

The Dinteville Family and the Allegory of Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh

ELIZABETH A. R. BROWN

Professor of History Emerita, Brooklyn College and The Graduate School, The City University of New York

THE KINGS AND NOBLES of sixteenth-century France conceived of themselves and their contemporaries as representations, virtual reincarnations, of antique and biblical figures.¹ For them, the dividing line that for us separates present from past linked the temporal dimensions rather than segregating them, and the boundaries delimiting layers and segments of earlier times were fluid and elastic. Like Charlemagne and other French kings, Francis I was seen as a new David.² He was also perceived as another Caesar.³ Those who served the king were no less prone to associate themselves with and envision themselves as past heroes. François II de Dinteville (1498–1554), bishop of Auxerre from 1530 until his death, felt a particular affinity with biblical and early Christian times. In a painting of 1550 created for the cathedral of Auxerre, he appears as the leader of the Hebrews and points to Saint Stephen, patron of the church, who is being stoned to death for having blasphemed Moses (Figure 2).⁴ Dinteville's attitude is ambiguous, although he may be remonstrating with the saint's persecutors. An engraving by Domenico del Barbieri suggests that Dinteville identified with Saint Stephen himself, since the saint is designated as a Dinteville not through his features but through the Dinteville arms on his tunic (Figure 3).⁵ A portrait of the bishop, now a spectator, together with a small depiction of the Dinteville arms and the bishop's motto, *VIRTVTI FORTVNA COMES*, appears in the triptych showing scenes from the life of Saint Eugenia that François II offered to the church of Varzy in 1537 (Figure 4).⁶

François II de Dinteville's penchant for identifying himself and his family with revered figures from ancient times is most spectacularly revealed in a picture in the Metropolitan Museum, *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh: An Allegory of the Dinteville Family*

(Figure 1).⁷ In it, Dinteville and his three brothers are presented as participants in one of the most dramatic confrontations described in the Old Testament: the moment when Moses and Aaron commenced the intimidation of Pharaoh that eventually led to the Israelites' release from their captivity in Egypt. On the right, Moses and two other protagonists are identified by inscriptions on their robes. These labels categorically link this scene to the year 1537, which, by the style of dating used at the royal court, started on Easter Day, April 1, 1537, and ended on April 20, 1538, the day before the following Easter, when 1538 officially began. The designation of the year itself appears on the border of two robes, and the ages of the individuals found on the garments are consistent with it. Although Aaron, the most imposing figure in the group, has no label, the arms on the floor beneath his feet indicate that he is François II de Dinteville, and so do his features, known through other pictures in which he figures. Equally familiar is the face of the man whose golden-rayed horns show that here he is a new Moses. He is Jean de Dinteville (1504–1555), who appears with his friend Georges de Selve in the double portrait that Hans Holbein the Younger painted (and signed and dated) in England in 1533 (Figure 5).⁸ Commissioned by Jean de Dinteville during one of his five missions as ambassador to England, the picture (now known as *The Ambassadors*) accompanied him back to his family's ancestral château of Polisy. There, some years later, it was joined by *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh*.⁹ Holbein's signature on *The Ambassadors* (IOANNES HOLBEIN PINGEBAT 1533), together with the numerous invocations of 1537 in the allegorical work, obviously prompted the addition of the pretentious label "IOANNES HOLBEIN 1537" in the lower left-hand corner of the Metropolitan's painting.¹⁰ Evidently commissioned by a member of the Dinteville family, *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh* remained in their descendants' possession until 1787, when it was sold.

© The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1999
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 34

The notes for this article begin on page 89.

73



Figure 1. *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh: An Allegory of the Dinteville Family*, ca. 1538. Tempera and oil on wood, 176.5 x 192.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wentworth Fund, 1950, 50.70. See also Colorplate 1

The inscriptions, arms, and date in the Metropolitan Museum's picture suggest that deciphering its significance should pose few problems—particularly given the familiarity of the scene the painting depicts. Nonetheless, the many attempts that have been made to fathom its meaning have proved unsatisfactory, largely because of the prominently featured date,¹¹ but also because Pharaoh's sixteenth-century identity is less clear than that of his

antagonists.¹² Here I shall propose a reading of the painting and an interpretation of the clues it contains that differ from those advanced to date. Beginning with the painting itself, I shall attempt to relate it to circumstances faced by the Dinteville brothers in the 1530s and 1540s. The crises the family confronted in these decades suggest to me that the painting was commissioned later than the date the artist emphasizes.



Figure 2. *Stoning of Saint Stephen*, 1550. Oil on oak, 108 x 243 cm. Auxerre (Yonne), Cathedral of Saint-Étienne (photo: author)



Figure 3. Domenico del Barbieri, *Stoning of Saint Stephen*, ca. 1538. Engraving, 27.2 x 15.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittlesey Collection, The Elisha Whittlesey Fund, 1959, 59.596.26

THE PAINTING

Pharaoh, Moses, and Aaron are the protagonists of the story the picture recounts. Of the three, Aaron is the most prominent figure in the painting. Toward him Pharaoh extends his left hand. The Israelite's rod, almost fully transformed into a crystalline serpent, its head resting on Pharaoh's dais, separates the prophet from the Egyptian ruler. The heel of Aaron's right foot rests on the hem of his robe, carefully separated from the arms of the heraldic pavement touched by the ball of his foot. His left foot points toward another coat of arms. Moses stands at Aaron's right, behind the serpent and Pharaoh's outstretched left arm. Rays of light emanate hornlike from his head as he gestures toward Aaron with the extended forefinger of his right hand. With his left hand Moses points up toward heaven. His bent arms frame a face with downcast eyes, whose features resemble his own. The angle of Moses' left arm mirrors that of the scepter which Pharaoh grasps in his right hand. As Pharaoh brandishes the earthly symbol of his power, so Moses, stonily eyeing the ruler, invokes a higher authority. Like the fasces and furred banner in the background, like the middle finger of Moses' left hand, Pharaoh's scepter points toward a motto inscribed at the top left: *VIRTVTI FORTVNA COMES*. A curtain, white on the side facing the Egyptians, blue on the other, divides the two groups, as if separating



Figure 4. *Scenes from the Life of Saint Eugenia*, 1535. Central panel of a triptych, oil on wood, 138 x 213 cm. Varzy (Nièvre), Church of Saint-Pierre-ès-liens (photo: author)

evil from good. Above the head of the Egyptian attendant who pulls the curtain back is an Ionic capital. Aaron, Moses, and Pharaoh are garbed in antique vestments, Pharaoh's tunic and bootlets (like his throne) reminiscent of ancient Rome. The sovereign's costume and spiked crown evoke oriental and Roman attire, and the armor *all'antica* and *alla romana* that was fashionable in sixteenth-century Europe.¹³ Similar attire is seen in the contemporary *Portrait of a Young Warrior as Saint George* (Figure 9; Appendix); in a contemporaneous painting of the Judgment of Solomon;¹⁴ and, especially important, in a portrayal of Francis I as Roman emperor executed at almost precisely the same time as *Moses and Aaron*.¹⁵ The tunic also resembles the antique military costume depicted in a tile pavement at the Dinteville château of Polisy, which is dated 1545 (Figure 6).¹⁶ The attendant behind Pharaoh, wearing a timeless robe, points with his right forefinger at the orb beneath Pharaoh's right foot. Behind Moses and Aaron are two figures clad in cloaks. One garment, blue like Pharaoh's,

brushes the bare foot of the man with lowered eyes whose face is framed by Moses' arms. On the far right a red cloak, its hue mirroring Moses' short robe, cuts across the calf of a man shod in sandals (similar to those worn by Aaron), who gazes at Aaron and wears, incongruously, a plumed red velvet cap. The face of an associate of the four bearded Israelites sports a mustache and looks outward. Aaron's companions all stand on the heraldic pavement, whereas Pharaoh's feet are elevated on a platform above the pavement and rest, the left one on the edge of the platform, the right on the globe. One edge of Pharaoh's platform abuts the armorial bearings under Aaron's right foot; a narrow band of the lower quadrant of these arms underlies the other edge of the platform. Beneath the center of the platform and Pharaoh's throne is a band of the arms under Aaron's left foot.

The serpent, whose head is on Pharaoh's dais and whose arrow-pointed tongue shoots out toward the ruler's foot, unmistakably fixes the biblical scene as the story of Moses, whom God sent to Egypt to



Figure 5. Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Ambassadors*, 1533. Oil on oak, 207 x 209.5 cm. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

deliver the Israelites unto a land flowing with milk and honey, where they might serve God. God intended to harden Pharaoh's heart against Moses' message. Only after God had smitten the Egyptians sorely and manifested his wonders would Pharaoh finally give way and the people of Israel leave, despoiling the Egyptians before setting out for the promised land. God joined to the reluctant Moses as his prophet his older brother, Aaron the Levite, known for his eloquence. At their first appearance before Pharaoh, the ruler rejected their demands and increased the Israelites' burdens. When they returned, Aaron "cast down his rod before Pharaoh, and before his servants, and it became a serpent." This is the tense encounter depicted in the painting. Thus commenced the series of confrontations between the two leaders of Israel and Pharaoh that brought awful calamities to the people of Egypt. The litany of afflictions was the inevitable consequence of Pharaoh's failure to heed the wonder

that Aaron had performed. They culminated in the death of all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, "from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sat on his throne unto the firstborn of the captive that was in the dungeon, and all the firstborn of cattle." Only then did Pharaoh give the children of Israel permission to depart. Having plundered the Egyptians, they left, as God had promised.¹⁷ The end of the story, terrible for Pharaoh and his people but happy for the Israelites, was implicit in the dramatic commencement shown in the painting.

The righteousness of the Israelites' cause is underscored by the inscription on Aaron's miter: "CREDIT ABRAM DOMINO ET REPVTATVM EST ILLI AD IVSTITIAM" (Abram believed in the Lord and it was counted to him for justice).¹⁸ These words designate the prophet Aaron and the person who here represents him, his spiritual heir, as latter-day Abrams. Prefiguring Moses and like him led by God, Abram had left his father's house to live in

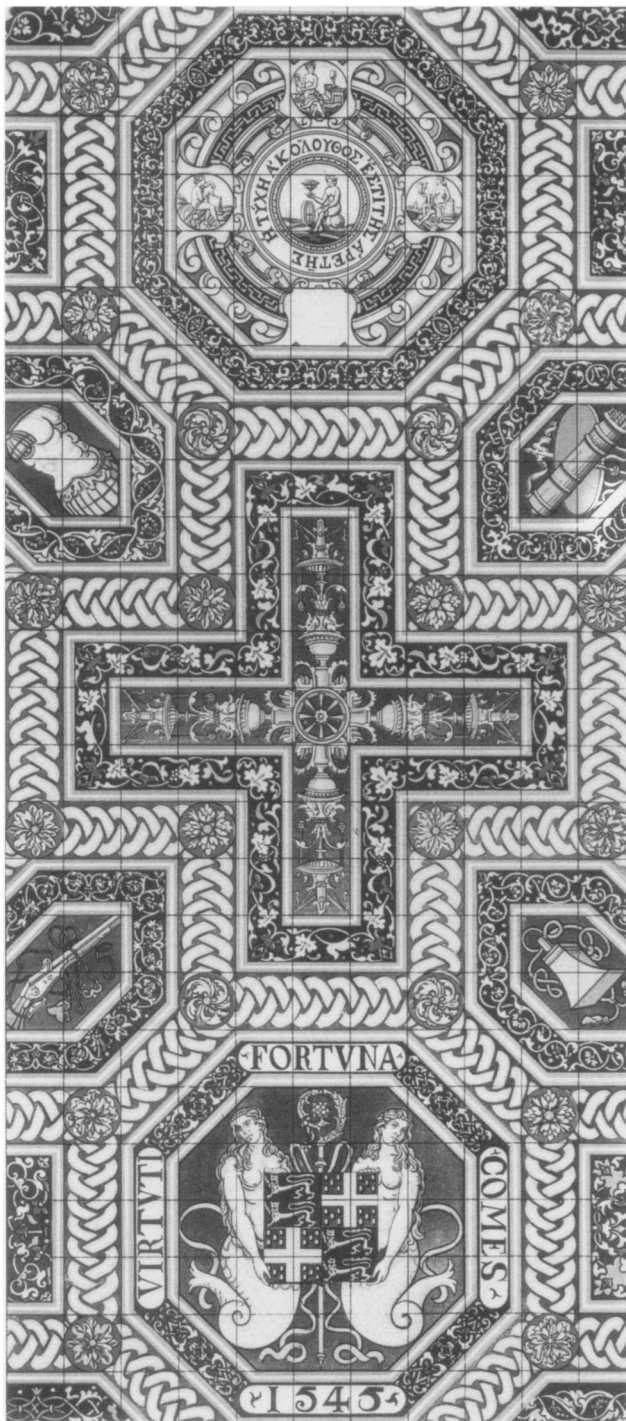


Figure 6. Drawing of ceramic tile pavement, dated 1545, at Polisy. 46.1 x 22 cm (scale: 1/3 of original). Pl. 3 of *Portefeuille archéologique de la Champagne*, ed. Alfred Gausson (Bar-sur-Aube: M^{me} Jardeaux-Ray, 1861) (photo: BNF)

Canaan, the land that God had shown him. There God protected him, having pledged to make of him a great nation, bless him, and magnify his name (which God later changed to Abraham). The plagues the Egyptians suffered when Abram and his wife, Sarai, passed through that land foreshadowed those that God inflicted on Pharaoh and his people when Moses and Aaron worked their wonders, just as the release of Abram and Sarai foreshadowed the deliverance of the people of Israel.¹⁹

Although the painting recounts an episode that occurred in the distant biblical past, it was not a reconstruction and reminder of ancient events but a commentary on the present. The costume of the figure on the right, cloaked in red, with plumed cap, explicitly signals the painting's relevance to contemporary as well as biblical times. So too do the labels on his cloak and the robes of his companions. His inscription identifies him as "GVILLAVME•/ DE SCHENET[Z] / DE • DINTEVILLE • CHEV[ALIER] / DESCV[R]IE • DE • MO[NSIEVR] / EN / AGE 32." The blue cloak, whose color matches Pharaoh's costume, bears the label, "1537 / GAVCHER•S'•DE•VANLAY•/ EN AGE / 28." The border of Moses' short robe has the legend, "•IEHAN S' DE•POLISY•/•EN•AGE. 33•/•BAILLY•DE TROYES / •1537." Aaron's robe lacks any similar inscription, although, enigmatically, "EN" and "8" are (barely) visible on two green stripes of his cloak. The motto *VIRTVTI FORTVNA COMES* (Fortune companion to Virtue) inscribed on the top left of the picture—and thus on Pharaoh's side—and the designs on the floor beneath the Israelites' feet reinforce the connections the inscriptions establish with the present, and unmistakably identify the high priest as François II de Dinteville. The ball of Aaron's right foot is set on quartered arms, one and four sable, two leopards in pale or, two and three azure, a cross or cantoned of twenty billets gold. His left foot points toward and lightly rests on another coat of arms, this one argent, a cross engrailed gules, charged with five escallops gold. Standing on the heraldic pavement, the two Israelite leaders, and most dramatically Aaron, demonstrate their ties to and descent from three prominent French families and reveal their own identities. The quartered arms proclaim as their ascendants the fourteenth-century lord of Échenay, Gerard de Dinteville, designated by the twin leopards, and Gerard's wife, Alix de Choiseul, represented by the cross and billets. The eighteen billets, long associated with the Choiseul family and previous generations of the Dinteville family, are here replaced by twenty billets.

The two additional billets make clear the arms' association with François II de Dinteville and his brothers, a connection reinforced by the appearance of *VIRTVTI* in the family motto, replacing the *VIRTVTIS* long used by François II's uncle and predecessor as bishop of Auxerre, François I de Dinteville.²⁰ The arms with cross and cockleshells under Aaron's left foot signify the family of Du Plessis, joined to the Dinteville family through the marriage in 1496 of Anne du Plessis to Gaucher de Dinteville, lord of Polisy and other lands in Champagne, royal councillor and *maître d'hôtel*, and *bailli* of Troyes.²¹

The high priest sprung from these two lines was François II de Dinteville, the eldest son of Gaucher de Dinteville (1459–1531) and Anne du Plessis (1480/81–1546). The three other principal figures on the right are his brothers, Jean de Dinteville, lord of Polisy and *bailli* of Troyes; Guillaume de Dinteville (1505–1559), lord of Échenay; and Gaucher de Dinteville (1509–1550), lord of Vanlay. These three brothers served in the households of Francis I's sons: Jean, as *échanson* and then *gentilhomme*, with particularly close ties to the youngest son, Charles, duke of Angoulême and then (in 1536) Orléans, who was born in 1522 and died in 1545; Guillaume (as his inscription shows) as *écuyer d'écurie*, especially favored by the dauphin François (who died aged eighteen in 1536); and finally Gaucher, as *enfant d'honneur* and then *pannetier*, with special bonds to the king's second son, who was born in 1519 and in 1547 succeeded his father to the throne as Henry II.²²

But what had Aaron and Abram to do with François II de Dinteville, bishop of Auxerre, and Moses with Jean de Dinteville, *bailli* of Troyes? Why were the Dinteville brothers portrayed as righteous Israelites confronting a ruler whose hard-heartedness brought dire suffering on himself and his people? Why was the encounter linked so conspicuously with the year 1537, inevitably suggesting that the ruler they faced was the king of France, Francis I? Why did the designer of the painting underline this connection by placing above Pharaoh's head an Ionic capital, a type known to be favored by Francis I?²³ What is the significance of the puzzling "EN" and "8" inscribed on Aaron's cape? These questions can be addressed only by situating the painting in the context of the Dinteville brothers' experiences in the 1530s, 1540s, and 1550s.

