

New Documents and Drawings Concerning Lost Statues from the Château of Marly

B E T S Y R O S A S C O

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La durée éternelle n'est pas plus
promise aux oeuvres qu'aux hommes.

MARCEL PROUST

IN 1697 construction was begun on the Rivière, a grandiose cascade behind the château of Marly.¹ In 1698 the Abreuvoir, a body of water prolonging the gardens in the opposite direction, was executed.² In 1699 the Doubles Nappes, a cascade and basin, were joined to form les Nappes (Figure 1).³ With these decisive additions, the gardens were given a new axial emphasis; from a villagelike cluster of buildings about a central basin, the grounds grew to resemble a new Versailles, as if by magic the Allée Royale were replaced by water. From the royal pavilion, the views to south and north encompassed a river and a lake (Figure 2).⁴

1. "Vendredi 14 (décembre 1696) à Marly—Le roi a résolu de faire ici une nouvelle cascade qui viendra tomber dans la pièce où étoit le grand jet; elle sera d'une bien plus grande dépense qu'aucune des fontaines qui sont ici." Eudoxe Soulié, Louis Dussieux, eds., *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau*, VI (Paris, 1854–60) p. 42. "Mercredi 30 (octobre 1697) à Versailles—Le Roi, Monseigneur, et la princesse allèrent dîner à Marly, et virent aller la rivière, dont ils furent très contents." Dangeau, VI, pp. 218–219.

2. "Samedi 10 (mai 1698) à Marly—On travaille depuis quelques jours à une pièce d'eau magnifique par delà le jardin." Dangeau, VI, p. 344. "Vendredi 21 (novembre 1698) à Marly—... il lui fit voir le magnifique abreuvoir qu'il a fait faire en bas de ses jardins en dehors." Dangeau, VI, p. 463.

3. "Du 7 février (1699) Le Roy a réglé que l'on feroit une augmentation aux nappes de la Cascade du bout du Jardin, et a

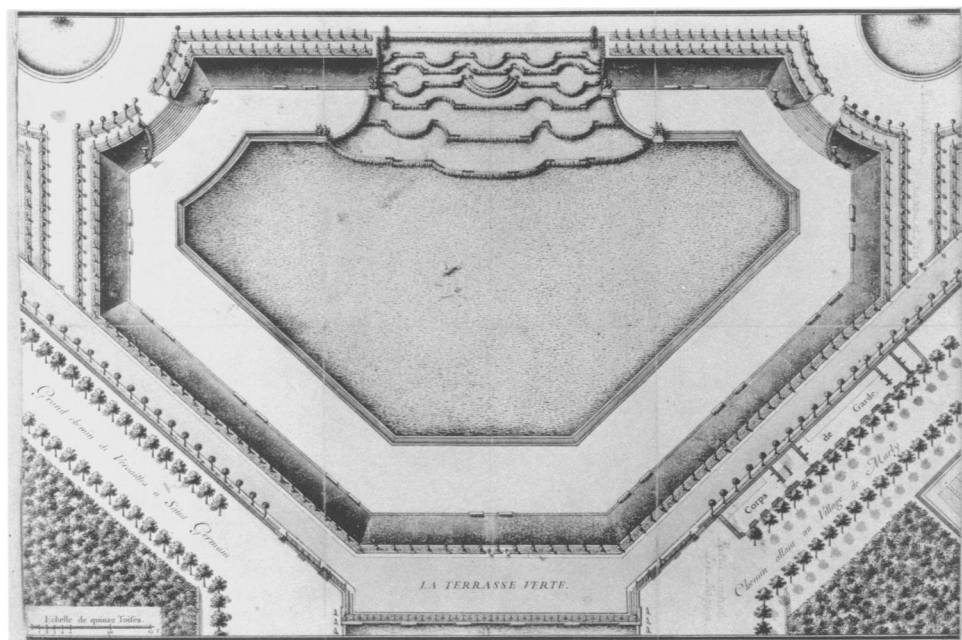
This period of activity saw an acceleration of royal visits to and interest in the domain. The sweeping changes in the main axis of the garden called for a sculptural program commensurate with the ambitious new topography. The interaction between sculpture and garden architecture and the relations among the persons concerned with both are worth examining in order to define the character of the ensemble created at that time.

First, however, it is necessary to establish the chronology of the work, and the terms in which it was envisioned. Fortunately we are exceptionally well in-

dit à M. le SurIntendant de faire un projet et dessein de ladite Cascade." *Registre où sont écrits par dattes les Ordres que le Roy a donnés à Monsieur Mansart SurIntendant des Bâtimens de sa Majesté, pour tout ce qui est à faire à changer, ou à réparer aux Châteaux et Jardins de Marly, St Germain, Noisy, et leurs Dépendances*, Arch. Nat., 0¹1474, fol. 8.

