste. Et sa cote de toyle dor si ault trousse que par dessoubz on pouvoit voyr sa blanche & polie greve couverte cothurne vermeil a la maniere Musaique. Et ses cheveulx ventillans & dorez, clarifioient les umbrez de la fourest par leur beaulte & speciale claritude. Aurora la precedoyt & portoit le jour pur & net en ung chariot de margaritez & de rosez. (f. 3)

The description is preceded by an image (f. 2v) of Diana dressed with a blue shawl, with a bow in her left hand and mounted sideways on a horse. She is shown together with Aurora, who holds the sun in her hand and arrives on a chariot. [**Figs. 94-95**] The encounter is then described as a sudden vision that disappears just as quickly. However, the king has now forgotten about the hunt and entered a meditative state: "Le Roy fut

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[141] The manuscript begins with an illumination of the king chasing a stag, with the opening lines: "Françoys par la grace de Dieu Roy de France desyrant par penible labeur excercer sa forte ieunesse, au commensement du moys Dauguste, Lan mil cinqcens dixneuf, alla courir le Cerf en la fourest de Byeure," which is then followed by the names of nine of his dogs and their qualities (f. 1-1v).

surprins de plaisire & apres avoir oublie sa chasse il fut tout esbay que ceste vision le

disparut, & il demoura tout seul en profunde pancee" (f. 3v).

It is through this initial encounter with Diana and Aurora that the king enters a

new temporal dimension, for immediately after, he sees an old man of "venerable stature"

(f. 3v), but due to the darkness of the forest, does not recognize him by sight (f. 3v-4).

Finally, François recognizes Julius Caesar from speech: "apres lavoir gracieusement

salue, portant honneur & reverence a Antiquite celebrable, il congneut a louyr parler que

cestoit son amy Iule Caesar" (f.4), for the two had met three months before at the king's

park of St. Germain en Laye --a reference to the first volume of the *Commentaires*. As

the two men initiate a dialogue, Diana and Aurora reappear, and are shown sitting next to

a tree as they witness the conversation between the two men: "la clere et pure Diane

retourna, Maiz elle heut peur touteffoiz Aurora temperee et sage dame lassura," revealing

to her companion his true identity as Julius Caesar (f. 4v-5).[142] [**Fig. 96**]

In the following illumination, Julius Caesar presents François I with a sword and

the scepter of Mercury, while Aurora and Diana witness the scene; Diana is now in

profile, facing the two men (f. 5v). [**Fig. 97**] Thereafter, the Emperor and the king initiate

a dialogue that runs through the entire manuscript in the form of *Le Roy demand*, *Caesar*

respond, covering a wide range of historical topics, where the king interrogates Julius

Caesar on the definition of an empire. The French king begins by asking Caesar what he

thinks of "nostre temps," to which the emperor answers that "il est imperial"; this is

followed by a question on the conditions that make a good emperor, to which Caesar

replies "celle que iavoys" (f. 6). In this 'history lesson' veiled in contemporary references

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[142] This may explain why the illumination shows Diana with her head turned away from the scene (in fear?), looking towards Aurora. Indeed, Aurora provides 'illumination' as she takes on the function of the sun that lights the moon (possibly connected to the Apollo and Diana dynamic).

to the Germanic and French rulers' claim to an imperial status, a question on the standing

of Christianity and the pagan gods finalizes the discussion on the intricate relationship

between the present and the past (f. 20v).[143] Inserted in between the text of the dialogue

are a series of *all'antica* medal portraits and vivid visual recreations of Roman times.

Throughout the manuscript, the illuminations are marked by the subdued brown

grisailles, with occasional blue tonalities, and the letters are written in roman style, all of

which renders an *all'antica* flavor to the entire book. [**Fig. 98-99**]

At the end of the dialogue, Diana takes the king back to his own historical period:

> Ainsi fina Caesar sa parolle & tantost se disparut. La clere Diane qui
> congnoissoit les passagez de la fourest de Bieure, & de tous temps scavoyt &
> entendoit les droiz de la chasse, remonta a cheval, & si droictement mena la
> Roy, lequel avoit perdu les chiens, que en peu dheure aupres de fontaine bleau
> il les vyt myeulx chasser que davant. Et se trouva le premyer a la mort du
> Cerf, maiz il navoyt avec luy que le gentil Arbault & la belle Greffiere, Car
> Diane et Aurora lavoient lesse & san estoient aleez. (f. 89v)

In the folio immediately next to these words, an illumination shows the king holding the

stag by its head, about to spear it (f.90), thus closing the narrative that had begun with an

illumination showing the king actively hunting a stag (f.1). Near the stag of the final

image are two *cartellini* with the labels "REAULT GEFFIERE " (f. 90). [**Fig. 100**]

The *Commentaires* have been studied for their depictions *all'antica*, as they

provide an early example of the taste for classical antiquity that would later mark the

aesthetics of François I's reign. A close look at the narrative structure of the passage in

which François encounters Diana, however, reveals a number of subtle allusions to the

didactic literature commissioned by Louise de Savoie, as well as a neatly veiled

combination of mythological sources and political preoccupations current in 1519. It has

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[143] François asks Julius Caesar whether he would have liked to be of Christ's time; an image of the
Crucifixion (the only Christian theme in the volume) appears on the folio.

been shown that the *Commentaires*, whose text is attributed to Demoulins, were devised by Louise for the young king's instruction, in preparation for "her *Caesar*'s imperial election."[144] As noted by Myra Orth, "Jamais les Guerres Galliques ne furent plus galliques et moins romaines."[145] Indeed, the theme is clearly connected to François's hopes of Italian conquests, and an allusion to Louise ends the second volume, when, after having killed the stag, François heads back to tell his mother: "Le Roy Christianissme ayant grand plaisir davoir prins le Cerf & onquorez plus davoir rancontre son amy Caesar & avoir sceu de luy la verite de la guerre Gallicque, incontinant se retira pour aler voyr la Duchesse des Andez. Et luy compter son adventure" (f. 90v).[146] In the illustrations, François appears as a young king, without the identifying beard that would characterize his later portraits, and dressed in similar courtly attire as the manuscripts in which he appeared as a child.

In terms of its narrative development, the young king's vision of the classical past and of one of its goddesses recalls the romanced tradition in which the hero goes through a visionary experience: like Paris, whose encounter with the three goddesses takes place in a dream, but closer to Polipholos, whose vision is deeply concerned with the recreation of antiquity, and one that, as previously noted, would have been known through the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* exemplar owned by Louise de Savoie, and with which Demoulins was intimately familiar, for he had extensively cited it in his *Traité*. Unlike

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[144] My translation of Orth: "Les trois volumes des *Commentaires* […] avaient […] une visée plus précise pour la mère du roi: préparer son 'César' à être élu empereur" (81). On the manuscripts commissioned by Louise in promotion of her son's military ambitions while still a young king, see Orth, 76 ff. On the *Commentaires* and Louise, see Orth, 81, and Lecoq, 427.
Also note the drawings of battle machines (f.34-41 and f.91 ff.), indicating that this could be a practical manual as well, in terms of knowledge about war techniques.

[145] Orth, 81.

[146] In the third volume of their dialogue (Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms. 1139 f. 4v), Caesar even refers to Louise as "MADAME votre mère"; see Lecoq, 427.

Polipholos, the protagonist of the *Commentaires* has his visionary experience while

deeply engrossed in hunting, much like the Paris of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de*

Troie, who meets the goddesses when he becomes lost in the woods while hunting.[147]

François instead meets the goddess of the hunt and enters his vision through her aid; in

visual terms, their encounter recalls the manuscript of the *Glose des Echecs* owned by

Louise de Savoie, in which the young lover meets Diana as he rides through the woods

on horseback. Though without using a learned discourse, Diana plays a similar role as in

the *Echecs*, for it is her emphasized 'clarity' in the *Commentaires* that literally provides

an illuminating guide for the king's search (for knowledge) through the forest. Indeed, a

repeated emphasis is placed on "clere Diane" and on her "clere" qualities, and it is her

golden hair that "*clarifoient* les umbrez de la forest par leur […] speciale *claritude*."[148]

As the chess game was for the *Échecs amoureux*, the hunt is the symbolic center

and impulse for the narrative of the *Commentaires*: the hunt is the path that leads to the

king's vision and ultimately, functions as the well-known *topos* of the hunt as a search for

knowledge, in conjunction with the *topos* of the hunt as a preparation for war.[149] For the

Commentaires may be read in the context of François's imperial aspirations, but the

dialogue with Julius Caesar --who appears in military garb but whose beard denotes

wisdom-- is a learned revival of classical antiquity.[150] Furthermore, it is in the imaginary

pause during the king's hunt that the intellectual dialogue takes place; based on the

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[147] On Paris's vision in the *Roman de Troie*, see Damisch, 129. (Damisch quotes Guido da Colonna's *Historia destructionis Troiae* from 1287, but this is actually a translation of Benoît's version.)

[148] As described in f. 2v (the italics are my emphasis).

[149] These *topoi* go back to antiquity; on the hunt as preparation for war, see Daniela Boccassini, "'Le Déduit du Roy': Les Chasses de François Ier," in *Le Corps à la Renaissance. Actes du XXXe Colloque de Tours (2-11 juillet 1987),* eds. Jean Céard, Marie-Madeleine Fontaine, and Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1990), 326. On its connections to intellectual knowledge in the *Commentaires*, see Boccassini, 330.

[150] On Julius Caesar's portrayal in both intellectual and military terms, see Lecoq, 426.

circularity of the narrative, in which the king is brought back to his present at the very moment in which he is about to slay the stag, the reader may assume that only seconds have passed, and that the vision has taken place during the very time that François has caught the stag. The stag is the trophy that stands for his acquired knowledge, a theme that would be developed later in François I's reign, with Cellini's *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, itself closely connected to the iconography of Diana established in the 1530s and 1540s.[151]

The inclusion of seemingly small details such as the "REAULT GEFFIERE" (f. 90), together with the mention of "clere Diane qui [...] de tous temps scavoyt et entendoit les droiz de la chasse" (f. 89 v) may have a specific historical meaning, for in 1515, the year that François became king, the stag was officially declared a royal hunting privilege; in other words, only the king and those who received his permission could hunt the stag.[152] The implicit message here is that it is "clere Diane qui cognoissout les passages de la fourest" (f. 89v) and who guides the king "droitement" through her forest, who has provided the king's exclusive rights. For a number of transformations have taken place in this narrative; after François finds his dogs close to Fontainebleau, "il les vyt myeulx chasser que davant" (f. 89v), and when he catches the stag, it is declared to have a royal privilege. Likewise, in the meeting between Diana and the young king, the earlier encounters of Diana with mortal figures that appeared in mythographic texts are corrected; unlike the protagonist of the *Echecs*, who does not heed Diana's wise words,

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[151] The stag as trophy is discussed in Part II in relation to Cellini's *Nymph of Fontainebleau*. In a parallel tradition, the stag is also symbolized as the soul. The stag was also closely associated with Prudence, which, as previously discussed, was Louise de Savoie's major emblem; see Lecoq, 95.

[152] On the new legal status of the stag hunt following the 1515 ordonnance set into place by François, see Boccassini, 321; what was originally a right of fact became a right by law, and after 1526, the stag hunt was strictly forbidden without the king's authorization. The new legal status of the stag may well have influenced later depictions of the hunt and should be considered when studying images of the hunt in the sixteenth century.

the young King is a good follower of Diana, and does not choose the path followed by

Paris. The second volume of the *Commentaires* also provides a reversal of the Diana and

Actaeon narrative, which is suggestively hinted at in the long list of the king's hunting

dogs and their qualities, found in the very first pages of the manuscript after the initial

image that shows François hunting. (Actaeon's dogs and their qualities were famously

listed in Ovid.) Unlike Actaeon and other mortal hunters, the king has the unique

privilege to interact with Diana and her followers, as is also evidenced by the later

Louvre drawing. Finally, François became renowned as "père des veneurs" as well as

"père des lettres et des arts."[153]

   Another of the significant transformations (in terms of newly acquired knowledge

and power) that occurs during François's visionary experience is his investment with

Mercury's major attribute, the caduceus, as offered to him by Julius Caesar. Might we

find here another allusion to the *Echecs* and to the Judgment of Paris (albeit its reversal,

for the king, who begins his path as a young Paris, now takes on the attributes of the god

associated with wisdom)? While François's identification with Mercury may derive from

the iconographic programs devised by his mother 'Prudence,' it was a theme that was

elaborated in the king's later iconography and continued to be used by Henri II to

promote his own image.[154] For Mercury provides two features that are intimately

connected to the type of knowledge offered to the king by Julius Caesar: both eloquence

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[153] On François's title as "père des veneurs," see Boccassini, 322. This designation is usually attributed to Guillaume Budé but as noted by Boccassini, there is no explicit reference to this title in Budé's *De Philologia*.

[154] On François's identification with Mercury and its roots in Louise de Savoie's commissions, see Lecoq's section "Sous le signe de Mercure…," 421-427. This was in part due to the astrological predictions that tied François to Mercury through his birthdate (September 12th), under the sign of Virgo, which is under Mercury's zodiac; according to Thenaud, François was under the dominant influence of Mercury between 1517 and 1523 (Lecoq, 424).
  The continuities established by Henri II with his father's 'eloquence' and patronage of the arts are discussed in Part II.

and military strategy, represented through the caduceus and the sword. Indeed, eloquence

was the main theme of the *Hercule gaulois* who ties his adversaries with his tongue (an

allusion to François that was reused by Henri II) in Tory's *Champ Fleury* of 1529, and its

image was provided to the printer by Godefroy de Bataille, the illuminator of the

Commentaires.[155] [**Fig. 101**]

The connections between eloquence and military strength are again featured in the

miniature in which François is depicted in the guise of multiple gods, whose

accompanying lines declare that "François en guerre est un Mars furieux / En pax

Minerve & Diane a la chasse / A bien parler Mercure copieux" [**Fig. 16**]. As in the

allegorical tradition, the king is all these figures at once, including Minerva and Diana,

whose close connection here is significant for it may be tied to the development of the

mythographic tradition in which Diana was first connected to intellectual wisdom

(beginning with the *Echecs* of 1370), a theme that would continue to be explored in the

sixteenth century, as can be seen in the drawing for a sculptural project for the château of

Saint-Maur-des-Fosses, built between 1541 and 1544, in which the qualities of Diana and

Minerva are once again exalted in conjunction.[156]

When seen in the light of other manuscript commissions, the *Commentaires* seem

to be the point where a number of earlier mythological references come together, in

subtle yet recognizable forms. In the context of other books commissioned by Louise de

Savoie and which later passed into the library of François I, its thematic links seem only

natural for a public that was on intimate terms with the allegorical model, in which

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[155] Lecoq, 423. As has been variously noted, what François was not able to achieve in military terms, he did in the arts, and it is here where the theme of eloquence was mostly put into use; Orth notes the connection between eloquence and "ce que le roi ne pouvait gagner par la guerre, il finit par le conquerir en soutenant les arts" (81).
[156] Discussed in Part II.

multiple symbolic meanings could coexist. As seen in this first chapter, a number of the

sixteenth-century obsessions with classical mythology were already being set into place

in the private realm of late-medieval manuscript culture. As noted by Anne-Marie Lecoq

of this "pseudo-Renaissance" period, "le travestissement des personnages politiques en

dieux de l'Olympe s'accélérait, dans la littérature comme dans les spectacles présentés à

l'occasion des entrées royales."[157]

Guillaume Budé's *De Venatione*

The *Commentaires* would not be the only time that Diana and the art of hunting

were invoked as rhetorical devices to convince François I of a political or cultural

agenda. In a sixteenth-century fictional dialogue on the art of hunting that takes place

between the king and his librarian, Guillaume Budé, the king is reported as saying he

would like to hear Diana, the goddess of the hunt, speak in Latin: "Et si seray bien aise

d'ouyr nostre Diane forestiere et montagnarde, fort esloignée des villes et du commerce

des lettres, parler autre fois latin [….]"[158] Earlier in the dialogue, the king had pressed

Budé to demonstrate the applicability of Latin to the art of hunting: "nous desirons

sçavoir si Minerve et Diane peuvent communiquer convenablement ensemble: ayans

entendu quelquefois de vous et autres, qu'aujourd'huy l'oraison latine se monstre encore

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[157] Lecoq, 127. Examples include the woodcuts in Jean Lemaire's *Les Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye* (1511-13), where Marguerite of Austria was figured as Pallas, Anne of Brittany as Juno, and Claude de France as Venus. [**Fig. 53**] In addition to recasting the Trojan narratives as political allegory, Lemaire's work was also where the Judgment of Paris first acquired its new status as a rhetorical debate about literary style. I thank Professor François Cornilliat for pointing me in this direction.

[158] François I to Budé, in Budé's *De Venatione*, as translated into French by Louis Le Roy in 1572. Le Roy's translation was commissioned by Charles IX, and published in 1861 after a manuscript at the Institut de France: *Traitté de la venerie par feu Monsieur Budé […]. Traduict du latin en françois par Loys le Roy dict Regius […]*, éd. Henri Chevreul (Paris: Aubry, 1861), 28. *De Venatione* was the second book of Budé's treatise on Latin, *De Philologia* (Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius, 1532).

fort mal aisée en plusieurs parties de la vie, et difficile a manier en escrivant, quand il est question de l'accommoder a matieres non acoustumées teles que sont les presentes."[159] Written by Budé himself, the dialogue is titled *De Venatione* and is reportedly the result of a royal commission in which the king has asked his librarian to compose a treatise on the art of hunting in Latin so as to demonstrate its applicability to a contemporary sphere of activity --as is the art of the hunt, with all its courtly codes. In reality, *De Venatione* is the second book of Budé's treatise on Latin, *De Philologia*, aimed at convincing the king of creating the Collège de France and encouraging the study of Latin. Much like in the *Commentaires*, hunting becomes an excuse for accessing knowledge of the classical world; it is also likely that Budé's treatise may constitute another reference to the royal hunting privileges over the stag, established by François I in 1515 and enforced in 1526, for *De Venatione* privileges the stag hunt throughout its narrative.

By invoking the art of hunting and placing a special emphasis on the stag hunt, Budé was knowingly using one of the most powerful rhetorical tools at his disposition: for not only was François I's particular penchant for hunting well known, to the point that it influenced his choice of the sites where to build his castles, but hunting was the major recreational activity of the French court.[160] With a few exceptions, most kings and noblemen were avidly dedicated to the art of hunting, as attested by the surviving material culture recording its traces and serving as a visual record of both the social customs and symbolic significance of the hunt. A recurrent theme of the visual arts, particularly in richly illustrated manuscripts such as Gaston Phébus's *Le Livre de la*

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[159] *Traitté de la venerie par feu Monsieur Budé [….]* (1861), 8-9.
[160] On hunting as the major courtly pastime, and descriptions of kings engaged in hunting, see Chatenet, 127-129. On François I's motivation for choosing the geographic location of his castles based on his passion for hunting, and as attested in sixteenth-century letters and documents, see Chatenet, 48-50.

chasse, a fourteenth-century cynegetic treatise that continued to be printed in the

sixteenth century, and in tapestry sets, such as the renowned *Hunts of Maximilian*

tapestries from ca.1528-33 (Louvre) in which Diana presides over the hunt, the art of

hunting pervaded the symbolic realm of the court as well as its image.[161] The hunt as a

metaphor for love and war is a *topos* that goes back to classical antiquity, while the

emphasis upon the stag as a noble and magnificent creature with Christian meaning is a

medieval development; both aspects were incorporated in the Renaissance, as can be seen

in the classical cynegetic treatises copied in luxurious royal manuscripts, and the

continued tradition of the stag as an allegory of the human soul, depicted in manuscripts

of the *Chasse d'un cerf privée* and in tapestries well into the sixteenth century.[162]

As the goddess of the hunt, Diana often appeared in such works, especially those

dating to the sixteenth century: in the Maximilien tapestries, she presides over the courtly

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[161] On the symbolic significance of the hunt for French courtly circles in the late-medieval period, see Armand Strubel and Chantal de Saulnier, *La poétique de la chasse au Moyen Age. Les livres de chasse du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994). On the continued appearance of Gaston Phébus's treatise, see Boccassini, 322; the first edition was printed by Vérard in 1507, also in a luxury version meant for his courtly patrons. On the tapestry set, see Arnout Balis, Krista De Jonge, and Guy Delmarcel, *Les chasses de Maximilien* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993).

[162] Manuscripts of Oppien's *De Venatione* were popular at the French court: two copies were owned by Henri II (BN Ms. grec 2736, ca.1540, and grec 2737, ca. 1554-5), for which see Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Fabienne Le Bars, *Reliures royales de la Renaissance. La librairie de Fontainebleau 1544-70* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1999), cat. no. 82 (p. 163) and cat. no. 112 (p. 215); a 1533 edition of Oppien's treatise was also at the Royal Library of Fontainebleau and carries François I's arms (Rés. S. 984-985) (215). Ms. grec 2736 is a Venetian copy after an ancient manuscript that belonged to Cardinal Bessarion (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, gr. 479), and served as the model for Ms. grec. 2737, which also included two other Greek cynegetic treatises.

On the stag's symbolism, see Marcelle Thiébaux, *The Stag of Love. The Chase in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974). An example of the continued tradition of the stag hunt as an allegory for love is Vérard's 1509 luxury editions of *La Chasse d'amours*, attributed to Octovien de Saint-Gelais, for which see the edition by Mary Beth Winn (Genève: Droz, 1984). Sixteenth-century manuscripts of the *Chasse d'un cerf privée* include BN Ms. fr. 379 and Ms. fr. 25429; see Thierry Crépin-Leblond and Myra Dickmann Orth, *Livres d'heures royaux. La peinture de manuscrits à la cour de France au temps de Henri II: 23 septembre-13 décembre 1993, Musée national de la Renaissance, château d'Écouen, Val-d'Oise* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), 54, cat. no. 19, on BN Ms. fr. 25429, which was owned by Henri II. On the sixteenth-century tapestries of this theme, see E. Picot, "Le Cerf Allégorique," *Bulletin de la société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures* (1913): 57-64. Two South-Netherlandish tapestry sets of this same theme, dating to the early-sixteenth century, are in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: 50.145.4 and 65.181.18-22.

preparations for the hunt, while she is exquisitely depicted in the hand-painted medallion of the cover of a manuscript of Oppien's *Cynegetics* owned by Henri II (BN Ms. Grec 2737). [**Figs. 175-178**] It would seem, however, that her first noteworthy manifestation in the context of cynegetic writings goes back to the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique*, and to Budé *De Venatione*, where she plays an even greater rhetorical role. Diana's function in *De Venatione* has not been considered in earlier studies of her representations, and although no illustrations are included in the book, her appearance in this context provides an important reference point for understanding her significance within sixteenth-century courtly culture. It is also a culmination of the textual traditions explored throughout this chapter.

Budé was exploiting a set of well-established traditions while approaching them from a new angle. On the one hand, he was invoking hunting treatises while using the figure of Diana as a mediator and thus building on a theme first established by the *Échecs amoureux*. On the other hand, he was putting all this to use in a new way, so as to embark the king on a major intellectual enterprise: the recovery of classical antiquity. Indeed, Budé evokes classical antiquity throughout the treatise, while going through the steps of the hunting ritual. He begins by recalling the classical origins of hunting, while reminding his reader that this ancient art was perfected by François I, and comparing the king to legendary hunters of antiquity.[163] Diana first appears in one of Budé's praises of the king's skill at hunting, where he notes that François I seems to have had "Diane mesme pour maistresse au mylieu des bois."[164] And she is also Budé's guide through the

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[163] *Traitté de la venerie par feu Monsieur Budé [….]* (1861), 1-4, 6-7.
[164] Ibid., 8.

'forest' of his discourse,[165] not unlike the "clere Diane qui cognoissoit les passagez de la fourest" of the *Commentaries de la guerre gallique*. The goddess is mentioned various times in Budé's detailed descriptions of the stag hunt: she not only oversees the hunt and presides over the stag's sacrifice, but controls the entire forest and all that occurs within it. Naturally, she is also the implied supervisor of the "officiers de la venerie."[166] Budé then proceeds to describe very graphically the sacrifice of the hunted animals, whose entrails and intestines are offered to Diana and the hunting dogs.[167]

As Budé attempts to translate the hunting ritual into Latin terminology, we find that he is continuously interrupted by the king, who keeps calling on Budé to return to the main subject and answer his questions about the applicability of Latin to other spheres of knowledge. In this ongoing dialectic, we witness a calculated reversal of roles, where the king --who has declared his lack of expertise in the literary domain and noted Budé's little hunting experience-- reflects on the status of language, while his librarian writes about hunting. The first explicit comparison between the acts of writing and hunting is put forward by the king: as he reproaches Budé for his simplified description of the stag hunt, the king compares the organization of hunting rituals to written compositions so as to note that they are equally complex.[168] The king goes further, explaining the cause of Budé's failure: "La cause est que vous estimez les voies de Diane pour difficiles et

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[165] Ibid., 16-17. In promising to tackle the difficult subject of translation, Budé states that, "aydant la deesse Diane, je rentreray autrefois en la forest, par quelque bout que finablement j'en sorte" (16-17).
[166] Ibid., 12.
[167] Ibid., 22-23. This may reflect actual hunting practices, thus constituting an interesting case of ongoing 'pagan' rituals involving sacrifice. The Renaissance revival of interest in pagan sacrifice, as well as its connections to Christian ritual throughout the Middle Ages, was studied by Fritz Saxl, "Pagan Sacrifice in the Renaissance," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* v.2 (1939): 346-67, and has been recently discussed by Zorach in her analysis of the Galerie François Ier.
[168] Ibid., 28. The king tells Budé that people will not understand his description of the stag hunt, "si de rechef vous ne reprenez le commencement de la chasse du cerf, et leur recitez clairement l'ordre et conduitte du passtemps; car vous avez commencé parler de la venerie en tele sorte que nous autres veneurs semblions en noz questes suyvre indices plus certains, que vous messieurs les escrivains ne faittes en voz compositions" (28).

meslées qu'elles soient, estre moins subjettes a erreur, que les methodes ainsy par vous appellées de vostre Minerve."[169] The difficulty in connecting the two is thus not just a question of style but of epistemology, where Minerva (the intellect) apparently exemplifies a more complex approach to knowledge, while Diana embodies all that is physical. The king pushes for a redressing of these values: for although hunting would appear to be the more straightforward activity and literature the more complex one, the king's experience shows otherwise. This is where the king calls for Diana to speak again in Latin.[170] Budé responds to the king's criticism by comparing the acts hunting and writing: "si nos actes sont arrestez et ombrageux, les vostres mouvans et pouldreux : pour ce les nostres ne sont moins turbulens et travaillent moins l'esprit [….] Toutefois en ce que me commandez rentrer es forests, desquels suys sorti, et m'y fourrer bien avant, je crains si perseverez en ce commandement, que n'en puisse autre fois yssir [sortir] hors; tant elles sont rudes, espoisses et couvertes."[171] But encouraged by the king, who assures him of the liberality of hunting, Budé diligently sets back to work and starts afresh his description of the stag hunting rituals.[172] The ingenious implication is that a positive outcome of the king's proposal that Diana and Minerva converse together will ultimately depend on Budé's success at translating the hunt in theoretical terms and simultaneously exploring the applicability of Latin to a practical sphere.

Although the binary opposition between Minerva and Diana departs from the late-medieval mythographic tradition, in which the two are often paired for sharing values and overlapping in function, the respective personifications of intellectual and bodily

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[169] Ibid., 28-29.
[170] As cited in above n. 157.
[171] Ibid., 29.
[172] Ibid., 30-42.

functions recalls medieval hermeneutics: while Minerva embodies 'bookish' knowledge,

Diana is portrayed as "forestiere et montagnarde, fort esloignée des villes et du commerce

des lettres."[173] The contrast of "nostre Diane" with "vostre Minerve" serves to represent

the apparent disconnect between experience and theory, a seeming contradiction that may

be solved through a better comprehension of hunting as an activity where the two come

together. The whole point of Budé's piece is to locate an intermediate ground upon which

to promote classical knowledge, thereby invoking the long-standing topos of the hunt as a

search for knowledge, a theme also at the heart of the *Commentaires de la guerre*

gallique. In a strategic move, where the art of hunting, its ancient roots, and its

relationship to knowledge are placed at the crux of the matter, and the goddess of the

hunt is repeatedly invoked as the ancient authority that ultimately provides the link

between pleasure and knowledge, the king's librarian thus presses for the recovery of

antiquity.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the early-sixteenth-century image of Diana was closely associated

with the king, and possibly connected to a specific historical occurence: the hunting

privileges officially established by François I in 1515, whereby only the king could hunt

the stag. The roots of this decision go back to the long-standing symbolic association

between the stag and the French king, as is visually implied in the culminating miniature

of the second volume of the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique.* [**Fig. 100**] The mutual

connection between the social rituals of the court and its symbolic realm can be observed

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[173] See above n. 157.

in the artistic and architectural enterprises undertaken by François I, whose choices of location were often dictated by his desire for hunting. In turn, these hunting lodges were turned into cultural centers (of which Fontainebleau is a remarkable example), initiating the construction and development of a new aesthetic. Here too, hunting seems to have provided the initial impulse for the recovery of antiquity. Yet these relationships are not a question of cause and effect, but should be understood as a web of accumulated traditions and experiences, where each feeds into the other.

In light of the renovation of classical antiquity that characterized the reign of François I, it would seem only natural that Diana, as the goddess of the hunt, play a major role in this context: although she had previously appeared in mythographic literature, she is first invoked in the context of royal hunting in the sixteenth century. This is the case of both the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique* and Budé's *De Venatione*, where the hunt is presented as a strenuous physical activity that leads to another realm of experience (on a visionary level) which ultimately yields intellectual results. In both instances as well, the forest provides a passageway back in time, while Diana and the hunt provide channels for the revival of classical antiquity, more explicitly so in Budé's *De Venatione*.

Indeed, before the development in the 1530s of the Nymph of Fontainebleau type (herself closely connected to Diana), no other female mythological figure had been so intimately associated with the French king. While legendary heroes such as Paris and Hercules provided didactic models, even alter-egos, for kings and princes, the only mythological woman to interact with the king on such a level was Diana. With the late-fourteenth-century *Échecs amoureux*, Diana's facet as a wise figure who imparts advice to a young man (the 'hunter' type) as he searches for knowledge became deeply

entrenched, providing a source for mythographic commentary in the early-fifteenth-century works of Évrart de Conty and Christine de Pizan. These texts continued to be read in the late-fifteenth-century court, as attested by the *Glose des échecs amoureux* manuscript commissioned by Louise de Savoie as an educational manual for her son, the future François I. Their influence can be gleaned in later works, including the *Commentaires* and Budé's *De Venatione*, where Diana plays a protagonist role, and allegory is used once again as a rhetorical device directed at the king.

Whereas the earliest allegorical representation of a historical figure as Diana may well be that of Marguerite of Angoulême in BN Ms. fr. 2082, the curious astrological manuscript dedicated to Louise de Savoie and her children in 1511, the associations between Diana and intellectual knowledge were established early on in the *Echecs amoureux*, as was her connection to the Judgment of Paris, themes that would be developed and diversified in the sixteenth century through prints and large-scale paintings. In the second part of François I's reign, however, she would abandon her courtly guise, and begin to embody themes concerning aesthetics and artistic creativity, which, as we shall see, were not entirely disconnected to the theme of the Judgment of Paris in its own sixteenth-century evolution.

PART II

Print as Transformation: From Nymph of Fontainebleau to Goddess of the Hunt

Although classical myth and nudity were depicted in late-medieval courtly

manuscripts, it was only during François I's ambitious decoration and expansion of the

royal hunting lodge at Fontainebleau that sensual nudity and mythological allegory

became fundamental pictorial motifs at the French court on a large scale.[1] A pivotal

image that attests to this development is the so-called Nymph of Fontainebleau, a

figurative representation of the founding myth of Fontainebleau, best known through an

engraving attributed to Pierre Milan and René Boyvin (ca. 1545-54).[2] [**Fig. 102**] The

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[1] See André Chastel, "Fontainebleau, formes et symboles," in *Fontainebleau: L'Art en France, 1528-1610* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), 17-32, for a discussion of the Fontainebleau artistic contribution to the development of sixteenth-century French art. In the section "L'érotisme et les eaux," referring to the Fontainebleau *Appartement des bains* (a bath-ensemble *all'antica* where François I kept a significant collection of paintings related to erotic themes and that was located beneath the *Galerie François I*), Chastel notes that "En France, on ne voyait guère de nudités profanes: le nu était aussi peu habituel dans les panneaux ou la peinture murale que les représentations de la Fable. En les conjuguant, Fontainebleau donne un tour nouveau et, en un sens, audacieux à l'art profane" (25).

See Janet Cox-Rearick, The Collection of Francis I. Royal Treasures (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 36-42, for a chronology of the rebuilding of Fontainebleau. Projects to expand the medieval hunting lodge of Fontainebleau are first mentioned in the summer of 1528, shortly after François I returned from the Spanish captivity. For a succinct outline of the painted and sculptural projects undertaken between 1533 and 1547, see 42-62.

[2] For the most recent catalog entries on the engraving, which include a discussion of the sixteenth-century documents that date and attribute the engraving to Milan and Boyvin, see Henri Zerner and David Acton, *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts; University of California, 1994), 301-302, cat. no.72; Eugene A. Carroll, *The Print Images of Rosso Fiorentino* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts at UCLA, 1989), 24-25; Eugene A. Carroll, *Rosso Fiorentino: Drawings, Prints, and Decorative Arts* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1987), no.79. The engraving has also been discussed by Henri Zerner previously, in *Fontainebleau: L'Art en France, 1528-1610* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), vol. 2, 89, cat. no. 423, fig. 55, as well as in *École de Fontainebleau: gravures* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1969),

engraving carries three Latin inscriptions: the one on the right attributes the invention to

Rosso Fiorentino (*Rous. Floren. Inuen.*); the left inscription affirms the printer's

copyright over the plate (*Cum privilegio regis*); the central inscription is a complex

allusion to the engraving that raises art theoretical questions about representation and the

status of print as a new medium. The engraving also reproduces one of the existing stucco

frames of the Galerie François Premier at Fontainebleau, leading scholars to debate

whether the original work was intended as part of the Galerie, decorated between 1533-

40 under Rosso's supervision.[3] [**Fig. 103**] Although the image inside the frame of the

engraving --a nude female facing a hunting dog amidst reeds while she reclines on an

overturned vase that provides a water source-- was never placed in the Galerie, and

scholars have increasingly disputed that it was ever meant for this space, it represents a

type that was reproduced in varying formats and media throughout the 1540s and 1550s.

Indeed, the Nymph of Fontainebleau, in all her variations, became one of the most

depicted mythological figures of the period, and embodies some of the fundamental

notions that shaped the aesthetics of the French Renaissance.

   The terminology used to describe this figurative type as the Nymph of

Fontainebleau is a modern notion. However, in light of the early-modern understanding

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PM 7. The catalog entry of the Ottawa Fontainebleau exhibition will be henceforth referred to as Zerner (1973).

[3] Scholars have placed the Galerie François Premier at the center of the artistic innovations in sixteenth-century France: "the Galerie François Ier […] established the new style that was seminal for the subsequent decoration of the château and for the mid-sixteenth-century School of Fontainebleau" (Cox-Rearick, 43). The construction of the *Galerie* was achieved in 1533; the stuccoes were in place by 1537; the paintings were completed in 1539. The alterations can be traced through the *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi* (1528-1550), which document the payments made to the artists as well as the modifications made in the 1530s. For a summary of the principle iconographic discussions of the Galerie, see Zerner, *Renaissance in France: The Invention of Classicism* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 87-89. The predominant analysis of the Galerie remains Erwin and Dora Panofsky, "The Iconography of the Galerie François Ier at Fontainebleau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1076 (September 1958): 113-177. For a recent, innovative approach to the Galerie in terms of "not only *what* it means but also *how* it means" and centered on the theme of sacrifice that permeates the overall structure of the Galerie, see Zorach's chapter 2, *Blood*, especially 37-77.

of the imagery and the textual sources that describe the mythic origins of Fontainebleau,

it seems appropriate enough, as long as one does not assume the term to be exclusive of

other iconographies. In fact, as will be demonstrated, this figurative type tends to

encompass multiple meanings and visual associations. In a number of the variations, the

Nymph becomes conflated with Diana, an image that came to dominate mythological

representations at the mid-sixteenth-century court. It is the premise of this chapter that the

Nymph of Fontainebleau is a type that marks the starting point of a new tradition, and

that the two figures --Nymph and Diana-- are not only inseparable from one another but

emblematic of the aesthetic transformation that followed François I's decoration of

Fontainebleau, where the theme of the female body as a source of poetic and artistic

inspiration was extensively developed.

I begin with a close reading of the Nymph of Fontainebleau type and of her

transformation into the goddess of the hunt as seen in the variations that resulted from the

advent of printed sources used to disseminate royal imagery. These developments need to

be contextualized within the history of printmaking in Renaissance France, starting with

the etchings produced at Fontainebleau during the early 1540s, and followed by the

commercialization of Fontainebleau imagery through engravings at the main printing

centers in Paris. This chapter also places the Nymph of Fontainebleau within the wider

context of Ovidian poetics in sixteenth-century France by analyzing the development of

illustrated and printed texts of the *Metamorphoses*. As seen through this lens, the Ovidian

pool or source provided a flexible setting for the continuous flowing of one poetic form

into another, where one mythological figure can take on multiple identities and the

female body becomes conflated with the source itself. This very fluidity was transmitted

through prints, a medium capable of producing variations and multiplying the phenomenon of such 'Ovidian aesthetics' on an extended scale.[4]

In tracing these developments, this chapter sheds new light on unanswered questions surrounding Milan and Boyvin's engraving of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, while addressing broader issues such as the role of print in shaping the aesthetic transformation of the French Renaissance, and the significance of Diana in the mid-sixteenth-century court when considered within this larger picture. In particular, it proposes that the engraving of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* should be considered as a work in itself, and not simply as a record of Rosso's unfinished project as has been the predominant focus of previous scholarship. When the three components of the engraving (image, inscriptions, frame) are analyzed in conjunction, this work reveals itself as a complex object that provides a significant insight into the veiled use of sensual, mythological metaphor in Fontainebleau aesthetics, and its dissemination through print.

Itself an image of the origins of Fontainebleau, the engraving is discussed here as a complex work with multiple levels of meaning that have not been previously considered, but that are fundamentally concerned with the *paragone* and other self-reflexive issues of artistic production: myths on the origins of the arts, the identity of François I as *père des lettres et arts*, and the establishment of Fontainebleau as a new artistic center. Finally, as an image that stands in between the reigns of François I [r.1515-47] and Henri II [r.1547-59], the function of the engraving, together with the

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[4] The notion of fluidity --as translated in the ongoing undulations of the relationship between matter and form that characterize the decorative 'excess' of the French Renaissance-- dominates Zorach's above-mentioned book, whose chapters correspond to four liquid forms that embody fundamental aspects of French Renaissance art: blood, milk, ink, gold. In this chapter, I follow Zorach's reading of this fluidity, particularly in the realm of printing, while developing this notion in relationship to the importance of Ovidian metamorphosis for French Renaissance aesthetics.

variations on the Nymph of Fontainebleau theme, should be considered in the context of the continuities between one reign and the next. This leads to a revised understanding of the Diana imagery that inundated the mid-sixteenth-century court, and to the consideration of major yet understudied works that provide a new insight into the meaning of this imagery. Much like the Parisian prints produced after Fontainebleau originals, such works are both derivative of Fontainebleau aesthetics and located in a new context; a case in point, to be studied as the conclusion of this chapter, is the hunting iconography of the Renaissance Louvre that was begun by François I but transformed and finished under Henri II.

II.1 Reconstructing Rosso, Milan, and Boyvin's *Nymph of Fontainebleau*

In a debate that goes back to the nineteenth century and which relies solely on

Milan and Boyvin's engraving as evidence, scholars have disputed the original location

of Rosso's *Nymph*. Based on its iconography, whereby the nymph is understood as a

figurative representation of Fontainebleau, many scholars initially assumed that the work

had been originally intended for the Galerie François Premier. This was compounded by

the inclusion in the engraving of one of the characteristic framing stucco decorations of

the Galerie, the *inquadratura* still in place in the center of the south wall of the Galerie,

leading scholars to conclude that Rosso's invention was originally intended as a painting

for this particular location. According to this theory, Primaticcio's *Danaë*, which is still *in

situ*, was painted in this space instead of Rosso's *Nymph*.[5] The fresco of the *Nymph*

currently located in the center of the north wall in the Galerie is a nineteenth-century

rendition based on the engraving; this nineteenth-century fresco is set in the original

location of Primaticcio's *Jupiter and Semele*, which was painted for the central north

cabinet but destroyed during the reign of Louis XIV.[6] [**Figs. 104-105**]

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[5] See Zerner (1973), 89, cat. no. 423, for a summary of the nineteenth-century theories about the work's original placement; while speculating as to why the *Nymph* was not placed in the Galerie (some even proposing that Primaticcio painted over Rosso's *Nymph*), most scholars assumed the *Nymph* was intended for that space. However, as first noted in Louis Dimier, *Le Primatice: peintre, sculpteur et architecte des rois de France. Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de cet artiste suivi d'un catalogue raisonné de ses dessins et de ses compositions gravées* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1900) 202-204, the inscription in the engraving suggests that the *Nymph* was intended as a relief to decorate the pedestal of a statue elsewhere in the château, a possibility that is discussed further ahead.

Although most recent discussions of the print doubt that the work was intended for the Galerie, Bardon (1963), 22-23; Carroll (1987), no. 79, and Cox-Rearick, 46, still believe the *Nymph* was originally intended for the Galerie but Primaticcio's *Danaë* was put in its place. For Cox-Rearick, "Rosso's Nymph was central to the original program of the Galerie François Ier, for it is a monumental expression of the mythology of Fontainebleau itself" (46).

[6] For the restoration of the Galerie, see Sylvie Béguin et al, *La Galerie François Ier au château de Fontainebleau. Revue de l'Art* 16/17 (1972). See Paola Barocchi, *Il Rosso Fiorentino* (Roma: Gismondi, 1950), 167-169, for a discussion of the *Comptes*.

More recently, scholars have doubted that the *Nymph* was ever intended for the Galerie; in the latest major study on Primaticcio, scholars have affirmed that Primaticcio's *Danaë* was planned as an integral part of the program of the Galerie from the start.[7] Known through an etching by Léon Davent, the *Jupiter and Semele* scene would have been placed opposite the *Danaë* and has been interpreted as a natural companion piece to it, where Jupiter's loves symbolize François I's power.[8] [**Fig. 106**] Furthermore, the framing device surrounding the figure in the engraving does not necessarily mean that the figure was originally meant to go in this setting; for various sixteenth-century prints reproduce the frames of the Galerie around unrelated images, an interesting phenomenon that shall be discussed later.

Although the separation of the Galerie frames and their images in the printed reproductions is certainly true, it does not firmly prove that the *Nymph* was not originally conceived as part of the Galerie, for a significant and little-noted detail of the *Danaë*/*Nymph* frame reopens the question. Bardon seems to be the only scholar to observe that the two painted ovals that imitate fictive reliefs and are placed directly above the image depict Diana and Apollo, two figures which could be related both to a nymph and to Diana, but not so clearly connected to Danaë.[9] [**Figs. 107-108**] Indeed, the *Nymph*

As noted by Cox-Rearick, the projecting *cabinets* placed in the centers of the north and south walls "would have interrupted the spatial flow and effectively divided the gallery into two sets of three bays, making it seem far less of an unrelieved corner than it does today" (46).

[7] See *Primatice, Maître de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 100-101. This is also sustained in Sylvie Béguin, "François Ier, Jupiter et quelques belles bellifontainesi," in *Royaume de fémynie. Pouvoirs, contraintes, espaces de liberté des femmes, de la Renaissance à la Fronde*, eds. K. Wilson-Chevalier and E.Viennot (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 181.

[8] Scholars have differed as to how this display of power should be interpreted; see Béguin (1999), 193-197, for an innovative reading of the *Danaë*, based on the Renaissance interpretation of her figure as a chaste, virtuous exemplum (186); Béguin also convincingly connects the choice of symbolism to contemporary figures, such as Louise de Savoie (194), and events, such as François I's 1530 marriage (197).

[9] As noted by Bardon (1963), "de tels sujets ne s'accordent guère avec celui de Danaë, alors qu'il conviendraient à une nymphe qui est aussi Diane" (21).

of Fontainebleau and the goddess of the hunt are implicitly associated on a number of

levels and the roundels could be linked with both. Bardon confirms how these ovals

complement Diana rather than Danaë, "in reminding us that the nymph of the forest and

the hunt is both Apollo's sister and the infernal goddess of the moon; moreover, in

continuing the traditional theme of the Moon-Diana who leaves her place to the Sun, they

express the continuity of the cosmic order."[10] Although this particular issue may remain

unresolved, the connections between Diana and the Nymph of Fontainebleau should be

further explored. While some scholars believe that the mention of Diana in the inscription

of the engraving cannot refer to the figure inside the frame and that it instead denotes a

separate work, the underlying implications of why and how the *Nymph* would have

served as a complementary figure to a supposed statue of Diana, as mentioned in the

inscription, have not been explored. The question of whether the *Nymph* is conflated with

Diana on a more implicit level has not been taken into consideration either.

Except for the ambiguous inscription in the engraving that declares that the work

was intended for Fontainebleau but left unfinished (a point to be addressed later), there is

no solid evidence to show exactly where and how Rosso's *Nymph of Fontainebleau* was

intended to be seen. As for the engraving, little is known about the circumstances of its

production, and much less is known about its function, a matter that has not been

addressed specifically. Based on the documents published and interpreted by Yves

Metman in 1941, it has been traditionally accepted that the engraving was possibly begun

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[10] See Bardon (1963), 23: "en rappelant que la nymphe de la forêt et de la chasse est aussi la soeur
d'Apollon et une déesse lunaire et infernale; en outre, continuant le thème traditionnel de la Diane-Lune qui
laisse la place au Soleil, ils expriment la continuité de l'ordre cosmique."

before 1545 by Pierre Milan and completed in 1554 by René Boyvin.[11] Milan is known

to have had a successful workshop in Paris, and Boyvin is documented as having worked

in Milan's workshop between 1549 and 1551.[12] The nature of their collaboration has been

recently questioned by Rebecca Zorach, who notes that the documents show that Milan

was financially involved in the enterprise of printing but not necessarily as an engraver:

his ownership of plates and prints attest to his financial involvement but they are not

proof that he was their engraver, a matter that is compounded by the fact that Milan did

not sign any prints, whereas Boyvin did so on numerous occasions.[13] At the same time,

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[11] Yves Metman, "Un Graveur inconnu de l'École de Fontainebleau: Pierre Millan," *Humanisme et Renaissance* I (1941): 202-214. Metman published excerpts from the post-mortem inventory of Claude Bernard, a clerk of court, which included numerous engravings and copper plates that can be traced back to Milan, as well as papers attesting to Bernard's financial interactions with Milan and Boyvin [Archives nationales, Minutier central, XXIII, 33, 3 septembre 1557]. Bernard had loaned Milan money on various occasions, and in 1545, Milan had given Bernard five engraved plates as a guarantee for a loan (Metman, 213, XII). The condition was that if Milan did not pay Bernard within the next three months, Bernard could use and profit from the plates. The plates are described in the 1545 document as: "l'une taillée après les compartimens de Fontainebleau et les quatre autres de diverses histoires poëtiques." Metman concluded that the engravings found in the possession of Bernard upon his death in 1557 were from the plates that Milan had given to Bernard in 1545 (203-204).

   A copy of another notarized document, of 1553, shows that René Boyvin, described as "tailleur et graveur en lames de cuyre," was engaged to "parachever deux grandes lames de cuyvre l'une d'un compartiment après M. Roux et l'autre d'une grande histoire après Jules et ce bien et deument comme il apartiendra suivant le commancement du portraict qui a esté imprimé sur lesdites lames imparfaictes [….]" (Metman, 214, XVI). Metman summarized the document in the following terms: as a *marché* passed between Guillaume Morlaye (who had been engaged in 1547 by François Clouet to collect a debt from Milan) and Boyvin "pour l'achèvement de deux grandes lames de cuivre suivant la tracé qu'elles portent déjà. L'une d'après Jules Romain, l'autre d'après un panneau du Rosso pour la galerie de François Ier à Fontainebleau" (214). The document also confirms that in 1554 Boyvin received the second part of his salary from Bernard. Metman concludes that Milan (who does not figure in documents after 1551) must have been dead by 1554, and that Boyvin was therefore engaged to finish the two copper plates; Metman also concludes that Bernard paid Boyvin because he must have wanted to add these plates to his collection of Milan's work (204). Metman's assessment of Boyvin and Milan's respective roles has been accepted in most later discussions of the print.

[12] The document (dated November 10, 1549) is publised in Catherine Grodecki, *Histoire de l'art au XVIe siècle (1540-1600), vol. 2, Sculpture, peinture, broderie, émail et faïence, orfèvrerie, armures*, *Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris* (Paris: Archives Nationales, 1986), 222-223, no. 869 (XIX, 97).

[13] Zorach, 158, 271 n. 50. Metman (203, 205) assumed that because Boyvin gave the estimates for the engravings in the 1557 inventory, he could not be the engraver of those plates and that these should instead be attributed to Milan. However, as noted by Zorach (271 n. 50), this assumption is based on modern notions about authorship.

   To develop this further, the fact that Milan owned the plates is indicative of his position as the owner of a workshop; as is the case of printers of illustrated books, the printer-investor was the one to own the plates,

Milan is mentioned as "graveur de planches du Roi" since at least 1540, which suggests

that he may have had special access to the royal collections, and that the prints from his

workshop, especially those reproducing works by artists directly engaged by the crown,

might be seen as official records of the king's wishes.[14] However, questions about the

patronage and audience for such prints, as well as the exact nature of the relationship

between the entrepreneur, the engravers, and the artists whose inventions were being

reproduced remain open. Milan and Boyvin published more than two-dozen prints after

Rosso, and in some ways, these remain exceptional in that they consistently print the

artist's name, an indication that such works may have been especially appreciated for

their style and therefore meant for specialized collectors, a point that is corroborated by

the sophisticated Latin inscription that accompanies the image.[15] Even though we may

never know the intended function or location of Rosso's invention, these are matters that

deserve further consideration. Without an existing comparative, systematic study of the

mid-sixteenth-century Parisian production of engravings, a complementary mode of

addressing the function of such works is to begin by a close visual reading of the image

itself and its components.

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not the engraver. As can be seen in the history of early printed books with illustrations, illustrated plates were often reused by printers: one same image can appear in several books, serving very different purposes.
  However, it should be noted that Milan is also called "graveur en lames" or "graveur de lames de cuivre" in several documents published by Grodecki (1986), 222-224.

[14] On the mention of Milan as "graveur en/de planches du Roi," see Catherine Grodecki, "Luca Penni et le milieu parisien: A propos de son inventaire après décès," in *'Il se rendit en Italie': Etudes offertes à André Chastel* (Paris: Flammarion, 1987), 260 n.12; also see Grodecki (1986), 221, Document no. 866 (August 19, 1540); Document no.867 (August 22, 1540). One might speculate that Milan's prints of Fontainebleau works may be seen in connection to the king's authority in the dissemination of the royal collections through prints (as discussed by Zorach, 158). It remains to be seen, however, what "graveur de planches du roi" designates exactly.

[15] For some of Milan's other engravings after Rosso, also bearing the *Cum privilegio Regis*, see *The French Renaissance in Prints...*, cat. nos. 70-73, 75, 80-82. Also see cat. no. 52, on a Davent etching, possibly commissioned by Milan and Boyvin.

Virginity, creativity, and the founding of a new artistic center

In terms of its subject matter, the image of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* has been

accepted as a visualized rendition of Fontainebleau's founding myth, itself a significant

part of the new emphasis on classical mythology and its corporeality.[16] In general terms,

the legendary foundation of Fontainebleau was etymologically posited as the discovery of

a source of pure water, which was represented as a nude female figure in the visual

renditions of the legend.[17] The earliest written reference to the origins of the name

Fontainebleau is found in the sculptor Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography, his *Vita* (1558-

66). Cellini, who was at Fontainebleau under François I's patronage between 1540-1545

and also created a figurative representation of Fontainebleau in 1543, connects the name

of Fontainebleau to a precise source of water within the castle grounds, and signals the

Jardin de Pins as the specific site.[18] Another sixteenth-century reference is Jacques

Androuet Du Cerceau's *Les plus excellents bastiments de France* (1576-79), in which a

specific 'beautiful' source is connected to the name: "En la seconde court, y a source de

fontaine, & se dict que c'est la plus belle eauë de source qui se voye gueres, & que par ce

on l'appelloit belle eauë, maintenant Fontainebleau."[19] A different tradition is recorded in

Père Pierre Dan's luxury guide, *Le trésor des merveilles de la maison royale de*

Fontainebleau (1642), where the cleric recalls the various spellings of Fontainebleau,

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[16] See Sylvie Pressouyre, "Note additionnelle sur la Nymphe de Fontainebleau." *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* (1971), 88-89, on the legend as recalled in the seventeenth century and its visualization in the engraving and in Cellini's bronze version.
  In general terms, the emphasis on the gods' physicality is part of a larger Renaissance phenomenon. For the Renaissance recasting of ancient myths in such terms, see Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).
[17] For a summary of the various accounts on the etymology of Fontainebleau and its founding legend, see Naomi Miller, *French Renaissance Fountains* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 102-104.
[18] Benvenuto Cellini, *La Vita di Benvenuto Cellini*, ed. Orazio Bacci (Firenze: Sansoni, 1924) Book II, XX.
[19] *Le Second Volume des plus excellents Bastiments de France... Par Jacques Androuet, du Cerceau*. A Paris, Chez Gilles Beys, 1579 (Facsimile edition. Paris: Lévy, 1870), n.p.

rejecting the 'modern' connection to "belle eau" and instead pointing to the legend in which a king's hunting dog, named Bleau or Bliau, was lost and later discovered lapping water from a virgin source in the forest; the name Fontainebleau would thus refer to the 'fountain of Bleau.'[20] Dan also claims that the legend was depicted on a grotto above the fountain up to the time of Henri IV.[21]

Both explicative strands posit Fontainebleau's origins in etymological terms. Yet, whereas the earlier texts emphasize the source's physical existence within the castle grounds, Dan's generic narrative of *a* king's discovery (equivalent to the *once upon a time* fable beginning) situates the castle's foundation in circular mythic time, in a manner not unlike Rosso's depiction of the myth. Indeed, Dan's account may be the recollection of an earlier version that was already in circulation during the sixteenth century, albeit in visual terms.[22] In Dan's written description of Fontainebleau's foundation, the emphasis

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[20] Père Pierre Dan, *Le trésor des merveilles de la maison royale de Fontainebleau, contenant la description de son antiquité, de sa fondation, de ses bastimens de ses rares Peintures, Tableaux, Emblemes, & Devises: de ses Jardins, de ses Fontaines, & autres singularitez qui s'y voyent* (A Paris: Chez Sebastian Cramoisy, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, 1642), 8-10, 11-12. "Or la tradition est telle: qu'un de nos Roys chassant un jour en cette forest, il arriva qu'un Chien appellé *Bleau*, ou *Bliau*, s'estant égaré de la chasse, comme l'on le cherchoit, parce que c'estoit un Chien que le Roy aimoit fort, il fut trouvé auprés d'une fontaine au milieu de cette forest, où il se rafraichissoit, lassé du travail de la chasse ; & parce que cette fontaine n'estoit pas alors cognuë, & que ce Chien sembloit en avoir donné la cognoissance, elle fut depuis appellée la Fontaine de *Bleau*" (11). Dan notes that Bleau or Bliau was a generic name given to hunting dogs (10). The major study on Dan's book remains Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier's unpublished thesis, *Le trésor des merveilles de Pierre Dan: une étude critique* (Université de la Sorbonne, Paris IV, 1980). For a discussion of some key elements of the book, see Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, "Considérations sur le Trésor des Merveilles du Père Dan," in *Actes du colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau, Fontainebleau et Paris, 18, 19, 20 octobre 1972*, ed. A. Chastel (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975), 39-44. 1975). See Miller, 115 n. 5, for the suggestion that the grotto mentioned by Dan is probably the *Grotte des Pins* (as it borders the Jardin des Pins).

[21] Dan recalls that before Henri IV's remaking of the fountain, it had the legend frescoed onto a small vault in a grotto over it: "Henry le Grand fist acommoder cette fontaine, qui porte le nom de Fontainebleau, en la façon qu'elle se voit aujourd'huy, il y avoit au dessus une petite voute en forme de grotte, où cette histoire estoit dépeinte à frais" (12).

[22] Dan's account may also be read in the context of a larger political project whose purpose was to legitimize the new Bourbon line by creating historical and mythical connections back to the Valois dynasty. For a discussion of Dan's publication as part of the revived interest in the first school of Fontainebleau during the reign of Louis XIII, and in particular in the context of the Bourbon legitimizing project, see Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, "La postérité de l'École de Fontainebleau dans la gravure du XVIIe siècle," *Nouvelles de l'Estampe* 62 (1982), 5.

placed on the discovery highlights the site's pure and virginal qualities in mythic terms,

in a way that recalls the type of visual strategy encouraged by François I to promote his

new artistic center. Certainly, Rosso's placement of the hunting dogs at the scene, so that

the nymph faces one of the dogs, evokes the origins of Fontainebleau as described by

Dan.

Although none of the texts explicitly allegorize the source as a nymph, Rosso and

other sixteenth-century artists visualized Fontainebleau and its legendary source as a

female figure, in keeping with the classical tradition that associated nymphs with sources.

That Rosso did not show the hunting dog drinking from the source, but in close proximity

and direct eye contact with the reclining female figure, suggests that the source and the

female are conflated into the same entity. Other sixteenth-century renditions of

Fontainebleau's mythological origins in similar terms include Cellini's bronze lunette,

titled the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* (1543); a ceiling decoration of the now-destroyed

Appartement des Bains at Fontainebleau, painted by Primaticcio and his workshop in the

early 1540s; and an anonymous drawing showing *François I Visiting the Nymph of*

Fontainebleau (ca.1540s). [**Figs. 109-111**] While both Cellini's *Nymph* and the three

water nymphs of the Appartement des Bains ceiling, known through a drawing, function

as emblematic images of François I, as shall be discussed later, the drawing of *François I*

Visiting the Nymph of Fontainebleau is the only fully narrative scene. This drawing is

possibly a study made in preparation of a larger project, which shows François and his

courtly entourage being led by two female figures towards the edge of a deep watery

forest, inhabited by nude bathing nymphs who seemingly dissolve into the forest

background.[23] The image clearly refers to the mythical origins of Fontainebleau, for one of the nymphs is visibly identifiable as *the* nymph of Fontainebleau, for she reclines on an overturned vase, while a dog laps its water. Though differently posed and with her profile turned away, she is Rosso's nymph made anew.[24] A castle-like structure looms in the background, and though nothing specifically identifies it as the château of Fontainebleau, it may stand as a general reference for the castle's foundation at a virgin site of mythological origins. In spite of their differences, these works demonstrate that there was a common visual tradition for representing the founding myth of Fontainebleau in gendered terms, by conflating the female body with the source.

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[23] Bardon (1963) noted how the figures seem to dissolve into the very forest: "Étonnante métamorphose dont on saisit les phases: à gauche, des corps personnalisés…et à droite, des arbres dont les branches s'écartent, tels des bras" (27). See Cécile Scailliérez, *François Ier et ses artistes dans les collections du Louvre* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992), 62-63, cat. no.17, on this drawing, signed 'Bologna' on the lower right corner (Louvre Cabinet des Dessins INV. 8577). Scailliérez describes the scene as a depiction of the legendary foundation of Fontainebleau, but disagrees with Laborde (1877, I, 204) and Bardon (1963), 26-29, on its original function, arguing that there are insufficient details in the drawing to corroborate their hypotheses. Bardon, following Laborde, had suggested that the drawing might be connected to a tapestry-like painting recorded in the *Comptes* (1540-1550), made by Badouyn (one of Primaticcio's aids, who had also worked with Luca Penni) for the Pavillon des Poeles. Bardon dated the drawing to ca.1545-46 (based on François's appearance and the courtiers' dress) and proposed that it might recall the type of ephemeral celebration put into place for Charles V's arrival at Fontainebleau in 1540 (described by Père Dan as a troupe of men and women disguised as gods and forest nymphs that greeted Charles V at the forest's entrance). Scailliérez also contests the traditional attribution to Primaticcio as recorded in early inventories; most recently, Dominique Cordellier has qualified the drawing as a copy after Primaticcio, in *Primatice, Maître de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 123 n.30.

[24] See Bardon, 27, for a stylistic analysis of the nymph and its remaking of Rosso's *Nymph*, though Bardon qualifies the remake as its "mol souvenir: nous retrouvons les cuisses longues, le déhanchement, l'allure ondulante des épaules, les seins hauts et ronds, et le bras qui se pose sur l'urne renversée, le drapé: cela sent le schéma qu'on a voulu dégager, reprendre, et que l'on a refait maladroitement." The overall drawing, according to Bardon, exhibits signs of a copyist (another nymph is similar to a figure by Luca Penni), but despite its flaws, sensitively evokes "cette quintessence, l'esthétique de la nymphe" (27). Most significantly, the nymph of the drawing keeps Rosso's profile *all'antica*.

Visualizing the sources of poetic inspiration

Such visual representations of the source in feminine terms are connected to a

long-standing poetic tradition that associated fountains or natural springs with nymphs

and other female embodiments of poetic inspiration.[25] The relationship between

inspiration and the feminine has roots that go back to Antiquity, in which inspirational

figures such as wisdom and the liberal arts were personified as female. The specific

rapport between fountains, female personifications, and poetic inspiration was much

developed in late-medieval French poetry and its manuscript illuminations.[26] Likewise,

this theme was cultivated by Renaissance poets following the Petrarchan model, in which

the unattainable female (a nymph-like figure often hiding in the woods) provides the

poet's major source of inspiration, as exemplified in the poetry of Maurice Scève

(ca.1501-1560) and Pierre de Ronsard (ca.1524-1585).[27] Contemporaneously with the

production of the Nymph of Fontainebleau type, Ronsard was writing his first lyric

poems, in which the poet's intimate connection to nature is underscored and the nymphs

are conflated with the muses.[28] In an early version of his ode to the *Fontaine Bellerie* (a

reference to Horace), for example, the fountain is personified as both goddess and

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[25] For the Renaissance understanding and representation of nature in female terms, as well as for the close connection between this gendered understanding of nature and poetry (also symbolized as female), see Claudia Lazzaro, "Gendered Nature and Its Representation in Sixteenth-Century Garden Sculpture," *Looking at Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. S. Blake McHam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 246-273. In her analysis of sixteenth-century garden sculptures, Lazzaro concludes that the sensuality inherent in such works "represented society's understanding of nature as generative, and its understanding of the generation of water in the earth as analogous to human procreation" (268).

[26] A pictorial tradition that associated fountains with poetic activity existed in late-medieval manuscript illuminations, sometimes showing the poet lying next to the fountain while writing.

[27] For Scève and Ronsard's Petrarchan model, see Sara Sturm-Maddox, *Ronsard, Petrarch, and the 'Amours'* (Pensacola: University Press of Florida, 1999), and Nancy M. Frelick, *Délie as Other: Towards a Poetics of Desire in Scève's Délie* (Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1994).

[28] For Ronsard's emphasis on nature in connection to poetic inspiration, see André Gendre, *L'Esthetique de Ronsard* (Liège: Sedes, 1997), 56; 68; 76-77.

nymph, and the poet pictures himself composing his verses next to the fountain. Ronsard

addresses the fountain as *O Déesse Bellerie, Belle Déesse chérie* […] *Tu es la Nymphe*

éternelle, while equating the nymphs' singing to the sound of his verses.[29] Indeed,

nymphs and muses were clearly associated in sixteenth-century accounts of the affinity

between poetry and nature, and poetic texts often described poets composing next to

fountains as well as drinking from them.[30]

During the Renaissance, nature was conceived in feminine and bodily terms that

were closely aligned to poetry, as discussed by Claudia Lazzaro: "The correspondence

between them [nature and poetry] is conveyed visually in personifications of Poetry, for

which Ripa […] found appropriate the image of bare breasts with milk."[31] Such

visualizations of nature were celebrated at Fontainebleau, where the close association of

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[29] The cited verses (vv.2-3, 8) are from the 1550-53 version, for which see Pierre de Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes*. Édition établie, présentée et annotée par J. Céard, D. Ménager et M. Simonin (Paris: Gallimard, 1993-1994), vol.1, Ode IX (*Second Livre des Odes*), 1520-1. Ronsard composed another ode to the Fontaine Bellerie, for which see vol.1, Ode VIII (*Troisième Livre des Odes*), 755, 1537. In his third version of an Ode to Bellerie, Ode XIII (*Cinquième Livre des Odes*), vol.1, 892-897, the poet employs a Petrarchan strategy in which his beloved presented as Diana bathing in the fountain, and the narrator is transformed into Actaeon (vv. 65-69).

As noted by Miller, 103; 116 n.9, Ronsard also seems to refer to the name of Fontainebleau as deriving from a source of water, in his *Sonnet, A elle-mesme* (*Le Premier Livre des Poemes*), for which see the above-cited edition, vol. 2, 661: *Triste marchiez par les longues allées / Du grand jardin de ce royal Chasteau / Qui prend son nom de la source d'une eau* (vv. 30-32).

Ronsard sometimes merges the natural elements with mythological creatures, as in his Elégie XXIIII (*Les Elégies*), vol. 2, 408-409, 1416-1417. In this work dating to 1584, in which a forest is defended from its destruction, the forest is animated in terms of mythological personifications (in a way that might remind one of the *François I Visiting the Nymph of Fontainebleau* drawing): *Ne vois-tu pas le sang lequel degoute à force / Des nymphes qui vivoyent dessous la dure escorce?* (vv. 21-22).

[30] In *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*, for example, the Venetian writer Vincenzo Cartari "noted that nymphs frequently signify the water of springs and rivers that is good to drink" (Lazzaro, 254, on Cartari's 1571 Venetian edition of *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*, 417). Cartari, 417, also explicitly equates the muses with nymphs: "le muse, le quali furono spesso le medesimo con le ninfe [...]."

[31] Lazzaro, 253.

Although the female personification of inspirational figures is an ancient tradition, the emphasis on their physical bodies is a later phenomenon. In their earliest visual representations, for example, the muses were not presented nude. See Michael Bzdak, *Wisdom and Education in the Middle Ages: Images and Tradition* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 2001), 46-49, on the visual representations of muses in Antiquity and their meaning. Bzdak also addresses the medieval representation of the muses, which tends to emphasize their wisdom and knowledge, and concludes that their visual appearance was rare. Although they retained their identity in literature, they did not play a significant role in Christian teaching (196), which may explain the lack of pictorial examples (unlike other female allegories of knowledge).

nature with poetic and artistic fertility was an overriding theme.[32] Images of female

fertility abounded at Fontainebleau; in addition to the celebrated decorations of the

Galerie François Premier, these included Niccolò Tribolo's sculpture of *Nature*, which

seems to have been especially commissioned to fit François I's taste and was brought

from Italy to Fontainebleau, where it still stands, in 1529.[33] [**Fig. 112**] Originally meant

to hold up a granite vase (no longer extant), the Tribolo statue was a remake of the

ancient Artemis of Ephesus type, whose body is covered in multiple nourishing breasts.[34]

The type was visually exploited on several occasions and iconographically connected to

Cybele, the representation of mother earth, as can be seen in a Primaticcio drawing of a

stucco for the king's room at Fontainebleau (ca. 1532).[35]

Following the notion that a female body provided a fertile site for poetry,

inspirational water sources were also personified as female. While rivers were usually

represented as male river gods, springs were female; examples include Jean Goujon's

nymphs for the *Fontaine des Innocents* (1547-1550), inaugurated for Henri II's triumphal

entry into Paris in 1549, as well as the decorative ceramic cups of spring personifications

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[32] For a discussion of fertility as central to Fontainebleau aesthetics, see Zorach's chapter 3, *Milk*, 83-134.

[33] On François I's acquisition of Tribolo's *Nature*, see Scailliérez, 24; the sculpture was commissioned by Giovanni Battista Della Palla, who acted as go-between the Florentine Republic and the French court, and who acquired a number of Italian works for François I.

[34] On its multivalent associations and the general Renaissance understanding of this image as a figuration of Nature (rather than as Artemis of Ephesus), see Zorach, 97; yet the connection to Diana was made on at least one occasion, by Guillaume du Choul, *Discours de la religion des anciens romains* (Lyon: G. Roville, 1559), as cited by Zorach, 100, 260 n.47. Indeed, an engraving by René Boyvin after Léonard Thiry of a saltcellar showing Cybele (ca. 1550), who was closely associated with Nature, recalls the *Diane of Anet* and *Diane au repos* types (to be discussed ahead), both for the figure's pose and proximity to the stag.

[35] One of his earliest Fontainebleau commissions but no longer extant, Primaticcio's *Cybele* is also known through a print by Jean Mignon, for which see Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, ed., *Fontainebleau et l'estampe en France au XVIe siècle: iconographie et contradictions* (Nemours: Château-Musée de Nemours, 1985), 129, cat. no. 74. For a discussion of such imagery in the context of the iconographic mingling between Cybele, Nature/Artemis, and other female personifications of natural abundance, one that goes back to antiquity, and the Renaissance understanding of them, see Zorach, 90-101. On the use of Cybele imagery as a celebration of the abundance and fertility of the French territory, where France comes to be seen as another figuration of Cybele, see 101-103, 112; for the use of this metaphor in royal imagery, particularly in connection to women from the French court and as used in royal entries, see 103-119.

developed at Avon, a village close to Fontainebleau, which were repeated throughout the later sixteenth century.[36] Another example is Ammanati's *Spring of Parnassus* (ca.1555) for the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, which shows a female representation of the muses' spring, the very source of poetry.[37] Roughly contemporary to the French representations of the Nymph of Fontainebleau, this sculpture exemplifies the sixteenth-century concept that reclining female nudes (often shown with overturned vases) were associated visually with inspirational spring waters. [**Figs. 113-116**]

By visualizing the legend in this form, Rosso was asserting the poetic nature of his invention. Furthermore, by implicitly equating the female body with the source of Fontainebleau's origins, he associated Fontainebleau with abundance and fertility (both in poetic and material terms). This is also true of Cellini's bronze version of the Nymph of Fontainebleau. Possibly inspired by Rosso's composition, Cellini's relief was intended as a celebratory image of the hunting lodge, in which the female body embodies the concept of the pure source and the theme of fertility is overtly exalted. Although distinctions should be made between these two intrinsically related works --in that Rosso's stands for the legendary origins of Fontainebleau, while Cellini's is a generic representation of Fontainebleau itself-- both align themselves with a long-standing poetic

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[36] For the so-called 'gondola' cups produced at Avon, see Ian Wardropper, *The Flowering of the French Renaissance, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* LXII n.1 (Summer 2004), 38. The term 'gondola' is now used to describe this recurring, decorative ceramic motif of a spring personification placed inside a bath. Unlike the earlier examples, the nymphs in these ceramics do not pour the water source but, rather, are placed inside the source. Referring to the Metropolitan exemplar, Wardropper notes how "it is clearly not a vessel but rather a non-functional, decorative, and wryly amusing work" (38).

[37] As discussed by Lazzaro, "rivers were always male and this figure unequivocally represents female water, which is spring water, and the poetry that similarly flows spontaneously and shares in the esence of female" (262). Note that the female figure is reclining on a winged horse (Pegasus, whose kick originated the muses' fountain). See Lazzaro for a comparison between the gendered poses of the *Spring of Parnassus* and the male personification of the *Arno River* (also by Ammanati and both part of the same sculptural group originally commissioned by Cosimo I for the Palazzo Pubblico): while both poses are reminiscent of Michelangelo's *Times of Day*, "the pose of the *Spring of Parnassus* […] is open and languid, with her vase resting suggestively between her legs. The […] Arno instead crosses his legs firmly" (262).

tradition, and memorialize Fontainebleau as a fertile ground for artistic and poetic production, later affirmed by Giorgio Vasari as a New Rome.[38] Although neither Rosso's nor Cellini's figures were verbally described as nymphs at the time, their reclining pose and vicinity to the source point to the classical visual tradition of river gods and to the poetic tradition that represents female divinities as sources of poetry.[39]

Artistic origins and intertextual references in Rosso's *Nymph*

On yet another level, Rosso's iconography reinforces these multivalent meanings and the visual conceptualization of poetic inspiration and production. The nymph's setting amidst reeds suggests a significant intertextual reference; while serving to equate the Fontainebleau forests with the moist woods found in Ovidian poetry, the reeds also point to a specific story in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: that of the nymph Syrinx, an especially faithful follower of Diana, who modeled herself after the goddess (particularly with regard to her chastity) to the point that she was often mistaken for her:

> More than once she had eluded the pursuit of satyrs and all the
> gods who dwell either in the bosky woods or fertile fields. But she
> patterned after the Delian goddess in her pursuits and above all in
> her life of maidenhood. When girt after the manner of Diana, she
> would deceive the beholder, and could be mistaken for Latona's
> daughter, were not her bow of horn, were not Diana's of gold. But
> even so she was mistaken for the goddess.[40]

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[38] For Vasari's discussion of Fontainebleau as a 'New Rome,' see Cox-Rearick, 60.