THE FORTUNES OF THE DINTEVILLE BROTHERS

The Dinteville brothers, less eminent than their Montmorency cousins, were nonetheless distinguished by their lineage, closely tied to the king and his court, and endowed with handsome estates in Champagne and Burgundy.²⁴ The roots of the Dinteville family reach back to the thirteenth century. Service to the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans elevated and enriched their ancestors. Members of the family rose to prominence at the royal court when Louis XII became king in 1498. Gaucher de Dinteville, seventh of the nine sons of Claude de Dinteville, served in the household of Louis XII and Francis I, was *bailli* of Troyes and Francis I's lieutenant in Italy, and was awarded the Order of Saint-Michel. Three of Gaucher's brothers pursued careers in the church; the youngest of these, François, was made bishop of Auxerre in 1514. In 1496, Gaucher married Anne du Plessis, who came from a noble family with roots and estates near Blois. Of their eight (possibly nine) children, the two oldest joined the church. The second, Louis, a knight of Saint John of Jerusalem, died at twenty-eight in 1531, shortly after his father. The eldest, François, succeeded his uncle and namesake as bishop of Auxerre in 1530. Through their father and his "great friend" Anne Gouffier, lady of Montreuil-Bonnin (and aunt of Claude Gouffier), the three younger sons, Jean, Guillaume, and Gaucher, secured posts in the households of Francis I's three sons. Jean joined the court in 1519, when he was fifteen; Guillaume in 1532, at twenty-seven; Gaucher in 1527, at eighteen.

The family barely escaped scandal in the spring of 1531, when the Parlement de Paris pursued François II de Dinteville for what the king declared an "execrable crime."²⁵ Suspecting that he had sold or stolen some birds, the bishop had (or had had) affixed one of his gamekeepers to a post by a nail driven through his hands. The Parlement, supported by the king, tried to bring him to justice.²⁶ In the end, however, his powerful cousin Anne de Montmorency helped him escape justice by persuading the king to name him ambassador to the pope. Having received absolution from Pope Clement VII, François II de Dinteville left France before the end of July and was to remain in Rome until early 1533, while there indulging his interest in art and antiquities.²⁷ At the end of August 1532, his brother Jean sent him casts of the faces of the dauphin and his

brother Henri—perhaps so that their portraits could be painted in Rome.²⁸ On his return to France, François II benefited from the king's favor. Anxious to retain the royal grace, in August 1538 he agreed to exchange with Charles II de Lorraine, recently named archbishop of Reims, the commendatory abbeys of Montier-la-Celle and Montiéramey for his abbey of Montier-en-Der.²⁹ As to his three brothers, between the late fall of 1531 and March 1537 Jean served five times as the king's ambassador to England. In 1533 Guillaume received 450 *livres tournois* "for his good service to the dauphin" and to help him recover from injuries he had suffered in tournaments in Paris (the king's son Charles also rewarded him). Although accused of complicity in Sebastiano da Montecuculli's alleged plot to poison the dauphin (who died on August 10, 1536), Guillaume was fully cleared; in 1536 and 1537 he served as royal envoy and ambassador, and rendered military service to the king in Italy. Gaucher raised troops for the king in Italy in 1536 and 1537.

Thus, in 1537 the Dinteville brothers enjoyed the king's favor. Hence the incongruity of the date featured in *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh*. The date had the virtue of distancing the scene from the year 1536, when Guillaume de Dinteville was briefly implicated in the accusations for which Montecuculli was executed on October 7, 1536. It was, after all, Pharaoh's failure to heed Aaron's initial warning that led inexorably to the deaths of his and his people's firstborn. Under these circumstances, choosing this particular scene as the vehicle for the family allegory was in any case of questionable taste. Such considerations apart, the Dinteville brothers would have been just as reluctant to have the picture's message linked overtly with 1538 (a year that by the old system of dating did not end until the day before Easter of 1539, celebrated on April 6), or ensuing years—although the cryptic phrase "EN 8" on Aaron's robe suggests that 1538 is indeed the year to which the scene relates.³⁰

This year, 1538, was the year of the Dinteville brothers' great disgrace. In the fall Jean du Plessis, the brothers' maternal cousin, accused Gaucher de Dinteville of sodomy. "Twice, when we were sleeping in the same bed," Du Plessis declared, "you wanted to bugger me and make me evil [*meschant*] like you."³¹ It was not only the accusation but also Gaucher's impetuous reaction to it that caused the ensuing scandal. On October 31, Gaucher and eight companions invaded the Du Plessis house and at sword's point forced Jean du Plessis to sign a

retraction. Jean and his father, Charles, the king's *maître d'hôtel ordinaire*, enlisted the support of the Dinteville brothers' cousin the powerful Anne de Montmorency, who presented the Du Plessis to the king. On November 8, at Villers-Cotterets, Francis I granted Jean du Plessis's request for a duel, to be held before him on January 1, 1539.³²

Gaucher had fled to Venice. From Italy he fired off justifications, counter-challenges, and explanations to the royal court, in an attempt to defend his refusal to return to France for the duel. The king, the dauphin Henri, and Anne de Montmorency were unmoved. In Paris, on January 1, in lists erected before the Louvre, the king declared Gaucher in default and had his arms dragged through the streets. Shortly thereafter Francis I condemned him for his "abominable crime" and "other great offenses and evil deeds committed and perpetrated against God, the king, and justice." His property was confiscated and an effigy of his body dragged through the streets of Paris and burned at the Place de Grève, a punishment repeated in the other major towns of the realm in February and March 1539. By the middle of April 1539, Gaucher's brothers Guillaume and François II had joined him in Italy, whereas Jean seems to have retired to his château at Polisy. Montmorency, acting on the king's instructions, tried to have the absent brothers banned from the territories of Francis I's allies in Italy. By the end of October 1539, the emperor, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua (who for a time had sheltered Gaucher), and the Republic of Venice had given assurances that the brothers would not be welcome in their lands. By then the Dinteville brothers had visited Rome. There, according to François II's biographer, Felix Chrestien, Pope Paul III and many cardinals received the bishop graciously, although in fact, because of pressure from the French court, on August 8, 1539, the pope had appointed Francis I's nominee as administrator of Auxerre, and by mid-November the papal states were closed to the three brothers, including the bishop. Guillaume and Gaucher spent time in Bologna, and François II in Naples. Whatever pledges the Venetians made to Francis I's envoys, all three brothers were sooner or later received—and made welcome—in Venice.³³

On April 19, 1539, Francis I had denounced the three brothers who had left France for their "damnable enterprises and cruel conspiracies against our person and estate," their "plots and enterprises against the person of the king," and their "felony and lese majesty." He bestowed the administration

of the bishopric of Auxerre on Pierre de Mareuil, son of the baron of Montmoreau, papal proto-notary, abbot of Brantôme, and, most important, favorite of Francis I's mistress Anne de Pisseleu, duchess of Étampes.³⁴ The king wanted François II de Dinteville to be ejected from Auxerre, and by the end of April, a royal pronouncement had been formulated which declared that if Dinteville forfeited the see, Mareuil would receive it. The declaration mentioned not only the grave charges enumerated in the letter of April 19 but also, menacingly, "other crimes that he is alleged to have committed, and any other reason for which the bishopric can be said to be vacant."³⁵ Letters the king directed to Rome and legal proceedings during the next decade show that the king (doubtless prompted by Mareuil and his allies) hoped to revive the charges of which François II had been absolved in 1531, and was questioning the circumstances under which he had acquired Auxerre from his uncle in 1530, by resignation.³⁶

Although Pope Paul III staunchly refused to expel Dinteville from his bishopric, he was forced (despite the opposition of the cardinals) to name Pierre de Mareuil administrator of Auxerre during Dinteville's absence. He took this action on August 8, 1539, and within a month the king and the Grand Conseil had authorized Mareuil's installation. Mareuil commenced at once to plunder the see of Auxerre, which he continued to administer after gaining the bishopric of Lavaur following the death in April 1541 of Georges de Selve, the Dinteville brothers' erstwhile friend.³⁷ Mareuil treated the treasures of the church of Auxerre as "booty," which he shared with the duchess of Étampes. Jean de Dinteville later claimed that Mareuil appropriated "all the movable property in the bishop's dwellings and elsewhere."³⁸

The Dinteville brothers bided their time. They had no other choice. Finally, in the spring of 1542, the brothers were able to return to France. The way was paved by the loyal military service that Guillaume and Gaucher rendered to Francis I at Marano, near Venice, early in 1542.³⁹ With war against Emperor Charles V threatening, the king needed seasoned fighters. Hence he was disposed to receive the overtures made by Jean de Dinteville, who had recently been readmitted as chamberlain to the household of the king's son Charles.⁴⁰ Both Charles and Henri, now the dauphin, supported Jean. Pierre de Mareuil had already begun to suspect that his days of unfettered exploitation of Auxerre might be limited, for in October 1541 he had writ-

ten François II de Dinteville, offering to help him secure justice—on condition that Dinteville surrender one of his commendatory abbeys to him.⁴¹

In May 1542 the king visited the ancestral château of the Dinteville family at Polisy, where Jean de Dinteville received him.⁴² In June François II de Dinteville was permitted to wait on the king at nearby Joinville, and there the king took him back into his grace.⁴³ Ceremonial acceptance, however, by no means meant reinstatement in the bishopric of Auxerre or in the abbeys of Montier-la-Celle and Montiéramey. Jean and François II quickly discovered that the latter would indeed have to make sacrifices to Mareuil. Mareuil drove a hard bargain. In addition to other concessions, he received the abbey of Montier-la-Celle (which François II surrendered to him on June 26, 1542), as well as formal permission to retain what he had appropriated as administrator of Auxerre. Jean de Dinteville negotiated the terms of the compromise, as his brother François, who "dared not approach the court," remained two leagues away. François II de Dinteville had to accept the terms of the compromise and suffer in silence, although he did file a formal protest before royal officials on the same day on which he gave up Montier-la-Celle. Two days later the king reinstated him in his temporalities, but this did not affect the concessions he had made to Mareuil.⁴⁴ François II revealed his plight to the dauphin Henri, who encouraged him to be patient. The dauphin assured him that when the time was ripe, he would see "that the gates of justice were opened to him."⁴⁵ For the moment, however, the dauphin's hands were tied. His father frustrated his attempt to remove Mareuil from the position of almoner that, thanks to Francis I, he enjoyed in the dauphin's household. But on March 31, 1547, Francis I died, and the next day his son, now King Henry II, discharged Mareuil.⁴⁶

Neither François II nor his brothers forgot the promises that the dauphin Henri had made. Between Henri's accession to the throne on March 31, 1547, and the following November 4, and probably after his consecration on July 26, François II approached the king to ask him "to open the gates of justice to him so that he could lodge a complaint against Mareuil" and seek to recover all that Mareuil had taken from him.⁴⁷ The king acquiesced, François II hired the celebrated lawyer Christophe de Thou, and legal proceedings began, first before the Conseil privé, then before the Parlement de Paris.⁴⁸ Henry II himself testified for Dinteville—and was impugned by Mareuil. François II's strug-

gle, however long and difficult, in the end succeeded. In June 1551 Mareuil was vanquished before the Parlement, and Dinteville recovered Montier-la-Celle and the spoils Mareuil had taken from Auxerre.

During these years François II's brothers regained much of what they had lost. Jean was the least fortunate. After playing a critical role in his brothers' rehabilitation, he was struck by a paralyzing illness in 1546 and spent the remaining nine years of his life remodeling and expanding the château at Polisy while fending off attempts by his brother Guillaume to gain control of the family property. Despite his illness, his services were not forgotten. On July 18, 1549, Henry II made him *gentilhomme ordinaire* of his chamber, "even though," the king said, "his weakness, debility, and indisposition force him to remain far removed from us." The Parlement registered the privilege on May 5, 1553, two years before Jean's death.⁴⁹ Gaucher, the alleged sodomite, died at the age of forty-one in 1550, but before then he had contracted a good marriage, produced four children, and been made *gentilhomme ordinaire* of the king's chamber. Guillaume enjoyed a brilliant military and diplomatic career, making an excellent marriage in 1546, and becoming baron of Chacenay in 1551, *gentilhomme ordinaire* of the king's chamber in 1553, and a member of the Order of Saint-Michel in 1559, the year he died. In 1557, explaining the circumstances under which he had been wounded in fighting for the king in Corsica, he declared himself "Gentilhomme de noble et ancienne Race."⁵⁰ So he and his brothers are portrayed in the painting showing Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAINTING

The key to comprehending *Moses and Aaron* and thus determining the moment and circumstances of its creation lies, I believe, in the crises the Dinteville brothers confronted after Gaucher was accused of sodomy and fled to Venice in 1538. His flight precipitated the tragic events that followed: the departure of his brothers François II and Guillaume, and the brothers' three-year exile in Italy, Francis I's condemnation and pursuit of them all, Anne de Montmorency's participation in their persecution, Pierre de Mareuil's plundering of the bishopric of Auxerre, the humiliating concessions made by François II to regain Auxerre. Although the brothers' fortunes were not fully reestablished

until François II vanquished Mareuil before the Parlement de Paris in 1551, there were reasons for optimism before this. In the spring of 1542, the king's son Charles received Jean de Dinteville back into his household, and Francis I forgave the brothers, visiting Polisy and bestowing his grace on Gaucher, Guillaume, and François II. At the same time the dauphin Henri assured Jean and François II that he believed in their cause and would, when he could, open the gates of justice to them. Five years later, after the dauphin ascended the throne as Henry II, he remembered his pledges and permitted François II to begin his pursuit of Mareuil. Any of these troublesome circumstances could explain the creation of a painting in 1542, 1547, or 1551. However, it seems far more likely that the picture that was actually commissioned, *Moses and Aaron*, was planned and ordered earlier than any of these dates, while the brothers were still in Italy, and before they could be assured that after their exile—their captivity—they would prevail.

Consider the scene shown in the painting. It depicts the moment when Moses and Aaron, under God's aegis, are commencing the struggle to secure the release of the people of Israel from their 430 years of captivity. They know the battle will be long and hard. God, after all, intends to harden Pharaoh's heart until he and his people have suffered gravely. God's promise to Abram, prominently placed on Aaron's miter, gives hope that after the wanderers regain their land, their faith, like Abram's, will be rewarded with justice, and God will protect and bless them. At the moment depicted in the painting, Moses and Aaron have placed their trust in God and in a future triumph, which he has promised but they have not yet tasted. This was precisely the situation the three Dinteville brothers faced when they reached Italy late in 1538 and early in 1539. Restoration to their native land and the status they had enjoyed before their flight would require the same sorts of wonders that God had worked through Moses and Aaron.

Read in the context of the Dinteville brothers' experiences in 1537 and thereafter, the picture offers a defense and justification of their flight. Veiling, palliating, and exonerating them from the accusations leveled against Gaucher by Jean du Plessis and against them all—especially against François II—by the king and his council and by Mareuil and his allies, the painting presents a bold vindication of their sufferings and the humiliation that François II, bishop of Auxerre, endured in Italy. Here he and his brother Jean—the perse-

cuted—occupy positions of power, dominate the scene, and tower over Pharaoh and his servants. The motto to which Pharaoh's scepter points, *VIRTVTI FORTVNA COMES*, offers assurance that Fortune will ultimately support the Virtue that the brothers represent and will enable them to triumph in the end. The motto thus reinforces the message conveyed by God's promise to Abram, which Aaron/François proudly displays. Gaucher lurks in the rear, his eyes downcast as if to show his embarrassment at the impetuosity that has caused his family's predicament. Guillaume, stalwart, stands at the far right, behind Aaron, as if poised to come to his brothers' aid.

