

# Fit for a Royal Heart?: A French Renaissance Relief at The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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IN MEMORY OF MYRA D. ORTH (1934–2002). HER HEART, TOO, WAS IN THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

ALL WORKS OF ART are unique, but, to paraphrase George Orwell, some are more so than others. In this special category belongs a remarkably highly finished, small-scale French later-sixteenth-century marble relief, acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1997 (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> So intricate is its delicate treatment that one scholar reasonably assumed the piece to be carved of alabaster rather than from the far harder marble. A lack of documentation and of illuminating provenance makes it difficult to place the Museum's Northern Renaissance relief in context.<sup>2</sup> The wholesale destruction of so many major French monuments of the period compounds the problem. Such demolition began long before the Revolution, often undertaken by the very descendants of those who commissioned works of art in the first place.<sup>3</sup> The leveling of two key projects by Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570), whose style as painter and architect is closely allied with that of the Metropolitan relief, provides a case in point. His Valois Rotunda, the necropolis attached to the ancient royal abbey of Saint-Denis, was destroyed in 1719, and his Galerie d'Ulysse at Fontainebleau—indubitably the greatest Renaissance fresco cycle north of the Alps—was demolished in 1738 by Louis XV.

Interior relief decorations in châteaux were mostly worked in stucco, and infrequent, far costlier carved marble elements were generally reserved for important large-scale constructions, such as mantelpieces—the Latin *focus* (hearth). The literally elevated embellishment of these chimneypieces, however, tended to be large allegorical figures, readily seen and understood from a distance. The intimate scale and subtle carving of the Metropolitan's relief tell us that it was designed to be viewed at close range.

Indeed, the relief would not qualify at all for secular decorative application on mantelpieces, overdoors,

or any other element of interior design in a palatial location, judging from surviving sixteenth-century examples of such genres. As economical in the visual arts as in the gustatory, the French expended effort only where it counted to best effect, not where it remained invisible. For instance, Pierre Bontemps (ca. 1512–ca. 1570) is known to have carved a marble relief of the *Four Seasons* (1555–56) for Fontainebleau; its figures were probably as large as Jean Goujon's (ca. 1510–ca. 1565) *Victory* (1545), a surviving part of the mantel complex of the Grand Salle (or Salle d'Honneur) at Écouen. Another sculptor, Mathieu Jacquet (ca. 1545–after March 1611), carved a large marble narrative relief of the *Bataille d'Ivry et la reddition de Mantes* (1600; dismantled 1725; Château of Fontainebleau and Musée du Louvre, Paris) for Fontainebleau's Belle Cheminée.<sup>4</sup>

Although some marble interior and exterior embellishments are found in High Renaissance France, as in the Louvre *Tribune des cariatides* or the Salles des États at Villers-Cotterêts, there are no surviving secular narrative interior elements comparable in scale to the Metropolitan relief.<sup>5</sup> The costly and time-consuming manufacture of such delicately, intricately worked French Renaissance marbles appears to have occurred in only one context—that of royal or noble funerary monuments, either for parts of the body or for the heart alone, on which miniature details were legible.<sup>6</sup> Even if their subject matter is seemingly secular, these small-scale marble reliefs were mostly destined for church settings.<sup>7</sup> Before suggesting just where, when, why, and for whom the Metropolitan's enigmatic marble might have been carved, the funerary genres of the period, particularly that of heart burial, should be investigated.

When a king or prince died, the body was usually brought to Saint-Denis or Saint-Germain-des-Prés for inhumation. His heart (and, sometimes, other inner organs) was preserved separately, and its monument was kept at a religious institution near the place of

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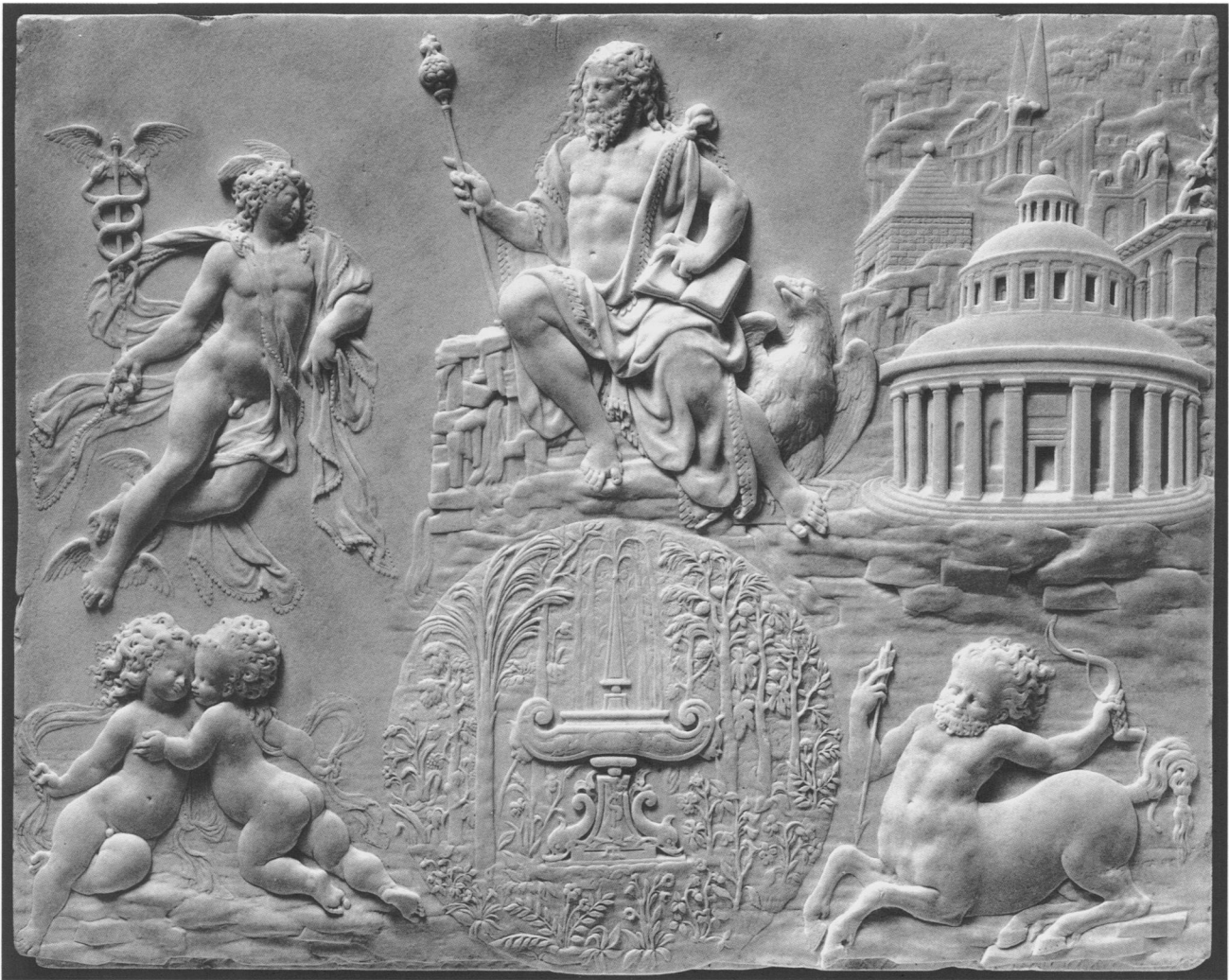