[39] On Cellini's reclining nymph as "une antique divinité des sources," see Pressouyre, 88, who notes that greco-roman personifications of rivers are often surrounded by animals and plants that live on their shores.

[40] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 51. The original Latin reads: *non semel et satyros eluserat illa sequentes / et quoscumque deos umbrosaque silva feraxque / rus habet. Ortygiam studiis ipsaque colebat / virginitate deam; ritu quoque cincta Dianae / falleret et posset credi Latonia, si non / corneus huic arcus, si non foret aureus illi; / sic quoque fallebat.* (*Met.* I 692-698).

In the Ovidian text, the nymph is initially described by Mercury as he proceeds to tell

Argus, the mythic guardian whose head is covered in eyes, the tale about the origins of

the reed pipe. According to the tale, Pan chases Syrinx until she reaches a stream and

implores her "sisters of the stream to change her form." Just when Pan thinks he has

caught the nymph, he is left with only reeds in his arms and sighs in disappointment. The

air moving in the reeds produces a series of sweet (albeit complaining) sounds that the

god manages to turn into his characteristic instrument; thus "the pipes, made of unequal

reeds fitted together by a joining of wax, took and kept the name of the maiden."[41] The

telling of the story is prefaced by the explicit notion that the story will explain the origins

of the reed pipe; it ends in a similar vein, with the declaration of an *arte nova* that has

captivated the god.[42] Indeed, the tale of Pan and Syrinx provides the aetiology or poetic

explanation of the origins of music and poetry (two sister arts in their common oral

nature), a theme much explored in late-medieval and Renaissance poetry.[43]

Moreover, for anyone familiar with the Syrinx narrative, the tale would evoke the

concept of artistic creativity and its origins in yet another way: for Mercury's story-

telling and pipe-playing was a carefully conceived strategy to distract and lead Argus, the

"star-eyed" guardian of Io, into a deep sleep, an event that would result in the creation of

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[41] For the two preceding translations, see Ovid, 53. In Latin: *se mutarent liquidas orasse sorores* (*Met.* I 704); *ita disparibus calamis conpagine cerae / inter se iunctis nomen tenuisse puellae* (*Met.* I 711-712).
[42] *Arte nova vocisque deum dulcedine captum* (*Met.* I 709), but translated as "Touched by this wonder and charmed by the sweet tones [...]" (Ovid, 53).
[43] For a summary of the neo-platonic interpretations given to the tale, in which the creation of the pipe provides a harmonic balance between the opposing forces represented by Pan, see Elena di Gioia and Fabio Fiorani, "Il mito di Pan e Siringa," in *Giorgione e la cultura veneta tra '400 e '500; mito, allegoria, analisi iconologica* (Roma: De Luca, 1981), 172, 174-175.
On Pan's pipe as a motif to explore metapoetic concerns connecting poetic inspiration and frustrated desire, see Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "Polyphème ou l'antre de la voix dans le *Voir dit* de Guillaume de Machaut," in *L'hostellerie de pensée: études sur l'art littéraire au Moyen Age offerts à Daniel Poirion par ses anciens élèves*, eds. M. Zink and D. Bohler (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1995), 109-111.

a new artistic object.[44] Upon Argus' slumber, Mercury decapitates him and Juno uses his

multiple eyes –described as jewels- in order to create the decorative surface of the

peacock's feathers (*Met*. I 722-723). The tale thus serves a double aetiological function,

both for the origins of music/poetry and the creation of works of art.[45]

In the images of Syrinx, the reeds provide the iconographic clue for her

identification. [**Figs. 117-118**] That the reeds surrounding the nymph in Milan and

Boyvin's engraving may be a visual reference to Syrinx is suggestive, for the *Nymph* also

serves as a form of aetiology in that it visualizes the myth of origins for a new artistic

site, Fontainebleau. Indeed, the allusion to Syrinx highlights the notion that a virgin body

provides the source of inspiration; in both the Syrinx tale and the visualization of the

origins of Fontainebleau, the nymphs' bodies become the sources. Most significantly, the

choice of a specific mythological setting recalls the widespread Ovidian notion in lyric

Renaissance poetry that mythic landscapes lie at the origin of poetry (or music), yet again

equating the mythic founding of Fontainebleau with that of poetic and artistic inspiration.

In both visual and textual terms, the tale of Syrinx shares a similar structure with

that of Apollo and Daphne, another story about a chase after a chaste nymph, which

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[44] For Argus as "stellatus" see *Met*. I v. 664, translated as "star-eyed" in Ovid, 49.
In typical Ovidian fashion, the external narrator takes over and ingeniously introduces the story by telling its narration as that which "remained still to tell" (*Met*. I v.700): for Argus had already fallen asleep before Mercury effectively finished his story. Thus, the narrator shifts from Mercury (who initially describes Syrinx's characteristics) to the external narrator; as such, the story points to a self-conscious interest in the techniques and powers of tale-telling, a pervading theme of the *Metamorphoses*, and one that is aptly tied to the idea of music as narration. Indeed, the visual tradition stemming from the *Ovide moralisé* as well as that of the *Metamorphose figurée* (1557) shows Mercury playing a pipe (a metaphor for telling a tale) as Argus falls asleep (a metaphor for the imagination). This is noted in Daniel Ménager, "La Syrinx et le Pastoureau," in *Clément Marot. "Prince des poëtes françois" 1496-1996. Actes du Colloque international de CAHORS EN QUERCY 21-25 mai 1996*, eds. G. Defaux and M. Simonin (Paris: Champion, 1997), 394: "c'est la syrinx, qui, sur les lèvres de Mercure, a servi (ou va servir) à tuer Argus, fable qui, chez Ovide, englobe la nôtre."
[45] See Paul Barolsky, "Ovid's Web," *Arion, A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* II.2 (Fall 2003): 57, for an interpretation of this myth as an aetiology of artistic production and its representation as a self-conscious portrayal of the creation of works of art in a painting by Rubens.

results in the nymph's transformation into the very materials that provide the origins of

poetry, much celebrated in the Petrarchan tradition.[46] In the Ovidian poetic tradition,

immensely popular in sixteenth-century France, the pastoral woods and their pools are

the natural habitat of nymphs and other mythological creatures. A recurrent image in

these mythological texts is that of the persecuted nymph, in which the nymph

concurrently symbolizes virginity and fertility (albeit a potential type of fertility), and

serves as a type of decoy for the satyrs and gods who desire unattainable beauty. Such

images recur throughout mythological prints in Renaissance France, in which the females

are chased or raped amidst a pastoral landscape surrounded by reclining river gods and

moist lands.[47] [**Figs. 119-122**] Both Syrinx and Daphne were often visualized in these

terms, shown half-transformed, while still running from their persecutors, as in a drawing

attributed to Jean Cousin the younger.[48] In this basic mythological structure, desire

represents the possibility of a creative act; indeed, the persecution of nymphs sometimes

results in a creative achievement (although through a frustrated desire). Two prime

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[46] As noted by Gioia and Fiorani, the myth of Apollo and Daphne was depicted more often than that of Pan and Syrinx, possibly because one could be seen as the other's (inferior) duplicate and the tale of Sryinx was more obscure in its interpretations. Gioia and Fiorani cite Lodovico Dolce's explicit decision to overlook the story of Syrinx due to its similarities with that of Daphne: "la favola di Pan e Siringa tralascio per aver medesima allegoria di Dafne e Apollo" (172).

[47] For examples of this recurrent mythological image in prints, see Wilson-Chevalier, ed., *Fontainebleau et l'estampe en France au XVIe siècle: iconographie et contradictions* (Nemours: Château-Musée de Nemours, 1985), 150-153, cat. nos. 95-98. Common to these images is the nymphs' struggle and the scene's setting amidst moist lands, which stand for a generic representation of the nymphs' typical habitat, but may also be seen as metaphors of the sexual act. A particularly painful image of rape is provided in the Muses' account of the myth of Proserpine, where the nymph Cyane's pool (into which she then dissolves, and which becomes a metaphor for her own self) is violently traversed by Pluto.(*Met*. V 409-437). This scene is visualized in Léon Davent's etching of the *Rape of Proserpine* (perhaps after Jean Cousin the younger), no.98 in Wilson-Chevalier (1985), and L.D.65 in Zerner (1969). Although the reclining nymph on the left of the image has been described as an allegory of the earth, she may also represent Cyane, reclining amidst her pool, which is about to be traversed by Pluto.

[48] For the representation of Syrinx in the Renaissance visual arts, see the above-cited Gioia and Fiorani; for the visual representations of Apollo and Daphne, see Anita Margiotta and Anna Mattirolo, "Il mito di Apollo e Dafne," in *Giorgione e la cultura veneta tra '400 e '500; mito, allegoria, analisi iconologica* (Roma: De Luca, 1981), 161-165. Although Margiotta and Mattirolo focus mostly on Venetian prints, such images made their way to France through Venetian editions of the *Metamorphoses* and were subsequently adapted to French editions.

examples of this mythic relation between matter and inspiration are Daphne and Syrinx,

whose bodies –as they are chased by their would-be suitors- are transformed into the

primary materials that make up a specific art: Daphne becomes the laurel of poets; Syrinx

turns into the reeds of the musicians' pipe.[49] Moreover, the connection between the two

in such terms was inescapable to readers of Ovid, for both form part of Book I of the

Metamorphoses, one specifically concerned with tales of origins.

Book I of the *Metamorphoses* was first translated into French in the 1520s by

Clément Marot, who played an essential role in the development of French Renaissance

poetry and was *valet de chambre* to François I. The translation was first printed in 1534

in an edition dedicated to François I.[50] Marot's verse translation constituted the first

attempt to reproduce the original sense and expression of Ovid's text in print.[51] The

translation had circulated as two illuminated manuscripts in the early 1530s, one of which

was presented to the Duke of Lorraine, while the other probably belonged to François I.[52]

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[49] For the story of Daphne, see *Met*. I 452-567; for Syrinx, see *Met*. I 689-712. Placed in Book 1 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, these stories belong within the larger context of tales of origin or *aetiology* (together with the origin of mankind) and are told by Ovid as tales that relate the origin of poetry and music.

[50] For the 1534 edition, see Richard Cooper, "Marot et Ovide: un nouveau manuscrit à peinture du Premier Livre des *Métamorphoses* traduit par Marot" in *Clément Marot. "Prince des poëtes françois" 1496-1996. Actes du Colloque international de CAHORS EN QUERCY 21-25 mai 1996*, eds. Gérard Defaux and Michel Simonin (Paris: Champion, 1997), 302-303. In Marot's dedication to the king in the 1534 printed edition, the poet notes that he had read some of this translation to François I while at the castle of Amboise; according to Cooper and other scholars, this probably took place in the late 1520s (302-303). The 1534 printed edition can be found at the BN Rés. Ye 1433. For the text of the Syrinx passage, see Marot, *Premier Livre de la Metamorphose, Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Defaux (Dunod-Bordas) II, 447-8.

[51] For the history of the editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in France, see Ann Moss, *Ovid in Renaissance France: A Survey of the Latin Editions of Ovid and Commentaries Printed in France before 1600*. Warburg Institute Surveys VIII (London: The Warburg Institute University of London, 1982). On Marot in particular, and for a discussion of the emergence of unannotated Latin editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the 1530s and their impact on French translations, see Moss, 37-39.

[52] For the manuscript dedicated to the Duke of Lorraine (known through Marot's mention of it in a letter to the Duke), see Cooper, 303-306; its illustrations and text are known through a variant and a later copy of a another variant. Cooper concludes that Marot made at least two illuminated manuscripts of his translation of Book I, one for the Duke of Lorraine and the other (most probably) for the king; the two exemplars would have contained an almost identical text and probably the same miniatures (314).

Although the illuminations of Marot's manuscript translation of the first book of

the *Metamorphoses* were not used for the printed editions of his translation, the images,

particularly those of the Syrinx episode, present significant innovations that seems to

reflect an interest in Ovid's ability to combine diverse sources and, more specifically, a

special interest in the tale of Syrinx.[53] The illustration of the Syrinx passage in a

surviving sixteenth-century manuscript of Marot's translation of Book I (Bodleian

Library Ms. Douce 117 f.39) follows a traditional iconography in its depiction of the

interaction between Mercury and Argus.[54] [**Fig. 123**] As noted by Richard Cooper,

however, the artist of the Bodleian manuscript adds two significant details: the placement

of Juno, at the forefront of the scene, as she turns Argus's eyes into the decoration of her

peacock's tail; and the inclusion of the Pan's persecution of Syrinx, already transformed

into reeds.[55] The innovative condensation of these narrative moments into one image is

significant, for their combination emphasizes the myth's interconnected references to the

aetiology of the arts, a notion that would have been familiar to Marot's circle of readers

at the court.

As has been shown by Daniel Ménager, Ovid's tale of Syrinx held a special place

in Marot's work, for it reappears as a subtext in his pastoral poetry and, more specifically,

in a series of poems from the 1530s which refer to members of the court: the *Eglogue au*

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[53] For an analysis of the twelve large illuminations in the surviving sixteenth-century variant of Marot's translation of Book I of the *Metamorphoses* (Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 117), see Cooper, 307-315. Cooper (314) notes that the illuminations were not engraved for Marot's editions, yet the innovative depiction of the Mercury/Argus/Juno and Pan/Syrinx plots can be found in a 1552 poetic treatise by Barthélemy Aneau and in the combined translations of Books I-III of the *Metamorphoses* by Marot and Aneau, for which see the discussion in the note below.

[54] Ibid., 312-313: The illustration of Mercury and Argus (f.39) is based on a traditional iconography known through a manuscript of Petrarch's *Triumphs* (Paris, Arsenal 5066, f.15); the printed 1484 Bruges edition of the *Ovide moralisé* (f.14v); Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9392); and the printed version of the *Epistre Othea*, known as *Les histoires de Troye* (published 1500).

[55] Ibid., 313.

Roy soubs les noms de Pan & Robin (in which François I takes on the identity of Pan, and

Marot that of Robin); the funerary eclogue composed for Louise de Savoie; and the

Chant pastoral en forme de Ballade.[56] In the *Eglogue au Roy*, the violence that gave way

to the pipe's creation goes unmentioned; instead, the pipe appears as one of the king's

attributes, held in his hand, as its powers are described:

> De sept tuyaulx, faictz selon l'armonye
> Des cieulx, où sont les dieux clers et haulx
> Et denotant les sept Artz liberaulx.[57]

Marot thus follows the neo-platonic tradition that associated the harmony of the pipe with

the seven liberal arts, thus resolving the conflict between Pan's opposing forces of nature

and culture.[58]

In the context of print: new relationships between text and image

Clearly, the tale of Syrinx and its aetiological connotations would have been well

known by members of the French court. Such notions would have circulated more widely

at the time when Marot's work and other translations of the *Metamorphoses* began to be

printed and profusely illustrated, in the later 1540s and into the 1550s.[59] Indeed, the same

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[56] For an analysis of the appearance of Syrinx in these three works, see Ménager, 394-398.

[57] Marot, "Eglogue au Roy..." *Oeuvres poétiques II*, p.3, v.184-186, cited by Ménager, 396.

[58] For the neo-platonic interpretations of the tale, see the aforementioned Gioia and Fiorani.
In his rewriting of the "Eglogue au Roy" as a "Pastoureau chrestien," Marot reinforces a Christian
meaning, influenced by his earlier translation of the *Psaumes*.

[59] For the rise in popularity of unannotated Latin editions in the 1530s (perhaps due to the rise of
dictionaries and reference works) and of vernacular translations following Marot's, see Moss, 38. While the
Latin editions were meant for students, the vernacular editions had a more general destination. It is
interesting that the allegorical tradition persisted in the vernacular editions rather than the Latin, and that
the vernacular editions tended to be illustrated, whereas the Latin editions were not; as discussed by Moss,
"[p]erhaps it was felt that vernacular readers needed preliminary guidance on how to understand the fables,
whereas the more homogeneous public for the Latin editions, well schooled in reading the fables as moral
exempla by their humanist teachers, could be left to cope intelligently with the text of the *Metamorphoses*
plane and unadorned" (38). It would thus seem that the allegorical, vernacular traditions are tied to the
image, for this is also true of the earlier vernacular tradition stemming from the *Ovide moralisé*; whereas

elements of the manuscript illumination of the Syrinx tale (though differently organized)

appeared in a woodcut used in Marot's and Barthélemy Aneau's translations of Books I-

III, published together in 1556, as well as in Aneau's *Picta Poesis* or Imagination

poétique (1552). [**Figs. 124-126**] The woodcut's composition has been interpreted as a

way of showing that the story of Pan and Syrinx

> non si risolve in un momento di voluptas sublimata (corrente
> rappresentazione del satiro che rincorre la ninfa) [...] ma ha risvolti più
> complessi quando ci si sofferma sul significato simbolico dello strumento
> musicale intenso, come armonia dei sette pianeti, principio ordinatore
> dell'universo in relazione all'uso sapiente che ne fa Mercurio per
> addormentare e vincere Argo.[60]

The image also appears in Aneau's *Picta Poesis* as an emblem related to the motto

"Amorum conversio ad studia." In his marginal annotations to Marot's translation of

Book I, Aneau gives the etymological root of Syrinx ("en graec c'est à dire fluste") and

adds that "Les sept tuyaux de la fluste de Pan, sont les sept Cieulz Harmonicques."[61] A

close reading of the image shows a synthetic emphasis is being made on the various

aetiologies in the tale; the image shows Pan and Syrinx in the foreground, while Pan

clutches the pipe in the middle ground. The cow serves as a reminder of Io, and

Mercury's decapitation of Argus appears in the upper middle ground, with Juno's

peacock in the uppermost part of the image.

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the French poem was profusely illustrated, the *Ovidius moralizatus* was not. For the illustration of the vernacular editions in the sixteenth century, see Ghislaine Amielle, "Les Metamorphoses Illustrées en France au XVIe siècle," in *Les traductions françaises des 'Métamorphoses' d'Ovide* (Paris: Jean Touzot, 1989). The connection between the vernacular, allegorical, and illustrated tradition has been noted in passing, but a full study of the implications of this connection should be undertaken.

[60] Gioia and Fiorani, 175. Gioia and Fiorani note the innovative combination of the tales into one image, but do not mention Marot as a possible precedent. Marot translated Book II in 1543, which was published, together with his translation of Book I and Aneau's translation of Book III, in 1556, for which see Clément Marot and Barthélemy Aneau, *Les trois premiers livres de la Métamorphose d'Ovide* (1556), eds. Jean-Claude Moisan and Marie-Claude Malenfant (Paris: Champion, 1997).

[61] Marot and Aneau, *Les trois premiers livres de la Métamorphose d'Ovide*, 81. The etymological root of Syrinx goes back to earlier commentators of the *Metamorphoses*, as for example Raphael Regius, for which see 127, n.184. The annotation on the harmony of the seven planets goes back to Bersuire, as well as Boccaccio and other authors, for which see 127-128, n.185.

It was in the context of the printed editions of Marot's work that the renowned illustrations of the *Metamorphoses* by Bernard Salomon first surfaced. Better known for their appearance in Jean de Tournes's 1557 edition of *La métamorphose d'Ovide figurée* (whose text is attributed to Aneau), Salomon's images were first used in the context of Marot's translation (in Jean de Tournes's 1549 edition of the *Oeuvres of Clément Marot*), and extensively borrowed throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.[62] [**Figs. 127-128**] Knowledge of such images and their uses would have been easily accessible to a Parisian workshop as that of Milan and Boyvin.

Most interestingly, the pages of such illustrated books of the 1550s, which include the *Metamorphose figurée* as well as other printed Ovidian works of the late 1540s (such as Maurice Scève's *Délie*), share a similar format with Milan and Boyvin's engraving.[63] Much like the engraving of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, these editions combine text and image on a number of levels: each page of the *Metamorphose figurée*, for example, consists of a title for each episode, an image by Salomon, an eight-line verse attributed to Barthélémy d'Aneau, and a profusely decorated frame, much like that of the engraving and other Fontainebleau prints and the frames of the Galerie François Premier. The *Metamorphose figurée* is the first publication of the *Metamorphoses* where the text is structured around the images --unlike earlier editions, where the images often served as

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[62] It was in Jean De Tournes's 1549 edition of the *Oeuvres of Clément Marot* (which included his translation of Book I of the *Metamorphoses*) where twenty one of Bernard Salomon's images initially appeared. Salomon's images were first copied in Marnef and Cavellat's 1566 Paris edition of the *Metamorphose figurée* and later reused in the first fully-illustrated Latin edition (published in 1575 by Marnef and Cavellat). For the sharing of images between these editions, see M.D.Henkel, "Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen im XV., XVI. Und XVII. Jahrhundert," *Vortrage der Bibliothek Warburg* VI (1926-7), 77-82.

[63] On the illustrations of the *Metamorphose figurée*, see Amielle, 83. As far as I have been able to establish, the connection to Boyvin and Milan's print has not been made.

visual markers of the beginning of a new book or section. [64] As indicated by its title, the

focus of this publication was to provide a figurative version of the *Metamorphoses*, and

the vernacular French texts accompanying the pictures are short passages that describe

each metamorphosis and give a somewhat moral sense to it, thus resulting in an early

type of emblem books.[65]

Indeed, this format is typical of other mythological texts printed in the 1540s and

1550s, which, in addition to the 1544 printing of the *Délie*, includes a 1546 *Songe de

Poliphile*, and may be characterized as emblem-like in their particular association

between text and image. This new approach to the relationship between text and image

was not lost on the writers of poetic treatises of the 1550s. In his *Imagination Poétique*,

Aneau (the translator of Book III of the *Metamorphoses* published by Jean De Tournes in

1556 and the probable author of the texts of *La métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*) considers

such engravings as metaphoric modes of expression, with a wide range of possible

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[64] That Salomon's images were used over and over in different contexts points to their flexibility and
capacity to provide a book with a visual structure. On the use of Salomon's imagery, see the most recent,
comprehensive study by Peter Sharratt, *Bernard Salomon. Illustrateur lyonnais* (Genève: Droz, 2005). In
iconographic terms, Salomon's images are the removed descendants of the 1497 *Metamorfoseos vulgare*
and the 1493 *Bible des Poètes*. They are directly linked to the 1532 and 1534 editions of the *Grand Olympe*
(the direct descendant of the *Bible des Poètes*, without the allegories), which combined imagery from both
the *Bible des Poètes* and the *Metamorfoseos vulgare*. Visually, however, Salomon's images are quite
distanced from the style of these earlier editions. That twenty one of Salomon's images were first
conceived for the 1549 publication of Marot's works is interesting because in expression, the images seem
to parallel the intentions of Marot, whose aim was to provide an 'accurate translation' of the original sense
of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Salomon's images contribute something not found in earlier visualizations: they
are literally filled with 'movement', which may very well be translated as 'moving'. To move or *muovere*,
to engage the viewer's emotions, was an essential aspect of rhetorics in general; specifically, it became an
essential part of the general pictorial development of the High Renaissance. Yet, while Salomon's images
share the 'rhetorical style' of some sixteenth-century editions and large-scale paintings, their iconographic
choices look back to the allegorical tradition.
[65] Such editions might be characterized as emblem-like in their particular association between text and
image: "Sortes de pictogrammes, les gravures de Pierre Vase racontent les Métamorphoses en marge de la
traduction. Appels culturels, elles étayent la pensée de l'emblématiste" (Amielle, 83). As acknowledged by
Amielle, Bodo Guthmüller was the first to underline the similarity between the *Metamorphose figurée* and
emblem books.

readings.[66] Peletier du Mans's *L'art poëtique* of 1555 also exemplifies similar attitudes

towards multiple levels of reading and provides an insight into the new conception of the

relation between text and image. In his discussion of how to rearrange past originals into

a new work while producing a multiplicity of meanings, Ovid's creation of an inter-

connected structure out of miscellaneous stories provides the model: "quand lui [Ovid]

voyant que la matiere e la principale invancion n'etoet point siennes: il a invanté la

maniere de lier tant de diverses Fables ansamble, e de donner a toutes leur place si

propre, qu'il samble que ce soet une narracion perpetuele."[67]

Along with these thoughts on the art of connecting distinct narratives, the

increasing demand for illustrated books allowed for the sharing of images in distinct

books.[68] This was characteristic of French Renaissance art, in which multiple entities

might coexist in a single image.[69] Thus, it would be reasonable to think that the Nymph

of Fontainebleau, itself a personification of the origins of a center of artistic production,

could evoke other mythic figures, be it Diana or Syrinx, a nymph that, as we have seen,

resembled Diana to the point that she could be mistaken for her (*Met*. I 696-698), and

whose story is also directly correlated to artistic creation. These associations were

probably established before Rosso's invention was printed, through Marot's Ovidian

poems and translations, available to the courtly circles of the 1530s. Such connections

would have continued and become even more flexible once they entered a more general

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[66] Amielle, 83.

[67] Cited by Moss, 39. For the 'rhetorical' editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the role given to *dispositio* by French writers for theory and practice of imitation (which used the *Metamorphoses* as their primary model and teaching tool), see Moss, 39: "French writers gave 'dispositio' an important role both in theory and practice of imitation, for it was by the way he arranged and put them together that the poet could give a personal bias to themes taken from literary tradition."

[68] See the aforementioned discussion about the sharing of images in Henkel, 77-82; Amielle, 81.

[69] On the purposeful ambiguities and co-existing meanings of the imagery of the Galerie François I, for example, see Zorach's discussion in chapter 2, *Blood*.

domain, after the printing of illustrated mythological texts augmented in the 1540s and

1550s.

Milan and Boyvin's *Nymph* as a paradigm of the *paragone*

A close look at the central inscription of Milan and Boyvin's engraving reinforces

the connection of the engraving to notions of artistic creativity, as it reveals an explicit

interest in self-reflexive artistic concerns, while further complicating our initial analysis

of the work:

> Ô Phidias, Ô Apelles, Quidquámne' ornatius vestris temporibus
> excogitari potuit, ea sculptura, cuius hic picturam cernitis, Quam
> Franciscus primus, Francorum Rex potentiss bonarum artium ac
> literarum pater, sub Dianae', á venatu conquiescentis, atque urnam
> Fontisbellaquae effundentis statua, Domi suae inchoatam reliquit.[70]

While scholars have debated over the translation of the ambiguous passage, they have

taken it at face value and focused on it as evidence for the original placement of the

object. Instead, its more theoretical implications have not been considered or analyzed.

For what makes this rather curious and unique inscription so remarkable is not only that it

calls into question the original placement and function of the work, but mostly that --with

its *apostrophe* to Phidias and Apelles-- it exemplifies a noteworthy and previously

unmentioned case of the *paragone*.[71] A careful consideration of the inscription together

with the other components of the engraving in this light exposes a fresh dimension of the

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[70] I have transcribed the inscription as it appears in the engraving. The inscription is translated in Charles Sterling, *A Catalogue of French Paintings, XV-XVIII Centuries. The Metropolitan Musem of Art* (Cambridge: Published for the Museum by Harvard University Press, 1955), 51, as: "O Phidias, O Apelles, could anything more excellent have been devised in your times than that sculpture, of which you see here a picture, which Francis the First, King of the Franks, the most mighty father of fine arts and literature, left unfinished in his home, surrounding a figure of Diana resting from the chase and emptying the urn of the Fountain of Beautiful Water." In *Fontainebleau: L'Art en France, 1528-1610* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), vol. 2, 89, the inscription has been translated into French as: "O Phidias, O Apelle, a-t-on pu imaginer de votre temps rien de plus beau que cette sculpture, dont on voit ici la representation, et que Francois I, très puissant roi des Français, père des lettres et des arts, a laissé inachevée dans son palais sous la statue de Diane se reposant de la chasse et versant l'urne de Fontainebleau." Note the subtle distinctions in these two translations: while the English translation employs 'surrounding' to translate *sub*, the French version translates it to mean 'beneath'; the English employs 'figure' rather than 'statue' to describe the Diana mentioned in the inscription.

[71] As far as I have been able to establish, the inscription has not been discussed in connection to the *paragone* of the arts.

work, while providing a new context for better understanding the consumption of

Fontainebleau prints in mid-sixteenth-century France.

The ambiguous phrasing of the inscription has led to some debate over its exact

meaning and translation, but a systematic examination of the problem has not been

attempted. As has been noted, the term *sculptura* refers to a sculpted object rather than to

a painting, while the term *statua* suggests a sculpture in the round.[72] To some scholars,

this suggests that the Nymph figure was originally conceived as a sculptural relief

(*sculptura*), to be placed under (*sub*) a sculpture in the round of Diana (*statua*), but that it

was left unfinished by François I in his home (i.e. Fontainebleau).[73] The term *sub*, which

may be literally translated as "under" but also taken to mean "close to" or "around," has

generated some discrepancy, leading a few scholars to explore the possibility that

sculptura refers to the frame rather than to the figure inside of it.[74] If this were indeed the

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[72] On the meaning of *statua* in classical Latin as a sculpture in the round, see Webster Smith, "Definitions of statua," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968), 263. However, the term was used in varying ways throughout the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, for which see Smith, 263-266. Renaissance art theory seems to have made the distinction between *statua* and *sculptura*, as shown by Susan Vick, *'Pictura' and the Concept of the Cognate Arts in Florence* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 2001); whereas *statua* was specifically used for free-standing sculpture, *sculptura* was more encompassing and could serve to describe reliefs and/or sculpture in general. See Vick (58-59, 68-70), for a discussion of the terminology in Alberti's writings; see Vick (83-85), on Ghiberti's more ambiguous use of similar terms, which may depend on the medium and context in which they are used, yet *statua* generally refers to free-standing sculpture of any medium. However, Smith (265-266) argues that Ghiberti's use of *statua* is in part a judgment of value, used to praise an ideal object.

[73] The sculptural reference was first remarked by Dimier (302-304), who suggested the Nymph figure may have been intended as relief meant to decorate the pedestal of a statue; also see Zerner in *Fontainebleau: L'Art en France, 1528-1610* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), vol. 2, 89, who notes that the inscription has not been sufficiently considered. Cox-Rearick, who thinks the Nymph was intended for the Galerie, only notes that the inscription "suggests that a sculptural personification of Fontainebleau, not a painted one, was planned for this space" (46).

[74] According to L. Denis Peterkin's analysis (letter dated January 7, 1943 in the Metropolitan Museum file of a painted copy of the print, Department of European Paintings, Accession no. 42.150.12), "Pictura can mean 'picture' and does here. Sculptura means 'sculpture' or 'carving in relief' and […] here refers to the carving around the medallion and should mean that the carving was left unfinished." Later in his letter, Peterkin notes that there should be a comma after Dianae, "so that sub governs statua, on which Dianae depends, the two participles then qualifying Dianae. Sub literally means 'under' but is also used loosely for 'in the neighborhood of,' 'close to,' so the passage would read 'than that sculpture…which Francis left unfinished beneath the figure of Diana resting…and pouring out of the urn of… For 'beneath' I think it would be permissible to say 'around' or 'beside'." (Peterkin is referring to the capitalized inscription of the

case, this would not only mean that the principal work being exalted (the *sculptura* or relief) is the frame and not the central figure, but it would also explain the apparent duplication of the figures' poses. For, in the inscription, Diana is described as "resting from the hunt and emptying the urn of Fontainebleau," exactly duplicating the visible pose of the Nymph inside the medallion.[75] Reading the inscription as a description of a relief of the Nymph placed under such a statue of Diana would mean that the two figures were virtually identical in subject and form. This duplication, however, seems improbable. The matter is resolved if one understands the *sculptura* or relief to mean the frame, and the Diana *statua* to refer to the figure inside the frame.

Although some scholars have resisted the idea that the inscription is describing the figure inside the frame as Diana, "not only because the image does not in fact represent Diana but also because the phrase is ungrammatical," this reading is based on the assumption that the principal work exalted in the inscription is the figure inside the medallion, and not the frame.[76] Neither does it consider the close links between Diana and the Nymph of Fontainebleau as traced in this dissertation, which suggest that the producers of the engraving may well have understood the figure in such terms. While it is true that "*statua* would normally apply to sculpture in the round and not to a relief," the possibility that the principal work being exalted is *the frame surrounding an image of Diana resting from the hunt and pouring the urn of Fontainebleau* should be

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painting at the Metropolitan Museum, which has no punctuation; the inscription in the engraving, however, does have the comma mentioned by Peterkin.) This interpretation of *sub* is used in Sterling's above-cited translation.

[75] I have wondered whether the participles *conquiescentis* and *effundentis* might be meant to refer to the *sculptura*, but the word *statua* would then be unnecessary and the phrase "resting from the hunt and pouring the urn" definitely seems to refer to "the statue of Diana."

[76] Noted by Zerner and Acton, *The French Renaissance in Prints...*, 302, cat. no. 72.

considered.[77] The use of *sculptura* and *statua* in the same phrase suggests that a distinction is indeed being made between the two --the question is why and how does *statua* fit into the visual component of the engraving. Although *statua* had a restricted definition in classical Latin, meaning "a finished, full-length, freestanding human figure in the round, life size or over," the term was used in varying ways throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.[78] The Latin term *statua* was translated as *ymage* in French fourteenth-century dictionaries, meaning a representation in general.[79] There is also evidence that *statua* was used in medieval texts to describe two-dimensional representations, and the terms *statua*, *imago*, and *figura* seem to have been used interchangeably for painted and sculpted works.[80] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, *statua* was sometimes transposable with *figura*, and seems to have been a value judgment, used to praise an object and compare it to an ideal.[81] In the context of the engraving, *statua* may then refer to a representation of Diana in general terms. It may also be that the word *statua* was used here to distinguish the object from both *sculptura* and *pictura*, as an expression meant to enhance differences between media, a topic to which I shall return.

The immediate assumption that the mention of Rosso's *inventio* alludes to the figure inside the medallion (rather than to its 'decorative' surroundings) stems from a

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[77] The phrase in italics represents my synthesis of the intended meaning of the inscription, but see Zerner and Acton, *The French Renaissance in Prints…,* 302, cat. no. 72, on the objection of the use of *statua* to describe the figure inside the frame.

[78] For the classical Latin definition of *statua*, see Smith, 263.

[79] Smith, 263. The translation of statua as ymage appears in two early-to-mid-fourteenth-century lexicons (BN Lat. 7692 and Vatican Lat. 2748), published in Mario Roques, *Recueil général des lexiques français du moyen âge,* XII-XV siècle. (Paris: Champion, 1936), 219, 483. In the BN Lat.7692, "statuarium" is translated as "ymagerie" (Roques, 484).

[80] Smith, 263-264. Examples include the use of *statua* to describe relief decorations, effigies, and even an image of a god painted on a banner (in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*).

[81] Ibid., 266, as used by Filarete and Vasari.

modern sensibility. However, based on the well-known Renaissance appreciation of the framing elements of the Galerie François Premier --often reproduced in other prints as well-- the notion that the inscription could be celebrating Rosso's *inventio* of the frames is quite plausible.[82] Indeed, the innovative stucco ornamentation implemented for the Galerie François Premier was amongst the most influential and celebrated artistic inventions produced at Fontainebleau; the Galerie is characterized for its multi-media approach, "in which paintings are contrasted with frames in high and low relief, the latter containing a ceaselessly inventive repertory of monumental caryatid figures, decorative motifs, putti, garlands, cartouches with subsidiary low-relief scenes, and royal emblems."[83] The documents used to attribute this engraving to Milan and Boyvin repeatedly describe the subject of the engraving and the plate as a "compartiment"; one of the documents specifies an engraving "d'un compartiment après M. Roux," while another discusses a plate "après les compartimens de Fontainebleau."[84] This is not to say that the figure should not be attributed to Rosso as well, for its visual conventions and style point to Rosso. The figure's pose is very close to another of Rosso's celebrated French works, the *Dead Christ* (Louvre) originally made for Anne de Montmorency: both for the extreme twist of the upper torso and for the distinctive position of the feet, where the left leg is tucked beneath the right leg (furthest from the viewer) that projects towards the

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[82] The understanding of 'decoration' not just as a 'carrier' of meaning but as meaning itself is perhaps the major underlying thesis of Zorach's book; on the framing elements of the Galerie François Premier and their difussion through prints, see in particular 146-151; see 152-158 on the philosophical problems posed by this Renaissance imagery, which defies our modern expectations on the relationship between matter and form, and of frames as 'containers' of pictures.

[83] As described by Cox-Rearick, 44.

[84] The "compartiment" is mentioned four times in the documents published by Metman. In the papers documenting Bernard's financial agreement with Milan in 1545, a plate "taillée après les compartimens de Fontainebleau" (Metman, 213, XII) is mentioned, and in the 1553 agreement with Boyvin, Boyvin promises to finish a copper plate "d'un compartiment après M. Roux" (Metman, 214, XVI). In Bernard's post-mortem inventory of 1557, 880 "feuilles de compartiment prisé" are recorded, as is a "planche ou lame de cuyvre taillée et gravée au buryn a compartiment, garnye de son estuy de bois" (Metman, 211).

viewer's space.[85] [**Fig. 129**] However, a consideration of the 'compartiment' as the main

recorded invention in the engraving does suggest that the ornamental framework was

considered just as important, if not more, than the image inside the frame.

As previously noted, it is now well known that various of the Galerie frames were

reproduced in print with images different from the originals. This phenomenon may be

partially explained in practical terms, as Fontainebleau prints appear to be made from the

design projects that presented the various parts of a composition separately, and not after

the finished works.[86] Since the frescoes were only painted in after the stuccoes were

finished, the designs were probably made separately, and as a result, provided a rich

source of visual motifs. This is the case of the *Danaë/Nymph* frame, which must have

been particularly renowned, for it was reused in several printed images, including

frontispieces of books. It first appeared around a landscape in an etching by Antonio

Fantuzzi (ca.1543-45), one of the printers officially recorded at Fontainebleau, and much

later as part of 'a frame within a frame' engraving by Du Cerceau (ca.1575-1600). The

caryatids also served to frame the frontispieces of two Lyonnais editions of 1544, which

show that the image was already in public circulation at this time: for *Roland le Furieux*,

the first French edition of *Orlando Furioso*, and for Claude de Sayseel's translation of

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[85] This idiosyncratic pose is noted in Cécile Scailliérez, *Rosso: Le Christ mort* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 60. These particularities also appear in Rosso's Volterra *Pietà* and more slightly, in the Boston *Dead Christ with Angels*.

[86] First formulated by Zerner (1969); see most recently Zerner (2000), 133-134. See for example Antonio Fantuzzi's placement of a landscape inside the *Frame for 'Ignorance Defeated*,' in *The French Renaissance in Prints…*, 239-241, cat. no. 40. Comparison to the current frame shows that when Fantuzzi reproduced it in print (with the date 1543 on it), the designs for the frames were still being executed, for the print shows different details from those in the final frame; thus, such prints were made after the designs, not the finished product. Fantuzzi made at least five other etchings that are closely related to Rosso's frames, as well as six separate etchings of the principal images placed inside the Galerie frames.

Appian Alexandrin, Historien Frec, Des Guerres des Rommains.[87] **[Figs. 130-131]** As

observed by Henri Zerner, Milan and Boyvin's engraving, however, is unusual in its

combination of a Galerie frame with a Fontainebleau image, for these were usually kept

separate in the prints that were created after the designs of the Galerie; as seen in the

above examples, when recombined with images, the frames were mostly used to frame

landscapes, decorative motifs, and other themes that were unrelated to the Galerie or to

the figurative, mythological representations created at Fontainebleau.[88] In many respects,

Milan and Boyvin's engraving remains unique, particularly for its more-or-less explicit

celebration of Fontainebleau as a center of artistic invention, and for its self-conscious

presentation of questions about visual representation and the nature of printed media.

Indeed, Milan and Boyvin's engraving is one of the only Renaissance works to

refer to the *paragone* so explicitly. As we shall see, it does so on multiple levels: through

the inscription, with its *apostrophe* to the sculptor Phidias and the painter Apelles and its

highlighting of different media, as well as through the combination of this particular

frame with the Nymph figure, which may also be read as a visual invocation, albeit in a

more veiled manner, of the *paragone*. Although not termed in this way (the *paragone* is a

nineteenth-century designation), this art theoretical debate on painting and sculpture

would have been well known in the sixteenth-century French court. In fact, it could have

been accessible through the most direct sources: initially through Leonardo, who stayed

in France under the patronage of François I, and was the first to lay out the basis for the

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[87] On the circulation and function of these 'detached frames,' see Zorach, 144-158. On the appearance of
the *Danaë/Nymph* frame in the above-mentioned instances, see 145-147. For Fantuzzi's reuse of the frame,
and its use in the frontispiece of the first French edition of *Orlando furioso*, the *Roland Furieux* (Lyon:
Sulpice Sabon,1544), see Wilson-Chevalier (1985), 132-134, cat. no. 79. On Claude de Sayseel's
translation of *Appian Alexandrin, Historien Frec, Des Guerres des Rommains* (Lyon: A. Constantin, 1544),
see Wilson-Chevalier (1985), 134.
[88] See Zerner and Acton, *The French Renaissance in Prints…*, 301-302, cat. no.72.

debate.[89] And the debate would certainly have been known through Baldassare

Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*, regarded as the earliest written evidence of

Leonardo's ideas.[90] Castiglione's book appeared in French as early as 1537, preceding all

other translations by a number of years.[91] It included a retrospective flattery of François I,

presented in Giuliano de' Medici's words as a young prince who is to become the future

father of letters.[92] Considering these circumstances, it is surprising that, while the

paragone has been explored in literary studies of the French Renaissance, it has not been

sufficiently considered in studies of French Renaissance art.[93] Yet, it may have been

central to the combination of materials and references to other media that characterizes

the decoration of the Galerie François Premier, which has been described in the following

terms:

> A hallmark of the style of the frames was strap work, in which the
> stucco is shaped to resemble rolled and cut pieces of leather. As
> has often been observed, the general plan of the gallery's seven
> bays and its scheme of contrasting frescoes and sculpture was
> evolved out of Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling, with its bays
> containing frescoes surrounded by *finto* sculptured nudes; Rosso's
> frames also contain numerous quotations from Michelangelo.[94]

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[89] It has been suggested (first by Carlo Pedretti) that Cellini may have owned a manuscript of Leonardo's writings that would have been prepared in France for Francesco Melzi, for which see Claire J. Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone. A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the Codex Urbinas* (New York: Brill, 1992), 18.

[90] On Castiglione as the possible source for the dissemination of Leonardo's ideas, see Farago, 17-18.

[91] Published in French *Les quatre livres du Courtisan du Conte Baltazar de Castillon, réduyct de langue Ytalicque en Françoys* (Lyon: Denys de Harsy, 1537). *Il libro del cortegiano* was translated into Spanish (1540), German (1560), and English (1561); while its influence has been recognized in all the above instances, a careful study of its reception at the French Renaissance court has yet to be completed.
In the French version, the printer has added a salutation to François I, where he asserts his privilege while describing the book as the result of "la requeste de plusieurs gens notables," designated "pour donner consolation & passetemps aux gens nobles dhonneur & de bien de nostre Royaulme." [The salutation (n.p.) is located immediately after the first frontispiece.]

[92] As noted by Zorach, by the time of Castiglione's publication in 1528, Rome had been sacked, François had been defeated in Italy, and the building of Fontainebleau had begun: "the hopes of Italian humanists and artists of finding a new Rome at Fontainebleau are a faint glimmer in Giuliano's words" (34).

[93] See for example Roberto Campo, *Ronsard's Contentious Sisters. The Paragone between Poetry and Painting in the Works of Pierre de Ronsard* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literature, U.N.C. Department of Romance Languages, 1998).

[94] Cox-Rearick, 44-45.

It has also been noted that "Rosso's leather like ornamental strap work, visible in various views of the gallery's stuccoes, suggests the curling edges of vellum [….] The structure of [Rosso's] large narrative panels with framing images suggests the primary text and marginal commentary (gloss) common in both manuscripts and printed books of the period."[95]

These observations further strengthen the hypothesis that the *paragone* was consciously invoked in this decorative system, which calls into question the relationship between media, while quoting and simultaneously transforming the paradigmatic point of artistic reference that was Michelangelo. While scholars have discussed its unique decorative style as a result of the combination of Rosso's Italian heritage and his encounter with Northern influences,[96] it might also be the consequence of notions already in place at the French Renaissance court. Ideas about the *paragone* could have been circulating at the French court as part of Leonardo's legacy, and may have played an important role in the unique decorative style of the Galerie.

Close observation of the figure in Milan and Boyvin's engraving reveals a meaningful anatomic choice that may also be read in terms of the *paragone*: while the nymph's torso is frontally shown, the rest of her body is in clear profile to the viewer. This purposeful twist recalls a typical strategy of two-dimensional works concerned with the *paragone* of the arts: in playing with a figure's position so as to show diverse viewing

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[95] Zorach, 40-42.

[96] See Zorach, who, following David Franklin's point (*Rosso in Italy: The Italian Career of Rosso Fiorentino*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, 265) that while "the stucco framing system of the gallery is the most influential element of Rosso's French production (outside of France), it has the least precedent in his Italian production" (as summarized by Zorach, 37), proposes that Rosso's "French and Flemish collaborators may have had a particularly strong inlfuence on the frames" (Zorach, 37).

points, artists could invoke the possibilities of three-dimensional sculpture.[97] In addition, the nymph's strict profile evokes a relief *all'antica*, while her body's frontal position reinforces the viewer's visual appropriation of her body (while she looks away), once again emphasizing the theme of the body as source. Her position recalls a number of Michelangelo's works, in particular his *Leda*, a painting acquired by François I in 1532.[98] [**Fig. 132**] Itself a reference to his sculptural work, Michelangelo's *Leda* is known through several copies, one of which is attributed to Rosso, and is deemed equally influential for Primaticcio's *Danaë*.[99] As an image about artistic creation, whereby a divine (male) force impregnates (female) matter and gives shape to new life, Leda was a major point of comparison amongst sixteenth-century artists.[100] Indeed, in its

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[97] This visual strategy was amply discussed in Professor Rona Goffen's graduate seminar on the *Paragone* (Rutgers University, Fall 2000). For the most recent and comprehensive study of artistic competition and rivalry in sixteenth-century Italy, see Rona Goffen, *Renaissance Rivals* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).

[98] Bardon notes the similarity of the *Nymph* to Michelangelo's *Leda*, known through Rosso's copy (although she does not discuss this connection in the context of the *paragone*): "le mouvement des deux bras qui fait saillir le buste est le même, ainsi que le dessin de la main droite au-dessus du genou gauche; la tête du chien qui s'allonge vers le sein de la nymphe transpose le bec de l'oiseau divin; quant à l'urne couchée sur le flanc, elle rappelle l'oeuf omis par le Rosso, mais présent chez MichelAnge" (20-21).

[99] See Cox-Rearick, 237-241. See Goffen (295-296; 454 n.86) on the presence of Michelangelo's works in France. Michelangelo's *Leda* entered the royal collection in 1532, after Antonio Mini had marketed various copies. One copy (National Gallery, London) and a related cartoon (Royal Academy) are attributed to Rosso (Goffen, 315; 457 n.133). Michelangelo's *Leda* is almost identical to his *Night* sculpture of 1532 (for the Medici Chapel), both of which "derive from the same classical prototype, depictions of Leda and the Swan on Roman sarcophagi, a repetition of form relevant to meaning" (Goffen, 309). As noted by Goffen, *Night* "may serve as proxy for the lost painting, representing the figure of Leda herself (if not the painting's composition) as well or better than copies in various media, including the 'reversed' engraving by Cornelis Bos" (309). For the numerous copies after the *Leda*, see Goffen, 457-458 n.133. The twist of the body is clearly visible in *Night*, but not in Cornelis Bos's engraving. Other compositions by Michelangelo that evidence this type of twist include his *Venus and Cupid* (ca.1531-2); although Michelangelo's cartoon is lost, see Goffen (320-322) on a drawing and painting after it.
For Michelangelo and Rosso's influence on Primaticcio's *Danaë*, see Vittoria Romani, "Primatice Peintre et Dessinateur" in *Primatice, Maître de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004), 21: "il tente pour la première fois une confrontation avec la Léda de Michel-Ange….mais cette manière de redécouper et de tresser sur le même plan le grand nu de Danaé et la servante –au physique anguleux- avec les deux Amours, révèle une fois de plus la dette de Primatice envers Rosso."

[100] For Michelangelo's *Leda* as an expression of his rivalry with Titian, see Goffen: "representing the kind of subject for which the Venetian [Titian] had become renowned, Michelangelo's *Leda and the Swan* is in effect a rebuttal or reversal of Titian's art. Privileging masculine *disegno* over feminine *colorito*, regendering Leda herself from female to male, Michelangelo's *Leda* challenges Titian on every front"

visualization of a mythic narrative structure about artistic creation, albeit in a gendered idiom, the Leda theme is emblematic of the very concept of *paragone*.

These visual invocations of the *paragone* are made explicit by the *apostrophe* to Phidias and Apelles that begins the inscription, asking that the ancient sculptor and painter be the judges of the implicit competition. The implication is that, in their absence, their legacy (that is, ancient works) be called in for comparison. In other words, this competition regards both ancient works (Phidias and Apelles' legacy) as well as the contrast between painting and sculpture, a comparison explicitly established by the self-declaration of the work as a picture of a sculpted object. Indeed, the switch between media is played up in the inscription, as it calls upon Phidias and Apelles (also in competition for one was a sculptor and the other a painter) to judge a sculpture by looking at it through a two-dimensional representation. Furthermore, the *paragone* also brings into question the very nature of the engraving as artistic object and its ability to reproduce and disseminate other works of art.

In addition to its open *apostrophe* to Phidias and Apelles, the employment of the terms *pictura*, *sculptura*, and *statua* seems to suggest a purposeful reference to different levels of representation, and to emphasize the translation from one medium to another as embodied by the engraving. The term *pictura*, as understood in the sixteenth century, refers to the two-dimensional representation or image before our eyes.[101] The viewer is thus being presented with a *pictura* of a *sculptura*, the primary focus of attention of the

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(309). As noted by Goffen, "Before Michelangelo, Leonardo's Ledas had been the single inescapable point of reference for any Italian master representing that myth" (314).

[101] As demonstrated by Vick, Alberti's *pictura* was originally meant to encompass pictorial arts in general, including reliefs, and not just painting; this shifted in the sixteenth century, with a return to Pliny's more restrictive definition of *pictura* as painting.

inscription. This *sculptura* is then placed in relation to (*sub*) another sculptural representation, a *statua* of Diana.

But how could the figure represented inside the frame translate as a freestanding sculpture? A possible explanation for this apparent incongruity is to comprehend the engraving in the context of a growing sixteenth-century awareness of differences between media, a process that would have been enhanced with the advent of printed materials.[102] The print, as we have seen, seems to reveal an acute awareness about the status and nature of engraving as a medium and may be regarded as a reflection of sixteenth-century art theoretical debates. When seen in the context of the previously discussed practice of reproducing Fontainebleau frames and inserting them into a new context, the issues posited in the inscription may be understood as theoretical constructs. As such, neither the inscription nor the engraving need be taken as literal records of an unfinished Fontainebleau project. Rather, the frame and the figure may have originally derived from different projects, which are purposefully juxtaposed in the engraving, so as to evoke, in general terms, François I's patronage of the arts and the artistic developments at Fontainebleau. In this way, the inscription could be understood as a 'poetic fiction' meant to celebrate the king's artistic achievements.

This persistent highlighting of the difference between media might also be read in connection to the interactions within the circle of artists working at the French court. As can be gleaned from the etching practices of the artists working at Fontainebleau (to be discussed further ahead), these were largely of a collaborative nature; but they were also, at least to some degree, tinted by rivalry. A well-known case is Cellini, whose stay in

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[102] On the growing specialization and separation of media as a sixteenth-century phenomenon related to the new status of the artist, see Vick, 210-213. It would be interesting to consider this growing distinction between media in connection to the increased demand for printed images.

France was characterized by his isolated stance, and whose rivalry with Primaticcio is documented.[103] It has been suggested that the sculptural mention in the inscription of the engraving might somehow be connected to Cellini's sculpted version of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau*.[104] Indeed, a number of suggestive connections come to mind, for Cellini was a vocal advocate for sculpture in the *paragone* debate, as reflected in the artist's own writings and through Benedetto Varchi's *Due Lezzioni* (1550).[105] It would be worthwhile to consider whether the reference to a 'statue of Diana' might somehow be an echo of Cellini's lunette, which was left unfinished at Fontainebleau upon the artist's departure, and became known as Diana upon its later installation at the château of Anet (as shall be discussed later). Most suggestive is a consideration of another possible significance of *statua* in this context. As noted, the use of *pictura*, *sculptura* and *statua* invokes differences between types, but in view of earlier usage of similar terms, *statua* might be used here to refer to a difference not just in type but specifically in medium. As we have seen, *statua* was generally used for sculpture-in-the-round or representations in any medium; *statuaria*, however, when used together with sculptura, seems to have designated metal sculpture.[106] In the context of the inscription, could *statua* then refer to Cellini's bronze sculpture, which was actually left unfinished at Fontainebleau? Although the figure in the medallion does not actually resemble Cellini's figure, this may be because Cellini's work was not in view for various years until it was taken to Anet in the

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[103] See *Primatice*, 142, on Cellini's rivalry with Primaticcio. See Nancy J. Vickers, "Courting the female subject," in *The French Renaissance in Print…*, 96-97, on Cellini's account of an artist's behavior at court in his *Vita*: whilst Primaticcio conforms by adapting to French manners, Cellini insists on the Italian value of *virtù*.

[104] Miller suggested that "the connection between the two [Cellini's relief and Rosso's panel] is reinforced by the allusion to sculpture in the inscription on Boyvin's engraving" (102), but did not elaborate further.

[105] On Cellini's defense of sculpture, see Vick, 228-229. Also see Leatrice Mendelsohn, *Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi's Due Lezzioni and Cinquecento Art Theory* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982).

[106] See Vick, 82-85, on Ghiberti's use of the terms *statua*, *statuaria*, and *scultura*, and how these have been interpreted.

1550s; but it could have been known as a reference and, like the figure in the medallion, was a figurative representation of Fontainebleau. If this were the case, the engraving would then be juxtaposing two sculptural projects that were renowned in the sixteenth century: Rosso's framing invention, together with Cellini's celebrated 'Diana' bronze that inspired numerous other compositions in the mid-sixteenth century.

Significantly, the attribution of the invention of the inquadrature was also a matter of debate in the sixteenth century. According to Vasari, Primaticcio was the one to first introduce stucco at Fontainebleau, a likely possibility due to Primaticcio's earlier experience at the Palazzo del Té in Mantua. The Ambassador of Mantua, who visited Fontainebleau in 1539, also attributed the stuccoes to Primaticcio, but this may have been a biased view, meant as a compliment to his patron, the Duke of Mantua.[107] The part played by Rosso and Primaticcio in this invention still remains elusive, but scholars tend to agree that it was probably a largely collaborative enterprise. After Rosso's death in 1540, Primaticcio took over the artistic supervision of Fontainebleau, where he worked under four consecutive reigns, until his death in 1570. The engraving might then be seen as a tribute to Rosso, as were other Milan engravings, of which two dozen are reproductive prints of inventions attributed to Rosso. The 'unfinished' aspect described in the inscription would refer, in more general terms, to the work left 'incomplete' at Fontainebleau upon Rosso's premature death.

Finally, the comparison between media is also visually rendered in the frame. As is characteristic of the works produced at Fontainebleau, the engraving plays with different levels of illusion, demonstrating ease in switching from one medium to another,

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[107] See Romani, *Primatice*, 22. For the style, see Béguin, *Revue de l'art*, 101; Zerner (1975), 31-34.

where the framing device becomes as important as the framed object.[108] The

Fontainebleau frames thus invert the traditional relationship between the image and its

border, where the border becomes as significant as the image it encloses and inseparable

from its overall meaning. The frame also serves to enhance the meaning of the

Nymph/Diana figure. For the celebratory nature of the figure, specifically in terms of the

fertile production of poetry and the arts, is further accentuated by the imagery on its

surrounding frame: caryatid figures (that resemble the three graces) with overflowing

fruits and vegetation, putti playing a variety of instruments, and putti reading from open

books.[109] The frame thus emphasizes the themes of fertility, music and poetry, which, as

we have seen, are closely connected to the Nymph's symbolic meaning. Likewise, the

Nymph's underlying theme of poetic and artistic creation is supported through another

element outside its borders: the celebration in the inscription of François I as *père des

lettres et arts*, a recurrent phrase used in the construction of François's identity as patron

of the arts.[110]

Overall, the engraving is a work that celebrates Fontainebleau by explicitly

comparing its renowned works to antiquity, implicitly declaring that they have surpassed

their classical models. It is also an explicit tribute to François and Rosso, perhaps the

most renowned Fontainebleau artist in the sixteenth century, both of whom were dead by

the time the print was finished. It also reflects the artistic practices and debates and

current at Fontainebleau. This multifaceted meaning can only be gleaned through a

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[108] As discussed by Zorach, "Stucco appears to burst from the walls, nearly inverting the relationship between framed and frame, figure and ground: it is the the frame that demands the viewer's attention" (47).
[109] In her reading of the *Danaë* frame, Zorach notes how the bodies of the three female figures are "fused together in a composite that suggests the three graces, together holding aloft a basket of fruit" (147). She also proposes that the prints that reproduce the frame "reiterate the emphasis on themes of terrestrial and bodily abundance already present in stuccoes and frescoes at Fontainebleau" (147).
[110] See Cox-Rearick, 3-5, on François I's identity as patron of the arts, in relation to his *impresa*, *motto*, and adopted inscriptions, and 400 ff. on his idenfitication as "père des lettres et arts."

consideration of the three components of the work --central image, frame, and inscription-- which were clearly conceived to interact in a meaningful way. When considered in this perspective, the figure of Diana, explicitly noted in the inscription and implicitly rendered in the central image, becomes inextricably linked with meta-artistic concerns in the context of Fontainebleau aesthetics. Indeed, like the Nymph of Fontainebleau, she plays a central symbolic role not only for providing one of the building blocks for the mythologizing of Fontainebleau as a new and very fertile artistic center, but also because she raises issues about artistic invention. The question remains: was this amalgamation of the Nymph/Diana figure a 'misreading' on the part of the engravers?

II.2 Variants on the *Nymph of Fontainebleau*: The Nymph Becomes Diana

A consideration of the variations on the Nymph of Fontainebleau theme might further clarify the figure's underlying connection to Diana. While the subject matter, inscription, and frame of the engraving all point to the figure's associations with Diana, this is made explicit in a number of works that refer to the Nymph of Fontainebleau type in pose and setting while adding on the attributes traditionally associated with the goddess of the hunt. In many of its variations, the Nymph is thus conflated with Diana. The variations may be divided into three types: i) those, closer in date to Milan and Boyvin's engraving but whose source might not necessarily be the engraving, which reproduce the Nymph's pose and setting in generic terms, and which may be the product of the artistic exchanges that took place at Fontainebleau in the 1530s and 1540s; ii) those dating to the mid-sixteenth century, which recontextualize the figure in diverse media, and which may derive from the original drawing, the engraving, or other variations; iii) those made during the second half of the sixteenth century, which reproduce the exact engraving as paintings, thereby including the elaborate frame and inscription rather than focusing only on the figure.

i) Fontainebleau collaborations

In the earlier set of variations, the main focus is on the figure of the Nymph of Fontainebleau: her general pose is kept, as she reclines on the ground, surrounded by dogs and sometimes by other animals as well. Their direct source might be Rosso's original drawing rather than the engraving, which would account for the emphasis on the

figure. These variations might be the product of artistic collaborations at Fontainebleau, where imported Italian drawings circulated amongst the artists working at the château, and their preparatory drawings for the decorations of the castle were in turn copied into etchings.[111]

The closest to Rosso's prototype in meaning as the mythic source of Fontainebleau is the aforementioned drawing depicting *François I Visiting the Nymph of Fontainebleau*. The closest to Rosso's in pose is the *Diane au repos*, an etching by Léon Davent (also known as Master L.D.), whose original design is often attributed to Primaticcio.[112] [**Fig. 133**] Davent's horizontal composition reverses the nymph's position, showing a draped, reclining female figure with a crescent moon on her head at the edge of a water source. She embraces two dogs with her right arm, while taking an arrow out of a quiver with her right hand. A stag and two boars, placed on the right, look at her intensely, while she stares out at the viewer. She is the Nymph, though redressed with Diana's attributes: the crescent moon, the wild animals representing the hunt, and a quiver with arrows. Unlike Rosso's *Nymph*, she makes direct eye contact with the viewer and her upper body is slightly bent over; however, the unmistakable position of the legs recalls Rosso's depictions of slanting or reclining bodies, rather than Primaticcio's style.

An inscription beneath the image labels it as "A. fontennbleau" and is signed L.D., the monogram typically used by Davent. The inscription might refer to the location in which the print was made or might refer to the original work's intended location,

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[111] On the collaborative nature of the 'School of Fontainebleau' as seen through drawings and etchings, and on the difficulty of establishing the parameters of what constitutes this School, see Suzanne Boorsch, "The Prints of the School of Fontainebleau," in *The French Renaissance in Prints...* , 79-93.

[112] For the most recent catalog entry of this print, see *Ronsard: la trompette et la lyre* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1985), 81, no.93. See also Zerner (1969) L.D. 13. The print has been typically said to be after Primaticcio and not Rosso.

leading scholars to suggest that the etching may recall a lost painting at Fontainebleau.[113] Yet there is no record of such a painting and another possibility to consider is whether Davent's print might be a reference to the afore-mentioned sculpture of Diana, the one that Rosso's *Nymph* relief would have meant to complement, if one follows that particular reading of the inscription. The etching, however, does not depict a water source as the one mentioned in Milan and Boyvin's inscription. The problem remains whether that portion of Milan and Boyvin's inscription was indeed describing the statue of Diana or actually meant to refer to Rosso's *Nymph*, in which case, the lack of a water source in Davent's etching would not exclude it as a record of the Diana image. The practice of copying sculptural figures and recontextualizing them within a landscape was not uncommon and can be seen in a later etching by Davent, which reproduces the later *Diana of Anet* sculpture surrounded by reclining nymphs and sources in a landscape with a Fountain of Hercules. [**Fig. 134**]

Although Davent is not one of the documented printers working at Fontainebleau, he created about fifty etchings after Primaticcio, including a print of the *Danaë* in reverse; he also etched works by other artists recorded at Fontainebleau such as Luca Penni, but also of drawings by Giulio Romano and Parmigianino, which were most likely owned by Primaticcio for he had worked with Giulio Romano in Mantua and his style is clearly inspired by Parmigianino. Circumstantial evidence suggests that numerous prints were made at the château after the artists' drawings for projects rather than after the finished works; along similar lines, it is generally thought that the prints made at Fontainebleau were etchings for a restricted circle of viewers, while those made in Paris

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[113] See Henri Zerner's catalog entry in *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau*, eds. Sylvie Béguin et al (Paris: Grand Palais, 1972), 300, cat. no. 373.

were engravings meant for commercial purposes.[114] It is also generally believed that

Primaticcio played an important role in the beginning of etching at Fontainebleau, for

various etchings reproduced drawings by Giulio Romano and Parmigianino, which must

have belonged to Primaticcio. In addition, the only dated prints are of the 1540s, by the

time Primaticcio had replaced Rosso.[115] However, as noted by Suzanne Boorsch, Rosso

(unlike Primaticcio) already had significant experience working with engravers in Rome

during the 1520s and had made drawings for the specific purpose of engraving them; it

may be that he was in contact with the Parisian engravers in the 1530s, for a number of

the engraved works attributed to Milan refer to Fontainebleau designs of the 1530s and

more than two dozen of Milan's prints are after Rosso. It remains unclear, however, the

extent to which Rosso collaborated with the etchers actually working at Fontainebleau.[116]

Most of Davent's work points to a close connection with Primaticcio, and

scholars have attributed the design of the *Diane au repos* to Primaticcio. The position of

the outer leg, as it is placed inwards beneath the innermost leg, however, seems rather

Rosso-like. Some of Davent's earliest dated works at Fontainebleau are not etchings but

engravings, whose quality has led Zerner to suggest that Davent arrived at Fontainebleau

as an already accomplished engraver, possibly having been in contact with Milan in Paris

during the 1530s.[117] If so, this might suggest an earlier connection between Davent and

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[114] For a discussion about the problematic definition of what constitutes prints from the 'School of Fontainebleau,' see Boorsch, 80. One way is to focus on the works produced at Fontainebleau but, as noted by Boorsch, the evidence for this is uncertain; although documents describing print production in Paris have been published, there seems to be no equivalent for Fontainebleau, so that the primary evidence is the print themselves. Also see *Printmaking in sixteenth-century France*, 50, on painters as those who primarily practiced etching; Du Cerceau also used etchings (though this was rare).

[115] Boorsch, 81.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Suggested by Zerner in "L'eau-forte à Fontainebleau: Le rôle de Fantuzzi," *Art de France* 4 (1964), 78.

Rosso through Milan, the "graveur du roi" and the reproducer of a good number of

Rosso's works.

Another etching attributed to Davent records a similarly reclining figure; this

time, she is clearly a nymph, completely nude and reclining on a vase that provides a

water source, while she looks up, in profile, at a heron.[118] [**Fig. 135**] The original designs

by Primaticcio survive in two drawings, one at the Hermitage and the other at Besançon,

and incision marks suggest Davent would have traced their composition onto a plaque.[119]

[**Fig. 136**] The figure does not have the identifying foot position that is characteristic of

Rosso. This would seem to confirm that, unlike the *Nymph with heron* –which can be

clearly connected to Primaticcio-, the *Diane au repos* could have been inspired by Rosso

(and not just Primaticcio), as there is a subtle but clear distinction in the figure type.

ii) Multimedia reproductions

Davent also made a later etching (previously noted) after the *Diane of Anet*

sculpture, in which he slightly altered the sculptural group (which included a stag and

two hunting dogs) and placed it at the edge of a water source and close to the

Fontainebleau fountain of Hercules and to a series of nude nymphs carrying water urns.

[**Fig. 134**] The *Diane of Anet* marble sculpture was based on Cellini's bronze relief of the

Nymph of Fontainebleau that came to be seen as an image of Diana after its placement at

Diane de Poitiers's château at Anet, as shall be discussed later. Thus, Davent was

thoroughly familiar with the most significant Nymph/Diana works and their connection

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[118] See *Ronsard: la trompette et la lyre* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1985), 90, no.112. See also Zerner (1969) L.D. 37.
[119] *Primatice*, 41.

or conflation of the two iconographic types. In fact, the *Diane au Repos* could also be related to the *Diane of Anet*, whose pose may be traced back to the works of Rosso and Cellini.

Rosso's *Nymph* was also reproduced in other media, including two enameled recipients in the style of Palissy and dating to the second half of the sixteenth century, while Davent's *Diane au repos* was also reproduced in an enameled cup and quoted in a marble relief, both now at the Musée de Cluny.[120] [**Figs. 137-139**] While the cups follow their models faithfully, the marble relief combines the pose of the *Diane of Anet* and the details of the *Diane au repos*, including its arrow and stag. In the Cluny relief, whose provenance has been tentatively traced back to Anet, Diana (identified with a crescent moon) embraces the stag while holding the arrow in the same hand; their faces are intimately positioned, much like in the *Diane of Anet*. Two other such reliefs are recorded, which again points to the appeal of the figurative type for courtly circles.[121]

iii) Painted versions

In the later variations, the depictions reproduce Milan and Boyvin's engraving specifically, and not just a reclining female whose pose and attributes generically associate her with the Nymph of Fontainebleau. This type can be seen in a panel painting

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[120] The two enamelled cups after Rosso reproduce the Nymph in her identical pose and setting, placed in the interior roundel of the cup; one is at the Louvre and the other is at the Musée Nationale Adrien Dubouché, Limoges. For the Louvre cup, see the catalogue entry in *Fontainebleau: L'Art en France, 1528-1610* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), vol. II, 126, no. 616 (reproduced in vol. I, 85, fig. 54). For the Cluny enamelled cup and marble relief, see the catalogue entries in *Fontainebleau: L'Art en France, 1528-1610* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), vol. II, 129, no. 649 (reproduced in vol.I, 80, fig. 48) and vol. II, 102, no.506 (reproduced in vol.I, 84, fig. 52).

[121] The entry in the Ottawa catalogue notes the existence of two other such reliefs, one of which is now lost but reproduced as an engraving in Caylus, 1764, 6, pl.cviii, and another which was exhibited at the *Exposition du Jubilé du cinquantenaire de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français* in 1902 (*Bull. Hist. et t*. LI, p. 472).

now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, titled *The Nymph of Fontainebleau* and dated to the third quarter of the sixteenth century.[122] [**Fig. 140**] Measuring ca. 66 x 121 cm, the painting doubles the size of the original engraving, although it is clearly referencing it by reproducing the frame, inscription, and central figure, albeit with different attributes and set amidst an amplified, Flemish landscape setting. Here, the Nymph has been transformed into Diana: the figure displays the goddess's crescent moon on her forehead, and is elegantly adorned with jewelry and an elaborate hairdo that are characteristic of the later sixteenth century.[123]

The inscription, now capitalized so as to further the *all'antica* flavor, is illusionistically placed on a horizontal scroll with folding corners, and the stuccoes of the frame are literally 'brought to life' through bright paint; interestingly, some of the portions that were painted (and not stucco) in the original frame are translated here as sculptural reliefs. This 'translation' most likely confirms that the painting is reconstructing the image based on the reproductions of the frame rather than on the original stuccoed decoration at Fontainebleau. In doing so, the painting also contributes to the implicit *paragone* for, as its contemporaries would have known, the painting was based on a renowned black and white engraving; as such, it was a painting that was literally translating one medium to another, beginning with the sculpture that was reproduced and mentioned in the engraving, moving through the engraving, to finally arrive at a painted form.

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[122] For the most recent catalog entry of the painting, see Charles Sterling, *A Catalogue of French Paintings XV-XVIII centuries* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 50-51, 42.150.12.
[123] See Louise Burroughs's article in the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* vol.1 n.8 (April 1943): 251-253, for its style and dating.

In contrast to the recreation of the frame in the painting, which reproduces the details of the print with exactitude, the image inside the central roundel of the painting of the Metropolitan Museum is significantly altered. Unlike the engraving, the figure does not take over most of the space; rather, the Flemish-style landscape takes center stage and the figure is relegated to the lower right-hand corner. The actions of the two dogs are similar (one makes direct eye-contact with the figure, while the other laps the water surrounded by marshy reeds), although the pond with reeds is displaced to the left and no longer directly surrounding the figure.

Although the painting's original function and location remains unclear, it is interesting that at least another painting after the engraving was produced at the time, which shows the ongoing appeal of the subject matter even in the later sixteenth century. A painting that faithfully reproduced the engraving, including the Nymph figure (without the Diana attributes but with the jewelry) was recorded in the collection of Baron Seillière, Paris, in 1931 (66 x 110 cm).[124] [**Fig. 141**] I have recently located another such painting (now in a private collection), which corresponds in image and size to the

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[124] The Seillière painting seems to have been visible in the 1930s, as listed in Kurt Kusenberg, *Le Rosso* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1931), 208-209, n. 318 (66 x 110 cm). Kusenberg does not reproduce the work and refers to Barbet de Jouy's article; the work has only been published previously in the form of a nineteenth-century drawing in Barbet de Jouy, "La Diane de Fontainebleau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Courrier Européen de l'art et la curiosité* (Paris 1861), 7-13.

According to the Metropolitan Museum's file and card catalogue (Department of European Paintings, Accession no. 42.150.12), the other known version of this painting (also oil on wood) was in the private collection of Baron E. Seillière, Paris, in 1931. A possible third such painting was recorded at the Carleton Gates Collection, Sale, NY, Dec. 21, 1876, n. 484; its current location is unknown and it remains unclear from the description whether it is related to the painting in the Seillière collection or whether it is the painting at the Metropolitan Museum. The provenance of the Carleton Gates painting was established as going back to Cardinal Fesch, the proprietor of the Château of Anet until ca.1859; it was then in the collection of Léon de Laborde, the director of Archives (1859-…); and then recorded in the Carleton Gates Collection, NY, in 1876. However, since Baron E. Seillière was the son-in-law of Comte Léon de Laborde, he would have presumably inherited his painting from Laborde. Thus, it is possible that the Seillière painting and the Carleton Gates painting are the same one, or that the provenance for the Carleton Gates was incorrect.

Seillière work.[125] [**Fig. 142**] It is quite likely that this work, or another one like it, may

have served as the model for the Metropolitan Museum painting; the similarities between

the two works --in terms of the color choices in the frame and the presentation of the

capitalized inscription on a scroll-- suggest a connection between the two works, with the

work in the private collection (ex-Seillière?) as the probable link between the original

Boyvin and Milan engraving and the variant of the Metropolitan Museum. [**Diagram 1**]

Indeed, the painting in the private collection, like the engraving, depicts the Nymph as

taking up most of the space inside the frame; the capitalized inscription and scroll, as well

as the figure's jewelry, are details that differ from the engraving but that are present in

the Metropolitan Museum painting.