The painting proudly refutes the allegations made by the enemies of the Dinteville brothers. It rejects the aspersions heaped upon them, just as they did when they were challenged. Jean and François II steadfastly and stubbornly denied that, as Mareuil and others charged, the bishop had left France "to avoid punishment for his crimes."⁵¹ On March 15, 1548, Henry II affirmed what Jean and François II themselves had declared: that the bishop had departed and remained absent "not because of any accusation of crime or any misdeed committed against the king, but only because of the disfavor visited on his brothers." Henry II added that he himself, through relatives and friends of the Dinteville family, had advised François II to leave, and commented that he had done well to depart.⁵² The chief explanation of the bishop's flight presented by his lawyer, Christophe de Thou, was similar, although less direct and more poetic: "seeing that his house was on fire and struck by ruin and tempest, [François II] determined to absent himself and withdraw for a while, and wait until things were better settled and until, with the passage of time, the truth (which is said to be time's daughter) was known, and his innocence revealed."⁵³

The bishop's pose in the picture witnesses the importance of his family and the central significance of familial concerns to the episode the painting depicts. The ball of his right foot is solidly placed on the Dinteville arms, indicating his dedication and attachment to his paternal lineage. His left foot points toward and rests lightly on the Du Plessis arms, which are those of his mother's family and of Jean, the cousin who had vilely accused his brother. A direct line links Aaron's foot and the Du Plessis arms with Gaucher's downcast eyes; because it is the bishop's left foot that points to the arms, this may suggest denunciation of the cousin's act. The presence of these arms directly beneath

Pharaoh's platform and throne suggests a connection between the ruler and the Dinteville family's relatives—and their enemy, Jean du Plessis.

The bishop's right heel is set on the hem of his priestly robe, which is neatly distanced from the Dinteville arms on which the ball of the foot is placed. This pose suggests the balance François II was determined to maintain between devotion to his episcopal office and duty to his kin. As François II knew well,⁵⁴ ecclesiastical law strictly forbade bishops to abandon their sees under any but the most extreme circumstances.⁵⁵ In 1547 de Thou insisted on the "necessity" and the "compulsion" that had forced the bishop to leave Auxerre and France.⁵⁶ These arguments doubtless reflected François II's own perception of his situation in Italy: he had been forced to flee and was there against his will. Equally revealing is a comment made by the bishop's apologist and champion, Felix Chrestien. According to Chrestien, the bishop left France because of plots devised by envious rivals; the king (Francis I) recognized his innocence, recalled him, and sanctioned his pursuit at law of those who had seized his bishopric.⁵⁷ Chrestien termed the years the bishop spent abroad both "wandering" (or "pilgrimage," *peregrinatio*) and "exile" (*exilium*).⁵⁸ Since François II's wandering and exile were forced on him against his will, they constituted a quasi-captivity, which his brothers suffered with him.

The Israelites' captivity took place in Egypt and that of the Dinteville brothers in Italy; but unlike Moses, Jean never joined his brothers there. Similarly, unlike Pharaoh, the ruler responsible for their fate dwelled far from the land of their exile, which made it impossible for François II, Guillaume, and Gaucher to importune him directly. Thus the painting cannot represent a real encounter: its truth is allegorical and symbolic. In the painting, Moses/Jean is his siblings' intermediary and advocate, standing between them and the ruler. This was the role that his brothers doubtless hoped he would exercise for them in France, and this was the role he fulfilled. Jean, unaided, could not win their release from their Italian exile, but he paved the way for his brothers' reception in France and negotiated the agreement with Mareuil that enabled François II to regain Auxerre. There seems no doubt that he was the "true solicitor" of his brothers' cause, and worked for them as he would have done for himself or his own son (as Pierre de Mareuil later remarked of his efforts for François II).⁵⁹

And what of Pharaoh? Whom does he represent and what is his function in the picture? In 1537, the

year *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh* so insistently emphasizes, Francis I was the Dinteville brothers' ruler. Francis I favored Ionic columns, and the presence of one above Pharaoh's head is a subtle suggestion of the ruler's true identity.

But if Pharaoh is Francis I and Francis I Pharaoh, why does the ruler's face bear so little resemblance to that of the French king? Francis' long, large, and slightly hooked nose, his thin and carefully tended mustache, and his full and rather prominent lower lip, known through many portraits (Figure 7),⁶⁰ are absent from this painting. Despite the similarity of costume, the image here is markedly different from the representation of Francis I as Roman emperor in the presentation copy of Guillaume du Choul's *Livre des antiquitez romaines*.⁶¹ It is difficult to understand how John Pope-Hennessy could have seen in the portrait "more than a chance resemblance" to



Figure 7. Portrait of Francis I as a young man, ca. 1553. Gouache on vellum; 34.1 x 26.2 cm (page; miniature without frame, 22.4 x 14 cm). In the presentation copy of Jean du Tillet, *Recueil des Roys*, BNF, fr. 2848, fol. 150r (photo: author)



Figure 8. Clouet or a follower, *Portrait of Pierre de Mareuil*, ca. 1540. Black and red chalk. From *Three Hundred French Portraits . . . by Clouet. Auto-Lithographed from the Originals . . . by Lord Ronald Gower* (London: Maclure and Macdonald; Paris: Hachette), vol. 2, no. 224 (photo: author)

the French king.⁶² In the first published study of the painting, Mary F. S. Hervey and Robert Martin-Holland declared the similarity between Pharaoh and Francis "symbolical rather than actual," and suggested that this was the result of "prudence . . . at a delicate juncture of the Dinteville fortunes."⁶³

Their hypothesis is certainly possible, although it is tempting to seek an actual model for the Egyptian ruler. Here I should like to suggest that the portrait of Pharaoh is a composite representation of the two figures of authority who were the Dinteville brothers' chief adversaries during the Italian exile. One of these was Francis I. The other was Pierre de Mareuil, who was administering the bishopric of Auxerre and who hoped to gain it outright. Pharaoh's features are in fact far more similar to Mareuil's (Figure 8) than they are to those of Francis I,⁶⁴ although they are not precisely those of Mareuil. In the painting Pharaoh's nose is longer and less regular than Mareuil's.⁶⁵ This feature,

together with the Ionic column, connects Pharaoh with Francis I. The resulting portrait remains ambiguous, thus shielding the person or persons who commissioned the painting from suspicions of treasonous intentions and designs.

In this reading, *Moses and Aaron* expresses aspirations the Dinteville brothers cherished for the future, aspirations that were no less strong and compelling for being fanciful, arrogant, and exaggerated. The picture represents their vision of the means by which they might be saved from the quasi-captivity in which they found themselves in 1538 and 1539. It reveals their conviction that God was on their side and would fell their enemies. It expresses their desire for revenge, their stubborn determination, and their antipathy toward and disdain for their antagonist, sentiments that can most readily be associated with the time when Francis I and Pierre de Mareuil were hounding and despoiling the brothers. Under these circumstances, pressed and defensive as the Dinteville brothers were, the questionable taste of selecting a scene recalling the premature death of the king's firstborn son in 1536 may have seemed irrelevant. Perhaps such considerations never occurred to the brothers. The painting depicts an imaginary, not a real, encounter. If it were intended to commemorate an actual event—an encounter in which the king confronted Jean de Dinteville and his three brothers, who lorded it over and threatened their sovereign—such an episode would necessarily have taken place after the exile had ended. To the best of my knowledge, there was no such meeting. The return of the Dinteville brothers from Italy coincided with their reception back into the king's favor.

If, as I have suggested, the painting was commissioned in 1539 or soon afterward, it was in all likelihood ordered either by Jean de Dinteville or by François II. Jean shared François II's interest in art, as his commission of *The Ambassadors* and his redecoration of the château at Polisy witness. References to works of art are found in Jean's letters, and it is thus particularly unfortunate that no communications among the brothers during the exile in Italy survive.⁶⁶

François II's dedication to the arts matched and perhaps exceeded that of Jean. Felix Chrestien commented on his "wondrous understanding" of the arts both liberal and mechanical, and noted that he took special delight in painting, constantly welcomed artists to his dwellings and supported them, and regularly cited the old saying attributed to Apelles, that no day should pass without something

being drawn. Chrestien praised François II for the construction he undertook at Auxerre, Régennes, Varzy, and Montiéramey.⁶⁷ It was François II who commissioned the series of impressive panels dedicated to the Life of Moses for the southern rose window of the cathedral of Auxerre.⁶⁸ He seems clearly to have been responsible for commissioning two splendid Books of Hours created after his return from Italy—one of them offered, probably in 1547, in gratitude to King Henry II—in both of which scenes from the Old Testament predominate.⁶⁹

François II de Dinteville thus seems the person most likely to have commissioned the painting. True, during the years to which its subject is most relevant, he was away in Italy. There was, however, nothing to prevent him from having the picture executed in Italy, just as his brother Jean had commissioned *The Ambassadors* while he was in England in 1533. Given the controversial subject of *Moses and Aaron*, it would have been safer to have it made in Italy than in France.⁷⁰ In this context, the identity of the artist who created the picture becomes important. This is a thorny issue. Sixteenth-century artists were only slightly more inclined than their medieval predecessors to sign their works, and many commissions of the period, including *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh*, are unsigned. The inscription attributing it to Holbein is a quixotic addition.

Since serious study of *Moses and Aaron* began, historians have tried to identify its creator. At first it was attributed to Felix Chrestien, the bishop's faithful secretary. The inspiration for the attribution was an enigmatic remark made by Jean Lebeuf (1687–1760), canon of Auxerre, in his civil and ecclesiastical history of Auxerre. Mentioning the portrayal of François II in the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* in the cathedral of Auxerre and in the triptych of Varzy, he remarked, "Ces deux tableaux passent pour être de la façon de Félix Chrétien."⁷¹ Lebeuf was doubtless repeating a local legend. Once supplied with a name, historians rushed to assign other works to him, providing what Henri Zerner has termed a "[b]el exemple de l'action fantasmagorique des historiens désireux de retrouver les 'maîtres' perdus de la Renaissance française."⁷² Thanks in large part to the work of Jacques Thuillier, Chrestien has finally been recognized as simply a canon of Auxerre, the bishop's secretary, his companion in exile, and his biographer. He may well have shared François II's love of art and artistic talent, but there is no evidence that he executed the impressive paintings with which people in Auxerre linked his name.⁷³

For many years, attention has focused on the mustached face between Aaron/François II and Guillaume de Dinteville, which peers out at the viewer. His position on the right side of the painting identifies him as an ally, supporter, and attendant of the Dinteville. He might indeed be Felix Chrestien, who accompanied the bishop to Italy. It is also possible that he is the artist who painted the picture. In 1961 Thuillier raised this possibility and noted the striking similarity between his face and a head that emerges, dramatically and bizarrely, from the pavement in the Varzy triptych (see Figure 4).⁷⁴ Both pictures, he proposed, could be the work of a single artist, whose style suggests connections with the north—ties bolstered by a Dutch inscription at the lower right of the central panel of the Varzy triptych, and he approved of the links with the Netherlandish painters Jan van Scorel and Lambert Lombard that Charles Sterling suggested in 1955.⁷⁵ In 1984 J. Bruyn observed in the Varzy triptych minute depictions of the arms of Haarlem and its guild of Saint Luke, and he identified the Dutch inscription as a citation from a psalm. He hypothesized that the man who painted the Varzy triptych and *Moses and Aaron* was the Haarlem artist Bartholomeus Pons, who visited Rome before 1518. Bruyn also raised the possibility that other works associated with the Dinteville family were created, if not by Pons himself, at least by a group of artists active in Auxerre during François II's episcopate.⁷⁶ Bruyn's hypothesis remains unproven, but it still seems likely that a northern artist is responsible for both the triptych and *Moses and Aaron*.⁷⁷ Since the triptych bears the date 1535 and an inscription stating that it was presented to the church of Varzy in 1537, this would mean that the Dinteville family stayed in contact with the artist while three brothers were in Italy—always presuming that the painting was executed while they were there. It would also mean that the artist fulfilled their commission in Italy, or that, working in France, he executed instructions he received from Jean or François II. The striking lack of differentiation among the features of the four brothers indeed suggests that the artist was not working from life when he painted the different heads.

The likelihood that François II de Dinteville commissioned and directed the creation of *Moses and Aaron* is strengthened by its ultimate disposition. An inventory of Polisy, prepared in January 1589 soon after the death of Guillaume de Dinteville's widow, shows that at that time the painting was hung over

the fireplace in "the room called the chamber of the late bishop of Auxerre." This was clearly the apartment the bishop had occupied at Polisy, which seems to be one of the new rooms that Jean de Dinteville added to the château in the 1540s.⁷⁸ The room was fitted out with walnut table and dresser and a large painted and gilded wooden bed. Besides the painting, which the inventory said recounted "the story of Pharaoh king of Egypt," the only other decoration in the room was a smaller painting depicting "the story of the adulterous woman, with a small taffeta curtain."⁷⁹ The flooring was probably a handsome tile pavement (parts of which were drawn and published in 1861). Dated 1545, the tiles were richly adorned with François II's episcopal arms, his motto (in Greek as well as Latin), weapons antique and modern, and female figures representing a number of virtues, including Spes, fides, and Charitas (see Figure 6).⁸⁰ It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that *Moses and Aaron* was hung at Polisy after François II's death on September 27, 1554. However, the fact that the bishop had an apartment at Polisy, and that a tile floor decorated with his episcopal arms was installed at the château, suggests to me that François II considered Polisy his home, and that from the time of its completion or (if it was painted in Italy) shortly thereafter, *Moses and Aaron* hung in his private rooms.⁸¹

By 1589, if not before, *Moses and Aaron* was displayed quite differently from *The Ambassadors*, which was hung in the upper great hall. There the latter painting was displayed as a public, family picture, in 1589 thought to represent Jean and François II de Dinteville.⁸² Containing as it did representations of four Dinteville brothers, *Moses and Aaron* was a more authentic family painting than *The Ambassadors*. Yet the context in which the brothers appeared made the work a bitter reminder of an episode in the family's history that was better forgotten. The audacity of its message and the boldness with which it exalted two of the Dinteville brothers as Old Testament patriarchs and denigrated the ruler by presenting him as the tyrannical Pharaoh made the painting potentially subversive and dangerous.⁸³ The victory François II de Dinteville achieved over Pierre de Mareuil in 1551 had confirmed and validated the hopes expressed in the picture. After he and his brothers died, however, it lost whatever talismanic power it had possessed, and soon came to be viewed not as an allegory of their sufferings and exile, but rather as "the story of Pharaoh, king of Egypt."