Figure 1. Artist active in France. *The Reign of Jupiter*, ca. 1575. Marble, 38.1 x 48.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Annenberg Foundation Gift, 1997 (1997.23)

death.<sup>8</sup> If expiration occurred in or near Paris, the heart was usually placed in the Orléans Chapel in the Benedictine monastery of the Célestins (1365), built by Charles V (r. 1364–80).<sup>9</sup>

Designed and carved by Bontemps, the heart container for François I (r. 1515–47) is the first Renaissance example of such a royal monument (Figure 2). Now at Saint-Denis (originally at the abbey of Haute-Bruyères<sup>10</sup>), this intricate, tureenlike marble object demands close observation, for its eight complex medallions are in subtle, shallow relief.<sup>11</sup> François's son and heir Henri II (r. 1547–59) received an even grander heart monument, which also included the heart of his wife, Catherine de Médicis (Figure 3).<sup>12</sup> It, too, was destined for the Célestins' Orléans Chapel. It was designed by Primaticcio and executed primar-

ily by Germain Pilon (ca. 1525–1590) between 1561 and 1565. The heads of its crowning Three Graces support an urn—a substitute for the lost original heart vessel.

Monuments for the hearts of Henri II's three sons, of interest since they would come close in date to the Museum's marble, are less easy to trace. That for François II (r. 1544–60) was entrusted by the young king's mother, Catherine, and his brother Charles IX (r. 1560–74) to Primaticcio and Frémin Roussel (act. ca. 1560–ca. 1570) in 1562, to be placed alongside his father's monument in the Orléans Chapel. The only elements to survive are the column and base carved by Jean Picard, now in the basilica of Saint-Denis,<sup>13</sup> and a *Spinario*-like marble youth (Musée du Louvre, Paris). This winged Michelangelesque



Figure 2. Pierre Bontemps. *Heart Monument for François I*, 1550. Marble. Basilica of Saint-Denis, Paris (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

figure is a funerary genius, inscribing a tablet with François's name.<sup>14</sup> Primaticcio was well acquainted with his antique model since he had supervised the making of a mold of the *Spinario* in Rome, preparatory to the casting in bronze of the statue at (and for) Fontainebleau.<sup>15</sup> Roussel as sculptor and Primaticcio as designer had already collaborated on other funerary projects as well as stucco decorations for the châteaux of Fontainebleau and perhaps Meudon.

Charles IX almost certainly had an important heart monument, yet nothing is known of it. That for his successor, the assassinated Henri III (r. 1574–89), had a bronze receptacle atop a column; today the column is at Saint-Cloud (Collégiale).<sup>16</sup> According to Marie-Alexandre Lenoir, who preserved a great number of



Figure 3. Designed by Francesco Primaticcio and carved by Germain Pilon. *Heart Monument for Henri II*, 1561–65. Marble. Musée du Louvre, Paris (photo: G. Blot/C. Jean, © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY)

ancient monuments in his Parisian Musée des Monuments Français after the Revolution,<sup>17</sup> the marble column was an early-seventeenth-century addition brought to Saint-Denis in 1610,<sup>18</sup> when the royal heart was placed in the Valois Chapel. Aside from the column, all that remains of Henri III's original monument is its Pilonesque square bas-relief bearing a Latin inscription (Saint-Denis), sometimes ascribed to Barthélemy Prieur (ca. 1536–1611).<sup>19</sup>

Lenoir attempted to reconstruct this heart monument shortly after his purchase in 1797 of a relief showing the *Réveils des nymphes* (Figure 4), using it as his point of departure.<sup>20</sup> He ascribed the *Réveils* relief to Goujon, but it is now given to Bontemps because of its similarity to that sculptor's medallion of Song (Figure 5) for François I's urn. The little funerary genius

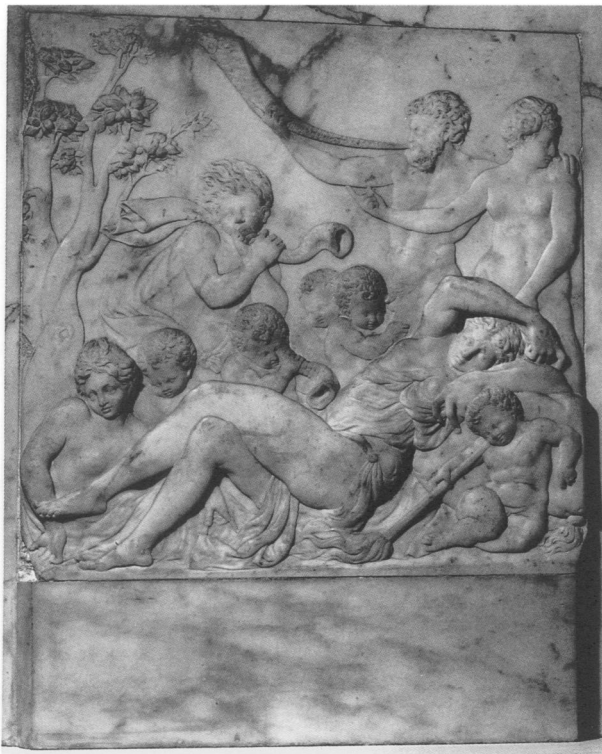


Figure 4. Pierre Bontemps. *Réveils des nymphes*. Marble, 60 x 49.3 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris (photo: © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY)



Figure 5. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Song on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

lowering his torch at the relief's far right, and the fauns, satyrs, and dryads—all symbolic of fertility and regeneration—inspired Lenoir's funerary interpretation. He highly imaginatively re-created the heart monument of Henri III in his *Musée* catalogue; Charles Percier provided the reproductive print for the entry.<sup>21</sup> The *Réveils* relief has been reset within a later marble extension measuring 60 by 49.3 centimeters to complete the broken stone;<sup>22</sup> only its bottom border is original.