　　The most significant change in the Metropolitan Museum version with respect to

the engraving and to the other painted variant or variants, however, is that the *Nymph of

Fontainebleau* has literally become Diana. It may be that the painter conflated the two

figures in following the inscription. On the other hand, their amalgamation may also be a

result of the more general understanding that the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* and Diana

were closely related, as can be seen in León Davent's mid-century etchings. Indeed, this

image provides evidence that, by this point in later sixteenth-century France, the

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[125] Sold to a private collector as lot 63, Piasa sale, Paris, June 23, 2003, the painting was dated ca. 1600 with measurements of 65.5 x 110 cm (as advertised in *L'Objet d'art* n.379, April 2003), but listed as 70 x 108 cm on the Piasa website (www.piasa.fr). The painting sold through Piasa may also be the painting recorded in the Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 1991, which is mentioned amongst the variants of the Nymph of Fontainebleau listed by Plogsterth, Appendix A.2, 486, fig. 89. In her listing of the variants, however, Plogsterth does not seem to consider that some of the variants may actually be the same objects but recorded in different collections at different periods.

association between the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* and Diana would have been well known as a result of the various mid-sixteenth-century images that conflated the two figures.[126]

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[126] The amalgamation of a water nymph with Diana can also be seen in one of the *Quattro Fontane* in Rome (also of the later sixteenth century). I have yet to consider its significance and possible connections to the evolving tradition in sixteenth-century France.

II.3 The Nymph of Fontainebleau as Diana: Promoting a Royal Image

Cellini's *Nymph* at Fontainebleau

In some respects, the most notable image connected to Milan and Boyvin's engraving is Cellini's own figurative version of Fontainebleau and its legendary origins.[127] [**Fig. 109**] Originally termed by Cellini as a "figura che figurassi Fontana beliò," the bronze relief is a major point of consolidation in the evolution of the 'Nymph of Fontainebleau as Diana.' Cellini designed this impressive figure as part of an ambitious project that would have included two winged victories and two satyr figures, to be placed on the *Porte Dorée*, the ceremonial entrance of Fontainebleau built in 1538 as a series of three superimposed arches. [**Fig. 143**] Cellini's *Nymph of Fontainebleau* was cast in pieces before March 2, 1543, and was the artist's first bronze on a large scale.[128] However, it was never installed at Fontainebleau, probably due to the obscure circumstances surrounding Cellini's abrupt departure from France, and the remaining pieces were only cast later. In the 1550s, the lunette was taken to Diane de Poitiers's Château of Anet and placed over its main entrance, where it came to be explicitly associated with Diana. [**Figs. 144-145**] In this location, Cellini's *Nymph* was viewed and commented upon; it was even influential for other works in the castle grounds, such as the marble *Diane of Anet* (Louvre). During the French Revolution, the bronze relief was

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[127] Rosso's invention may well have been circulating as a drawing at Fontainebleau when Cellini arrived there, and may have influenced his conception. Cellini retains the reclining pose while displacing the entire body into a clear frontal position, mostly due to its intended placement well above the spectator.

[128] The documents related to Cellini's stay in France and the casting of the relief are published and discussed by Catherine Grodecki, "Le Séjour de Benvenuto Cellini à l'Hôtel de Nesle et la fonte de la Nymphe de Fontainebleau d'après les actes des notaires parisiens," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et l'Ile de France* 98 (1971): 45-80. For a discussion of the project as a whole, see John Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), 133-146.

vandalized and quickly removed for safekeeping; it is now on view at the Louvre, while a copy remains over the Anet entrance.[129]

In the nineteenth century, the figure was consistently referred to as Diana. This is arguably one of the reasons why it was vandalized, for the work was associated with royal hunting practices that had feudal-like connotations.[130] Although it has been claimed that this was a 'misreading' on the part of the late-eighteenth-century viewers, a reading of the work in terms of sixteenth-century sources and associations suggests otherwise. The tendency has been to privilege the 'original' meaning of Cellini's work, without exploring the implications of this later 'misreading.' This view only takes into account the artist's original intentions, but leaves out a fundamental point: that the lunette was effectively put to use under a different circumstance in which it exerted a significant influence. Thus, a consideration of the work in both contexts --in its originally intended location at Fontainebleau and in its relocation at Anet-- is essential for understanding the function of the piece, and its significance as an image of Diana.

Compared to the *Nymph* of Milan and Boyvin's engraving, Cellini's *Nymph* stands for Fontainebleau as a source of abundance, while the central depiction in the engraving focuses more specifically on the legendary origins of Fontainebleau. Despite the subtle distinctions in meaning, the two share similar implications. Most significantly, both are associated with Diana. The association between the two figures may have been

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[129] On the partial destruction of the relief during the French Revolution, and its subsequent movements and restoration, see Sylvie Pressouyre, "Note additionnelle sur la Nymphe de Fontainebleau," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et l'Ile de France* 98 (1971): 81-92; see in particular in particular 85 ff. The chipped marks on the Nymph's face and body probably attest to its sabotage (86).

[130] See Pressouyre, 88-89, on the late-eighteenth-century understanding of the stag as a symbol of royal hunting privileges. According to Pressouyre, this interpretation was flawed, but she also acknowledges that the stag was originally conceived as an aristocratic emblem: "Les révolutionnaires avaient tort d'y voir une allusion au droit féodal de la chasse, mais leur instinct ne les trompait qu'à demi et il s'agit bien d'un insigne aristocratique: c'est un emblème de François Ier, comme Cellini l'a formellement déclaré" (88).

implicit from the start, for the Nymph and Diana share similarities both on a conceptual

and a formal level: they jointly represent chaste creatures who live in the forest, and both

live near a spring surrounded by animals. Although it is generally believed that the

figure's identity as Diana was assumed only after the relief had been appropriated by

Diane de Poitiers, it has been recently proposed --based on the Nymph's embrace of the

stag as a trophy-like figure-- that the figure's identity as Diana had been established at the

time of François I. [131] Indeed, a Nymph/Diana figure would have been appropriate for the

king's favorite hunting lodge, both as a reference to the mythical origins of

Fontainebleau, and as an allusion to the goddess of the hunt.[132]

Much like the representation of the legendary foundation of Fontainebleau in the

engraving, along with all its visual and textual allusions, Cellini's bronze is an iconic

image with narrative implications.[133] In its disposition of the figures and their actions, it

narrates the legendary origins of Fontainebleau while celebrating the site as a hunting

lodge and a plentiful source of artistic production, not unlike Cellini's other monumental

Fontainebleau project for a fountain --a colossal statue of François I as Mars surrounded

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[131] Scholars have focused on the transformation of Cellini's figure into Diana as a result of its displacement to Anet, and its posterior influence for "real Dianas," while claiming that the stag's original significance as an emblem of the king had been forgotten. See Pressouyre on how the original symbolism of the piece was quickly forgotten after its adaptation to Anet: "l'emblème incongru du roi défunt était oublié, tandis que le cerf restait l'animal consacré du temps immémorial à la déesse de la chasse. De la fausse Diane du portail d'Anet, naquit toute une lignée de véritables Dianes au cerf" (89). However, a close examination of the continued use of the stag and of Diana symbolism in a royal context suggests otherwise, as will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.
 The possibility that Cellini's figure was originally conceived as the figure of Diana, as a tribute to François I's hunting lodge, is first explored in Katherine Marsengill, "Identity Politics in Renaissance France: Cellini's Nymph of Fontainebleau," *Athanor* 19 (2001): 35-41. Marsengill questions the idea that Diana was a later misnomer for the sculpture, and convincingly argues that the figure could have been understood as a Diana from the start. However, Marsengill also focuses on the question of Cellini's intentions, but does not incorporate a consideration of the work's continuing function.
[132] Ibid., 38-39.
[133] Cellini's expression of a "figura che figurassi Fontana beliò" literally means a personification of the site of Fontainebleau or of the fountain that gives the site its name. One's initial impulse might be to regard this as the equivalent of saying that the figure is a Nymph of Fontainebleau. This is however based on a modern denomination, where we assume that a figurative representation of Fontainebleau simply refers to the Nymph of Fontainebleau. it would probably have encompassed more than that originally.

by the arts and sciences. Cellini's Nymph is surrounded by animals that are seemingly

drinking from the water source: wild animals, including two boars, three stags, and one

rabbit, gather on the left side, while five dogs lie on the right in varying poses. A

projecting stag head in the top center dominates the composition; unlike the other

animals, the stag is presented without any allusion to its body or even any attempt to

suggest its bodily existence. The iconic stag thus recalls a hunting trophy, a subject

consonant with the primary function of Fontainebleau as a hunting lodge.[134] The

individualized treatment of the dogs, three of which bear collars, suggests a compliment

to the king's dogs and confirms the hunting iconography of the image.[135] The fruits

crowning the Nymph and around the stag's neck celebrate the abundance and fertility of

the royal site, an effect that is furthered by the inclusion of three vases with gushing

water.[136] A consideration of the other pieces originally conceived for the project confirms

its celebratory nature: while that is the natural function of the winged victories, the "awe-

inspiring" satyrs form an essential part of the *imaginaire* of the mythological forest.[137]

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[134] Although Pressouyre (85-87) has suggested that the stag's trophy-like appearance may be due to its nineteenth-century restoration, resulting in a more mechanical approach that seems to have accentuated the stag's empty gaze, the lack of depth or indication of the stag's body would seem to confirm the reading of the stag as a hunting trophy. Note that the stag seems to appear from within the drapery behind the female, which further denies a sense of spatial recession in which its body could exist. Pressouyre (87 n.20) remarks that, in Delorme's illustration (f.247r), the stag's head seems to turn towards the spectator's left. This seems very slight, but it would certainly have enhanced the stag's liveliness, as also seems to have been the case of the *Diane of Anet* sculpture (as depicted in Du Cerceau), but the prominence of the stag head in Cellini's relief still recalls the type of hunting trophies that hung inside hunting castles.

[135] I thank Professors Catherine Puglisi and William Barcham for their valuable observations of this work (August 2006), which greatly helped to develop my ideas about its overall significance. The sensitivity towards the naturalism and individuality of the dogs has also been remarked upon by Pressouyre, 85, and Pope-Hennessy, 140. It should be noted that four of the five dogs appear to be hunting dogs.

[136] The symbols for abundance, including the gendered representation of the source as a nude female, are discussed by Marsengill, 37, who posits that the fruits around the stag's neck may be medlars, thought to increase fertility and given to pregnant women as protection; this may "be linked to the belief that stags also had curative powers, especially for pregnant women" (37 n.15). This may reinforce the meaning of the stag's presence on a liminal space; in this sense, it would have a similar function to the satyrs as apotropaic figures (see below).

[137] On the intended placement of the satyrs, at either side of the entrance, slightly under the lunette, see Pope-Hennessy, 136-137; on the victories, see 140-141. The symbolic role of satyrs and their placement in

Cellini's invention thus combines the narrative of the discovery of the source along with a celebration of its abundance.

In addition to the scene of the legendary origins of Fontainebleau implied in the relief, the piece alludes to Fontainebleau in other ways as well. In particular, the symbolism of the two principal figures, and of their relationship, can be read on multiple levels that are deeply rooted in Fontainebleau aesthetics and late-medieval traditions. In his discussion of the piece in his autobiography, Cellini commented upon the process of its making, while recalling the symbolism of the figures and describing the stag as an emblem of the king: "Nel mezzo tondo avevo fatto una femmina in bella attitudine a diacere: questa teneva il braccio manco sopra al collo d'un cervio quale era una delle imprese del re […]."[138] As discussed in Part I, the association between the French king and the stag goes back to a late-medieval tradition, and would have been furthered with the new hunting laws passed under François I, whereby the stag was declared an exclusively royal *gibier*. Père Dan records the existence of a specific Fontainebleau stag mythology in his chapter describing the seventeenth-century Galerie des Cerfs at Fontainebleau, which included forty-three stag heads and large paintings of the forests and *Maisons Royales* of France.[139] While discussing the significance of Charles VI's emblem of the flying stag, Dan recalled that stags reportedly live between 300 to 400 years and that, in 1381, Charles VI had caught a stag with a collar around his neck with the engraved words *Cesar hoc me donauit* (Caesar gave it to me).[140] [**Fig. 146**] As is characteristic of his narrative structure and strategy, Dan followed with a story of how

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liminal spaces (fulfilling their role as apotropaic figures) will be expanded upon in the discussion of the Henri II Louvre *Dégré* and in Part III.

[138] Cellini, *Vita*, Book II, XX.

[139] Dan, Book II, chapter XVII.

[140] Dan, 152.

Louis XIII caught a memorable stag in 1626, thus creating a connection from the earlier

regal line to his royal patrons. Several legendary hunting events that reportedly took place

in the Fontainebleau forest are discussed in yet another section, and tied to the tale of St.

Hubert, the patron saint of hunters.[141] This shows that such legends were ongoing

throughout the early-modern period, and also suggests that this type of narrative strategy

(connecting earlier traditions to kings of the present time) could have been employed by

earlier writers and artists working for the king, Cellini included. Based on its popular

legendary status, the stag's symbolic connotations would have been familiar to both

educated and less educated sixteenth-century viewers. It is interesting that, at least

according to Cellini, his figurative representation of Fontainebleau was the only one of

his pieces for which the king did not require an explanation of its symbolism; this may of

course be a fiction on Cellini's part in order to underscore his own knowledge and artistic

abilities, but it may also be indicative of the largely comprehensible nature of its

iconography.[142]

Along with the important symbolic status of stags in medieval literature and the

continuing reports on fantastic stags sighted in the royal forests, the stag also had a deep-

rooted Christian symbolism that was persistently depicted in sixteenth-century cycles, in

both religious and secular settings.[143] Allegorized both as Christ and as the human soul,

the stag was a common theme in manuscripts known as the *Chasse d'un cerf privé*, as

well as for large-scale series including tapestries and frescoes, as in the now-destroyed

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[141] Dan ends Book III with a chapter (XII) on the legends of the Fontainebleau forest, where he discusses a phantom hunter that supposedly appeared during one of the Henri IV's hunts, and follows with a discussion of St. Hubert (244-247).

[142] As noted by Pressouyre, 89.

[143] Sixteenth-century reports of legendary stags include Andrea Navaggero's 1528 report about the forest of Blois, which he described as filled with animals that included "a stag with huge antlers that is both monstruous and marvelous, custodied with great diligence" (Chatenet, 53). References to legendary stags are also found in Budé's *De Venatione*, as noted in Part I.

Galerie des Cerfs at the Ducal Palace of Nancy (1524-29).[144] [**Figs. 147-150**] While the stag's legendary emblematic status along with its recently proclaimed royal rank would have been comprehensible to practically any visitor to the castle, its allegorical significance would have been recognized by the more-educated viewers. Likewise, the stag's mythological associations would not have been lost on sophisticated viewers: the close proximity between the female figure and the stag would inevitably recall Diana's transformation of Actaeon.[145]

Previous scholarship has read the Diana and Actaeon reference in this work (and in other sixteenth-century images) mainly in neo-platonic terms, whereby the stag would represent the lady's love trophy. This in turn has been interpreted as a metaphor for the relationship between the king and his mistress.[146] In Nancy Vickers's more nuanced reading, the Diana and Actaeon narrative implied in Cellini's relief stands as a symbol of power that is connected to the royal gaze; indeed the "stag-king" dominates over the entire composition as "a voyeur embraced by the object of a previous, forbidden gaze, a voyeur permitted the pleasure of viewing a Diana whose threat has obviously been neutralized."[147] A number of additional connections should be considered as well. As discussed in Part I, Actaeon had been previously associated with the figure of the French

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[144] Refer to above n.161-162 (Part I), for the medieval symbolism of the stag and the allegorical tradition of the stag as the soul. On the Galerie des Cerfs at Nancy, see Nicole Reynaud, "La galerie des Cerfs du Palais Ducal de Nancy," *Revue de l'art* 61 (1983): 7-28.

[145] As noted by Nancy J. Vickers, "The Mistress in the Masterpiece," in *The Poetics of Gender*, ed. N. Miller (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 30.

[146] This has been the predominant light in which this work has been read, particularly in the context of Diane de Poitiers and Henri II (see Bardon, 1963). According to Marsengill, Cellini's reference to Diana would have upset the Duchess d'Estampes, François I's official mistress, and would be the reason why Cellini would have been chastized by the Duchess. Such readings, however, tend to reduce the work to the relationships at court, and its meanings on other levels are not taken into account.

[147] Vickers (1986), 31. On the spatial hierarchies as evidenced by the hierarchies of the relief, see 28-29, where she notes how the stag is a fully three-dimensional sculpture that stands out in space, well beyond the other figures. Vickers also compares this royal gaze to that in the Louvre drawing of *François I visiting the Nymph of Fontainebleau*, in which only the king has the privilege to observe the scene (31).

king, and was also allegorically read as a Christ-like figure. In the allegorical renderings of the *Ovide moralisé*, for example, Actaeon's sacrifice was used to illustrate Christ's. A specific connection between Cellini's stag and Christian sacrifice is hinted at by the strategic placement of the grapes, which are held in the same hand with which the Nymph embraces the stag. Like the trophy stag, they hang in the very center of the composition. This triple association between the stag, Christ, and Actaeon was synthetically presented in an English book of the early-seventeenth century, titled *The Holy Roode, or Christ's Crosse: Containing Christ Crucified, Described in Speaking Pictures*: the richly decorated frame of the frontispiece, which recalls the aesthetics of the Galerie François Premier, shows Minerva and Diana at either side of the title, standing much like caryatid figures as they hold up a curtain and point towards the stag head that tops the title page. Capped with a half-crescent moon, the stag head seems like a trophy and is pointed at by two putti at either side of the upper level of decoration. [**Fig. 61**] Beneath the title, on the lower bottom of the decoration, is an almost identical version of Salomon's *Diana and Actaeon* woodcut, originally published in the Jean de Tournes's edition of *La métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*. [**Fig. 151-152**] The frontispiece shows not just that its creators were familiar with French Renaissance imagery, but it reflects what was probably a widely held association, one that goes back to the late-medieval allegorical tradition and that was most likely present in Cellini's piece. His stag simultaneously symbolizes the French king, Actaeon, and Christ, all of which are interchangeable amongst one another.

As scholars have recently suggested, sixteenth-century mythological images were often imbued with Christianized allegorical meanings. Recent studies of the Galerie

François Premier have convincingly made this point: Primaticcio's *Danaë* has been reinterpreted according to the Renaissance reading of Danaë as a chaste figure connected to marriage, while the overall iconography of the Galerie has been revised in terms of a sacrificial symbolism that includes both Christian and pagan notions as well as references to genealogy and blood lineage.[148] Cellini's sculpture would have provided a synthetic image of the themes already present inside the castle: it would have embodied the notions of fertility and sacrifice that imbue the decorations and iconography of the Galerie. Like the works in the Galerie, his piece was intended to be capped with the king's principal emblem: the fire-breathing salamander, whose accompanying motto *nutrisco et extingo* may also be read in sacrificial terms. In this sense, Cellini's sculpture was originally intended as an all-encompassing emblematic image of the French king in both of his roles as *roi très chrestien* and *père des lettres et arts*.

In view of the visual evidence that demonstrates a close association between the Nymph of Fontainebleau with Diana, and of the previously analyzed inscription of Milan and Boyvin's engraving, it is quite plausible that Cellini's work was implicitly associated with Diana ever since its initial conception. Indeed, the close embrace of the Nymph and stag suggests an intimate connection between the goddess and her stag, one that was quickly picked up and expanded by the sculptor of the marble *Diane of Anet* after the transference of Cellini's relief to Anet. [**Figs. 153-156**] In this light, it is also understandable that Cellini's relief would have inspired the *Diane of Anet* fountain sculpture, and that this was not just a case of formal resemblance, but also the result of an underlying iconographic connection.

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[148] On the new *Danaë* reading, see the aforementioned study by Béguin; on the sacrificial symbolism of the Galerie, see Zorach's chapter 2, "Blood," in particular 66-77.

Cellini's *Nymph* at Anet

With its relocation to Diane de Poitiers's château, Cellini's relief became

explicitly associated with the goddess of the hunt. The earliest overt reference is in

Philibert Delorme's 1567 description of Anet, in which he mentions "La Diane avec les

cerfs, sangliers, & autres animaux, que vous voiez au dessus de la porte, sont de cuivre &

bronze, elabourez d'un ouvrage & sculpture fort excellente & tres-bien faicte."[149] His

reference to *the* Diana, rather than *a* Diana, suggests that the relief was both well known

and commonly understood in this manner. As the architect of Anet, Delorme would have

been closely involved with decisions about the decorations, and it may well be that the

relief was transferred to Anet under his supervision. Though problematic as to exact

dating, another early source that suggests the identification of the figure as Diana is the

inscription placed under the work, in which Diana's connection to her brother Apollo is

underlined: PHOEBO SACRATA EST ALMAE DOMUS AMPLA DIANAE VERUM

ACCEPTA CUI CUNCTA DIANA REFERT.[150] [**Fig. 157**] Although it has been taken as

a veiled declaration of the love between Diane de Poitiers (as Diana) and Henri II (as

Apollo),[151] the inscription may be understood in more political terms: as other

inscriptions at royal dwelling-places owned by courtiers but purposefully adapted for his

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[149] Delorme, f. 246v. First noted by Maurice Roy (1929), 303.

[150] Translated by Leloup into French: "La vaste demeure de la vénérable Diane est consacrée a Phoebus / A qui Diane rapporte tout ce qu'elle a reçu" (26). The inscription currently on view is a modern replacement. It is unclear when the original inscription was put up exactly, as the books on Anet do not provide specific documentation (as noted in the Introduction).

The earliest description of the castle, dating to 1640, is transcribed in Roussel, 26-28, and records the various inscriptions in the castle grounds. The 1640 date would thus provide a *terminus ante quem*, but it is important to recognize that it does not provide sufficient evidence for a sixteenth-century dating. If the Apollo and Diana inscription does date to Diane de Poitiers's time, it is an early example of what would become an established pictorial theme under Henri IV, as seen in the *Galerie de la reine* at Fontainebleau. The Apollo and Diana theme was also the subject of a tapestry series, and a series of preparatory drawings and engravings by Étienne Delaune, for which see Bardon (1963), 66-72.

[151] See Plogsterth, 115, 126-127, on the Diana and Apollo theme as a glorification of the two lovers meant to provide "the fiction that theirs was not a carnal relationship" (127).

majesty's visit, these were carefully crafted lines meant to honor the king. The king's

visit was considered an honor and favor; in some instances, as is the case of Anet, the

king funded the building of the castles of his 'favorite' courtiers.[152] As is the case of Anet

and other sites that were owned by a courtier and especially decorated to accommodate

the king, such as Oiron and Saint-Maur, inscriptions consecrated these castles to the king,

as a token of gratitude that was simultaneously meant to proclaim a political alliance.[153]

Indeed, an inclusive consideration of the imagery at Anet reveals a different type

of iconographic program from that which has been usually underlined in the scholarship.

A political message of a public nature, rather than a celebration of private feelings,

underlies the Anet iconography. As has been demonstrated by Crépin-Leblond, this

would have been more appropriate in sixteenth-century terms, for the emphasis placed on

Henri II's imagery as proclaiming his love for his mistress is misguided and based on

modern notions of romantic love. Rather, Henri II's emblem of the crescent moons refers

to his Valois lineage and imperial aspirations, not to his mistress; his use of black and

white dress is also the result of a more general sixteenth-century vogue, and need not be

traced to Diane de Poitiers's use of these colors, which in any case are generic for all

widows.[154] The same is true in reverse: it was customary for courtiers to adopt the king's

emblems for their castles, particularly for those where the king would visit, as is the case

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[152] On the purposeful adaptation of courtly residences for the king's visit, see Chatenet's chapter 8, *Le roi chez ses sujets*, 258-295. Henri II seems to have practiced this more than other kings, and starting in 1547, this became a competing motive between courtiers, for which see 260. Also see 37-38 on the king's funding of the castles of his 'favorites.'

[153] Although Anet and Saint Maur are an exception in terms of their layout, they belong to the category of courtly residences purposefully arranged to house the king. For a discussion of the layout of Anet and Saint Maur, see Chatenet, 290-295. For the dedicatory Latin inscription to François I of the Trojan cycle at Oiron (begun 1546), see Jean Guillaume, *La Galerie du Grand Ecuyer. L'histoire de Troie au château d'Oiron* (Chauray: Patrimoines et médias, 1996), 23-24.

[154] See Crépin-Leblond, as discussed in the Introduction.

of the still visible royal emblems at Écouen and Oiron.[155] [**Figs. 158-159**] This is

confirmed in the documents that attest to the decoration of Anet, in which the king's

wood carver stipulates to decorate Anet with the king's emblems.[156]

A consideration of the overall iconography of Anet further strengthens Crépin-

Leblond's argument: for much of the imagery at Anet is concerned with proclaiming

Diane de Poitiers' status as a chaste widow, rather than as a king's mistress. Indeed, the

grounds are filled with symbolism of death and rebirth: this includes at least one urn and

a series of sarcophagi placed throughout the castle grounds.[157] Four sarcophagi are

located atop the principal entrance (also visible in Du Cerceau's drawings), and three

more were distributed throughout the grounds, including the one under the *Diane of Anet*

sculpture, which was originally conceived as a fountain. [**Figs. 160-164**] Most

significantly, the main façade of the castle, on the inside the grounds, would have

dominated over everything else. Built on three levels, the monumental façade has the

structure of a triumphal arch and is the first accurate example in French architecture of

the three superimposed classical orders.[158] [**Fig. 165-166**] Moved to the Musée des

Monuments Français in the early-nineteenth century (now the École des Beaux-Arts in

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[155] On Henri's crescent moons at Écouen, see Anne-Marie Lecoq, "Les peintures murales d'Écouen: présentation et datation," in *Actes du colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau…* (1975), 162. On the royal emblems at Oiron, which includes those of François I and Henri II, see Guillaume (1996), 48.

[156] See Roy, Document I, in which the king's woodsman "confesse avoir promis, convenu et marchandé a haulte et puissante dame, dame Dyane de Poictiers, vefve de feu hault et puissant sgr. Messire Loys de Brezeult, en son vivant chevalier, grand Seneschal de Normandie, absente, les notaires soubzcriptz stipullans at acceptans pour lad. Dame, de luy faire et parfaire de boys de chesne [….] y mectre les armoiries du Roy et par les costez les lettres de chiffres et devises ainsi qu'elles sont en lad. travée ja faicte [….]

[157] The urns and sarcophagi are noted and published by Blunt, 36-38, plates 10-16. The sarcophagi atop the entrance actually functioned as chimneys.

[158] Blunt, 33. In spite of its artistic importance and central positioning in the castle grounds, and with the exception of Anthony Blunt's work on Du Cerceau, the façade is often ignored in modern accounts of Diane de Poitiers's iconography; rather, it is the outside portal that has received the most attention in twentieth-century scholarship, which may be due to its survival in its original location. The architecture of Anet is discussed at length by Blunt (29-55).

Paris, where it is still on view), the façade was placed on axis with the main entrance of the castle. The façade would have echoed the iconography of the entrance portal, while proclaiming the major theme of the castle: as can be attested in Du Cerceau's drawing of an aerial view of Anet, an over life-size statue of Louis de Brézé was originally placed in the upper niche, and a large heraldic emblem crowned the ensemble.[159] [**Fig. 167**] The triumphal arch included dedicatory inscriptions to Diane de Poitiers's husband, as well as other imagery that alluded to death and rebirth.

Therefore, this façade, along with the other symbolism in the Anet grounds about death and rebirth, would have celebrated Diane de Poitiers's husband and his triumph over death, in accordance with the Christian symbolism of the triumphal arch. Indeed, the Anet imagery emphasizes Diane de Poitiers's status as a widow throughout, and her adoption of Diana as an emblematic figure functioned in tandem with this larger message: it served to proclaim her chastity while simultaneously connecting her to the king of France. In addition, her status as a widow is what gave her the power to play a significant role as a patron of the arts. Indeed, this was the principal aspect celebrated by the poets who allegorized her as Diana, as can be seen in the writings of Gabriele Symeoni, who underlines Diana's connection to the muses of poetry, and writes about Diana as his source of poetic inspiration. In the medallion that accompanies the opening dedication poem to Diane de Poitiers in Symeoni's translation of *La métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, in which the connections between Diana, Apollo and the Muses are

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[159] The most adequate description of the façade and of its parallel placement with the main entrance is provided by Blunt, 33-34. The façade is very much transformed: now functioning as the façade of the chapel of the École des Beaux-Arts, it is missing its heraldic crest; the heroic statue of Brézé has been replaced; the relief under that niche is a later pastiche (it is actually from Jean Goujon's *Fountain of the Innocents*); and while the victories and the allegories in the roundels may be original remnants, the sculptures at the sides are probably later additions (Blunt, 34). Also see Leloup, 31-33, on the relationship between the façade and the entrance portal, and the original façade inscriptions dedicated to Brézé; however, Leloup does not sufficiently underline the importance of this connection.

highlighted, the nine muses appear dancing in the background of a reclining Diana and stag that seem to turn towards the sun.[160] [**Fig. 12**]

In this way, Cellini's figure, which would have been associated with Diana from its earliest conception, became explicitly connected to Diana after its placement at Anet. It would have functioned as part of Diane de Poitiers's imagery, but not only in the terms posited by earlier scholars. Rather than operating as an emblem of the intimate love between the king and his mistress, Cellini's *Nymph/Diana* would have served to emphasize Diane de Poitiers's public persona and her political position as one of the king's closest advisers.[161] This is not to say that the work could not have been read also in neo-platonic terms as a type of Diana and Actaeon, where the *cerf* is turned into a lady's *serf*, for there is certainly a degree of ambiguity in Diane de Poitiers's use of the imagery. However, this predominant reading of Diane de Poitiers's imagery has eclipsed other possible meanings, ones that would have been both more appropriate and useful in sixteenth-century terms.

Although it has been argued that Cellini's relief would have lost its original meaning as an emblem of the king after its relocation at Anet, a more comprehensive consideration of visual and textual sources demonstrates that the connection was general enough (and not just specific to François I) that it would have continued.[162] Furthermore,

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[160] See *La Vita et metamorfoseo d'Ovidio, figurato & abbreviato in forma d'Epigrammi da M. Gabriello Symeoni […] All'Illustrissima Signora Duchessa di Valentinois* (Lione: Giovanni di Tornes, 1559), 2. The edition carries the same woodcuts as the *Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, and includes a section on the moon's influence at the end of the book.

[161] Diane de Poitiers's adoption of her mythological alterego might go back to the period under François I, in which she maintained a position as a close adviser to both the king and the dauphin.

[162] Pressouyre, 89-90, has argued that the work had an obscure symbolism that was typical of the 'first School of Fontainebleau,' a taste that would have been quickly replaced by the mid-sixteenth century: "L'histoire de cette oeuvre privilégiée, dont l'auteur lui-même a exprimé les intentions symboliques, illustre l'incompréhension qui s'attacha très vite aux allégories savantes ou bizarres de la première École de Fontainebleau. L'image convenu de Diane chasseresse a facilement éclipsé la troublante intimité de la

as shall be discussed ahead, a number of the associations created under François I were emphasized, rather than forgotten, throughout the reign of his son and successor, Henri II. Indeed, the adaptation of the relief to the portal at Anet should probably be read as a continuity rather than a deep shift in its meaning. Its move to Anet simply made explicit what was already implicit.

Celebrating François I as *père des lettres et arts*

An important link in the Nymph/Diana transformation process and of the figure's correlation to the fertile production of knowledge is a sculpture of Diana that was devised in the context of the celebratory imagery and poetry that honored François I as a patron of the arts.[163] This particular image of Diana was conceived as part of a larger sculptural project for the château of Saint-Maur-des-Fosses, built by Philibert Delorme between 1541 and 1544. Destroyed in 1796, the château was built for Cardinal Du Bellay, and records show that the king stayed at the site in 1544. Delorme described the site in his *Premier tome de l'Architecture* (1567), in which he recorded that the pedimental reliefs on the main portal represented the Three Graces or Charities together with Diana and the nine Muses with a bronze bust of François I in the middle.[164] The project is also recorded in Du Cerceau's second volume of the *Plus excellents bastiments de France* (1579) as

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source languide et du roi-cerf" (90). However, a consideration of the work in comparison to other similar iconographies suggests otherwise, as demonstrated throughout this chapter.
[163] The project is mentioned by Cox-Rearick (399) in the context of François I as *père des arts et lettres*.
[164] Delorme, 249v-250v.

well as in what seems to be a preparatory drawing for the project by Primaticcio dated to ca.1544.[165] [**Fig. 168**]

Although Primaticcio's drawing presents compositional differences with the original descriptions as well as with Du Cerceau's reproduction, it depicts the same subject matter, and one may safely assume that it most likely represents a design that was modified at the time of its construction.[166] Primaticcio's drawing shows Diana, identifiable by the crescent moon on her head and the bow lying next to her, in a reclining pose not unlike that of the reproductions of the Nymph of Fontainebleau as Diana. In pose, Primaticcio's Diana shares a similar torso with Davent's *Diane au repos*, so that her upper body lies lower on the ground than Rosso's *Nymph*, while her right arm surrounds one of her hunting dogs (much like Davent's print). The index finger of her right hand is extended, seemingly pointing down, perhaps at the inscription that was placed underneath the sculptural group and that was composed by Cardinal Jean Du Bellay:

> Hunc tibi, Francisce, assertas ob Palladis artes
> Secessum, vitas si fortè palatia, gratae
> Diana, et Charites, et sacravere Camoenae[167]

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[165] See the facsimile edition (Paris: Lévy, 1870), n.p., of Du Cerceau, *Le Second Volume* (A Paris, Chez Gilles Beys, 1579).
The correspondance between Primaticcio's drawing and the pediment of Saint-Maur was first proposed by Scaillérez, 53 n.2. See *Primatice*, 222-224, n.92 for the catalog entry of Primaticcio's drawing (Hermitage).
[166] This plausible suggestion is put forward in *Primatice*, 222. The drawing was identified by Cecile Scailliérez in connection to Delorme's Château de Saint-Maur, but the connection was rejected by Henri Zerner, who thought the differences between Primaticcio's drawing and Du Cerceau and Delorme's original descriptions and reproductions were too great.
[167] Recorded in Delorme, 1567, f.250. Translated in Lecoq (1996), 105: "Cette retraite, François, parce que tu soutiens les arts de Pallas, si d'aventure tu t'échappes des palais, Diane, les Charites et les Camèns, reconnaissantes, te l'ont consacrée."
   The inscription also appears in the context of a poem titled *Ad Musas, allusio ad versus pro feribus ad Regis statuam inscriptot sub Dianae & musarum atque Charitum signis* […] in an edition of collected neo-Latin poems, which includes works by Salomon Macrin and Cardinal Jean du Bellay: *Salmonii Macrini... Odarum libri tres. Joannis Bellaii cardinalis amplissimi poemata aliquot elegantissima* (Paris: R. Stephani, 1546), 124. The title also alludes to the king's visit on the day of the resurrection feast. Note the reference to *statuam* and *signis*, as a way of differentiating between media: *statuam* refers to the bronze bust of François I, while *signis* refers to the marble sculptural figures that may have been conceived as high reliefs; however, it has also been suggested that they could have been conceived as paintings.

The inscription was recorded by Delorme, and it also appeared in a book of Jean Du Bellay's collected neo-Latin poems, as part of a poem celebrating the king. In the context of the sculptural group, the inscription corroborates the king's identity as a patron of the arts, while referencing his support of Pallas, thus recalling the king's well-rounded abilities as both warrior and patron of the arts.[168] It is clearly conceived as a strategic celebration of the king, in the context of similar architectural projects where courtiers would create specific decorations to welcome the king to their abodes.[169]

Most significantly, Diana is placed right in the center, along with the three central female figures, and interacts with the bust of François I. Diana's left arm reaches over to support the bust, in the symmetrically opposite pose of the reclining figure of Charity, identifiable by the small boys who suckle her breasts and embrace her. The other two figures crown the king, and have been variously identified as Faith (holding the chalice), and Religion/Science/Knowledge (most recently as Astronomy, whose sphere seems to represent the universe).[170] The muses are placed at either side of the central group; five sit on the right and four on the left, all of who read from open books and engage in some form of discourse. The muses on the right are dressed in a similar fashion to Diana, whose clothes cover her lower body while revealing her breasts.

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[168] The king as both warrior and patron of the arts also appears in a printed emblem in which Pallas is shown as the king's portraitist; here, the goddess of war also takes on a double role. The emblem was part of a collection published as *Achillis Bocchii... symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere quas serio ludebat libri quinque* (Bononiae: in aedib. novae Academiae Bocchinae, 1555), most probably made to flatter Henri II, who was keen to promote his father as *père des lettres et arts*. For a catalog entry of this emblem, see Wilson-Chevalier (1985), 22-23, cat. no. 2.

[169] Refer to Chatenet, as previously discussed.

[170] Indeed, the ambiguity of the their identification goes back to the sixteenth-century descriptions which record them as "Charities" or "Graces." For a discussion of their possible identities, see *Primatice*, 223. In the past, Charity has been identified as Venus, but her iconography connects her most clearly to Charity/Fecundity.

The manuscript tradition in which Diana plays an important role as advisor to the king/protagonist --specifically in the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique* of 1519, where she acts as the king's guide-- may underlie this particular project in conceptual terms, where the close relationship between François and Diana is emphasized: together with other personifications of knowledge, Diana literally supports the king in place.[171] In contrast to the earlier manuscript tradition, Diana is disrobed and serves as a mirror image of the figure of Charity, which reinforces Diana's associations with the Nymph of Fontainebleau as a source of fertile artistic production.[172]

While the mirroring of the reclining figures has been connected to Michelangelo's Medici tombs at San Lorenzo, Charity derives from a Primaticcio study of *Mercury and Argus* (Hermitage). The muses have also been related to other Primaticcio figures, which include the muse on the far right, identical to one of Diana's companions in the drawing for the *Diana and Callisto* fresco in the Appartement des Bains at Fontainebleau; the muse next to her, which derives from one of the figures of the *Concert* in the Salle de Bal at Fontainebleau; the reclining muse with her back to us (on the left), similar to one of the stuccoes in the Galerie François Premier, and reproduced by one of Primaticcio's collaborators for the depiction of a reclining source; and the fourth muse from the left can be recognized in a drawing by Primaticcio which also served as his model for *Penelope*

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[171] The emergence of Diana as a figure of knowledge and wisom is discussed in Part I. Diana's role as a wise figure first appears in the *Échecs amoureux*. The positioning of Diana as goddess of knowledge goes back to Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea,* in which Diana is innovatively shown teaching other females how to read. Manuscripts of these texts were kept in the royal collections throughout the Renaissance.

[172] Although the *Primatice* catalog (223-224, n.7) revises Dimier's initial reading of the figure as "abundance," it is worthwhile reconsidering Dimier's annotation in conjunction with our new understanding of Diana's association with fertility/knowledge. In light of the matter, it is not surprising that Dimier first read the figure in such terms, although he did not provide the type of associations discussed in this chapter.

An engraving of a salt cellar by René Boyvin (after Léonard Thiry) shows what Cybele in a reclining pose leaning over a stag. Her pose and proximity to the stag, though now surrounded by other animals, recalls the *Diane of Anet*; conflated with Cybele, she is thus explicitly connected to fertility. For a catalog entry of this salt cellar, see Wilson-Chevalier (1985), 130, cat. no. 75.

sewing.[173] [**Fig. 169**] These may be taken as an example of how an artist reused his

designs, but they may also point to some interesting associations that go beyond a purely

formal choice in that the final result would have established a visual connection between

the royal hunting lodge and the castles of the nobility. This became a common practice,

especially in the second half of the sixteenth century; a well-known example is the castle

of Ancy-le-Franc, where Fontainebleau decorations are extensively quoted.[174] [**Fig. 170**]

In the case of the sculptural pediment of Saint-Maur, the figures were taken from specific

contexts not wholly unrelated to the meaning of this piece; examples include the

previously discussed association with Mercury and Argus, and the muse that derives from

the Diana and Callisto fresco. Such connections would not have been lost on the king and

his court, who would have been intimately familiar with the existing Fontainebleau

projects from which some of these figures derived.

A consideration of Cardinal Du Bellay's neo-Latin poetry, in which the

dedicatory inscription to François I appeared in amplified form, and where the

associations between Diana, Apollo, the Charities, and the Muses are continuously

underlined, as are the connections between Fontainebleau and his own castle, supports

the hypothesis that this sculptural project was a purposeful recollection of, and even

comparison to, Fontainebleau. Indeed, repeated references to a "Nymph of

Fontainebleau" surface in Cardinal Du Bellay's poetry,[175] leading to speculation as to

whether the inscription for Milan and Boyvin's engraving could have been composed in

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[173] These formal resemblances have been noted in *Primatice*, 223-224.

[174] On the visual allusions in the decorations of Ancy-le-Franc to Fontainebleau, see the doctoral dissertation by Magali Bélime Droguet, *Les décors peints du château d'Ancy-le-Franc et leur place dans la peinture en France entre le milieu du XVIe siècle et les premières décennies du XVIIe siècle* (Université de la Sorbonne, Paris IV, 2004), specifically 338-365. See 373-376 on the importance of engravings recording Fontainebleau projects as the iconographic source for the later-sixteenth-century decorations (1590s).

[175] See for example *Salmonii Macrini... Odarum libri tres. Joannis Bellaii cardinalis amplissimi poemata aliquot elegantissima* (Paris: R. Stephani, 1546), 148.

the context of Cardinal Du Bellay's neo-Latin circle. A possible author might be Salmon

Macrin, who worked closely with François I and held the post of *valet de chambre* and

lecteur du roi.[176] Macrin composed numerous neo-Latin poems celebrating his royal

patron and other important figures in connection to the muses, the nymphs, and Diana,

along with multiple references to ancient artists.[177]

It becomes clear from this particular project, especially when regarded within the

context of Cardinal Du Bellay and his intellectual circle, that Diana, reconfigured as the

Nymph of Fontainebleau in the early 1540s, held an essential place in the portrayal of

François I as patron of the arts, an image that was particularly emphasized during the

short-lived reign of his son and successor, Henri II. Her significance as a figure

associated simultaneously with knowledge and pleasure predominates throughout the

reign of François I, and is confirmed in this project, which connects her directly with the

more traditional personifications of knowledge. Thus it is not so much that the figure of

Diana was primarily associated with chaste love, as has been mostly emphasized, but that

the privileges emanating from her symbolic significance were intimately and indissolubly

connected to her chaste condition. The value placed on chastity, and the connection

between virginity and creation, may have been the motivating factors for associating

Diana with artistic potential. Indeed, Diana is directly linked with images of fertility

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[176] On Macrin's close relationship with the king, see Jean Salmon Macrin, *Épithalames & Odes. Edition critique avec introduction, traduction et notes par Georges Soubeille* (Paris: Champion, 1998), 98-101.

[177] Ibid., 61-62. Salmon's references to ancient artists can be seen in an earlier collection of neo-Latin poems dedicated to François I: *Salmonii Macrini iuliodunensis lyricorum libri duo. Ad Franciscum Valesium Huius Nominis Primum Galliarum Regem. Epithalamiorum Liber unus. Ad honoratum sabaudianum villariorum regulum* (Paris: Campensis, 1531). See for example the opening lines of Book I: *DE LAUDIBUS FRANCISCI REGIS. Non ipse pictor, non statuarius, / Quales fuerunt Parrhasius, Scopas, / Ponenda qui solum figurem / Muta loco simulacro in uno.* In another eulogy to François I, in Book II, Macrin mentions Lysippos and Praxiteles. Apelles's "tabulas" and Lysippos' "signa" are also recalled in one of his Odes (Book IV. 25), published and translated in *Épithalames & Odes*, 685-686. The connection between Macrin's references to ancient artists and the inscription of the engraving deserves further consideration.

throughout the later part of François I's reign; as we have seen, she is closely associated, even conflated, with the Nymph of Fontainebleau, an image where the female nude literally provides the source for the major site of innovative artistic experimentation of the first half of the sixteenth century in France.

As a whole, the iconographic ensemble clearly celebrates François I as *père des lettres et arts*. As has been amply discussed by Janet Cox-Rearick, the image of François I as *père des lettres et arts* emerged towards the end of his rule, and was definitely established after his death.[178] It seems to have been first invoked in Cellini's project representing François I as Mars, surrounded by *Letters*, *The Arts of Design*, *Music*, and *Liberality*, but it was especially developed in his funeral eulogies and throughout the reign of Henri II. François's patronage of the arts was celebrated throughout Henri's triumphal entry into Paris, thereby underlining the continuities from one reign to the next.[179] It was also the predominant theme in the funerary urn for the heart of François I (St. Denis), commissioned under Henri II. The choice of the Muses, Apollo and the Arts for a king's funerary urn was unprecedented, and the scale of the monument set the tone for later royal and courtly funerary urns, including that of Henri II.[180] [**Figs. 171-172**] While Apollo and the Muses are connected to Music and Poetry, the Arts are presented as masculine personifications of Astronomy, Geometry, Sculpture, Architecture, and

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[178] See Cox-Rearick, 399-404, on the theme of François I as patron of the arts, as it evolved up to the nineteenth century.

[179] See V. L. Saulanier, "L'Entrée de Henri II à Paris et la revolution poétique de 1550," in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, 43-44.

[180] Victoria L. Goldberg, "Graces, Muses, and Arts: The Urns of Henry II and Francis I," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1966), 214. On the iconography of François I's urn as part of Henri II's tribute to his father, see Goldberg, 213-214. See Mary L. Levkoff, "Remarques sur les tombeaux de François I et de Henri II," in *Henri II et les arts*, 53 ff, for a discussion of François I's funerary monument in connection to that of Henri II.

Disegno.[181] The combination of the visual arts with two of the traditionally Liberal Arts

was innovative,[182] and may be seen as further evidence of François I's legacy in terms of

a new conception of the arts that marked French Renaissance aesthetics. Later

celebrations of François I as *père des lettres et arts* include a major project conceived

during the reign of Charles IX, but not taken to term: it is recorded in Antoine Caron's

Histoire Françoyse de nostre temps, where François's patronage of the arts is particularly

emphasized. [**Fig. 173**]

Like father, like son: Henri II as successor to François I

According to the evidence presented throughout this dissertation, the profusion of

Diana imagery at the French court is not simply a consequence of the love between Diane

de Poitiers and Henri II, but a continuation of a series of visual associations inaugurated

under François I, whose origins go back to a late-medieval mythographic tradition.

Following Crépin-Leblond's affirmation that Henri II's adoption of Diana as one of his

major emblems is not a declaration of his love for Diane de Poitiers, I hypothesize that

Henri II appropriated and built upon the Diana symbolism that was already in place

during the reign of his father. Henri II's emphasis on Diana should be considered in the

context of other imagery adopted by Henri II as a visual declaration of his father's legacy.

Earlier interpreters have tended to present the Diana imagery as a result of Henri

II's antagonism with his father, but these suppositions are reductive in that they tend to

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[181] As suggested by Goldberg, 215 n.60, the scene has been often called Painting, but "as it shows a man out of doors drawing on a tablet it may more properly be referred to as Disegno."
[182] Ibid., 215.

ascribe artistic motivations to courtly intrigue.[183] Following Ivan Cloulas's assessment of

Diane de Poitiers's influence over Henri II, scholars have posited that Henri II's adoption

of the moon as his emblem was a confrontation with his father, and that certain

Fontainebleau imagery may be read in terms of a sun-moon opposition, in which a new

moon (Henri) rises to replace the sun (François).[184] Similarly, a series of mythological

poems of the 1540s by François Habert, in which Diana is exalted over Venus, have been

read as a metaphor for the replacement of the old reign with a new one.[185] According to

this reading, the figures are allegorical representations of Diane de Poitiers (Henri II's

mistress) as Diana and the Duchess d'Étampes (François I's mistress and Diane de

Poitiers's rival) as Venus.[186]

Scholars have similarly assessed the poem *L'apocalypse, contenant les faictz*

héroicques et mort catholicque du treschrestien roy François et les trés hereux

commencem. dur. du treschrestien Roy Henry (1547) as evidence of the antagonism

between the women at court.[187] The poem begins with a dedication letter to *la grand*

seneschalle (Diane de Poitiers), in which she is addressed as prudent Pallas, and where

the author presents his project: *Or à present je pretens reciter / La mort d'ung Roy et le*

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[183] See Wilson-Chevalier's assessment of Primaticcio's frescoes of the Porte Dorée in terms of the "strong female personalities" surrounding François I and the future Henri II, and who "were actively engaged in the ellaboration of the alliances and counter-alliances," in "Women on Top at Fontainebleau," *Oxford Art Journal* 16:1 (1993), 43. While Wilson-Chevalier provides an insightful reading of the narratives and their function in this liminal entrance space, the parallel to the intrigues at court is less convincing.

[184] Following Ivan Cloulas's argument in his section "Sous le signe de Diane," in *Henri II* (Paris: Fayard, 1985), 109, Wilson-Chevalier (1993) posits that "Henri II wilfully placed himself 'under the sign of Diana' (the Moon), claiming 'heretically', in honour of Diane de Poitiers, that 'when it is full it equals the sun'" (45). The conflict between father and son is similarly presented in Wilson-Chevalier's "Les Déboires de Diane à Fontainebleau," in *Le Mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle*, 412-413.

[185] See in particular François Habert's *Déploration poétique de feu M. Antoine de Prat, en son vivant chancellier et légat de France. Avec l'exposition morale de la Fable des trois Déesses: Vénus, Juno et Pallas…* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1545).

[186] First interpreted in this manner by E. Bourciez, *Les moeurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II*, 25, and followed by Bardon (1963), 41.

[187] The work does not appear to be published. It exists in manuscript form (BN Ms. fr. 13762) and appears to be written as if intended for printing.

ressusciter / Non pas en corps en chair et en essence / Mais seulement en sa noble semence.[188] The text is divided into twenty-two visions, in which the author inserts Christian and mythological imagery, along with scenes mourning the dead king, where both mythological figures and court members participate. A pervading theme is the continuity of the father's reign into that of his son, which is celebrated as a new golden age.[189] In the fourth vision, the mourning of François I is connected to that of Juno and Pallas, who come to Henri II asking him to redress the Judgment of Paris. Henri effectively corrects Paris's choice, declaring *Venus bannye et mesprisée / Ne sera plus en ceste court prisèe / Et que vous deux la pomme ensemble avez / Et que vous deux mes compagnes serez.*[190] This particular section has been read as a political allegory, in which Venus would represent François I's mistress, Diane de Poitiers's rival, and Pallas and Juno would respectively refer to Diane de Poitiers and Catherine de' Medici.[191] While this remains a suggestive possibility, a more encompassing reading shows that this poem forms part of a larger literary and artistic context where the Judgment of Paris is repeatedly invoked. As demonstrated by Jean Guillaume, the theme of the Trojan war was particularly emphasized both in the visual arts and literature during the 1540s.[192] While earlier editions, such as those of Jean Le Fevre and Lemaire, continued to be

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[188] *L'apocalypse…* (Ms. fr. 13762), f.1v.

[189] Ibid., f.5v-6v.

[190] Ibid., f.7.

[191] The work is noted by Plogsterth, 383 n. 249 (as quoted in Adrien Thierry, *Diane de Poitiers, avec sept portraits hors-texte par Clouet et deux fac-similés de lettres autographes*, Paris-Geneva, 1955, 46), who provides historical identifications for the three goddesses: Catherine de' Medici as Juno, the Duchess d'Étampes as Venus, and Diane de Poitiers as Diana. She mistakenly affirms that the cast of characters is changed, so that Diana (Diane de Poitiers) supposedly appears instead of Pallas. As discussed in this section, the text consistently refers to Pallas and not to Diana, but it appears to be dedicated to Diane de Poitiers (whom the author addresses as Pallas), which may have sparked the initial confusion.

[192] See Jean Guillaume, *La galerie du grand écuyer. L'histoire de Troie au Château d'Oiron* (Chauray: Patrimoines & médias, 1996), 52. See 56 for a list of the various editions published in the 1540s. A Lyonnais publication of the 1540s titled *La destruction de Troyes la grande*, for example, was dedicated to the dauphin. The theme was also emphasized in Henri II's royal entry to Rouen in 1551.

published into the 1540s, new versions also surfaced, as can be seen in François Habert's

multiple rewritings of the Judgment of Paris: first published in 1541, the theme reappears

in a 1545 as *L'Exposition morale de la Fable des troi Deesses*.[193] Habert reworked the

theme yet again, as three separate books that also appeared in 1545: *La Nouvelle Pallas*,

La Nouvelle Juno, and *La Nouvelle Venus*.[194] All three refer to the birth of the Dauphin

Henry, the son of Catherine de' Medici and Henri II; while the Juno and Venus are

explicitly dedicated to Catherine de' Medici, the Pallas is dedicated to the king.[195] At the

same time, Habert's recurrent emphasis on the goddesses may be seen in the context of

long-standing intertextual concerns, as analyzed by Ann Moss.[196] The insertion of the

Judgment of Paris in Jean Bouchet's *Triomphes du très chrestien, très puissant et*

invictissime roy de France François premier (1550) further demonstrates that the theme

was not necessarily specific to Henri II or connected to his 'choice' between the queen

and his mistress, but that it continued to be used, as discussed in Part I, as a traditional,

didactic theme for a prince's education.[197]

It is indeed possible to contextualize both Diana and the Judgment of Paris as part

of the connecting threads running through the two reigns. The production of mythological

imagery during the reign of Henri II is, in many respects, a continuation of his father's.

This includes Henri's 1549 entry to Paris, where themes dear to François I were

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[193] François Habert, *Déploration poétique de feu M. Antoine de Prat, en son vivant chancellier et légat de France, avec l'Exposition morale de la Fable des trois Déesses: Vénus, Juno et Pallas…* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1545). The 1541 version had appeared in the *Suite du Banny de Liesse* [his pseudonym] (Paris: Denis Janot, 1541), as noted by Ann Moss, *Poetry and Fable. Studies in Mythological Narrative in Sixteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 51.

[194] All published in Lyon by Jean de Tournes (1545).

[195] According to Bardon (1963), 41, the Pallas in *l'Exposition morale* represents Marguerite de Navarre. This shows how these allegorizations were quite flexible.

[196] See Moss (1984), 50-70.

[197] See Jean Bouchet, *Triomphes du très chrestien, très puissant et invictissime roy de France François premier de ce nom, contenant la différence des nobles* (Poitiers: Jean et Enguilbert de Marnef frères, 1550), XXXv, on the prince's obligation to choose between Pallas and Venus.

prominently staged, such as the Gallic Hercules and a presentation of the French land in fertile terms.[198] It is also visible in Henri's adoption of the composite image of François I in the guise of various gods, which Henri used for two medals in 1552, both of which celebrate peace, victory and prosperity, themes that reappear in his engraved portraits and predominate in his Louvre decorations.[199] [**Fig. 17**]

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[198] See the published version of the royal entry into Paris: *C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu a la nouvelle et ioyeuse entrée, que treshault, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, le Roy treschrestien Henry deuzieme de ce nom, à faicte en sa bonne ville et cite de Paris,... le seizieme iour de Iuin M. D. XLIX.* (Paris: Jacques Roffet, 1549).

[199] See Mazerolle (1902-4) vol. 2, 24, nos. 89 and 90; vol. 3, plates VII and XIII: the composite image of Henri II is placed on the reverse of a medal whose recto shows Henri II with a laurel wreath and dressed in armor (no. 80). The image appears again on the recto side of a medal whose reverse shows a personification of France leading Abundance and Victory (no. 90). Also see Mc Allister Johnson, *Numismatic Propaganda in Renaissance France, The Art Quarterly* XXXI (1968), 123-153, and Hochstetler, 316-317. Note that Françoise Bardon has suggested François's portrait was possibly made in the 1550s by Henri II in order to link himself back to François; see Bardon, "Sur un portrait de François Ier," *Information d'Histoire de l'Art* 8 (1963): 1-7.

II.4   An Image for a King: Diana as Henri II's Emblem

When Cellini affirmed the stag was an emblem of François I, he was invoking a long-standing tradition. When Henri II adopted Diana as one of his emblems, he was also building on an earlier tradition, one with close ties to François I's own use of hunting imagery, which, as we have seen, celebrated the Nymph of Fontainebleau in connection to Diana. Henri shared his father's particular predilection for hunting, which may partly explain the ongoing presence of Diana's image in his official imagery.[200] Yet his use of the Diana imagery well surpasses that of his predecessors, and is located in contexts previously unexploited by other royal or courtly figures: a major example is a commemorative medal from 1552, whose obverse shows Henri II crowned with laurel and dressed *all'antica*; the reverse shows the goddess of the hunt in a pose that recalls the so-called *Diane of Versailles* antique prototype, known at the time through prints.[201] [**Figs. 174-175**] In its presentation of Diana's bare breasts, the figure is practically identical to the precious medallion miniature on the cover of one of Henri II's manuscripts of Oppian's *Cynegetics* (BN Ms. grec 2737), itself very close to the *Diane de Versailles*. [**Figs.176-179**]

The *Diane de Versailles*, which acquired its name after it was moved by Louis XIV to Versailles, was a Roman marble work (a copy after a Greek bronze of the 4$^{\text{th}}$ century B.C.) presented to Henri II as a gift from Pope Paul IV in 1556, undoubtedly as an acknowledgment of the close symbolic association between the French king and the goddess of the hunt. Recorded in the Queen's Garden at Fontainebleau by 1559 and

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[200] On Henri's well-known penchant for hunting, see Chatenet, 128.

[201] Fernand Mazerolle, *Les médailleurs français du XVe siècle au milieu du XVIIe* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902-1904), vol. 2, p. 29; vol. 3 plate VIII no. 112.

placed in its center throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, the *Diane de Versailles* stimulated numerous copies (including a bronze by Primaticcio) and adaptations in a variety of media throughout the 1550s. These include the previously noted medallion on the cover of the *Cynegetics* manuscript, as well as the poses of Nature in a manuscript of the *Chasse d'un cerf privé* (BN Ms. fr. 25429). [**Fig. 150**] Adaptations of the figure are also visible in tapestries (her pose is recognizable in a number of the figures of the Anet tapestries), and life-size paintings such as the *Diane chasseresse* (Louvre), as well as prints.[202] [**Figs. 5, 180**]

But perhaps the location where the connection between Henri II and his emblematic goddess was most explicitly rendered was in the stucco decoration of his Louvre wing. Indeed, the *Grand degré*, as the ceremonial staircase of the new Louvre wing was called, is permeated with hunting symbolism. [**Figs. 181-182**] The predominance of hunting iconography inside a castle that was not used as a hunting lodge is unusual. I believe that the source of these decorations may ultimately be traced back to Fontainebleau aesthetics, and may be the result of the "recombinant aesthetics" of print culture, in which motifs are separated and reused in new contexts.[203] Despite its unique qualities, the imagery of the *Grand degré* has not been previously considered, and deserves close consideration as further evidence of the important place allocated to Diana under Henri II, as both a continuity and renovation of earlier traditions.

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[202] On the prints related to the Diane de Versailles, see Martine Vasselin, "Les métamorphoses d'une déesse antique: Les figures de Diane dans les gravures di XVIe siècle," in *Le mythe de Diane…*, 229. In the case of prints, it is difficult to say whether they are following the Diane de Versailles prototype or whether they are after another prototype, for similar sculptures were available in Italy (an example is the medium-sized marble now in the Louvre). See above n.162 (Part I) for a discussion of Henri II's manuscripts of Oppien's *Cynegetics* and of the *Chasse d'un cerf privé*, and their tradition.

[203] See Zorach, 144, on the notion of "recombinant aesthetics."

The hunting iconography of the Louvre *Grand degré*

Plans to renovate the medieval Louvre castle were initiated under François I, but these were extensively transformed and completed under Henri II. Upon his return from the Spanish captivity in 1527, François had first formulated his desire to modernize the Louvre and turn it into a majestic palace where he could establish his primary residence. The medieval *Grosse Tour* --a remnant of feudal times and whose foundations have become visible to Louvre visitors since 1989-- was demolished early on, but a full-scale demolition of the medieval castle and its rebuilding as a Renaissance palace under the direction of Pierre Lescot was only begun in 1546.[204] After Henri II's accession to the throne, the construction of the new west wing continued, but the plans were fundamentally altered in 1549, so that the staircase was off set to one side rather than being placed in the center as originally planned.[205] This resulted in the innovative superposition of two spacious rectangular rooms with separate functions: the bottom floor, known as the Salle des Caryatids since the nineteenth-century but called the *Salle de bal*, *Grande salle* or *Salle basse* during Henri II's reign, was used as a ballroom, and above, the *Salle du Roi* or *Salle haute* (which communicated with the king's apartments to the south side) was used for other ceremonial festivities.[206] The two spaces were joined with a grand ceremonial staircase, then called the *Grand Degré* and now known as

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[204] On the first steps taken by François Ier to rebuild the Louvre, see Aulanier, *La Salle des Caryatids*, 11-13; Aulanier, *Pavillon de l'Horloge*, 7. Likewise, and on how the space was distributed for the court during the periods in which François Ier inhabited the Louvre, see Monique Chatenet, "Le logis de François Ier au Louvre," *Revue de l'art* 97 (1992): 72-75.

[205] For a summary of the major changes made under Henri II see Aulanier, *Salle des Caryatids*, 12-14; Grodecki, "Les marchés de construction pour l'aile Henri II du Louvre (1546-1558)," *Archives de l'art français* XXVI (1984), 20-21. The various stages of the building under Henri II are documented through a series of notarial acts, discussed below.

[206] See Chatenet (2002), 242-244, on the innovative superimposition of the two spaces, unique to the Louvre. The rooms' functions were inverted under Henri III (243).

the Escalier Henri II, located on the north side. As can be garnered from the surviving

notarial acts, the west wing and its decorations, executed by Jean Goujon and his

workshop, were mostly complete by 1556. At this time, the *Pavillon du Roi*, the south

wing with the various royal apartments that joined the west wing at the southwest angle

where the tribunal of the *Salle de Bal* was located, was in process.[207] [**Figs. 183-185**]

From the start, the new Louvre was recognized as a major achievement, and

powerful nobles imitated the structure in their own abodes as part of an increasing

competition as to who would have the honor of receiving the king. Examples include

Anne de Montmorency and Jacques d'Albon de Saint-André who had variants of the

Louvre wing constructed at their own castles.[208] Likewise, Henri II's Louvre and its

innovations were celebrated in architectural treatises, as in Jacques Androuet du

Cerceau's *Premier volume des plus excellents Bastiments de France* (1576), which

emphasized the continuity of the projects first established under François I and Henri II,

while presenting Catherine de' Medici as the patron who would develop their legacy.[209]

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[207] Together with the information contained in Léon Laborde's *Les Comptes des bâtiments du Roi (1528-1571)* (Paris: J. Baur, 1877-1880), 249-262, 306-308, 355-359, 385-390, the documents that have allowed scholars to reconstruct the various steps of the building process are the *marchés* registered by Pierre Lescot before the notary Germain Lecharron. Discovered in the early-twentieth century, these documents have now been fully published and are distributed in three major publications: Christiane Aulanier, "Le Palais du Louvre au XVIe siècle. Documents inédits," *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire de l'art* (1951), 87-100; Christiane Aulanier, *Histoire du palais et du musée du Louvre. Le pavillon du Roi, les appartements de la Reine* (Paris, 1958), 106-112; Grodecki (1984), 24-38, which includes the most updated list of all the notarial acts (22-23). Aulanier and Grodecki constitute the most up-to-date publications, for they contain additional and completed documents (compared to the partial publications of the early twentieth century), as well as correctives of the erroneous datings in the first publications. It should be noted that Grodecki's publication only concerns documents on the Henri II west wing (without including those relative to the south wing where the royal apartments were lodged, i.e. the *Pavillon du Roi*, begun in 1551, which is extensively discussed by Aulanier). For a summary of the documents concerning the west wing, their initial publication, and interpretation by earlier scholars, refer to Grodecki (1984), 19-22.

[208] On the imitation of the Louvre wing in the plans of palaces of the nobility, as part of an ongoing competition between the king's favorites, see Chatenet (2002), 38, 174, 260. An example is Jacques d'Albon de Saint-André's Vallery, also constructed by Lescot, which remained unfinished and is now largely destroyed; Henri II visited the site in 1550 and again in 1556.

[209] Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Le Premier volume des plus excellents bastiments de France* (Paris: Impr. pour ledit Jacques Androuet, du Cerceau, 1576), n.p.

As is well known, the Henri II Louvre wing ultimately served as the model for the later

architectural development of the Louvre, both in its elevation and exterior decoration.

Indeed, the ambitious notion of the *Grand dessein* --that is, the triplication of the new

buildings so as to create what is now known as the Cour Carré, together with the joining

of the Louvre with the Tuilleries through two large wings-- was initially conceived under

Henri II, but it was only fully achieved in the nineteenth century.[210] [**Fig. 186**]

Although the Renaissance façade of the west wing (facing the internal court) has

received much attention, with its decorations interpreted as evidence of Henri II's

imperial aspirations, a great part of the symbolism of the interior portion has not been

attentively considered.[211] The spatial organization of the *Salle du Bal* (where a Serliana

opening divides the actual ballroom from a the tribune area where the king and queen sat

enthroned and that was originally raised) has been studied in connection to courtly rituals

and to the imperial symbolism of the decoration of the exterior walls. Instead, the

singular iconography of the Escalier Henri II has not been examined and has not been

connected to the iconography of the external building or in relation to its posterior

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[210] As attested by Androuet du Cerceau: "le Roy Henry se trouvant grandement satisfait de la veuë d'une oeuvre si parfaicte, delibera la faire continuer dés trois autres costez, pour rendre ceste court nompareille. Et ainsi par son commandemente fut commencé l'autre corps de bastiment depuis le susdit Pavillon, tirant le long de la riviere…." Also see the much repainted depiction of the ambitious project, made during the reign of Henri IV, in the Galerie des Cerfs of Fontainebleau.
[211] The principal studies on the symbolism of the exterior façade decoration are: Jean Guillaume, "Le Louvre de Henri II: une architecture 'impériale,'" in *Henri II et les arts: Actes du colloque international École du Louvre et Musée National de la Renaissance, Ecouen: 25, 26 et 27 septembre 1997* (Paris: École du Louvre, 2003), 343-353; Volker Hoffmann, "Le Louvre de Henri II: un palais impérial," *Bulletin de la Sociéte d'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1982): 7-15; Marianna Jenkins, "Imagery of the Henri II Wing at the Louvre," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* VII (1977): 289-307. Although the articles that deal with the imperial symbolism of the façade consider the interior of the *Salle des Caryatids* in relation to the exterior, and sometimes mention the decoration of the *Escalier* in passing, they do not attempt to connect its symbolism to the overall decoration. To my knowledge, there are no studies that focus on the decoration of the *Escalier Henri II*.

influence.[212] Apart from the *Salle du Bal* and the well-known caryatid sculptures by Jean Goujon that gave the room its later name as the Salle des Caryatids, the richly decorated sculpted interior of the Escalier Henri II, traditionally attributed to Jean Goujon and imbued with hunting symbolism centered around Diana and a series of *all'antica* motifs, has not been studied.

Now commonly called the Escalier Henri II, the vaulted double-winged staircase was originally known as the *Grand degré*, and is referred to in this way in the documents. The importance of this site cannot be underestimated, not only for its grand innovative design as a vaulted double-winged staircase that marked a difference with traditional spiral staircases, but also because it had a major symbolic and ritual value in terms of royal ritual. As noted by Monique Chatenet in her study of the symbolic function of sixteenth-century French court architecture, the most compelling spaces of a castle were the entrance and staircase: "ce sont deux images architecturales destinées à frapper l'esprit du visiteur, à le préparer à la rencontre avec le souverain."[213] Indeed, the entrance was the site where the visitor would first encounter the king's symbolic imagery, usually in the form of some heraldic representation, as is the case of Louis XII's porcupine emblem and equestrian statue at the royal castle at Blois. [**Figs. 187-188**] And the principal staircase --variously called *grand vis*, *grand escalier*, or *grand degré* in the sixteenth century-- served to mark the visitor's actual meeting with the king, a moment that was carefully orchestrated through a highly ritualized spatial use that demarcated the

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[212] The staircase was duplicated in the early-seventeenth century; now known as the Escalier Henri IV, the staircase runs parallel to the Escalier Henri II, as part of the Pavillon de l'Horloge completed under Louis XIII. Although the reliefs were not duplicated, the decorations themselves were reused and quoted both in the interior and exterior decorations of the Louvre (to be discussed in the Epilogue).
[213] Chatenet (2002), 253.

proper hierarchies.[214] Most of the times, the king would send one of his attendants

downstairs to receive the approaching guest. The king would meet the guest as he

ascended the steps moving towards the king. The exact spot where the king awaited

varied, depending on the guest's ranking; for example, upon Charles V's visit to

Fontainebleau in 1540, François I waited for the emperor at the bottom of the stairs,

while for other guests, he descended only half way if he went down at all.[215]

This too was the case of Henri II's *Grand degré* at the Louvre, for it was the

official entrance to the royal palace, and the one that connected its two major ceremonial

interiors.[216] A recorded instance of Henri II's use of the *Grand degré* takes place in 1559,

during the wedding ceremony of Henri II's daughters, Elisabeth of France, to Philip II of

Spain, and Marguerite of France, to the Duke of Savoie. Upon the arrival of the Duke of

Savoie, who was also representing the Spanish king, the French dauphin was sent to greet

the Duke at mid-height of the staircase (that is, the first mid-floor landing), while Henri II

waited for him at the entrance of the *Salle du Roi*. The men stayed on this floor for fifteen

minutes, and then descended together to the "sala bassa" (Salle des Caryatids) where the

women were waiting to sign the marriage contracts.[217] In this type of ceremonial usage

then, we can imagine a recurring hierarchical pattern from the point of view of the visitor:

ascending (towards the king) and then descending back down (with the king). Indeed, the

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[214] Ibid., 253-255.

[215] Ibid., 255. On other examples of the ceremonial use and disclosure of royal space, and recorded instances in which the king dramatized his appearance before his guests or led them around private areas of the castle, see 246-253.

[216] As can be seen in Androuet du Cerceau's plan, there were at least three smaller staircases that could be used to move around the apartments in the Pavillon du roi: a spiral staircase located in a space in between the *Tribunal* and the *Salle du Conseil* (#3) and that probably connected all three levels, as did the one that led from the *Antichambre du conseil* (#4) up to the *Cabinet du Roi* (#10); a third staircase seems to connect the ground-floor apartments of the Queen mother [Catherine de' Medici at the time when Androuet du Cerceau was writing] with those of the Queen on the first floor.

[217] Chatenet, 250-251, as attested by the ambassador's report, published and translated by Chatenet [Document in the Archivio Statale, Mantua, A. G. 651. Paris, June 23, 1559]. Also see Aulanier, *Salle des Caryatids*, 23.

imagery along the vaults of the *Grand degré* is arranged facing downwards, thereby

suggesting the 'correct' --or at least principal-- point of view is that of the king and only

to be perceived in his company. [**Fig. 189**]

Stucco reliefs cover the five vaulted ramps of the double-winged staircase that

leads up from the *Salle du bal* or *Salle basse* (Salle des Caryatids) through the ground

floor (or entrance level of the building coming in from the Cour Carré) to the *Salle du Roi*

or *Salle haute* (first floor), and up to the attic level (second floor). A landing is placed in

between each one of the floors, so that there are a total of five landings (one for each of

the three floors and two placed at mid-height between the floors), and except for the attic

level, the landings are covered with large-scale reliefs. Each ramp vault is symmetrically

divided: three main segments cut across horizontally and form various compartments; the

compartments down the central axis are square and predominate over the rectangular

spaces, which are aligned around the central compartments. The entire space is framed

with *all'antica* patterns and vegetal motifs, including fruit garlands and in particular oak

and laurel branches. The reliefs decorating the square compartments usually alternate so

that there is one main motif in the center and two identical ones in the first and third

squares. The decorations would have been clearly visible in the sixteenth century: as

attested by a watercolor made before the west windows were covered under wooden

panels for the new façade of the Pavillon Sully in 1857, the staircase had large windows

on either side that would have flooded the space with natural light.[218] [**Figs. 190-192**]

Partial glimpses of the decorations would have been visible from the outside, as is

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[218] Under the current viewing conditions, it is still possible to appreciate the reliefs with natural light, but the viewing of the ceiling reliefs of the half-way landings may only be fully appreciated with artificial lighting. On the covering of the windows during Napoleon III's construction of the Pavillon Sully, see Aulanier, *Pavillon de l'horloge*, 12-13, 51-52. The west windows were covered in 1857 with wooden panels sculpted with the same motifs of the escalier.

currently the case when standing in the Cour Carré; this was also probably the case when standing from the back (facing the façade of the later Pavillon Sully), as this side had two paired windows at each mid-floor level.

As corresponds to the landing of the *Salle du Roi*, adjacent to the king's apartments, this is the space that is most elaborately decorated: its ceiling is covered with a large-scale relief of two interlocking putti that share a garland and display the crescent-orbs characteristic of Henri II's imperial symbolism, while two sumptuous reliefs crown the doors on each side of the landing. [**Figs. 193-195**] These reliefs are mirror-images of one another: in both, six putti playfully hold up the curtain to a baldachin-like display; they also hold up a female head over a heraldic plate containing the king's emblem of the interlocking H with two crescents. The emblem is framed by a chain-like device, and topped with a royal crown out of which come laurel and oak branches. Garlands populate the scene, and a medallion of the Order of Saint Michael hangs down from the chain surrounding the emblem, in reference to the French king's long-standing connection to this theme.[219] Overall, these are unequivocal references to Henri II's emblematics, and as shall be seen, this landing stands as the culminating point of the entire cycle, including both the interior and exterior decorations.