Appendix

THE ALLEGED PORTRAIT OF JEAN DE DINTEVILLE AS SAINT GEORGE, ATTRIBUTED TO PRIMATICCIO

A sixteenth-century portrait of a young warrior who has slain a horrible beast has for more than forty years been identified as a portrait of Jean de Dinteville as Saint George (Figure 9). Because of its style, the work has been attributed to Francesco Primaticcio

(1504–70). On account of the resemblance perceived between the face of the warrior and the features of Jean de Dinteville, it has been dated to the mid-1540s because Primaticcio is known to have been at the château of Polisy on December 15, 1544.⁸⁴



Figure 9. *Portrait of a Young Warrior as Saint George*, ca. 1550. Oil on canvas, 163.8 x 119.4 cm. The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Collection Foundation (photo: The Barbara Piasecka Johnson Collection Foundation)

To the best of my knowledge, the first identification and attribution was made in 1955, when the painting, then with Georges Wildenstein, was displayed in Amsterdam at an exhibition entitled “Le triomphe du maniérisme européen de Michel-Ange au Gréco.”⁸⁵ Although Charles Sterling has been credited with suggesting the attribution and identification, his name does not appear in the entry in the exhibition catalogue. Five years later, in 1960, Sylvie Béguin acknowledged Sterling’s counsel when she accepted the work as Primaticcio’s, connected it with Jean de Dinteville, and suggested that it had once been displayed at Polisy.⁸⁶ Sterling’s hypotheses were henceforth accepted. In 1963, dating the picture 1544, John Pope-Hennessy endorsed them.⁸⁷ In 1970 Georg Kauffmann agreed with the identification and dated the picture 1544–55.⁸⁸ In 1972 Carlo Ragghianti and in 1974 Brigitte Walbe followed suit and dated the painting 1544.⁸⁹ In the catalogue of the exhibition centered on *The Ambassadors* (1997), Susan Foister accepted this identification, said that the picture “is attributed” to Primaticcio, and suggested that it “probably dates from the mid-1540s.”⁹⁰

In the notice concerning the painting in the catalogue of the exhibition of armor by the Negroli family and their contemporaries (1998), Stuart W. Pyhrr and José-A. Godoy identified the picture as “Jean de Dinteville as Saint George,” attributed it to Francesco Primaticcio, and dated it ca. 1550, although they noted the problems posed by these positions, and the questions that have been raised regarding the identity of the subject and the artist, and the date of the portrait.⁹¹

The date Pyhrr and Godoy assign to the painting may have been influenced by a suggestion that Ian Wardropper made in 1981. Although he endorsed the identification Sterling had proposed for the painting and believed it likely that Primaticcio had executed it, Wardropper proposed connecting it with a letter Primaticcio wrote to François II de Dinteville in 1551/52, in which he mentioned a portrait of Jean de Dinteville he was completing (which I shall discuss below).⁹² Four years later Wardropper seems to have doubted the attribution to Primaticcio, since he raised the possibility that Domenico del Barbieri might have painted the portrait, which he still identified as one of Jean de Dinteville.⁹³

Despite the general approval they have been accorded, it seems doubtful that Sterling’s hypothe-

ses should continue to be accepted. In a conversation with me on July 13, 1994, Sylvie Béguin said she now rejects the attribution and identification she endorsed in 1960. In 1996, Henri Zerner flatly repudiated the attribution of the portrait to Primaticcio (which he said depends solely on the authority of Charles Sterling) and suggested that the picture might be the work of Luca Penni (1501/4–1556). He noted that the young warrior lacks the singular red beard that was one of Jean’s most distinctive characteristics, which “aucun portraitiste n’aurait négligé.”⁹⁴

As to Primaticcio’s relationship with the Dinteville family, there is no question that members of the family knew the painter over a period of almost a decade. Unfortunately, however, there is little information about the nature of their relationship, or what if any work he did for them at Polisy. He may have been involved with remodeling the château when he was at Polisy in December 1544, but he may equally well have been visiting. Further, as Thuillier long ago pointed out,⁹⁵ there is no reason to privilege the year 1544 in discussing Primaticcio and the Dinteville family, since he remained in contact with them—as a letter that he wrote on March 11, 1551, or 1552, to the bishop of Auxerre, then in Paris, demonstrates.⁹⁶ In the letter, Primaticcio told the bishop that “according to what he [the bishop] would write to the said lieutenant [Jean de Dinteville, *bailli* of Troyes], he would draw him [the *bailli*] for the cardinal of Guise and would color it with his hand so that [the bishop] would find it less ugly than the first.”⁹⁷ Thus Primaticcio had drawn one portrait of the *bailli* (which was considered ugly) and was awaiting instructions regarding another one, which was destined for the cardinal of Guise.⁹⁸ The portrait for the cardinal was apparently in process of completion, and he was coloring it himself (rather than leaving this to an assistant, as may have happened in the case of the first likeness). Henri Zerner has suggested that the portrait referred to in the letter may have been a watercolor.⁹⁹ This may be the case. If Primaticcio had been referring to a picture as elaborate as the one that has been identified as Saint George, he would in all likelihood have said more about it. Although the precise nature of the work Primaticcio was doing is necessarily conjectural, the letter at least shows that Primaticcio himself executed more than a single portrait of Jean de Dinteville and was familiar enough with the *bailli*’s features (and doubtless had made enough sketches of them) to be able to work on a likeness even in

Dinteville's absence. None of the communications between Primaticcio and the Dinteville family, however, provides any grounds for assuming that Primaticcio executed the portrait of the young warrior, or that this picture depicts Jean de Dinteville.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For help and advice in preparing this article, I should like to thank Marie-Noëlle Baudouin-Matuszek, Suzanne Boorsch, Alan Bernstein, JoAnne Bernstein, Michael Camille, Susan Foister, Pierre Janin, Meredith Parsons Lillich, Myra Dickman Orth, the late Nancy Batson Nisbet Rash, Marc Smith, Alfred Soman, Patricia Danz Stirnemann, and Martin Wyld. Richard C. Famiglietti has been especially generous and has provided me with invaluable documentation and suggestions. I appreciate as well the hospitality and counsel given me by members of the staff of the Department of European Paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and especially Véronique Dulac, Mary Sprinson de Jesús, Walter Liedtke, and Laura Lingle.

ABBREVIATIONS

AN Paris, Archives Nationales
BIF Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France
BNF Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

NOTES

1. Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, "Les institutions françaises du Moyen Age vues à travers les institutions de l'antiquité romaine," *Revue historique* 171, 58th year (1933), pp. 281–98. Françoise Bardon discusses the political function of mythological portraits and comments on its "slow but steady evolution" from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, in *Le portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII: Mythologie et politique* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1974), esp. pp. 1–3.
2. Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire. Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Macula, 1987), pp. 279–81; in the introduction, Marc Fumaroli discusses sixteenth-century attitudes to the reincarnation of past heroes, *ibid.*, pp. 11, 17, 19. Myra Dickman Orth has kindly pointed out to me that a book of hours owned by Catherine de Médicis (BNF, n. acq. lat. 82, fol. 152r–v) contains two depictions of Francis I as David; see also Claude d'Espence, *Institution d'un*

Prince Chrestien (Paris: n.p., 1548), fol. 30r (Francis I as "un second Daud"). Aryeh Grabois studies the French appropriation of the image of David during the Middle Ages, in "Un mythe fondamental de l'histoire de France au Moyen Age: Le 'roi David,' précurseur du 'roi très chrétien,'" *Revue historique* 287, 116th year, 581 (1992), pp. 11–31. Cf. Guillaume de Saint-Denis's description of Abbot Suger as "Cæsar animo, sermone Cicero," in Suger, *Œuvres complètes recueillies, annotées, et publiées d'après les manuscrits*, ed. A. Lecoy de La Marche (Paris, 1867; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1979), p. 388. The most popular office for Saint Louis, composed before 1306, described the king as "another Solomon" (*velut alter Salomon*), "another Tobias" (*velut alter Tobias*), "another David" (*velut alter David*), "another Jeremiah" (*tanquam alter Ieremias*), "like Phineas" (*tanquam Finees*), "another Eleazar" (*velut alter Eleazarus*), and "another Matathias" (*velut alter Mathathias*); one of the hymns in the office (*Regem regum veneremur*) represents him as "Vultum habens David regis, / Ezechiel zelum legis / Et Iosye studium," in Albanus Heyse, "Antiquissimum officium liturgicum S. Ludovici regis," *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 10 (1917), pp. 559–75; Marcy J. Epstein, "Ludovicus decus regnantium: Perspectives on the Rhymed Office," *Speculum* 53 (1978), pp. 283–334. See also Sylvia Menache, "Faith, Myth, and Politics—The Stereotype of the Jews and Their Expulsion from England and France," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 75 (1985), pp. 351–74 (Edward III as David; Philip VI as Saul).

3. Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, pp. 236–41, figs. 96–101; Janet Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercator and Harry N. Abrams, 1995), pp. 3–25 (a wide-ranging collection of images of Francis I in which he is endowed with antique and early-Christian identities), and pp. 194–95, esp. figs. 203–5 (Francis I portrayed by Raphael as Charlemagne); Cécile Scaillièrez, *François I^{er} par Clouet*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996), pp. 19–34, esp. p. 25, fig. 5, and p. 93, fig. 56 (Francis I as Saint John the Baptist). See also Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, pp. 131, 140, 216 (Louise of Savoy's references in her *Journal* to her son as "mon César," and in connection with Marignano, as "glorieux et triomphant second César Subjugateur des Helvétiens"). See also "Journal de Louise de Savoye, duchesse d'Angoulême, d'Anjou et de Valois, mère du grand roi François premier," in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires*, ed. Joseph-François Michaud et al. (Paris: Didier, 1854–57), vol. 5, p. 87 ("mon César pacifique," "mon César et mon fils"), p. 90. On the *Journal*, see Myra Dickman Orth, "Francis Du Moulin and the *Journal* of Louise of Savoy," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 13 (1982), pp. 55–66, esp. pp. 60–61. In *François I^{er} imaginaire*, pp. 315–23, Lecoq discusses a manuscript honoring the king's victory at Marignano in which he is presented as a new Constantine, conquering under the standard of the Cross. Writing of the battle in dedicating the presentation manuscript of his translation of Cicero's orations to Francis I, Étienne le Blanc recalled the "gestes et haultz faitz" of Alexander the Great, the beauty and benignity of Artaxerxes, Trajan's goodness, Titus's grace, and Augustus's felicity. He compared Francis I's triumph at Marignano to those of Hannibal over the Romans, of Scipio Africanus over Hannibal, and of Alexander the Great. He called the king's commanders "voz plus que Scipions et Camilles," forced by their merciful monarch to retreat and cease slaughtering their defeated foes:

BNF, fr. 1738, fols. 2v–3r, 4v; Léopold Delisle, “Traductions d’auteurs grecs et latins offertes à François I^{er} et à Anne de Montmorency par Étienne Le Blanc et Antoine Macault,” *Journal des Savants*, 1900, p. 487 n. 1 (continued from p. 486).

4. On this painting, see Jacques Thuillier, “Études sur le cercle des Dinteville. I. L’énigme de Félix Chrestien,” *Art de France. Revue annuelle de l’art ancien et moderne* 1 (1961), pp. 64–65; and M[arguerite] G[uillaume], “La Lapidation de saint Étienne,” in eadem et al., *La peinture en Bourgogne au XVI^e siècle*, exh. cat. (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1990), pp. 117–19, no. 31.
5. Henri Zerner, *École de Fontainebleau. Gravures* (Paris: Arts et Métiers graphiques, 1969); English ed., *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings*, trans. Stanley Baron (New York: Harry N. Abrams, [1969?]), section on Domenico del Barbieri (“D.B.”), no. 2 (suggesting that the engraving may be based on a painting by Domenico del Barbieri or by Primaticcio, and noting that the composition’s source is a Genoese altarpiece created by Giulio Romano); idem, *L’art de la Renaissance en France. L’invention du classicisme* (Paris: Flammarion, 1996), p. 222; cf. Susan Foister, in eadem, Ashok Roy, and Martin Wyld, *Making and Meaning: Holbein’s Ambassadors*, exh. cat. (London: National Gallery Publications, 1997), pp. 22–23, esp. fig. 12 (reproducing the engraving and, citing Zerner, *School of Fontainebleau*, noting that “it may be based on a lost altarpiece, for one of the Bishop’s churches”). Ian Wardropper discusses the engraving in his *The Sculpture and Prints of Domenico del Barbieri*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1985 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1985), pp. 8, 30–32, 42–44, 97–100 (suggesting a date ca. 1538, which seems to me unlikely).

Critical to understanding the relationship between Domenico del Barbieri and the Dinteville family is a letter the Italian wrote the bishop of Auxerre (then at his episcopal palace at Régennes) from Troyes on July 10, a Monday: BNF, Dupuy 728, fol. 182r–v; see Wardropper, *Domenico del Barbieri*, p. 322, doc. 9 (taking the text of the letter from Raymond Koechlin and Jean-Joseph Marquet de Vasselot, *La sculpture à Troyes et dans la Champagne méridionale. Étude sur la transition de l’art gothique à l’italianisme* [Paris, 1900; reprint, Paris: Réimpression F. de Nobele, 1966], p. 293 n. 2); cf. Wardropper, *Domenico del Barbieri*, p. 98, where he describes the letter as undated. In the letter, Domenico said that he had received a “poutrait” from the bishop and would prepare one according to the dimensions the bishop had given; he also raised the question of an altarpiece the bishop apparently wanted him to design or create for the abbey of Montiéramey, which he said he would be happy to do; finally, he mentioned letters that had been dispatched and witnesses that had been sent.

Since July 10 fell on a Monday in the year the letter was written, the only years when this could have happened before the bishop’s death in 1554 are 1536 (two years before the bishop acquired Montiéramey and hence impossible), 1542, and 1553. The letter may date from 1542, shortly after the bishop was received back into the king’s favor and relinquished Montier-la-Celle to Pierre de Mareuil; the bishop seems to have stayed at his residence in Régennes before he reentered Auxerre in triumph on July 16, 1542. Domenico was at Polisy with Hubert Juliot, a well-known artist of Troyes, and Primaticcio, on December 15, 1544: Troyes, Archives départementales de l’Aube, G 66 (register of ecclesiastical *insinuations* under Antonio Caraccioli of

Melfi, bishop of Troyes, November 17, 1554–April 10, 1555), fol. 133r–v (procuration issued by Primaticcio to Jean Thienot, priest of Troyes, at Polisy on December 15, 1544, in the presence of “honorabilibus [sic] viris Huberto Iulliot et Dominico florentin testibus”; presented by Thienot on April 6, 1555); see Albert Babeau, “Dominique Florentin, sculpteur du seizième siècle,” *Ministère de l’Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts. Réunion des Sociétés savantes des départements à la Sorbonne du 4 au 7 avril 1877. Section des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: E. Plon et C^{ie}, 1877), pp. 108–41, esp. p. 129 n. 2; Louis Dimier, “Le Primaticcio, 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” (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris, 1900), pp. 83, 382–83; Mary F. S. Hervey, *Holbein’s “Ambassadors”: The Picture and the Men* (London, 1900; reprint, Reading: Poynder and Son, Holybrook Press, 1923), p. 128; Thuillier, “Études,” p. 73; Wardropper, *Domenico del Barbieri*, pp. 99–100; Jean Lebeuf, *Mémoires concernant l’histoire civile et ecclésiastique d’Auxerre et de son ancien diocèse continués jusqu’à nos jours*, ed. Ambroise Challe and Maximilien Quantin (Auxerre, 1848–55; reprint, Marseille: Lafitte, 1978), vol. 2, pp. 125–26; René Louis and Charles Porée, *Le domaine de Régennes et Appoigny: Histoire d’une seigneurie des évêques d’Auxerre du V^e siècle à la Révolution* (Auxerre: Éditions Dionysiae, 1939), p. 127.

The year 1553 is also a distinct possibility for the letter. The bishop’s obituary at Montiéramey, listed in the necrology under August 22, stated that he “ecclesiam sedilibus, columnis æreis, necnon pretiosis ornamentis decoravit 1554”; the date 1554 doubtless refers to the year of his death (which in fact occurred on September 27, 1554), but the placement of the date in the obituary may indicate that his efforts to decorate the church were concentrated toward the end of his life: Denis de Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa . . .* (Paris: Victor Palmé et al., 1739–1877), vol. 12, pp. 561 and 336 (for the date of his death, confirmed by his secretary and biographer Felix Chrestien, in the life he completed in 1566 for the composite *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, in *Novæ Bibliothecæ Manuscript. Librorum Tomus Primus [et Secundus]*, ed. Philippe Labbe [Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1657], vol. 1, p. 520; on the Life, see Thuillier, “Études,” esp. pp. 58–62; for the date, see Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 [12] [the original *Gesta*], pp. 337–38). See also Françoise Bonnin-Jestaz, “François de Dinteville, évêque d’Auxerre et ambassadeur de François I^{er} à Rome (1498–1554)” (thesis, École nationale des chartes, Paris, 1966; AN, AB / XXVIII / 69), pp. 181–82 (dating the choir stalls of Montiéramey to 1550).

6. On the triptych, which bears the date 1535, see Thuillier, “Études,” pp. 65–70 (although I do not perceive the resemblances to the bishop’s three brothers that Thuillier suggests, *ibid.*, p. 69), and L[ouis] F[rank], “Triptyque. *La Légende de sainte Eugénie*,” in Guillaume et al., *La peinture en Bourgogne*, pp. 108–9, no. 26. An examination of the Varzy triptych carried out at the Louvre in 1964 revealed the changes that the artist made as he painted the heads of the figures, which suggests that they may be portraits taken from life; see Andrée Jouan, “École Hollandaise, Pseudo Félix Chrestien. *Retable de sainte Eugénie*, panneau central, Église de Varzy,” *Bulletin du Laboratoire du Musée du Louvre* 10 (1965), pp. 60–63.

- In 1971 the Louvre acquired a painting of the head and shoulders of a man wearing an antique robe which seems close in style to the allegorical canvas and the triptych of Varzy: Michel Laclotte, "Nouvelles présentations. Musée du Louvre. Nouvelles salles au Département des peintures," *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 22 (1972), pp. 58 (fig. 2), 62.
7. The Metropolitan Museum acquired the painting in 1950 (acc. no. 50.70). Mary Sprinson de Jesús gives a complete provenance in *From Van Eyck to Bruegel: Early Netherlandish Painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat. (New York: MMA, 1998), cat. no. 43, pp. 200–201.
 8. On this painting, see Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* and also Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*. Note too the Clouet drawing of Jean de Dinteville, identified by Mary F. S. Hervey, "A Portrait of Jean de Dinteville, one of Holbein's Ambassadors," *Burlington Magazine* 5 (1904), pp. 412–13. Reproduced in John Rowlands, *Holbein: The Paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger, Complete Edition* (Boston: David R. Godine; London: Phaidon Press, 1985), p. 86, fig. 16; and in Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 23, fig. 13; see also Raoul de Broglie, "Les Clouet de Chantilly. Catalogue illustré," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 77 (May–June 1971), p. 275, no. 33 (where the subject of the drawing is described as "inconnu").