The bottom edge of the Metropolitan relief also shows signs of having been cut away from a larger setting. For what purpose would this relatively small and yet highly elaborate, costly marble relief have been created? Michael P. Mezzatesta placed it in the vast château of Meudon, near Paris,<sup>23</sup> which Primaticcio designed for Cardinal Charles de Guise (1525–1574), who, with his brother François (1519–1562), had long dominated French court life. However, the grotto proposed by Mezzatesta for the Metropolitan marble's setting would be an unlikely venue for such a finely carved work.<sup>24</sup> This relief's formality would not be in keeping with earlier natural grottoes and their rustic, primal, libidinal associations; for that, stucco would have been more at home.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, all Meudon's known reliefs were of stucco, as noted by Giorgio Vasari in his vita of Primaticcio, the château's architect.<sup>26</sup>

The relief's astrological references to Gemini, Mercury, and Sagittarius (the centaur Chiron) suggest its having belonged to a heart monument, probably that of Charles IX, second son of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis and husband of Elizabeth of Austria. The sole remaining indication of Charles's death is a funerary inscription in his memory at Saint-Denis, known from a drawing by Gaignières.<sup>27</sup> The young king died at Vincennes on May 30, 1574, and his body was placed in the crypt of the Valois Rotunda. Charles's heart was brought to the Célestins on July 8 and deposited there with the "cérémonie ordinaire."<sup>28</sup> The project for his heart monument may never have been completed or installed due to various acts of "dénigration," or destruction of royal monuments, that took place after Charles's death.<sup>29</sup>

The Metropolitan Museum has conservatively entitled its marble relief *The Reign of Jupiter* because that supreme, Raphaelesque deity, accompanied by an eagle, is centrally placed in the uppermost register (Figure 6).<sup>30</sup> This god is a monarchical reference, and the top of his staff is possibly a conventionalized pomegranate, regal symbol of unity.<sup>31</sup> He holds an open book, in a gesture reminiscent of that in depictions of Christ in Majesty. As noted by Mezzatesta, this book is a symbol of Poetry.<sup>32</sup> In fact, the cosmic and harmonic powers of the art of poetry underlie the





Figure 6. Detail of Jupiter on the relief in Figure 1

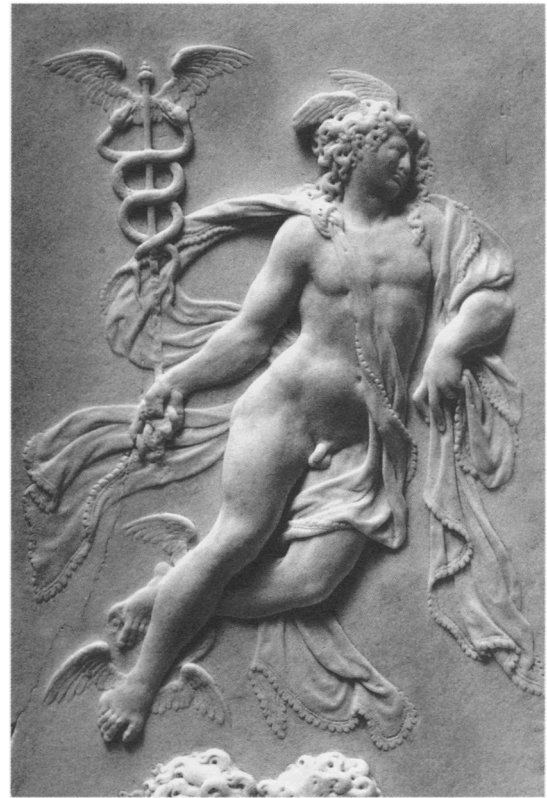


Figure 7. Detail of Mercury on the relief in Figure 1

marble's meaning. "Poetry" in classical culture signified the creative principle, equivalent to genesis. As communicated by song, this art form was within the purview of Jupiter's daughters the Muses, who loomed large in both François I's and Henri II's funerary monuments. Through them Jupiter's presence ties the relief's program to sixteenth-century royal heart projects.<sup>33</sup>

According to Mezzatesta, Gemini, carved below Mercury, is "the constellation under which a poet is most likely to be born since it is . . . in the house of Mercury, patron of poetry."<sup>34</sup> He related Sagittarius, at the lower right, to the Archer in the house of Jupiter, for it is only with the proper patronage, protection, inspiration, and beneficent rule that a poet can flourish.<sup>35</sup>

Maria Naylor saw the need to interpret zodiacal signs in terms of their terrestrial origins as well. Thus Sagittarius should also be understood as the centaur Chiron's celestial manifestation. Wise tutor (and healer) to Achilles, Asclepius, Jason, Peleus, and Actaeon, Chiron found popularity at humanistic courts because of his lofty, heroic associations. Chiron, who was often claimed in the French Renaissance as teacher of the nation's once and future kings, is found in the fresco cycle of the Galerie François I, in poetry celebrating the erudite monarch's beloved son, the dauphin François (d. 1536), as well as in verses

written for his three grandsons, François II, Charles IX, and Henri III.<sup>36</sup> The didactic centaur is a considerable figure in French literature of the Renaissance, abounding, for example, in Pierre de Ronsard's poetic theory.<sup>37</sup>