In order to understand the disposition of the reliefs, one might imagine the staircase from the point of view of a guest's ceremonial descent with the king, as in the recorded instance of the Duke of Savoie's arrival in 1559. As the sixteenth-century guest entered the building, he would simultaneously see the ramp leading down to the *Salle Basse* on the left and the ramp leading up on the right, noticing a proliferation of relief

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[219] On the Saint Michael iconography in connection to the French king, which goes back to Charles VIII, see Lecoq, 438-446.

decorations in the vaults. [**Fig. 181**] As he ascended the staircase, he would probably

have been aware of the decorations, but would not have been able to look at them

attentively, partly because of the awkwardness of turning one's head towards the ceiling

during the ascent. Instead, from the point of view of the descent (and we can imagine this

taking place in the king's company), the decorations would become clearly visible, not

only because this is the proper viewing direction for the reliefs, but also because they are

naturally easier to see as one comes down the stairs. [**Fig. 196**]

Beginning at the height of the *Salle Haute* and moving down towards the *Salle

Basse*, the iconography of the staircase is arranged in the following manner: the central

square compartment of the staircase leading down from the *Salle Haute* contains a full-

standing figure of Diana, and the squares of the first and third compartments each show

two stag heads in profile. Crescent moons with joining points (forming an orb) are placed

in the corners of the stag-head squares, while the rectangular compartments surrounding

these squares each show a dog in a running position. The Diana figure of the central

square recalls the 1552 medal: she has bare breasts and is posed frontally, as if running

towards the viewer, with a bow in her left arm. [**Fig. 182**] An H is placed both above and

below the central square, and two identical reclining Pan-like figures blowing into their

pipes are placed in the rectangular spaces above and below the central square. The

rectangular spaces at either side hold reclining satyrs that blow into long pipes and

interlock with one another through a large crescent moon. [**Fig. 197**]

A similar pattern emerges in the second half of the staircase leading down to the

ground floor: the first and third squares show a winged lion-head crowned with a flame,

and the center square has a frontal stag-head crowned with a half-crescent moon. The two

Hs are again placed above and below the central square, and the same interlocking satyrs of the previous staircase frame the stag head on either side. Instead of the Pan-like figures framing the lower and top of the central square are two female satyrs. The crescent moons are also placed in the corners of the first and third squares, but interlocking archers' bows have replaced the running dogs of the previous vault. [**Fig. 198**]

The final segment, which leads from the ground floor (the visitor's original entrance point) to the *Salle Basse*, is shorter. It only has two segments: a female head with two horns and crowned with a half-crescent moon is placed in the first square; the two stag heads in profile are in the second square, adjacent to the entrance to the *Salle Basse*. Surrounding the female head are the rectangles with the four running dogs; the exact arrangement of pipe-blowing satyrs and interlocking satyrs of the vault descending from the *Salle Haute* is repeated around the stag heads. [**Fig. 199**]

The vaults of the *Grand Degré* are thus filled with the king's personal emblems as well as a symbolism that recalls both Fontainebleau imagery and the imagery of the Louvre façade: the Hs, the crescent moons, and the image of Diana are specific references to Henri II; the stag-like trophies, the fruit garlands, and the dogs recall Fontainebleau; the Pan-like figures, the satyrs, the female heads, the lions, the interlocking bows, and the recurring oak and laurel plants continue the imperial symbolism of the exterior façade, which the viewer would have seen before coming inside. [**Figs**. **200-201**] The predominant theme of the exterior is a celebration of Henri II's reign through the use of monarchical and imperial symbolism: the entire façade is covered with monarchical symbols such as the lion, the laurel, the oak, and military

spoils.[220] On the attic level, the three sculptural ensembles of the attic level represent allegories of peace (with personifications of geometry and architecture), triumph (with captives and spoils), and abundance (with Pan and Bacchus), which have been more specifically interpreted as part of Henri II's imperial aspirations.[221] [**Figs. 202-204**] While the façade imagery continues on the inside, the hunt becomes predominant in the *Grand degré*, and a greater emphasis is placed on the king's emblems. As a combination of these themes, the *Grand degré* presents continuities between the exterior and interior of the building, while introducing a unique iconographic ensemble.

A similar iconographic combination can be seen in a print of one of the temporary monuments erected for Henri's triumphal entry into Lyon in 1549, in which a nude female figure holds out a terrestrial globe while standing on a vase that supports a column topped by a fleur-de-lys and decorated with the king's emblematics (the H, the crescents, and the paired bows).[222] The surrounding structure has female and male satyr herms combined with grotesque decorations in Fontainebleau style, while two stag heads and skins are displayed at either side of the monument with inscriptions celebrating Henri's imperial aspirations.[223] [**Fig. 205**] In its similar combination of elements, the staircase is a permanent version of the type of temporary structures that celebrated this very theme

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[220] For a general reading of these symbols as related to monarchical symbolism, see Jenkins, 294-296.

[221] See Hoffman's very specific reading of the various elements of the attic level in these terms. Hoffman proposes that the shift of plans in 1549 was based on Henri's very real aspirations of being elected Emperor. Hoffmann (11) also suggests that Goujon's *Caryatids* were inspired by Augustan imagery, and that Henri II was fashioning himself as a new Augustus.

[222] Published and described in Maurice Scève, *La Magnifica et Triumphale Entrata* (Lyon: Roville, 1549), n.p.: "Per tutto la ditta colonna erano sparsi d'H d'oro coronate, di D, gigli & impresse del Re, & era interlacciata d'archi stesi [….]" Scève specifies the orb held by the woman is a terrestrial globe. From Scève's description, one also gathers that the monument was vividly colored and covered in gold.

[223] In the image, the satyrs appear to have breasts, and Scève describes them as two males and two females.

during Henri II's triumphal entries.[224] As a whole, the ensemble of emblematic imagery

of the staircase is meant to celebrate Henri II by recalling the imperial theme of the

façade (itself much like the images of temporary festivals) in combination with the king's

emblematic symbols and images.

The entire ensemble is arranged in a highly symmetrical fashion, giving the

decoration a sense of order. A series of key images provide further evidence of a

carefully thought-out program; as previously mentioned, the ceiling of each landing is

covered with a large-scale relief that is placed inside an oval frame. [**Figs. 206**] The one

on the ground floor is a cuirass *all'antica*, much like those on the exterior façade, with

four helmets at each corner outside the oval. [**Fig. 207**] Like the reliefs on the vaults, its

correct viewing point is that of descent, as the viewer comes back down the staircase,

stops in the landing, and moves in the direction of the *Salle du Bal*. On the other hand,

the oval image of the first mid-way landing is exceptional in that it is the only relief

whose correct viewing point is ascending. [**Figs. 208-209**] The relief shows a winged

putto holding three types of arrows in his right hand and fire in his left hand: pelting

arrows come down from his right side, while small fire flames move down on his left. Its

curious iconography is visually related to a series of contemporary frontispieces by

Bernard Salomon in editions by Jean de Tournes, all of which are seemingly connected to

the theme of triumphal and neoplatonic love.[225] The closest is the frontispiece to the 1547

edition of the poems of Marguerite de Navarre, the *Suyte des Marguerites*, in which a

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[224] The connection between the Louvre façade and the 1549 entry has been noted in earlier scholarship, for which see Jenkins, 294

[225] See Bernard Salomon's frontispieces to the *Suyte des Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses…* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1547); the "Trionfo d'Amore" (p.317) in *Il Petrarca* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1550); and Leone Ebreo, *De l'Amour* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1551). Images published in Sharratt, figs. 113, 106, 124. The visual connections between the Marguerite de Navarre and Petrarch frontispieces are noted by Sharratt, 276 (though not in relation to the *Grand degré*).

winged putto is surrounded by flames while he appears to take the sun's rays with his right hand. In the 1550 edition of *Il Petrarca*, the frontispiece to the "Trionfo d'Amore" shows a Cupid shooting down small flames of fire onto a heap of helmets and armor.[226] The image for the second volume of Leon Ebreo's treatise of love (1551) shows a putto surrounded by animals, as he gazes towards the sun.[227] [**Figs. 210-212**]

The oval image of the landing on the floor of the *Salle du Roi* appears to be connected to that of the winged putto of the previous landing: two interlocking putti share a garland, and while one sustains a crescent moon/orb above their heads, the other steps over the same exact orb. [**Fig. 194**] In its symmetrical arrangement, this image seems to parallel the overall symmetry of the disposition of the decorations in the *Grand Degré*, while functioning as a symbolic counterpart to the putto of the previous landing. Unlike its counterpart, this oval is again situated to be observed on one's way down. Nonetheless, the image of the two putti completes the one on the earlier landing, for it may be interpreted as a figurative representation of Henri II's motto, which was repeatedly inscribed on the façade: *Donec totum impleat orbem*.[228] This motto, which may be loosely translated as "until the cycle/circle arrives to its completion," is based on

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[226] The flames also appear in one of the temporary structures for Henri's 1549 entry into Paris, published in *C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu a la nouvelle et ioyeuse entrée, que treshault, tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, le Roy treschrestien Henry deuzieme de ce nom a faicte en sa bonne ville et cite de Paris,... le seizieme iour de Iuin M. D. XLIX* (Paris: Jacques Roffet, 1549): the flames appear on the borders of the obelisk carried over a rhinoceros; the obelisk is capped with an orb with cracks out of which come fire; a female figure representing France/Minerva (?) (dressed in armor and holding a shield decorated with the fleur-de-lys) stands on the top.

[227] The image in Ebreo, in which Cupid looks up towards the sun (and the moon hovers on the right upper side), is interpreted by Sharratt (284-285) as a visual summary of the neoplatonic theme of the book, to be compared with an illustration by Eskrich, a frontispiece for another edition of the same year.

[228] For the inscriptions originally carved in gilded letters on the marbles plaques above the three doors on the ground floor and on the frieze of the second floor, see Jenkins, 294-295. While the *Donec totum impleat orbem* motto can still be seen in one of the plaques of the second level, the plaque above the figure of Fame, according to a sixteenth-century source, read *Virtvti regis invictissimi* ("to the valor of the most invincible monarch"), for which see Jenkins, 294-295.

Ovid's description of Achilles's destiny (*Met.* XII 617).[229] Henri's motto is a metaphor

that stands for completion and may be interpreted as a synthetic summary of Henri II's

imperialistic iconography, whereby the moon's fulfillment is the equivalent to the sun,

and the orb or circle is an image of universal reign, a widespread notion throughout

sixteenth-century European courts.[230] In this way, the two putti with orbs may be seen as

a culmination of the entire Louvre decorative cycle, both inside and outside: for it is an

image of balance and wholeness that reflects the symmetrical design of the cycle, while

functioning as a visual emblem of the imperial theme of fulfillment that dominated Henri

II's reign and imagery.

In this sense, the reliefs over the landings function slightly differently from the

reliefs over the vaults: whereas the reliefs over the vaults organize the king's personal

emblematics in a hierarchical and ordered manner from top to bottom, the landing reliefs

have a narrative unfolding that complements the viewing of the vault reliefs. Based on

the careful disposition of the reliefs throughout the cycle, the fact that the *spiritello* of the

first mid-floor landing is the only relief facing the ascending viewer may be understood

as part of a carefully designed visual rhetoric: I would suggest that there is a bottom-to-

top narrative where this particular image is purposefully addressed at the viewer as he

ascends towards the king, and is resolved once the viewer reaches the *Salle du Roi*. It is

resolved both because the image of the single *spiritello* is completed by the image of the

two putti, and because the viewer has reached the king's floor, the symbolic point of

culmination. From this point on in the ceremonial, as the viewer traces his steps back

down the steps (in the king's company), he will be able to appreciate the reliefs from the

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[229] See Crépin-Leblond, 78, in which the *motto* is translated as "jusqu'à sa plénitude."

[230] Ibid., quoting Frances Yates's *Astrea*, a series of studies on the imperial theme dominant in sixteenth-century European courts.

'correct' perspective. This includes the landing relief of the two putti, which is best appreciated from the descending perspective. But this shift in perspective has a symbolic value: for it is only possible because the viewer has reached the king's floor and is now in his company.

These shifting points of view suggest that the 'program' can be read from multiple angles. While there was almost certainly a principal direction to view the images (from top to bottom, as evidenced by the arrangement of the reliefs), it is also true that a series of details are purposefully placed from the ascending viewer's direction. These include the *spiritello* of the first mid-floor landing as well as the female heads placed at the start of each vaulted ramp; this ascending perspective is culminated by the paired satyrs that cap the decorations as one reaches the attic level. [**Fig. 213**] In contrast to the descending point of view, these images constitute only glimpses of the overall decorations. From what we know of the ceremonial usage of the staircase, the disposition of the reliefs from a descending viewing point is complemented by the fact that the staircase achieved its major symbolic potential when viewed in the company of the king, as the privileged viewer descended with him. In this sense, in addition to the reliefs having one principal perspective, there is also a 'correct' perspective from the symbolic ceremonial point of view. From the point of view of the ascending viewer, there is also a secondary ceremonial point of view, in which the visitor has some glimpses of the overall cycle and a few reliefs are turned in his direction; from this point of view, the reliefs of the landings have a narrative direction that is completed upon ascension.

There is yet another possible way of viewing the reliefs, for it remains to be seen whether the staircase was reserved for special, ceremonial occasions, and whether the

smaller spiral staircases joining the king's apartments to those of his family and other members of the royal court were the ones used on a daily basis.[231] One might imagine that the *Grand degré* was also used by members of the court on other occasions, for the landing spaces have built-in stone benches, implying that the space was meant to be slowly viewed and appreciated.[232] [**Fig. 214**] In this sense, the staircase might have had multiple ways of seeing it: under the strict ceremonial usage previously described, as well as on a more quotidian basis, where viewing could start at any given location. Thus, the imagery of the staircase may be read in the following ways: in the descending order from the correct perspectival point (the primary ceremonial manner from the king's point of view); while ascending, with more limited glimpses of the ensemble (as part of the ceremonial); or from different directions that do not imply a ceremonial viewing, when the staircase was used to gain access from one space to the other. For the court members who might experience the decorations on a more frequent basis, the imagery could be taken in slowly: not unlike the proliferating decorations at Fontainebleau, the tightly decorated spaces of the Louvre *Grand degré* produce a reverberating effect, to be taken in over time. In one way or another, however, the main message was always the same one: a celebration of the king's *persona* with his symbolism displayed throughout the ensemble.

In this preliminary description, only three of the vaults have been accounted for. While it is tempting to think that there is a significance to the arrangement of the reliefs

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[231] In the documents studied by Chatenet (154), a difference in the use of staircases is sometimes evidenced; the *Comptes* at Saint Germain, for example, show the complementary roles of the spiral and grand staircases: "Le grand escalier par ou l'on monte en la salle du roy […] La petite viz par ou l'on descend de la chambre du roy en sa gallerye." While the larger staircase would appear to have a more public function, to move up towards the king's ceremonial spaces, the small spiral provides a type of escape route for the king to visit his private quarters (such as the gallery).

[232] The decorations above the benches are a nineteenth-century addition in imitation of the earlier reliefs, for which see Aulanier, *Pavillon de l'Horloge*, 52.

along the staircase, it is difficult to assess whether there is a systematic program to these reliefs, in part because of the history of the construction of the wing. While the previously described arrangement was most probably conceived as a planned, thought-out and coherent ensemble, the relief decorations of the attic level may have been added on at the last minute. The entire Renaissance Louvre wing was initially intended only on two levels; however, as attested by notarial acts, by 1553, an additional floor was being planned to accommodate necessary apartments for other members of the court, and Jean Goujon was contracted to decorate the attic level of the façade.[233] This suggests that the decorations were not necessarily entirely conceived from the start, but that they were gradually planned. This was probably the result of the staircase decorations as well. At the same time, it is possible that the decoration of the staircase was planned once the entire structure was in place. At any rate, it is likely that the most significant layout corresponds to the previously described ceremonial viewing that started at the *Salle du Roi* and led down to the *Salle du Bal*. The reliefs that lead from the *Salle du Roi* to the attic level replicate the decorations of the levels closest to the ground floor, while the landing between the *Salle du Roi* and the attic seems to confirm the binary nature of the entire ensemble. [**Figs. 215-216**] The relief on this landing recalls the imagery on the landing of the *Salle Roi*, for it shows two interlocking serpent-like creatures (half-man, half-beast) that blow into flutes, not unlike the putti that frame the Caryatid tribune on the ground floor. [**Fig. 217**] The landing of the attic level has no decorations, seemingly confirming that the principal portion is that stemming from the king's floor downwards,

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[233] The project went through three different states; the shifts can be seen in documents dating 1550-1556, for which see Grodecki, 19-21. The document that shows the addition of the new attic level is published in Aulanier (1951), 88, III (Arch. Nat. Minutier Central, CXXII, 1281) and is dated May 31, 1553.

and that the decorations leading to the attic level are a continuation of the earlier floors but do not have the same symbolic value in terms of ceremonial ritual.

The notarial acts documenting the building of the Renaissance Louvre wing not only provide an insight into the building process, but also reveal significant details about the iconography of the decorations and their conception. In the notarial act dated May 31, 1553, showing how Goujon was contracted by Lescot (in the king's name) to sculpt the friezes below the three façade windows of the Louvre, it is said that Goujon was provided with the designs: Goujon stipulates that he will "enrichir de figures de demye taille dedans troys grans frontispices […] le tout selon les decins qui luy ont esté et seront baillez."[234] In another document, dating August 30, 1553, in which two sculptors are contracted by Lescot to work on one of the vaults of the staircase, the sculptors are again provided with the designs; here, the sculptors stipulate to "enrichir les parquetz d'une voulte tampante de la quatriesme en ordre du grant escalyer dud. bastiment du Louvre des ordonnances et desceins qui leur seront bailléz par led. Seigneur de Claigny [Lescot]."[235] In providing the sculptors with explicit instructions and designs, Lescot was obviously working with a complex program in mind, one that was probably conceived by a group of advisors at court in tandem with the architect.

In his description of the commissioned decorations for the exterior attic level of the façade, Goujon specifies the subject matter of the decorations: "troys frizes servans d'amortissemens ayant chacune deux anymaulx et une teste de Dyane entrelassée de croissans et sur lesd. anymaulx faire chiens, lyons et biches."[236] The "teste de Diane"

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[234] Aulanier (1951), 88, III.

[235] Ibid., 90, VI [Arch. Nat., Min. cent., CXXII, 1282]

[236] The document dating May 21, 1552, is a promise by Goujon to sculpt the decorations as contracted with Lescot; published in Aulanier (1951), 87, I [Archives nationales. Minutier central, CXXII, 1281]

corresponds to the female heads with crescent moons and horns, a type that we find over

and over in the *Grand degré*. [**Figs. 218-219**] This not only confirms the importance of

Diana for the image of Henri II, but also demonstrates how the goddess of the hunt

pervades both the interior and exterior of the decorations, a previously unnoted detail in

the scholarship. Not only are her symbols everywhere (the stags, the dogs, the arrows,

and the bows), and is she represented in the principal square that leads down from the

king's floor, but the heads that permeate the entire decorative structure are also

representations of Diana.[237] A similar combination of female heads crowned with

crescent moons are visible in an engraved portrait of Henri II (1555), in which the king is

presented in profile, and dressed in *all'antica* armor, while crowned with a laurel. His

portrait is shown inside a medallion surrounded and supported by figures and garlands in

a composition that recalls the Fontainebleau frames, albeit in a personalized version: for

the crescents are displayed throughout the image, even on the two winged females that

hold a laurel over the crown capping the medallion.[238] [**Fig. 220**]

The imagery of the *Grand degré* thus builds on the type of Fontainebleau

aesthetics that circulated in prints and were adapted to Henri II's emblematics. The

combination of elements of the *Grand degré* is not unlike what happens with printed

works that disseminated Fontainebleau aesthetics, such as Milan and Boyvin's *Nymph of*

Fontainebleau, whose image is the result of what Zorach has called "recombinant

aesthetics." Indeed, the hunting iconography of the staircase seems to derive from

Fontainebleau aesthetics, more specifically of the type seen in Cellini's *Nymph of*

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[237] The Diana heads are often crowned with half-crescent moons, but are rather curious in that they have two horns and sometimes two teeth that give the figure a comical appearance.

[238] The figures at the bottom have an interesting iconography that should be explored further: the one on the right resembles Primaticcio's figures (such as the Diana at Saint-Maur), while the one on the left seems to represent an older woman who holds a key to a lock.

Fontainebleau, which was initially meant to serve a similar function, in that it was designed to stand at the main entrance or liminal space of a royal castle.

Yet the question of why the interior was so emphatically decorated with hunting symbolism remains open. The choice might seem surprising for the Louvre was the only royal residence not connected to a forest or to the hunting activities of other castles. In a way, the grand staircase of the Louvre may be seen as Henri's response to François's renowned double spiral staircase at Chambord, surrounded with the Fs and salamanders of François I's own emblematics. [**Fig. 221**] Indeed, Henri II's Louvre rivals with his father's grand architectural projects: it serves as their counterpart by referring to their style and imagery but within a new context. In contrast to François I's building projects, which focused on the more intimate parts of a castle (the *galerie*, the baths, the library), Henri II tended to emphasize the more public, ceremonial areas.[239] Thus, the development of the grand Louvre staircase is a significant part of Henri II's architectural policy.

As the viewer came back down the staircases with the king, Henri II could have played a similar role to that of François I as he led his visitors through the semi-private spaces of his Fontainebleau: the king's performance would not only provide the symbolic 'key' to his imagery, but it was also a way of 'showing off' his prized architectural residence. What Fontainebleau was to François I, in terms of being the king's major architectonic and artistic creation, the Louvre was to Henri II. In contrast to the Fontainebleau visits, however, the Louvre ceremonial has a more official and programmatic taste, carefully conceived for the display of the king's public *persona*. At

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[239] Chatenet, 316. As demonstrated by Chatenet (172-174), this tendency is evidenced in the architectural development of anti-chambers during the reign of Henri II.

the same time, as with other Henri II imagery, it played on the connections back to his father, and more generally, to Fontainebleau aesthetics. While certain decorations can be traced back to stock motifs used in printing, such as the figures of the reclining satyrs,[240] the general arrangement recalls the decorative stuccoes of Fontainebleau though here reorganized under strict geometrical divisions.

Under François I, Fontainebleau was the site where the image of Diana was first extensively developed and associated with the king. This was due, at least in part, to the aesthetics of hunting. Thus, although François I introduced the erotic nature of mythological imagery, the site where this became officially established and associated with the king's *persona* was the Louvre, as developed under Henri II. Albeit of a different nature, the reliefs of the *Grand degré* are closely related to the images of Diana / Nymph of Fontainebleau that were first connected to François I, and which functioned as emblematic images of king. Although these works may not have been systematically conceived of as a coherent group from the start, such interconnections resulted from accumulated traditions and the visual strategies devised to present and promote a royal image.

Conclusions

In this context, it would be worthwhile to reexamine the function of Milan and Boyvin's engraving. Whereas the engraving may have been conceived in the circle of neo-Latin poets at the end of the reign of François I, as an homage to the king and his artist, it was finished and possibly circulated under Henri II (much like Cellini's *Nymph*).

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[240] As noted by Aulanier, *Pavillon de l'Horloge*, 11.

And like Cellini's work, it was put to use in this new context, its meaning adapted to the circumstances. Therefore, its significance is as much about the reception of the work and the changing circumstances that affect its use, as it is about its 'original' meaning. By the 1550s, the associations between the Nymph and Diana were firmly established, and the engraving may have been considered appropriate enough, even advantageous, to be exploited under Henri II. It would promote the image of Diana in association with the new king, while reaching back to the old king.

Although the use of *Cum privilegio regis* points to the engraver's rights over the plates and is different from our modern notions of copyright, one might also suggest that the king's authority has been granted over the reproduction and dissemination of his images. [241] In discussing the printed reproduction of the Galerie frames with images different from their originals (as is the case of this engraving) in conjunction with the distribution of Fontainebleau imagery in the Parisian market during the late 1540s, Rebecca Zorach notes how "Francis I seems to have promoted the initial 'reproduction' of Fontainebleau imagery as an expression of his own majesty and magnificence. With the detachment both of frames and of their embellishing function from specifically *royal* prestige, however, magnificence itself became a separable (and saleable) quality." [242] Milan and Boyvin's engraving is an ambitious example of this, and may be said to belong both to the category of 'reproductive' and 'ornamental' prints. While so-called reproductive prints served to promote the style of a particular artist, ornamental prints

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[241] On the function of the *privilegio* in printed images (an understudied subject), and sixteenth-century copyright notions, see Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance. Prints and the 'Privilegio' in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Boston: Brill, 2004); although the study concentrates on the two major Italian centers to grant such privileges, the questions raised in this study on the relationship between originality, consumption, and production of prints may be applied to France; on the privilege for printed images (separate from books) in France, see 342-343.
[242] Zorach, 158.

were used to disseminate designs to a wider audience, "providing information about styles that would enable the emulation of luxury."[243] Milan and Boyvin's engraving was a celebration of François I and Rosso, as well as a dissemination of royal aesthetics. In this sense, it would have provided a particularly suitable example for Henri II's own image, with a special emphasis placed on his connection to François I.

Exploited both by Henri II and Diane de Poitiers in order to strengthen their respective associations with a kingly image, the image of Diana must be traced back to the era of François I. Undeniably, prints played an essential part in this process of ongoing adaptations and the eventual transformation of the Nymph of Fontainebleau into the goddess of the hunt. Through prints, the aesthetics that were initially restricted to a courtly ambiance were multiplied and opened up to wider audience.

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[243] Ibid., 139.

Part III

At the Bath: Erotics and Chastity at Play

Metamorphosis becomes a means of creating self-consciousness because it creates a tension between identity and form, and through this tension the individual is compelled to look in the mirror.[1]

Throughout the mid-sixteenth century, images of Diana and her nymphs were multiplied in numbers and produced in a variety of media for courtly consumption, a phenomenon that has been acknowledged in earlier studies.[2] For the most part, the preferred theme was Diana at the bath, and it was the encounter between Diana and Actaeon that became the principal narrative used to depict the goddess's nudity.[3] Examples include mainly prints and some large-scale paintings, but also panels for wooden chests and majolica works. [**Figs. 222-225**] Unlike its earlier appearances in the *Ovide moralisé* and the *Epistre Othea*, Diana's nudity in these later versions -- particularly in the large-scale works-- seems to be purposefully eroticized. The obvious conclusion would be that the emphasis on the bath setting in the Diana imagery goes hand in hand with other sensually charged iconographies much in vogue during the 1540s and 1550s, which include prints of bath themes (both with and without mythological references), as well as the enigmatic *Lady at the Bath* series of paintings. [**Figs. 226-231**]

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[1] Leonard Barkan, "Diana and Actaeon: The Myth as Synthesis," *English Literary Renaissance* 10 (1980), 322.

[2] See Bardon (1963); Fanlo and Legrand (eds), *Actes du colloque. Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002).

[3] Two major exceptions are the Althorp Diana type and the Louvre *Diane Chasseresse*, which served as the prototype for later developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [**Figs. 5-6**]

Yet despite this much noted thematic, questions pertaining to specific depictions of Diana and her nymphs while bathing --which are usually subsumed under a single iconographic type and thereby assumed to share one same meaning-- have not been fully explored: in-depth analyses and comparisons of individual works, their function and audience have yet to be undertaken.

This chapter proposes a close reading of a series of paintings in which the theme of Diana and Actaeon is presented in a complex manner, the so-called *Bath of Diana*, whose original version, now at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen, is attributed to François Clouet and dated to the 1550s. [**Fig. 232**] The painting shows a group of three nude women bathing in the foreground, assisted by one maidservant and accompanied by two satyrs. The presence of the satyrs and the women's nudity indicate that this is a mythological scene; the setting at the bath and the half-crescent moon on the central woman's forehead identify the group as Diana and her nymphs. A figure on horseback, accompanied by a dog, arrives in the left middle ground as he glances towards the group of women who do not seem to acknowledge his presence. Another scene is offset in the right margin of the painting, where a stag is attacked and overturned on the ground by three dogs simultaneously. At either side of the painting, as well as in its center background, winding paths lead back and up into the forests. In its narrative structure, the painting resembles a continuous narrative (in which different chronological moments of a story are depicted onto a pictorial space) where the middle-ground scenes, appropriately separated by a large vertical tree that cuts across the painting's horizontal format, function as 'footnotes' to the main scene.

Clouet's composition exists in at least three (and maybe four) known versions dated variously throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, which further complicate its meaning. Since its restoration in the 1960s, scholars have unanimously agreed that the Rouen version is most probably an original by François Clouet, the major artist of the mid-sixteenth-century French court, renowned mainly for his portraits but also known for his allegorical and mythological inventions. The Rouen painting is indeed the version of the highest technical and pictorial quality, but it is difficult to ascertain its exact connection to the other versions for the Rouen original was, as we shall see, meaningfully changed through a series of over paintings. The version at the Sao Paulo Museum of Fine Arts (dated between the 1550s and 1570s and previously known as the Métayer version) is either a variant or a replica after the Rouen version, depending on whether it was painted before or after alterations were made to the Rouen original. [**Fig. 233**] The version at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Tours is dated to the 1590s and is a variant after the Sao Paulo version (or after the Rouen version before any changes were made to it). [**Fig. 234**] Another version, identical to that in Tours, is recorded as being in the Sulzbach collection in the 1920s, but its present location remains unknown, although it is possibly the same painting now in Tours.[4] [**Fig. 235**]

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[4] Based on my examination of the correspondence about the painting's provenance in the *Bath of Diana* file (INV D52-6-1) of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Tours, it may well be that the Tours and the Sulzbach versions are the same one. Acquired in 1952 as a "récuperation artistique" (MNR 24) by the Direction des Musées de France, the painting has been deposited in Tours since then. Its provenance is currently listed as "Château du Villebon (Eure-et-Loire)?" In a letter addressed to the curator and dated October 27, 1963 (in response to a letter from the curator dated 10-25-63), the proprietor of the Château de Villebon confirms the painting was once at the castle and sold in a public sale on April 18, 1904, listed no. 1358 as "École de Fontainebleau. Nymphes et satyres dans un paysage." As evidence, he provides an image of the Villebon painting as it appeared in the Salon LXIII de Villebon [no date given], while remarking that the Château de Villebon painting also appeared in Reinach's article (1920). Based on this correspondence, and noting that the painting in Reinach is listed as "Sulzbach collection," one might conclude that the Villebon/Tours painting may have been the same painting recorded in the Sulzbach collection in the 1920s and that has not been seen since then. Thus, the once Villebon painting (at Tours since 1952) could have been in the

The paintings differ from one another not only in quality and size, but also in significant details and in the physiognomies of the figures. This has led scholars to assume that these works are portraits and to speculate on the identities of the figures: whereas the earlier versions are generally thought to represent Diane de Poitiers and Henri II (with a number of alternatives suggested), the later variants are unanimously believed to symbolize the love between Gabrielle d'Estrées and Henri IV. [**Table 1**]

Whereas previous interpreters of this series have differed with respect to the identities of the figures, they have agreed on one general meaning: that the tale of Diana and Actaeon is here represented as an allegory of love, in which the middle ground scenes seem to represent two different moments of the tale of Actaeon: namely, the moments 'before and after' the mortal hunter's viewing of Diana and her nymphs while bathing. The courtly horseback rider approaching the female group from the left would thus represent Actaeon's arrival to the scene of Diana's bath; following this line of interpretation, the stag being devoured by dogs on the right side of the painting would be a reference to Actaeon's tragic death, devoured by his own dogs after having been transformed into a stag by the enraged goddess, a topos that was much exploited in Petrarchan poetry in reference to the lover's agony.[5]

Sulzbach collection in the interim. However, due to the close resemblance of the paintings (if they are indeed replicas of one another), and to the poor-quality of the old reproductions, the exact relationship between the Villebon, Tours, and Sulzbach is difficult to confirm.

An in-depth analysis of this series has not been attempted since the 1960s, and this may be why the possible correlation between the Sulzbach and Tours versions has not been noted before. The Tours version is currently under restoration.

[5] See Stephen Murphy, "The Death of Actaeon as Petrarchist Topos," *Comparative Literature Studies* 28:2 (1991): 137-155.

Indeed, throughout Renaissance poetry, from Petrarch to Shakespeare, the Diana and Actaeon myth became a "means of investigating the complicated psychology of love," and a number of art works depicting the tale have been interpreted in such terms, most notably Parmigianino's fresco cycle of 1523 at the castle of Fontanellato, near Parma.[6] [**Fig. 240**] Yet the interpretations given to the *Bath of Diana* as a love allegory have not been fully developed, its implications and significance have not been investigated: for example, what type of 'love' are we witnessing exactly? And if these are indeed representations of the royal mistresses and their lovers, as has been supposed, how is this 'destructive' form of love to be understood? The works should also be considered in relation to the display and function of other similar imagery. As is the case of the *Lady at the Bath* series, whose original invention is also attributed to François Clouet, scholars have focused on establishing the identity of the figures and proposed that these works are connected to the royal mistresses. Yet such identifications remain difficult to establish with certainty, in particular because the original location of the paintings is unknown, and the precise identification of historical individuals in so-called allegorical portraiture remains largely debated.[7]

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[6] For the quote, see Barkan, 335. See Barkan, 355 ff., for the literary development of the Actaeon myth in such terms outside of Italy, in particular with Elizabethan poets. On Parmigianino's Diana and Actaeon cycle at Fontanellato as an allegory of love, see Ute Davitt-Asmus, "Fontanellato II: la trasformazione dell'Amante nell'Amato; Parmigianinos Fresken in der Rocca Sanvitale," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 31:1 (1987): 3-58.

[7] The *Lady at the Bath* paintings continue to puzzle art historians, and have led to much speculation as to their meaning and the identities of the half-length nude female figures. Earlier scholars were quick to assume their identification with royal mistresses, in particular Diane de Poitiers and Gabrielle d'Estrées, and emphasized an allegorical reading based on iconographic clues; more recently, scholars have doubted such identifications. See for example Ann Rose Plogsterth, *The Institution of the Royal Mistress and the Iconography of Nude Portraiture in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1991), which demonstrates that there is no clear evidence to support the identification of many of the so-called portraits of royal mistresses. For a convincing interpretation of the *Lady at the Bath* type in the context of half-length nude female portraits, and its associations with sixteenth-century bathing practices, see Henri Zerner, "La Dame au Bain," in *Le corps à la Renaissance: Actes du XXXe colloque de Tours, 1987* (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1990), 95-111.

This chapter proposes an analysis of the series in terms not so much of *who* is depicted in it, but of *how* it is depicted, in the context of broader issues concerning visuality and representation, together with an attentive exploration of previously ignored components of the painting that may be key to understanding the complexities of the usage of classical myth at the French court. These include an understanding of the narrative structure of the image, as well as of iconographic references, such as the visual allusion to the Judgment of Paris and the unusual presence of the satyrs.

After addressing the question of the relationship between the different versions, I will discuss the general problematics of representing Diana's nudity, based on her interdiction to Actaeon. I will then turn to the depiction of bathing and nudity in the context of the French Renaissance, as this will provide the necessary background for understanding how the Clouet image presents a complex response to these matters. Finally, I will return to the questions of narrative structure and iconography.

The conclusions presented here about the relationship between the different versions and the mapping of the possible correlations between them are my own. Earlier studies have not considered how the changes made to the Rouen original affect the relationship between the versions, nor how these changes reflect on the meaning of the works while evidencing a shift in the understanding and usage of these works throughout an extended period of time. This may be partly because there has been no comprehensive study of the works after the 1991 restoration of the Rouen painting.[8]

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[8] For the most recent summary of the history of the interpretations, see Sylvie Béguin, *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Grand Palais, 1972), 54-57. For a comparison of the different versions in terms of measurements and pictorial details, as well as of the previous interpretations and identifications given to the figures, refer to **Table 1**.

III.1 Repainting and Variations on Clouet's *Bath of Diana*

In part, the difficulty of reconstructing the identity of the figures in the *Bath of Diana* series stems from the problematic history of the numerous over paintings and conservation history of the Rouen original version. A restoration in 1991 revealed that significant changes had been made to the painting's iconography at some point in its history: the horseback rider, who was originally bearded and dressed *all'antica* (much like the Sao Paulo version), was painted over and dressed with the black and white striped outfit that we now see; the little figure of a beast close to the horseback rider was scratched out, then painted over and concealed beneath a rock. [**Fig. 241**] During the 1991 cleaning of the painting, the decision was made to reconstruct the beast and paint it back into the picture; conservators used the evidence of remaining pigments, x-rays revealing a scratched-out silhouette, and comparison to the Sao Paulo version, which still had the beast in it and thus confirmed its original existence.[9] However, it seems that the decision not to include the animal's lengthy tongue (whose original existence can be attested through the x-rays revealing the scratched-out silhouette, and from remnants of red pigment) was based on the conservators' aesthetic preference at the time.[10] [**Fig. 242**]

Although it is difficult to say when exactly the changes to the horseback rider and beast were made, conservators believe they were early (in the later sixteenth century),

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[9] Attested in the 1991 conservation notes and correspondence between the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Rouen and the Sao Paulo Museum of Fine Arts (*Bain de Diane* file, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen).

[10] As told to me by Marie Pessiot, the chief conservator of the MBA, Rouen (conversation held at the MBA, Rouen, April 20, 2006), who noted that, based on the current approach to conservation, the purely aesthetically motivated decision of not including the animal's tongue would probably not have been made today.

and old reproductions confirm that the painting was already in this state in the nineteenth century.[11] The changes made to the painting throughout its history (together with the conservators' decision not to include the beast's tongue) are significant, for they demonstrate how easily the painting's meaning could have been shifted, and they reflect how a painting can be adapted to suit later aesthetic tastes and even symbolic preferences. Most significantly, comparison with the other variants shows that some additional details in the apparel of the figures were probably the result of later interventions: the half-moon on the central figure's forehead, the women's jewelry, and the leaves covering the genital area of one of the satyrs are unique to the Rouen painting and are not present in the other versions.[12] [**Diagram 2**] Whether these details were originally in the Rouen work or whether they were changes made during the later sixteenth century, their exclusivity would necessarily mean that the Sao Paulo version served as the basis for the Tours and Métayer versions.[13] Another possibility is that the Rouen version was used as the model before it was altered.

Notwithstanding when the Rouen painting was adapted, the small but significant details distinctive to this version reveal that, at some point in the painting's history, there was a need to modify the painting's significance, not unlike the later-sixteenth-century variations of both the *Bath of Diana* and the *Lady at the Bath* prototypes, in which the

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[11] Unfortunately, there is no comprehensive conservation report of the 1991 restoration, its findings, and results; information of the restoration in the painting's file is based mostly on pictures taken before and during the restoration, some notes, and official letters stating the necessity of the restoration. On the changes made to the painting at some point of its history, perhaps as early as the sixteenth century, my source is Marie Pessiot (conversation at the Rouen, MBA, April 20, 2006).

[12] The jewelry has been interpreted as evidence for a later dating of the painting, for its depiction in mythological imagery is typical of later sixteenth-century works. (See Blum, 1921). But since the painting has a history of changes made to it, the more likely hypothesis is that the jewelry was added on later. The possibility that the half-moon was added has not been suggested or explored, and the fig leaves covering the satyr have not been noted previously.

[13] This is essentially why earlier scholars at some point believed that the Sao Paulo version was the original or exact replica of the original, for it was clearly the base of the later variants [see **Table 1**].

paintings were more explicitly adapted for then current usage. A consideration of the exclusive details in the Rouen original and their absence in the other versions suggest two hypotheses:

1) If all of the aforementioned details (the black and white outfit, the half-moon, the jewelry) were later additions made to Clouet's original invention, they evidence a retrospective need to 'clarify' the mythological references and/or emphasize the identity of the figures by: **a)** making the mythological reference more explicit and eliminating any possible ambiguity by inserting the half-moon so as to identify the central figure as Diana; **b)** imposing a new identity onto the horseback rider (in specific terms, if the figure was meant to be a specific historical figure in the first place, or in generic terms, in what may simply be a costume 'updating').

2) If the only changes made to the Rouen painting were the outfit of the horseback rider and the scratching out of the beast, this would mean that the Sao Paulo version chose to eliminate certain details of the original (notably the crescent moon and the jewelry). Therefore, the Sao Paulo version would be a variant, and not a replica, of the Rouen work; by not including the crescent moon, for example, the artist and/or patrons of the Sao Paulo variant apparently emphasized the ambiguity of the iconography.

However, since some changes were undisputedly made to the Rouen painting, it is probable that the crescent moon, jewelry and fig leaves were later additions. It is also unlikely that the jewelry would have been eliminated purposefully in the variant (the Sao

Paulo work), as jewelry tends to appear only in later paintings of mythological subjects, as attested by the late-sixteenth-century painted versions of Milan and Boyvin's *Nymph of Fontainebleau*. Likewise, the fig leaves certainly seem to be an addition of the later sixteenth century as a way of censuring nudity, for it might have made the painting more acceptable in light of the Counter-reformation and to some of the factions during the French religious wars.[14] The Rouen painting was thus likely conceived initially without these details and would have been almost identical to the Sao Paulo version. The Sao Paulo painting, in turn, is probably a replica rather than a variant of Clouet's original.

In terms of the changes made to the horseback rider in the Rouen painting --from the *all'antica* costume to the attire of a sixteenth-century courtier-- these show that the deliberate shift in meaning was essentially of a temporal nature: from a vague reference to antiquity, and hence classical mythology, to one that set the picture in the recognizable context of the sixteenth century (or at least inserted a sixteenth-century individual into the mythological scene). For the black and white striped attire was especially worn in courtly circles during the sixteenth century, and became increasingly associated with the French king. This visual association was perhaps inaugurated with Jean Clouet's official portrait of François I (Louvre), and while this particular attire is absent from other contemporary portraits of François I, it is usually included in his posthumous portraits.[15] [**Figs. 243-244**] This would further strengthen the idea that the black and white attire painted over the

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[14] Note that the fig leaves in the painting's current state are significantly reduced when seen in comparison to the pre-restoration pictures (see the reproductions in Bardon, 1963, and Zerner, 2003). Perhaps the excessive leaves were removed during the restoration (after conservators realized that they were added on).

[15] On the possible significance of the black and white colors in Clouet's portrait of François I, see Cécile Scaillérez, *François Ier par Clouet* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996), 56-58; 61-64. As noted by Scailliérez, the colors do not appear in any of the other ambitious portraits of François I; "est-ce parce qu'il était profondément signifiant (même si ce sens nous échappe) ou parce qu'il était, de fait, devenu le costume officiel du roi?" (61). However, they do appear in retrospective portraits of the king (61-63).

all'antica costume in the Rouen painting was an after-thought, perhaps even meant to associate the horseback rider with Henri II, as indeed happened in the later scholarship. The problem is that it is difficult to know when exactly these changes were made to the Rouen version.

Ever since the nineteenth century, scholars have insisted that the costume of the horseback rider identifies Henri II as the protagonist of the Rouen picture, based on the belief that Henri II adopted these colors as a sign of his love for Diane de Poitiers, who wore the customary black and white colors of mourning as was fit for a widow. Most recently, Thierry Crépin-Leblond has demonstrated that this argument is flawed, for Henri II's preference for these colors belonged to the king's public symbolism (for example, the colors were used by the royal guard), a point that is strengthened when considering the usage of the same colors by both Henri II's father, François I, as well as his son, Henri III.[16] The change in clothing in the Rouen painting could simply be meant to refer generically to a courtly or princely figure, of the type appearing in the illuminations of mythographic manuscripts, such as Christine de Pizan's *Epistre*, in which the protagonists are dressed in contemporary courtly clothes. These retrospective additions to Clouet's *Bath of Diana* may be understood as a deliberate shifting of meaning, or even as a 'clarification' --albeit in terms of later beliefs and not necessarily as an attempt to restore the painting's original meaning. For even if the change was meant to identify the figure as Henri II, this decision to 'makeover' the rider corresponds to the

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[16] Thierry Crépin-Leblond, "Sens et contresens de l'emblématique de Henri II, in *Henri II et les arts: Actes du colloque internationale Ecole du Louvre et Musée Nationale de la Renaissance, Ecouen, 25, 26, et 27 septembre, 1997* (Paris: Ecole du Louvre, 2003), 79, 87 n. 31. Furthermore, as noted by Crépin-Leblond, Diane de Poitiers's usage of the colors associated with mourning was a widespread custom that was certainly not exclusively associated with her.

subsequent emphasis given to the legendary romance between Henri II and Diane de Poitiers, rather than to the original intentions of Clouet and his patrons.[17]

If we can imagine the Rouen version as it would most likely have appeared in its original state (i.e. much like the Sao Paulo version), the supposed sixteenth-century identifications begin to melt away: we are left with two satyrs and a group of nude women, as they are approached by a horseback rider dressed in *all'antica* guise. There are no specific identifications, only reminiscences of a mythological scene suggestive of an ancient pastoral world, not unlike the *poesie* of renowned Venetian artists of the sixteenth century. Whereas the evocation of the Diana and Actaeon tale would have been recognizable both through the Actaeon reference in the continuous narrative and the iconography of the bath, without the half-moon crescent, the painting's ambiguities would certainly have been accentuated.[18]

Having established what Clouet's original invention might have looked like, the major point revealed by a consideration of its afterlife is that the image of the *Bath of Diana* was being actively used at a later date than that of its original conception. Further evidence of this lies in the later-sixteenth-century variants that depict the mythological protagonist with a specific physiognomy (seemingly that of Gabrielle d'Estrées). That Clouet's invention was a powerful symbolic structure is attested by the surviving variants produced after it, in which the essential composition remains untouched, while distinctive

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[17] Another possibility to consider is whether Clouet himself (or workshop) could have made the changes to his original version later in time, for he continued to work at the court until his death in 1572. If this was the case, it certainly would not have been done to depict Henri II and Diane de Poitiers, for she fell out of favor after the king's death in 1559, and as court artist to Catherine de' Medici, it would not make sense for Clouet to shape the work's meaning in that direction. Again, everything seems to point to a later adaptation that --whether intended to invoke a couple of lovers or not-- was not meant to represent Henri II and Diane de Poitiers.

[18] As can be seen in an early-twentieth-century title given to one of the later paintings, "Satyrs and nymphs in a landscape" (see above n. 4).

physiognomies or attires are layered onto the principal actors. As this statement suggests, the crux of the matter does not necessarily lie in the identities of the figures but in the symbolic structure of the image --by this, meaning the visual disposition of its contents and their symbolic interconnections.[19]

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[19] I follow Zerner's approach in his interpretation of the *Lady at the Bath* (1990): in diverting the issue of who is depicted in such works and turning to other types of questions, Zerner achieves a very productive reading of the series. As noted by Zerner, a 'correct' identification of the figures' identities does not necessarily 'solve' the meaning of these works, as has been often assumed: "Nous avons, en effet, tendance à croire que l'identification 'explique' le tableau, même que, trop souvent, l'identification correcte du sujet tient lieu d'interprétation. Continuons donc un peu nôtre interrogatoire sans plus nous soucier de cette identification" (103).

III.2 A Forbidden Image and a Problem of Representation

In terms of its structure, the myth of Diana and Actaeon, in which the mortal
hunter is transformed into the hunted stag pursued by his own dogs, provides the
imagination with a figure of self-conflict and "shattered identity."[20] At its base lies the
visionary encounter with divine knowledge or nature, with a series of consequences:
"seeing what is forbidden, offending the gods, and developing a transfigured and mirror-
like identity."[21] In Neoplatonic Renaissance versions, the hunter's dogs are the equivalent
to self-destructive thoughts, and the myth is read as an encounter with one's self, where
the "pursuit by dogs demonstrates the complexities of identity because it establishes
complex and paradoxical relationships between hunter and hunted."[22] The myth was
similarly condensed in late-medieval allegorical texts, in which the dogs are related to the
hunter's culpability, his destiny is moralized as the natural outcome of his excessive
hunting, and the tale serves as a general warning on greed.[23] A remarkable synthesis of
the moralizing and Neo-Platonic veins comes together in sixteenth-century emblematic

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[20] For the question of reversed identity which lies at the heart of this myth, see Barkan, (1980), 321-322:
"The parallels between mysteries of identity and those of holiness are directly relevant to Actaeon. Diana
and Actaeon are both hunters, and they have both entered the grove to escape the hot sun. In seeing the
goddess, Actaeon has a glimpse of a transfigured form of himself. When he looks directly at the unshielded
brightness of this numinous version of himself, Actaeon shatters his identity and multiplies it. Part of the
metamorphosis is the implicit equation between the two figures."

[21] Ibid., 319.

[22] Ibid., 331.

[23] On the various medieval moralizations given to Actaeon, see Barkan (1980), 324-327.
The term "Actaeon complex" has been applied by literary critics and psychoanalysts to describe a condition
that is not altogether removed from the Neo-Platonic and medieval interpretations of the myth. A
discussion of the parallel interpretations of the myth by psychoanalysts and Renaissance poets can be found
in Christopher Wessman, "'I'll Play Diana': Christopher Marlowe's Doctor Faustus and the 'Actaeon
Complex'," *English Studies* 82:5 (October 2001): 401-19. The term 'Actaeon complex' was first suggested
by Jean-Paul Sartre and later explored by Jacques Lacan, as discussed by Ned Lukhacher in "The Third
Wound: Malcolm Bowie, Peter Brooks and the Myth of Actaeon," *Comparative Literature* 48:1 (Winter
1996): 65-73. The point is that myth has an essential structure that remains unaltered; its function is to
provide a vehicle for different meanings that are adapted according to specific historical contexts.

literature, as exemplified in Jean de Tournes's 1557 edition of *La Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, a somewhat early version of Emblem books, in which the text is structured around the images --unlike earlier editions, where the images often served as visual markers of the beginning of a new book or section-- and whose focus, as indicated by its title, was to provide a visualization of the *Metamorphoses.*

In visual terms, the tale of Diana and Actaeon poses an interesting predicament of representation: the problematics of visualizing a forbidden image. This conundrum was first hinted at by Ovid, who repeatedly underlines the myth's inherent visuality and plays with its intrinsic tensions: as we shall see, Ovid simultaneously elaborates "an invitation to view" the scene, while pausing on Diana's condemnatory speech to Actaeon, in which she dares him to describe her nakedness (*Met*. III. vv. 155-205). [24] He is also the first to stress Actaeon's innocence, an exception to earlier and later versions that instead underlined Actaeon's culpability.[25] Indeed, the Renaissance poetic interpretations of Actaeon as lover, where Actaeon's glance is considered a deliberate act, stem from written sources other than Ovid that could have been known to Renaissance writers through medieval sources.[26] In point of fact, Ovid's interpretation was the exception

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[24] See Stephen Hinds, "Landscape with figures: aesthetics of place in the *Metamorphoses* and its tradition," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, edited by Philip Hardie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 136, for an analysis of Ovid's landscape descriptions as an "invitation to view."

[25] On the question of Actaeon's innocence in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as an exception rather than the rule (even in Classical versions), see Barkan (1980). As our contemporary knowledge of the myth is often based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, we tend to think of Actaeon as an innocent victim. However, Renaissance poets mostly cast Actaeon as an active, knowledge-thirsty hunter. Although this factor has been closely examined by literary critics of Renaissance literature, it has not been considered by the interpreters of the visual renderings of the myth. By considering this important variant (regarding Actaeon's guilt), and relating the images to the Renaissance written versions of the myth, the meaning of the images will be seen to be multivalent and more complex than has been recognized.

[26] Although the ancient sources emphasizing Actaeon's culpability may not have been directly available to Renaissance readers, they would have been known through their medieval interpreters (Barkan, 323).

rather than the rule; of all the recountings of Actaeon's encounter with Diana,

Ovid's emphasis on the hunter's innocence is virtually unique in the history of the myth.

At the same time, since Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was the primary Classical source

of mythology to be absorbed and visualized in the Renaissance, it is worthwhile to trace

its literary development of the Diana and Actaeon narrative with its particular emphasis

on visuality and the prohibitions of seeing. It is also important to establish its possible

connections to the pictorial representations of the myth, and to the general Renaissance

attitude towards the structure of mythic narratives and their versatile associations.[27]

Shaped as a collection of stories, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* both reinvented earlier literature

and provided a generative source for later texts, and Ovid's treatment of the story of

Diana and Actaeon exemplifies both the transmission and transformation of a pre-

existing tale, as well as the development and growing importance of visuality as a critical

component of the myth's structure.[28] The encounter between the goddess of the hunt and

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[27] While many of the narrative techniques and visual renditions present in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* might be regarded as typical features of Hellenistic poetry, it was Ovid's text which was inherited, absorbed, and rewritten by poets and artists of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. For a summary of Ovid's literary context and of distinctive Ovidian features, see Kathryn L. McKinley, *Reading the Ovidian Heroine. "Metamorphoses" Commentaries 1100-1618* (Boston: Brill, 2001), 2-5. McKinley cites R.O.A.M. Lyne's analysis of the attributes shared by the Roman poets who consciously imitated Alexandrian poets such as Callimachus: a subjective emphasis; elaborate digressions; psychological turmoil; abundance of mythological allusion; and the use of imbedded narrators. According to McKinley, one of Ovid's major contributions was to "*feminize* the treatment of narrative" (1) by exploring the inner self.
Specific Ovidian traits (such as style and narrative technique) and their use in Renaissance texts have been amply discussed by literary critics. See William Keach, "Ovid and 'Ovidian' Poetry," *Ovid, The Classical Heritage*, ed. William S. Anderson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), 179-217, for example, on the question of 'Ovidianism' in the English Renaissance.
[28] One of the characteristics of a mythic structure is its numerous accounts and transformations over time; while the essential configuration remains the same, each version adds details that diversify and multiply its possible meaning. See Claude Lévi-Strauss's core argument in "The Structural Study of Myth," *Myth: A Symposium*, ed. Thomas A. Seboek (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1965): "the true constituent units of a myth are not the isolated relations but *bundles of such relations* and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning" (87).
   As noted by Barkan, it is "the presence of simultaneous narratives" (325) that sets the Diana and Actaeon tale apart from other myths (all of which are ridden with variations, as is characteristic of mythic structures). Indeed, it may be described as a synthetic myth, where Actaeon's experience is "a synthesis of

the mortal hunter was first staged at the bath by Callimachus, one of Ovid's major

sources for *The Metamorphoses*. In his *Hymns* from the 3rd century B.C., Callimachus

inserted the story into that of Pallas's bath (*Hymn* V), where Tiresias is rendered blind for

seeing the goddess's nudity (albeit a physical blindness which is later turned into an

ability to see beyond appearances –in the prophetic sense). Tiresias does so innocently;

while searching for water to quench his thirst, he comes across the source of Hippocrene

on Mount Helicon, the site of the goddess's bath and, according to mythographic

tradition, the utmost source of knowledge.[29] Callimachus then weaves the story of

Actaeon's destiny into that of Tiresias's encounter with Pallas, by having Pallas

prophesize its outcome as she underlines the inevitable punishment for those who

transgress divine boundaries, even when having done so innocently.[30] In Callimachus's

text, Actaeon and Tiresias thus function as mirror images of one another, and water

acquires special significance as a sacred element that reveals a divine vision.[31] Most

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voyeurism and holiness" (347), and he is simultaneously cast as "the voyeur, the purveyor of multiple identities, the victim of love, the visionary, the gelding, the buffoon, the holy fool" (359)

[29] Metaphorically speaking, Tiresias's thirst may be read as a quest for knowledge, much like Actaeon's roaming was interpreted by Renaissance poets and twentieth-century scholars alike. On Actaeon's pursuit of transcendental knowledge, see the Petrarchan tradition as discussed by Murphy.

[30] Callimachus is also the first to introduce the idea of Actaeon's innocence, a theme that will later be developed by Ovid. For the original Greek version of Callimachus's text, and its French translation, see Hélène Casanova-Robin, *Diane et Acteon: Éclats et reflets d'un mythe à la Renaissance et à l'âge baroque* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), 412-417.

[31] See Casanova-Robin for an analysis of Callimachus's insertion of Actaeon in the *Hymn* to Pallas: "on peut lire l'insertion des légendes de Tirésias et d'Actéon comme autant de mises en abyme d'épiphanies divines; elles contribuent, en multiplient les évocations d'apparitions de la déese…. Par ailleurs, offrir l'image de la divinité au cours d'une scène de bain, relève aussi d'un acte religieux, l'eau étant un élément de sacralité" (35). The connections between clear water and sacredness or purity go well back into time: "Le choix du lieu n'est pas inidifférent, non plus: la source Hippocrène aux belles eaux suggère certes les qualités esthétiques de la scène, connote l'idée de pureté, de sacralité qui est attachée à l'eau claire, en même temps qu'elle renvoie à la création poétique dont elle est censée favoriser l'inspiration, comme pour rendre plus fertile encore la parole du poète" (37).

significantly, Callimachus's new version of the tale allows for an erotic rendering of the female body, in addition to invoking the archaic taboo of transgressing divine limits.[32]

These connections were then elaborated by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, where the description of the goddess's grove (now Diana's) is amplified and praised in *ekphrastic* terms:

> Valis erat piceis et acuta densa cupressu,
> nomine Gargaphie succinctaeu sacra Dianae,
> cuius in extremo est antrum nemorale recessu
> arte laboratum nulla: simulaverat artem
> ingenio natura suo; nam pumice vivo
> et levibus tofis nativum duxerat arcum;
> fons sonat a dextra tenui perlucidas unda,
> margine gramineo patulos incinctus hiatus. (*Met*. III vv. 155-162)[33]

The scene thus provides an "invitation to view," as is often the case in other Ovidian landscape descriptions.[34] This technique was similarly used by Callimachus, who introduced the motifs of Pallas's bath scene before the actual narration of the transgression had begun.[35] In addition to his amplification of Actaeon's innocence and the bath setting, features originally in Callimachus, Ovid also took the Tiresias link from Callimachus, but used it as a framing device within Book III of the *Metamorphoses*, where the theme of physical and psychological vision provides a connective thread that

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[32] Casanova-Robin, 47.

[33] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, translated by Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 135: "There was a vale in that region, thick grown with pine and cypess with their sharp needles. 'Twas called Gargaphie, the sacred haunt of high-girt Diana. In its most secret nook there was a well-shaded grotto, wrought by no artist's hand. But Nature by her own cunning had imitated art; for she had shaped a native arch of the living rock and soft tufa. A sparkling spring with its slender stream babbled on one side and widened into a pool girt with grassy banks."

[34] See Hinds, as cited in above footnote 24.

[35] See Casanova-Robin, 35-36, for an analysis of Callimachus's description of the bath of Pallas, which invites viewing before the action takes place.

runs through the entire book, unifying the Theban tales along with topics such as family lineage and their defiance of the gods, a common trait shared by Cadmus's descendants.[36]

In the Ovidian version, vision provides the tale's narrative structure, for Ovid carefully outlines how reflective surfaces prompt Actaeon's physical and psychological sense of transformation. Actaeon's transformation begins when Diana sprays him with the water from her pool; he later recognizes his transformed image upon glimpsing his reflection in another source of water: *ut vero vultus et cornua vidit in unda* (*Met*. III vv. 200). On a metaphoric level, as we have seen, the meeting with Diana may be read as the mortal hunter's confrontation with his mirror image or inverted self (Diana being a goddess and female hunter). Diana's splashing may then be understood as returning to Actaeon his own reflected image, yet shattered, like a shattered mirror. The pool as mirror thus functions on multiple levels, ultimately providing Actaeon with the opportunity for self-conscious reflection, a theme that finds various echoes throughout the entire Ovidian narrative.[37]

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[36] For the relation between Ovid and Callimachus's versions, see Casanova-Robin, 47. As we shall later see, Ovid's insertion of Narcissus into the Theban tales was innovative, and had significant implications.

[37] Barkan (1980) comments on the mirror images and connections that run through the Theban tales: "Pentheus's experience on Cithaeron also involves an illicit glimpse of holy mysteries. Having been the pursuer of Bacchus, he becomes himself the pursued and, in a further mirror image, is destroyed by the woman who gave him birth [….] the Narcissus story ought to remind us that Actaeon, too, experiences a vision of himself and that the mysteries of self-hood are as profound as those of the gods" (320-322).

Whereas the visual emphasis on Actaeon's experience was first formulated by Ovid and subsequently developed by visual artists and mythographers alike, Narcissus is Ovid's more explicitly elaborated paradigm of vision as the basis for self-reflection, and has been extensively studied in such terms. As noted by various scholars, Ovid offers a commentary on the process of vision (both physical and psychological) through a carefully selected -and repetitive- vocabulary that suggests the very act of reflection. See in particular Kenneth J. Knoespel, *Narcissus and the Invention of Personal History* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1985), in its discussion of Ovid's use of language as a "pseudo-scientific commentary on optics" (13).

As discussed by Lynn Enterline in *The Rhetoric of the Body from Ovid to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), speech is what often triggers self-recognition in the metamorphosed figures: the transformed subject first tries to speak and when he/she cannot, he/she realizes that there has

Visual Variants of the Myth

Ovid's *mise-en-scène* of the Diana and Actaeon encounter supplied a source of inspiration for artists: a well-known Italian example is Titian, who responded to Ovid's comparison between Nature and art, and inverted it by placing a crumbling Gothic arch in his renowned painting of Diana and Actaeon of 1556-59 (National Gallery, Edinburgh).[38] [**Fig**. **245**] As discussed in chapter one, a sensitivity towards Ovid's visuality is also true of earlier representations, for it is after Ovid that the Roman representations of the myth place the protagonists in a bath setting, and the standard iconography that was later established in the pictorial tradition develops from the *Ovide moralisé*, where the pool encounter is magnified and the gazes intensified. Indeed, as shown above, the theme of visuality was emphasized in the late-medieval manuscript illuminations, where the depiction of nudity exerted both anxiety and fascination.

The problem of how to depict an image that had been expressly forbidden posed a long-term challenge that continued on in large-scale paintings, as in Tititan's aforementioned work, in which the problematics of Actaeon's gaze are subtly presented, and which may well be described as a visualization of vision itself. Titian does so explicitly through the use of mirrored objects; the exchanging glances that create a psychological tension; and the curtains and cloths whose double condition as concealers

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been a change. Indeed, the paradigm of this process is Narcissus, yet, it sould be noted that in the story of Actaeon, his reflection is what first triggers the act of self-recognition; only after seeing himself, does Actaeon try to speak with words, but finds that he can only utter sounds.

[38] Erwin Panofsky, *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 157-158.

and revealers simultaneously encourage and paralyze the uninvited viewer.[39] In many ways, Titian's version remains unique in that it concentrates on the psychological intensity of Actaeon's encounter and on his reaction to a much greater degree than any earlier or contemporary works. Likewise, the goddess's vengeful glare is further emphasized through Titian's pairing of the painting to his *Diana and Callisto*, so that the goddess's condemnation becomes the principal link between the two works. [**Fig. 246**] The innovation in Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* is not only that the Venetian painter concentrates on Actaeon's humanity (for, as we have seen, earlier versions had done so too), but that in its independence from any accompanying text and its ability to explore the tale's rich nuances on a large surface, Titian's version reopens the question of Actaeon's innocence, implicitly recasting the relationship between text and image.

Actaeon is also shown in human form, as discussed earlier, in another variant type that derives from French illuminated manuscripts and illustrates the moment when he arrives at the bath scene. Often times, the narrative is divided into two separate moments, and the actual transformation is shown as a later occurrence, with Actaeon already fully transformed into a stag. [**Figs. 53-54, 57-58**] In some ways, this is the type most closely connected to Clouet and Titian's versions, both of which suggest a development of the myth in two parts, but without making the narrative of the metamorphosis their principal scene; while Clouet does so through a continuous narrative in the middle ground of his painting, Titian includes a stag's skull in reference to the myth's final outcome.

In yet a different and more common type of representation, the focus is not so much on Actaeon's intentionality, as it is on the moment of metamorphosis itself.

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[39] For a reading of Titian's painting in these terms, see Barkan (1980), 345-346, and Rona Goffen, *Titian's Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 258-259.

Examples include sixteenth-century print renditions as well as Parmigianino's fresco cycle at Fontanellato, where the half-metamorphosed mortal hunter stands before the bathing goddess. In such images, Diana sprays Actaeon with water, and the splashing rays of water that lead from Diana directly into Actaeon's face seem to invoke a visual metaphor for (inverted) vision. [**Figs. 152, 247-248**] In this respect too, Titian's rendition is unique, for it only implies Diana's revenge, without explicitly showing it, and Diana's nod may be the only allusion to the act that leads to Actaeon's final transformation.[40] In a fourth variant of the tale's representation, Actaeon's culpability is made clear through his unambiguous voyeurism (unlike Titian's more subtle rendering): the mortal hunter is shown spying on the group of nude women, from atop a small hill strategically located amidst lush vegetation overlooking the bath scene. The composition is repeated twice in works from Veronese's workshop, and became a popular format for seventeenth-century pan-European renditions. [**Figs. 249-250**] In its voyeuristic emphasis, this approach may be indirectly connected to literary versions other than Ovid's, but may also be understood as the co-existence of multiple traditions, in which the question of morality is brought to the front line.

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[40] See Marie Tanner, *Titian: The Poesie por Philip II* (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1976), 72-75, on Nonnos's *Dionysiaca* as one of Titian's plausible sources for his Edinburgh version of *Diana and Actaeon*. In Nonnos, Diana's nod is the act that transforms Actaeon (not the water that she sprinkles on him in Ovid and other Renaissance representations), and her attempt to veil herself seems to be visually echoed in Titian's painting. See Tanner (73, n.173) on the different editions of Nonnos's *Dionysiaca* available in Italy during the Renaissance. A manuscript of Nonnus's text was brought to Italy from Constantinople by Francesco Filefo in 1427, and a copy was owned by the Spanish ambassador to Venice, Hurtado de Mendoza.

A Question of Moralization?

Might the sixteenth-century visual variants of the Diana and Actaeon tale be

understood as a way of simultaneously suppressing and heightening eroticism disguised

in moralization?[41] On one level, such imagery may be read as a warning, as has been

suggested of the cloaked eroticism of Primaticcio's cycle for the Porte Dorée of

Fontainebleau.[42] In its strategic placement inside the portico, which functioned as a

liminal space to access the royal palace, the Hercules and Omphale frescoes ultimately

function as an indication of the dangers in the pleasures to be encountered inside.[43] The

basic premise of the Hercules and Omphale narrative presents striking parallels to that of

Diana and Actaeon: both imply a reversal of gender roles, in which the male protagonist

is 'feminized' and thereby weakened. Whereas Hercules is 'metamorphosed' into a

woman by Omphale's dressing of the hero in female clothes, Actaeon is transformed into

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[41] Although I understand André Chastel's reading of myth in "Fontainebleau, formes et symboles," in *Fontainebleau: L'Art en France, 1528-1610* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), not as a mask but a revelation, when he says that "On comprend mal cet art, si l'on oublie que le prétexte mythologique n'agit pas comme un masque, mais comme un révélateur" (26), it may also be argued that a myth does both at the same time. On the various theories about the function of myth, see William G. Doty, *Mythography. The Study of Myths and Rituals* (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 2000).

[42] See Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier's interpretation of the Hercules and Omphale fresco decoration of the portico as a warning to those entering the royal palace, in "Women on Top at Fontainebleau," *Art Journal* 16:1 (1993), 36-38. Indeed, the strategic placement of the Hercules and Omphale narrative in the portico is key to understanding its significance, for the Porte Dorée was the principal entrance to the castle in the sixteenth century, and it would have functioned as a liminal space of access to those entering the royal palace.

[43] Wilson-Chevalier formulates the warning in these terms: "Men, beware, as you enter this realm of pleasure: passions, appetites, weaknesses can bring about your demise; even the most valiant of heroes was a slave to a Woman [….] Implicitly, too, women were being warned […] that it was unacceptable that they take charge" (38). Similarly, Primaticcio's cycle of Hera and Zeus in the vestibule, which led further into the castle, reinforced the male ruler's authority over his wife and subjects: "The Fontainebleau cycle, with its alternative illustration of unchallengeable sovereignty, can afford a valuable insight into the evolving self-image of the French monarchy. The Porte Dorée embodies […] the three fundamental characteristics which the historian Robert Muchembled uses to define the absolute ruler of the Modern (seventeenth-century) State: authority, sacrality *and* the paternal image. Patriarchy is projected as an integral part of male rule" (42-43).

the hunted stag, a role traditionally reserved for women in allegorical readings of the hunt as a metaphor of love, of the type represented in the Fontanellato cycle.[44] [**Figs. 251-252**] As noted in chapter one, both Hercules and Actaeon had provided allegories suited to a king's persona: Hercules had been constructed as the king's alter-ego in Geoffroy Tory's presentation of the *Hercule Gaulois*; and in the fifteenth century, Actaeon had provided a political allegory for the French king. Both figures, as mortal protagonists in mythic tales, would have summoned ideals and behaviors with which any male courtier could identify, particularly so in the case of Actaeon as a hunter; thus, both tales would have provided warnings concerning the dangerous reversal of masculinity.

In comparison to other mythic warnings, such as the Hercules and Omphale tale, the representations of the Diana and Actaeon narrative tread on doubly dangerous ground, for they are the visualization of a 'forbidden image' --the implicit connotation being that the very act of visualizing Diana's nude body transgresses the goddess's interdiction. For, as previously mentioned, this is precisely Diana's challenge to Actaeon, as told by Ovid: *nunc tibi me posito visam velamine narres, sit poteris narrare, licet!* / *Now you are free to tell that you have seen me all unrobed—if you can tell* (*Met.* III vv. 192-193).[45] Actaeon is then transformed into a stag, and in one of the more moving Ovidian passages, the poet describes Actaeon's loss of speech as he tries to reveal his true identity to his dogs but finds that, in his newly transformed state, he can only moan (*Met.* III vv. 230-231). Significantly, Diana's condemnatory persona was often the focus in works of art, in which her penchant for revenge is presented as an unflinching image of

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[44] Scholars have acknowledged that the persecuted nymph of the cycle is dressed exactly as is Actaeon, and that she may represent the neo-platonic concept of love in which the lover is converted into the beloved (or the hunter turned into prey), and may be seen as a figure of metamorphosis itself.

[45] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*. Translated by Frank Justus Miller (London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 136-7.

the virgin goddess: in addition to Titian's paired paintings, these include works by Primaticcio, as well as the inscription beneath the Fontanellato cycle that underlines the injustice of Actaeon's punishment.

An implicit admonition may well underlie the visual representations of Diana and Actaeon, particularly in the mid-sixteenth-century French versions, as in Jean Mignon's much-copied engraving after Luca Penni, where a portion of Actaeon's intended message --unintelligible to his dogs-- has become an inscription that serves as a reminder to the viewer of the print: DOMINUM COGNOSCITE VESTRUM.[46] [**Fig. 253**] The words are those uttered by Ovid's Actaeon while on the run, in a desperate attempt for his dogs to recognize their master: *'Actaeon ego sum: dominum cognoscite vestrum!' verba animo desunt / 'I am Actaeon: know thy master'* (*Met.* III vv. 230). The selection of the phrase multiplies the connotations of the image, while providing a significant example of a typical Ovidian structure, in which subsidiary narratives are continuously being built into the main story. For the inscription changes the original addressees of Actaeon's failed speech (the words are now aimed at the viewer, who finds himself in Actaeon's position), while pointing to the complexities of the Ovidian play between voice and vision, and their representation.[47] Sixteenth-century viewers of this work, experienced readers of the Ovidian late-medieval poetic tradition as they were, would undoubtedly have found in Actaeon's desperate call for his dogs to recognize their master a recognizable echo of

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[46] For the most recent assessment of this work, made after a drawing by Luca Penni, and a list of the four known variations after it, see the catalogue entry no. 62, written by Suzanne Boorsch, in *La gravure française à la Renaissance* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1995), 280-282. Although the work has been discussed in terms of its variations, the actual meaning and possible significance of Mignon's engraving has not been addressed.

[47] On the relationship between self-consciousness and language in the *Metamorphoses*, note the previously cited studies by Enterline and Knoespel.

Narcissus's *iste ego sum* (*Met.* III vv. 463), uttered at the point of his recognition as that 'other.'

Ovid's insertion of Narcissus into the Theban narratives was novel, and may be seen as a major clue for understanding the inherent themes in Book III of the *Metamorphoses*.[48] In the prologue to the story, Tiresias prophesizes that Narcissus will live long "si se non noverit" (*Met.* III vv. 348). Ovid thus overturns the traditional directive 'to know thyself,' only later to establish the difficulties of perceptual knowledge in an implicit debate between seeing, hearing, and knowing.[49] As seen together in the context of the Theban tales, Actaeon and Narcissus might be described as mirror-images of one another (albeit on opposite ends of the spectrum): the two intersect on a number of levels, particularly because vision is an essential part of the transformative process for both. Yet Narcissus and Actaeon are connected not only through their shared pool-side experience of self-recognition, but more explicitly through their uttered words in an attempt to affirm their identity, a theme that runs through Book III of the *Metamorphoses* and that was picked up by poets throughout the Renaissance.[50]

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[48] Functioning both as a narrative digression and an exemplum, the tale of Narcissus and its insertion into the Theban tales may be seen as a "vehicle for new knowledge about Tiresias and pschology," which ultimately provides "a diagnostic commentary on the course of Theban history" (Knoespel, 4). As elaborated by Knoespel, "At the very beginning of the story we learn that what we are about to hear will make known 'a new genus of insanity' (*genus novatisque furoris*) [....] By referring to a new category of thought at the beginning of the story, Ovid invites his auditors to substantiate its presence in his subsequent description" (4).