4. Martin Lister visited Marly on May 15, 1698, and pointed out the analogy between the Rivière and a river: "Du côté du château qui lui fait face, on croiroit que c'est une grande rivière qui glisse paisiblement du haut de la colline; mais quand j'en approchai, je vis que c'étoient cinquante-deux grands bassins carrés, peu profonds, étagés successivement, à angles droits, non pas en pente, mais se déversant de l'un dans l'autre." Société des Bibliophiles François, ed., *Voyage de Lister à Paris en MDCXCVIII*, (Paris, 1873) p. 187.

FIGURE 1
The lower garden of
Marly: les Nappes and
la Terrasse Verte.
Paris, Bibliothèque
Nationale, Cabinet des
Estampes Va 78a, vol. 5



formed about the years from 1699 to 1702; special registers in which were noted orders for work to be done in the château and gardens have survived intact. In addition, the usual sources—payments recorded in the *Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi*, inventories, guides, and the evidence furnished by contemporary writers, complete our knowledge of this fertile period.

On Wednesday, May 13, 1699, Louis XIV arrived at Marly for an eleven-day stay. The Marquis de Dangeau wrote, “Le roi a trouvé en arrivant ici sa grande cascade achevée, dont il est fort content”; the reference was to “les grandes nappes.”⁵ Even before this last great basin was completed, however, orders had been given for sculptural decorations for the lower gardens of Marly.

In a list compiled in January 1699 of work to be done at the château during the next year, there was a reference to the groups of Fame and of Mercury by Antoine Coysevox:

Les modeles sur les pieds destaux du bas du jardin, ne pourront être finis qu’a la fin de mars, à cause des études importantes. Le S^r Coisvox demande à les finir de stuc pour les mieux étudier. il assure qu’ils dureront 4. ou 5. années sans y rien faire, en attendant que le marbre se fasse. ledit S^r Coisvox donnera des panneaux exacts sur des cartons des grosseurs des blocs de marbre qu’il faut pour lesdits groupes, pour les donner aux

Entrepreneurs des marbres, afin de les faire dégrossir sur les carrieres et épargner la voiture, lesdits modèles pourront couter à finir 2000¹¹⁶

Apparently ideas for four marble groups to decorate les Nappes were discussed even before the basin was completed, but only on May 17, the Sunday after Louis XIV saw the finished Nappes, were orders for the models entered in the records of the *Surintendant des Bâtiments du Roi*, Jules Hardouin-Mansart. Four additional groups were commissioned for the central basin, or Grande Pièce d’Eau:

Du 17 may

Le Roy a ordonné de faire quatre groupes de figures de marbre pour mettre aux quatre coins de lapiece du grand jet a la place des vases qui y sont, sçavoir un representant Vertumne et Pommone, un representant Baccus et Ariane, un representant Zephire et Flore, Et le quatrième representant Apollon et Daphne.

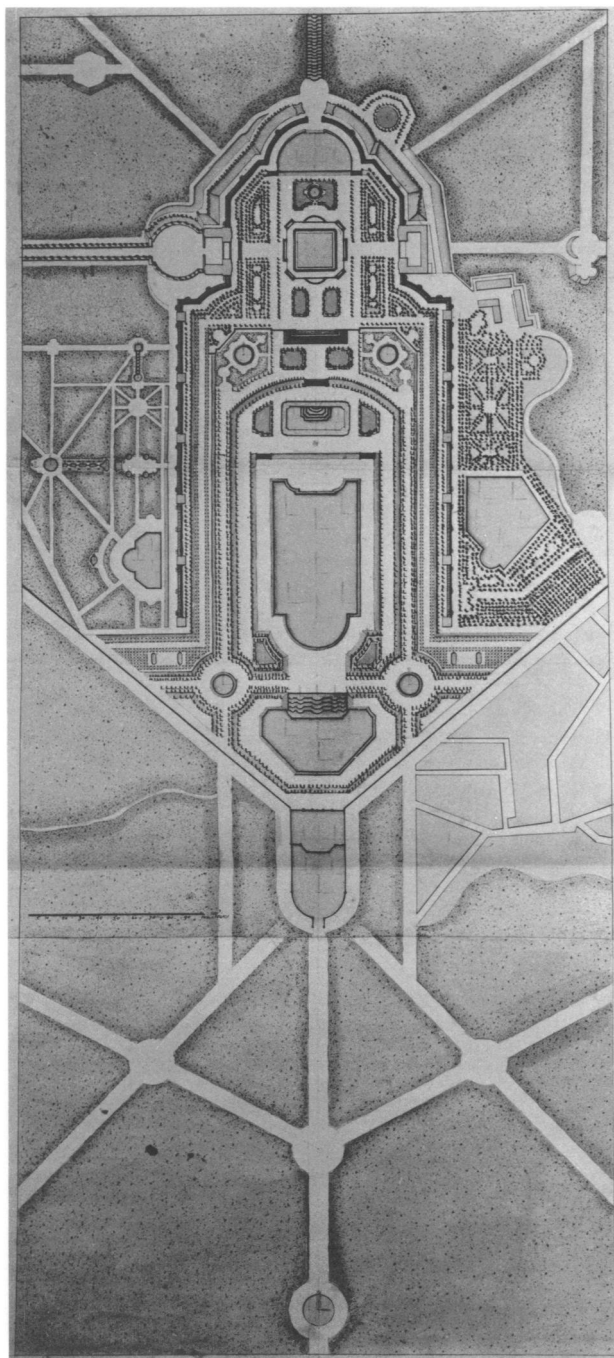
Le Roy a ordonné que les modèles desdits quatre groupes de la Cascade du bout du jardin, et les modèles