Mercury, messenger and master of eloquence and commerce (Figure 7), is carved at the upper left, facing Jupiter. Ronsard ascribed the god's attributes to François I as "père des arts et lettres" at Fontainebleau; the king is shown as such in a project by Primaticcio (Figure 8). The symbolism of the Metropolitan's relief pertaining to the power of poetry,



Figure 8. Francesco Primaticcio. *François I with Allegorical Figures and Muses*. Project presumably for or after a pediment at the château of Fontainebleau, 1547. Pen, brown wash heightened with white, 21.2 x 68 cm. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (photo: State Hermitage Museum)

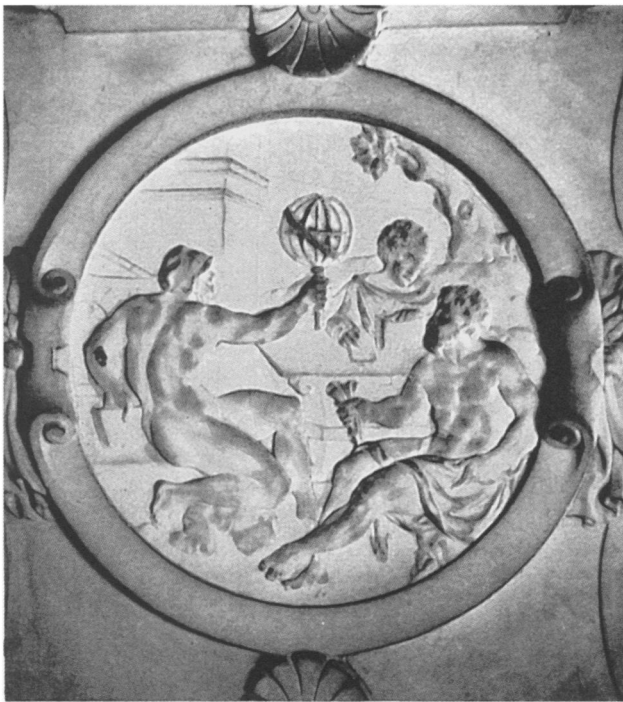


Figure 9. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Astronomy on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])



Figure 11. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Lyric Poetry on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])



Figure 10. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Instrumental Music on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

inspiration, and the eternity of the spirit can be found in the complex visual coding of Bontemps's urn for François I's heart (Figure 2). Here the sum total of human and divine knowledge is carved in cartouche-reliefs: in roundels on the base Astronomy (Figure 9), Instrumental Music (Figure 10), Song (Figure 5), and Lyric Poetry (Figure 11) are depicted; and in ovals on the tureenlike heart container Architecture (Figure 12), Sculpture, Painting (Figure 13), and Geometry (Figure 14) are represented. As the "père des arts et lettres," François I shared the realm of the Muses. While the king's tomb is a marble paean to terrestrial, military victory, his heart monument pays tribute to the monarch's spiritual values.<sup>38</sup>

Henri II's heart container is another evocation of the Muses, shown throughout its reliefs, and the Graces (Figure 3). Here, the Graces support an urn replacing the original that housed the royal relic. The Graces, like the Muses, were fraught with Neoplatonic meanings linked to the immortality of the soul.<sup>39</sup> This complex allusion is, in large part, also that of the Metropolitan relief, whose key emphasis is on Jupiter as father of poetry, domain of his daughters the Muses. Such an emphasis is known not only from Primaticcio's pedimental project, presumably for or after one at Fontainebleau<sup>40</sup> (Figure 8), but also from two drawings by Antoine Caron (1521–1599) for Nicolas



Figure 12. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Architecture on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])



Figure 13. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Painting on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])



Figure 14. Pierre Bontemps. Detail of Geometry on the monument in Figure 2 (after Paul Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 [1939])

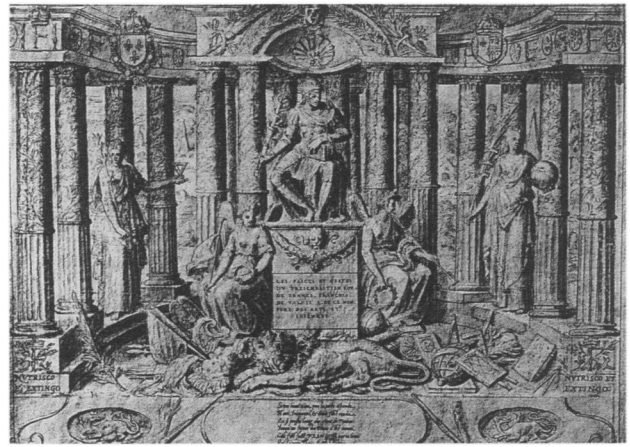


Figure 15. Antoine Caron. *Le règne de François I*. Illustration for Nicolas Houel, *L'histoire françoise de nostre temps* (ca. 1560). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (after Jules Guiffrey, *Les dessins de l'histoire des rois de France par Nicolas Houel* [Paris, 1920], pl. 4)

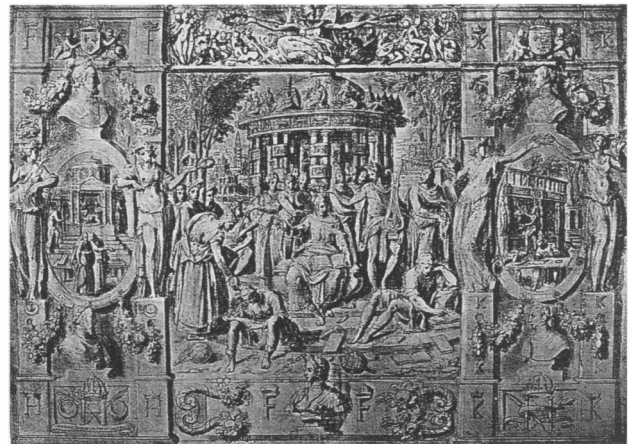


Figure 16. Antoine Caron. *La renaissance des arts et des lettres*. Illustration for Nicolas Houel, *L'histoire françoise de nostre temps* (ca. 1560). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (after Jules Guiffrey, *Les dessins de l'histoire des rois de France par Nicolas Houel* [Paris, 1920], pl. 16)