[49] Knoespel, 5. In the analysis that follows, Knoespel discusses Ovid's Narcissus as a commentary on imperfect perception, and on the relation between sound and sight (see in particular 15-16). According to Knoespel, Ovid's insertion of Narcissus within the Theban tales is connected to the theme of problematic speech, pervasive in Book III, for "speech, as well as Bacchus, is the real agent of change in Thebes" (21).

[50] While Actaeon's recognition occurs literally *on the run*, in an attempt to hold onto his original shape and a refusal to accept his new image, Ovid slows down the sequence for Narcissus, so that Narcissus' self-reflection is more about the process of metamorphosis itself than about the final transformation of his body. In Narcissus, it is an internal motivation that produces his dissolution; in Actaeon, it is an external sight that brings about his muted form.

The associative pairing of Narcissus and Actaeon as mirror images may be implicit in other visual representations of the Diana and Actaeon narrative, as in Parmigianino's synthetic depiction of 1523 at Fontanellato, near Parma. Placed inside a castle surrounded by a moat, this small frescoed room encloses the viewer with scenes of hunting; of nymphs persecuted by hunters; and of Diana's transformation of Actaeon. The ceiling is illusionistically painted as a shrouded space, thus situating the viewer literally inside Diana's grove and, more generally, inside the Ovidian landscape of forests and reflective ponds, an effect that is reinforced by the convex mirror at the center of the ceiling. **[Fig. 238]** The mirror places the viewer in Actaeon's position, while simultaneously invoking Narcissus, the ultimate mirror of self-enclosure and self-reflection of the *Metamorphoses*.[51] This visual reminder is highlighted by the series of plaster Medusa heads facing the viewer and set at the bottom of each spandrel; indeed, Parmigianino's room creates a unique Ovidian capsule in which the pool as mirror provides a visual metaphor for an intimate encounter with one's self.[52]

Ovid's visual treatment of both the Actaeon and Narcissus settings provided a generative text for later representations, as did his general emphasis on pools as the source of knowledge and self-conscious reflection. Yet, while Actaeon's story was

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[51] For a discussion of the 'specularity' of this fresco cycle, see Daniel Arasse, "Parmigianino au miroir d'Acteon" in *Andromède, ou, Le héros à l'épreuve de la beauté: actes du colloque international organisé au Musée du Louvre par l'Université de Montréal et le Service culturel du Musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 février 1995*, eds. Françoise Siguret and Alain Laframboise (Paris: Klincksieck, Musée du Louvre, 1996), 255-279. Arasse discusses the cycle's organization in terms of a "spécularité giratoire" (259), and connects Parmigianino's self-portrait (painted shortly after the cycle) to the myth of Actaeon, for both confront the artist with questions about representation and art as reflection. In his self-portrait, Parmigianino "met conjointement sa beauté à l'épreuve de l'art et l'art (son art) à l'épreuve de sa propre beauté – et que l'un comme l'autre s'en trouvent métamporphosés…" (267); this very theme is discussed by Arasse in relation to the myth of Actaeon as a confrontation with oneself or with one's own art.

[52] Although the meaning of Parmigianino's frescoes has been extensively discussed, its unique combination of three of the most celebrated myths concerned with the powers of vision has not been sufficiently commented.

regularly visualized in a variety of media throughout the late Middle Ages and into

the Renaissance, Narcissus survived mostly through manuscript illuminations, and it was

only in the seventeenth century that Narcissus became a popular theme for large-scale

images.[53] However, one might also suggest that Narcissus underlies various Renaissance

images as a subtext (such as Parmigianino's cycle and self-portrait based on a convex

mirror), for the pool of Narcissus takes center place in late-medieval poetry --an

inevitable point of reference for later images about love and mythology-- as well as in

Renaissance art theory, beginning with Alberti, who exploited the topos of Narcissus's

mirror as an aetiological tale of the origins of painting.[54]

In the context of Mignon's print --where Actaeon appears half transformed while

gesturing in surprise, and where he is seen again in the far background running from his

dogs-- the inscription seems to admonish the viewer to restraint, to take control of one's

desires, so that the image functions overall as a type of 'memento mori.' The message

thus resonates like that of Narcissus, amply moralized throughout the late Middle Ages

and the Renaissance, with its dictum to know thyself.[55] Yet, at the same time, Diana's

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[53] On the representation of Narcissus (or lack of) in painting, see Stephen Bann, *The True Vine. On Visual Representation and the Western Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 127-156. As suggested by Arasse and Norman Land, however, Narcissus appears in Renaissance painting, albeit in an implicit manner, as for example in Parmigianino's convex self-portrait (imitating a mirror). See Arasse (cf. n. 35) and Norman Land, "Parmigianino as Narcissus," *Source* 16:4 (1997): 25-30.

[54] On Narcissus's mirror as a pictorial model (based on the idea of painting as self-reflection) and a tale of painting's origins much discussed in Renaissance art theory, see Mary Pardo, "Artifice as Seduction in Titian" in *Sexuality and Gender in Early Modern Europe: Institutions, Texts, Images,* ed. James Grantham Turner (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 81, and Norman Land, "Narcissus Pictor," *Source* 16:2 (1997): 10-15.
On Narcissus's mirror as a model of self-reflection about the intrinsic connections between love, vision, and poetry in late-medieval works such as the *Roman de la rose* and Machaut's *Fonteinne amoureuse*, see in particular J. V. Fleming, "The Garden of the Roman de la Rose: Vision of Landscape or Landscape of Vision?" *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* IX (1986), 201-234, 217-219, and Kevin Brownlee, *Poetic Identity in Guillaume de Machaut* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 198.

[55] Interestingly, Mignon's fountain seems to be very close to one used in a depiction of Narcissus by Rosso Fiorentino, known through both a drawing and an engraving, which could indicate yet again a possible

bath is being sprayed by sculptures of *putti* decorating the fountain, an erotic motif with known connotations of fertility, whose presence further complicates the meaning of the image.[56] The motif can be found in epithalamic paintings such as Lorenzo Lotto's *Venus and Cupid* (Metropolitan Museum of Art). [**Fig. 254**] Similar cupids appear in at least two other mid-sixteenth-century prints of Diana and Actaeon, one of which bears an inscription that emphasizes Actaeon's passage from human to beast. [**Figs. 255-256**]

In a variation after Mignon's print, a sculpted relief decoration for a chimney-piece from ca.1562, the inscription has been suppressed and instead another striking element has been added: two satyr-like figures frame the chimney and turn towards the chimney, as if looking onto the scene. [**Fig. 257**] The satyrs seem to be held 'captive' with spears and lances behind them, as in traditional triumphal imagery. Their presence emphasizes the fragility of human nature while warning against bestial desires, the traditional meaning accorded to satyrs in Renaissance imagery.[57] This continuous double play between chastity and eroticism conditions and complicates the viewing of such works, but leads us to believe that the relationship between the two is deliberately set up in such, apparently contradictory, terms. As we shall see, similar problems are at work in the *Bath of Diana* series and in other representations of Diana at her bath.

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connection; see Béguin, in *La gravure française à la Renaissance* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1995), 281-282.

[56] An example is Lorenzo Lotto's *Venus and Cupid* (ca.1513-26) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, whose fertility symbolism ties it to the type of paintings offered at marriage celebrations, for which see Keith Christiansen, "Lorenzo Lotto and the Tradition of Epithalamic Paintings," *Apollo* 124 (1986): 166-173.

[57] On the growing association of satyrs with luxurious behavior in Renaissance imagery, which was not initially the case in textual sources of the early sixteenth century, see François Lavocat, *La Syrinx au bûcher. Pan et les satyres à la Renaissance et à l'âge baroque* (Genève: Droz, 2005), 284-285. I will discuss this in further detail with regards to the *Bath of Diana* series.

III.3 Baths and Nudity in French Renaissance Painting

One of the earliest large-scale representations of Diana's bath at the French court was painted by Primaticcio and his workshop in the *Appartement des Bains* of Fontainebleau during the early 1540s. Located directly beneath the Galerie François I, the *Appartement des Bains* comprised seven rooms: François kept his prized collection of Italian paintings in the first four; these led to another three that were a recreation of baths *all'antica*, alternating from cold water to rising temperatures.[58] It was also a particularly appropriate venue to depict Ovidian myths related to sensuous nudity and bathing, and the fresco decorations of the *all'antica* bathing rooms included an extensive narrative of the Diana and Callisto tale.

The *Appartement des Bains* was destroyed in 1697, but the Diana and Callisto cycle is known through sixteenth-century drawings and prints, as well as seventeenth-century descriptions and drawings.[59] [**Fig. 258**] Although the actual distribution and precise location of the various frescoes are disputed by scholars, some of the cycle's iconographic particularities should be underlined and deserve consideration for the

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[58] For the documentation and dating of the *Appartement des Bains*, and a detailed consideration of its distribution and decorations, see Dominique Cordelier, "L'Appartement sous la Galerie François Ier et les bains," in *Primatice*, 186-192. Whereas the decorations of the rooms are known through seventeenth-century descriptions, a sense of their original function can be discerned through sixteenth-century reports by foreign ambassadors. For François's collection of Italian paintings kept in this space, see 187-188, as well as Scailliérez, no.65, 144-145, and Cox-Rearick, 104-120.

[59] These have been productively compared and analyzed by Sylvie Béguin, "François Ier, Jupiter et quelques belles bellifontaines," in *Royaume de fémynie. Pouvoirs, contraintes, espaces de liberté des femmes, de la Renaissance à la Fronde*, eds. Wilson-Chevalier and Viennot (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1999), 163-202. Refer to Béguin, 168, n.10, for bibliographic references of earlier studies on the *Appartement*. Hypotheses on the original order of the frescoes differ in the three most recent studies, which include the previously cited Béguin and Cordelier, as well as Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, "Les déboires de Diane au château de Fontainebleau," in *Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), the first to read the frescoes according to the direction of circulation, from west to east, culminating in the small room with a fresco of the royal salamander surrounded by three 'water nymphs' (414).

purposes of this study. As shown by Béguin, Jupiter's masquerade, in which the

god appears in the guise of Diana so as to approach and conquer Callisto, is key in its

presentation from *di sotto in su*, so that *his* real identity is revealed in at least two of the

scenes. [**Figs. 259-260**] The god's double nature, with all its implications, is evidenced

not only through his sexual genitalia and the eagle that reappears in various scenes, but

also by the mask that lies beneath Jupiter-as-Diana's foot as he/she embraces Callisto, in

a Pierre Milan print after Primaticcio. [**Fig. 261**] The overall mood thus exudes ruse and

deception, themes also present in the Porte Dorée frescoes, where, as previously

discussed, Hercules, another male hero associated with the king's persona, was turned

into a woman.[60] Jupiter's transformation into Diana in the *Appartement des Bains*,

however, is a display of the mighty god's will and power. And when considered in

conjunction with the overhead fresco that ended the cycle --the royal salamander

surrounded by three water nymphs-- this authority may be seen as parallel to that of the

French King, as manifested in his renowned *nutrisco et extingo* device that often

accompanied the fire-breathing salamander.[61] [**Fig. 262**]

François I may well have identified with Jupiter's doubtful behavior, and the

salamander certainly served to equate the master of the rooms with their protagonist; but

mostly, it may be said that, as sovereign of these rooms, François also reigned over their

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[60] Béguin, referencing Wilson-Chevalier's interpretation of the Porte Dorée cycle as a warning on deception (previously cited in this study), makes the thematic connection between the two, as well as to Ulysses's behavior in the cycle of the Galerie of Ulysses (180). However, while asserting the possible identification of François I with these male heroes, and noting that this type of false behavior was imputed as a typically feminine defect in the sixteenth century, Béguin does not ultimately address the problematic significance that results of her reading of François as Jupiter/Diana.

[61] Known through a seventeenth-century drawing, this composition was probably placed in the sixth or seventh room, for which see Cordellier, 190. Note for example Jupiter/Diana's display of shame as recognized by Béguin in one of the *di sotto in su* images.

content.[62] The imagery of the *Appartement des Bains*, abundant in mythological

references, would have culminated with the royal salamander surrounded by what have

been traditionally described as three water nymphs, but which may be more specifically

described as 'nymphs of Fontainebleau,' close in pose and iconography to Rosso and

Cellini's figurative representations of Fontainebleau.[63] As such, this composition may be

understood as a powerful synthesis of the intellectual base and founding myth of this new

aesthetic center, in which water signified abundance and fertility, all of which revolved

around one central figure --the salamander (standing in for the king), with its ability to

nurture and extinguish all with its fire, thereby purifying, legitimizing, and controlling its

surroundings.[64] As with other cycles at Fontainebleau, the key to their abstruse

significance, both literally and metaphorically, may be said to lie with the king, who led

his visitors in and out of the rooms, and was known for taking pleasure in deciphering the

images.[65] One must also remember that, in a Christian society, imagery concerned with

classical myths was, first and foremost, a question of interpretation and an exercise in

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[62] Béguin, 167, interprets the salamander's presence (in what she calls the first room, but is actually one of the last rooms if one follows the order established by Wilson-Chevalier and Cordelier) as an affirmation of the identification of the king --as master of this site-- with the god who protagonizes in its decorations.

[63] This may also explain why there was no representation of the Nymph or of Diana in the Galerie; there was no need, for they were largely present in the *Appartament des Bains*, where they attested to the mythic foundations of Fontainebleau, not only metaphorically but also literally, for their placement within the architectonic structure that 'supported' the *Galerie* and eventually, in 1544, the king's library, which was placed above the *Galerie*. As noted by Wilson-Chevalier (2002), this architectural layering may be read in symbolic terms: "les soins du corps se firent au bas de cette aile, les soins de l'esprit tout en haut, toujours en parfaite correspondance […] avec la pensée néoplatonicienne" (425).

[64] Indeed, the king's librarian, Claude Chappuys had praised the king as "l'origine & source des fontaines," while comparing the court to a fountain of graciousness, cited in Wilson-Chevalier, 424. Also see 426, n. 44, for the suggestion that Chappuys may have been one of the advisors for the visual program of the Diana and Callisto cycle. Furthermore, as noted by Wilson-Chevalier, the number of nymphs is also significant, as it recalls the neoplatonic vision of the world in which the trinity is equated with the sun-Apollo and the Three Graces (424). This is discussed in further detail ahead, in relation to the fusion between the three graces, the muses, and Diana's nymphs.

[65] Béguin, 180-181, considers this view in her reading of the *Danäe* in the Galerie François Ier, but does not apply it to the *Appartement des Bains*. On this notion of François holding the interpretive 'key' to his images, see Zorach, 45-57.

hermeneutics; as such, François I should be considered as the overseer of this

knowledge and not just as a participant in its stories.[66]

Overall, the cycle and its outcome may be read as a symbol of the unity and

peaceful resolution between the conflicts of sun and moon, and Jupiter's double nature

may be seen in terms of the neo-platonic ideas circulating at the French court.[67] Yet, the

imagery could serve simultaneously as a warning about deception, as previously noted, as

well as an instructive visual manual in sexual matters for women. In Pierre Brantôme's

description of a painting of nude women bathing and touching one another, the image is

legitimized as a type of "sexual apprenticeship" that would encourage women to have

sexual relationships with men.[68] As noted by Patricia Simons, however, such images

could actually encourage relations between women, functioning as "a counter-discourse

about women's sensuality."[69] Indeed, this type of eroticism could function simultaneously

in different ways, depending on each viewer: for heterosexual men, this imagery might

also provide a source of pleasure.

Attitudes towards the body were very different from ours, as attested by the

sixteenth-century reports of ambassadors who were taken on a visit to the *Appartement*

des Bains by the king; during the visit of the Cardinal of Ferrara, for instance, the men

stop to joke and speak at length with ladies from the court who are lying nude inside.[70] As

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[66] For the development of classical myth as a problem of interpretation in a Christian society, see Barkan and Seznec, as discussed in Part I.

[67] See Wilson-Chevalier (2002) for this overall interpretation, especially 421-422.

[68] See Patricia Simons, "Lesbian Invisibility in Italian Renaissance Culture: Diana and Other Cases of *donna con donna*," in *Gay and Lesbian Studies in Art History*, ed. Whitney Davis (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1994), 94.

[69] Ibid., 98. This is the thesis of Simons's article, in which she discusses various visual examples of *donna con donna*, including a series of cassone that visualize the Diana and Actaeon encounter.

[70] On the three recorded visits that took place between 1540 and 1541, see Wilson-Chevalier (2002), 414-415, n.12. She cites Norbet Elias's remarks (*La Société de cour*, Paris, Flammarion, 1985, 25, n.1) on how

noted by Wilson-Chevalier, none of the descriptions discuss men using the baths, and it may well be that the rooms were yet another gift from the king to his official mistress, the Duchesse d'Estampes.[71] Finally, the primary purpose of such rooms was for pleasurable enjoyment, and its decorations may be considered in a similar vein. These mythological 'fictions,' as they were termed in the sixteenth century, were also meant to be enjoyed, and their decipherment would have been part of this pleasurable experience.

As for the visual influences on the aesthetics and eroticism of the Callisto cycle, and possibly that of Diana and Actaeon, one might invoke the work of Parmigianino, whose drawings were copied in prints at Fontainebleau.[72] His figural style certainly influenced the Fontainebleau school, particularly Primaticcio, as discussed in chapter two. An example is the *Bath of Diana*, in which the bent-over position of one of the figures recalls Callisto's in a drawing by Primaticcio.[73] [**Figs**. **263-264**] Significantly, François I visited Parma in 1535, the city where the two earliest large-scale fresco cycles of Diana are documented and served to decorate female spaces: Parmigianino's for Fontanellato (1523), and Correggio's at the Convent of San Paolo (1518), where Parmigianino probably collaborated.[74] Furthermore, the French king corresponded with

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the untroubled attitude of the aristocratic class towards nudity may be explained by their being accostumed to being surrounded by domestics at all times (414-415, n.11).

[71] The connections to the Duchesse d'Estampes (reportedly present inside the Appartement des Bains in all three ambassadorial accounts, and whose own apartment was very close to the Appartement des Bains) are elaborated by Wilson-Chevalier (2002). On the use of the baths by women rather than men, as attested by the reports, see 415, n.12.

[72] On Parmigianino's influence on the Fontainebleau printmakers (through drawings owned by Primaticcio), see Suzanne Boorsch, "The Prints of the School of Fontainebleau," in *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Los Angeles: Grunewald Center for the Graphic Arts; University of California, 1994), 81.

[73] For this comparison between the two figures, see Cordelier, *Primatice*, 195, who also provides other examples in which Primaticcio reuses the pose, as well as examples of how the drawing was known in at least two prints.

[74] The most detailed and comprehensive study of Correggio's cycle remains Erwin Panofsky's *The Iconography of Correggio's Camera di San Paolo* (London: Warburg Institute, 1961). Parmigianino trained with Correggio, and probably worked on the San Paolo cycle or knew it intimately, as attested by

Paola Gonzaga, the patron of Parmigianino's fresco cycle of Diana and Actaeon at

Fontanellato, in which the attitudes of Diana's followers bear close resemblance to those

in Primaticcio's drawings.[75] Although the exact function of the room at Fontanellato is

yet to be determined, most scholars now believe that it probably served as Paola

Gonzaga's private study.[76] The images of the Fontanellato cycle go hand in hand with the

type of imagery created at Fontainebleau; that both sites bear close symbolic links to

water in their names (Fontanellato referring to fountain, as well as being surrounded by a

moat), may also be significant. Even though in France the imagery of Diana was

associated with the hunt and the aesthetics deriving from this masculine sphere of

activity, and in Parma she was closely connected to female spaces, nonetheless the two

cycles share similarities in terms of what might be described as a courtly aesthetic, where

male protagonists can be transformed into their feminine counterparts, and the concept of

love is rendered in complex and ambiguous ways.

Although there is no definite proof that the Actaeon tale was also depicted in the

Appartement des Bains, Suzanne Boorsch has pointed to a suggestive connection between

the Callisto cycle, a couple of prints after Primaticcio of dogs attacking a stag, and a

Primaticcio drawing of Diana and Actaeon.[77] By joining the dying stag and the Diana and

Actaeon into a single composition, this larger image presents identical proportions to the

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the visual resemblances of the Fontanellato cycle to the Camera di San Paolo (such as the common system of foliage and *trompe l'oeil* ceiling).

[75] This point deserves further study, as it might be illuminating to consider the possible connections between their patrons. The correspondence between François I and Paola Gonzaga is not published, and can be found at the Parma Archives. See Katherine A. McIver, "Love, Death and Mourning: Paola Gonzaga's Camerino at Fontanellato," *Artibus et Historiae* 18 (1997): 101-108.

[76] See David Franklin, *The Art of Parmigianino* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[77] See cat. no. 48, written by Suzanne Boorsch, in *La gravure française à la Renaissance* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1995), 255. This possibility is also supported in the *Primatice* catalog, 191, 201-202, cat. nos. 78 and 79. The Louvre drawing (Inv. RF 564) is a very different Actaeon from other images (standing haughtily next to Diana and nymphs, while looking straight at them and not running away; he also seems rather satyr-like).

lunettes showing the Bath of Diana and Callisto's pregnancy. [**Figs. 265-266**]

Boorsch's theory is supported by the representation of the tale in the *Metamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, which shows that Salomon used this same scheme, and knew the Primaticcio print, as he clearly reproduced the same composition. Conceivably, a fresco of the Diana and Actaeon myth might have decorated the *Appartement des Bains*, and much like the Callisto myth and the cycle at Fontanellato, it would also have served as at once a warning and a story about love in neo-platonic terms.[78] Indeed, the Diana and Actaeon tale was an appropriate subject in this context, and is known to have decorated an earlier courtly bathing complex, that of Philippe de Clèves, Lord of Enghien, in Hainault.[79]

Deriving from secular Northern bathing practices and buildings, but also modeled on ancient examples, the *Appartement des Bains* was innovative in its selection of imagery and particularly for the placement of François I's precious collection of Italian art within the *Appartement*. As noted by Henri Zerner, this choice is comprehensible if we understand the baths as an "aesthetic site," intimately related to the "culture of the senses" for, as he reminds us, images of bathing often included eating and drinking as part of the leisurely activities.[80] [**Figs. 267-269**] That the very inauguration of this

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[78] If this is indeed the case, this would be a remarkable antecedent to Titian's paired paintings of the Diana and Actaeon, and Diana and Callisto myth, whose original matching of the two myths has been emphasized. Titian may have known of the Primaticcio through reports on the *Appartement des Bains*, renowned throughout the courtly circles of Europe, and the connection would certainly not have been lost upon Phillip II, whose father, Emperor Charles V, had been the French King's major rival, as well as a visitor to Fontainebleau in 1540. (It is thought that the construction of the *Appartement des Bains*, if not its decorations, were rushed to be ready for Charles V's visit.) It is also plausible that the common tradition harks back to the *Ovide moralisé*, in its original highlighting of the nudity and common moralizing themes between the two myths, a possibility that deserves further consideration.

[79] Noted by Zerner (1990), 111.

[80] Zerner (1990), 110. Zerner points to an example that shows the French interest in bathing scenes, a newly conceived image for the 1547 French edition of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, which depicts the scene in which Poliphilo encounter five ladies at their bath, each of whom represents one of the five senses (110).

architectural site may have promoted other depictions of nudity and bathing scenes

merits consideration. Indeed, the depiction of nudity in French art was rare before the

decorative projects undertaken by François I at Fontainebleau --in particular the

Appartement des Bains-- and the growing production of mythological bath scenes,

including the Diana and Actaeon story, reflects this new rising aesthetic.[81]

See 107 ff., on the tradition of Northern bathing practices, and the shift that gradually took place in the sixteenth century. On the iconographic motif of the bath --with its contradictory association of purification and sensuousness-- and its popularity in French fifteenth and sixteenth-century imagery, see 106-107.

[81] See André Chastel, "Fontainebleau, formes et symboles," in *Fontainebleau: L'Art en France, 1528-1610* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973), 26, on the influence of the Fontainebleau *Appartement des Bains* on depictions of nudity, whose subjects naturally included multiple versions of Diana and Actaeon.

III.4 **Narrative Structure and Iconography of the *Bath of Diana***

The so-called *Bath of Diana* series should be seen in the context of this novel courtly aesthetic, in which scenes of nudity and bathing proliferated amidst the intensified courtly activity of hermeneutics that had been largely developed under François I.[82] Yet unlike most of the visual representations of the encounter between Diana and Actaeon, in which Actaeon's discovery of the goddess and her nymphs occurs simultaneously with his transformation --so that Actaeon appears half-transformed before the goddess and her nymphs, while gesturing in reaction-- the *Bath of Diana* series does not follow the common visual tradition of the myth, except in its narrative presentation. As discussed earlier, the development of the Diana and Actaeon tale is indirectly presented in the *Bath of Diana*: as a continuous narrative that takes place in the middle ground of the painting, where the viewer does not actually witness the moment of encounter or transformation. Are we to imagine a narrative development, from left to right, in which the horseback rider first approaches the women and is then transformed?

The horseback rider and the stag may be taken as visual cues that would instantly evoke the more common Diana and Actaeon imagery in the viewer's mind. This is confirmed by their careful disposition, one with precedents in manuscript illumination and a comparable disposition in prints, as in the approximately contemporary engraving of the haughty horseback rider who approaches the group of female bathers from the left. [**Fig. 256**] Sources for the narrative structure of the painting may well lie in the

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[82] On the humanist circles and their hermeneutic activity during the reign of François I, see Gilbert Gadoffre, *La Révolution culturelle dans la France des humanistes. Guillaume Budé et François Ier* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1997).

illumination of the *Echecs amoureux* that belonged to François I, in which the

protagonist approaches Diana on horseback, and more specifically, in the illumination of

an *Epistre Othea* manuscript, made at the Burgundian court in the 1460s for Philip the

Good and now in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale.[83] [**Figs. 58, 77**] In the *Epistre* image, the

Diana and Actaeon tale is presented as two distinct moments: the human horseback rider

appears on one side of the goddess's font, and on the other, a stag. Because the

illumination illustrates the story of Diana and Actaeon as recounted in the *Epistre*, the

nobleman must be Actaeon in his human state and the stag Actaeon in his fully

transformed state. This approach to the tale that divides the narrative in two parts by

showing the moment before and after but not the actual encounter harks back to Christine

de Pizan's original manuscripts of the early fifteenth century, which emphasized the

protagonist's humanity and hinted at the loss of human form by including a stag subtly

mingled within the forest trees. [**Figs. 53-54**] These innovative *Epistre* images continued

to influence later presentations, as can be seen in Vérard's luxury edition of the *Bible des

poètes* (BN Vél. 559), most probably conceived for King Charles VIII, and which

included a number of hand-painted woodcuts, one of which shows Actaeon in his human

form, dressed in princely garb.[84] In the mid-fifteenth-century Burgundian version, the

passage from human to animal form is further accentuated through the circular placement

of the figures around the font, emphasizing a continuity of movement and transformation.

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[83] Claudia Cieri Via first pointed to the plausible connection between the Burgundian *Epistre* manuscript and the Clouet painting in "Diana e Atteone: continuità e variazione di un mito nell'interpretazione di Tiziano," in *Rezeption der Metamorphosen des Ovid in der Neuzeit: der Antike Mythos in Text und Bild* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1995).

[84] The image in Vérard's edition is BN Vél. 559, f. 26, and to my knowledge, has not been previously considered or published.

The implication is that the horseback rider has come around in full circle in order to arrive at his final shape as a stag.

Despite its resemblance in terms of narrative structure to other visual representations of the encounter between Diana and Actaeon, the *Bath of Diana* presents a set of distinctive iconographic elements, which sets it apart from all other Diana and Actaeon images. Indeed, in the *Bath of Diana* pictures, the lack of reaction on the part of the women and the inclusion of the two satyrs distinguish the image from any other in the iconographic tradition of the tale of Diana and Actaeon.[85] Neither Clouet's goddess nor her nymphs seem to acknowledge the hunter or react to him; perhaps they are too enticed by the satyrs' music or they simply cannot see the horseback rider because of his placement. The narrative structure of the picture (a continuous narrative) also suggests that the existence of the figures in different spatial pockets reflects their existence within different chronological moments.[86] Following along these lines, one might suggest that the horseback rider and the nymphs do not actually share the same space and may exist in different moments of time; the horseback rider may not actually be witnessing the event, but only visualizing it mentally. And vice versa: the rider may only exist as a 'comment' to the foreground scene.

As already discussed, the visual representations of the myth usually emphasized the ideal of chastity and its disruption by uninvited viewers. Conversely, Clouet places

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[85] Except for Roger Trinquet's "L'Allégorie politique au XVIe siècle: La "Dame au Bain" de François Clouet," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1966): 99–119, which attempts to identify the satyrs as allegorical portraits of members of the court, scholars have not addressed the significance of the satyrs' inclusion within the picture. However, Trinquet's reading of the work in such specific political, allegorical terms remains unconvincing.

[86] I am following the analysis of continuous narrative as presented by Lew Andrews, *Story and Space in Renaissance Art: The Rebirth of Continuous Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), which shows that the creation of different pockets of space through perspectival and spatial illusion may stand for different pockets of time.

the goddess and her entourage on full display for the viewer, with no indication given that the goddess is aware of being viewed. Indeed, for all the veiled references to the myth in the image, one may well ask: is this work really about Diana and Actaeon? Unlike the examples from the manuscript tradition just cited, in the *Bath of Diana* series, the visual cues that point to the Actaeon tale seem to function as mere 'reminders' in the background, rather than as the principal narrative. Conversely, the main event here takes place in the foreground scene, which presents an unusual type of 'pastoral concert.' While the women's gazes are unfocused, the satyrs turn to look outside of the painting in the direction of the viewer, as if our presence had interrupted their music. Thus, the viewer completes the circle of the pastoral entourage both physically and mentally.

One might suggest that the spectator takes on an Actaeonic role, thus fulfilling the Diana and Actaeon narrative in a unique way. By standing before the scene at the very moment that precedes Diana's discovery of the intruder's presence, the viewer is situated in Actaeon's perspective. A possible role of this type is also indirectly implied in the narrative development of the painting: the insinuation is that we are located at the instant not represented in the painting, but that must necessarily take place after the rider's arrival to the scene but before his transformation into a stag, as shown on the right hand side of the painting. As in the tradition of the illuminated manuscripts, the rider must necessarily have come around in a full circle in order to complete the narrative. As we shall see, such distinctive features make this a unique and complex image with multiple levels of meaning and overlapping iconographic references, whose innovations and implications deserve detailed consideration.

A Satyric Presence

The presence of the satyrs and their interaction with the women set this image apart from all other known Diana and Actaeon paintings, and their curious interaction with the figures should be explored further. Instead of following the usual visual portrayal of the encounter between nymphs and satyrs, where the nymphs are more often than not fleeing from their would-be suitors, this painting presents no explicit antagonism between the two groups.[87] Likewise, none of the anxiety characteristic of Diana and Actaeon iconography prevails: no surprise, no hiding, no running, and no rush to dress or conceal the virgin goddess. The immediate source for this seemingly unusual choice may well derive from the mythographic tradition that described the attributes and physical characteristics of the pagan gods, notably in the *Glose des échecs amoureux*, which, following the *Ovidius moralizatus*, portrays Diana's entourage as follows: "Cette dame avait avec elle une grande compagnie de nymphes et déesses des bois, des montagnes, des fontaines et de la mer, ainsi qu'un groupe de petits satyrs cornus, appelés dieux des champs."[88] The corresponding illumination in the *Glose* Ms. 9197 shows two small satyrs standing close to her, who also appear in some of the *Ovide moralisé* illustrations of the goddess and in Colard Mansion's 1484 publication. [**Figs. 74, 270-271**]

Significantly, satyrs also appear in Diana's company in two major royal commissions that celebrate Diana as a symbol of royal prosperity. In Cellini's original project for the Porte Dorée at Fontainebleau, the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* lunette would have been supported by a satyr on either side, which Cellini described as fear-inspiring

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[87] For a discussion of such works and images, refer to chapter two.
[88] Guichard Tesson and Roy, 45.

figures.[89] [**Fig. 272**] Satyrs also populate the decorations of Henri II's Louvre: a paired Pan and Bacchus can be found on the left pediment of the palace façade, where they have been interpreted as part of the sculptural program celebrating Henri II's imperial aspirations through symbols of universal prosperity, triumph and peace; on the interior, satyrs form part of the decorations of the *Escalier Henri II*.[90] In the *Escalier*, the satyrs strike varied poses, often blowing into their pipes, as they surround iconographic symbols of the hunt, including reliefs of Diana. [**Figs. 273-274**] In these two projects -- the Porte Dorée of Fontainebleau and the Henri II wing at the Louvre-- the coexistence of these creatures with Diana's entourage argues that they were conceived as part of an ideal Arcadia that is overseen by Diana, in celebration of royal prosperity.

However, the satyrs of the *Bath of Diana* appear to have a different type of function, perhaps closer to that of the satyrs in the over-chimney piece based on Mignon's print, as a type of 'intermediary' figure between the viewer and the image. In the *Bath of Diana*, the satyrs seem to be enticing the women with their music, as can be grasped from the dreamy gaze in the listeners' eyes. Their trance-like state and the unusual interaction of the satyrs with Diana's group recall Marguerite de Navarre's innovative poem, *L'histoire des Satyres et des Nymphes de Diane*, published in her *Suyte des Marguerites* (1547), in which Diana's nymphs are lured by a group of pipe-playing satyrs, but finally saved after Diana transforms them into willow trees so as to preserve

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[89] On the unfinished project and its various components, which included the Nymph, two victories (known though nineteenth-century plaster casts), and two satyrs (known through a drawing and a bronze statuette), see John Pope-Hennessy, *Benvenuto Cellini* (Paris: Hazan, 1985), 135-141. On Cellini's description of the satyrs, see 135-137.

[90] On the significance of the paired Bacchus and Pan figures on the façade as part of an overall program on imperial symbolism, see Volker Hoffmann, "Le Louvre de Henri II: un palais impérial," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1982), 10. As noted by Hoffmann, Pan does not usually fit into a program about abundance, but can be connected to it in this specific instance because of his figuration as a symbol of the universe (10), as discussed in chapter two and also further ahead in this chapter.

their virginity intact.[91] The dubious associations between music and lustful behavior made in the sixteenth century underlie Marguerite's adaptation of a theme that is, in essence, a variation of the Pan and Syrinx tale, and that was also explored by other writers at the time, as in Maurice Scève's *Saulsaye* (1547).[92] In Marguerite de Navarre's moralizing version, special emphasis is given to what is essentially a reversal of the outcome of the Pan and Syrinx tale, where Syrinx's body is transformed into a pipe that comes to stand for the origins of music and poetry. Marguerite highlights how the transformation into a willow tree --a specimen that does not bear fruit-- yields no such 'fruits,' in what may be a subtle criticism of the long-standing misogynous association between desire and creativity.[93] Marguerite also stresses music as a dangerous instrument of seduction that can take control of one's body, and compares it to the state of intoxication that results from drinking wine.[94]

As shown by François Lavocat in his study of the evolution of the satyr figure after its revival towards the end of the fifteenth century, satyrs were not always identified with lust.[95] Whereas the Neoplatonic and Orphic literary tradition tends to celebrate Pan as a symbol of universal knowledge (in which satyrs are connected to questions of creativity, inspiration, and interpretation), literature dealing with visual themes, such as

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[91] Marguerite de Navarre's *Suyte des Marguerites* (Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1547) is available at the Fonds Ancien of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyon.

[92] Also published by Jean de Tournes. For an analysis of the different variants on this motif, including Sanazzaro's version of 1526, which seems to be the first to have introduced this metamorphosis (not in Ovid), see Lavocat's section, "Des roseaux et des saules. Poétique de la métamorphose," 337-341.

[93] On Marguerite's insistence on the willowtree as a symbol of virginity, see Lavocat, 338.

[94] As discussed and quoted in Lavocat, 338-340.

[95] As demonstrated in Lavocat's brilliant analyses, the history of the symbolism of satyrs appears to be particularly complex: in addition to the iconographic fusion of satyrs with distinctive figures such as Pan and Marsyas, satyrs do not have a fixed meaning and a series of sophisticated literary traditions coexist simultaneously. I will attempt to summarize Lavocat's study so as to understand the possible significance of the satyrs in Clouet's painting, while pointing to the main instances in which a definite shift in the tradition can be perceived.

ekphrases and emblems, emphasizes the association of satyrs with lustful behavior.

Indeed, the identification between satyrs and sexual desire stems from the visual tradition

and was initially found in a restricted or courtly context.[96] The iconographic fusion of

satyrs with other half-man, half-beast figures (such as Faun, Silenus, Bacchus, Pan, and

Marsyas) goes hand in hand with the increasing association of satyrs with bestial

behavior and monstrosity that begins only in the middle of the sixteenth century.[97] In one

of the most influential editions of Andrea Alciati's *Liber Emblemata*, published as

Emblèmes d'Alciat by Macé Bonhomme (Lyon 1548) and reedited thirty-five times, Pan

appears in three emblems: one preserves an earlier motto of obscure significance (that

had first appeared in a 1534 Parisian edition), and the two others exalt the figure's

negative and positive aspects.[98] The image that presents Pan's negative side as an emblem

of *Luxure* shows him blowing into an oversized wind instrument; the image appeared

originally in the 1534 edition under a different motto, which demonstrates how printed

illustrations were continuously adapted to the shifting meanings in their corresponding

texts. [**Figs. 275-277**]

The image of Pan blowing into the wind instrument (traditionally perceived as of

an inferior hierarchy to string instruments), with its allusion to 'luxure' in the 1548

Alciati edition, offers a clue to the possible significance of the satyrs in Clouet's original

version of the *Bath of Diana*, in which the satyrs hold similar wind instruments. At the

same time, the instrument held by the satyr closest to the picture plane is practically

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[96] Lavocat, 284-285. As visual evidence, Lavocat proposes Giulio Romano's prints of *I modi*, meant for a restricted public, and his frescoes at the Palazzo del Té in Mantua. He also discusses the ekphrases of art works in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, which describe images of satyrs assaulting nymphs.

[97] For this transformation and all its implications, see Lavocat's second chapter, "Pan, Le Dieu Peau-Rouge d'Arcadie."

[98] See Lavocat, 323-328, for an analysis of these images and their adaptation in the different editions, and the complex sixteenth-century interpretations given to them.

identical to the horn carried by the horse rider in the middle ground, both of which are recognizable as the type of horn used by hunters. [**Figs. 278-281**] The horns then supply a hunting context to the painting (thus furthering the reference to Actaeon), yet recall the lustful overtones of wind-playing satyrs as presented in Alciati's emblem and in Marguerite's narrative. While Marguerite's poem would have been well known at the French court, emblem books such as Alciati's probably provided an important iconographic and symbolic source for artists. In light of the general pictorial associations of satyrs as the incarnation of desire, and the more specific connections in Alciati's emblem and Marguerite's text, it seems reasonable to assume that the presence of the satyrs in the *Bath of Diana* corresponds to such associations when considered in conjunction with the body language of the satyrs and women in the painting.

The satyrs' body language and specific actions should be considered in relationship to the viewer, as this may be an important key for understanding their place as well as the spectator's within the overall structure of the painting. The satyrs seem to have turned to look outside of the painting, as if the viewer had interrupted the action, as is sometimes the case in concert scenes, where the musicians or singers turn to look at the viewer and a central space seems to be reserved for the viewer to 'enter' the image.[99] While the grimacing expression of the standing satyr may be attributed to his effort as he blows into his instrument, the expression of the satyr closest to us is more difficult to read. Seemingly smiling, he appears to entice the viewer to enter the game, encouraging the speculation that his ambiguous expression might be related to the conception of the satyr in Renaissance literary theory as the bearer of hidden meaning. Seen as the

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[99] Examples include Giorgione's *The Three Ages* (Palazzo Pitti) and Titian's *The Concert* of ca. 1510 (Palazzo Pitti).

incarnation of intermediary spaces --half-man half-beast, divine but also human, between tragedy and comedy-- satyrs were increasingly coupled with obscure meanings and believed to be the beholders of secret knowledge.[100] In the painting, the placement of the satyr on the edge of the main scene, in a liminal space, suggests this double function of intermediary and interpreter, while emphasizing the satyr's role as a key to the interpretation of the painting.

An application of Lavocat's analysis of the satyr's evolution and development into a theatrical character in the later-sixteenth century --in which we discover that the satyr is a "personnage du regard" inextricably linked to the spectator-- is especially pertinent to our painting.[101] The association of the satyr with the (masculine) gaze goes back to early-sixteenth-century representations of satyrs unveiling sleeping nymphs, as in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and in a long tradition of pastoral paintings. [**Figs. 282-283**] The implications of the interconnections between the satyr as viewer within the image, and the actual viewer of the image (or theatrical piece) are elaborated by Lavocat:

> C'est en effet à propos des images de satyres, de la description de l'image (comme dans le *Poliphile*) ou dans les traités sur les images qu'est posée la question centrale de la relation entre regard et désir. Or le satyre, dans ses deux rôles majeurs, de spectateur de la nymphe endormie et d'agresseur sexuel, est évidemment, et doublement, au coeur de ce rapport: à la fois en tant que sujet du regard et objet (pernicieux) du regard pour le spectateur du tableau ou de la pièce de théâtre qui le représentent.[102]

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[100] As shown in Lavocat's fourth chapter, "Le langage des animaux," Pan was associated with the double meanings of words in the early sixteenth century; by the end of the century, satyrs were associated with the obscurity of satire as a genre; see in particular 245 and 269. On satyrs as intermediary figures, see 250.

[101] In his fifth chapter, Lavocat analyses how the two major visual representations of the satyr (unveiling a sleeping nymph and persecuting a nymph) pave the way for the satyr's place in pastoral dramas of the seventeenth century, which may be summarized in the following terms: "Le motif du satyre et de la nymphe endormie prépare peut-être l'entrée du satyre sur la scène: il rend en effet possible la périlleuse proximité du satyre avec le spectateur, car il en fait, par excellence, le personnage du regard. Le topos de la nymphe poursuivie par le satyre contribue quant à lui à donner au satyre une voix: la parole née de la frustration du désir remplace la musique de la syrinx. La fuite de la nymphe fait également du satyre l'être du mouvement, dont la course inutile, sur la scène de ballet, finira par supplanter toute parole" (284).

[102] Lavocat, 285.

Indeed, the satyrs within the *Bath of Diana* make this relationship between the viewer and the satyr explicit, while complicating the visual tradition that presents satyrs as the bearers of the gaze. For, in turning to look out of the picture so explicitly, the satyrs have displaced their traditional role onto the viewer, whom they transform into an active participant of the painting.

The viewer is also intimately, albeit less explicitly, connected, as I have shown, with the figure of Actaeon, and the identification of viewer with the satyrs only strengthens the position of the former as an Actaeonic figure. Another link between the two is provided through an equally significant element, that is, the satyrs provide an inescapable reminder of Actaeon's own bestiality. The relationship is present, as Lavocat notes, in Ronsard's contemporary *Hymne des démons* (1555), whose singular description of a satyr's physical attributes brings to mind the figure of Actaeon.[103] In the *Bath of Diana*, the relationship is triangular and of a reciprocal sort, moving back and forth between the viewer, the satyrs and Actaeon. It is a relationship whose ultimate significance lies in the satyr's hybrid nature, as well as in the rapport between human beings and the bestial nature of their own desire, a central subject of debate in dramatic literature, which lasted from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries.[104]

In other terms, the function of the satyrs within the painting is to create a strange complicity with the viewer, while raising questions about the viewer's own status within the painting, a point that, as shall be shown, is inextricable from the overall significance

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[103] On Ronsard's *Hymne des démons*, at the time by which Pan had been discredited as a figure of inspiration, see Lavocat, 120-121. On the resemblance of the described satyr to Actaeon, see 121: "l'oreille de chevreuil et la corne de chamois ne superposeaient-elles pas au satyre l'image d'Actéon?"
[104] On the relationship between the satyr's hybrid status and humans desire as represented in dramatic literature of the mid-sixteenth to the seventeenth-centuries, see Lavocat, 283.

of the painting. Another role of the satyrs is to place the female figures literally, as it were, on display for the viewer, in a manner similar to the illustration used both for Scève's *Saulsaye* and Marguerite de Navarre's *L'histoire des Satyres et des Nymphes de Diane*, showing the pipe-playing satyrs as they entice the nymphs to break into a lively dance at the very center of the composition.[105] [**Fig. 284**] But, in contrast to Marguerite's satyrs, who awaken the nymphs from their peaceful sleep with their music, the music of the satyrs in Clouet's painting seem to have transfixed the women into stillness, so that the viewer can observe them fully as they 'daydream,' oblivious to any gaze.[106] Indeed, at issue here is not so much the interruption of Diana's bath, as was the norm in the traditional Diana and Actaeon iconography, but a presumed interruption of the satyrs as they entice the group --at least, that is the fiction presented on an immediate level, for the ultimate function of this 'interruption' is that it further emphasizes that the female bodies are on display for the viewer.

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[105] Jean de Tournes published Scève and Marguerite's versions in the same year and used the same illustration (by Bernard Salomon) for both. A comparison of the Alciati emblem to the image that accompanies the Jean de Tournes' editions shows differences that have to do with their different genres: whereas emblems do not show a narrative, Marguerite's follows (in general terms) the Ovidian visual tradition that emphasizes a narrative development. Here, the narrative is divided into two: the final outcome and transformation is shown at the front, with the satyrs still running after the nymphs who are in the process of metamorphosis; the scene of the nymphs dancing to the pipe-playing satyrs is relegated to the middle ground, at the center of the image. As such, Marguerite's image needs a textual context to understand its significance, which clearly separates it from other images of satyrs persecuting nymphs.
[106] The nature of sleep is also important, for, as we have seen, it was one of the devices that prompted the uninvited viewer's desire. Sleep could be interpreted as lasciviousness or laziness, but it could also be seen as restful and symbolic of chastity (as it is presented in the context of Marguerite de Navarre's poem), for which see Lavocat, 289-290, 341.

A Female Trinity

The other major iconographic distinctiveness of the painting is the number and disposition of 'Diana' and her nymphs. Instead of a cluster of numerous figures as was typical of images showing Diana's nymphs, the group is here reduced to three nude women, accompanied by a partially-dressed maidservant, a little-noted figure who functions as a reference to typical courtly etiquette and to the high status of the assisted women, for courtiers and ladies of high rank were generally dressed by others. Indeed, the maidservant's headdress and attitude distance her from the rest of the group and place her in a different temporal realm, while recalling the type of domestic iconography in the *Lady at the Bath* paintings, whose invention is also attributed to François Clouet. Indeed, her apparently innocuous presence in the *Bath of Diana*, which has gone unmentioned in the scholarship, might serve to reinforce the categorization of this work as a type of courtly mythological or allegorical work. Without entering the debate about the genre and classification of such works, one might propose that, at the very least, the presence of the maidservant confirms the courtly nature of this work. Consequently, her attire distinguishes her from the nude women in such a way so as to suggest that she is not part of the mythological group, that she does not quite belong to Diana's entourage of nymphs, and that, strictly speaking, the group of Diana and her nymphs only numbers three nude women, an important point to which I will return.

The disposition of the three nude figures brings to mind a number of paintings in which the female body is cleverly put on display so that its several angles can be appreciated through the varied arrangement of the figures. Such an arrangement was

typically exploited in images of the Three Graces and of the three goddesses in the Judgment of Paris.[107] Examples run through the entire history of western art: from ancient coins and sculptures through manuscript illuminations and large-scale paintings, up to the nineteenth century. [**Figs. 285-288**] These two themes were especially popular in the sixteenth century, both in Italy and in the North; Raphael produced his early *Three Graces* (Musée Condé, Chantilly), itself based on classical sculpture, while Lucas Cranach the Elder made multiple variations on the Judgment of Paris, playing on various views of the female body. [**Figs. 289-292**] In such compositions, one figure is often presented from the back (as she undresses), while another is seen in profile, and so forth. Such a display in painting clearly invokes the *paragone* between painting and sculpture: in this case, an explicit declaration in favor of the ability of painting to depict the varied viewing points that a sculpture could offer, while surpassing sculpture through its ability literally to 'bring the flesh alive' through color.[108] Indeed, if it were not for the small crescent moon over the central figure in the Rouen version, the group of nude women could well be identified with the three goddesses of the Judgment of Paris or with the Three Graces, as known in sixteenth-century variations on the antique prototype. [**Figs. 293-294**] This impression is strengthened in the variants lacking the half-moon; based on the hypothetical reconstruction of the original appearance of the Rouen painting, this would have been so from the start.

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[107] The connection between the Three Graces and the three goddesses of the Judgment of Paris has been stressed throughout history in both implicit and more explicit ways, such as Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*; see Huber Damisch, *Le Jugement de Pâris* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 198.

[108] As discussed in Part II, the debate between the arts was an active one at the French court, invoked both in literature and through comparisons of works such as Leonardo's and Michelangelo's Ledas, both of which were in the collection of François I, as well as Milan and Boyvin's print after Rosso's *Nymph of Fontainebleau*.

Further evidence that Clouet intended a sophisticated reference to the *paragone* is

that two of the figures quote ancient sculpture. Whereas the Belvedere torso may be

recognized in the satyr on the left, the nymph shown from the rear evokes the type known

as the Hellenistic Callipygian Venus or "Venus of the Beautiful Buttocks."[109] [**Figs. 295-**

296] The only other contemporary painting of the tale to parallel this approach is Titian's

Diana and Actaeon (1556-59), which also presents multiple views of the female body

while quoting ancient sculpture, such as the crouching Aphrodite type recognizable in the

central figure.[110] [**Fig. 297**] Furthermore, both paintings emphasize the revelatory

function of draperies. The two images share similarities in terms of self-reflective

concerns about the art of painting, such as the *paragone*, but Clouet's reduction of the

group of female nudes is a significant feature, and one that points towards a more specific

set of associations that were dear to the French court.[111]

Indeed, the disposition of Clouet's trio brings to mind a series of overlapping

iconographic references: the Three Graces and the three goddesses of the Judgment of

Paris as previously noted, but also a literary topos on ideal female beauty, which seems to

have been especially adapted for François Clouet by Ronsard in his "Elégie à Janet

peintre du Roi," published in 1555.[112] In his "Elégie à Janet," Ronsard recreates the

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[109] For these identifications, see Rebecca Zorach, *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 227.

[110] On Titian's invocation of the paragone in his *Diana and Actaeon*, see Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 262.

[111] While the reduction to a small group of figures can be traced back to manuscript illuminations of the theme, as in Christine de Pizan's *Epistre* manuscripts (which might initially be explained as a choice for simplicity), their reduced appearance in Clouet's painting seems to entail a series of connotations that will be elaborated hereafter.

[112] I would like to thank Professor Sarah Brett-Smith for first pointing out to me the noticeable visual similarity to the Three Graces. The resemblance of the figures in the *Bath of Diana* to the Three Graces has been noted in passing, as in Casanova-Robin, 233, and in Damisch, 199, where the connection is made to both the Three Graces and the three goddesses of the Judgment of Paris. While the Ronsard reference has been connected to other works by Clouet, in particular the *Lady at the Bath* series, notably by Zerner (1990), it does not not seem to have been explored in connection to the *Bath of Diana* paintings.

ancient literary tradition of erotic description, much elaborated in Petrarchan poetry, which celebrated ideal beauty through the poetic fragmentation and reconstitution of the female body.[113] Most interestingly for the purposes of this analysis, Ronsard fuses this tradition together with the tale of the Judgment of Paris and all its philosophical implications. In asking the painter to create an image of his beloved mistress based on his written description, Ronsard proceeds to single out the different parts of her body, one that, as he readily admits, he has never actually seen undressed. He thus turns to mythological references: imagining her constitutive parts so that her arms and elbows are like Juno's, her fingers Minerva's, and her torso comparable to Venus's.[114]

Ronsard's poetic fiction probably should not be taken as a literal directive to Clouet but instead as part of the intellectual atmosphere that recognized the equivalence between poetry and painting, where what was essentially a descriptive poetic technique could be understood to find a parallel in painting, another essentially descriptive art.[115] At

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For Ronsard's *Elégie à Janet*, see his *Oeuvres complètes*, vol.1, eds. Jean Céard, Daniel Ménager, and Michel Simonin, (Bibliothèque de la Pléaide. Paris: Gallimard, 1993), 152-156. The poem was first published in Ronsard's *Mélanges* (1555) but already written in 1552.
François Clouet's father, Jean Clouet, also known as Janet, had been the valet de chambre to François I and the official court portraitist. François Clouet inherited both his father's position and nickname; scholars have recently suggested that the ambiguity created by their shared nickname was already established in the sixteenth century, for which see Etienne Jollet, *Jean et François Clouet* (Paris: Lagune, 1997), 9-10. François Clouet was the major portraitist of the French court in the mid-sixteenth century, and while Ronsard's poem may be a fiction, it would seem reasonable that he did have François in mind. On Ronsard's *Elégie* and other poets who addressed their poems to 'Janet,' see Jollet, 37, 288, n.155, as well as Yvonne Bellanger, "Ronsard, les peintres et la peinture," in *Lettere e arti nel Rinascimento: atti del X convegno internazionale, Chianciano-Pienza 20-23 luglio 1998* (Firenze: F. Cesati, 2000), 21-38.
[113] On Ronsard's Petrarchan poetry, see Sara Sturm-Maddox, *Ronsard, Petrarch, and the Amours* (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 1999); see Zerner (1990), 98-99, for a summary of Ronsard's ancient and contemporary sources, and his insertion within the long-standing tradition of erotic description.
[114] As noted by Zerner (1990) in his discussion of the poem in the context of the *Lady at the Bath* paintings, these mythological references may be used to approximate such paintings "non comme un système d'équivalences précises, mais comme une référence globale. C'est, bien sûr, ce qui autorise le portrait nu: l'ambiance mythologique arrache le corps au monde ordinaire où il est soumis à l'humiliation du dépouillement" (104).
[115] See Roberto Campo, *Ronsard's Contentious Sisters. The Paragone between Poetry and Painting in the Works of Pierre de Ronsard* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and

the same time, Ronsard was implicitly equating himself to Clouet, while delicately

calling for a challenge between the two arts, another long topos in the tradition of

descriptive poetry and painting.[116] This French context aids understanding of Clouet's

motivation in his references to renowned literary fictions and his use of multiple visual

sources in the *Bath of Diana*, for the image resulted in a sophisticated equivalent of a

Venetian *poesia* painting. Furthermore, the disconnect that has been noted between the

figures' bodies and their heads may well be explained in relation to the literary fiction by

which an ideal form is reconstituted through the most beautiful fragments of a female

body.[117] Not surprisingly, this kind of image was considered perfectly suited to its reuse

by different patrons, who had their particular features inscribed into the variations of

Clouet's original.

What might seem like a 'Frankenstein' ideal of perfection today was a

Renaissance literary *topos* inherited from antiquity, used to compare art and nature as

well as to theorize on the components of the idealized portrait; a major example is the

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Literature, U.N.C. Department of Romance Languages, 1998) on the *paragone* in Ronsard's work, and refer to Bellanger (2000).

[116] A comparable example is the competition that took place in 1441 between Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini at the Ferrarese court of Leonello d'Este: the two artists competed by painting two portraits of their patron, and the event was recorded in a number of literary texts (considered to be some of the earliest examples of Renaissance art criticism). Most interestingly, the writers used the story of the competition to make a point about literary style by imitating the painters' individual styles in their descriptive texts. On the competition and its multivalent implications for the visual arts and literature, see Michael Baxandall, "Guarino, Pisanello and Chrysoloras," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*s 28 (1965): 183-204.

Examples in the French Renaissance can also be found in poets other than Ronsard, whom invoke the parallel with painting as a way of exerting their poetic descriptive techniques, and also compare Janet (Clouet) to Apelles; see François Lecercle, *La Chimère de Zeuxis: Portrait poétique et portrait peint en France et en Italie à la Renaissance* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1987), 142-143.

[117] Note for example Zorach's observation of the disjunction in such paintings: "Face and body appear disconnected, a disjunction that is encouraged by the fashion for thick ruffs that set the head apart from the body, making the *mignons* look like the head of Saint John the Baptist on a platter, as L'Estoile complained" (227). This is also true of the half-length female portraits such as Raphael's *Fornarina*, whose odd relationship between body and face has given way to much speculation as to its authenticity, but which might be explained as the result of uniting an ideal body (as inspired by Leonardo's depiction of the nude Mona Lisa, for which see below note) with a specific physiognomy.

renowned story of Zeuxis's portrayal of Helen, for which the artist fused the most beautiful parts of five selected models, thereby achieving a perfect result that surpassed even nature.[118] Indeed, such artistic legends, including Apelles's depiction of Campaspe as an ideal beauty, may well lie behind Leonardo's *Monna Vanna* (Musée Condé, Chantilly) that served as the prototype for both Italian and Northern sixteenth-century variations on the theme of half-length nude female portraiture, including François Clouet's original panel of the *Lady at the Bath* (National Gallery of Art, Washington), the first to inaugurate this particular type in France and to inspire a series of variations after it.[119] [**Figs. 298-300**] That the Apelles and Campaspe story was represented at Fontainebleau, in the very rooms of Anne d'Estampes, the official mistress of François I, shows that this story was well known and appropriately put to use.[120] Its representation under these circumstances at Fontainebleau might even offer a fresh argument for the presumed link of the *Bath of Diana* series to the kings' mistresses.

Likewise, the connection between the Judgment of Paris and questions concerning the representation of ideal beauty would have resonated strongly for well-read courtiers, for the Judgment of Paris appeared recurrently in three major formats: as a didactic moral tale, as a debate on literary style, and as a *topos* to praise women at court, all of which

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[118] On the Zeuxis tale and an analysis of its ramifications in both poetic and painted portraits of the Renaissance, see Lecercle, in particular 56-62. The Zeuxis anecdote also served to make the parallel between writing and painting as two rhetorical arts that required a similar process of construction (58-59).
[119] See Zerner (1990), 100-102, on the Italian and Northern variations on Leonardo's invention. The connection to Apelles's portrait of Campaspe was first suggested in the study by David Alan Brown and Konrad Oberhuber, "Monna Vanna and Fornarina: Leonardo and Raphael in Rome," in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, eds. Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus, vol.II, 25-86 (Florence, 1978).
[120] On the Alexander fresco cycle in the rooms of the Duchesse d'Étampes at Fontainebleau, see Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, "Femmes, Cour, Pouvoir: La Chambre de la Duchesse d'Étampes à Fontainebleau," in *Royaume de Fémynie*, eds. Wilson-Chevalier and Viennot (Paris: Champion, 1999), 203-236.

were elaborated at the turn of the sixteenth century.[121] Developed by Jean Lemaire

des Belges in his *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye* (1511-13) as a debate on

literary style and as a *topos* to honor the powerful women of his day, the theme had its

precedents and a rich visual tradition in late-medieval manuscripts which traced and

celebrated the Trojan heritage of the French monarchy. As discussed in chapter one, the

various Trojan narratives formed an essential part of a young prince's education, and

would surely have inspired an identification between the young princes and their literary

counterparts who served as their model heroes. The issue of Paris's choice was

particularly adept for such a purpose, and not surprisingly, took center place in the late-

medieval 'mirror for princes' genre, continuing well into the sixteenth century.[122] An

example is Jean Bouchet's *Triomphes du treschrestien, trespuissant & invictissime, Roy*

de France, François premier (1550), half of which is devoted to the dilemma of the ideal

French prince (whose Trojan origins are emphasized) for having to choose between

Venus and Pallas (f. 25-63).[123]

In terms of the literary debate, the Judgment of Paris opened the door to explore

questions about style and aesthetics, for in its structure --composed of lengthy

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[121] See chapter one for a discussion of Demoulins' *Dialogue sur le jeu* (1505), in which Louise de Savoie is presented as one of the three graces (f.13v), and Lemaire's allegorization of Marguerite of Austria as Pallas, Anne of Brittany as Juno, and Claude de France as Venus.

[122] On the popularity of the Trojan theme in French courtly circles in the 1540s, at the time of Hugues Salel's translations of the *Iliad*, see Guillaume (1996), 51-60. The connection between the Judgment of Paris and the genre of the 'mirror for princes' was already present, albeit indirectly, in the *Echecs amoureux*; it reappeared subtly in yet another roughly contemporary courtly painting about choice (1563), in which the young Queen Elizabeth I, who fashioned herself as the virgin goddess of the hunt, now stands in the place of the princely hero. **[Fig. 301]** The ambiguity of the Elizabethan painting lies in the presentation of its protagonist in a role traditionally reserved for men, while simultaneously embodying the ideal goddess, for who is to say that it is not she who is receiving the prize, rather than imparting the judgment? On the Hampton Court painting of Elizabeth before the three goddesses, see Frances Yates, *Astrée: le symbolisme impérial au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Belin, 1989), 103. For a philosophical analysis of implications of this choice, see Damisch's fourth chapter (part II), "Le thème du choix," 99-121.

[123] Available at the BN (Tolbiac), Fonds ancien. Also see *Déploration poétique du feu M. Antoine du Prat, en son vivant chancellier et légat de France, avec l'Exposition de la Fable des trois Déesses: Vénus, Juno et Pallas…*, Lyon, 1545; cited by Bardon, 45, and Viennot (*Mythe de Diane au XVIe siècle*), 472.

descriptions of each goddess and their corresponding discourses aimed at convincing the Trojan prince-- the tale provided an ideal exercise in rhetorical writing, where language is a question of seduction. For example, Lemaire's attentive rhythmic pauses, as in his slow description of Venus's undressing, have been interpreted as carefully calculated rhetorical devices.[124] In short, a parallel can be perceived between Lemaire's descriptive style and the sensuality of the goddesses' nudity. Yet, despite Lemaire's evident penchant for Venus, the long-standing allegorical meaning of the tale comes to the surface, and the author is faced with the eternal dilemma of instructing his reader in the 'correct choice' between the goddesses.[125] Written under Marguerite of Austria but directed at her young nephew, the future Charles V --as noted by Mercury in the prologue of the book-- the *Illustrations* functions on two levels: both as a didactic 'mirror for princes' and a commentary on literary style.[126] Both functions find an equivalent in the visual representations of the Judgment of Paris, concerned as they are with the intertwined themes of beauty, its representation, and the inescapable question of morality.

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[124] For an analysis of Lemaire's style and rhythm in his treatment of the goddesses, see A. Gendre, "Jean Lemaire des Belges et les modèles déclarés de son jugement de Pâris," in *Mélanges sur la littérature de la renaissance, à la mémoire de V.-L. Saulnier* (Genève: Droz, 1984), 699-700. See Gendre, 700-702, on Lemaire's detailed description of the nudity of three goddesses (rather than just of Venus, as in Apuleius, his primary source). Also see François Cornilliat, *"Or ne mens": couleurs de l'éloge et du blâme chez les "grands rhétoriqueurs"* (Paris: Champion, 1994). One wonders whether Lemaire had access to the *Glose des Echecs amoureux* (BN ms.fr.9197) that was at the Burgundian court in the late fifteenth century.

[125] On Lemaire's allegorical treatment of the tale, and his ambiguous presentation of the 'correct' choice, see Gendre, 703. On Lemaire's innovative presentation of the dilemma, see 704. The Judgment of Paris as an unsolved puzzle without resolution was also suggested in earlier literature, such as Machaut's *Fonteinne amoureuse* (1370).

[126] On Lemaire's emphasis on free will, see Damisch, 144. Note that Lemaire's highlighting of free will goes back to the *Echecs amoureux* (another mirror for princes) and its outlining of the protagonist's freedom of choice, as symbolized by his entry into the forest (discussed in Part I).

A matter of choice and the Judgment of Paris

Returning to the *Bath of Diana* and the Judgment of Paris, I posit two principal and interrelated meanings, both of which would have been seen through the lens of courtly, intellectual discussions, of the type inaugurated under François I and continued under Henri II as part of the courtly entertainments in which courtiers debated on a specific work of art or poem.[127] The first meaning appears to be motivated by concerns intrinsic to poets and artists, related to theoretical questions about beauty and its representation (as expressed through the painting's visual invocation of the *paragone*), which made up a significant part of sixteenth-century courtly poetry. The second has to do with a type of didactic crux presented to the viewer, which is, arguably, of a moralizing nature, and at the base of both the Actaeon and Paris tales. These two levels of meaning are intimately connected to the Judgment of Paris, where the judgment of beauty becomes inextricable from moral choice.[128]

In addition to the connections between Diana and the Judgment of Paris in the *Echecs amoureux* as discussed in Part I, significant evidence of a visual tradition exists to link these myths and their inherent question about choice in more or less explicit terms. A well-known example that presents such evidence is Raphael's *Hercules at the crossroads* and *Three Graces*, whose similar dimensions and symbolic connections led scholars to conclude the two works were originally paired. The overall significance of this

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[127] Known through Marguerite de Navarre's recreation of the intellectual atmosphere at court in her *Heptameron*, such debates were presided over by the King and Queen, and courtiers would present and debate on a chosen topic, such as a discourse on love, or a particular work of art or poem, for which see Gadoffre, 245.

[128] This is not unlike the tale of Narcissus, which, as discussed earlier, is also closely related to questions of beauty, morality, and artistic creation.

connection is roughly parallel to the interpretation given to the Judgment of Paris.[129] On the other hand, the coupling of scenes of Diana and Actaeon with the Judgment of Paris has gone unnoticed, but the two myths were paired on at least three occasions to my knowledge. The first instance is in Christine de Pizan's *Epistre* manuscripts, where the tales are represented on the same folio and resemble one another in composition. [**Figs. 72-73**] The second and third more explicit examples can be found in two large-scale sixteenth-century fresco cycles commissioned by members of the court: the "Chambre de Diane" at Ancy-le-Franc (1578) and the "Chambre de la Bergère" in the Château de Villeneuve-Lembron (1581).[130] [**Figs. 302-305**]

In images such as Raphael's *Hercules at the Crossroads*, thought to have been paired with his *Three Graces* (**fig. 289**), the question of choice is symbolized through the composition, where the tree divides the scene in half and the two figures, representing contemplative and active life, symbolize Hercules's choice. [**Fig. 306**] In an illumination of a fifteenth-century manuscript of Jean Wauquelin's *Histoire d'Alexandre*, the composition is divided in two, and the hero is confronted by the symbolic placement of three nudes in the center of the image.[131] [**Fig. 307**] In Clouet's *Bath of Diana*, the background is similarly divided. The three paths in the background suggest the allegorical tradition that symbolized the choice between the three goddesses as that of the three paths of life: contemplative (Pallas), active (Juno), and sensuous (Venus).

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[129] See Erwin Panofsky, *Hercule à la croisée des chemins et autres matériaux figuratifs de l'Antiquité dans l'art plus récent, idées et recherches* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999).

[130] There is a short article on the Chambre de la Bergère frescoes by François Enaud, in *Actes du colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau*, 185-197. On the Ancy-le-Franc cycle, see the aforementioned dissertation by Magali Bélime Droguet, *Les décors peints du château d'Ancy-le-Franc et leur place dans la peinture en France entre le milieu du XVIe siècle et les premières décennies du XVIIe siècle* (Université de la Sorbonne, Paris IV, 2004).

[131] On the story of Alexander and its various rewritings in the Middle Ages as an exemplary tale for princes, see in Sara and Donald Sturm-Maddox (eds), *The Medieval French Alexander* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2002).

Reference to this tradition illustrating the moral choices of legendary heroes, whether Paris or Alexander, may also explain the change of the rider's costume in the Rouen version from ancient to modern garb. This shift in clothing would have reinforced the identification of the sixteenth-century courtly viewer with the protagonist of the narrative, and was a device typically used in late-medieval manuscripts for this purpose. It can also be seen in Cranach's depictions of the Judgment of Paris, where Paris is dressed as a knight for the viewer to identify with the protagonist's quandary.[132] Unlike their manuscript counterparts however, both Cranach and Clouet eroticize the presentation of the female bodies, thereby raising the dilemma to a new level.

Following this line of thought, it is easier to understand one of the major functions of the satyr figures in the *Bath of Diana*, that is, as warnings to the viewer. A comparison to a contemporary painting, the *Judgment of Paris* (1550) by Frans Floris, a Flemish painter who had contacts with the Fontainebleau school, reveals a striking similarity between Mercury and the satyr closest to us in Clouet's work. Mercury, the intermediary figure *par excellence*, occupies the liminal space of the painting and establishes a relationship with the viewer much like the satyr does in the *Bath of Diana*.[133] [**Fig. 308**] In Floris's *Judgment of Paris*, Mercury leans towards the viewer as if interrogating him/her on the morality of Paris's preference (for Paris has already made his choice). In

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[132] On the metaphoric depiction of choice as three paths and an analysis of this in Cranach's depictions of the Judgment of Paris, see Damisch's fifth chapter, "Souviens-toi de Pâris," 123-145.

[133] It seems likely that Frans Floris and François Clouet would have known one another's work, as they were of the same generation and both were court artists for two of the major European courts. Floris was one of the most internationally renowned artists of his period, and like Clouet, he traveled to Rome in the 1540s. Furthermore, Clouet was of Flemish origin and his work shows influence of Flemish genre painting; likewise, scholars have observed the influence of the Fontainebleau school in Floris's later works. On Floris, see Carl van de Velde: "Floris, Frans" *Grove Art Online*. Oxford University Press, [August 2006], http://www.groveart.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/

Floris did another large *Judgment of Paris* (1548) now in Kassel, but the composition is different. Mercury's pose is repeated in a religious painting by Floris (*Allegory of the Trinity*, 1562, Louvre), which again signals a direct relationship to the viewer who is explicitly being asked to engage with the painting.

this way, the viewer takes the place of Paris and is confronted by the questions; just as in the *Bath of Diana*, the viewer fulfills the protagonist's role.[134] In the case of Clouet's satyr, his Mercury-like attitude once again confirms the viewer's position as both an Actaeon and a Paris, though here, in the *Bath of Diana*, the viewing takes place before the actual moment of discovery or judgment. As the analysis of the symbolic development of the satyr has shown us, an even more specific role can be attributed to him, whereby the satyr's confrontation with the viewer inevitably brings up questions related to the bond between imagery and morality, as in the chimney piece after Mignon's *Diana and Actaeon.* As synthesized by Lavocat, "le satyre, en tant qu'être de désir et peut-être aussi en tant que personnage saturnien, est indissociable de la production des images --artistiques et mentales-- et de la réflexion sur le statut moral de celles-ci."[135]

Two additional details in the painting, the beast and the pool, may reinforce such moralizing allusions, for they also seem to imply some type of warning. The first is the small beast that overlooks the scene and sits close to the horseback rider. Although its exact species remains elusive (it resembles a monkey at best), this animal might be taken as a further echo of the satyrs' bestiality.[136] Indeed, its spatial location --between the horseback rider and the main scene-- parallels the satyrs' placement on the liminal edge of the picture. Its presence seems to confirm that there is something 'not quite right' in

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[134] For a discussion of the viewer as completing the context of a painting in similar terms, see Ernst Gombrich's analysis of the three graces in Botticelli's *Primavera*, which would have served as an educational problem for the young Lorenzo de' Medici, in "Botticelli's Mythologies. A study in the Neo-Platonic Symbolism of his Circle," *Symbolic Images* (London: Phaidon, 1972), 55.

[135] Lavocat, 285.

[136] The beast may be compared to the little monkey with a human-like face and long tail that appears in the lower left of the Milan and Boyvin engraving of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* (and which does not appear in the original *Danaë* frame).

this scene of satyrs interacting with nymphs; indeed, it may warn of an obscure presence, as is generally the function of monsters placed in marginal areas of paintings, a tradition found in Flemish works.[137] The second detail is Clouet's visualization of the 'pool' or stream of water. In contrast to the traditionally plentiful representations of Diana's pool, the *Bath of Diana* seems to have a dried-up stream in spite of the water that pours out at the source on the right. A comparison between the different versions shows that it is not just a case of thinned paint in one of the works, but that the sparse trickle of water is a common feature in all the variants. The barrenness of Diana's pond may be yet another signal that something is amiss.[138] Likewise, the barren, dark area and uprooted tree next to the spring also seem to reinforce some sort of lurking, ominous presence.

In this way, the painting seemingly confronts the viewer with a question about making the right choice and simultaneously communicates the tensions inherent in the depiction of nudity that were already present in the illuminations and text of the mythographic manuscript tradition signaled in chapter one.[139] As shown, the moralizing and allegorical reading of myth continued throughout the sixteenth century, and the repercussions of this tradition for mythological imagery should be considered as a fundamental aspect in its interpretation.

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[137] As discussed by Al Acres during an Outside Speakers conference, Department of Art History, Rutgers (2002).