For the motto, see Cicero, letter to L. Munatius Plancus (44 B.C.), *Epistulae ad familiares*, 10.3 ("Omnia summa consecutus es virtute duce, comite fortuna"). Sylvie Pressouyre discusses the motto's association with, among others, Francis I, Giuliano II de' Medici, and Anne de Montmorency, in "L'emblème du naufrage à la Galerie François I^{er}," in *Actes du Colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau. Fontainebleau et Paris*, 18, 19, 20 octobre 1972, ed. André Chastel (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), pp. 134, 138 nn. 34–36.

 9. In 1961, Thuillier ("Études," pp. 62 n. 35, 63 n. 44) wisely cautioned against assuming that *Moses and Aaron* was "directement conçu comme un pendant aux *Ambassadeurs*." Thuillier thought that the bishop commissioned the picture and probably kept it himself, but, as will be seen, in all likelihood it was hung from the beginning in the bishop's chambers at Polisy.

Two years later Thuillier's views seem to have changed: see Albert Châtelet and Jacques Thuillier, *French Painting from Fouquet to Poussin* (New York: Skira, 1963), p. 113 ("This painting was probably intended by its first owner, Cardinal [sic] de Dinteville, Bishop of Auxerre, or by his brother, to serve as a companion piece to Holbein's famous *Ambassadors*"); and also Charles Sterling, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: A Catalogue of French Paintings, XV–XVIII Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 46 (for the painting's provenance, see pp. 46–47); Georg Kauffmann, *Die Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1970), vol. 8, p. 189, no. 61a; Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), pp. 114–16, esp. p. 114 ("This was commissioned in 1537... probably to hang as a pendant to Holbein's 'Ambassadors'"). Susan Foister suggests (in *Making and Meaning*, p. 25) that "[a]lthough the *Moses and Aaron* was painted four years after *The Ambassadors*, it would seem possible that it was designed to match the earlier picture in some way; the two pictures seem to have been regarded as a pair in the eighteenth century." For the eighteenth century, see Olivier

Bonfait, "Les collections des parlementaires parisiens du XVIII^e siècle," *Revue de l'Art* 73 (1986), pp. 28–42; for what was probably their original disposition, see below at note 78.

The artist responsible for the MMA's painting may well have seen and been influenced by Holbein's work. Like the later picture, Holbein's painting gives the ages of both his subjects (ÆT. SVÆ 29, on Dinteville's dagger; ÆTATIS SVE 25, on the leaves of the book on which Selve's arm rests). More important, like *Moses and Aaron*, Holbein's painting contains rebuses and conundrums that continue to prompt conjecture. See Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, passim, and Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* esp. pp. 7, 201, 202, 205, 206.

10. Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 11, esp. fig. 2.
11. In 1911 Mary F. S. Hervey and Robert Martin-Holland dated the painting 1537 and connected it with attempts of Francis I's mistress Anne de Pisseleu, duchess of Étampes, to secure the bishopric of Auxerre for her confidant Pierre de Mareuil (who was named administrator of Auxerre on April 19, 1539, after François II de Dinteville left France, and who became bishop of Lavaur following the death of Georges de Selve in 1541): "A Forgotten French Painter: Félix Chrétien," *Burlington Magazine* 19 (1911), p. 53. In 1955 Charles Sterling (*MMA Catalogue*, p. 46); and in 1963 John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1963, no. 12; Bollingen series, no. 35 (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1966), p. 250, endorsed their hypothesis. However, there appears to be no evidence whatsoever that the duchess had any such specific plans for elevating Mareuil before the Dinteville brothers fled from France in 1538 and 1539 (for which see below).

In 1955 the editors of the exhibition catalogue, *Le triomphe du maniérisme européen de Michel-Ange au Gréco* (exh. cat. [Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1955], cat. no. 101, pp. 86–87, "Portrait de Jean de Dinteville en saint Georges," for which see fig. 18) simply said that the painting (which they assigned to Felix Chrestien and dated 1537) "fait allusion aux déboires politiques de [la] famille," remarking that intrigues at court forced "plusieurs frères Dinteville" to go into exile in Italy between 1539 and 1542.

Writing in 1961, Thuillier was equally guarded, stating ("Études," pp. 58, 63 esp. n. 41) that the painting must allude to some episode in the brothers' history other than their exile in 1538, perhaps the sudden death of the dauphin in 1536, perhaps jealousy occasioned by their power and their attachment to the king's son Henri; Thuillier suggested that it might commemorate "le triomphe des quatre frères sur un parti rival." The Egyptian "mage," he believes, may not have been portrayed "pour éviter que l'on y puisse reconnaître, justement ou non, quelque ennemi des Dinteville"—although it is in fact Pharaoh himself, not the magicians at his court, whom the Bible depicts as the foe of Moses and Aaron.

Taking a similar tack, Katharine Baetjer proposed in 1977 that the painting alluded "to a political contretemps, in the course of which the Dinteville brothers fell from royal favor," and noted that "they were in fact obliged to go into exile two years after the painting was painted": "Pleasures and Problems of Early French Painting," *Apollo* 106 (1977), p. 347.

Convinced like the others that the canvas was painted in 1537, Brigitte Walbe warned in 1974 that it must not be interpreted in light of later events and suggested that it was commis-

sioned "in einem Moment der Beruhigung," when the bishop of Auxerre hoped that he no longer had any reason to fear banishment, at a moment when fate was smiling on him and demonstrating that Fortune truly accompanies Virtue: "Studien zur Entwicklung des allegorischen Porträts in Frankreich von seinen Anfängen bis zur Regierungszeit König Heinrichs II." (Diss., Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe Universität, Frankfurt, 1974), pp. 99–102. The canvas, she believes, shows the results of Moses' (i.e., Jean's) intervention with the king on his brother Aaron's (i.e., François II's) behalf. Because of the favor Jean/Moses enjoyed at court, this intercession has succeeded, and the king is bestowing his favor (*Gnade*) on François II/Aaron and accepting the justification Jean/Moses has offered for his actions. The painting's patron, she suggests, would prudently have refrained from having "die falschen Propheten" depicted, and alone of the figures in the picture Pharaoh would not have the features of the person he represents. Walbe wonders if "the crisis" might have been religious in origin, noting that the verse from Genesis inscribed on Aaron's miter was one dear to Luther and recalling the religious symbols and objects in Holbein's *Ambassadors* (discussed by Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* pp. 219–22, 233–35; Michael Levey, *National Gallery Catalogues: The German School* [London: National Gallery, 1959], pp. 47–52, no. 1413; see also Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait*, pp. 248–50; and Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, pp. 40–42). Walbe sees Jean de Dinteville's intervention for his brother in 1542 as a *second* instance of his successful intermediation between the king and the bishop of Auxerre. There is, however, no evidence that Jean de Dinteville interceded with the king for his brother the bishop in 1537—or earlier, during the bishop's time of troubles in 1531 (for which see below). More important, the Book of Exodus shows that Moses, far from trying to secure Pharaoh's favor for Aaron, presented a united front with Aaron in demanding the Israelites' release. Note too that neither Moses nor any of the other Israelites enjoyed the grace of the inimical king of Egypt who had replaced the ruler whose daughter had adopted Moses (Exod. 2:23). Moses himself had fled from Egypt to Midian after slaying an Egyptian, and he returned to help his people only after God commanded him to do so (Exod. 2:11–15, 3:9–10).

Most recently, Foister (in *Making and Meaning*, p. 25) (who believes the picture was painted "four years after *The Ambassadors*," hence in 1537) notes that "the exile of the Dinteville family took place only after the date of this painting," but says that "the picture may be intended to reflect the family's troubles, which had certainly begun before 1537." Foister does not elaborate on the nature of these troubles.

To the best of my knowledge, Kauffmann alone (*Kunst*, p. 189, no. 61a) has questioned the wisdom of accepting 1537 as the date when the picture was painted. Writing in 1970, he conveyed skepticism about the date by enclosing it in quotation marks, but he did not discuss the issue. He connected the canvas, generally, with the intrigues of the duchess of Étampes and suggested that the Dinteville family used the biblical exemplum "um ihre Rechte zu verteidigen."

12. I discuss this question at greater length below. Suffice it to say for the moment that the identification of Pharaoh as Henry VIII between 1910 and 1948 provides further evidence of the ambiguity of the portrayal: see Thuillier, "Études," pp. 62–63

esp. nn. 27, 28. In *François I^{er} par Clouet* (p. 45, figs. 16, 17), Scaillièrez presents miniatures of Francis I and Henry VIII, which she discusses on pp. 44–47. For other portraits of Henry VIII, see Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 19, figs. 8, 9.

13. See the illustrations from Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder's pattern book, published in 1537 and later, in Stuart W. Pyhrr and José-A. Godoy, with Silvio Leydi, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and His Contemporaries*, exh. cat. (New York: MMA, 1998), pp. 104–5, no. 14; the pageant armor in Filippo Orsoni's *Album of Designs* (ca. 1540–59), *ibid.*, pp. 105–10, no. 15 (esp. the knight shown on p. 108); and the armor *alla romana* made by Bartolomeo Campi in 1546 for Guidobaldo II della Rovere, duke of Urbino, *ibid.*, pp. 278–84, no. 54.
14. This picture was in the possession of Sidney F. Sabin in London in 1954; it was reproduced in conjunction with an anonymous notice (perhaps by H. S. Reid) in *The Connoisseur* 133 (1954), p. 146. The entry (*ibid.*, p. 193) proposes connecting the work with the same crisis in the fortunes of the Dinteville family to which I propose *Moses and Aaron* relates, but the arguments presented to connect the two pictures seem to me weak, since the painting lacks any of the heraldic and emblematic references to the Dinteville family found in most of the other works they commissioned. Nor does the soldier carrying the child have the red beard and black hair that characterized Jean de Dinteville and his brothers: cf. the comments of Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, p. 134, and also Thuillier, "Études," p. 70, n. 71. The youthful Solomon bears some resemblance to the dauphin Henri, and the soldier carrying the sword to his brother Charles, but, as will be seen, Henri was powerless to intervene to help the Dinteville brothers until after the death of Francis I, and hence the painting's relevance to the family's situation is tenuous. For a portrait of Henri ca. 1535, see Broglie, "Les Clouet de Chantilly," p. 289, no. 116; and Louis Dimier, *Histoire de la peinture de portrait en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire; Brussels: G. van Oest, 1924–26), vol. 1, pl. 15 (facing p. 44) (here dated 1541). Nonetheless, whether the painting is connected with the Dinteville family or not, both Solomon's costume and his pose are reminiscent of those of Pharaoh in the MMA's painting.
15. Turin, Armeria Reale, Var. 212 (the presentation copy of Guillaume du Choul's *Livre des antiquitez romaines* for Francis I), fol. 1v (presentation miniature). David Lindstron of the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities kindly provided me with photocopies of the Turin MS. The miniature is reproduced in Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, p. 371, fig. 404. On Du Choul and his book, see *ibid.*, pp. 105, 371; Richard A. Cooper, "Humanistes et antiquaires à Lyon," in *Il Rinascimento a Lione*, ed. Antonio Possenti and Giulia Mas-trangelo, Atti del Congresso Internazionale, 1985, Università degli Studi di Macerata, vol. 44 (Rome: Ateneo-Roma, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 170–71; *idem*, "Collectors of Coins and Numismatic Scholarship in Renaissance France," in *Coins and Medals from Budé to Mommsen*, ed. M. H. Crawford et al., Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, vol. 21 (London: Warburg Institute, 1990), pp. 11 and 15 (where Cooper misleadingly suggests that the book was finished in 1536); and Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor*, pp. 111–12, no. 16. Discussing the Emperor Claudius (r. 41–54), Du Choul presented the text of the emperor's speech on

the admission of the Gauls to the Senate, which, Du Choul reported, “cest trouuee depuis dix ans a lyon escripte en deux tables de bronze en lettres maiusculs romaines”: Turin, Armeria Reale, Var. 212, fols. 81v–82v. This reference permits Du Choul’s book (although not necessarily the presentation copy) to be dated ca. 1538, since the Claudian Table was discovered in Lyon in November 1528, purchased by the city by March 12, 1529, and formally installed by the end of January 1530: Philippe Fabia, *La Table Claudienne de Lyon* (Lyon: M. Audin, 1929), pp. 13–15, 21–22. Hence, if Du Choul is referring to the original discovery of the Table, he was writing in 1538. This date is confirmed by Estienne Dolet’s reference to Du Choul’s book in his poem “De Romanis Imaginibus à Gulielmo Caulio cive Lugdunensi Collectis,” which must have been completed by May 1538: see his *Carminum libri quatuor* (Lyon: Estienne Dolet and Sebastianus Gryphius, 1538), p. 99 (book 2, *Carmen XLIX*); for the date, see the dedications to books 2–4, *ibid.*, pp. 58, 110, 152. Dolet also mentioned Du Choul’s book in the second volume of his *Commentariorum linguae latinae tom[i]* (Lyon: Sebastianus Gryphius, 1536–38/39), vol. 2, pp. 1516–17 (“Gulielmi Caulii Ciuis Lugdun. laudes silentio non præteribo, qui opus de antiquorum imperatorum imaginibus conscripsit”). The dedication of the second volume (to Francis I) is dated at Lyon, on the kalends of February (February 1) 1538, presumably 1539 by the new style of dating. Compare the closely related medal designed by Matteo del Nassaro, in Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, p. 16, fig. 24. The date of the medal is uncertain. It may have been struck to commemorate the truce of Nice, concluded between Francis I and Charles V on June 18, 1538, in which case the presentation miniature in Du Choul’s book may depend on it. On the other hand, if the medal was executed later, its designer may have known the miniature. See H. de La Tour, “Matteo del Nassaro, Pl. XIII,” *Revue numismatique*, ser. 3, 11 (1893), pp. 552–57, no. 5 (esp. p. 556); and George Francis Hill, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art; Based on the Catalogue of Renaissance Medals in the Gustave Dreyfus Collection*, ed. Graham Pollard (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), p. 102, no. 535.

16. See pl. 3 (“vue d’ensemble”) accompanying the article by Eugène Le Brun-Dalbanne, “Art céramique” (separately paginated) in *Portefeuille archéologique de la Champagne*, ed. Alfred Gaussen (Bar-sur-Aube: M^{me} Jardeaux-Ray, 1861).
17. The story is related in Exod., chs. 3–12. Especially significant are Exod. 3:8–10, 19–22; 4:21–23; 6:1; 7:3–5, 13–14, 22; 8:15, 32; 9:7, 12, 34–35; 10:1, 20, 27; 11:1, 9–10; 12:31–35; for Aaron’s relationship to Moses, see Exod. 4:14–17, 29–31; 6:26–27; 7:1, 7.
18. Gen. 15:6.
19. Gen. 12; see also Gen. 17:5, for God’s renaming of Abram.
20. I discuss the changes in the Dinteville arms and motto effected by François II de Dinteville to distinguish himself and his commissions from those of François I de Dinteville, his uncle and predecessor as bishop of Auxerre, in “Les Heures dites de Henri II et les Heures de Dinteville,” in the proceedings of the colloquium “Henri II et les arts,” held at the Louvre and the Musée national de la Renaissance at Écouen on September 25–27, 1997 (forthcoming).

A manuscript I discuss there as a possible exception to the rule I propose (Cambridge, Mass., Houghton Library, MS

Typ. 124) was in fact commissioned by François I de Dinteville for presentation to the house of Montier-en-Der, and later, in 1545, given to the monastery of Montiéramey by François II de Dinteville; see *ibid.*, fols. 1r and 146r (and the cover), for the Dinteville arms with eighteen billets; the manuscript is closely related to BNF, lat. 9446, a missal commissioned by François I de Dinteville for the cathedral of Auxerre, which contains many representations of the Dinteville arms with eighteen billets.