Houel's *L'histoire françoise de nostre temps* (Figures 15, 16), which covers the period from François I to his grandson Charles IX. In *Le règne de François I*, the king is depicted holding a book (of poetry?) and a caduceus, and surrounded by Muses.<sup>41</sup> In a second plate entitled *La renaissance des arts et des lettres*, the central figure also has a book (again, of poetry?) on his lap<sup>42</sup>—Jupiter's attribute in the Metropolitan relief (Figure 6). In this drawing, Neptune's temple is immediately behind the seated figure, and the frieze below it includes François's monogram; in the Metropolitan marble, waters pertaining to Neptune stream from the rocky throne and jet from a fountain in the central roundel below (Figure 17). That Houel's page, like the New York relief, refers to the heavens is made clear by a diminutive zodiac over the figure's



Figure 17. Detail of medallion on the relief in Figure 1

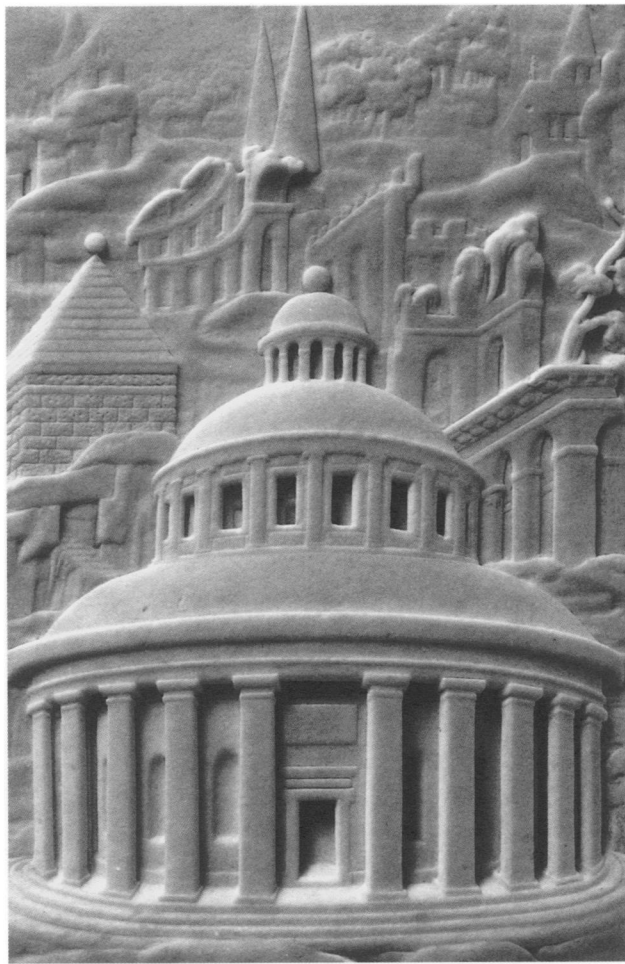


Figure 18. Detail of circular building on the relief in Figure 1

head, set within a frieze upon a pantheon, recalling the Valois Rotunda. Similarly, a centrally planned circular temple is seen at the upper right of the Metropolitan marble (Figure 18), where other buildings with twin obelisks and a pyramidal roof capped by an orb approach the intimate narrative aesthetic of Caron's miniature scale.<sup>43</sup>

In the relief, Jupiter is seated upon a roughly worked throne of living rock, from which streams issue, suggesting the source of poetic inspiration.<sup>44</sup> This aqueous motif is extended below, where a medallion-like tondo (Figure 17) is worked in shallow relief. It encompasses a central obelisk-fountain, jetting five streams, possibly symbolic of the five rivers of France.<sup>45</sup> The fountain's base is buttressed by two dolphins (dauphins),<sup>46</sup> and three others are in very low relief: the outlines of two are traced on the basin, and the third, its tail twisted about Neptune's trident, fills the fountain's vertical pediment. This last motif is also found on the keystone of the Fontaine des Innocents (1547–49), carved by Goujon and pertaining to the king's dominion over the waters.<sup>47</sup> Three dolphins, symbols of the three dauphins (François II, Charles IX, and Henri III), also support the urn atop the Three Graces originally containing Henri II's heart (Figure 3).

The New York marble makes a much abbreviated allusion to the divine wisdom of the Muses—the source of poetic inspiration found in their father's watery throne and in the dolphin-encrusted obelisk-fountain below. Its funerary reference, possibly to a royal heart within, is also suggested by the fountain medallion below Jupiter. Such an aqueous source located at the center of a garden, as Naomi Miller observed, "was generally understood as the symbolic heart of a terrestrial paradise."<sup>48</sup> The palm and pine trees carved within the medallion symbolize fame and immortality.<sup>49</sup> These references to eternity, to the afterlife, may pay tribute to the infinite font of inspired poetry as equated with the undying spirit of a French king, alive and well in paradise.

Having already seen the few wholly or partially surviving French royal sixteenth-century heart monuments, one is tempted to place the Museum's relief within their sculptural context. The considerable variety in the heart containers' formats, however, defies any definitive, if not persuasive, reconstruction. The marble would more likely have functioned as a base front supporting the container rather than as part of the heart enclosure itself. Yet the possibility of its being the front of the container need not be excluded. The heart enclosure and its immediate sup-



port would probably have rested atop a pillar, making the relief readily visible.

Surprisingly, no heart monument for Charles IX is known. Could the Museum's relief have fulfilled that function? Ronsard, closely involved with Charles's festivals at Fontainebleau,<sup>50</sup> made much of a link between that king and the civilizing centaur Chiron, present in the relief, in his *Institution pour l'adolescence du roy très-chrétien Charles IX de ce nom*.<sup>51</sup> For celebrations during the young king's royal tour, the poet had Jupiter laud Charles's unique gifts as stemming directly from the king of the gods.<sup>52</sup>

The constellation Gemini (Figure 19), seen at the relief's lower left, originated as Castor and Pollux, twin sons of Jupiter and Leda. The twins were protectors of music, dance, and poetry, along with the Muses (Theocritus 22.215). Charles IX and Henri III were often identified with Castor and Pollux by Ronsard. They were depicted as such guiding the French Ship of State at the Pont Notre-Dame in pageantry for Charles's triumphal Parisian entry of 1571, the program for which was devised by Ronsard.<sup>53</sup> Mezzatesta argues persuasively that the plan for the Metropolitan relief was by the same poet, or by some other member of the Pléiade. Its delicate chiaroscuro, in fact, gives it the precious quality of an intensely worked, treasured container, such as the small gilt-iron jewel casket made for Ronsard's mistress according to his program.<sup>54</sup>