[138] It is interesting that in images concerned with choice, the choice usually takes place by a fountain, which finds its precedent in the Ovidian tradition of pools as sites for self-reflection about poetry and creativity. Note how the fountain takes center place in Machaut's reworking of the Judgment of Paris, while Paris lies next to a fountain in the *Epistre Othea* illuminations [**fig. 72**] and in the Bargello tondo [**fig. 309**]; gushing water is also present in both of Frans Floris's depictions of the tale [**fig. 310**].

[139] As noted by Zerner (1990), 98, the matter is not as simple as saying that nudity was 'condemned' in moralizing texts; while Zerner provides evidence from various sources to demonstrate that the condemnation of nudity in moralizing literature was not universal, a close reading of such moralizing texts, such as the *Ovide moralisé*, shows that it is not so much a matter of opposing moralizing vs non-moralizing readings, but that the issue of nudity was ambiguous even within moralizing texts as well as the source of significant tensions (as discussed in chapter one).

Laurels and ideal beauty

Previously unnoticed but perhaps significant in the *Bath of Diana*, the laurel tree framing Diana's head belongs to the vein of an entire tradition of female Renaissance portraiture. Close examination of the painting reveals that the dark cluster of leaves surrounding Diana's head belongs to a tree that is situated on the ground immediately behind her, and is not simply part of the array of trees that belong in the further background. When observed in terms of the spatial relationships of the background landscape, the tree seems to block the view of the central winding path. Its species is attested by the shape of the leaves and the crispness rendered through a careful application of light, while the overall shape conforms to a laurel's growth pattern.[140] As such, this 'laurel halo' should be considered as an intentional detail of the painting's main scene.[141] [**Fig. 311**]

Although the exact significance of laurel and other framing vegetal motifs in pictures of half-length female figures is much debated, the general consensus is that the plants are somehow related to the figure's identity, and that laurel is a symbol of chastity

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[140] The entire tree is hinted at through the branches that lead down Diana's right (our left), a detail that confirms its presence as an entire tree, and not just as decorative halo of leaves around her head. Unlike the images of half-length women with a vegetal halo (in which the artist did not have to decide how to represent the continuity of the leaves in relation to the body), the problem of how to integrate the entire tree and figure into the landscape had to be necessarily confronted in this full-length version.

[141] It remains unclear whether this portion of the Rouen painting has become darkened with time (if so, the tree would have been more clearly visible in the sixteenth century) or whether it was always so obscure; however, the fact that this detail reappears in the later versions after Clouet's original seems to confirm that this would have been visible to sixteenth-century viewers. When I asked Marie Pessiot, the chief conservator at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen about this, she acknowledged that she had not noticed the tree before, but could also effectively see it. (Conversation at the Rouen MBA, April 20, 2006).

and eternal beauty.[142] [**Figs. 299, 312-315**] This is true of portraits such as

Pisanello's *Este Princess* (Louvre) as well as Leonardo's *Ginevra de Benci* (Washington,

National Gallery) where the specificity of the plants and their mottos indicate a specific

sitter, but in the case of paintings such as Giorgione's *Laura* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches

Museum) this claim remains more difficult to ascertain. Without the distinctive,

individualized markings of the plants that are interwoven into a figure's clothes or that

serve as recognizable insignia, whether Giorgione portrayed a specific individual in

Laura or intended a generic representation of poetic inspiration and ideal beauty has yet

to be resolved. In both cases however, those of the identified and unidentified female

sitters, the laurel may be seen as signaling the beloved, which could be extended to say

that these paintings are also meant as an evocation of ideal beauty in more general

terms.[143]

The presence of the laurel reopens the question of the ownership of the *Bath of*

Diana and the identity of its figures. In the first place, laurel signified triumph and was

extensively used as a royal symbol by Henri II in his Louvre decorations.[144] As

convincingly argued by Crépin-Leblond, its appearance in Diane de Poitiers's emblem

and in the architectural decorations of Anet (as is her use of the crescent) is a reflection of

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[142] On the complexity of the laurel symbolism and the varying interpretations that have been given to it in the context of female portraiture, see Anne Christine Junkerman, "The Lady and the Laurel: Gender and Meaning in Giorgione's *Laura*," *Oxford Art Journal* 16.1 (1993): 49-58.

[143] See for example Lecercle's discussion of how the vegetal motifs become analogous to the beloved in both specific and general ways: "tout l'art du portrait consiste justement à développer, entre la figure et le fond, tout un système d'échos, à égarer le regard du spectateur dans un réseau […] de correspondances, bref, à tendre vers la métaphore généralisée" (117-118).
In terms of male portraiture, they also serve to emphasize poetry and poetic inspiration.

[144] On the persistent use of laurel and oak in Henri II's Louvre, see Jean Guillaume, "Le Louvre de Henri II: Une architecture *impériale*," in *Henri II et les arts: Actes du colloque internationale Ecole du Louvre et Musée Nationale de la Renaissance, Ecouen, 25, 26, et 27 septembre, 1997* (Paris: Ecole du Louvre, 2003), 345.

the king's symbolism.[145] In addition, as is true of much of Diane de Poitiers's iconography and symbolism, her emblem --an arrow flanked by two laurel branches, interwoven with the device *sola vivit in illa*-- plays on the theme of chastity and mourning after her husband's death. While it is true that laurel figured in Diane de Poitiers's emblem and in the decorations of Anet, the laurel reference in the *Bath of Diana* remains, at best, implicit or too general.[146] Furthermore, because the laurel motif was reused in the later variations of Clouet's painting, its occurrence in the *Bath of Diana* may well have entailed broader meanings that would have been well known at the sixteenth-century French court.

The broad associations of the laurel tree with poetry and chastity make perfect sense in the context of the underlying themes of the *Bath of Diana*. For example, a specific reference to the laurel tree and its pertinence in representations of Diana can be found in the first French edition of Vincenzo Cartari's *Imaginem deorum* (*Les images des dieux des anciens* of 1581), where the laurel is described as one of Diana's attributes, for the laurel "est propre à Apollon, & ce pourautant qu'elle reçoit sa clarté du soleil" (f.121).[147] Although later than Clouet's original panel in Rouen, Cartari's description might reflect an earlier tradition and may have already been known in the 1550s. Could the laurel, which was associated with Diana in mythographic literature, then serve to

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[145] Crépin-Leblond, 77-84. As discussed in connection to the Château de Saint-Maur (chapter two), it was appropriate and expected for the king's subjects and the members of the court to decorate their own spaces (which were, by extension, the king's and were equipped with royal apartments for the king's visits) with his emblems and symbols.

[146] On Diane de Poitiers's emblem, see Crépin-Leblond, 84.

[147] Cartari's *Les images des dieux des anciens* (Lyon: Honorat, 1581) is available at the Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Ancien. The earlier Italian and Latin editions of Cartari would have been known to French humanists, and we might also consider that the association between Diana and the laurel was present in earlier mythographic works.

signal the chaste goddess as the ideal choice, in what seems to be a variation on the theme of 'beautiful women,' cast in full rather than half-length?

The earlier versions of the *Bath of Diana* arguably belong to the genre of 'beautiful women' while the later versions are individualized, as may be the case of the *Lady at her Bath* series. In his study of these half-length representations of nude women, Zerner concludes that they were most probably portraits reserved for women of a specific social status (that of the official mistress, and in the case of the French court, the royal mistress), but he also acknowledges that their ambiguity and unique iconography (when compared to Clouet's traditional portraits) raise the possibility that they were intended as generic, genre-like images of a lady at her bath. Zerner also suggests that these images are imbued with a certain degree of allegorical moralization (due to the mirror and bathing thematic), but that this does not exclude their status as portraits; rather, their coexistence should be seen in terms of a "superimposition."[148] And whether these were intended as portraits or not in the first place, the images were literally appropriated by the patrons of the later variations, namely Henri IV's royal mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, whose features (known through signed drawings by Clouet) are seemingly recognizable in the Chantilly and Louvre variations of the *Lady at the Bath*.[149] [**Figs. 230-231**] It would then be a question of late-sixteenth-century patrons implanting their own features into a successful invention. A similar scenario might be considered for the *Bath of Diana* series, for it is true that the earliest versions do not seem to show a specific individualized physiognomy, whereas the later versions do. It is also significant that the protagonist of

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[148] Zerner (1990), 103-105. "Dans le cas de la femme à sa toilette, l'étalage des soins du corps et la façon presque emblématique d'isoler le miroir rendent l'allusion allégorique et la réfléxion morale presque inévitables" (105).

[149] Ibid., 102.

the Tours version turns to look out at the spectator, a sign that this is quite possibly a portrait. [**Fig. 234**] Even so, the unindividualized representations may be intended as allusions to a specific individual but in the special category of an 'idealized portrait' and, in the case of the *Bath of Diana*, as a type of 'allegorical portrait.'

In a pastoral context

Whether the early versions of the *Bath of Diana* ultimately included references to specific historical figures or not, the composition is loaded with multiple levels of meaning and subtle associations that would probably have remained in place throughout the sixteenth century, at least to a certain degree.[150] In its adherence to the continuous narrative tradition found in manuscript illumination and prints of Diana and Actaeon, the *Bath of Diana* essentially represents the encounter between the goddess of the hunt and the mortal hunter. Yet, it is not exactly *about* Diana and Actaeon, but rather an image with multiple allusions that functions as an intersection where different mythic tales and visual traditions meet, namely the Judgment of Paris, the Three Graces, and the *paragone* between painting and sculpture as well as between painting and poetry, all of which takes place amidst a landscape with pastoral allusions.

Clouet's work recalls Venetian pastoral paintings as exemplified in Titian's *Pardo Venus*, also known as *Jupiter and Antiope* (Paris, Louvre), but which Titian himself

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[150] In his consideration of the *Lady at the Bath* series, Zerner (1990) concludes that the general meaning of the original works was probably still in the air: "Cette utilisation des inventions de Clouet par Gabrielle d'Estrées est significative parce que le sens des originaux était probablement encore vivant dans la tradition" (102). This is probably true to some extent, yet it is difficult to establish with precision; for, at least in the case of the Rouen *Bath of Diana*, the changes of certain details were sufficiently significant to shift the painting's meaning in part.

called a *poesia* of a "Nude woman with landscape and satyr."[151] [**Fig. 316**] Not only does the presence of the satyrs (as well as the laurel crown of the sitting satyr) in Clouet's painting remind us that we are in the poetic realm of pastoral painting, but so does the mood of the landscape. *Poesia* paintings, which seem to cultivate a purposeful ambiguity to some degree, might be better understood in terms of their function (rather than through their subject matter, as has been the tendency of iconographic studies). Their essential function was to circulate in courtly circles where they would have been subjected to a sophisticated exercise of interpretation.[152] The format of these learned discussions might vary, but the type of intellectual debates instituted at the French court by François I and developed under Henri II would have been the perfect venue for such works.

While Clouet's painting suggests the genre of *poesie*, it differs from the Italian model. The work draws on the mythographic moralizing tradition and the literary genre of 'mirrors for princes' that particularly appealed to the French court. As such, it might be described as a type of pastoral painting with moral overtones.[153] In his fusion of

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[151] The connection between the *Bath of Diana* and the Venetian pastoral tradition has also been noted by Eckhart Knab: "Clouet, François" *Grove Art Online*. Oxford University Press, [August 2006], http://www.groveart.com.proxy.libraries.rutgers.edu/
On Titian's *Pardo Venus* and the various scholarly attempts at pinning down its subject matter, see *Le siècle de Titien: L'âge d'or de la peinture à Venise. Grand Palais, 9 mars-14 juin 1993* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1993), 572-574, cat. no. 165. Titian referred to the painting in a letter describing his *poesie* por Philip II in 1574; the *Venus* seems to have been painted ca. 1535-40 and reworked ca. 1560.

[152] See Stephen Campbell's recent study on the paintings for Isabella d'Este's studiolo, *The Cabinet of Eros. Renaissance Mythological Painting and the 'Studiolo' of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). I am currently investigating Campbell's discussion of Lorenzo Costa's *Coronation of a Woman Poet* (Louvre), which is also a pastoral concert type of painting, in which the figure on the lower right is likely to be Diana (Campbell, 196).

[153] Diana seems to have played an increasing role in pastoral plays towards the later sixteenth century. See for example Montemayor's *La Diana*, the first pastoral drama, which was greatly influential throughout Europe, especially in France towards the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century. Also see Lavocat, 146, on a certain tradition in which satyrs love Diana. (However, Lavocat does not give specific references on this tradition; to be researched further.) It may also be important to see whether the new understanding of satyrs towards the end of the sixteenth century would have added new connotations to the later variations of the *Bath of Diana*. Likewise, it would be interesting to look further into satire as

different genres and subjects within one painting, Clouet seemingly inaugurated a new type, comparable to his invention of the enigmatic *Lady at the Bath* series --equally complex for its overlapping iconographies and undeniable moralizing connotations, resulting from the fusion of Italian female portraiture and Flemish genre painting.

Conclusion: A specular narrative and an invisible metamorphosis

The key point of the *Bath of Diana* innovation lies not only in its iconographic fusion, but also in its carefully laid out structure and its incorporation of the viewer as a key player of the narrative. Briefly, the implication is that the missing scene of the continuous narrative developing in the middle ground --with the reference to the beginning and end of the Actaeon tale-- necessarily takes place outside the picture space, from the viewer's standpoint. The viewer becomes an Actaeon and Paris, and in this respect Clouet's image resembles the 'specularity' of Parmigianino's Fontanellato cycle, to use Daniel Arasse's terminology.[154] The originality of Clouet's 'specular' narrative lies in its omission of Actaeon's metamorphosis within the picture and its relocation of the moment of transformation outside of the picture, in the viewer's mind. The painting not only duplicates the myth's inherent structure, whereby the encounter between the hunter and his goddess is the mechanism that triggers the process of self-reflection, but may be considered as the pictorial equivalent of the 'mirror for princes' genre, aimed to function as a didactic mirror-image for young courtiers.

emerging genre towards end of sixteenth century (and the theoretical discussions in literature as to its connections to satyrs).
[154] See Arasse's analysis of the Parmigianino cycle, as cited in footnote 51.

By rendering this metamorphosis invisible, Clouet also transformed the subject of Diana and Actaeon and its entire tradition of representation. The invention, therefore, goes beyond a neo-platonic representation of the myth as an allegory of love, as has been previously proposed, and instead offers a unique visualization of the essential tension between chastity and eroticism underlying the structure of the Diana and Actaeon myth. Despite Clouet's departure from the norm, this work may be said to stand at the center of the French court's fascination with the myth of Diana and Actaeon, for it builds on an earlier pictorial tradition while synthesizing a series of concerns that define the French construction of the goddess of the hunt as a representation of ideal beauty.

The veiled references to the Three Graces and the three goddesses of the Judgment of Paris in the painting serve similar purposes in that they exemplify the concept of ideal feminine beauty in its full potential, a theme that is artificially achieved through the display of the figures from various viewing points so as to encompass all the different angles of a female body. This simultaneous fragmentation and multiplication of the female body serve to fashion an ideal; the process parallels the synthetic qualities of Clouet's invention in which the moralizing nature of choice, itself based on a long-standing tradition of mythographic interpretation, is inextricable from the judgment of beauty. That the Judgment of Paris was a moral crux whose ultimate solution might lie in the figure of Diana is the implicit connotation of this painting so intimately concerned with questions about desire and its representation.

Epilogue

If the image of Diana and her nymphs while bathing was the favored depiction of the goddess at the French court in the mid-sixteenth century, the seventeenth century saw both an expansion and a development of alternating iconographies. On the one hand, the Diana imagery expanded to other European courts, partly as a result of the ongoing cultural exchange of traveling artists and the growing family ties between the European courts. At the same time, Diana retained significant connections to the French monarchy and her image continued to be internally developed to fit a carefully calculated political program that was invoked by the French sovereign all the way up to the nineteenth century. That Diana's image was persistently associated to the French monarch is attested both through the 'international' work of artists employed by patrons connected to the French court, and by its ongoing appearance (based on earlier models, such as the celebrated Diane de Versailles prototype) throughout the Louvre and other French royal residences up to the nineteenth century.

A broad consideration of these later depictions suggests three major tendencies: the continuity of narrative panels of Diana and her nymphs (notably the tales of Actaeon, Callisto and Endymion, as well as scenes of bathing, hunting, and resting); the development of allegorical portraiture of women throughout European courts in the guise of Diana, with an emphasis on the huntress type; and an imagery with a more explicit political agenda (not unlike that exploited by Diane de Poitiers at Anet) in which Diana is placed side by side with Apollo as her partner in power, or where the Diana imagery is drawn upon to recall the patronage of earlier French

monarchs.[1] This epilogue will survey the broad developments of the image of Diana as connected to the French court, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, while focusing on the issue of continuities as based on the models established in the sixteenth century. It will comment on key episodes that have remained elusive, such as Henri IV's Salle de Diane at Fontainebleau, or that have not been fully addressed in the earlier scholarship, such as the ongoing depiction of Diana inside the royal residences, particularly at the Louvre, as first established by Henri II. Finally, it will discuss how the image of Diana became associated with the French court and was used in other European courts as a reflection of this.

The seventeenth-century taste for Fontainebleau aesthetics

While the so-called 'second school of Fontainebleau' --that is artists working for Henri IV [r.1594-1610] at the end of the sixteenth century and into the early seventeenth century-- is well known for its revival of the style of Rosso and Primaticcio, an active interest in the 'first school of Fontainebleau' can also be attested in the numerous drawings and prints made during

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[1] The seventeenth-century portraits of women in the guise of Diana has been studied by François Bardon in "Le portrait en Diane et la préciosité," *Rivista di cultura classica e meioevale* (Rome, 1970): 183-218. The various types of French representations of Diana towards the end of the seventeenth century and especially during the eighteenth century are summarized in Steven Z. Levine, "Voir ou ne pas voir. Le mythe de Diane et Actéon au XVIII siècle," in *Les Amours des dieux*, eds. Colin B. Bailey et al. (Paris: Éditions des musées nationaux, 1992), LXXIV. Levine establishes that the three most represented scenes (based on the their repeated appearance in the forty exhibitions organised by the Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture between 1673 and 1799) include: Jupiter in the guise of Diana seducing Callisto (twelve instances); Diana and Endymion (eleven); Diana and Actaeon (thirteen). He also comments on the numerous representations of Diana on her own, with her hunting attributes, many of which are portraits of women from the court, and notes in passing that the image of Diana was used for a variety of ends, both private and political, but does not elaborate on the political usage.
The recurrent appearance of the three narrative scenes and the portraits of women as Diana throughout the seventeenth and especially eighteenth centuries are confirmed through my assembling of images and research in the Warburg Photographic Collection. However, I differ from Levine in tracing a line from Diane de Poitiers and Gabrielle d'Estrées to the eighteenth-century representations. I refer to Bardon (1970) for the study of later portraits of women as Diana, and to Levine for the analysis of the eighteenth-century narrative paintings; I will instead comment on the development of Diana imagery as part of an ongoing French political agenda and self-image.

the reign of Louis XIII [r.1610-43] by artists who copied the early Fontainebleau works *in situ*.[2]

That the works being copied were exclusively those of the first Fontainebleau projects is also

significant, for it shows that there was a specific interest in reviving and promoting the early

works, particularly those of Primaticcio and Rosso.[3] This too might be seen as part of a royal

propaganda promoted by Noyers and Richelieu, and one that goes back to the sixteenth century,

when images of Fontainebleau's decorations and collections were first diffused through the work

of etchers working at Fontainebleau under the control of François I, and later by the engravers

based in Paris.[4] While some seventeenth-century copyists might incorporate visual quotations of

Fontainebleau into their own works, as in Rubens's Galerie for Marie de' Medici at

Luxembourg,[5] others created their own versions of already well-known works associated with

Fontainebleau, such as Simon Vouet's *Diane au repos* painting after Primaticcio, signed and

dated 1638, itself recorded in a print by Michel Dorigny.[6] [**Figs. 317-318**]

Following Théodore Van Thulden's 1633 series of prints after the Galerie d'Ulysse,

French artists also begin to create printed albums of Fontainebleau works. [**Figs. 319-320**] As

noted by Wilson-Chevalier, it is almost as if Fontainebleau imagery were being collected

systematically in the 1640s, where both drawn and printed albums could serve as a visual

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[2] Examples include the seventeenth-century drawings that have served to reconstruct the original appearance of sites such as the Appartement des Bains, discussed in the preceding chapter, and the Galerie d'Ulysse, for which see Sylvie Béguin et al, *La Galerie d'Ulysse à Fontainebleau* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985).
See Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, "La postérité de l'École de Fontainebleau dans la gravure du XVIIe siècle," *Nouvelles de l'Estampe* 62 (1982), on the sixteenth-century copies after Primaticcio (6-7), and for a discussion of the seventeenth-century copies (8, 12-13); for a list of the seventeenth-century copies made by Northern European artists, see 15-16 n. 38; for the copies by French artists, see 16 n. 48-54.
[3] Wilson-Chevalier (1982), 7.
[4] Refer to Zorach (2005) on this dynamic under François I, as discussed in Part II.
[5] On Rubens's quoting of Fontainebleau motifs in the Luxembourg pictures, see Wilson-Chevalier (1982), 15, n. 38.
[6] On Vouet's painting (Hampton Court, Inv. n. 860) and the print after it, see the catalogue entry n. 40 in Jacques Thuillier et al, *Vouet. Galerie nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 6 novembre 1990 - 11 février 1991* (Paris: Réunion des musés nationaux, 1990), 286-287.

resource for artists.[7] A major example is the book of engravings made in 1644 by Louis (Ferdinand I) Elle, one of the founding members of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture (1648), titled *F. Bologne Et Avtres Bon Peintres*, which is explicitly addressed to "La Ieunesse."[8] In this light, it is not surprising that in 1639 Noyers attempted to entice Poussin with Fontainebleau as a possible residence, at the very time when Fontainebleau was starting to be actively promoted as an artistic model and as the site where a distinctive French stylistic approach (albeit through Italian influence) had first flourished.[9]

As has been demonstrated by Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, a major example of the sustained interest in the art of Fontainebleau is R. P. Pierre Dan's luxury guide, *Le Trésor des Merveilles de la Maison royale de Fontainebleau* of 1642.[10] Published by Sébastian Cramoisy, the renowned editor and director of the Imprimerie Royale, and dedicated to François Sublet de Noyers, the *Superintendant des Bâtiments de France*, this unique and unprecedented publication was conceived in the context of a larger political project whose purpose was to legitimize the Bourbon dynastic line.[11] Henri IV was the first to establish connections back to the Valois both in his imagery and patronage of the arts as a way to legitimize his contested right to rule; his

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[7] Wilson-Chevalier (1982), 12: "Ce recours partiel à des motifs bellifontains donne l'impression que les inventions du château avaient été recueillies presque systématiquement en vue de constituer un fonds dans lequel l'artiste pouvait puiser à volonté." Although drawn *receuils*, such as that by Jacques Belly de Chartres [Louvre, R. F. 4753] (noted by Wilson-Chevalier, 16, n. 48), might not have had the same "public life" (12) as the printed versions, they are evidence of a significant interest in recording the Fontainebleau compositions.

[8] Ibid., 12.

[9] As noted by Wilson-Chevalier, the choice presented to Poussin between the Louvre and Fontainebleau is meaningful, for while the Louvre is an obvious site due to its location, the mention of Fontainebleau "témoigne bien plus spécifiquement de l'existence, à l'époque, d'un respect tout particulier pour cette demeure royale" (5).

[10] Père Pierre Dan, *Le trésor des merveilles de la maison royale de Fontainebleau, contenant la description de son antiquité, de sa fondation, de ses bastimens de ses rares Peintures, Tableaux, Emblemes, & Devises: de ses Jardins, de ses Fontaines, & autres singularitez qui s'y voyent*. A Paris: Chez Sebastian Cramoisy, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, 1642. The major study on Dan's book remains Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier's unpublished thesis, *Le trésor des merveilles de Pierre Dan: une étude critique* (Université de la Sorbonne, Paris IV, 1980). For a discussion of some key elements of the book, see Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier, "Considérations sur le Trésor des Merveilles du Père Dan," in *Actes du colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau, Fontainebleau et Paris, 18, 19, 20 octobre 1972*, ed. André Chastel (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975), 39-44.

[11] For a discussion of Dan's publication as part of the revived interest in the first school of Fontainebleau during the reign of Louis XIII, and in particular in the context of the Bourbon legitimizing project, see Wilson-Chevalier (1982), 5.

allegorical portrayals as Hercules and Mars recall the prototypes established by François I, as do his commissions of new decorative cycles at Fontainebleau.[12] [**Figs. 321-323**] Louis XIII followed his father's initiative, as can be seen in the new policies of royal patronage and Sublet de Noyers's promotion of the arts (under Cardinal Richelieu's watch and approval), where Fontainebleau seems to have been understood as a key piece of the monarch's artistic heritage, one that reached back to the golden age under François I, *the* model king and patron of the arts.[13] Indeed, the differences between monarchical lines are effaced in Dan's *Trésor des Merveilles*, whose narrative structure is constructed so as to underline the continuity from one generation to the next. Divided into four thematic books, which are subsequently divided into chapters and sub-chapters, the *Trésor des Merveilles* develops its themes in chronological order, while tying them back to one another through common structures. For example, the second book is dedicated to the description of Fontainebleau's architectural components, where each chapter presents a different building or set of rooms describing its initial foundation and its subsequent additions, and the sub-chapters are chronologically ordered by monarchs and their respective interventions. In Dan's narrative, Fontainebleau thus emerges both as a collective kingly enterprise as well as a symbolic site where significant rituals or events have taken place: the visits of important

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[12] On Henri IV's visual connections back to the Valois lineage, in particular François Ier, see Jean-Pierre Babelon, "Quels étaient les goûts d'Henri IV en matière d'art?" in *Les arts au temps d'Henri IV. Colloque de Fontainebleau 20 et 21 septembre 1990*, eds. J. P. Babelon et al. (Pau: Association Henri IV 1989, 1992), 1-25. On Henri IV's use of the Gallic Hercules as a symbolic figure traditionally associated with the French monarch, see Corrado Vivanti, "Henri IV, The Gallic Hercules," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXX (1967): 176-197. For a general study of the rise of allegorical portraiture and its implications during the reigns of Henri IV and Louis XIII, refer to Bardon (1974).

[13] On the continuity of this project under Louis XIII and the policies of royal patronage developed under Noyers and Richelieu, see Wilson-Chevalier (1982), 5; examples include Richelieu's intervention in 1638 before Louis XIII in order to restore Fontainebleau; Sublet de Noyers's 1639 invitation for Poussin to reside at Fontainebleau (although the artist finally chooses the Louvre); and Louis XIII's declaration of 1639 as "désirant *à l'imitation de nos Prédécesseurs*, contribuer autant qu'il nous sera possible à l'ornement et décoration de nos Maisons Royales…" (5). The published sources documenting the exchanges between the king, Sublet de Noyers, and Poussin are in Joanny, *Archives de l'art français*, nouv. pér., 1911, V (noted by Wilson-Chevalier, n. 3, n. 12); Richelieu's letter to the king, dated 21.10.1638, is published in *Lettres, instructions diplomatiques et papiers d'Etat de Richelieu*, éd. M. Avenal, Paris 1867, t. 6, CXXIX (noted by Wilson-Chevalier, n. 5).

historical figures, the births and baptisms of kings, and even legendary episodes are recorded, interspersed throughout the text, but also collected in the third book, which is devoted specifically to "les evenemens, & les choses memorables arrivées en ce lieu," which include the births and baptisms of various enfants de France, renowned hunting expeditions, and even political pacts under Henri IV.[14]

A continued interest and taste for the type of imagery first developed at Fontainebleau can be equally attested in a different category of image-collecting, that of non-royal patrons, as demonstrated through the study of post-mortem inventories of Parisian collections begun under Henri IV and during the early reign of Louis XIII.[15] As suggested by Georges Wildenstein's analysis of these inventories, which date between 1602-1660 and which attest to collections formed by ca.1630, the Parisian bourgeoisie was avidly collecting paintings that followed the trends set by sixteenth-century Fontainebleau imagery.[16] As is usual in inventories from this period, works are classified by subject rather than by artist; in addition to the growing interest in genre painting --including various images of bathing scenes and numerous 'courtisanes' and half-length nude 'Jocondas' (particularly frequent after 1629)-- the secular images most commonly listed are portraits of members of the court (more than eighty of Henri IV), as well as

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[14] The book's organization can be seen in the table of contents that precedes the numbered pages (pages marked ˜eiii-ããv). Wilson-Chevalier (1982) also notes how some of Dan's favored decorations and descriptive emphases seem to reflect a general preference, for they sometimes coincide with the choices made by copyists (12, 16 n. 47).

[15] See Georges Wildenstein, "Le goût pour la peinture dans la bourgeoisie parisienne au début du règne de Louis XIII," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 37 bis, n. 996 (October-December 1950): 153-274. For the list of considered inventories, see 231-255.

[16] The discussion that follows is based on the conclusions reached by Wildenstein after his analysis of the inventories (153-164). Wildenstein makes the distinction between the classical style that emerges after Simon Vouet's return to France in 1627 and comes to characterize French art after the mid-seventeenth century, and the evidence of a taste for Fontainebleau imagery that emerges from the inventories of collections formed by ca. 1630, concluding that the Fontainebleau-inspired works bear a different style (153). However, it should be noted that Vouet, Orazio Gentileschi, and other artists that work in the classical style (or adapt to it) for the French court in the seventeenth century do take up themes that recall those first inaugurated at Fontainebleau, as the aforementioned *Diane au repos* by Vouet, or Gentileschi's *Diane chasseresse*, which is clearly inspired by the sixteenth-century full-standing Diana huntress type derived from classical models (to be discussed further ahead).

allegories of the seasons, sibyls (rare in the sixteenth century), and a variety of mythological themes.[17]

Of the mythological figures listed in the inventories, the most popular is Venus, followed by Diana. The goddesses are shown either on their own (in Diana's case, sometimes while hunting) or with their traditional companions: Venus with Cupid, Mars, Jupiter, Adonis, Paris, or Vulcan; Diana with Actaeon or Callisto, and in one instance, with Mercury. Other frequently depicted mythological figures include Cupids, Orpheus, nymphs, the Three Graces, and the nine Muses. Of the mythological narratives, the Judgment of Paris appears the most frequently.[18] Again, the importance of prints cannot be ignored, for collectors would have been familiar with Fontainebleau aesthetics through the copies made by artists who visited Fontainebleau.

Yet despite the noted similarities in the type of subject matter collected during the first half of the seventeenth century and that produced in the sixteenth century, as well as the Bourbons' conscious revival of Fontainebleau imagery, this does not necessarily mean that this imagery was understood or used in the same ways in the seventeenth century as it was under the sixteenth-century Valois kings. A major point in case is that the subjects of the Galerie François Ier were not clearly understood by the early seventeenth century. Neither were the styles of Rosso and Primaticcio easily distinguishable to seventeenth-century eyes.[19] Along these lines, it is interesting to note how the inventories studied by Georges Wildenstein mention various portraits of Gabrielle d'Estrées and list numerous 'Joconda' images (referring to the half-length nude female type that was developed after the Leonardo prototype now at Chantilly), which were

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[17] Religious imagery outnumbers the other categories selected by Wildenstein --mythology, history, portrait, genre, still life (154). Wildenstein notes a shift in subject matter after the 1650s (a decade that marks a shift in generations, when most of the men and women of Henri IV's generation had passed away): images of ruins and of allegories of the elements are on the rise, while genre themes that were frequent ca. 1630-40 --such as bath scenes and the Joconda pictures-- decline (164 n. 2). For a list of the courtisans, Jocondas, and bath scenes see 212-214.

[18] For a discussion of the more popular mythological subjects, see Wildenstein, 156; as listed by subject matter, see 174-184.

[19] See Wilson-Chevalier (1975), 39-40, on Pierre Dan's confusion between Rosso and Primaticcio.

taken to be paintings of courtesans. That this was a commonplace notion can be confirmed through Père Dan, who makes a point of correcting the mistaken classification of courtesan paintings.[20] Such examples further strengthen doubts about the 1640 description of Anet as a reliable source for assuming that Diane de Poitiers was allegorically portrayed as Diana, as this approximation may correspond more closely to the tastes of the seventeenth century --when portraits of women as Diana were common-- than to those of the previous century.

Likewise, the ways in which the mythological narrative scenes are presented differ from those of the sixteenth century. Very generally, there is a growing shift in the emphasis of the Dianas and Actaeons: with a few exceptions, Diana's gesture in the later depictions is no longer as menacing, and Actaeon's gesture is either slightly dramatized, or he is leisurely strolling by and/or actively looking at the nymphs and goddess. [**Figs. 324-326**] The figures' expressions seem to feign surprise, but they do not reflect the same psychological involvement as in sixteenth-century works. For it is the pleasure rather than the danger of seeing that is emphasized in these later versions: their erotic presentation is enhanced, particularly in the scenes that tend to highlight Diana's bath over the actual encounter, or where only Diana's bath is represented, the intimation being that Actaeon's act of seeing has been displaced towards the exterior of the painting.[21] This formula, much developed in the early-eighteenth century works that privilege the bath scene, was first explicitly rendered in Clouet's *Bath of Diana* and its variants, as suggested earlier in this dissertation. It would also seem that the later developments, which are roughly parallel in both Northern and Italian Baroque painting and in which Actaeon is presented as an active viewer and sometimes placed in the central top of the composition, derive from the works

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[20] See Dan, 136, on Leonardo's portrait of a "vertueuse Dame Italienne, & non pas d'une Courtisane (comme quelques-uns croyent) nommée *Mona Lissa*, vulgairement appellée Ioconde, laquelle estoit femme d'un Gentilhomme Ferrarois appellé François Iocondo, amy intime dudit Leonard, lequel l'ayant prié de luy permettre de faire ce portrait de sa femme, il luy accorda. Le grand Roy François achepta ce Tableau douze mille francs."

[21] For an analysis of how Diana's bath is privileged over the encounter, see Levine, LXXVIII.

of late-sixteenth-century Northern artists who traveled to France and Italy, and thus may be seen as the result of artistic exchange.[22] This is first exemplified by Frans Floris, whose work is contemporary to Clouet's invention and, as previously argued, uses similar compositional devices to involve the viewer; this particular development of the Diana and Actaeon narratives can be traced in engravings and in the work of artists such as Joachim Wtweal. [**Figs. 327-332**] Unlike the sixteenth-century works, however, the later scenes do not seem to place the same moralizing accent on the act of viewing.

Rather, a new prevailing mood is set by the growing number of Dianas and Endymions, not yet listed in the inventories studied by Wildenstein, but very much present in the forty exhibitions organized by the Académie royale de peinture between 1673 and 1799, in which, of the more than eighty registered representations of Diana, thirteen are of Diana and Actaeon, twelve of Diana and Callisto (the scene in which Jupiter, disguised as Diana, seduces the nymph), and eleven of Diana and Endymion.[23] It would seem as if the tale of Diana and Endymion had the ability to restore a singular aspect of Diana, one that underlay the contradictory tensions of earlier works where Diana and Actaeon's encounter was posited simultaneously as a question of forbidden seeing and desire, a theme that, as we have seen, was imbued with the moralizing tradition and was translated in Neo-Platonic and Petrarchan versions as a question of impossible love. With the rise of the Endymion iconography, which continued into nineteenth-century romantic painting, this contradictory tension seems to be resolved: for in the Endymion tale, Diana's own desire comes to surface and her multiple aspects are therefore split into separate subject matters: the Actaeon tale continues to express what is forbidden but without the earlier tensions, while Diana's role in the Endymion narratives mitigates the vengeful

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[22] This observation is based on my examination of numerous Baroque and eighteenth-century variations on the theme (ca. 200), available in the photographic collection of the Warburg Institute.

[23] On the presence of Diana imagery in the exhibitions of the Académie Royale, see Levine, LXXIV.

aspect of the goddess that predominated in sixteenth-century paintings. On a further note, one might wonder whether there is a parallel in the seventeenth-century poetic and pictorial versions of Diana and Actaeon, for a similar underplaying seems to take place in the poetic renderings of the tale, which, as studied by Gisele Mathieu-Castellani, continue some of the aspects set in place during the sixteenth-century, but these become mere commonplace features and do not take on the same dramatic level.[24]

Diana's love for Endymion does not appear in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and the growing number of representations of the scene seem to suggest a parallel to the developments in pastoral poetry, where Diana takes on the role of a maiden searching for love.[25] On the other hand, the image of Diana acquires an increasing political role, one that derives from the era of Henri II and that was picked up by later monarchs and their entourage, beginning with Henri IV and continuing into the reign of Louis XIV, where Diana comes to play an important role as the partner to the Sun God. A significant example of the development of this imagery is the *Salle des Saisons* in Anne of Austria's Louvre apartments (1655-58), in which the theme of the four seasons various scenes are conceived as a cycle exalting the political alliance between Apollo and Diana. The siblings reign in the central vault, with two narrative scenes for each at either side; scenes of their interaction with mortals occupy the room's four upper sides, juxtaposing both their vengeful and more pacific sides, as if warning about the power of the gods. [**Figs. 333-338**] Although this cycle has not been studied in depth, it provides a significant example for it pairs the more traditional Diana and Actaeon scene with Diana and Endymion.

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[24] See Gisele Mathieu-Castellani, "La Figure de Diane dans la poésie baroquet et maniériste: De la dramatisation du mythe à sa décoloration," in *Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe* siècle…, 149-168.

[25] On the growing development of Diana's role in pastoral poetry, see Nathalie Dauvois, "La Diane Pastorale," in *Le mythe de Diane en France au XVIe* siècle…, 279-290. It has also been proposed that the tale of Diana and Endymion may have a political symbolism, for which see Judith Bernstock, *Poussin and French Dynastic Ideology* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 169-171, on Poussin's *Selene and Endymion* (Detroit), interpreted as a reference to Louis XIII. Similarly, it has been commonly accepted that the appearances of Diana in Gombault's *Endymion* (1624) are allusions to Marie de' Medici, for which see Bardon (1974), 35.

An image for a queen: Apollo and Diana as a royal couple

The beginning of a specifically focused interest in Diana during the seventeenth century can be attested through a series of royal initiatives that took place during the reign of Henri IV, as can be seen in the decoration of the *Salle de Diane* (also known as the *Salle de la Reine*) at Fontainebleau and the creation of a *Galerie de Diane* at the Tuileries, as well as in the king's commission of a tapestry cycle that recalls the mid-sixteenth-century set.[26] The upsurge during this period of images and descriptions of a Diana *all'antica*, in her guise as goddess of the hunt -- dressed with a short chiton while on the run-- might also be connected to the 1602 move of the so-called *Diane de Versailles* sculpture from the Queen's Garden at Fontainebleau to the Louvre's *Salle des Caryatids*, as part of Henri IV's inauguration of an early royal collection of antiques.[27]

The *Diane de Versailles*, which acquired its name after it was moved by Louis XIV to Versailles, was the Roman marble work that had been presented to Henri II as a gift from Pope Paul IV in 1556, undoubtedly as an acknowledgment of the close symbolic association between

[26] Henri IV is especially known for his construction of *galeries*, which include the *Petite Galerie* (now the Galerie d'Apollon) and the *Grande Galerie* at the Louvre, the *Galerie de la Volière*, the *Galerie des Cerfs*, and the *Galerie des Chevreuils* at Fontainebleau. See Jean-Pierre Babelon, "Les travaux de Henri IV au Louvre et aux Tuileries," *Paris et Ile-de-France* XXIX (1978): 55-130; Jacques Thuillier, "Peinture et politique: une théorie de la galerie royale sous Henri IV," in *Etudes d'art français offertes à Charles Sterling*, eds. A. Châtelet and N. Reynaud (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1975), 175-205.
For a discussion of the Diana tapestry cycles commissioned by Henri IV, see Bardon (1963), 142-147.

[27] Under Louis XIV, the sculpture was transferred to Versailles, where it was placed in the Grande Galerie and became known as the *Diane de Versailles*. In 1798, the work was taken back to the Louvre and placed once again in the *Salle des Caryatids*. Built by Pierre Lescot in the late 1540s, the *Salle des Caryatids* is named after the four caryatid figures sculpted by Jean Goujon in 1550, which support a tribune for musicians. Divided into two sections with a *serliana*, the room served two principal functions: as the seat of the royal tribunal as well as a festive location. From 1692 to 1793, the room held the royal collection of antiques, and became known as the *Salle des Antiques*. Its architecture was restored and changed in the early nineteenth century, and in 1849, Cellini's *Nymph of Fontainebleau* was shifted to the caryatid tribune from the tribunal area, and replaced by a plaster copy.
For a summary of the mentions made of the sculpture and its movements from one location to another, see Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The lure of classical sculpture 1500-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), no. 30, 196-198.

the French king and the goddess of the hunt, one that, as we have seen, was most explicitly

rendered in the interior decoration of the Henri II Louvre wing. With its move to the Louvre in

1602, a bronze copy by Barthelémy Prieur was erected in the Queen's garden at Fontainebleau

(its original location since the reign of Henri II), and reinstalled by 1605 as a fountain, with a

new base surmounted by bronze dogs and stag heads.[28] [**Fig. 339**] Numerous sculptural variants

and copies of the ancient prototype were then produced throughout the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries.[29] [**Fig. 340-341**]

In all these instances, Henri IV's initiatives may be seen as a continuation and

reinforcement of the artistic sites and iconography of the Valois kings, notably François I and

Henri II. Whereas Henri IV's commission of the tapestry cycle and his additions to

Fontainebleau and to the Tuilleries of large-scale Diana imagery elaborate on earlier tendencies,

his placement of the Diane de Versailles in the Salle des Caryatids might be deemed an indirect

tribute to Henri II, for this room was celebrated as one of Henri II's major architectural

contributions and is connected to the richly decorated Escalier Henri II. Henri IV's decision not

to build new sites but rather to reinforce preexisting ones may partly be explained as a need

based on the dire economic situation resulting of the religious wars, as well as a political strategy

to legitimize the king's rule.[30] Notwithstanding, two significant consequences result from this

revived production of Diana imagery: on the one hand, a more explicit pairing of Apollo and

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[28] On the new fountain sculpture, see Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, "Fontaines et fontainiers sous Henri IV," in *Les arts au temps d'Henri IV*…, 93-120; Boris Lossky, "La Fontaine de Diane à Fontainebleau," *Bulletin de la société d'histoire de l'art français* (1968): 9-18; Pierre Varaise, "Note sur la fontaine de Diane au château de Fontainebleau au temps d'Henri IV," *Bulletin de la société d'histoire de l'art français* (1968): 18-21: and Grodecki, *Histoire de l'art au XVIe siècle,* v.II, 140, no. 692.

[29] See Levine, LXXXIX, n. 13, for a list of the sculptural copies in France after the mid-seventeenth century.

[30] See Babelon (6-9). Henri IV's patronage of the arts is perhaps best known for his interest in architectural projects, which developed pre-existing sites, with a special preference for Fontainebleau. His lack of engagement in building new palaces and his exclusive employment of French artists may be partly explained as a result of the economic limitations after his accession to the throne. As noted by Babelon, however, much work still remains to be done on this period, which has been often deemed as transitional, between French Renaissance art and the full-fledged Baroque under Louis XIV.

Diana through which the French Queen begins to be more strongly associated with Diana; on the other, the beginning of what are indisputably allegorical portraits of women in the guise of Diana.[31]

In the case of the no longer extant *Galerie de Diane* or *Galerie de la Reine* at Fontainebleau, decorated by Ambroise Dubois (ca.1600-1601), the pairing of Apollo and Diana was extensively emphasized, even though Henri IV was allegorically represented as Mars (and not Apollo). According to the descriptions of Père Dan and of Abbé Guilbert, and from what can be gleaned from nineteenth-century sketches made before the cycle's destruction in 1810, the space followed the organization of Primaticcio's Gallery of Ulysses, where the vault was divided into compartments.[32] Diana appeared in three of these compartments: in the fourteenth, Apollo and Diana were shown killing the Niobids; in the eighteenth, Diana was depicted on a chariot in the center, with Endymion on the right, and in her characteristic 'Diane au repos' pose to the left; finally, in the nineteenth, she was shown together with Latona and Apollo amidst the clouds.

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[31] Although Bardon (1963) acknowledges that there were some innovations in the direction of Diana imagery during the period of Henri IV, she tends to view such depictions as an imitation of the mid-sixteenth-century tendencies, in what she calls a return to "la mythologie personnelle" but in which she sees the allegorizing of different women as Diana, including the queen and the king's mistress, as an incoherent pastiche; for Bardon, the ultimate model of an "admirable unity" in the representations of Diana remains Diane de Poitiers at Anet, and Henri IV's invocation of the Diana imagery can be explained as his desire to mold his own romance with Gabrielle d'Estrées on that of his predecessor and Diane de Poitiers (135, 137-138). However, a reconsideration of the motivations for the mid-sixteenth-century interest in Diana and of those of the early-seventeenth century may result in a more nuanced reading of the works, as discussed further ahead.

[32] Destroyed in 1810, the cycle is known through Dan's descriptions as well as those of Abbé P. Guilbert, *Description historique des château, bourg et forest de Fontainebleau…* (Paris, 1731), t. I pp.168 ff), and the nineteenth-century watercolors by Percier (Institut de France, ms. 1015), published in the form of engravings in E. Gatteaux and V. Baltard, *Galerie de la Reine dite de Diane à Fontainebleau peinte par Ambroise Dubois en MDC sous le règne de Henri IV*. Publiée par E. Gatteaux et V. Baltard d'après les dessins de L. P. Baltard et de C. Percier (Paris 1858).
The similarity in the decorative structure of the Galerie de Diane and the Ulysses Gallery is noted by Bardon (1963), 135. For a more positive assessment of the cycle, see Paola Bassani Pacht and Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot, in "La peinture parisienne de 1600 à 1630," in *Marie de Médicis, un gouvernement par les arts. Château de Blois, 29 novembre 2003 au 28 mars 2004,* eds. P. Bassani Pacht et al (Paris: Somogy Éditions d'art, 2003), 80. According to Bassani Pacht and Sainte Fare Garnot, the cycle was Dubois's first commission at Fontainebleau, begun in 1601 and finished in 1606, and its principal function was to celebrate the royal couple and their recent marriage. On the cycle's narrative ordering and a close reading of the nineteenth-century sources, see Colombe Samoyault-Verlet, "Précisions iconographiques sur trois décors de la seconde École de Fontainebleau," in *Actes du colloque international sur l'École de Fontainebleau* (1974), 242-244.

Along the walls, interspersed with historical scenes of the "batailles et victoires de Henry le

Grand," were ten episodes pairing Diana and Apollo, two of which included the Callisto tale and

a bath scene.[33] The Diana images seem to have been placed on the side of the queen's

apartments, across from the Apollo depictions (on the side of the windows); the mythological

scenes were separated from the historical ones by the allegorical portraits of the royal couple,

which were placed above the center chimneys: Henri IV as Mars, and Marie de' Medici as

Diana.[34] It is difficult to tell from the nineteenth-century watercolors whether the matronly Diana

was indeed meant as a recognizable portrait of Marie de' Medici, but the fleur-de-lys dress

confirms a royal connection.[35] [**Fig. 342**]

At first glance, the overall cycle does not seem to be systematically organized, leading

scholars to speculate that the galerie was originally dedicated to Gabrielle d'Estrées (d. 1599)

and then adapted to Marie de' Medici after her marriage to Henri IV in 1600.[36] This argument is

partially based on the supposition that Gabrielle d'Estrées was represented as Diana in a number

of works (as if following a trend set by Diane de Poitiers), which include the later versions of the

Bain de Diane and an image of Diana as huntress at Chenonceaux; however, the question of

Gabrielle d'Estrées's portraiture remains almost as elusive as that of Diane de Poitiers. In many

cases, the attributions remain conjectural and highly problematic, for some of these images were

labeled post-facto, in the seventeenth century.[37]

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[33] See Dan's description, 149-150.

[34] For this ordering, based on a careful revision of earlier descriptions and the nineteenth-century sources (some of which appear to be inverted), see Samoyault-Vernet.

[35] As noted by Dan, 148, who identifies her as the "Reyne vestuë à la Royale, sous la ressemblance d'une Diane."

[36] Bardon (1963), 136-138.

[37] For the question of Gabrielle d'Estrées's portrait in the *Bain de Diane* series see Part III, where the problems surrounding this attribution are similar to those discussed here. Bardon recognition of Gabrielle d'Estrées's physiognomy in the Chenonceaux work is based on the supposition that the woman in the Chantilly version of the *Lady at her bath* and the Louvre *Women at the bath* represent Gabrielle (140). As demonstrated by Plogsterth, however, the inscriptions that name the woman as Gabrielle d'Estrées are posthumous (159). Although Dan describes an image that fits the characteristics of that now at Chenonceaux (for which see Bardon 140-141), by the

Even if the image of Diana was indeed adopted and used by Gabrielle d'Estrées in the 1590s, this should not necessarily be seen as an impediment or contradiction for Marie de' Medici's subsequent association with Diana. And even in the unlikely case that the *Galerie de Diane* was conceived to honor Gabrielle d'Estrées, it ultimately functioned as a celebration of the king and queen as a royal couple, and served to set the first large-scale precedent for a whole series of later galleries and cycles of a similar theme. Thus, rather than a culmination of cycles that celebrated the royal mistresses, the *Galerie de Diane* at Fontainebleau should be considered as a significant step in the growing association of the Queen of France with Diana.[38] Neither should it be seen as an imposition upon Marie de' Medici: while it is true that the Galerie de Diane might have been conceived before the marriage of Marie de' Medici to Henri IV, Marie de' Medici continued to exploit Diana imagery in other instances, a theme that, as we shall see, was also picked up by her daughter, Henrietta Maria, while Queen of England.[39]

Furthermore, the variety of imagery included in Henri IV's *Galerie de Diane*, with its combination of historical and mythological narratives, need not be seen as incongruent but may be understood as an innovative and strategic approach, in which Henri IV asserted his power by simultaneously invoking the historical events that led to his reunification of France, and the mythological style that had come to characterize Fontainebleau imagery under the Valois kings.[40] By presenting himself as Mars in the Galerie de Diane, while invoking the Apollo and

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time that he was writing, images of Gabrielle d'Estrées were being listed in inventories and seem to have been a popular subject outside of courtly circles; as noted by Plogsterth, many of these so-called portraits were created and inscribed many years after her death.

[38] Bardon (1963), 142, sees the Fontainebleau Galerie de Diane as a culmination of cycles that celebrated royal mistresses, and which include the decoration of Anet and of the Salle de Bal at Fontainebleau. But she also criticizes it as incongruent and speculates that it was imposed upon Marie de' Medici.

[39] A key piece of Marie de' Medici's image as Diana is in Gombualt's *Endimion* of 1624, dedicated to Marie de' Medici and promoted by Anne of Austria.

[40] As noted by Bassani Pacht and Sainte Fare Garnot, 80, it is the reference to recent historical events (i.e. the Henri IV's military actions and victories) that sets the cycle apart from its model, the Ulysses Gallery: "N'est-ce pas précisément ce parti-là, plus attentif à la vérité et à l'histoire, le parti en fait prôné par Antoine de Laval et qui sera

Diana pairing throughout the room, Henri IV was simultaneously summoning two kingly, mythological models that combined two important themes of the *Galerie de Diane*: the king as victorious warrior, as shown in the historical scenes of the battles of the French civil wars, with the cycle's culmination in the figure of Mars, and the king as patron of the arts, as evoked through the Apollo narratives. Indeed, the theme of Henri IV's victory became a leitmotif of the first decade of the sixteenth century, which attests to a hugely important aspect of Henri IV's iconography. The presentation of Henri IV as a triumphant equestrian warrior trampling over his enemies can be appreciated in a variety of media, especially innovative in the case of small bronze statuettes.[41] Henri IV was also portrayed as Mars in a painting that closely recalls the pose of François Ier as Julius Caesar in a Primaticcio drawing, and which may be read as part of Henri IV's strategy to assert his image as "peacemaker and restorer of the French monarchy."[42] [**Figs. 321-323**]

That the queen was presented as Diana and the king as Mars need not be seen as incongruent either. Our modern assumption is that the royal pair should 'match' as Apollo and Diana or as Mars and Venus, but a consideration of later imagery shows that it could be considered quite appropriate to pair Mars and Diana as a royal couple, as in the engravings in the second edition of Thomas Billon's *Sibylla Gallica* in (1624) where Louis XIII is allegorized and depicted as Mars and Anne of Austria as Diana. [**Figs. 343-344**] Under the Anne of Austria as Diana image, the dedicatory poem explicitly connects the royal couple: *DIANE, d'attraits si*

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adopté, là aussi sur les parois, dans la Petite Galerie du Louvre, qui donnait d'une certain façon le ton général de la galerie de Diane?"

[41] On the originality of the theme's employment in small bronze statuettes (usually reserved for a different type of subject matter), its popularity, and existence in other media, see Amaury Lefébure, "L'atelier de Barthélemy Prieur et l'imagerie royale sous le règne d'Henri IV," in *Les arts au temps d'Henri IV…*, 268-271.

[42] On Henri IV's self-presentation as Mars, see Marie-France Wagner, "Représentation allégorique d'Henri IV rex imperator," *Renaissance and Reformation* 17: 4 (Fall 1993): 25-40. Dated ca.1601, the painting has been variously attributed to Ambrois Dubois or Jacob Bunuel, for which see Paola Bassani Pacht, cat. no. 13., "Henri IV en Mars," 138-139, in *Marie de Médicis*, eds. Bassani Pacht et al. (2003). On Henri IV's reconstruction of France after the civil war, see *Henri IV et la reconstruction du royaume, Musée national du château de Pau* juin-octobre 1989.

pourveüe, / Pourquoi portes-tu tant de dars? / Si par un seul traict de ta veüe / Tu peus blesser le coeur d'un MARS. Also, the choice of Diana (rather than Venus) would certainly be more appropriate and expected for a queen, as can be seen in the Henri IV saltcellars where the king is paired with Venus and Marie de' Medici is paired with Diana's triumph, a theme apparently associated with marriage.[43] [**Figs. 345-346**]

The equivalence of royal couples to mythological counterparts was a common device, and one that Henri IV and Marie de Medici used on several public occasions, including the more familiar pairing of Jupiter and Juno, and a variety of medals celebrating the kingdom's prosperity where the royal couple was presented as Mars and Minerva, themes that were continued in the medals made during Marie de Medici's regency.[44] But it was the image of Apollo and Diana that would be most developed in later imagery, first during Anne of Austria's regency and then under Louis XIV. Although the theme of French princesses as Diana has sporadic appearances that go back to the early-sixteenth century, as in Louise de Savoie's manuscripts, this only became a systematic association in the seventeenth century, after Anne of Austria's Louvre apartments and Louis XIV's move to Versailles, where the Diana and Apollo theme became the dominant narrative.

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[43] On the saltcellars, see Sophie Baratte, "Remarques sur les émaux peints de Limoges sous Henri IV," in *Les arts au temps d'Henri IV…*, 32, 34, and the catalog entries in *Marie de Médicis…* 232-233, cat. no. 97 "Salière avec le profil de Henri IV," and cat. no. 98 "Salière avec le profil de Marie de Médicis."

[44] On Barthélemy Prieur's bronze statuettes of Henri IV and Marie de Medici as Jupiter and Juno (ca.1610), and other instances in which the couple was presented in this way (for example during royal entries), see the catalog entries in *Marie de Médicis…* no. 33 "Henri IV en Jupiter" and no. 34 "Marie de Médicis en Junon,"pp.164-165, 347-348, by Thierry Crépin-Leblond. Also see Regina Seelig-Teuwen, "Barthélemy Prieur, portraitiste d'Henri IV et de Marie de Médicis," in *Les arts au temps d'Henri IV…*, 331-354. On the medals of the royal couple as Mars and Minerva and/or celebrating the kingdom's prosperity, as well as those made during Marie de Medici's regency, in which she appears variously as Minerva, Juno, and Cybele, see the catalog entries by Thierry Crépin-Leblond, nos. 119-128; no.132; pp. 246-250; p. 253. Marie de' Medici also adopted the guise of Cybele in a medal probably made for Henrietta Maria's marriage of Henrietta-Maria with Charles I (1624), in which Marie as Cybele is placed in the center, surrounded by her children --Louis XIII as Jupiter; Henriette Maria as Amphitrite; Christine as Diana; Elizabeth as Juno; Gaston as Hercules, for which see catalog entries by Crépin-Leblond, cat. no. 133-134; p. 253.

Diana as an emblematic image of Frenchness

Outside of France, images of Diana were increasingly produced throughout the seventeenth-century courts. With the ongoing travel of artists from one court to another, constantly adapting their styles to the tastes of their patrons while introducing a new flavor to the local artistic scene and avidly copying the art works in the collections of the courts they visited, artistic quoting became commonplace in works of the period. It is as a result of these travels and artistic exchanges that the Diana imagery was expanded on an international scale. At the same time, the image of Diana was continuously associated with the French monarchy. This can be clearly seen in the works created for Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Marie de' Medici, who had become Queen of England with her marriage to Charles I in 1624. These included a cast after the Diane de Versailles (1634), a fountain of Diana (1635), a design by Inigo Jones for a Temple of Diana (1635), as well as other various works. Whether this was a result of Henrietta Maria's personal reminiscences and nostalgia for her childhood spent at the French court, as has been suggested by Susan A. Skyes, there are numerous examples that suggest that this was part an articulation on a larger scale.[45]

The connection between Diana and the French court can also be seen in specific works such as the Diana paintings of Orazio Gentileschi and Simon Vouet, both of which were probably made with the English monarchs in mind, and provide a good example of how the

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[45] For a study of Henrietta Maria's taste for French art and her use of the Diana imagery, see Susan Alexandra Skyes, "Henrietta Maria's 'House of Delight': French Influence and iconography in the Queen's House, Greenwich," *Apollo* v. 133 n. 351 (1991): 332-336. It would be important to consider whether the ongoing presence of the Diana iconography in England might also be connected to Elizabeth I's well-known adoption of the theme in the later-sixteenth century, for in this sense, the matter is further complicated.

theme was internationally regarded as a French specialty.[46][**Figs. 317, 347**] Each one recalls

sixteenth-century French prototypes: Orazio's is a variation on the full-standing Diana huntress

type, while Vouet's is practically a quotation of the *Diane au repos* type continuously depicted at

Fontainebleau, but painted in a different style. It is clearly based on the Primaticcio composition

that was known through the Léon Davent's print of the theme, labeled "A fontennebleu." As

previously discussed, there was a market for late-sixteenth-century painted versions of the

Nymph of Fontainebleau.

Orazio's was probably painted during the artist's London sojourn, following his two-year

Parisian residency. Stylistically, the painting is close to the figure of *Public Felicity* painted for

Marie de' Medici and recalls the voluptuous forms of Jean Goujon's sculptures, to the point that

earlier scholars thought the work had first been made for Marie de' Medici during Orazio's stay

in France. Indeed, both the subject matter and its presentation clearly associate the work with a

French style. However, it is now thought that Orazio most probably painted it while in London,

where it was acquired by Roger du Plessis de Liancourt while acting as French ambassador

extraordinary in 1630. It remains unclear whether Liancourt bought it directly from Orazio or

through the English king. It has also been speculated that the work may have been meant for

Henrietta Maria and only later offered as a gift to the French ambassador.[47] The painting was

then placed in Liancourt's residence in Paris, where it could have been viewed and inspired

further stylistic developments in France. That at least two copies were made after it is an

indication of the painting's success. [**Fig. 348**] For, in addition to using a style and subject that

indicated a connection to the French court, Orazio gave the theme a new treatment. While taking

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[46] On Vouet's *Diane au repos*, see Jacques Thuillier et al, *Vouet, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris 6 novembre 1990 - 11 février 1991* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1990), 286, cat. no. 40.
[47] On Orazio's Diana, see Keith Christiansen et al, *Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi* (New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), cat. no. 47.

the traditional pose of Diana as a huntress type that evolved from ancient prototypes of Diane de Versailles, Orazio presented the figure from the back in a spiraling torsion that evokes a figura serpentinata, without the elongated proportions of mannerist art. While recalling the ancient prototype, he has added intensified movement. In a sense, Orazio's image of Diana is first and foremost a demonstration piece, not only for its subject --publicizing a clear connection to the French court-- but for its innovative stylistic treatment of a subject commonly associated with the French court.

The long-standing association between Diana and the French court can also be seen in the later developments at the Louvre. Both the architectural planning and the sculptural decorations of the later buildings are clearly based on Henri II's wing, and echoes of its emblematic imagery are presented throughout the later buildings, both on the exterior and interior. The imperial symbolism of Henri II, as well as his personal emblematics, which include the frieze of bows, lions, and Diana heads, reappear throughout the external buildings up to the nineteenth century. This is also the case of the allegorical female figures, although the predominant focus of the later decoration is an exaltation of the arts and on occasion, an explicit reference to Diana. [**Figs. 349-351**] The Diana theme was also revived in the interior decoration of the Louvre, as can be seen in the *Salle de Diane* (1801-3) whose sculpted reliefs are a direct quotation from those of the Escalier Henri II, while its fresco cycle of Diana quotes the well-known *Diane de Versailles* sculpture, which, by this time, was placed in the adjacent Salle des Caryatids, itself restored with nineteenth-century additions that also evoked the iconography first established under Henri II. [**Figs. 352-354**]

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Abbreviations

BN (Bibliothèque Nationale de France)
Lyon BM (Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, Fonds Ancien)
Rouen BM (Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen)
Gallica (edition available online through the BN)

I. Consulted manuscripts and documents (unpublished)

Arsenal Ms. fr. 5069. *Ovide moralisé* (ca. 1340)

BN Ms. fr. 143. *Livre de la glose des échecs amoureux* (ca. 1496-98)

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BN Ms. fr. 379. *Chasse d'un cerf privée* (early-sixteenth century)

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BN Ms. fr. 1863. François Demoulins, *Dialogue sur le jeu* (1505)

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TABLE 1: Comparison of Clouet versions (Part III)

Location Medium / Measurements	Dating and Attribution	Order (Original v.s. Variants)	Iconographic particularities, including attire of figures	Identity of the figures and symbolism			
				Henri II / Diane de Poitiers	Charles IX / Marie Touchat	Henri IV / Gabrielle d'Estrées	Other
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen Oil on wood. H.133 x L.192cm	Ca. 1550s. Restored 1960s and 1991. Since restoration of late 1960s, unanimously attributed to François Clouet (including Blunt 1970).	For Sterling (1955) and Blunt (1953), replica of lost original by François Clouet. But since 1960s restoration, unanimously believed to be original.	Diana with half-moon; females wearing jewelry. Beardless young man in black and white painted over bearded figure all'antica. (For Blum, jewelry indicates later dating.) 1991 restoration revealed beast (repainted in)	Allegory of love: Cat.Museum 1967; Reinach 1919/20. If 1550s, then H.II is idealized, repr younger.	Alleg.of love: Bouchot; Vitry; Durand-G (all 1904). Blum 1921.		- Ris 1872; Lafenestre 1904; Sterling 1955> not Diane Henri II - Bouchot 1904; Laf 1904; Reinach 1920: say Actaeon - Trinquet 1968: Francis II & same as in Sao Paulo version.
SAO PAULO (Collection Métayer) Oil on wood. H.77 x L.110cm	Ca. 1550s-70s	Considered as the original work by Blum (1921). For Sterling (1955) and Blunt (1953), replica of lost original by François Clouet. Since 1960s restoration of Rouen version, thought to be variant after it (or replica if done before Rouen was altered).	No half-moon; no jewelry. Bearded man, older, dressed 'all'antica'. Beast was not overpainted, and was used as evidence for 1991 restoration of Rouen version.	H.II as older, according to Blum (compares to later portraits of H.II)			Trinquet 1968: Henri II & Marie Stuart; Catherine de Medici seated; ids satyrs & servant. Satyric allegory.
M.B.A., TOURS Oil on wood. H.97 x L.130.5cm	ca.1598-1600 Restored 2006 (in process).	Variant of Sao Paolo version or Rouen original (before changes); replica of Sulzbach?	Diana looking out at viewer. No half-moon; no jewelry. Older bearded man.			Unanimous	
Sulzbach Collection H..95 x L.128cm	c.1598-1600 Maybe same as Tours?	Variant of Sao Paolo version or Rouen original (before changes); replica of Tours?	Diana looking out at viewer. No half-moon; no jewelry. Older bearded man.			Unanimous	

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Diagram 1: comparison of variants of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau*

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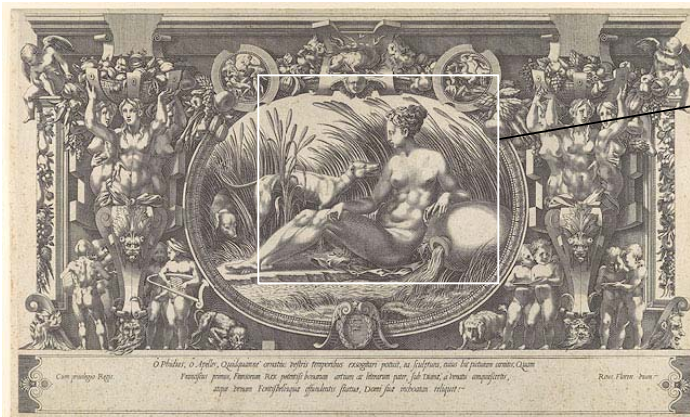
Diagram 2
Comparative sections showing differences between the Rouen and other version. Left to right:
1.Rouen, before restoration; 2. Rouen, after restoration; 3.Sao Paulo; 4.Tours; 5.Sulzbach.

 Comparative sections showing that the beast was present in all the versions; the horseback
rider was dressed all'antica in all the versions, except for the Rouen (which was repainted).

Comparative sections showing the lack of leaves covering the genital area of the satyr.

Comparative section showing that only the Rouen version displays the jewelry and the
crescent moon that identifies the figure as Diana.

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Fig. 1 Emblem of Henri II, detail of fresco in the Salle du Bal, Fontainebleau

Fig. 2 Emblem of Henri II, base of the *Diane of Anet* sculpture (Louvre)

Fig. 3 *Diane of Anet*, 1550s, marble (Louvre)

Fig. 4 Portrait medal of Diane de Poitiers. Reverse: Diana trampling Cupid

Fig. 5 *Diane chasseresse*, ca. 1550s, oil on panel (Louvre)

Fig. 6 *Diana resting*, ca.1540 (Spencer Collection, Althorp)

Fig. 7 *Portrait of lady as Diana*, seventeenth century French (Private collection)

Fig. 8 *Madame Adelaide (daughter of Louis XV) as Diana*, eighteenth century French (Versailles)

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Fig. 9 Alexandre Évariste Fragonard, *Henri II and Diane de Poitiers in Jean Goujon's studio*, ca. 1820 (Louvre)
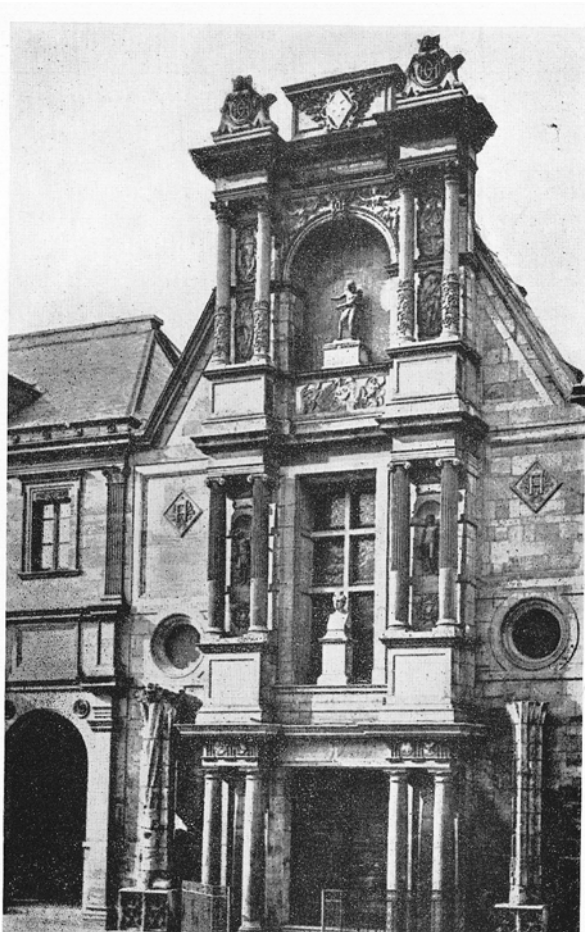
Fig. 10 Philibert Delorme, Triumphal façade of the main entrance to Anet (inside the grounds), now at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris

Fig. 11 One of the sarcophagi on the main entrance to Anet

PETIT * CONSEQVITVR QVOD CVNQVE

DIANAE · VALE
RINAE · S

Sante le Muse son, santa è Diana,
Caste son quelle, & casta è questa anchora.
Dalle Muse il Sol mai non s'allontana,
& d'Apollo Diana vnica è suora.
Nelle Muse è d'Amore ogni arte vana,
Et de i lacci d'Amor Diana è fuora.
Chi fia Diana quel dunque che dica,
Che voi non siete delle Muse amica?