21. Le Père Anselme de la Vierge Marie [Pierre Guibours], *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France* . . . , 3rd ed., ed. Honoré Caille, lord of Le Fourny, and les Pères Ange de Sainte Rosalie [François Raffard] and Simplicien (Paris: La Compagnie des libraires, 1726–33), vol. 4, p. 748; vol. 8, pp. 720–21.
22. Before he lost his position at court, Jean served the king’s three sons (and after the dauphin François died in 1536 the two surviving sons). The households of the dauphin Henri and Charles, duke of Orléans, were divided in 1540, and in 1542, when Jean was reinstated at the royal court, he became Charles’s *chambellan*. For the brothers’ ages and their posts, see Brown, “Heures” (forthcoming); and also *eadem*, “Sodomy, Honor, Treason, and Exile: Four Documents Concerning the Dinteville Affair (1538–1539),” in *Sociétés et idéologies des temps modernes. Hommage à Arlette Jouanna*, ed. J. Fouilheron, Guy Le Thiec, and H. Michel (Montpellier: Université Montpellier III, Paul Valéry; Centre d’histoire moderne et contemporaine de l’Europe méditerranéenne et de ses périphéries, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 511–32.
23. I am grateful to Marc Smith for reminding me of the prominence of Ionic columns on the tomb of Francis I at Saint-Denis, for which see Cox-Rearick, *Royal Collection*, p. 25, fig. 38. John Onians discusses the significance of the different orders, in *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, and the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), esp. pp. 313–14.
24. See Laurent Bourquin, *Noblesse seconde et pouvoir en Champagne aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994), pp. 37–42, 44–47, 50–58 (who seems to me to underestimate the distinctiveness of the Dinteville family, and whose work must be used with caution because of his reliance on Jean-François-Louis d’Hozier’s notices concerning members of the Order of Saint-Michel [BNF, fr. 32864–75], in which errors are mingled with reliable information); and, generally, Jean-Marie Constant, “Un groupe socio-politique stratégique dans la France de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle: la noblesse seconde,” in *L’État et les aristocraties: France, Angleterre, Écosse, XII^e–XVII^e siècle. Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Maison française d’Oxford, 26 et 27 septembre 1986*, ed. Philippe Contamine (Paris: Presses de l’École normale supérieure, 1989), pp. 280–84. Claude, father of the Dinteville brothers, and the maternal grandfather of Anne de Montmorency were cousins-german: Brigitte Bedos Rezak, *Anne de Montmorency, seigneur de la Renaissance* (Paris: Publisud, 1990), p. 343. I examine the family’s complex genealogy in detail in a forthcoming study. Suffice it to say here that the genealogies which assign to Gaucher de Dinteville and Anne du Plessis a sixth son (another Jean, called *le jeune*) seem to me in error.
25. For proceedings before the Conseil of the Parlement between May 13 and June 1, 1531, see *Preuves des Libertez de l’Eglise gallicane*, ed. Pierre Dupuy (Paris: Pierre Chevalier, 1639), issued as vol. 2 of Pierre Pithou’s *Les libertez de l’Eglise gallicane*, first pub-

- lished in 1594; the excerpts appear on pp. 163–65 (see AN, X^{1A} 1534, fols. 216r, 217r–v, 221r, 228r [May 24, not all of which is included in the ed.], 247r). The bishop's arrest was ordered on May 13, and the king's *avocat*, Guillaume Poyet, discussed the case on the same day with Chancellor Antoine du Prat and Admiral Philippe Chabot, both of whom urged that the case be pursued. The bishop went to Saint-Cloud to see the king and doubtless pleaded with him, but when Poyet saw Francis I and Anne de Montmorency on May 16, the king declared "le cas execrable" and said the court should proceed against Dinteville "roidement." Thus on May 24 the Parlement again commanded the bishop's arrest and ordered seizure of his temporalities. On June 1, on the king's instructions, the Parlement ordered interrogation of the bishop's victim, Thomas Godon. In the end, on July 6, 1531, the king intervened on behalf of the bishop, saying that he did so because "la chose nestoit si griefue / ains beaucoup moindre que ne nous auoit este Reffere et que les Informations sur ce faictes ne portoient," because the case had not been officially laid before the tribunal, and because the investigation that had prompted the bishop's arrest had been conducted by a "sergent sans commission": BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 131r–v (a copy of the royal letter of July 6, 1531, dated at Fontainebleau). A draft copy of the bishop's petition and the papal absolution, dated June 27, 1531, is in BNF, Dupuy 678, fols. 27r–28r. Francis DeCrue [de Stoutz] convincingly attributes to a discussion between Montmorency and the king on June 2 the decision to send Dinteville as ambassador to Rome: *Anne de Montmorency, grand maître et connétable de France, à la cour, aux armées et au conseil du roi François I^{er}* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1885), pp. 172–73. Following him, Hervey (*Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 55) stresses the importance of the intervention of Louise of Savoy and Anne de Montmorency on the bishop's behalf; she minimizes the gravity of Dinteville's crime. Initially, Lebeuf described the incident (*Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 118) simply as "une affaire où [la] réputation [de l'évêque] avoit été intéressée," referring to BNF, Dupuy 702, and suggesting that the incident caused the bishop to defer his departure for Rome to July 1531. A few pages later (*ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 122–23), however, Lebeuf alluded to "une autre affaire plus embarrassante," arising from the bishop's wish to "punir lui-même un chasseur qu'il avoit trouvé dans ses forêts de Varzy"—which is evidently the same incident but which he here associates with the year 1535. Cf. Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 12, p. 334 (terming the offense "crimen pessimum"). Relying on Lebeuf, Thuillier ("Études," p. 70, esp. n. 70) dates the incident ca. 1535 and suggests that it might be connected with the bishop's gift to the church of Varzy in 1537 of a triptych inscribed with the date 1535.
26. François II was accused of having "faict attacher ou attache luy mesme aux cloux contre vn posteau le Garde de ses oyseaux de proye venduz robbez ou donnez par led. Garde layant led. Euesque faict clouer ou cloue luy mesme & faict passer les clouz au trauers de la peau entre le poulce et le doigt indice des deux mains dont led. Garde auroit este mutile & estropie": BNF, Dupuy 678, fol. 27r (résumé by Nicolas Camuzat of a draft of the absolution granted by Clement VII to Dinteville on June 27, 1531; on Camuzat's relations with the Dinteville family, see Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* pp. 14–15, 18, 20, 21, 24 n. 1, 134 n. 1). The draft embodies the petition presented by Dinteville, which shows that he was also charged with complicity in the death and injuries resulting from the excessive force used by an agent of the bishop in trying to capture a fugitive monk of Montier-en-Der. Dinteville disclaimed responsibility for his agent's act, which occurred, he declared to the pope, "ipsa Creatura [vestra] absente et ignorante . . . ignorante et nesciente." The Parlement was prosecuting Dinteville only for the punishment he inflicted on his gamekeeper.
 27. Léon Dorez, "Extraits de la correspondance de François de Dinteville, ambassadeur de France à Rome (1531–1533)," *Revue des bibliothèques* 4 (1894), pp. 84–87 (selections from the correspondence of François II, preserved in BNF, Dupuy 260; letters of January 27 and April 8, 1532).
 28. BIF, Godefroy 255, fol. 19r (letter of Balavoyne, François II's agent in France, to the bishop in Rome, dated at Angers on September 6, 1532, and received in Rome twelve days later); cf. Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 60. Several months earlier, the bishop wished to give Catherine de Medicis (whose marriage to the king's son Henri the bishop was negotiating) a portrait of Henri before she left Rome for Florence: BNF, Dupuy 260, fol. 211r–v (April 30, 1532; letter of Dinteville to Montmorency).
 29. Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 9, pp. 148, 922 (an entry regarding François I de Dinteville in the necrology of Montier-en-Der, which erroneously states that the archbishop of Reims acquired the abbey as a result of the flight of Dinteville's nephew and namesake [François II] "in Angliam"); vol. 12, pp. 548, 561; Anselme, *Histoire genealogique*, vol. 2, p. 71. François II de Dinteville, bishop of Auxerre, may not have been altogether displeased by the exchange. On August 25, 1532, his agent Balavoyne had written him in Rome that Montier-en-Der that year produced only 2,600 *livres* or thereabouts, commenting "Cest trop peu": BIF, Godefroy 548, no. 6, fol. 4v. On the other hand, Dinteville's biographer Felix Chrestien presents him as successfully carrying out the reform of the house against the wishes of "plerisque Cœnobitas per uitiorum abrupta grassantes" and then being forced to exchange it because of "quorundam autem improbitatem, qui pingue, et optimum beneficium magnopere auebant": Felix Chrestien's *Life of François II, Auxerre*, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 12, pp. 335–36, edited in *Novæ Bibliotheca Manuscript. Libr[i]*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 520 (see note 5 above).
 30. "EN 8" cannot relate to François II's age in 1537, if his age is calculated in the same manner as his brothers' are in the picture. Jean, born on September 20 or 21, 1504, is said to be thirty-three in 1537; Gaucher, born on August 2, 1509, is said to be twenty-eight. Before their birthdays, Jean was thirty-two, but in his thirty-third year, Gaucher twenty-seven, but in his twenty-eighth; on their birthdays, they attained the ages of thirty-three and twenty-eight, respectively. François II was born on July 26, 1498, and was thus thirty-eight, but in his thirty-ninth year, before July 26, 1537, and became thirty-nine on that date. For the birthdays of François and Jean, see Anselme, *Histoire genealogique*, vol. 8, p. 720 (giving Jean's as September 21, found as well in the genealogy in BNF, Cabinet de d'Hozier 120 [fr. 31001], dossier 3138 [Dinteville], fol. 2r; for September 20, see BNF, Dossiers bleus 237 [fr. 29782], dossier 6085 [Dinteville], fol. 5r). The genealogies in Cabinet de d'Hozier 120 and in Dossiers bleus 237 both give Gaucher's birthdate, which Anselme omits, probably because he gives the birthday of

- Claude de Dinteville as August 3, 1509 (rather than 1507, found in the genealogies in Cabinet de d'Hozier 120 and in Dossiers bleus 237 [which gives the date August 5, instead of August 3]). The precise date of Guillaume's birth seems to be unknown, but he must have been born in 1505, not only because of the age he is assigned in the painting but also because (according to Anselme) he was fifty-four when he died on August 16, 1559.
31. "[P]ar deux foyz estant cousez ensemble Tu me auoys voullu bougrer et faire meschant comme toy": BNF, fr. 21811 (Gaignières 750), fol. 65r (copy of Du Plessis's cartel, dated November 15, 1538); in Brown, "Sodomy," pp. 525–26. Nicolas Camuzat, a close acquaintance of a descendant of the Dinteville family, reported that Gaucher was disgraced "pour quelques mauuais rapportz a luy faictz par vn nommé Iean du Plessis parent dudict Gaucher," and he said that the bishop of Auxerre was "aussi mal traicté que son frere, & s'estoit retiré hors le Royaume pour l'indignation dudict Roy François": *Meslanges historiques, ou Recueil de plusieurs actes, traictés, lettres missiues, & autres memoires qui peuuent seruir en la deduction de l'histoire, depuis l'an 1390. iusques a l'an 1580* (Troyes: Noel Moreau, 1619), part 2, fol. 211v.
 32. For the date November 8, see BNF, fr. 5303, fol. 154r–v, a royal letter dated at Paris on January 4, 1539, preserved in a formulary owned by Cosme Clausse; see Brown, "Sodomy," pp. 514, 519–21, 527–28. For the king's presence at Villers-Cotterets between November 1 and 9, 1538, see *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1887–1908), vol. 8, p. 503. In the letter of January 4, 1539, the king said that he had "parcideuant & des le huitiesme iour de nouembre derrenier passe accorde" to Du Plessis and Gaucher a summons to appear before him on January 1 to resolve their dispute. Addressed to a certain "Lord Canning," the letter warned him against permitting the duel between Dinteville and Du Plessis to be held in his lands. Although I was unsure of his identity when my article "Sodomy" went to press, I have subsequently discovered that he was Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, called "El Cagnino" (or "Le Cagnin"), lord of Bozzolo, whom Gaucher and Guillaume knew from their work in Italy for Francis I in 1536 and 1537. See BNF, Duchesne 62, no. 219r (Gaucher's second challenge to Du Plessis, dated January 28, 1539, at Isola, saying that he would appear before the lord of "Bozole" on March 21 to resolve the issue, and stating that the lord was one of the four judges he had named in his earlier challenge, dated at Venice on December 20, 1538). For the activities of Guillaume and Gaucher in Italy, see Martin and Guillaume du Bellay, *Mémoires*, ed. V.-L. Bourrilly and F. Vindry (Paris: Renouard et. al., 1908–19), vol. 2, p. 339; vol. 3, pp. 325–26; Jean du Bellay, *Correspondance du Cardinal Jean du Bellay*, ed. Rémy Scheurer, Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, vols. 475, 482 (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1969–73), vol. 2, pp. 432–34, no. 409 (and, for Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, *ibid.*, pp. 54–56, no. 254); *Correspondance des nonces en France: Carpi et Ferrerio, 1535–1540, et légations de Carpi et de Farnèse*, ed. Jean Lestocquoy, Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae, vol. 1 (Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1961), p. 138, no. 117; p. 148, no. 130; p. 234, no. 195; pp. 291–92, nos. 246–47; pp. 311–12, no. 262. On Gonzaga, see Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri Italiane* (Milan: Presso l'autore et al., 1819–85), vol. 3, pt. 2, fasc. 33 ("Gonzaga di Mantova"), table 14 (for Gianfrancesco and the lordship of Bozzolo).
 33. See Chrestien's biography, Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 (12), p. 334 (in *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscript. Libr[i]*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 521): "In ea peregrinatione, Romam ueniens, a Paulo tertio Pont. max. susceptus est, et blande consolatus. Neque illi defuit complurium Cardinalium fauor, Quin et nobilium Venetorum, dum apud eos, per id tempus moratur, gratiam sibi non modicam conciliauit." In a brief he presented on the bishop's behalf on December 7, 1547, Christophe de Thou, François II de Dinteville's lawyer, also stressed the welcome the bishop had received in Italy: BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 171v. See also the letters that the French ambassador to Rome, Louis Adhémar de Monteil, lord of Grignan, wrote to Anne de Montmorency on May 31 and October 21, 1537, in Guillaume Ribier's *Lettres et Memoires d'Estat . . .*, ed. Michel Belot (Paris: François Clouzier, la V^{re} Aubouyn, 1666), vol. 1, pp. 462–63, 480–81; Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 116; AN, X^{1A} 1563, fol. 483r–v; AN, X^{1A} 1566, fol. 295r; AN, X^{1A} 1569, fol. 236v (decrees of the Parlement de Paris, dated, respectively, September 7, 1548, March 8, 1550, and June 19, 1551, which give the date of the pope's appointment of Pierre de Mareuil as administrator of Auxerre); *Correspondance Carpi et Ferrerio*, no. 454, p. 482 (a letter of the papal nuncio Filiberto Ferrerio, written September 1–3, 1539, saying that the pope had acted against the advice of the cardinals), no. 475, p. 502 (a letter of Ferrerio, dated November 13, 1539, reporting the pope's expulsion of the brothers from the papal states).
 34. For Mareuil's career, see Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 2, p. 1494; for his ambassadorship to Ferrara in 1537, see BNF, Clairambault 1215, fol. 75v; *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 3, pp. 288–89, no. 8849; vol. 9, p. 54. Mareuil became almoner of the king's sons in 1536, and in August 1539 the king referred to him as "conseiller & aumosnier de nous et de nos enfans": BNF, fr. 7856, p. 1054 (where he is said to have been made the princes' almoner in 1536 and also 1539, both times "sans gages"; he is not listed among the king's almoners, *ibid.*, pp. 917–19); AN, JJ 254, fol. 60r; *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 4, p. 39, no. 11176.
 35. Brown, "Sodomy," pp. 518–19, 530–32.
 36. In June 1539 Francis I wrote to Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio, protector of French affairs at the papal court, requesting a copy of the procuration used when François I's resignation of Auxerre to his nephew had been approved. In a letter to the French ambassador Grignan, the king insisted on his "singular desire" to obtain the procuration. See BNF, fr. 5503, fols. 147–49v, esp. 148v–49r (request for a collated, signed copy of the procuration, so that the king could determine "en quel temps de quelle dacte et par quy fut passee la procuration") and 149v ("Car le desire singulierement le Recouurer"). In January 1540, the king was contemplating judicial proceedings against François II: BNF, fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fols. 17r–18v. Before the end of February, Francis I had drafted letters to the pope and other officials in Rome, urging the pope to grant Auxerre to Mareuil: BNF, fr. 5303, fols. 157v–58r (letters to Pope Paul III, Cardinal Trivulzio, and Jean de Langeac, bishop of Limoges, French ambassador to Rome, included in Cosme Clausse's formulary). As to the crime for which François II was pursued in 1531, Mareuil tried repeatedly to revive the issue when he was engaged in his legal battle with François II between