Charles IX, still more enthusiastic a poetry patron than his grandfather, father, or any of his brothers, gave Ronsard rooms at Fontainebleau along with an ample living from abbacy and priory revenues. That king saw the poet as his master, supposedly proposing to him the *Franciade's* subject, though this was doubtless the deed of Henri II, during whose reign the poem was begun. Charles also embraced the need for a poetical and musical academy, founded under Ronsard, who dedicated his *Préface sur la musique* (written for that institution) to Charles.<sup>55</sup> The king's biographer, Arnould Sorbin, bishop of Nevers and a friend of Ronsard, recalled: "Dear God, how the king loved Ronsard, how he cherished his labors and by all possible favors stirred up the energy of his mind and fortified the vein of his poetry . . . the style of which was so agreeable to him that he often passed a great part of the night in reading his verses or having them recited."<sup>56</sup>

Charles's love of poetry was extended past his lifetime. Three special eulogies were prepared upon his death: Lazare de Baïf's "Complainte sur le trépas du feu roy Charles" and Claude Binet's eclogue "Adonis au trépas du roy Charles IX," as well as Ronsard's "Tombeau de feu roy Charles." The young king had



Figure 19. Detail of Gemini on the relief in Figure 1

said to his poet, "Je puis donner la mort, toi la immortalité."<sup>57</sup> But Charles may have received immortality not only from Ronsard but also from the heart monument devised and carved by the major minds and hands of the French Renaissance.

Royal commissions make attributions relatively easy, but this is not true for the Metropolitan marble. Mezzatesta related the relief's Gemini stylistically to a vault in the chapel (completed 1553) of the château of Anet, carved by a sculptor very close to Pilon, the busiest and best sculptor active in Paris at the time of François II's demise.<sup>58</sup> According to James David Draper, the sculptor of the Museum's marble is close to the Master of the Diana of Anet.<sup>59</sup> However, that famous statue of *Diana*, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, is essentially a decorative continuation of the classical, Raphaelesque aspects of Primaticcio's world. The relief's sculptor is more likely to have been involved with small-scale works, without the grand Mannerism of the *Diana*.<sup>60</sup>

The marble, if for Charles IX's funerary project, would postdate Goujon, but an assistant of his might be considered for its authorship.<sup>61</sup> Jacquiot Ponce, François II's "sculpteur et architecte du roi" (act. ca. 1527–70), could be a candidate. Employed on the stuccos at Meudon,<sup>62</sup> he probably came from Italy as an assistant to Primaticcio. Between 1559 and 1562, Ponce worked under Primaticcio on marble reliefs for François I's tomb; he also contributed architectural elements to Henri II's tomb and prepared its lifesize allegorical bronzes. Considering the small scale of the figures in the Metropolitan relief, it is interesting to note that Ponce prepared scale models of Henri II's

tomb and several figurines;<sup>63</sup> miniature busts, such as *Mary, Queen of Scots* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), are also ascribed to him.

Emblematic in character, the relief's components have an "applied" quality that suggests a medallic approach; their extraordinarily detailed rendering is nearer casting than carving. Such an orientation is most obvious in the centrally placed Paradise medalion in the lower register. Little is known, and less survives, of works in this genre from the later sixteenth century. Most French medals were designed by painters or sculptors and then often turned over to a technical expert for execution.<sup>64</sup>

## ABBREVIATIONS

Beaulieu 1978

Michèle Beaulieu et al. *Description raisonnée des sculptures du Musée du Louvre*. Vol. 2, *Renaissance française*. Paris, 1978.

Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975

Alain Erlande-Brandenburg et al. *Gisants et tombeaux de la basilique de Saint-Denis*. Exh. cat., Maison de la Culture de la Seine-Saint-Denis and Archives Départementales de la Seine-Saint-Denis. [Saint-Denis, 1975].

Mezzatesta 1990

Michael P. Mezzatesta. "The King, the Poet, and the Nation: A French Sixteenth-Century Relief and the Pléiade." In *IL 60: Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on His Sixtieth Birthday*, pp. 227–52. Ed. Marilyn Aronberg Lavin. New York, 1990.

## NOTES

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1. See James David Draper, "The Reign of Jupiter," *MMAB* 55, no. 2 (fall 1997), p. 33.
2. In sixteenth-century Italy, a very few pictorial reliefs of secular subjects were carved in marble; those of Pierino da Vinci

(1529–1553), Leonardo's nephew, come to mind. However, the bulk of Italian reliefs were in wax or terracotta, closely related to the production of bronzes. Among the major marbles in this uncommon genre are Pierino's *Pisa Restored* (1552–53; Pinacoteca Vaticana). His *Death of Count Ugolino and His Sons* survives in several media. Two marble reliefs attributed to him are a *Pan and Olympus* (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence) and a *Profile of a Young Woman* (Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence). Some of these exceedingly rare reliefs were carved in the heyday of the sixteenth-century academies. They were probably intended as *paragone*, virtuosic works meant to be seen in comparison with painting, and designed as framed grisailles. However, no analogous essays in relief are known in contemporary France, among either surviving independent monuments or the lost works of major masters.