Fig. 12 Dedicatory inscription and medal, in Gabriel Symeoni's *La Vita et metamorfoseo d'Ovidio, figurato & abbreviato in forma d'Epigrammi da M. Gabriello Symeoni […] All'Illustrissima Signora Duchessa di Valentinois* (Lione: Giovanni di Tornes, 1559), 2.

font si bien leur meitier, quõ ne les
sauroit reptandre. E t font si grãds
traictes & saillies de Cerfs/quil
nest cheual, qui ne soit mort,ou
rompu de les suyure

L e R oy suyuoit le Cerf de bien

Fig. 13 "François I meets
Diana" in *Commentaires de la
guerre gallique*, 1519,
illuminated manuscript
(BN Ms. fr. 13429 f.2v)

Fig. 14 *François I Visiting the Nymph of Fontainebleau*, ca.1540s,
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Fig. 17 Marc Bechot, *Medal of Henri II* (verso), 1552 (Paris, BN Cabinet des médailles)

Fig.18 "Scenes of Paradise and Saturn," *Ovide moralisé*, ca. 1330, illuminated manuscript (Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 0.4, f.19)

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Fig. 20 "Deaths of Troilus, Paris, and Achilles," '*Grenier' Trojan War Tapestry*, ca.1475-1475 (Cathedral of Zamora, Spain)
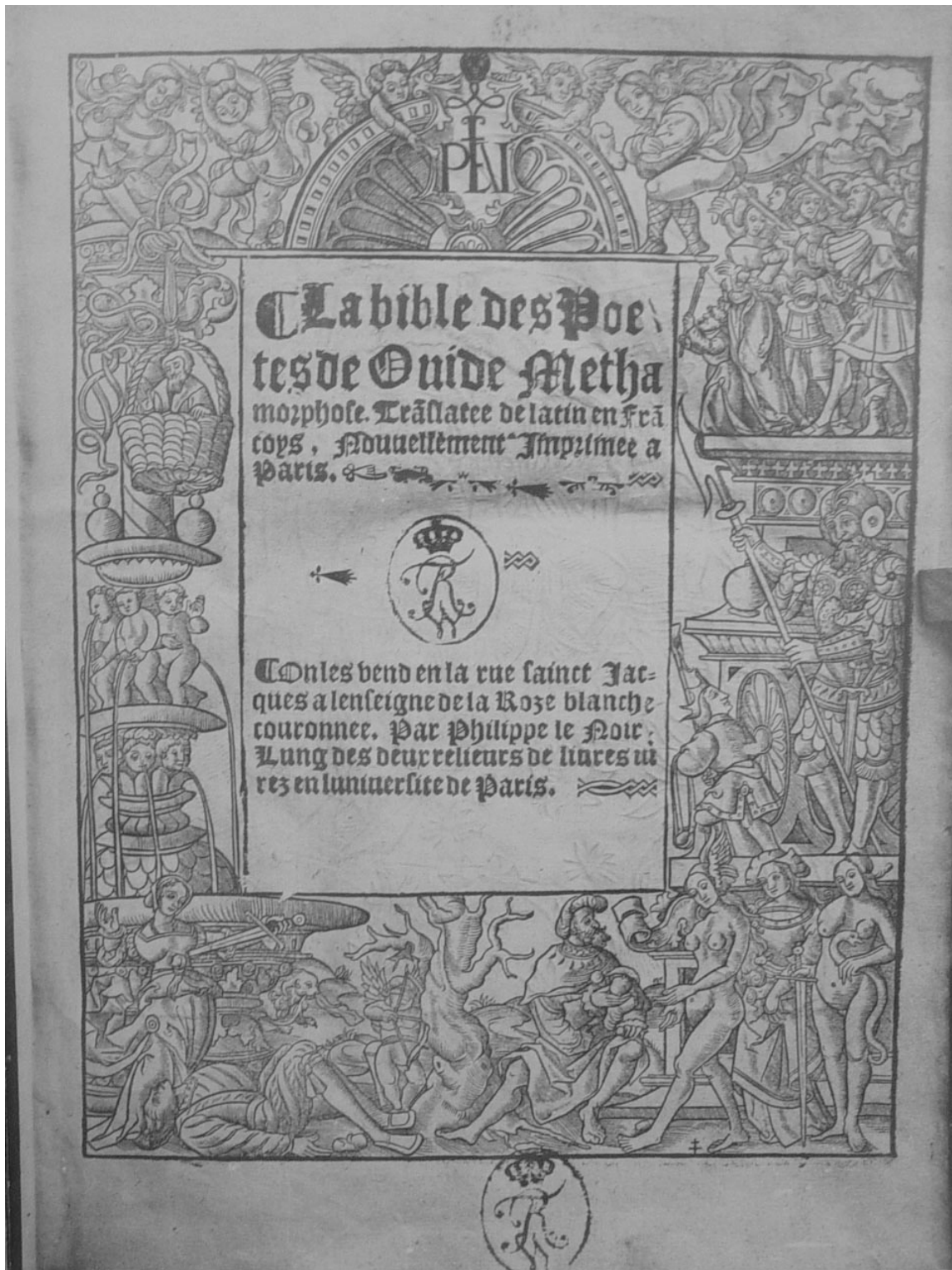
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Fig. 22 "Prologue" (with marginal commentaries in Latin), *Ovide moralisé*, ca.1330, illuminated manuscript; Poitiers family arms are a later addition (Rouen, BM Ms. 0.4, f.16)

Figs. 23-24 "Creation scenes," *Ovide moralisé* (Rouen, BM Ms. 0.4, f.16v and f.17)
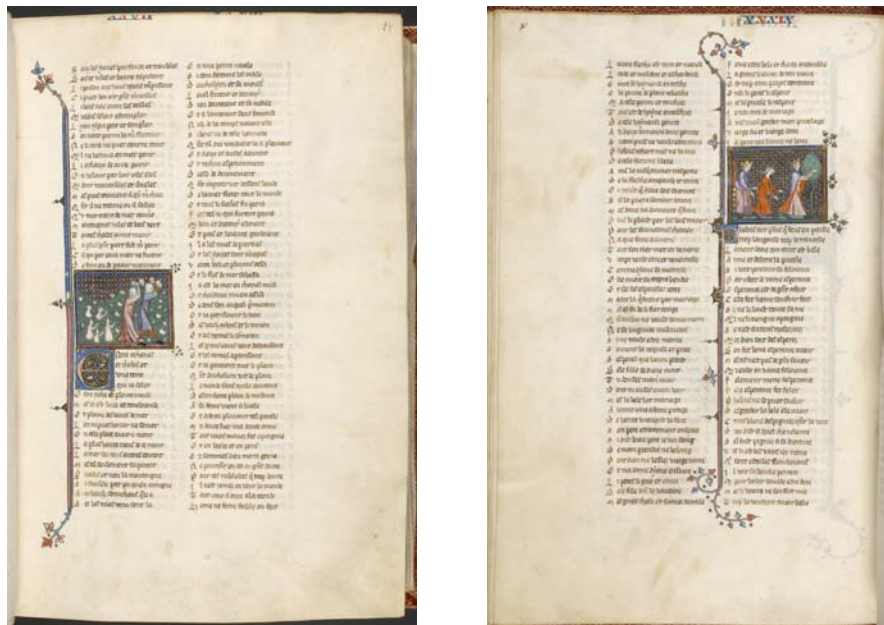
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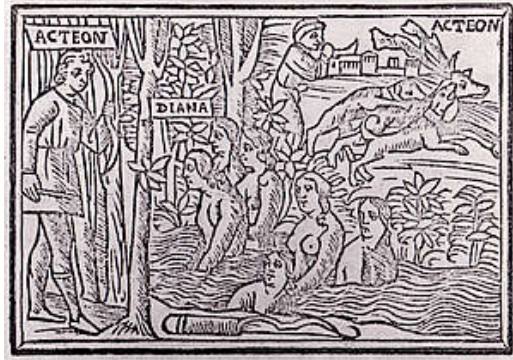
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century, illuminated manuscript
(BN Ms.fr.137 f.31)

Fig. 37 Bernard Salomon, "Diana and
Actaeon," woodcut from the
Metamorphoses d'Ovide figurée
(Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1557)
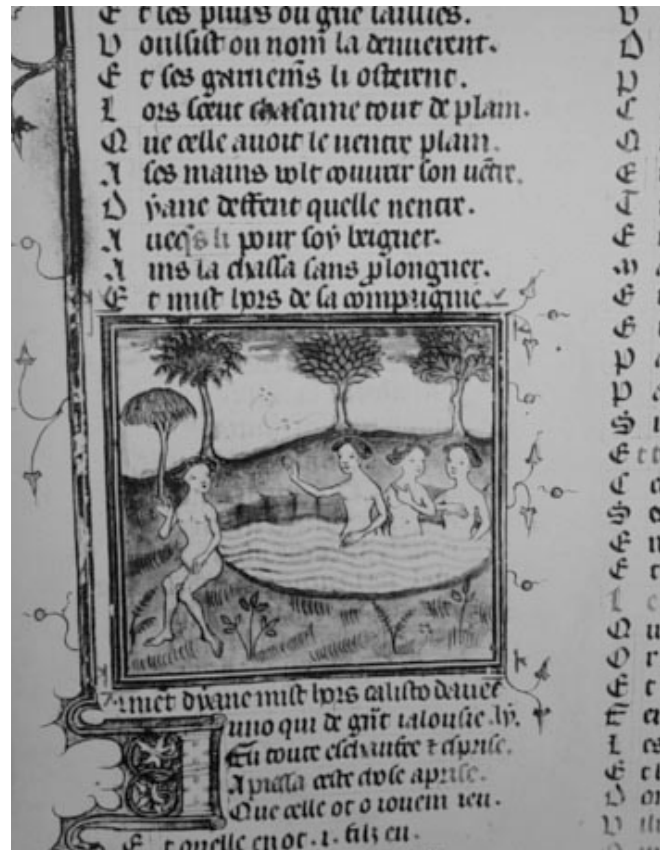
Fig. 38 "Diana and Callisto," *Ovide moralisé*, ca.1380, illuminated manuscript (Lyon BM Ms.742, f.30r)

Fig. 39 "Othea handing her letter to Hector," *Epistre Othea*, ca.1408, illuminated manuscript (Paris BN Ms. 606, f.1v)

Fig. 40 "Diana's readers," *Epistre Othea,* ca.1408, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 606, f. 13)
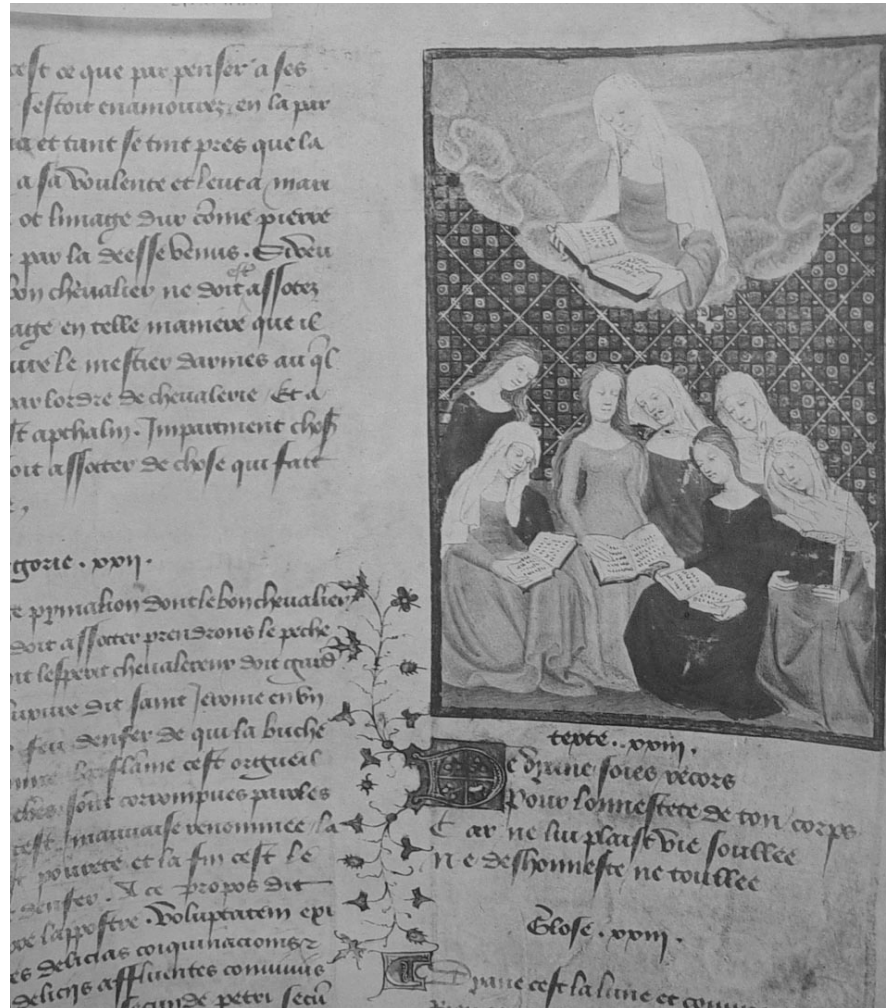
Fig. 41 "Diana's readers," *Epistre Othea,* ca.1410, illuminated manuscript (British Library, Harley 4431, f.107r)

Figs. 42-43 *Children of the planets* iconography
Left**:** "Apollo and his followers," *Epistre Othea,* ca.1408, illuminated manuscript
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Left: "Aurora," *Epistre Othea,* ca.1408, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr.606, f.21v)
Right: "Orpheus" and "Paris," *Epistre Othea,* ca.1408, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 606, f.31v)

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Below: full view of BN Ms. fr.606, f.7v

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Figs. 50-51 Examples of the *Ovide moralisé* Diana
Left:"Diana" *Ovide moralisé,* fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr.373)
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Fig. 52 "Diana" in Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods* (Book 5, chapter 2), fifteenth-century French illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr.6362, f.167 v)

Figs. 53-54 Left: "Diana and Actaeon," *Epistre Othea,* ca.1408, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 606, f.32). Right: "Diana and Actaeon," *Epistre Othea,* ca.1410, illuminated manuscript (British Library Harley 4431, f. 126r)
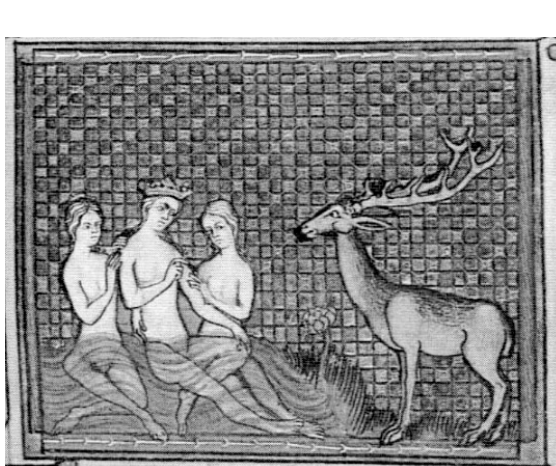
Figs. 55-56 Left: "Diana and Actaeon," *Ovide moralisé*, ca.1330, illuminated manuscript (BM Rouen 0.4, f.74v). Right: "Diana and Actaeon," *Ovide moralisé*, 14th century, illuminated manuscript (Arsenal ms.5069, f.29v)

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Fig. 57 Attributed to Paolo Schiavo, *Diana and Actaeon desco da parto*, ca. 1440, tempera on panel (Williams College Museum of Art)
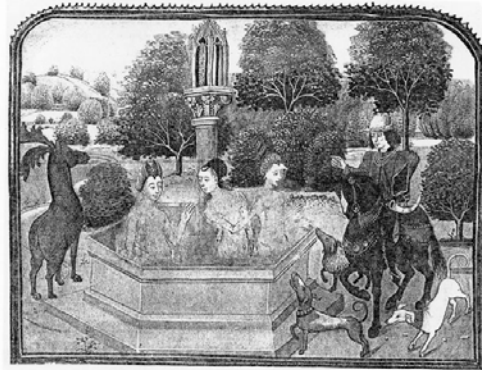
Fig. 58 Loyset Liedet, "Diana and Actaeon," *Epistre Othea*, illuminated manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9392, f.26)

Fig. 59 "Diana and Actaeon," *Les Cent histoires de Troyes*, woodcut (Paris: Pigouchet, 1500)

Fig. 60 François Clouet (attributed), *Bath of Diana*, ca.1550s, oil on panel (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts)
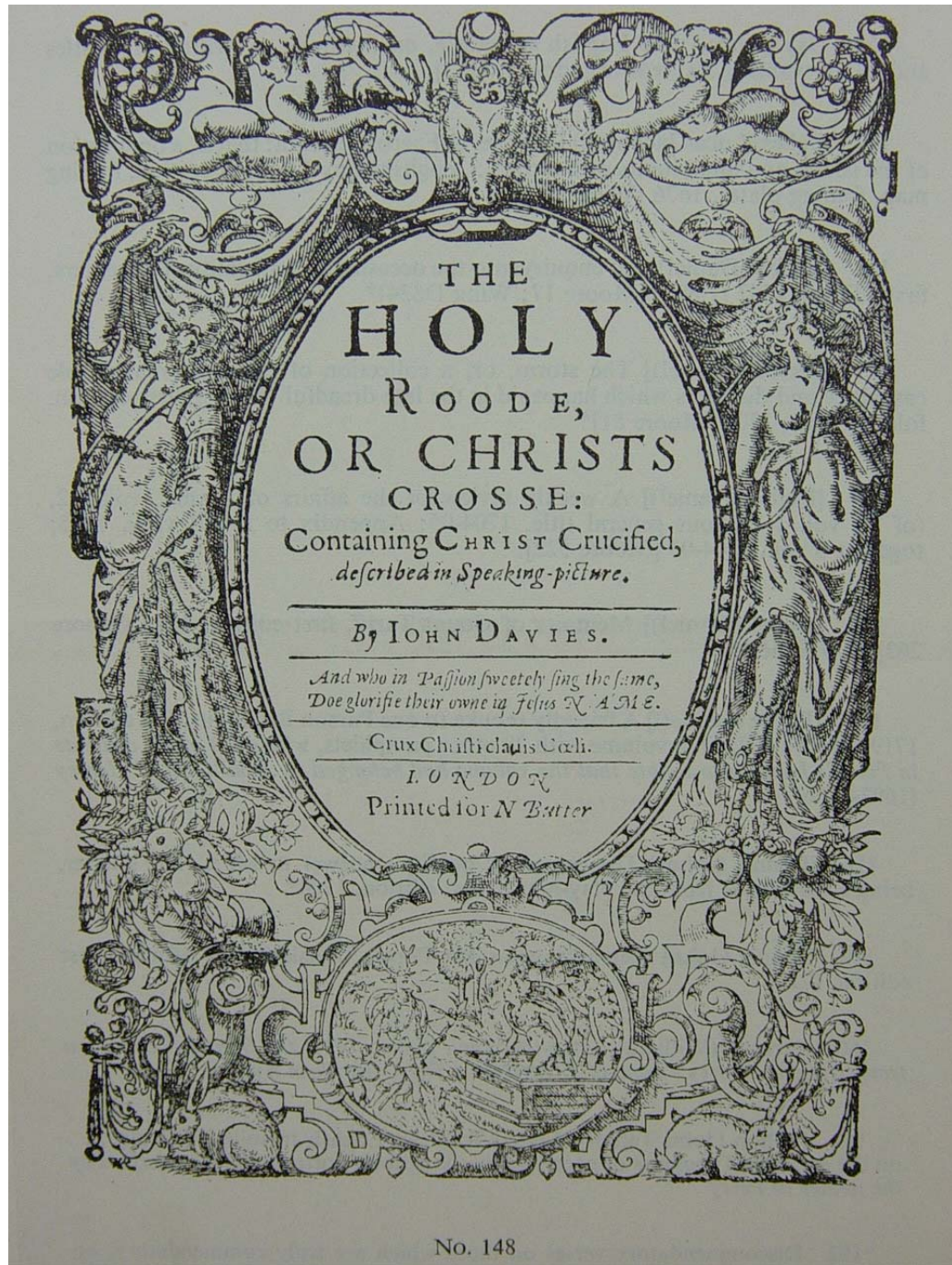
Fig. 61 Frontispiece of John Davies, *The Holy Roode, or Christ's Crosse: Containing Christ Crucified, described in Speaking picture* (London, 1609)

Figs. 62-65 Fifteenth-century French manuscript illuminations of "Thamar painting Diana" in Boccaccio's *Famous Women*. Top left (above): British Library, D Royal 20 CV, f.90v; left (below): BL, Royal 16 GV, f.68v. Top right: BN Ms. fr. 598, f.86. Below right: BN Ms. fr. 599, f.50

Figs. **66-67** "Bacchus," *Glose des échecs amoureux* (Left: BN Ms.fr. 9197, f.181v; right: BN Ms.fr.143, f.151v)

Figs. 68-69 "Encounter between the protagonist and Diana," *Glose des échecs amoureux* (Left: BN Ms.fr.9197, f.202; right: BN Ms.fr.143, f.168v)

Fig. **70** "Nature appearing to the protagonist / arms of Antoine Rolin and Marie d'Ailly," *Glose des échecs amoureux*, late-fifteenth century, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.fr.9197, f.13)

Fig. 71 Robinet Testard (attributed), "Opening scene of narrator with chess game in back / with Orléans and Savoie arms," *Glose des échecs amoureux*, ca.1496, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.fr.143, f.1)

Fig. 72 "Judgment of Paris,"
Epistre Othea, ca.1408,
illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.
fr. 606, f.31v)

Fig. 73 "Diana and Actaeon,"
Epistre Othea, ca.1408,
illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.
fr. 606, f.32)

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Fig. 74 "Diana," *Glose des échecs amoureux*, late-fifteenth century, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.fr.9197, f.140v)

Fig. 75 "Diana," *Glose des échecs amoureux,* ca.1496, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.fr.143, f.116)

Fig. 76 "Venus thanking the protagonist," *Glose des échecs amoureux,* ca.1496, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.fr.143, f.165)

Fig. 77 "Encounter between the protagonist and Diana," *Glose des échecs amoureux*, ca.1496, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.fr.143, f.168v)

Fig.78 "The protagonist-narrator says goodbye to Diana in the background, and stands before the Garden of Nature," *Glose des échecs amoureux,* ca. 1496, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.fr.143, f.198v)

Fig. 79 "The protagonist encounters Nature," *Glose des échecs amoureux*, late-fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. 9197, f.237)

Fig. 80 Robinet Testard (attributed), "Opening scene of narrator with chess game in back / with Orléans and Savoie arms," *Glose des échecs amoureux*, ca.1496, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.fr.143, f.1)

Fig. 81 "Frontispiece showing Louise de Savoie holding a giant compass for her young son," *Compas du Dauphin*, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 2285 f.5)
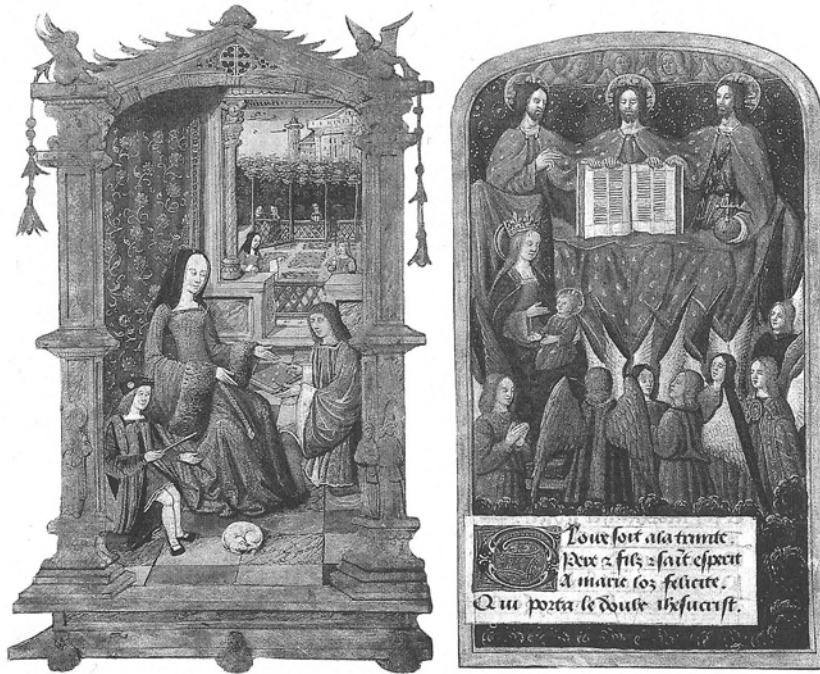
Figs. 82-83 "Louise de Savoie and her son receiving the manuscript / Virgin and Child," in *La Vie de Nostre Dame*, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 985 f.2v-f.3)

Fig. 84 "Louise de Savoie portrayed as Prudence," in François Demoulins's *Traité sur les Vertus* (ca.1510), probably illuminated by Robinet Testard (BN Ms. fr. 12247, f.4)

Fig. 85 "Louise de Savoie as one of the Three Graces" in François Demoulins's *Dialogue sur le jeu*, 1505, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 1863, f.13v)

Figs. 86-87 "François with his tutor," in François Demoulins's *Dialogue sur le jeu*, 1505, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 1863, f.2-2v)
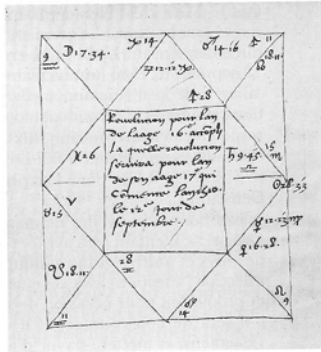
Fig. 88 "Horoscopes of Louise de Savoie, François, and his sister Marguerite for the year 1511," manuscript attributed to Demoulins by Lecoq (BN Ms. fr. 2082)

Fig. 89 "Latona rescued from Python by her two children, Apollo and Diana," illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 2082, f.4)

Fig. 90 "Dedication to Louise/Latona, mother of Apollo and Diana, fountain of all virtues," in Jean Thenaud's *Triumphes de Vertuz* (BN Ms. fr. 144, f.B)

Fig. 91
"Dedication scene showing Vérard presenting a luxury edition to Louise and François," in *Le Sejour d'Honneur* (BN Rés. Vélins 2239, fol.1v)

Fig. 92 "Dedication scene showing Vérard presenting the luxury edition to Louise and François," in Jacobus de Cessolis's *Le Jeu des eschez moralisé*, 1504 (BN Rés. Vélins 1018, fol.a1v)

Fig. 93 Detail from "Opening scene of narrator with chess game in back," *Glose des échecs amoureux*, ca.1496, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms.fr.143, f.1)

Figs. 94-97 Sequence showing images from the *Commentaires de la guerre gallique*, ca.1519, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 13429). From left to right: "François sets out on a stag hunt" (f.1); "François meets Diana and Aurora" (f.2v); "François meets Julius Caesar" (f.3v); "Julius Caesar presents François with a sword and Mercury's scepter" (f.5v)

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(**Fig. 96** Close-up view)
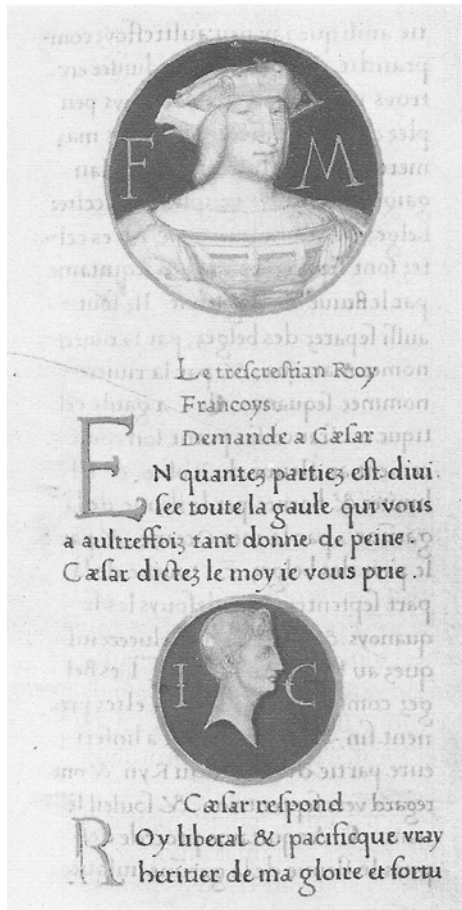
Fig. 98 Jean Clouet (attributed), "François and Caesar," *Commentaires de la guerre gallique*, vol. I (London, British Library, Harley 6205, f.3)
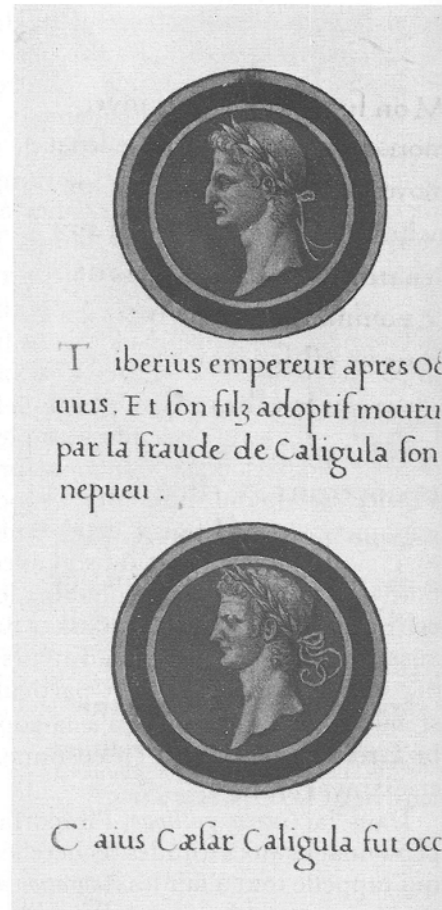
Fig. 99 "Tiberius and Caligula," *Commentaires de la guerre gallique*, vol. II (BN ms. fr.13429, f.10v)

L e R oy Chriſtianiſſime ayant
grand plaiſir dauoir prins le Cerf,
& onquorez plus dauoir rancõtre

Fig. 100 "François kills the stag," *Commentaires de la guerre gallique*, ca.1519, illuminated manuscript (BN Ms. fr. 13429, f.90)
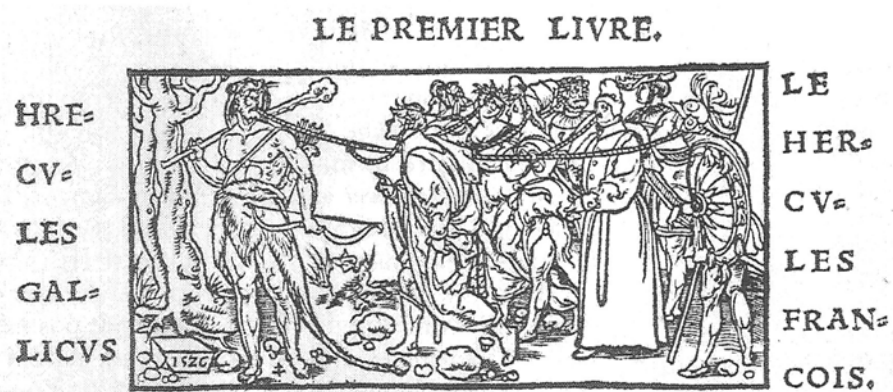
Fig. 101 "Hercule gaulois," in Geoffroy Tory's *Champ Fleury* (Paris, 1529), f.3v
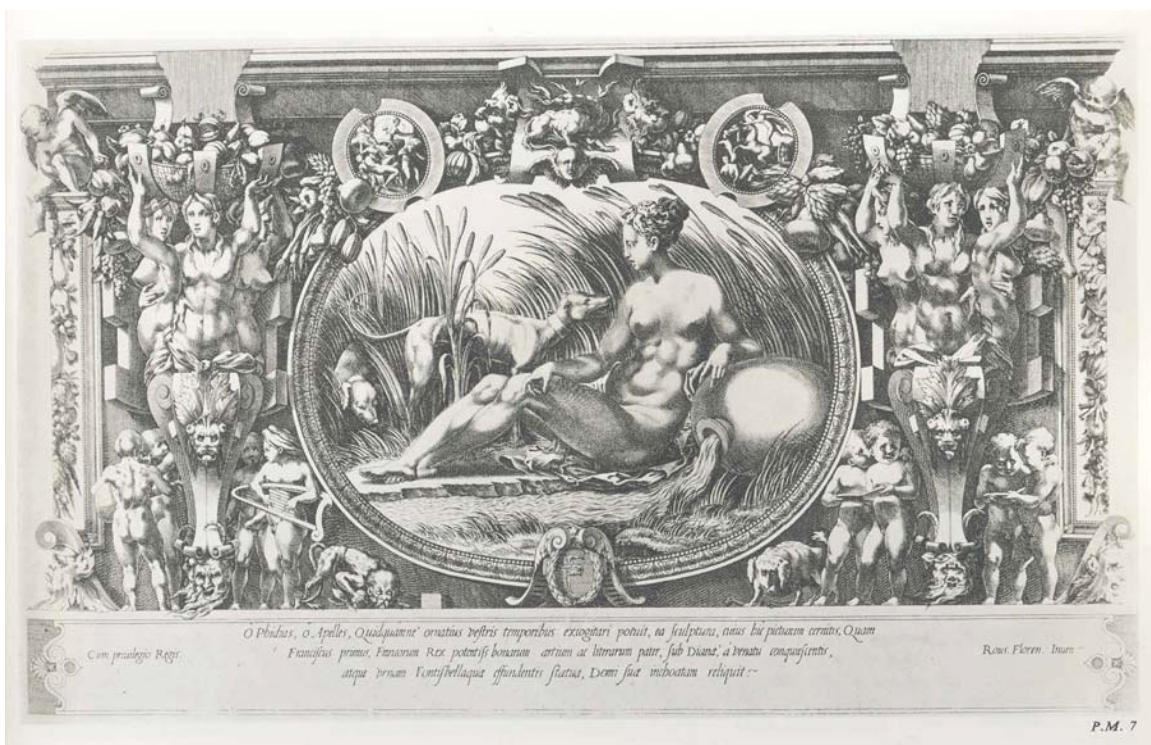
Fig. 102 Pierre Milan and René Boyvin (attributed), *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, engraving, ca.1545-1554

Fig. 103 Galerie François I, Fontainebleau, decorated under Rosso Fiorentino, 1533-40
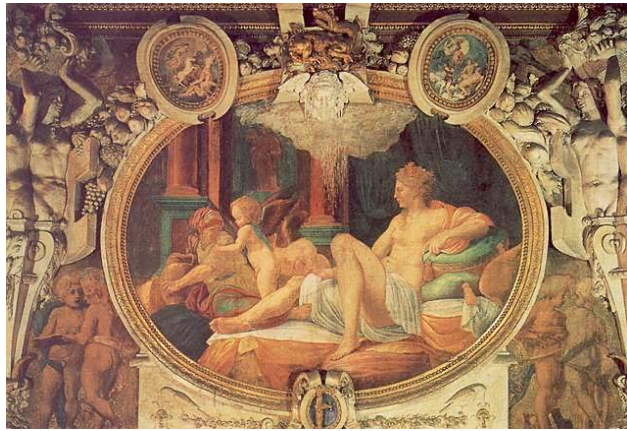
Fig. 104 Primaticcio, *Danaë*, Galerie
François I, Fontainebleau.

Fig. 105 Nineteenth-century fresco painted in the
original location of destroyed cabinet opposite
the *Danaë*
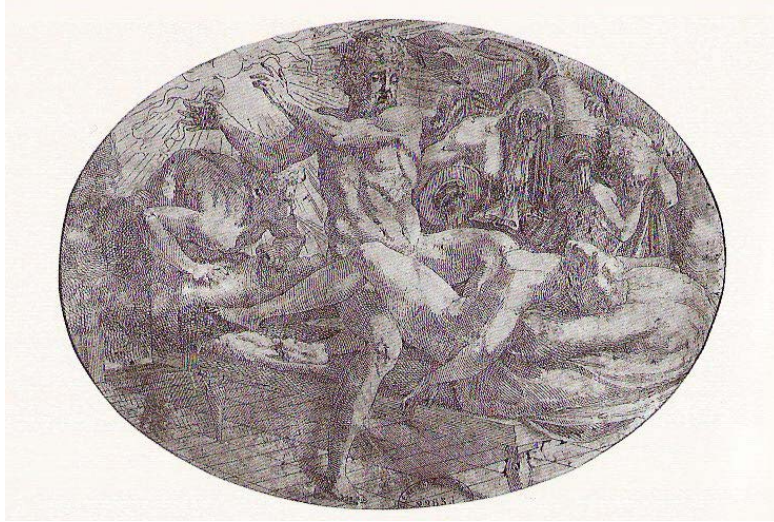
Fig. 106 Léon Davent, Etching after Primaticcio's *Jupiter and Semele* (originally in the North Cabinet opposite the *Danaë*)

Figs. 107-108 Details showing the roundels as seen in the *Danaë* painting (above) and inverted in the engraving (below)

Fig. 109 Benvenuto Cellini, *The Nymph of Fontainebleau*, ca.1543, bronze (Louvre)
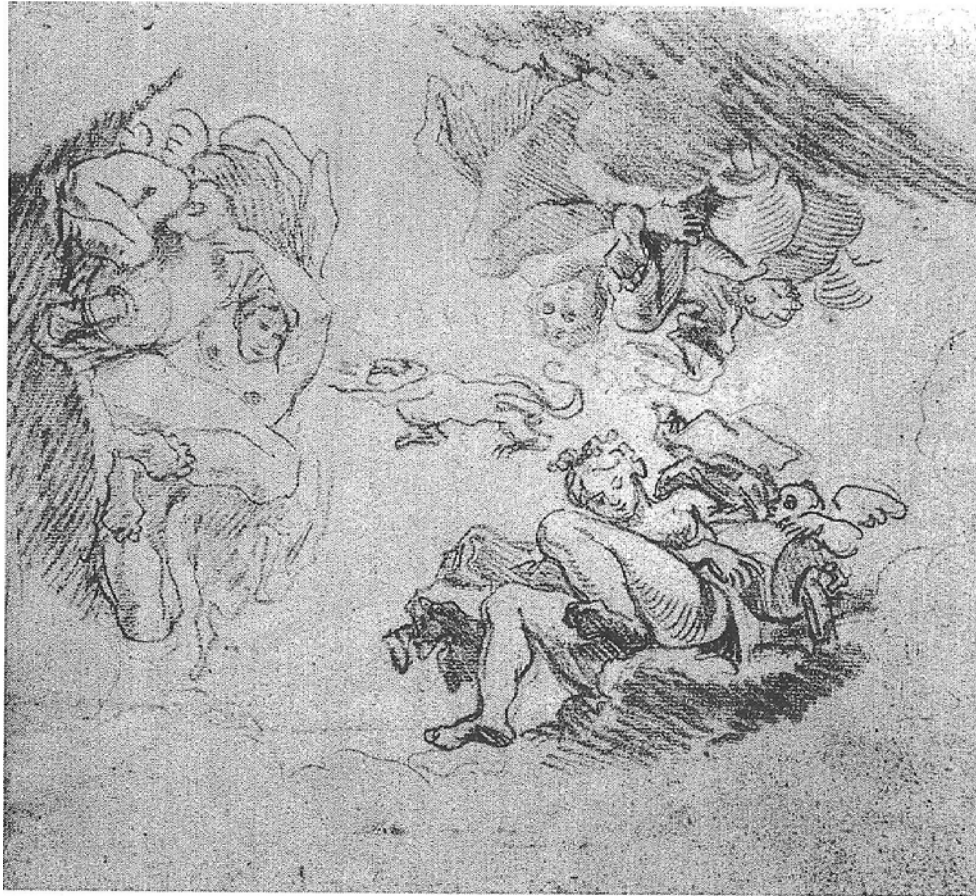
Fig. 110 Nymphs on ceiling in the Appartement des Bains, seventeenth-century drawing after Primaticcio's destroyed project (Fontainebleau)

Fig. 111 *François I Visiting the Nymph of Fontainebleau*, ca.1540s, drawing (Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) Signed "Bologna" (lower right). Attributed to a follower of Primaticcio.

Fig. 112 Niccolò Tribolo, *Nature*, 1529 (Fontainebleau)

Fig. 113-115 Jean Goujon, *Nymphs* from
the Fontaine des Innocents, 1547-50

Fig. 116 Ammanati, *Spring of
Parnassus*, 1555

Fig. 117 Peruzzi (attributed), *Pan and Syrinx,* ca. 1510, fresco (Villa Farnesina, Rome)

Fig. 118 Orazio Fontana (attributed), *Pan and Syrinx*, ca.1540, Urbino majolica (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)
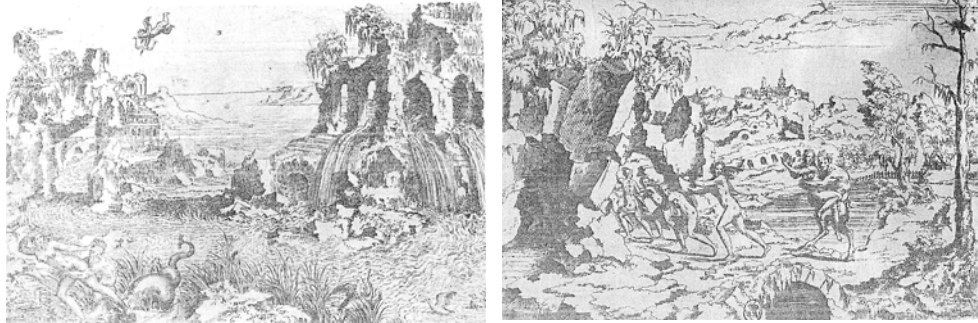
Figs. 119-120 "Nymphs chased by satyrs," etchings, mid-sixteenth-century

Fig. 121 Léon Davent, "Rape of Proserpine," etching

Fig. 122 "Nymph chased by satyr," drawing, mid-sixteenth-century
(Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins)

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Fig. 123 "Mercury and Argus" in Marot's translation of the *Metamorphoses*, illuminated manuscript (Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 117 f.39)

VN SATYR ieune, & paillard, pourfuyuoit
La belle Nymphe ou s'amour m's auoit.
Elle fuyoit,& luy la pourfuyuant
Sans vifer ou fe fourra fi auant
Pour cheuaucher en lieu mol fans houfeaux
Qu'en vn marefc entra plein de rofeaux.
Et la ayant mainte larme efpandue
Et maint foufpir pour la Nymphe perdue,
Là foufpirant pour fa tresbien aimee,
Qu'il penfoit eftre au marefc abyfmee,
Il s'apperceut que des cannes yffoit
Par fes foufpirs, vn fon qui gemiffoit
Trefdoucement. Parquoy au trefurd lieu
Et à l'amour il dift vn grand Adieu.
Ie dy l'amour de la Nymphe paluftre,
Que defchaffa autre amour plus illuftre
De Muficalle harmonie inuentee.

POESIS.   19
AMORVM CONVERSIO AD
STVDIA.

CVM Satyrus nympham petulans fequeretur amatâ
    Incidit in laniam cæcus arundineam.
Dumq, ibi promerfa fufpiria ducit amica,
    In calamis fuauem fenfit ineffe fonum.
Protinus ergo VALE longum tunc dixit Amori
    Nymphæ:quem pepulit Muficus alter amori
Ad calamos animum conuertit namque canoros.
    Septenis quibus ex tibia facta fuit.
NYMPHA Latens, vbi fe neglectam fenfit: vt æftro
    Percita. per latos vacca cucurrit agros.
HAEC ab amoribus ad ftudia eft conuerfio.cû quis
    A fcorto ad libros vertitur,& calamos.
Eft fatyrus iuuenis fcortator:arundo, Puella
    Flexilis in quemuis(det modò dona)virum.
Quæ fugit & latitat tunc cùm fe fentit amari,
    Oeftro deinde velut bos cita, fpreta fugit.
Βῦς χ' ἀτιμαγελῆ ποτ' ἴβα ᾗ ταῦρος ἂν ὕλας
    Ὡς χ' ἑταιρα φίλον ᾗ φιλος ἰω ἄλιται.
Fiftula difparibus feptem compacta cicutis,
    Iunctas feptem artes denotat ingenuas.

Figs. 124-126 Woodcut of Pan and Syrinx tale, with visual cues recalling the original context (the tale of Mercury and Argus in the middle, Juno's peacock atop, and Io in the right). Published in Marot's and Barthélemy Aneau's translations of Books I-III of the *Metamorphoses* (1556) [above], as well as in Aneau's *Picta poesis* (in French, *Imagination Poétique*), published in Lyon: Macé Bonhomme, 1552 [French version on left and Latin version on right]
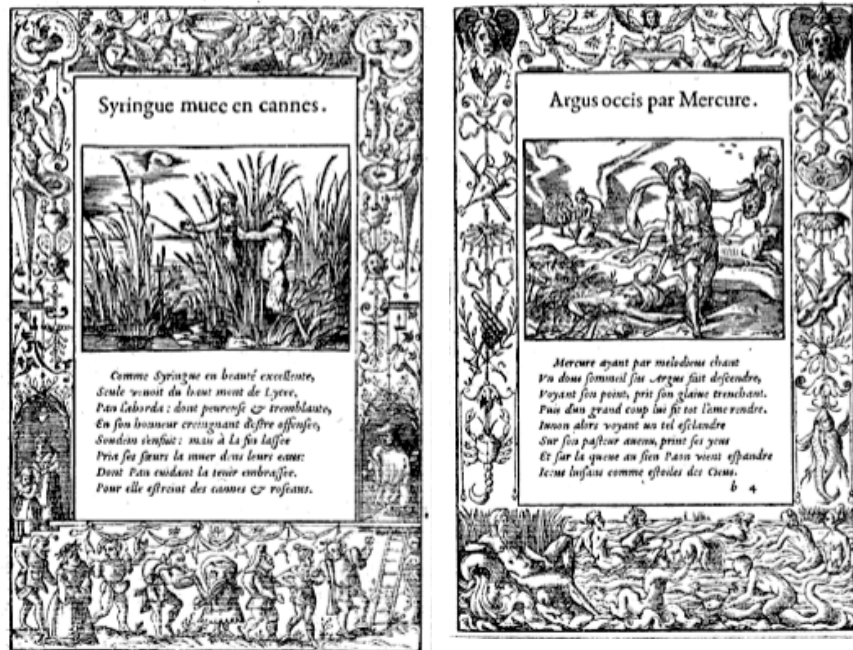
Figs. 127-128 Bernard Salomon's woodcuts of the Pan and Syrinx tale, and the Argus and Mercury tales (divided into two pages), *La métamorphose d'Ovide figurée* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1557)

Fig. 129 Rosso Fiorentino, *Dead Christ*, oil on canvas (Louvre)
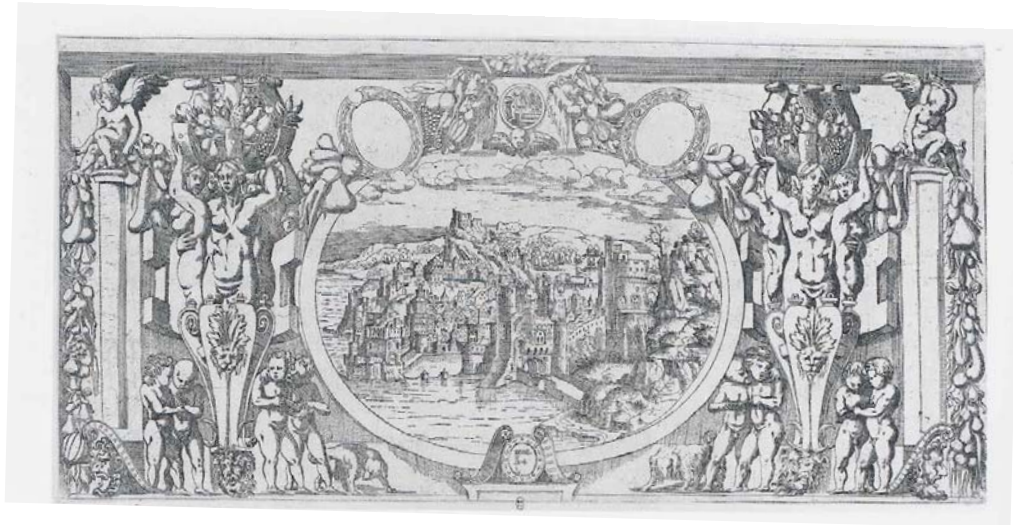
Fig. 130 Antonio Fantuzzi, "Danaë frame surrounding a landscape," etching
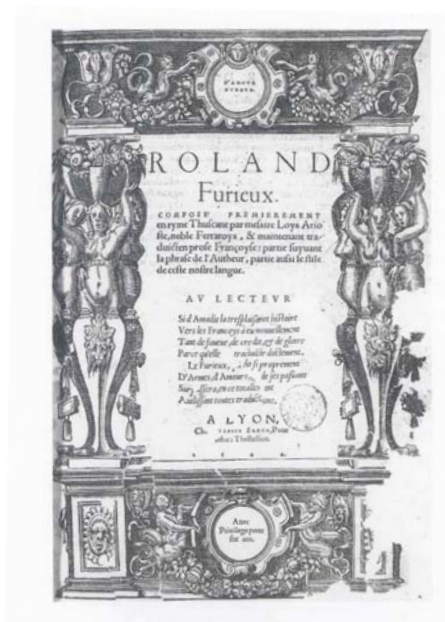
Fig. 131 Frontispiece *Roland le Furieux* (Lyon, 1544)

Fig. 132 Painted copy after Michelangelo's *Leda*

Fig. 133 Léon Davent, *Diane au repos,* etching
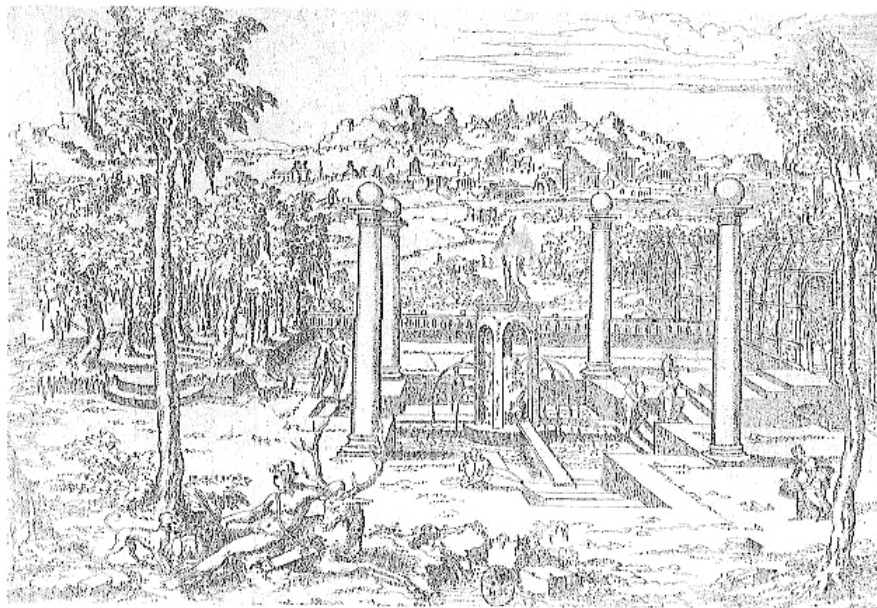
Fig. 134 Léon Davent, "Diane of Anet and Hercules
fountaiain sculptures in a landscape," etching

Fig. 135 Léon Davent, *Nymph*, ca.1545, etching
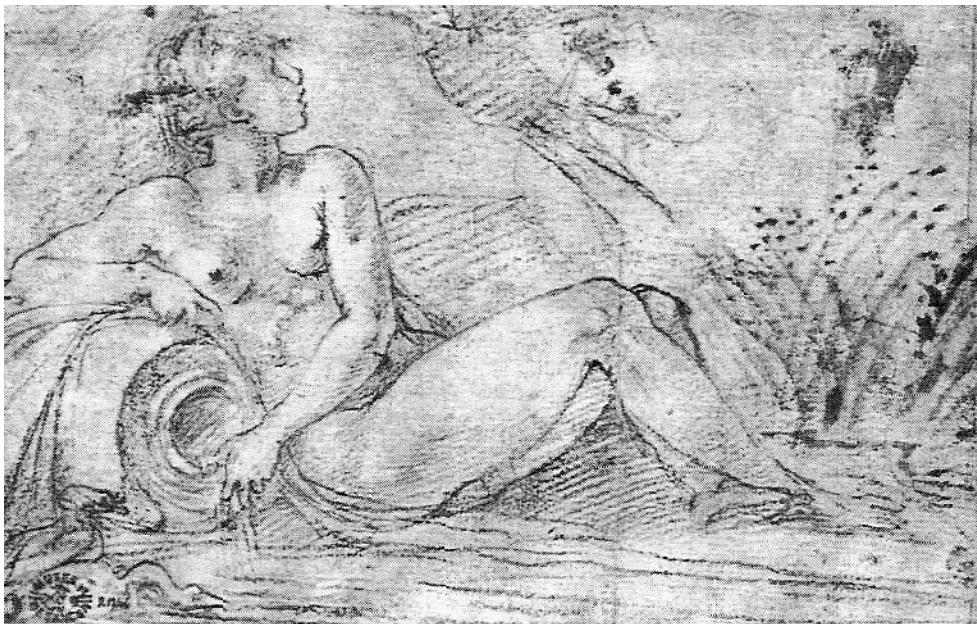
Fig. 136 Primaticcio, *Nymph*, drawing (Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts)

Fig. 137 *Diana reclining*, enamel cup, Palissy style, second half of the sixteenth century (Paris, Musée de Cluny)
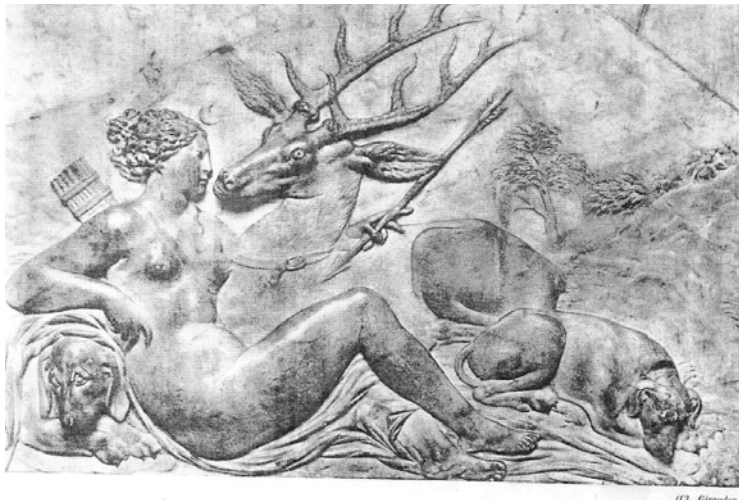
Fig. 138 *Diana reclining*, marble relief, second half of the sixteenth century (Paris, Musée de Cluny)

Fig. 139 *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, enamel cup, Palissy style, second half of the sixteenth century (Limoges, Musée Nationale Adrien Debouché)

Fig. 140 *Nymph of Fontainebleau (as Diana)*, oil on panel, third quarter of the sixteenth century (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Fig. 141 *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, Seillière collection (as reproduced in Barbey de Jouy, 1861)
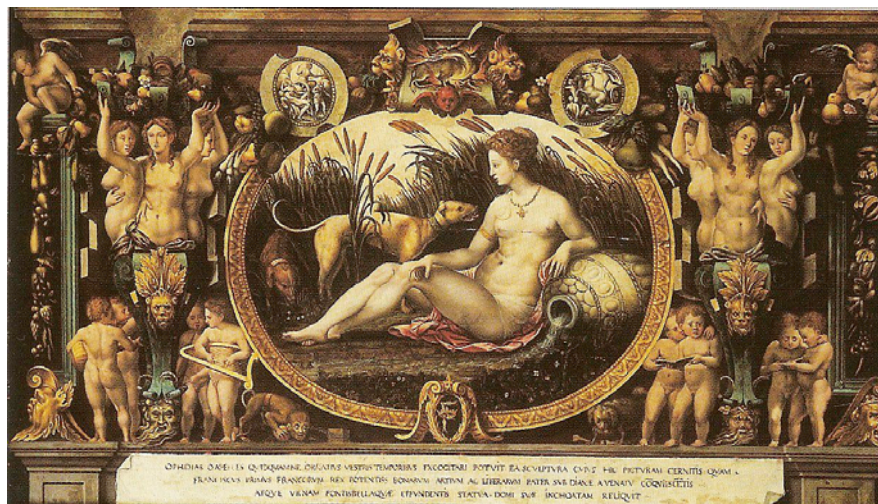
Fig. 142 *Nymph of Fontainebleau* (private collection, possibly ex-Seillière)

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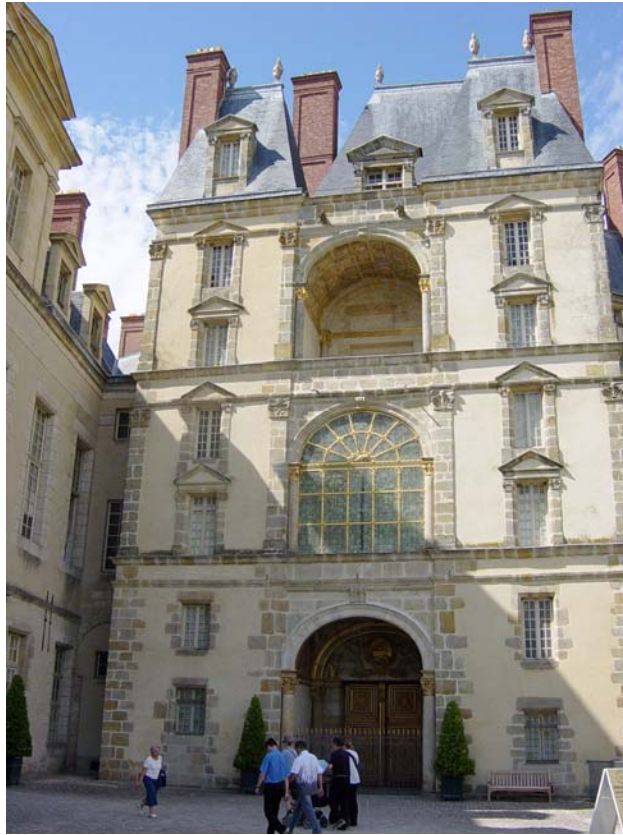
Fig. 143 *Porte Dorée*, Fontainebleau. Main entrance to the castle in the sixteenth century and intended location of Cellini's *Nymph*

Fig. 144 Entrance to Anet (the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* sculpture seen here is a copy of the original, now at the Louvre)

Fig. 145 Close-up view of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau* replica at Anet

Fig. 146 "Flying stag as symbol of Charles VI" (Arsenal ms.2682, f.34)
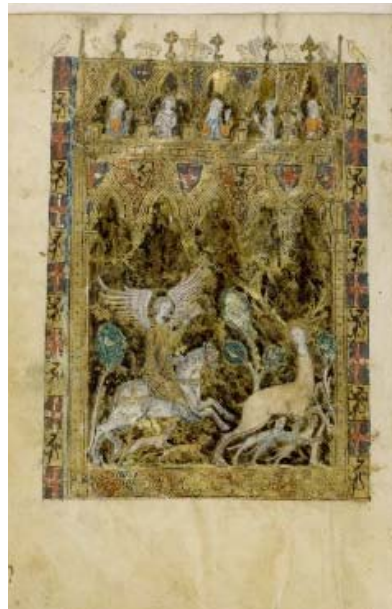
Fig. 147 *Dit de la chasse du cerf,* ca.1290-1300 *(*BN Ms.fr.25566, f.220)

Fig. 148 "Stag's antlers as the ten commandments" (BN Ms.fr.1297, f.44)

Fig. 149 *Chasse d'un cerf privé*, early sixteenth century (BN Ms.fr.379, f.45v)

Fig. 150 "Nature," *Chasse d'un cerf privé,* ca. 1540-45 (BN Ms. fr. 25429, f.2)

Fig. 151 "Diana and Actaeon," in *La métamorphose d'Ovide figurée* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1557), p.88

Fig. 152 Bernard Salomon, "Diana and Actaeon," woodcut in *La métamorphose d'Ovide figurée* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1557)

Fig. 153 (Refer to fig. 109)

Fig. 154 (Refer to fig. 3)
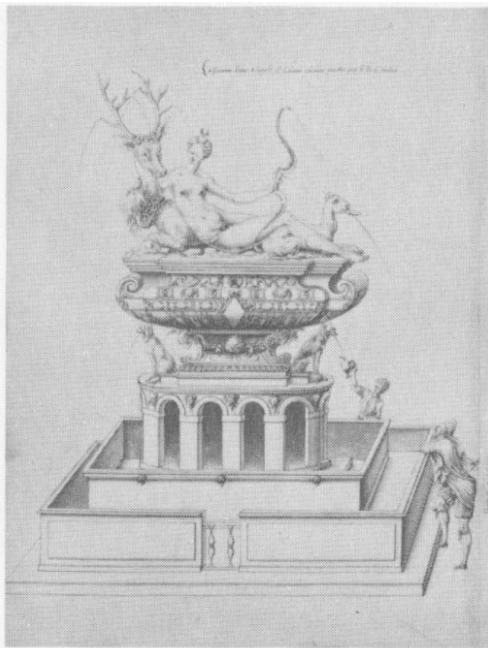
Fig. 155 *Diane of Anet*, engraving
in Du Cerceau, 1579

Fig. 156 Diane of Anet,
drawing by Du Cerceau
(London, British Museum)

Fig. 157 Inscription, Entrance to Anet
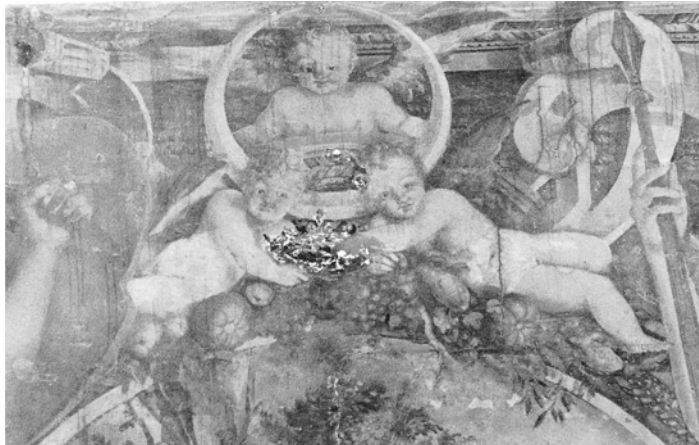
Fig. 158 Henri II's emblems still visible on a painted chimney at Ecouen

Fig. 159 Henri II's emblems as seen at Oiron
(Trojan tales fresco cycle, 1540s)

Figs. 160-162 Sarcophagi, Entrance to Anet
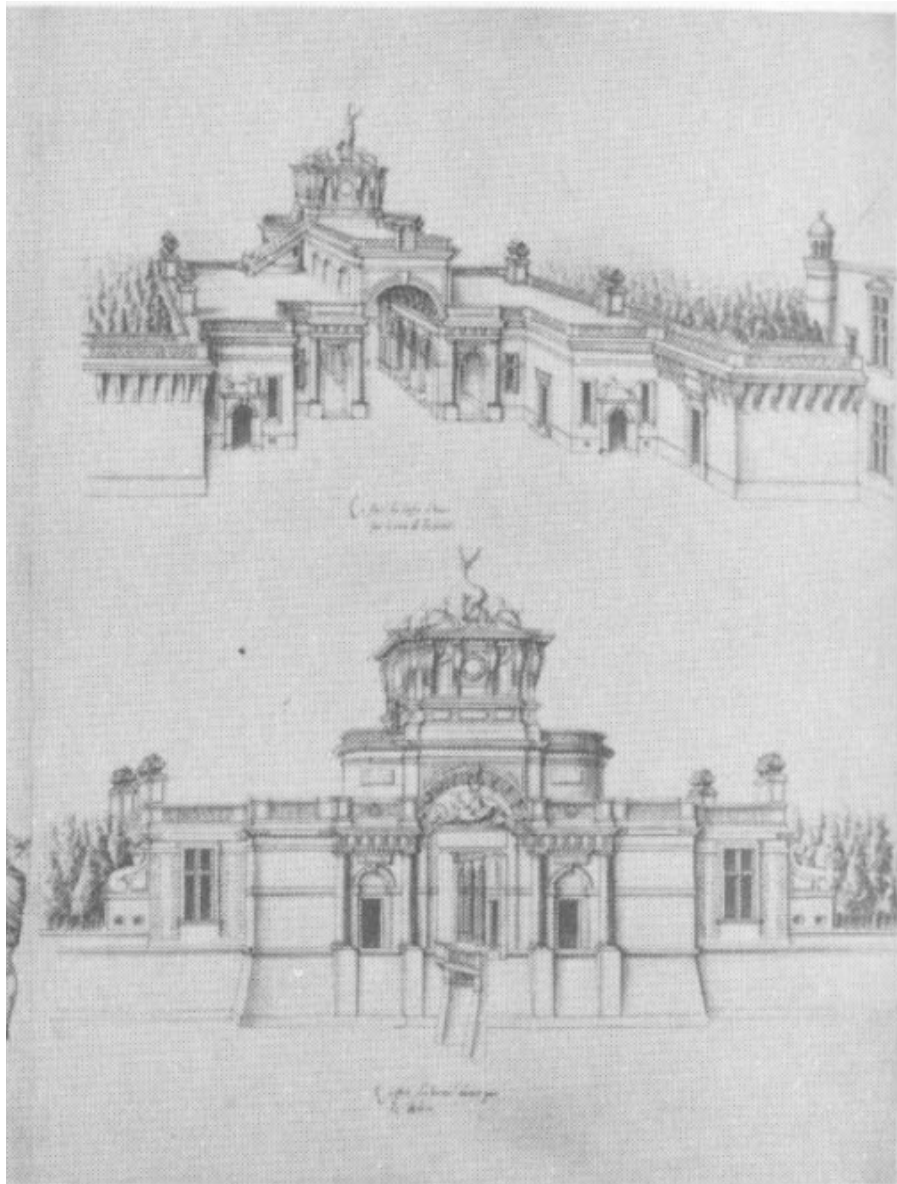
Fig. 163 Du Cerceau, *Aerial view of Anet entrance portal*, pen and ink drawing, before 1576 (London, British Museum), showing sarcophagi

Fig. 164 Urn inside Anet grounds
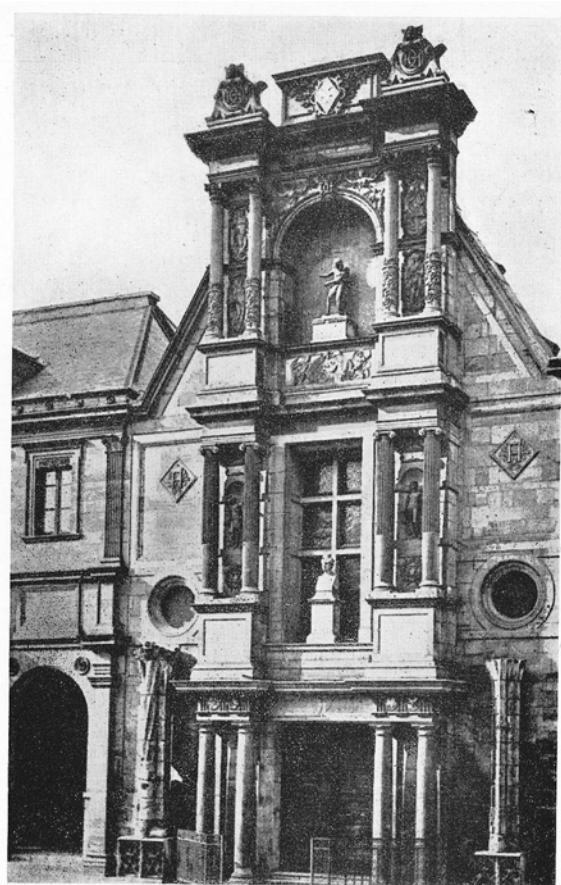
Fig. 165 Anet façade (now the façade for the chapel at the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris)

Fig. 166 Detail of Anet façade
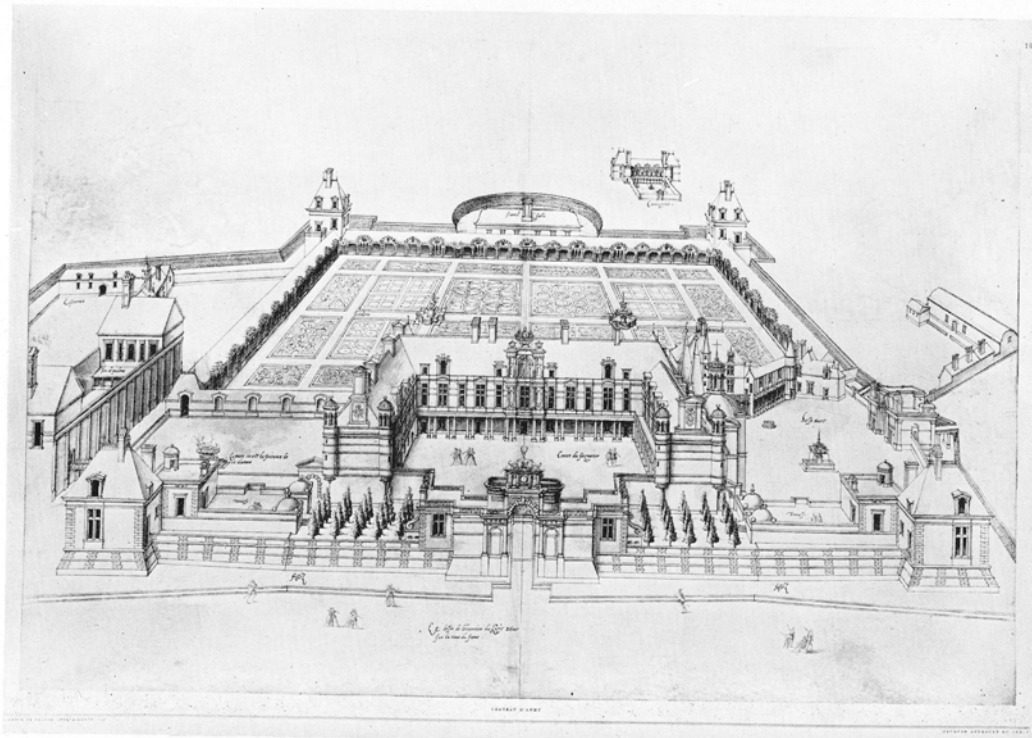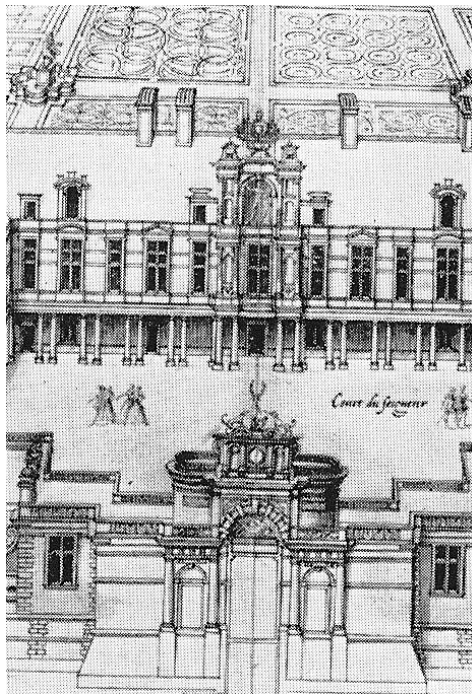
Fig. 167 Du Cerceau, *Aerial view of Anet*, pen and ink drawing, before 1576 (London, British Library), showing the façade and entrance on axis, with enlarged detail showing façade on the inside, with the monumental sculpture and heraldic symbols of Brézé

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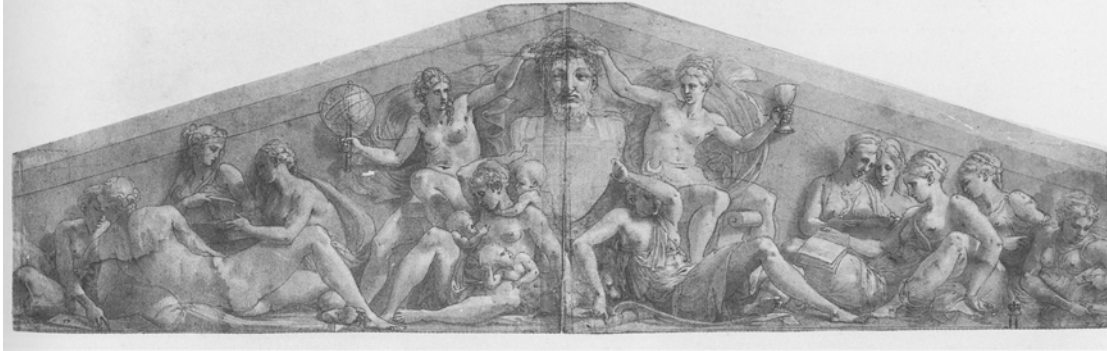
Fig. 168 Primaticcio (attributed), Project most likely for Saint-Maur, drawing (Hermitage), with enlarged detail showing Diana

Fig. 169 Primaticcio, Preparatory drawing for the *Diana and Callisto* frescoes for the Appartement des Bains, Fontainebleau

Fig. 170 *Music*, fresco in the Chambre des Arts, Ancy-le-Franc, later-sixteenth century.