- 1547 and 1551. Still, although in April 1550 Mareuil succeeded in obtaining a royal letter sanctioning reconsideration of the charges, the Parlement in the end rejected their pertinence. See BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 126r–30r (royal letter issued in Mareuil's favor in April 1550, submitted to the Parlement de Paris on April 28, 1550); AN, X^{1A} 1566, fols. 295r–96v (interlocutory decree of the Parlement, issued on March 8, 1550, which this letter contravened); AN, X^{1A} 1567, fol. 79r (decree of the Parlement of May 6, 1550, rejecting the letter Mareuil had obtained and ordering execution of the decree of March 8, 1550).
37. For the actions of the pope, the king, and the Grand Conseil, see the decrees of the Parlement de Paris listed in note 33 above, and also the letter of the papal nuncio of September 1–3, 1539, mentioned in the same note. For Mareuil's appointment as bishop of Lavaur, see Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 13, p. 345; Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 190 (showing that Selve died in 1541 rather than 1542; see also *ibid.*, pp. 11, 19).
38. See the objections that François II de Dinteville raised in 1550 against witnesses testifying for Mareuil, in BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 139v (against the duchess of Étampes), and the testimony given by Jean de Dinteville ca. 1548, in BNF, fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fol. 38r ("et si auoit prins tous les meubles quil auoit trouez es maisons de ladicte euesche et aultre part appartenans a mondict frere"). See Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 117.
39. The papal nuncio Hieronimo Capodiferro reported on May 13, 1542, that Guillaume had returned to the royal court the day before, and that he and his brothers had been reinstated in the positions they had forfeited: *Correspondance des nonces en France: Capodiferro, Dandino et Guidiccione, 1541–1546; légations des cardinaux Farnèse et Sadolet et missions d'Ardinghella, de Grimani et de Hieronimo da Corregio*, ed. Jean Lestocquoy, Acta Nuntiaturs Gallicae, vol. 3 (Rome: Presses de l'Université Grégorienne; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1963), no. 70, p. 143. In a brief prepared in November 1547, François II's lawyer Christophe de Thou noted that the bishop was at Polisy when the king visited the château, which must have been in mid-May: BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 13r; and see *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 8, p. 515 (the king's presence at Bar-sur-Seine on May 11 and 12, 1542, and at Montiéramey between May 14 and 17).
- Guillaume's service in Italy, which the French ambassador to Venice repeatedly commended, may explain Francis I's decision to award him and his brother Jean enjoyment of Gaucher's confiscated property. This act is known only through a brief notice preserved in two eighteenth-century copies of entries in Mémorial KK of the Chambre des comptes, which contained acts dated between January 1540 and Easter (March 25) 1543: AN, PP 111, p. 371; PP 119, p. 24 of the section for Mémorial KK (both entries read "Iouissance [à Jean et Guillaume de Dinteville] de la confiscation des biens de [Gaucher de Dinteville] leur frere"); *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 7, p. 576, no. 27114.
40. BNF, fr. 7856, p. 1061.
41. BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 13r (brief of de Thou, November 17, 1547; "Toutefois deslors le Roy estant a DiIon le defendeur [Pierre de Mareuil] fait porter propos au demandeur [François II de Dinteville] que sil vouloit laisser vne de ses abbayes quil feroit tant quil seroit oy en Iustice. A quoy le demandeur (comme a chose trop Inique) ne voulut entendre. Tandem et cinq ou six moys apres le demandeur fatigatus Longa absentia, et pour lenuye quil auoit de Retourner en son euesche et a ses benefices, afin de y faire ce quil estoit et est tenu de faire, Retourne par deca, en esperance dentrer en la bonne grace du Roy"). See *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 8, pp. 513–14, for the king's presence in Dijon from October 26 to 31, 1541.
42. See note 39 above. The inventory of the château of Polisy, prepared on January 21–24, 1589, shortly after the death of Louise de Rochechouart, widow of Guillaume de Dinteville, shows that Jean de Dinteville was prepared for royal visits at Polisy. A double-locked chest in one of the storerooms contained "a white satin, fringed canopy adorned with crowned F's" and a matching cover for a backboard, as well as "another canopy, of gray and white velvet, with the arms of France in the middle, and three curtains of white and violet camlet": Lons-le-Saunier, Archives départementales du Jura, E 733, pp. [29–30]; I am grateful to Richard C. Famiglietti, who recently unearthed this inventory, for bringing it to my attention and discussing it with me.
43. According to Dinteville's lawyer, Christophe de Thou, the king's declaration "par expres" that he was receiving François II "en sa bonne grace" was made at Joinville before François II resigned Montier-la-Celle to Mareuil: BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 14r (brief of November 17, 1547); for Francis I's presence at Joinville from June 15 to 27, 1542, see *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 8, p. 516; for background, Robert J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 479–80. Jean de Dinteville did not mention this interview in the deposition he gave ca. 1548. His account focuses on his own negotiations at Joinville with Pierre de Mareuil, during which, Jean stated, his brother "estoit a deux lieues de la nousant s'approucher de la court"; he said that the king was at Joinville and Montiers-sur-Saulx for fourteen or fifteen days: BNF, fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fol. 38r.
44. For the negotiations, see BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 14r–16v (brief of de Thou, November 17, 1547, comparing the bishop of Auxerre to Castor, "qui se eunuchum ipse facit [dit Iuuenal] cupiens euadere damnum testiculorum"); fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fols. 38v–39v (Jean de Dinteville's deposition, ca. 1548, much of which is edited in Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* pp. 118–20). For François II's protest of June 26, 1542, his resignation of Montier-la-Celle to Mareuil on the same day, and the release he gave Mareuil on June 28, freeing him from any obligation to return or account for what he had taken from Auxerre, see BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 3v–4r (protest of June 26, 1542), 16r, 17v–18r (brief of de Thou, November 17, 1547); Dupuy 702, fol. 168v (brief of de Thou, December 7, 1547); fr. 20440 (Gaignières 316), fols. 38r–39v (Jean de Dinteville's deposition, ca. 1548). For the royal letter of June 28, issued at Montiers-sur-Saulx, see BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 5r–6v; *Catalogue des actes de François I^{er}*, vol. 4, p. 338, no. 12589.
45. BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 17r (de Thou's brief of November 17, 1547; "deuant que passer ladicte procuration le demandeur se Retire deuers le Roy qui est a present, lors daulphin, auquel Il fait Receit des contrainctes et Impressions susdictes Lequel luy fit Response quil le scauoit bien et failloit quil eust patience. Bien Luy promist en auoir souuenance a laduenir et que loccasion si offrant [*sic*] feroit que la porte de Iustice luy seroit

- ouuerte"). On March 15, 1548, Henry II was asked if he remembered promising the bishop of Auxerre when François II visited him "en sa chambre vng matin" that "quant Il auroit le moyen de luy faire rendre [all the bishop had forfeited] Se souuenir du tort quon luy faisoit." In answer, the king said—more reservedly and enigmatically than de Thou's brief suggests—"Il luy promist et veult quelle [i.e., the abbey of Montier-la-Celle] luy soit rendue sil se doit faire par Iustice": BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 134r; see Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors,"* p. 120.
46. Questioning in 1550 the reliability of testimony Henry II might give against him, Mareuil declared that when he was dauphin the king "lauroit mys hors de sa maison Et de lestat des seruiteurs ordinaires & domestiques pour linimitie mortelle conceue contre ledict defendeur [Mareuil] Aumoyen des faulx rapports des ennemys capitaulx dicelluy defendeur Dont aduert le feu roy [Francis I] et cognoissant de quelle affection & fidelite ledict defendeur auoit seruy le roy a present regnant son filz Commenda [sic] quil fust remys en lestat des domestiques Ce que [sic] fut faict Iusques au trespas dudict feu seigneur Roy," whereas the very next day "ses ennemys et ennemyes nayans oublye la hayne quilz portoient audict defendeur le font mectre derechef hors de lestat des domestiques": BNF, P. O. 1004 (fr. 17488), no. 22783 (de Dinteville), fol. 83r. Interestingly, in a letter dated April 28, 1539, the papal nuncio Ferrerio referred to Mareuil as the "favorite" of the dauphin: *Correspondance Carpi et Ferrerio*, p. 457, no. 435.
 47. AN, X^{1A} 4932, fol. 37r (brief of de Thou, February 6, 1548; "led. euesque dauxerre a presente Requeste au roy a ce que son bon plaisir fust de luy ouurir la porte de Iustice Pour faire querelle alencontre de leuesque de la vaur de ce que Iniustement Il auoit detenu et occupe detenoit et occupoit de son bien Le Roy cui non Iniqua visa est postullatio dud. euesque dauxerre ad postullationem respondit & a decerne commission afin de faire appeller pardeuant luy led. euesque de la vaur [Pierre de Mareuil] Si a este la commission executee & en vertu dicelle assignation a este donnee au conseil priue du roy aud. euesque de la vaur"). For the date November 4, 1547, see BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 7r, discussed in the next note.
 48. De Thou was François II's lawyer before November 4, 1547, when François asked that de Thou be given an extension of three days to appear before the Conseil privé: BNF, Dupuy 729, fol. 7r. On December 30, 1547, the king referred Dinteville and Mareuil from the Conseil privé to the Chambre des enquêtes of the Parlement de Paris: BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 120r–21v (copy of a decree of the Parlement de Paris dated Sept. 7, 1548); *Catalogue des actes de Henri II* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale et al., 1979–), vol. 1, p. 518, no. 1812. For the career of de Thou, who was named a president of the Parlement of Paris in 1554, see Édouard Maugis, *Histoire du Parlement de Paris de l'avènement des rois Valois à la mort d'Henri IV* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1913–16), vol. 3, pp. 190, 217, 246.
 49. BNF, Duchesne 62, fols. 203r–4v at 203r (the king's letter); for the Parlement's action, AN, X^{1A} 1575, fol. 126v.
 50. BNF, fr. 20465 (Gaignières 345–46), pp. 133–35 at p. 134. I discuss the careers of Gaucher and Guillaume in the study mentioned in note 24 above.
 51. See BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 126r–27r (a letter of Henry II to the Parlement of Paris dated April 1550, rehearsing Mareuil's accusations; in the course of the letter "crimes" are reduced to the singular "crime"); on this letter, see note 36 above. Mareuil later maintained that Jean de Dinteville "a este attrait a faire son propre faict de ceste cause et a deppose en Icelle ayant singulier Interest que ledict demandeur son frere apparaisse auoir fuy du royaume plustost pour la calumnie de ses ennemys que pour euer la punition de ses crimes": BNF, P.O. 1004 (fr. 27488), no. 22783 (de Dinteville), fol. 85r (objections raised by Mareuil to those who might testify against him, recorded soon after March 8, 1550).
 52. "Sil scait pas que la retraicte & absence de ce Royaume de leuesque dauxerre nestoit pour accusation de crime ne faulte quil eust faicte enuers le feu Roy ou autre Mais seulement pour la defaueur de ses freres / Et sil eust pas Iuste occasion de ce faire ./"; with the response, "ouy et le luy conseilla par ses parens et amis et fit tresbien de se retirer": BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 134r (a list of questions formulated by François II de Dinteville and presented to Henry II by two members of the Parlement de Paris on March 15, 1548).
 53. "Voyant par le demandeur le feu estre en sa maison, la Ruine et tempeste qui y estoit, prand conseil en soy mesme de sabsenter et Retirer ad tempus, Attendant que les choses fussent mieulx composees Et que avec le temps, la verite (que lon dit estre fille du temps) fust congnee et son Innocence descouuerte": BNF, Dupuy 729, fols. 9v–10r (brief of de Thou, dated November 17, 1547). De Thou added, "Et de faict, se Retire a son enseigne a Rome, ad limina petri, lesquelz Luy et tous les Euesques de ce Royaume, ex debito Iurisiurandi quilz ont accoustume de prester quand ilz sont faitz et creez euesques Doibuent visiter singulis annis, sinon que de ce ilz soient excusez," but it is difficult to believe that this contrived justification would have been taken seriously. See also the brief de Thou submitted on December 7, 1547, BNF, Dupuy 702, fol. 170v ("Attendant . . . que avec le temps la verite fust congnee & son Innocence descouuerte").
 54. For François II's legal studies at Poitiers and Padua, see Chrestien's biography, Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 (12), p. 331 (in *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscript. Libr[ar]i*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 519): "Pictaum dein Patauimque Iuris prudentie, dicata gymnasia, adiens. Iuris utriusque et Ciuilis et pontificii, archana didicit: tanta morum ac uite integritate, ut inde reuersus, in Regis francisci primi aulam accessitus fuerit."
 55. *Corpus Iuris Canonici, Editio Lipsiensis secunda post Aemilii Ludouici Richter curas ad librorum manu scriptorum et editionis Romanae fidem recognouit et adnotatione critica*, ed. Emil Friedberg (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1928), vol. 1 (*Pars prior: Decretum Magistri Gratiani*), pp. 574–81 (D. Q. IV. Pars 3. C. xix–xx, xxiii; Pars 5. C. xxxiv–ix); note especially C. xxxiv, "Necessitatis uel utilitatis causa episcoporum mutationes fieri possunt," and C. xxv (a canon of Pope Pelagius II [579–90]), "Causa necessitatis mutationes episcoporum fieri possunt". Defending François II from charges that he had voluntarily abandoned his see, Christophe de Thou demonstrated intimate familiarity with the provisions of the Canon Law. In 1547 de Thou insisted particularly on the justifications stemming from C. xxxiv, which sanctioned transfer of a person "aut ui a propria sede pulsus, aut necessitate coactus." He referred explicitly to the canon of Pelagius, C. xxxv, which permits change "causa necessitatis aut utilitatis."
 56. "Et dict le texte que non mutat sedem qui non mutat mentem / Et qui non delectationis aut voluntatis proprie gratia migrat de

ciuitate In ciuitatem sed causa necessitatis Nam aliud est sponte transire aliud coacte aut necessitate." In the same brief, de Thou contended that Dinteville had fled "par necessite et pour euitier quelque persecution temporelle," and for "cause Iuste & Raisonnable." See BNF, Dupuy 702, fols. 171v, 172r, 174r, and also 170v (brief of de Thou, December 7, 1547). De Thou's elaborate defense merits detailed analysis, which I hope to give in the study cited in note 24 above.