3. This topic was first discussed in Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), and more recently in Thomas Lerch, *Die Grabkapelle der Valois in Saint-Denis* (Munich, 1991). An article brought to my attention by Thierry Crépin-Leblond is a Communication (No. 5) of Michel Fleury and Guy-Michel Leproux, "Les fouilles de la Rotonde des Valois à Saint-Denis (Seine-Saint-Denis)," *Commission du vieux Paris: Procès-verbal de la séance du 7 juillet 1998*, pp. 10–17.
4. Beaulieu 1978, pp. 107, 109, no. 157.
5. A large relief of *The Three Graces and the Five Muses*, placed within a pediment below the bust of François I at Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, was probably of fine limestone. Known from Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau's drawing, this architectural feature is of unusual interest because its subject is close to those found on funerary monuments for that king and for his son Henri II. See the discussion by Wolfram Prinz et al., *Das französische Schloss der Renaissance: Form und Bedeutung der Architektur, ihre geschichtlichen und gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen* (Berlin, 1985), p. 102. Francesco Primaticcio's project for a pediment, of Diana and Venus with the Muses surrounding the bust of François I (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg), possibly originally intended for the Galerie François I, might also be borne in mind. It is reproduced by Janet Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures* (Antwerp and New York, 1996), p. 400, fig. 450.
6. A seeming exception is the alchemical frieze on the exterior of the parish church at Assier. However, it can be said that the church also had a funerary function, as it was built to bury Galiot de Genouillac.
7. Very small fountains might prove an exception, though no reliefs associated with such structures are found on panels forming part of the fountain's base enclosure.
8. Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort: Étude sur les sépultures, les sépultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva, 1975), p. 118. According to Erlande-Brandenburg, separate royal heart burials in France were initiated early in the fourteenth century with that of Philippe le Bel (r. 1285–1314). Surprisingly, separate heart burial for the nobility and meritocracy continued through the Enlightenment. Even Voltaire left his *cœur* within Jean-Antoine Houdon's plaster portrait of the seated *Philosophe* (ca. 1781), still preserved in situ at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The same sculptor's marble (1781) for the heart of Victor Charpentier, comte d'Ennery, is in the Louvre. For earlier examples, see G. Brière, "Monuments des coeurs de Henri IV et Marie de Médicis," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts d'Angers* 1–4 (1947–50), pp. 21–32E.

9. The definitive study of such monuments is Victoria L. Goldberg, "Graces, Muses, and Arts: The Urns of Henri II and Francis I," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966), pp. 206–18.
10. For the history of its prior placements, see Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, p. 40, no. 66.
11. Paul S. Wingert, "The Funerary Urn of Francis I," *Art Bulletin* 21 (December 1939), pp. 383–96. For the origin of the "tureen" in a Rosso Fiorentino-designed silver service for Fontainebleau, see Michèle Beaulieu, quoted by Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, p. 40, no. 66.
12. Beaulieu 1978, pp. 126–28, nos. 197–98.
13. Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, pp. 43–44, no. 80.
14. Beaulieu 1978, p. 167, no. 256. See also Sylvie Béguin, Bertrand Jestaz, and Jacques Thirion, *L'école de Fontainebleau: Guide*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris (Paris, 1972), no. 553.
15. Cox-Rearick, *Collection of Francis I*, p. 348. The cast had been ordered by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este as a gift for François I.
16. The monument (1633–35) was paid for by a royal favorite, the duc d'Épernon. See Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, p. 45. This, too, was in Lenoir's Musée and was moved to Saint-Denis between 1818 and 1821.
17. Most royal funerary monuments surviving the Revolution owed their continued existence to Lenoir. The Musée des Monuments Français (founded in 1790) was located in the monastery of the Célestins, where many heart monuments were originally placed. Lenoir's unique institution sanitized monarchical statuary of its politically incorrect associations and presented it in the name of history, not monarchy. With the Restoration and Concordat, his Musée was dissolved in 1816, and its statuary was moved once again, mostly to the Louvre or back to the original site (if not always placement). For a fine recent study, see Dominique Poulot, "Alexandre Lenoir et les musées des monuments français," in *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1997).
18. After the dissolution of the Musée des Monuments Français in 1816, the column was returned to Saint-Denis between 1818 and 1821. Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, pp. 44–45, nos. 71, 72, *Coeur de Henri III*.
19. Ibid.
20. Lenoir's view that the *Réveils* relief was royal in origin and funerary in function was accepted by Charles Paul Landon, but rejected by the Louvre's former Renaissance sculpture curator Michèle Beaulieu. See Charles Paul Landon, *Annales du Musée et de l'École Moderne des Beaux-Arts* 13 (1807), p. 107, pl. 50; Beaulieu 1978, pp. 82–83, no. 125.
21. A. Lenoir, *Le Musée des Monuments Français* (Paris, 1802), vol. 3, pp. 92–93, no. 456, pl. 114.
22. Beaulieu 1978, pp. 82–84, no. 125.
23. Mezzatesta 1990, pp. 227–52 (see his n. 62).
24. Nevertheless, Zeus's water-covered rock and the fountain medallion below pertain to the Muses and some grotto references. See Naomi Miller, *Heavenly Caves: Reflections on the Garden Grotto* (London, 1982), pp. 35–59.
25. Best known of the surviving French Renaissance grottoes is the one for La Bastie d'Urfé, decorated in stucco and studded with seashells; see Olga Raggio, "Vignole, Fra Damiano et Gerolamo Siciolante à la Chapelle de la Bastie d'Urfé," *Revue de l'art* (1972), pp. 29–52, figs. 1, 2. Only a large-scale marble or one in the round would work well in a grotto. See, for example, the way Michelangelo's unfinished *Slaves* looked in the Grotto Grande, Boboli Gardens; see also the program of the Grotte des Pins at Fontainebleau. Similarly rustic in character were the Tuileries' lost ceramic-lined grottoes by Bernard Palissy (1510–1590); see Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria, 1571: With an Analysis of Simon Bouquet's "Bref et sommaire recueil"* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1974).
26. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1881), vol. 7, pp. 412–13. These stucco reliefs were executed by Domenico Fiorentino and Jacquot Ponce (act. ca. 1527–70), both of whom also produced royal funerary monuments. Stucco, not marble, was the medium of choice for lavish domestic decoration by the early sixteenth century. This "mixed medium" was first found in France in Gothic times and revived in Italy. Raphael and his circle perfected the art of *stucchi* in Rome, following the ancient formula of ground marble and pulverized travertine for *stucco duro*, as used for Nero's Domus Aurea. In Mantua, Primaticcio also produced neoclassical stucco friezes. The medium returned to France with him—first at the château of Madrid, Paris, and then at Fontainebleau. Under the Bolognese's direction, Bontemps and the obscure Charmois executed stucco decorations. Significantly, all three were employed on French royal funerary monuments. According to Ian Wardropper, the Meudon *stucchi* "may have been executed in 1556–57, later than usually thought." Ian Wardropper, "The Sculpture and Prints of Domenico del Barbieri" (Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1985), p. 254; Anthony Radcliffe, "Ponce et Pilon," in *Germain Pilon et les sculpteurs français de la Renaissance: Actes du colloque organisé au Musée du Louvre par le service culturel, les 26 et 27 octobre 1990* (Paris, 1993), pp. 275–96; Geoffrey Beard, "Stucco," in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. Jane Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 29, p. 829.
27. Kindly brought to my attention by Thierry Crépin-Leblond, the rendering is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Henri Bouchot, *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gagnières et conservés aux Départements des Estampes et des Manuscrits* (Paris, 1891), no. 4970.
28. Michel Simonin, *Charles IX* (Paris, 1995), p. 443. His source is Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme, *Recueil des dames, poésies et tombeaux*, ed. Étienne Vaucheret (Paris, 1991), p. 21.
29. See the forthcoming paper by John O'Brian, "Autour des funérailles de Charles IX: Le *planctus* d'Elisabeth d'Autriche."
30. Draper, "The Reign of Jupiter," p. 33.
31. Mezzatesta 1990, pp. 232, 235.
32. Ibid., p. 232.
33. The Muses' role in this funerary context is brilliantly elucidated by Victoria Goldberg. She relates the marbles' abundant references to the Arts to monarchical wisdom, insight, and immortality (Goldberg, "Graces, Muses, and Arts," pp. 206–18). For early heart burials recorded in England, see Charles Angell Bradford, *Heart Burial* (London, 1933).
34. Mezzatesta 1990, p. 236.
35. Ibid.
36. Étienne Jodelle, *Le recueil des inscriptions, 1558: A Literary and Iconographical Exegesis*, ed. Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson (Toronto and Buffalo, 1972), pp. 83, 84, 161, 189.
37. Margaret McGowan, *Ideal Forms in the Age of Ronsard* (Berkeley, 1985), p. 85.
38. The complementary roles of tomb and heart container were noted by Erlande-Brandenburg et al. 1975, p. 40, no. 66.
39. Goldberg, "Graces, Muses, and Arts," p. 217.