Fig. 171 Pierre Bontemps, *Funerary urn for the heart of François I,* 1550, marble (St Denis)

Fig. 172 Germain Pilon, *Monument for the heart of Henri II* (without view of base), 1560-66, marble (Louvre)
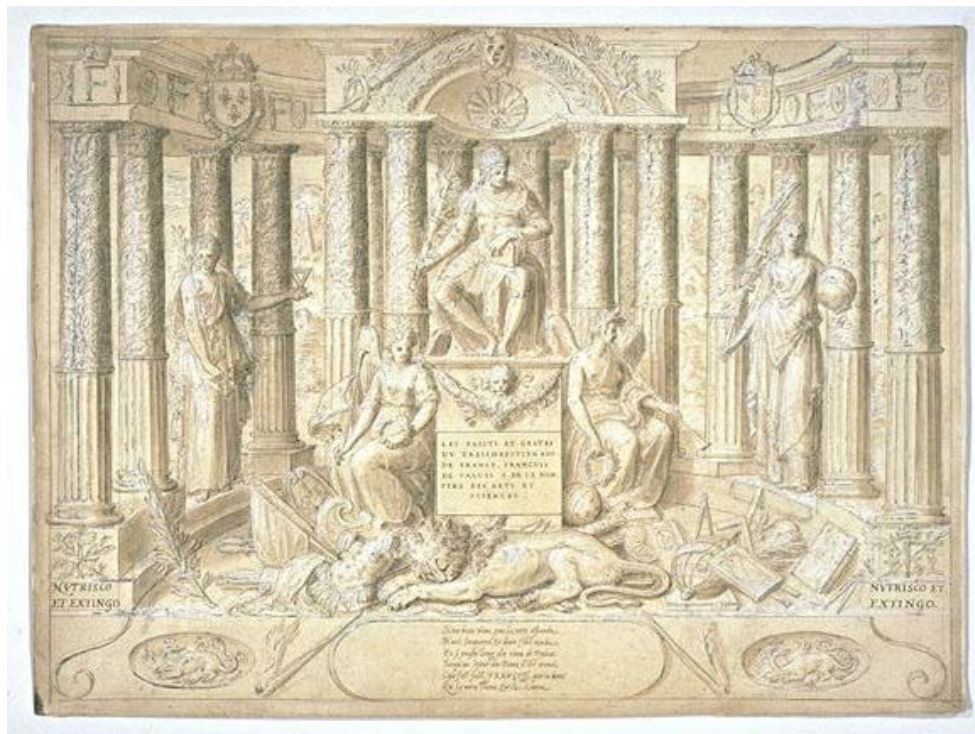
Fig. 173 Antoine Caron, "Reign of François I as *père des lettres et arts*," in *Histoire Françoyse de nostre temps*, drawing (BN)

Figs. 174-175 *Diane de Versailles*, marble (Louvre)

Figs. 176-177 "Diana" cover of Oppien's *Cynegetics* (BN Grec 2737)

Figs. 178-179 "Diana" in Oppien's *Cynegetics* (BN Grec 2737)

Fig. 180 "Drowning of Britomartis," tapestry, mid-sixteenth century (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Fig. 181 *Grand degré*, descending and ascending flights as seen when standing on the ground floor (with our back to the door leading out to the Cour Carré, Louvre)

Fig. 182 "Diana," central square on the *Grand degré* vaulting, as seen when descending from the first floor or *Salle du roi* (Louvre)

Figs. 183-184 Henri II Louvre wing seen from outside (Cour Carré): the Escalier Henri II corresponds to the right frontispiece (partially covered by temporary structure, November 2006); detail above shows that the vaults of the *Grand degré* can be seen from outside

414
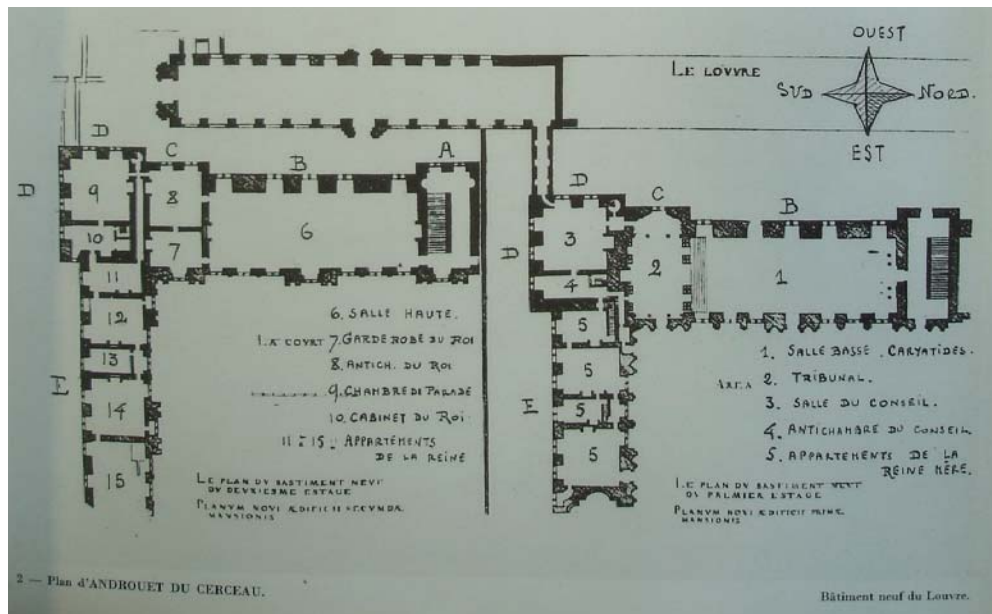
Fig. 185 Du Cerceau Louvre wing plans (1579): left shows second floor; right shows ground floor. No.1 is the Salle du Bal (salle basse); no.2 is the raised tribune; no.6, above, is Salle du Roi (salle haute). The *Grand degré* can be seen on the right side. (The Seine is on the left, i.e. south side)

Fig. 186 Louis XIII wing, Cour Carré, Louvre (to the right of the Henri II wing), practically replicates HII wing

Figs. 187-188 Louis XII's emblems at the entrance of the Château of Blois

Fig. 189 *Grand degré* (Louvre), looking down towards ground floor (left) from landing, and up towards *Salle du Roi* (right)

Fig. 190 Nineteenth-century watercolor showing original lighting of *Grand degré*

Fig. 191 Looking down from mid-way of staircase towards 1.5 landing (woodwork replaces the original windows), *Grand degré*

Fig. 192 Later Sully Pavillion, built over back of the *Grand degré* (covering windows that would have allowed light into the staircase from either side)

Fig. 193 Relief over the door of the *Salle du roi* (to the right, upon ascent)
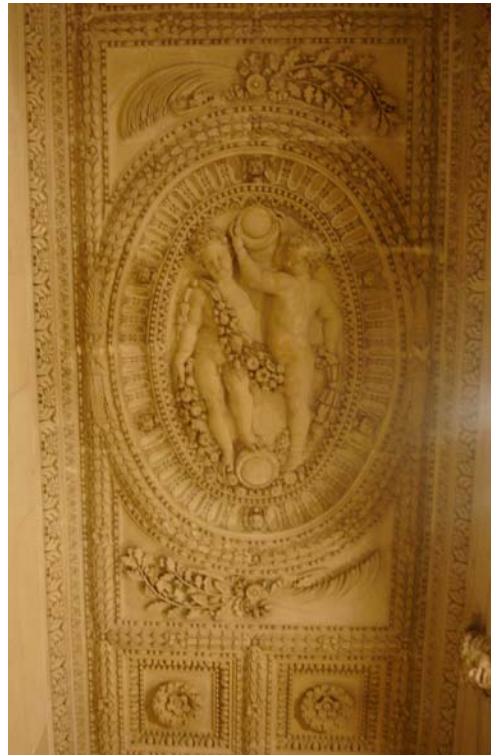
Fig. 194 Ceiling relief on the landing of the *Salle du roi*

Fig. 195 Relief opposite the door of the *Salle du roi*

Fig. 196 Looking down the vault of the *Grand degré*, while standing at the *Salle du Roi* landing

Fig. 197 Emblems and Pan-like figures bordering the Diana of the central square, *Grand degré* vault (descending from the *Salle du roi* floor)
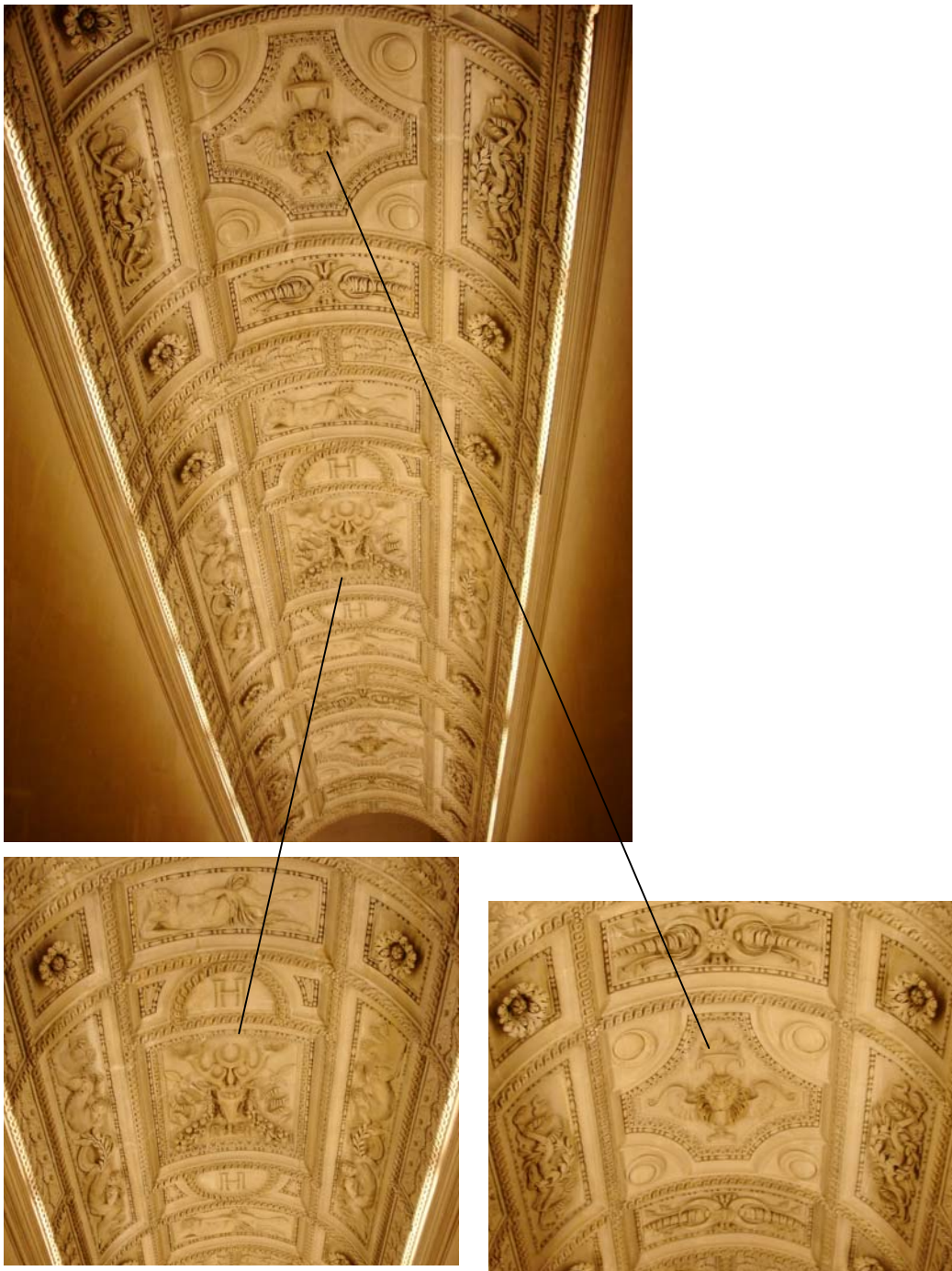
Fig. 198 Looking down towards the ground floor (while standing at the mid-landing), with enlarged details below

Fig. 199 Looking down towards *Salle du Bal* (door on left), from ground floor (with our back to the entrance)

Figs. 200-201 Henri II's emblems, laurel and oak symbolism, and intertwining bows and arrow (on the frieze), façade Henri II wing (Louvre)

Fig. 202 Jean Goujon, "Allegory of Abundance," 1556, left side of the Henri II Louvre wing façade

Fig. 203 Jean Goujon, "Allegory of Triumph," 1556, center of the Henri II Louvre wing façade

Fig. 204 Jean Goujon, "Allegory of Peace," 1556, right side of the Henri II Louvre wing façade
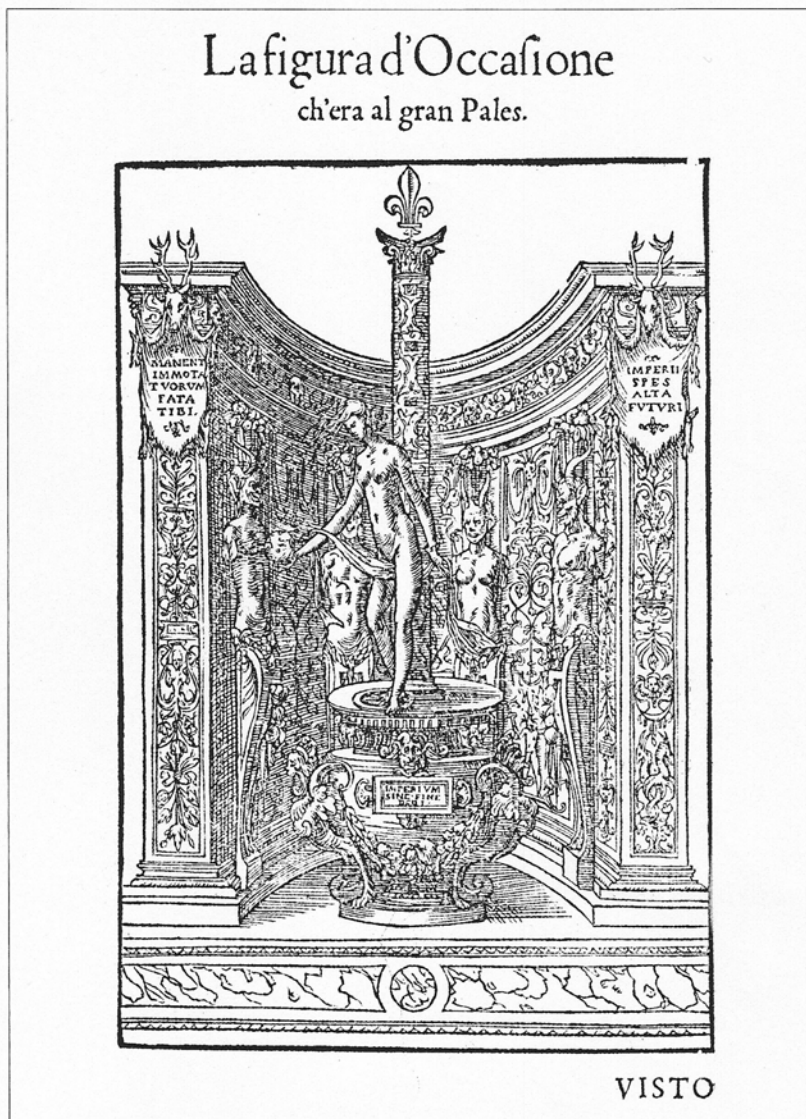
Fig. 205 "Column with Henri II's emblems," in Scève's *La Magnifica et Triumphale Entrata*… (Lyon: Roville, 1549)
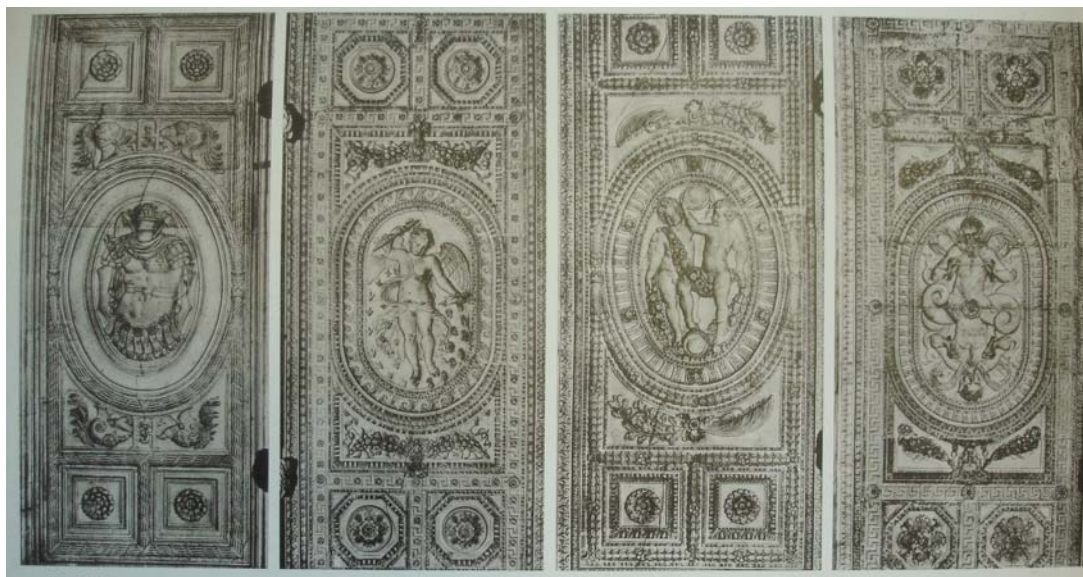
Fig. 206 Reliefs on the ceilings of each landing. From left to right: 1. "Cuirass all'antica" (ground floor); 2. "Winged putto" (first mid landing); 3. "Intertwined boys" (first floor); 4. "Intertwined creatures" (second mid landing)

Fig. 207 Relief of "Cuirass," ceiling of landing of first floor (observed from direction of descent)

Fig. 208 Relief of "Putto," ceiling of first mid landing (observed from direction of ascencion)

Fig. 209 Relief of "Putto," ceiling of first mid landing (observed from direction of descent)

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SVYTE DES
MARGVERITES
DE LA MARGVERITE
DES PRINCESSES,
TRESILLVSTRE
ROYNE
DE
NAVARRE.

FACTA

IPSVM

PER

SVNT

VINO

A LYON,
PAR IEAN DE TOVRNES.
M. D. XLVII.
Auec Priuilege pour six ans.

Fig. 210 Bernard Salomon, woodcut for frontispiece of Marguerite de Navarre's *Suyte des Marguerites…* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1547)

Trionfo d'Amore.

CAPITOLO I.
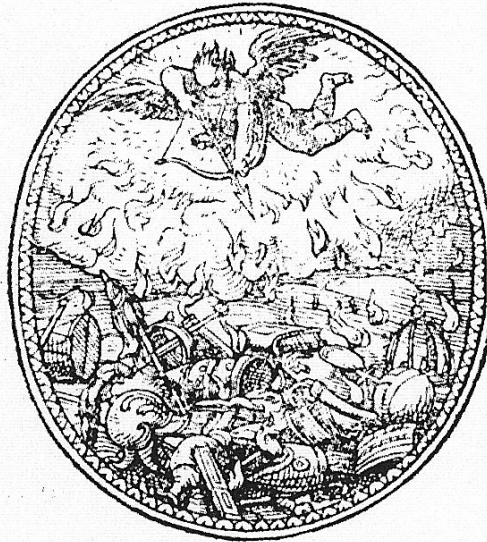
El tempo, che rinoua i miei soſpiri
Per la dolce memoria di quel giorno,
Che fu principio a ſi lunghi mar-
tiri,
Scaldaua il Sol gia l'vno, e l'altro corno

Del

Fig. 211 Bernard Salomon, "Trionfo d'amore," woodcut in *Il Petrarca* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1550), p.317.

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Fig. 212 Bernarnd Salomon, woodcut for frontispiece of
Leone Ebreo's *De l'Amour* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1551)

Fig. 213 Arrival at attic level; satyrs are only visible as one goes up

Fig. 214 Benches with niche *all'antic*a on landing (the above relief is a nineteenth-century addition)

Fig. 215 Looking down from attic level towards mid-floor landing of the *Grand degré*

Fig. 216 Looking down from the second mid-landing (between the *Salle du roi* and the attic level), towards the *Salle du roi* floor of the *Grand degré*

Fig. 217 Relief on ceiling of the second mid landing (between the attic level and the *Salle du roi*), seen while descending from the attic level of the *Grand degré*

Fig. 218 "Teste de Diane," vault leading towards *Salle de bal*, *Grand degré*

Fig. 219 "Teste de Diane" (described by Goujon), façade of Henri II Louvre wing

Fig. 220 Battista Angolo del Moro, *Portrait of Henri II*, engraving, 1555 (Vienna, Albertina)

Fig. 221 François I's emblems surrounding the double spiral staircase at Chambord

Fig. 222 *Diana and Actaeon*, oil on canvas, mid-sixteenth century (Louvre)

Figs. 223-224 *Diana and Actaeon*, majolica works (collected throughout European courts), 1530s-40s (London, Victoria and Albert Museum)

Fig. 225 *Diana and Actaeon*, wooden chest French, mid-sixteenth century

Type 1: ca.1550-70s. From left to right: (fig.226) Worcestor; (fig.227) Dijon; (fig. 228) Bale

Type 2. Left: (fig.229) considered original by François Clouet, ca.1550s (Washington, National Gallery of Art). Right 1590s variants: above (fig.230) Chantilly; below (fig.231) Louvre

Figs. 226-231 *Lady at her Bath* type.

Fig. 232 François Clouet (attributed), *Bath of Diana*, 1550s, oil on panel (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts)

Fig. 233 *Bath of Diana* (Sao Paulo, Museum of Fine Arts); variant after Rouen (or replica, before changes were made to the Rouen version)

Fig. 234 *Bath of Diana*, ca. 1590s (Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts)
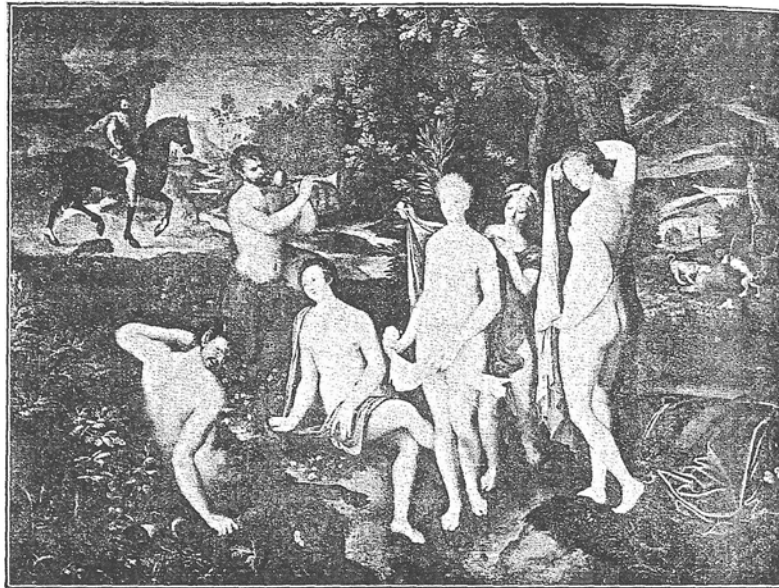
Fig. 235 *Bath of Diana*, ca.1590s, Sulzbach collection (as recorded in the 1920s); possibly the same as the Tours version (?)

Figs.236-240 Parmigianino, *Diana and Actaeon,* fresco cycle, 1523 (Castle of Fontanellato, near Parma). Top: exterior view of castle surrounded by a moat. Middle left: " Hunting scenes / Actaeon's death." Middle right: "Ceiling mirror." Lower left: "Hunter persecuting nymph." Lower right (continues after previous scene): "Actaeon transformed by Diana"

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In the 1991 restoration, it was found that the horseback rider had been painted over as well.

The beast and the original dress of the horseback rider were kept in all the other versions (detail **fig. 233**)

[**Fig. 232**. After restoration]
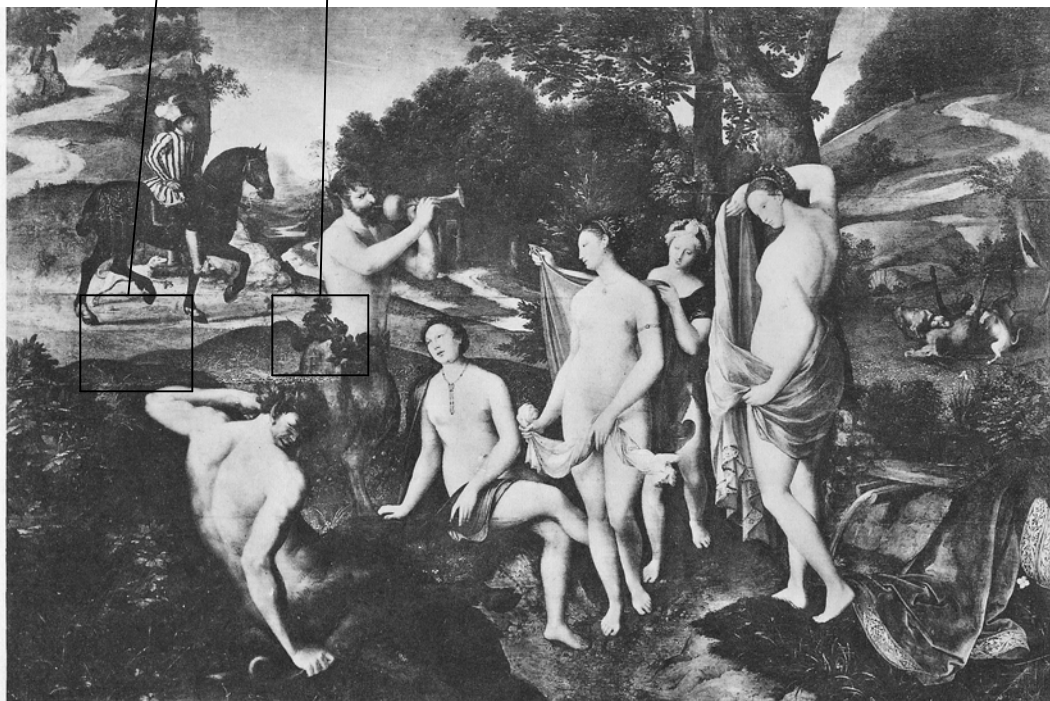
Fig. 241 Clouet's *Bath of Diana* (Rouen) before the 1991 restoration (as published in Bardon, 1963, and Zerner, 2003). Compare to above **fig. 232**, after restoration In the restoration, the beast was painted back in, and the leaves covering the standing satyrs seem to have been taken away.
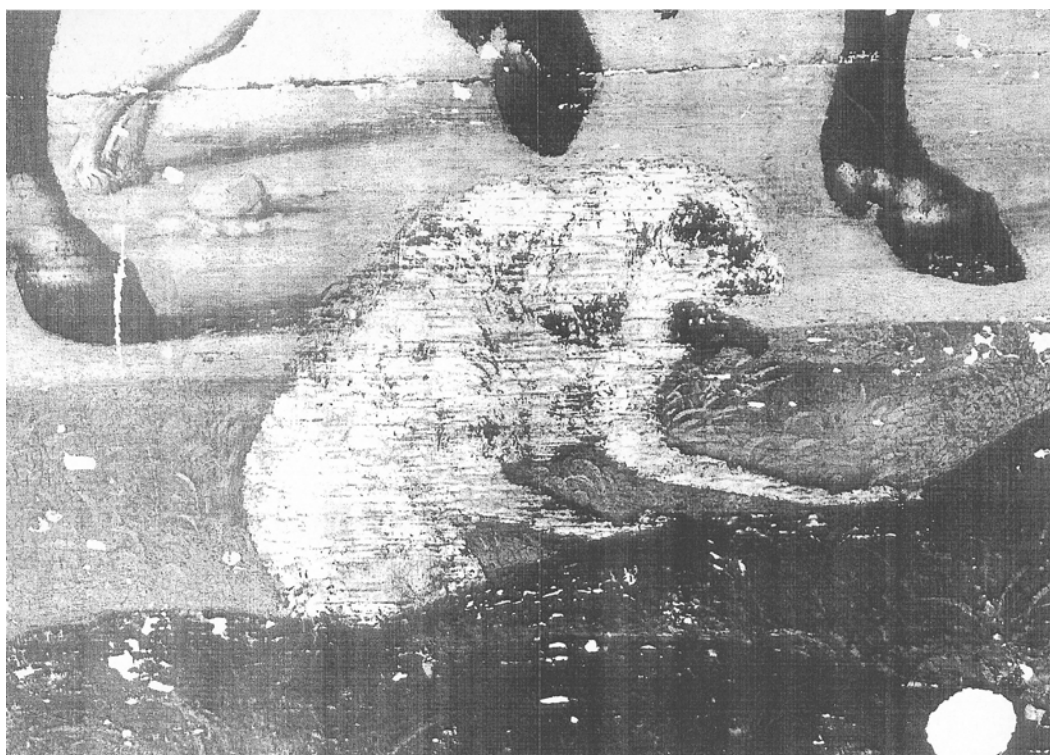
Fig. 242 X-ray made for the 1991 restoration, showing that the beast (recorded in all the other paintings) had been scratched out in the Rouen version. The beast's tongue is visible in this xray, although it was not painted back into the painting during the 1991 restoration [Courtesy of Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts]

Fig. 243 "Horseback rider,"
detail of Rouen Bath of Diana

Fig. 244 Jean Clouet, *François I*,
1530s (Paris, Louvre)

Fig. 245 Titian, *Diana and Actaeon*, 1556-9 (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Art)

Fig. 246 Titian, *Diana and Callisto*, 1556-9 (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Art)

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(**Fig. 152** Bernard Salomon, "Diana and Actaeon" woodcut)
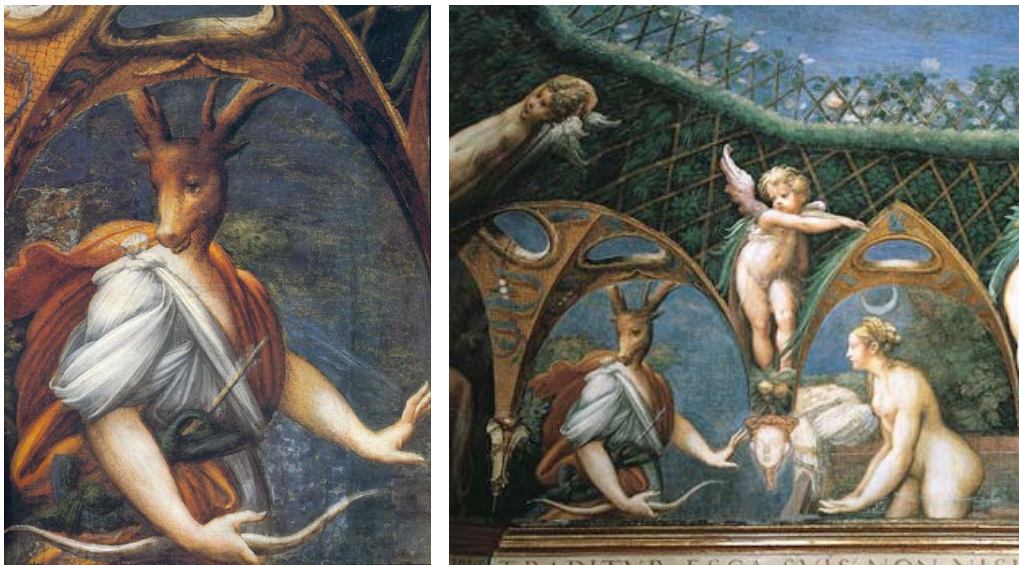
Figs. 247-248 Parmigianino, "Diana transforming Actaeon," fresco cycle at Fontanellato

Fig. 249 Veronese, *Diana and Actaeon* (Philadelphia Museum of Art)

Fig. 250 Studio of Giulio Romano, drawing (Ellesmere Collection, Sotheby Sale, 5th Dec.1972, lot n.60)
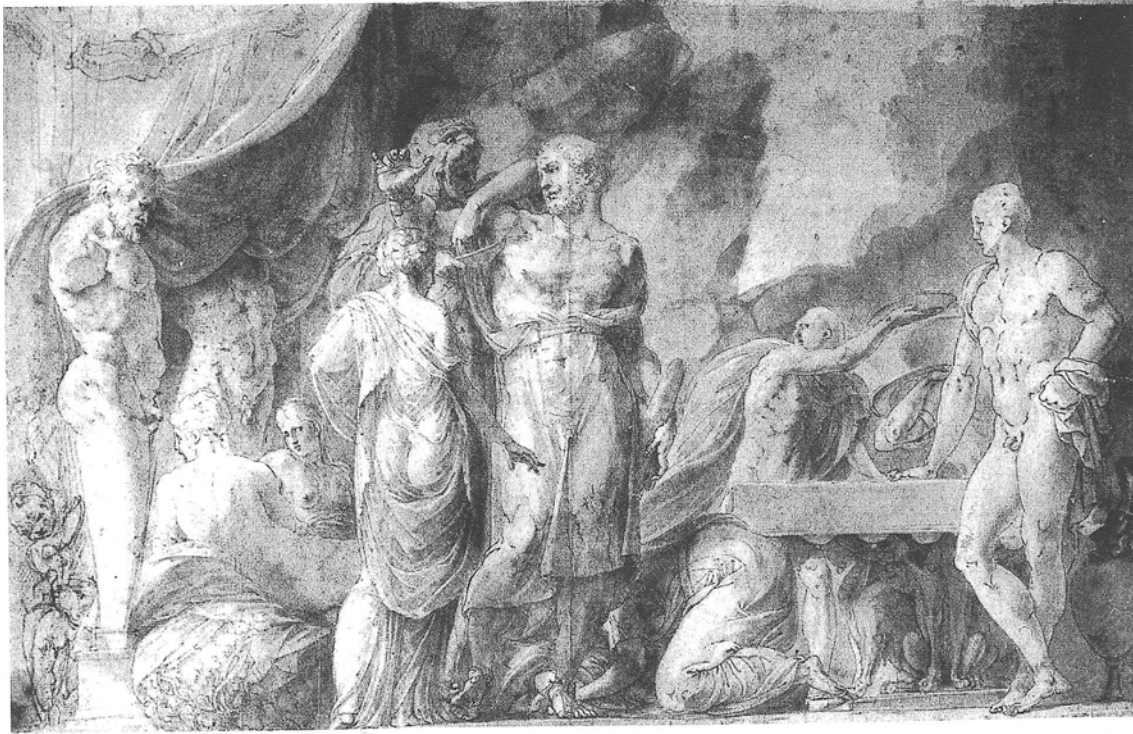
Fig. 251 Primaticcio, *Hercules and Omphale*, drawing recording original fresco for the Porte Dorée, Fontainebleau (Vienna, Albertina)

ISERVM SORS HVC ACTEONA DVXIT A TE CVR CANIBVS

Fig. 252 Parmigianino, "Nymph persecuted by hunters" as mirror-image of Actaeon (**fig.247**); note right side where images meet at corner; Actaeon and the dog look towards the next/previous scene, fresco cycle, Fontanellato

Fig. 253 Jean Mignon, *Diana and Actaeon*, etching, ca. 1540s

Fisg. 254 Lorenzo Lotto, *Venus and Cupid* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art)
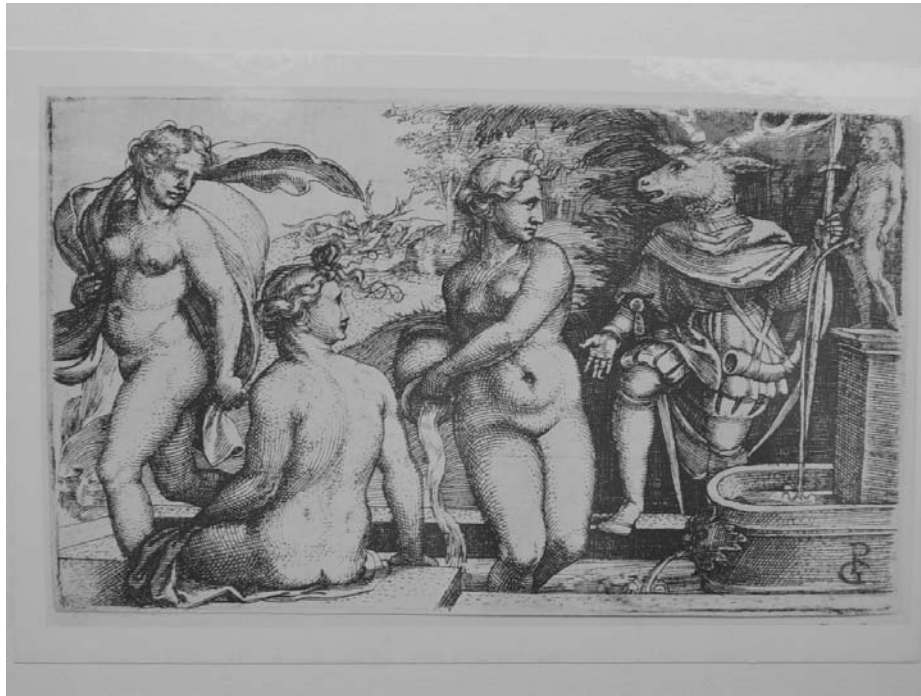
Fig. 255 George Pencz, "Diana and Actaeon," engraving, mid-sixteenth century

. IN IMAGINEM ACTÆONIS .
Viderat út nūdam ſitiens in fonte Dianam: Qüalia fronte gerúnt timidi nūnc cornúa.ceruj
Actæon, ſúbito cornúa cúrúa gerit: Fitq̈ miſer canibus præda petita ſúís.

Fig. 256 "Diana and Actaeon," engraving signed with initials and dated 1566

Fig. 257 Chimney relief after Mignon's print (or perhaps after Penni's original drawing, for some differences in relation to border; more visible here than in Mignon's print), ca. 1562, originally at Hôtel in Châlons-en-Champagne (now Ecouen, Musée de la Renaissance)
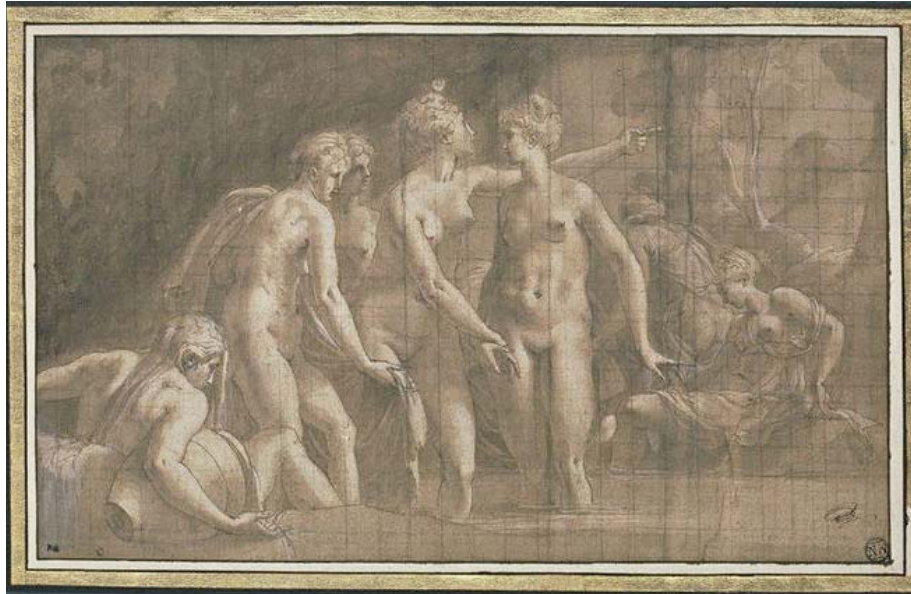
Fig. 258 Primaticcio, preparatory drawing for *Diana and Callisto* fresco cycle in the Appartement des Bains, Fontainebleau
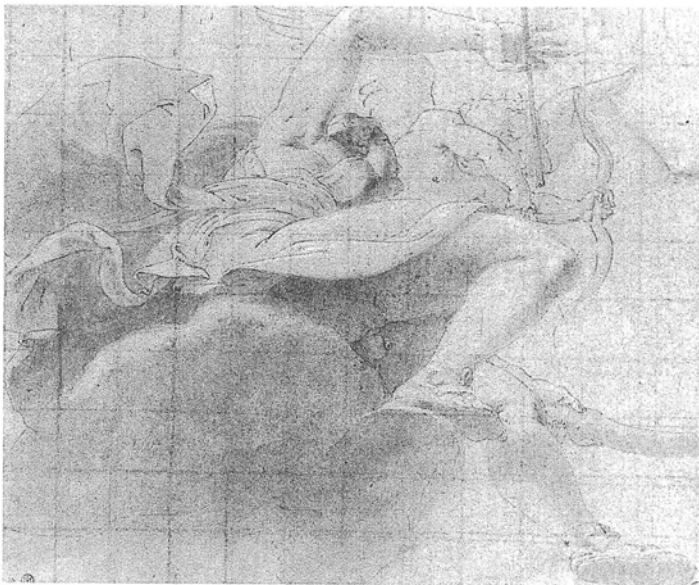
**Fig. 259** Primaticcio, preparatory drawing for *Jupiter/Diana* in the Appartement des Bains, Fontainebleau (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts)

Fig. 260 Seventeenth-century drawing, copy of Primaticcio's fresco (Fontainebleau)

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Fig. 261 Pierre Milan, engraving after Primaticcio's *Diana and Callisto* fresco for the Appartement des Bains, Fontainebleau

Fig. 262 *Nymphs surrounding salamander*, seventeenth-century drawing after ceiling of the Appartement des Bains, Fontainebleau

Fig. 263 *Bath of Diana*, engraving (ca.1543) after a drawing by Parmigianino (Uffizi n.751E)

Fig. 264 Primaticcio, preparatory drawings for the *Diana and Callisto* cycle in the Appartement des Bains, Fontainebleau

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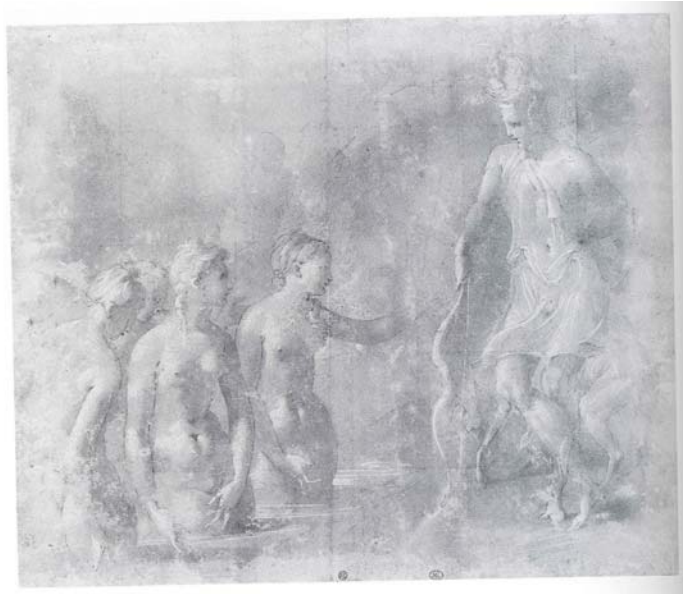
Fig. 265 Primaticcio, *Diana and Actaeon*, drawing
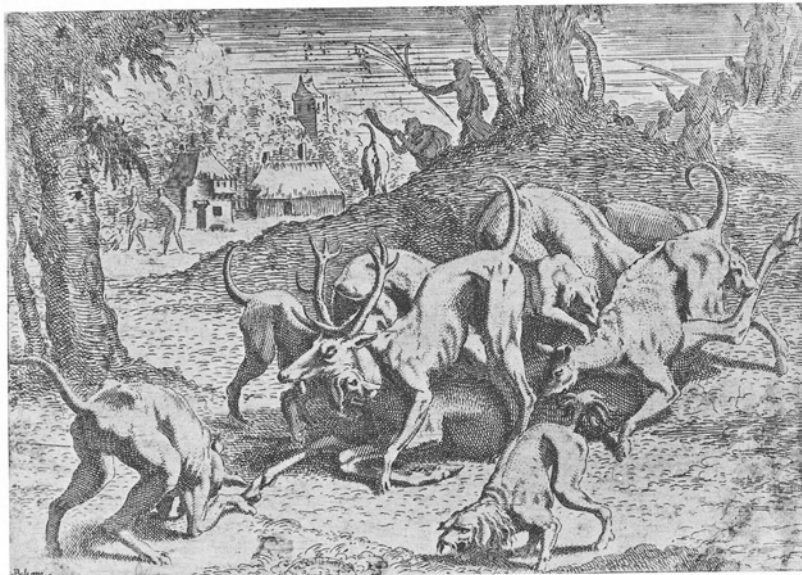
Fig. 266 *Dogs devouring stag*, etching (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts)

Fig. 267 Jean Mignon, *Women bathing*, etching (ca.1547-50) after a work by Luca Penni
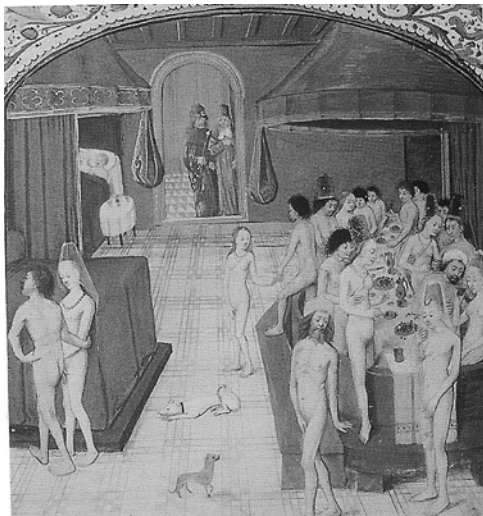
Fig. 268 "A public bath," in Valère Maxime, *Faits et dits mémorables*, ca. 1470, illuminated manuscript (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek)
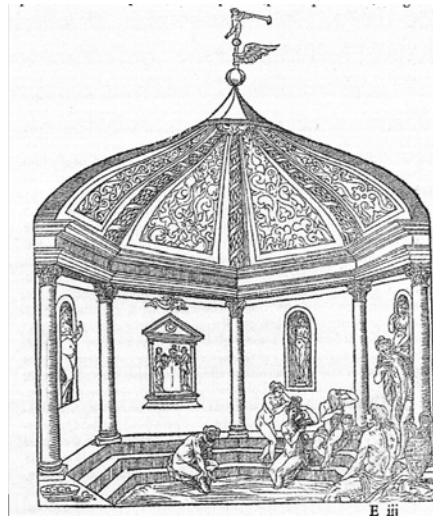
Fig. 269 "Poliphilus and the five senses in a bathhouse," *Songe de Poliphile* (1546)

Fig. 270 "Diana," *Ovide moralisé*, illuminated manuscript, late-fifteenth century (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Collection Thott 399, f.13v)

Fig. 271 "Diana," *Ovide moralisé* (Bruges, Colard Mansion, 1484), f.22r

Fig. 272 Cellini, *Satyr* (part of *Nymph of Fontainebleau* project), drawing

Figs. 273 -274 Satyrs in the *Grand degré* (above) and on the façade of the Henri II Louvre wing (*Allegory of Abundance*)

Effuſo cernens fugientes agmine turmas,
Quis mea nunc inflat cornua,Faunus ait.

Fig. 275 "In subitum terrorem,"
in Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum
libello* (Paris: C. Wechel, 1534).
Woodcut initially used in an
earlier edition.

Fig. 276 Pan as "Luxure" in
Emblèmes d'Alciat (Lyon:
Rouillé et Bonhomme, 1548),
p.94

Fig. 277 Pan as "Natura"
in *Emblèmes d'Alciat*
(Lyon: Rouillé et
Bonhomme, 1548), p.95

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Fig. 278 Comparison of horns in detail of Clouet's *Bath of Diana* (Rouen version)

Fig. 279 "Hunting scene" in Gaston Phebus's *Livre de la chasse*, illuminated manuscript, ca.1387-90 (BN ms. fr.616)

Fig. 280 Detail showing hunting horns in Titian's *Pardo Venus* (Louvre)

Fig. 281 Detail showing hunting horns in scene of "Hunters persecuting Nymph" in Parmigianino's Fontanellato cycle

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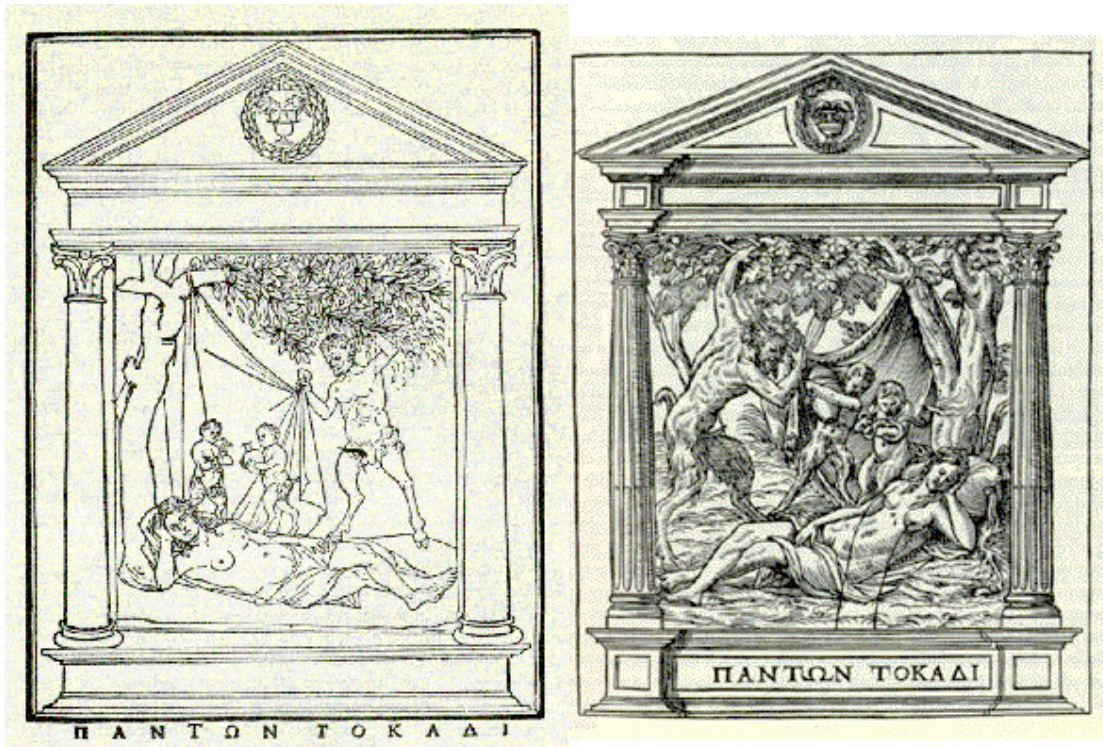
Figs. 282-283 "Sleeping nymph unveiled by a satyr," *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* .
Left: Itaian edition, 1499; right: French edition, 1546.

Fig. 284 Bernard Salomon, woodcut used in Jean de Tournes's editions of Maurice Scève's *Saulsaye* and Marguerite de Navarre's *L'histoire des Satyres et des Nymphes de Diane* (both published in Lyon, 1547)

Fig. 285 *Judgment of Paris*, mosaic from Antioch

Fig. 286 "Judgment of Paris," in Machaut's *La fonteinne amoureuse*, ca.1370 (BN Ms.fr.1584, f.169)

Fig. 287 Marcantonio Raimondi (after a drawing by Raphael), *Judgment of Paris*, engraving, ca.1517-20

Fig. 288 Rubens, *Judgment of Paris*, oil on panel, ca.1632-35 (London, National Gallery of Art)

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Fig. 289 Raphael, *The Three Graces*, oil on panel, ca.1510

Fig. 290 *The Three Graces*, ancient prototype (Louvre)

Fig. 291 Lucas Cranach the elder, *Judgment of Paris* , oil on panel (Karlsruhe)

Fig. 292 Lucas Cranach the elder, *Judgment of Paris*s, oil on panel (Metropolitan Museum of Art)

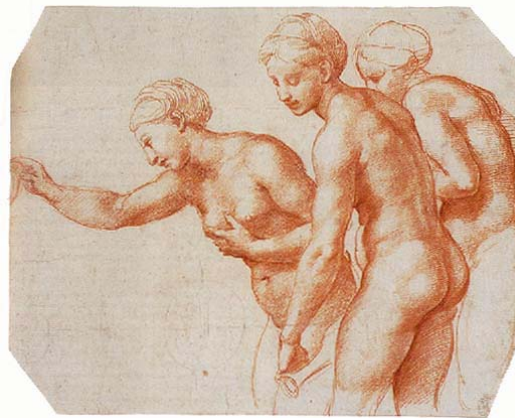**Fig. 293** Raphael, *The Three Graces*, fresco (Rome, Villa Farnesina)

Fig. 294 Raphael, *The Three Graces*, study

(**Fig. 232** Clouet, *Bath of Diana*)

Figs. 295-296 *Callipygian Venus*, Hellenistic sculpture
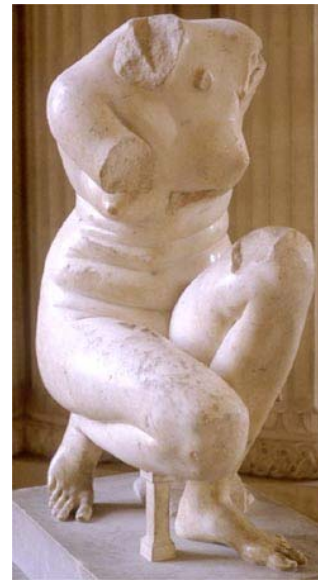

(**Fig. 245** Titian, *Diana and Actaeon*)

Fig. 297 *Crouching Aphrodite*, Hellenistic sculpture (Louvre)

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Fig. 298 Leonardo,
Monna Vanna, drawing
(Chantilly, Musée
Condé)

Fig. 299 Raphael,
Fornarina, oil on canvas
(Rome, Barberini
Palace)

Fig. 300 Giulio Romano,
Nude in domestic interior
(Hermitage)

(**Fig. 229** Clouet, *Lady at her bath*; refer
to figs.226-231)

Fig. 301 *Elizabeth I and the Judgment of Paris*, 1563, oil on canvas (Hampton Court)
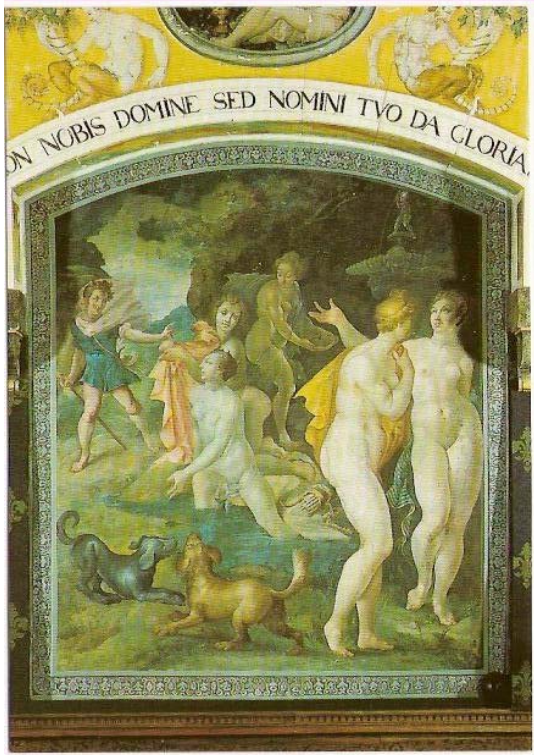
Fig. 302 "Diana and Actaeon," frescoes in the *Salle de Diane*, 1578 (though inscriptions are later), Château Ancy-le-Franc

Fig. 303 "Judgment of Paris," frescoes in the *Salle de Diane*, 1578 (inscriptions are later), Château Ancy-le-Franc
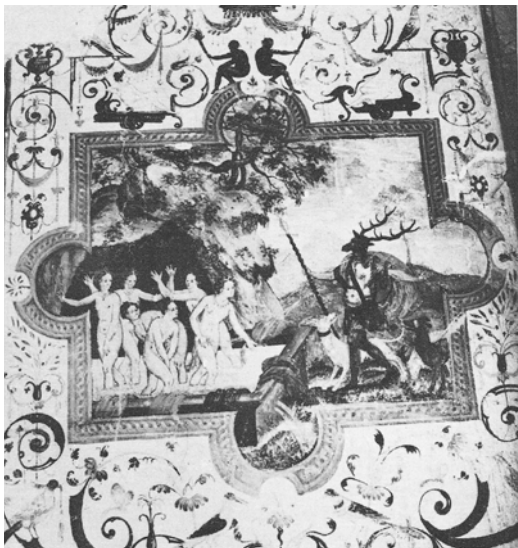

Fig. 304 "Diana and Actaeon," frescoes in the *Chambre de la Bergère*, ca.1580, Château of Villeneuve-Lembron (Puy-de-Dôme)

Fig. 305 "Judgment of Paris," frescoes in the *Chambre de la Bergère*, ca.1580, Château of Villeneuve-Lembron (Puy-de-Dôme)

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Fig. 306 Raphael, *Hercules at the Crossroads*, oil on panel, ca.1510
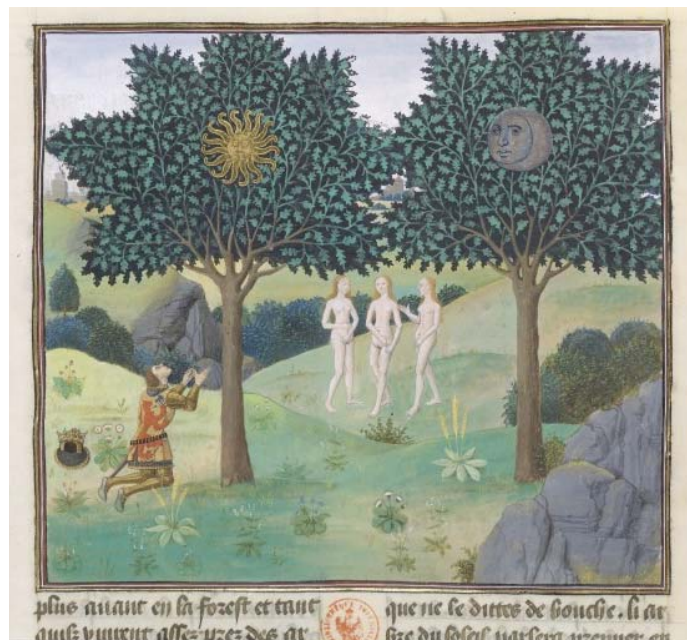

Fig. 307 Jean Wauquelin, *Histoire d'Alexandre*, fifteenth-century illuminated manuscrupt (BN Ms.fr.9342, f.164)

Fig. 308 Frans Floris, *Judgment of Paris*, 1550, oil on canvas (Hermitage)

Comparison of details: Floris (left) and Clouet (right).

Fig. 309 *Judgment of Paris*, fifteenth-century Italian desco da parto

Fig. 310 Frans Floris, *Judgment of Paris*, 1548, oil on canvas (Kassel)

Fig. 311 Detail showing Diana and 'laurel halo' in Clouet's *Bath of Diana* (Rouen version)

Fig. 315 Giorgione, *Laura*, oil on canvas (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)

Fig. 312 Pisanello, *Este princess*, ca.1430 (Louvre)

Figs. 313-314 Leonardo, *Ginevra de Benci* (obverse and reverse), oil on canvas (Washington, National Gallery of Art)

(**Fig. 232** Clouet, *Bath of Diana*)

Fig. 316 Titian, *Pardo Venus*, ca.1535-40, reworked ca.1560, oil on canvas (Louvre)

Fig. 317 Simon Vouet, *Diane au repos*, signed and dated 1637 (Hampton Court)

S. Vouet pinxit
Cũ priuilẽgio

M. Dorigny scul.
Parisÿ 1638

Fig. 318 Michel Dorigny, engraving after Vouet's *Diane au repos*, 1638

Fig. 319 Théodore Van Thulden, *Les Travaux d'Ulysse,* aquatint
(Paris: Pierre Mariette, 1633) (BN Estampes, SNR-3 Van Thulden)

Fig. 320 Antoine Garnier, *Apollo and the muses on Parnassus* (BN
Estampes, AA3 suplt. rel.)

Fig. 321 Jacob Bunel (attributed), *Henri IV as Mars*, ca. 1600 (Musée National du Château, Pau)

Fig. 323 Primaticcio, *François I as Julius Caesar*, drawing (Louvre)

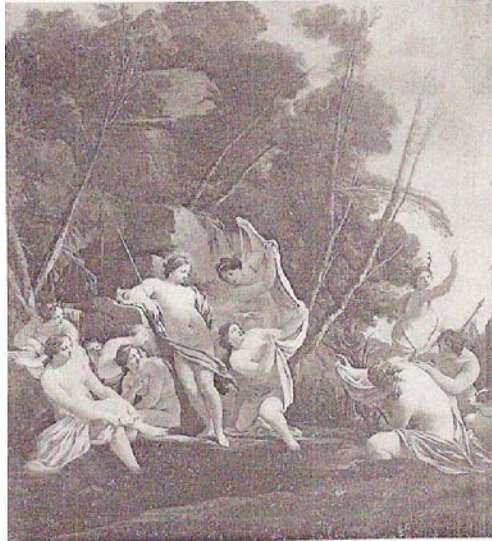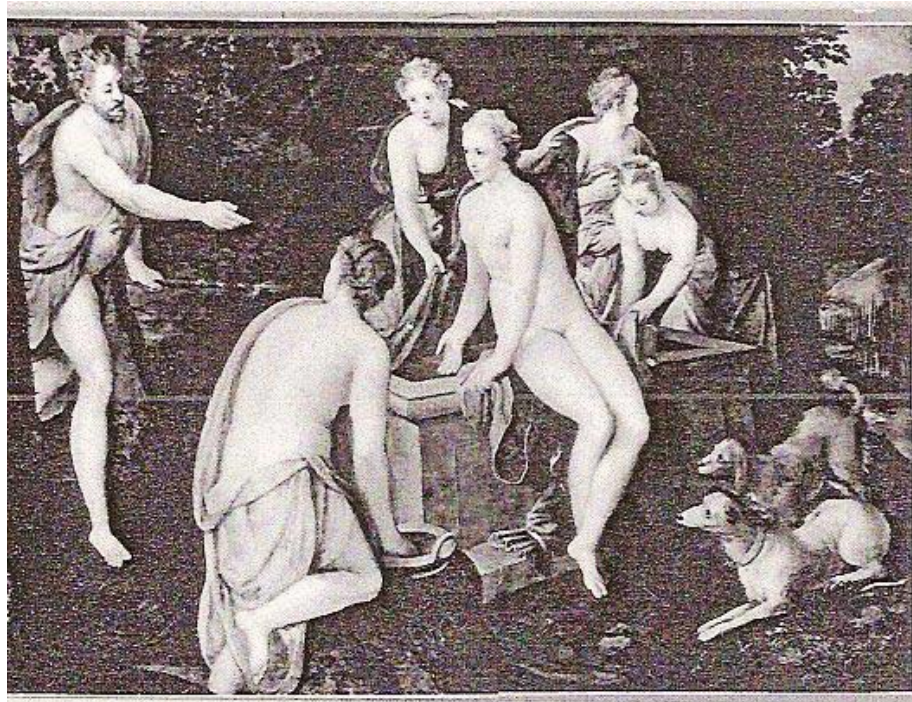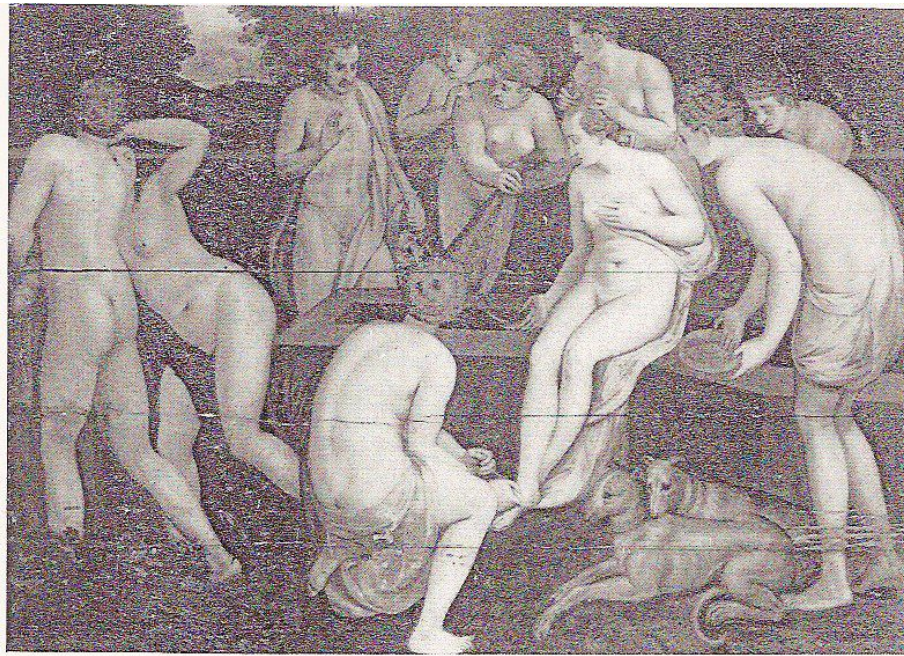**Fig. 322** Toussaint Dubreuil, *Henri IV as Hercules killing Hydra*, ca.1600 (Louvre)

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Fig. 324 Vouet, *Diana and Actaeon*
(Paris, Petit Palais)

Fig. 325 *Diana and Actaeon*, fresco
(Salle de Diane, Versailles)

Fig. 326 François Boucher, *Diana's Bath*, 1742

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Figs. 327-328 Frans Floris (attributed). *Diana and Actaeon*, oil
on canvas (Private collections)

Fig. 329 Joachim Wtweal, *Diana and Actaeon*, ca.1612 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)
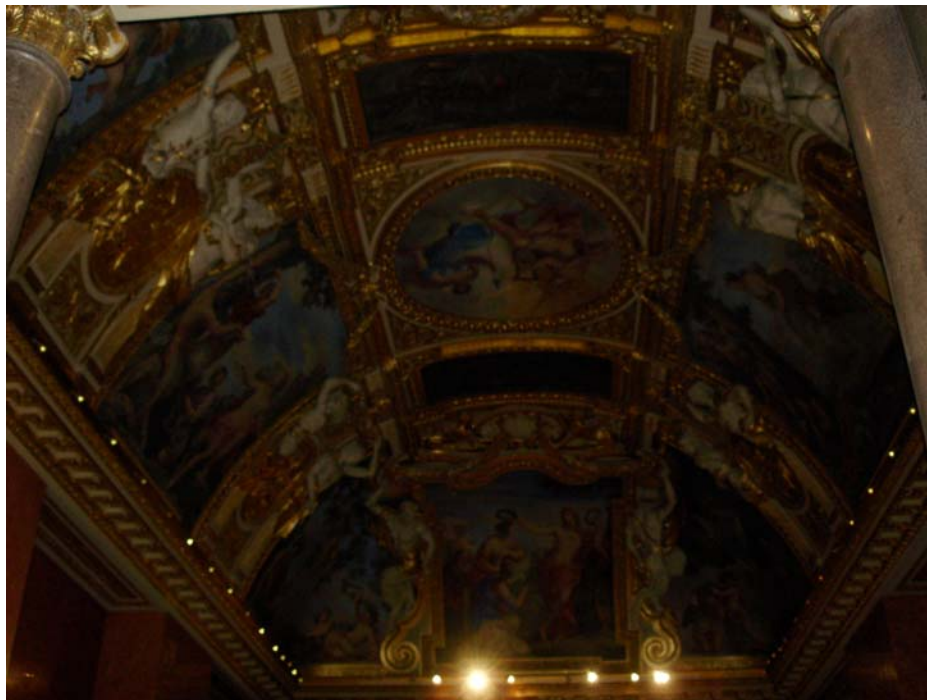

Fig. 330 Poussin (attributed), *Diana and Actaeon*, ca.1614 (Louvre)

Fig. 331 Aegidius Sadeler, *Diana and Actaeon*, engraving

Fig. 332 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrik Van Balen, *Diana and Actaeon*, oil on copper (Private collection)

Figs. 333-334 Salle des Saisons, Apartments of Anne of Austria, Louvre. Paintings by Giovanni Francesco Romanelli and Michel Anguier, 1655-58. Above: detail of central roundel showing Diana and Apollo presiding over the scenes.

Fig. 335 Giovanni Francesco Romanelli and Michel Anguier, *Diana and Actaeon*, south wall of the Salle des Saisons, 1655-58 (Louvre)

Fig. 336 Giovanni Francesco Romanelli and Michel Anguier, *Apollo crowning*, north wall of the Salle des Saisons, 1655-58 (Louvre)

Fig. 337 Giovanni Francesco Romanelli and Michel Anguier, *Diana and Endymion*, west wall of the Salle des Saisons, 1655-58 (Louvre)

Fig. 338 Giovanni Francesco Romanelli and Michel Anguier, *Apollo and Marsyas*, east wall of the Salle des Saisons, 1655-58 (Louvre)

Fig. 339 *Diane de Versailles,*bronze copy by Barthelémy Prieur (1602), reinstalled as a fountain in 1605 (Jardin de la Reine, Fontainebleau)

Figs. 340-342 *Duchess de Bourgogne as Diana*, eighteenth-century marble (Louvre)
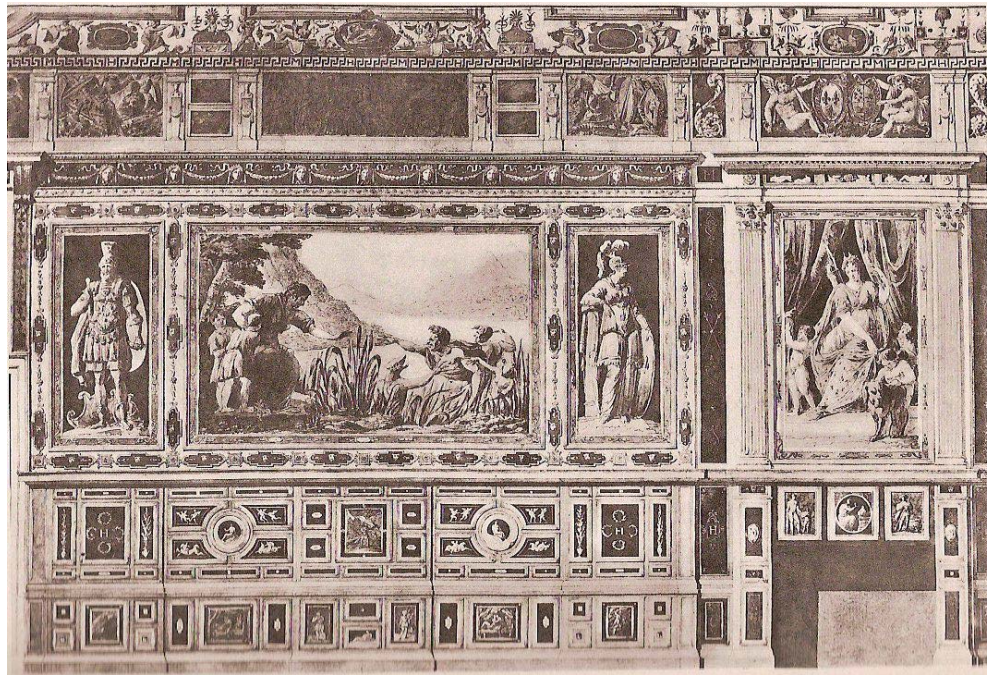
Fig. 342 Percier, Nineteenth-century watercolors after the lost Galerie de Diane Fontainebleau cycle

Figs. 343-344 Engravings showing Louis XIII as Mars and Anne of Austria as Diana, in Thomas Billon's *Sibylla Gallica* (1642)

Figs. 345-346 Jean de Court (attributed), *Saltcellars of Marie de'
Medici and Henri IV with Triumphs of Diana and of Venus*, enamel
(Musée d'Angers)

Fig. 347 Orazio Gentileschi, *Diana*, ca. 1630

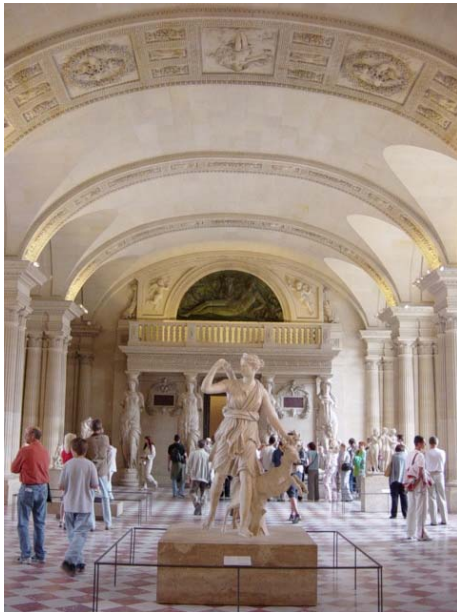**Fig. 348** Copy after Gentileschi's Diana (Musée de la Chasse, Paris)

Fig. 349 Henri IV wing, finished under Louis XIII. Parallel to the Henri II wing (practically duplicating the original structure)

Figs. 350-351 Cour Carré, as finished under Napoleon; detail showing Diana on the right

Fig. 352 *Salle de Diane* (Louvre) decorated between 1801-3 by Percier and Fontaine

Figs. 353-354 *Salle des Caryatids* (Louvre) with close-up of nineteenth-century ceiling decorations (full-standing figures of Diana) evoking the *Grand degré*

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Education

2007   Ph. D. Department of Art History, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ
                Dissertation: "Subject to Diana: Picturing Desire in French Renaissance Courtly Aesthetics"

2004   M. A. Department of Art History, Rutgers University.
                Thesis: "Grotesque Sculpture of the Romanesque Period"

1998   B. A. in Art History, Magna Cum Laude, John Cabot University, Rome, Italy

Teaching Experience

2007   Instructor, History of the Print 372 (Summer) Department of Art History, Rutgers University

2007   Instructor, Senior Seminar (Spring), "Metamorphosis, Love and Identity: Classical Myth
                and Courtly Rituals in French Visual Culture," Department of Art History, Rutgers University

2005   Instructor, Art History Survey 105, Department of Art History, Rutgers University (Fall)

2004-2005   Instructor, Expository Writing 101, Writing Program, English Department, Rutgers University
                (2 sections taught during Fall 2004; 2 sections taught Fall 2005)

2004   Instructor, Early Italian Renaissance Art 309; High Italian Renaissance Art 310, Rutgers
                University Summer Program, Urbino, Italy

2003-2004   Teaching Assistant, Art History Survey 105 and 106 (Spring and Fall 2003, and Spring 2004)
                Department of Art History, Rutgers University

2003   Instructor, Latin American Art 389 (Summer) Department of Art History, Rutgers University

1999-2000   Lecturer, Department of Fine Arts, Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano, Bogotá, Colombia
                Courses taught: Latin American Art (Fall 1999 and Spring 2000); Modern Art (Spring 2000);
                Art Theory (Spring 2000)

1996   Teaching Assistant, Humanities Department, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia
                Course: *Tres momentos en el arte: Leonardo, Goya, Picasso*

Curatorial Experience

2001-2002   Intern, Department of European Paintings, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

2001, Spring   Intern, Department of Prints and Drawings, Morgan Library, New York

1999-2000   Curatorial Assistant, Museo Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia

Publications

Forthcoming, 2007. "At the Ovidian Pool: Christine de Pizan's Fountain of Knowledge as a Locus for Vision." Peer-reviewed article to appear in *The Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies Series, Essays and Studies,* vol. 10 (University of Toronto, 2007).

Catalogue entries: "Devozione a san Nicola da Tolentino in America centro-meridionale: Organizzazione coloniale e presenza agostiniana nella Nueva Granada," in *San Nicola da Tolentino nell'arte: Corpus Iconografico*, vol. II, 137-138; 386-390 nos. 303-309. Tolentino: Biblioteca Egidiana, 2006.

Article: "Del gótico al barroco: función y significado del color." *Color Reflexiones*. Cuadernos Temáticos 4. Facultad de Bellas Artes, Universidad de Bogotá Jorge Tadeo Lozano (2003): 22-33.

Article: "¿Para qué historia del arte?" *Agenda Cultural* 109, Publicación de la Universidad de Bogotá Jorge Tadeo Lozano (2000): 18-22.

Database Entries: Colonial Art; European Sculpture. *Virtual Collections*. Museo Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, Colombia (1999-2000).

Book Review: *Luoghi. Alla ricerca del territorio*. A cura di Alberto Fiz. Electa, 1997. Reviewed in *Arte e Critica* 13 (1997): 60.

Editorial Appointments

Co-Editor, *Rutgers Art Review* vol. 21 (2006) Department of Art History, Rutgers University.

Editorial Assistant, *Arte e Critica*, *Periodico Trimestrale di Cultura Figurativa.* Rome, Italy (1997-1998)

Other Professional Experience

2001-2002   Assistant Curator, Visual Resources Collection, Art History Department, Rutgers University

1995-Present   Official Translator English-Spanish / Spanish-English. Certified by the Secretary of International Relations, Bogotá, Colombia