57. "Legatione fideliter obita, in Galliam regressus, creditum sibi gregem cepit pastor uigilantissimus sedulo regere moderarique, editis propterea constitutionibus, que ad mores et Christianam pietatem facerent. Moliuntur interim homini, nil tale metuendi insidie: atque ab aulicis et magnatibus quibusdam, quorum maleuolos animos ob feliciores uiri successus Inuidie labes altius insederat, in Regis odium sensim adducitur. Quo factum est, ut mature ab amicis persuasus, ne atrocius a furentibus emulis impeteretur, patrium solum uerteret, ac toto ferme triennio apud externos priuatus ageret": Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 12, pp. 333–34; in *Novæ Bibliothecæ Manuscript. Libr[ar]i*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 521, with the mistaken reading "primatus ageret."
58. For *peregrinatio*, see note 33 above; for the bishop's *im meritum exilium*, see the *Carmen* that Chrestien composed in François II's honor, in which he declared himself the companion (*comes*) and witness (*testis*) of the bishop's labors (*laborum*), sadness (*mestitie*), and joy (*letitie*): Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 (12), p. 338; cited in Thuillier, "Études," p. 61 n. 22; Lebeuf, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 139; and Hervey and Martin-Holland, "A Forgotten French Painter," p. 53. In his testament of July 25, 1566, Chrestien stipulated that his epitaph should state that he "s'en alla à Romme au service de feu M^e Francoys de Dinteville": Thuillier, "Études," p. 75.
59. "Il est frere et heritier presumptif dud. demandeur et vray solliciteur de ceste cause comme si cestoit pour luy ou son filz Cherchant tesmoings pour led. demandeur pour déposer et faisant tout ce quj luy est possible pour led. demandeur son frere Affin de faire perdre le bon droict dud. defendeur lequel par plusieurs fois sest vante quil luy trouueroit tant de tesmoings quil luy feroit perdre sa cause": BNF, P.O. 1004 (fr. 17488), no. 22783 (de Dinteville), fols. 84v–85r (Mareuil's objections to Jean, recorded shortly after March 8, 1550).
60. For portraits of the king, see (for Clouet and his followers) Dimier, *Histoire de la peinture de portrait*, vol. 1, pl. 11 facing p. 36; Broglie, "Les Clouet de Chantilly," p. 272, nos. 16–18; Lecoq, *François I^{er} imaginaire*, frontis., p. 219, figs. 90–93 (medals); 328, fig. 148 (portrait of the king on the "Puy" of Amiens, 1519); 421, fig. 193 (Clouet); and cf. the portrait of the king as a young man in BNF, fr. 2848, fol. 150r (the presentation copy of Jean du Tillet's *Recueil des Roys*, whose illustrations were painted ca. 1553), for which see also Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Myra Dickman Orth, "Jean du Tillet et les illustrations du grand *Recueil des roys*," *Revue de l'Art* 115 (1997), pp. 11–12 (and esp. figs. 7, 8); Scailliérez, *François I^{er} par Clouet*, passim, and for the Du Tillet illustration, pp. 51–52; Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, as cited in note 3 above, and also pp. 248–51 (portrait of Francis I by Titian, 1538), p. 272, fig. 295 (satirical portrait of the king and Queen Eleanor of Austria), p. 371, fig. 404 (Francis I depicted as a Roman emperor, with spiked crown, ca. 1538, on which see note 15 above). See also the portrait of the king, dated 1536, by Master PS, which is distinguished by a spiked crown similar to the one worn by Pharaoh in the painting, although in the engraving and etching it is attached to a plumed hat: François Boudon et al., *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Los Angeles: Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, University of California, 1994), p. 226, no. 30; cf. the Clouet drawing in Scailliérez, *François I^{er} par Clouet*, p. 11, pl. 3.
61. See note 15 above.
62. Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait*, p. 250.
63. Hervey and Martin-Holland, "A Forgotten French Painter," p. 48. In the first edition of his *Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954), p. 83 n. 85, Anthony Blunt quite reasonably remarked that the king "would hardly have been flattered by being identified with the enemy of the chosen people, defeated by the skill and courage of his opponents, Moses and Aaron." Cf. the similar comments of the author (H. S. Reid?) of a notice ("The Dintevilles Before the Dauphin Henri [1542] in 'The Judgement of Solomon'") in *The Connoisseur* 133 (1954), p. 193; see note 14 above.
64. Mareuil's features appear in a drawing by Clouet or one of his imitators, which has been variously identified and dated. I am grateful to Richard C. Famiglietti for helping me locate the portrait of Mareuil. See *Three Hundred French Portraits Representing Personages of the Courts of Francis I., Henry II., and Francis II., by Clouet. Auto-Lithographed from the Originals at Castle Howard, Yorkshire, by Lord Ronald Gower (A Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery)* (London: Maclure and Macdonald; Paris: Hachette, 1875), vol. 2, no. 224; Broglie, "Les Clouet de Chantilly," p. 298, no. 171 (correctly identifying the subject and dating the drawing ca. 1540); Dimier, *Histoire de la peinture de portrait*, vol. 1, p. 30; vol. 2, p. 48, V.6/196 (dating the drawing ca. 1539 and identifying Montmoreau simply as protonotary, although cf. *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 305, where he is called Pierre de Mareuil, sire [*sic*] de Montmoreau); and Étienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Les Clouet et leurs émules* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1924), vol. 3, p. 28, no. 223 (identifying the subject as Pierre de Mareuil, seigneur [*sic*] de Montmoreau, and dating the drawing ca. 1550). The fact that the drawing is labeled "Le Proteⁿ Monmoreau" shows that it was executed after Mareuil was appointed papal protonotary (a post he held in 1533) but before he became bishop of Lavaur after the death of Georges de Selve in April 1541—and in all likelihood before he was named abbot of Brantôme in 1538, or administrator of the temporalities of the bishopric of Auxerre in the spring of 1539.
65. In the painting, Pharaoh's hairline is low on his face. The Clouet drawing suggests that Mareuil's was higher. So too, as concerns Francis I, do all the surviving portraits of the king. I am grateful to Mary Sprinson de Jesús for discussing with me the depiction of Pharaoh.
66. See Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, pp. 14–29, esp. p. 16, and also p. 100 n. 20. On May 23, 1533, Jean (then ambassador to England) expressed great interest in knowing what his brother François II "dir[ait] de la tour et des tableaux": BNF, Dupuy 726, fol. 46v, in Hervey, *Holbein's "Ambassadors"*, pp. 79–81. Less than a month later, on June 4, 1533, and again from England, Jean wrote François, "Je vous prie mandez moy sy auez trouue les painctures bien faictes": BNF, fr. 15971, fol. 4r. It is tempting but perhaps imprudent to infer with Foister (*ibid.*,

- p. 25) that Jean “had commissioned pictures before leaving for England, when his brother was in Italy.” Nonetheless, the two letters demonstrate the brothers’ keen interest in paintings. Jean supervised major construction at Polisy in the 1540s. The Dinteville brothers’ cousin Jean de Mergey wrote that when he went to stay with Jean at Polisy in or about 1550, Jean had become “paralitique et impotent de tous ses membres, et ne pouvant plus à ceste occasion demeurer à la Cour, et s’estant retiré chez soy, se mist pour son plaisir et exercice à bastir ceste belle maison de Polizy”: “Mémoires du sieur Jean de Mergey, gentilhomme champenois,” in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires*, ed. Michaud et al., vol. 9, p. 559; see Hervey, *Holbein’s “Ambassadors,”* pp. 133–34. A memorandum prepared after 1585 during a dispute among the Dinteville heirs noted that Jean’s illness began in or about 1546: BNF, Duchesne 62, fol. 229r. An inscription published by Hervey (*Holbein’s “Ambassadors,”* pp. 127–30) shows that in 1544 work on the “basse court” was completed, and construction began on the château itself. Primaticcio, Domenico del Barbieri, and Hubert Juliot (an artist of Troyes) were at Polisy on December 15, 1544, and their presence in all likelihood had some connection with Jean’s plans for the château: see note 5 above. Tiles installed in the château, which feature the episcopal arms of François II de Dinteville, are dated 1545, whereas others, purely decorative, are dated 1549 (Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 39).
67. “Instaurata sane constructaque ab eo edificia, Anticiodori [sic], Regennis, Varziaci, et monasterio Aremarensi, hominis curam & diligentiam, mirumque ac prope stupendum ingenium testantur. Ingentia templis donaria, pii bonique pastoris liberalitatem effantur. In dies erogare Xenodochiis, Conuentibus, Collegiis et Hospitalibus eleemosyne, pectus uere christianum in eo fuisse commostrand. Cibus parvus, potus rarus, modicus somnus, continuus labor, pertinax et indefessum studium, uitam philosopho dignam declarant. Nam preter liberalium artium disciplinam, Mechanicas etiamnum (quas uocant) artes mirum immodum [sic] callebat. Pictoria uero summopere oblectabatur [sic], eius artis peritos domi semper alens. Temporis parcissimus, uetus illud Apelleum sepiuscule adducebat, ut nulla dies sine linea abiret”: Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 142 (12), pp. 336–37; in *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscript. Libr[ar]ii*, ed. Labbe, vol. 1, p. 521. See also Sainte-Marthe et al., *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 12, p. 335; and Louis and Porée, *Domaine de Régenne*, pp. 124–25. Jean shared François II’s interest in the mechanical arts, as the scientific objects depicted in *The Ambassadors* suggest; see Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, pp. 30–43. On May 23, 1533, while Jean was in England and his brother in France, Jean asked François to send him “le portraict du compas au val du quel mauez escript / car le suis bien empesche a comprendre la facon de laquelle Il est fait”: BNF, Dupuy 726, no. 46r–v.
68. *Recensement des vitraux anciens de la France*, vol. 3, *Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Rhône-Alpes*, ed. Jean Taralon, Anne Prache, and Nicole Blondel, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi France, Inventaire général des monuments et richesses artistiques de la France (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986), pp. 112, 114, 123–24, 126 (the northern rose window, featuring the story of Joseph, donated to the cathedral in 1528 by François I de Dinteville, and the southern rose, dated 1550, given by François II).
69. Brown, “Heures,” as cited in note 20. The first Hours the Dinteville commissioned (BNF, lat. 1429, fols. 37r, 45r) contained two scenes from the life of Moses, showing him with the brazen serpent and striking the rock in the desert to produce water; the second (BNF, lat. 10558, fol. 35v) depicted Moses just once, with the brazen serpent.
70. Cf. Thuillier, “Études,” p. 63 (“Que le tableau ait été peint pour les Dinteville, et en France, c’est ce qui ne fait aucun doute”).
71. Lebeuf, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 139, cited and discussed by Thuillier, “Études,” p. 62. Lebeuf relies heavily on Chrestien’s biography of the bishop: *Mémoires*, vol. 2, pp. 117, 119, 139–40; see *ibid.* vol. 1, pp. xiii–xlv, for a biography of Lebeuf and his testament; the first edition of his work, published in 1743, ended in 1373. In 1900, citing Lebeuf, Hervey discussed Chrestien in a long note in *Holbein’s “Ambassadors,”* p. 137 n. 1 (attributing to him the triptych of Varzy and the painting of the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* in the cathedral of Auxerre). Eleven years later, she and Martin-Holland added *Moses and Aaron* to Chrestien’s canon, in “A Forgotten French Painter.” Carlo L. Ragghianti provides a useful survey of scholarship, in “Pertinenze francesi nel Cinquecento,” *Critica d’arte*, n.s., 27th year, fasc. 122 (March–April 1972), pp. 63–64 n. 14.
72. Zerner, *L’art de la Renaissance*, p. 398 n. 46.
73. Thuillier, “Études,” *passim*, and esp. pp. 70, 72–73. Thuillier suggests that Chrestien’s name may have been linked to the pictures because he appeared in them with the bishop, or because he played some role in commissioning them. Aristide Déy describes the arms hung on the tree to the left in the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* (“écartelé au 1 et 4 d’or fretté de sinople; au 2 et 3 d’or au chef de gueules et 1 bande componnée d’argent et de sable brochant sur le tout”) as those of “Félix Chrétien,” but this identification is circular, since the only source he gives is the painting: *Armorial historique de l’Yonne* (Sens, 1863; reprint, Marseille: Laffitte, 1978), pp. 1–2, no. 5. I am grateful to Meredith Parsons Lillich for her advice on this question.
74. “Études,” pp. 63, 69–70, and also 59.
75. *MMA Catalogue*, p. 44 (assigning the work to Felix Chrestien); see Thuillier, “Études,” p. 69 n. 68. Note, however, that two years later Châtelet and Thuillier (*French Painting*, p. 113) suggested “affinities with Roman painting” and especially Giulio Romano.
76. J. Bruyn, “Over de betekenis van het Werk van Jan van Scorel omstreets 1530 voor oudere en jongere tijdgenoten (4). IV. De Pseudo-Félix Chrétien: ein Haarlemse schilder (Bartholomeus Pons?) bij de bischop van Auxerre,” *Oud Holland* 98 (1984), pp. 98–110, and pls. 4 and 5, esp. pp. 99–100, 105, 108, and 109–11 (Bruyn’s summary in English); see also the observations made by Baetjer in 1977, in “Pleasures and Problems,” p. 348, and the evidence of Pons’s presence in Burgundy in ca. 1518, in 1522, and in 1530, cited by Louis Frank, in *La peinture en Bourgogne*, pp. 60, 108–09.
77. Zerner believes (*L’art de la Renaissance*, pp. 222–23) that *Moses and Aaron* may have been painted by the artist of the Varzy triptych, which Zerner attributes to “un artiste néerlandais de passage.” Foister (*Making and Meaning*, p. 25) similarly suggests that the artist who painted *Moses and Aaron* was “Netherlandish rather than French,” and “might be responsible for” the painting known as the *Descent into the Cellar*, an association I believe far more questionable than the connection that has been suggested between the Varzy triptych and *Moses and Aaron*. For the *Descent* and its attribution to Jean de Gourmont, see Thuillier,

- "Études," p. 73 (acknowledging the advice of Charles Sterling); Ragghianti, "Pertinenze francesi," pp. 20–22; and Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, p. 222. The painting features the arms of the Dinteville family with 20 billets and is dated 1537.
78. See the text preceding note 49, and note 66, above, and notes 81 and 82 below.
79. "En la chambre appelle la chambre du feu Sieur dauxerre trouue deulx Chenetz de fer Sur Lesquelz y a deulx Grosses pommes de Cuiure; Item vne table de Boys de noyer qui se tire; Vng dresseoir de boys de noyer paint en aulcuns endroitz; Item vng Grand chasliet de Boys paint & dore; Vng Grand Tableau estant au dessus de la cheminee ou est painte l'histoire de Pharaon Roy de Gipte; Item vng autre petit Tableau ou est painte l'histoire de la femme Adultere avec vng petit Rideau de tafetas": Lons-le-Saunier, Archives départementales du Jura, E 733, pp. [50–52], on which see note 42 above.
80. Le Brun-Dalbanne, "Art céramique," pp. 12–15, and pls. 3–8; André-Ariodant Pottier, *Histoire de la faïence de Rouen*, ed. l'Abbé Colas, Gustave Gouellain, and Raymond Bordeaux (Rouen: Auguste Le Brument, 1870), pp. 55–56. See also note 16 above.
81. Cf. Thuillier, "Études," p. 62 n. 35. Noting (*Making and Meaning*, pp. 28–29) that by 1589 *Moses and Aaron* hung in the new part of the château, created in the 1540s, Foister raises the possibility that the picture was originally hung with *The Ambassadors* before being transferred to the bishop's chamber in the newly renovated area.
82. The great hall, located "above the court of the old building," seems to have been the largest, the most formal, and the most important in the château. It contained two large old copper andirons, a painted wooden table, a large oaken bench, a large dresser, a gray stone basin on an oaken base, three old oak chairs, and a wooden chandelier, painted green, hung in the middle of the room. A picture of Saint Sebastian was also displayed. See Lons-le-Saunier, Archives départementales du Jura, E 733, pp. [15]–[17] ("la Grand Salle haulte au dessus de la court du viel Logis"; "deulx grands vielz chenetz de cuiure"; "vne table de Boys de chesne painte par le dessus"; "vng grand banc de boys de chesne de troys piedz"; "vne cuuette de pierre grise sur vng pied de boys de chesne"; "troys haultes vielles chaires a pauez"; "Vng Grand tableau ou sont en paintz les feuz Sieurs de Polisy & dauxerre"; "vng chandelier de boys peinct en vert qui est pendu au milieu de ladicté salle"; "Vng autre viel tableau ou est paint Limage S^t Sebastien"). This room is the first major chamber listed in the inventory. The contents of the bishop's apartment appear after those of "la chambre neufue" (with a storeroom) and "la chambre du bain": *ibid.*, pp. 45–47; for the bishop's room, *ibid.*, pp. 50–52. See Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 28.
83. By 1558 the supporters of Calvin were using the title *Pharaon* to designate the king of France: see, e.g., letters that Macar, a Genevan minister, wrote to Calvin from Paris in March, May, and July of 1558, in John Calvin, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Johann Wilhelm Baum, August Eduard Cunitz, Eduard Wilhelm Reuss et al. (Braunschweig and Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke, 1863–1900), vol. 17, pp. 107–10, no. 2838 (at p. 108); pp. 161–63, no. 2866 (at p. 161); pp. 248–49, no. 2915 (at p. 248).
84. For his presence there, see notes 5 and 66 above.
85. See *Le triomphe du maniérisme*, pp. 86–88, cat. no. 101, and pl. 18, whose provenance is given as "New York, M. Georges Wildenstein."
86. Sylvie Béguin, *L'école de Fontainebleau, le Maniérisme à la cour de France* (Paris: Editions d'art Gonthier-Seghers, 1960), pp. 54–55.
87. Pope-Hennessy, *Portrait*, p. 252, fig. 276.
88. Kauffman, *Kunst*, pp. 189–90, no. 62.
89. Ragghianti, "Pertinenze francesi," p. 64 n. 14 (mentioning Charles Sterling); Walbe, "Studien," pp. 102–3.
90. Foister et al., *Making and Meaning*, p. 23. The caption of fig. 14 (*ibid.*, p. 23) and the list of works in the exhibition (*ibid.*, p. 106, no. 12) assign the picture to Francesco Primaticcio.
91. Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor*, pp. 112–14, no. 17.
92. Ian Wardropper, "Le voyage italien de Primatice en 1550," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1981, pp. 27–31, ill. on 29.
93. Wardropper, *Domenico del Barbieri*, p. 99.
94. Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, pp. 134, 136.
95. Thuillier, "Études," p. 73 and n. 85.
96. Henri Stein, "Quelques lettres inédites de Primatice," *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique du Gâtinais* 28 (1910), pp. 308–9, 319; Louis Dimier, *Le Primatice* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1928), p. 87, and cf. p. 22.
97. "Et secondo chessa scriuera al detto mons. locotenente io lo tiro per firmo disegno. per il R^{mo} Carⁱ de guisa. Et la colorisco de mia mano: Et so che lo trouarete men brutto del primo": BNF, Dupuy 726, fol. 190r; my transcription differs in some respects from that of Stein, "Quelques lettres," p. 319. I am grateful to Richard C. Famiglietti and the late Nancy Rash for help with the Italian.
98. Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, was the son of Claude of Lorraine, duke of Aumale and of Guise, and of Antoinette of Bourbon, and the brother of François of Lorraine, duke of Guise: Anselme, *Histoire genealogique*, vol. 2, pp. 71–73; vol. 3, p. 485.
99. Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, p. 100.