40. Béguin, Jestaz, and Thirion, *L'école de Fontainebleau*, p. 145, no. 154.
41. Jules Guiffrey, *Les dessins de l'histoire des rois de France par Nicolas Houel* (Paris, 1920), pl. 4; see also the frontispiece.
42. *Ibid.*, pl. 16.
43. See Colin Eisler, "Étienne Delaune et les graveurs de son entourage," *L'œil* (December 1965), pp. 10–19.
44. Mezzatesta 1990, pp. 230–31.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 233.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Naomi Miller, *French Renaissance Fountains* (New York, 1977), p. 287.
49. Mezzatesta 1990, p. 238.
50. J. T. D. Hall, "Was Ronsard's *Bergerie* Performed at Fontainebleau in 1564?" *Bibliothèque de l'école d'humanisme et renaissance* 51 (1989), pp. 301–9. Reference courtesy of Maria Naylor.
51. Pierre de Ronsard, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1946), vol. 11, pp. 3–13. The bulk of the first section of the *Institution* is devoted to "Chiron noble Centaure"; see Ronsard, *Oeuvres*, p. 3. Reference courtesy of Maria Naylor.
52. Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Royal Tour of France by Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici: Festivals and Entries, 1564–6* (Toronto, 1979), p. 24.
53. Lawrence M. Bryant, "The French Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Society and Art in Renaissance France" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1978), pp. 343–44. See also Graham and Johnson, *Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria*, pp. 54–55, 155–57, 284–85.
54. Günter Irmscher, "Pierre de Ronsard's 'Sinope': Eine goldtauschierte Eisenkassette im Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Köln," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 41 (1980), pp. 143–57, cited in Mezzatesta 1990, pp. 227–52 (see his n. 62).
55. The learned society was far more active under Lazare de Baif as the Académie Française, or Palace Academy; its patronage was continued and extended by Henri III. Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947), pp. 26ff., 45. Yates reproduces the letters patent and statutes of Baif's academy in Appendix 1, pp. 319–22, and the letter from Baif to Charles IX in Appendix 2, pp. 324–83.
56. Arnauld Sorbin, "Vie de Charles IX," in L. Cimber and F. Danjou, *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, 1st ser., vol. 8 (Paris, 1836), p. 300. For Sorbin, see Yates, *French Academies*, p. 164.
57. Cited by Ralph Roeder, *Catherine de' Medici and the Lost Revolution* (New York, 1937), p. 510, without source.
58. Mezzatesta 1990, p. 228.
59. Draper, "The Reign of Jupiter," p. 33.
60. The book illustrations issued by Thielman Kerver, Jean de Tournes, and Geoffroy Tory, with their eloquent, simple lines, come close in time to the date of the relief medallion's genesis. For these artists' oeuvre, see Ruth Mortimer, comp., *Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts*, pt. 1, *French 16th Century Books*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Michèle Beaulieu, "Nouvelles attributions à Pierre Bontemps," *La revue des arts* 3 (1953), pp. 82–88.
61. These include Étienne Carmoy (act. 1540–68), who restored antiquities at Fontainebleau and worked with Pierre Lescot on the Louvre facade reliefs, and Martin Lefort and François and Pierre Lheureux (both act. mid-sixteenth century), who assisted Barthélemy Prieur on funerary monuments and on the Louvre facade from 1594 to 1608. Lefort also assisted Prieur on the *Heart Monument of Connetable Anne de Montmorency* for the Célestins.
62. Radcliffe, "Ponce et Pilon," pp. 275–96. See also Catherine Grodecki, *Histoire de l'art au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1540–1600*, Documents du Minutier Central des Notaires de Paris (Paris, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 97–102, docs. 611–18. See also Jacques Thirion, "Ponce," in Béguin, Jestaz, and Thirion, *L'école de Fontainebleau*, pp. 401–2.
63. Radcliffe, "Ponce et Pilon," pp. 275–96.
64. Jacques Rouaire, a little-known medalist active in Troyes from 1520 to 1571, seems to have had the requisite skills for composing the Museum's marble, though he is not known to have worked in that medium. See G. F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1920), p. 145 and pl. 25, fig. 9, for the recto and verso of a medal by Rouaire.