5. Dangeau, VII, pp. 83–84: “la grande cascade, qu’on appellera présentement les grandes nappes.”

6. “Mémoire Général des Ouvrages et Réparations à faire aux Bâtiments, Jardins, et Dépendances du Château de Marly en la présente année 1699,” in o¹1473. This passage is erroneously cited by Georges Keller-Dorian (*Antoine Coysevox*, II [Paris, 1920] p. 46) in reference to the groups for the Rivière.

FIGURE 2

Plan of Marly. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 7929



des quatre vases du bas des escaliers de ladite Cascade seroient faits sur leurs pieds d'estaux en plâtre recouverts de stuc pour servir en attendant que l'on fasse les marbres.⁷

The groups meant to decorate les Nappes—Nicolas Coustou's Seine and Marne, Corneille van Clève's Loire and Loiret, and Anselme Flamen and Simon Hurtrelle's Nymphs—thus occupy an intermediate position between Coysevox's Fame and Mercury (for which marble was already ordered on July 22)⁸ and the four groups of paired gods and goddesses for the Grande Pièce d'Eau, whose subject matter was decided only on May 17.

On August 31, 1699, a contract was signed charging workmen with the execution of plaster casts after the models, to be set in the places the finished marble versions would one day occupy (see Appendix 1). The function of these plaster casts is clearly indicated in the orders given on September 3, 1699:

Mémoire des ouvrages et réparations à faire au château de Marly, jardins et ses dependances pendant le voyage de Fontainebleau et le restant de la présente année 1699:

91. finir les 4 modèles de platre des groupes que l'on fait sur les pedestaux de la pièce du grand Jet.
92. Moulder les 4: groupes de la grande cascade et les 4: groupes cy dessus de la piece du grand jet pour servir de modeles dans les ateliers des sculpteurs qui travailleront au marbre, et jeter d'autres groupes en platre dans les moules qui viennent, d'une seule piece pour estre reposées sur les dits pedestaux a la place des modeles que l'on a fait afin qu'ils durent d'avantage en place en attendant les marbres, etant jettez d'une seule piece et passer deux ou trois couches de blanc a huile dessus.
93. Moulder pareillement les 2: groupes de chevaux du S^r coixvos pour servir de modeles a travailler les marbres.⁹

The technical procedure was detailed in the orders so that the King could be kept informed of the progress in periodic reports during his stay at Fontainebleau from September 3 to October 21. On September 12 he was informed that:

91. On a redoublé les Sculpteurs. ils pourront être en état de mouler le 22. de ce mois.

7. o¹1474, fols. 17–18.

8. Keller-Dorian, II, p. 34.

9. o¹1473. This passage is also connected by Keller-Dorian to the groups for the Rivière (II, p. 46).



FIGURE 3
Drawing after Vertumnus and Pomona by
Sébastien Slodtz. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum,
THC 5128

92. Les mouleurs sont apres.

93. Idem.¹⁰

A week later work had begun on the figures that took precedence, the Fame and Mercury:

91. On commencera à les mouler la semaine prochaine.

92. Seront moulez tous quatre a la fin de la semaine prochaine.

93. On les moule tous les deux.¹¹

Two weeks later, on October 3, molds were being made of all ten statues:

91. Les 4. modeles des groupes de ladite piece du grand jet sont finis. on en moule deux.

92 et 93. Les moulures avancent fort, les 4. groupes des nappes, et ceux des chevaux de la terrasse.¹²

That autumn, payment was made for the mold of at

least one of the groupes for les Nappes; the final payments were made only in February and April 1700.¹³

Still, there was no indication of difficulties in the execution of the commissions. Upon his return from Fontainebleau, the King visited Marly, "où il eut le plaisir de voir que tout ce qu'il avoit ordonné étoit achevé; il en fut content au dernier point."¹⁴ As late as December 21, 1699, there was every intention of executing all the groups in marble immediately, and funds were set aside for the purpose:

faire venir les marbres pour les groupes du Jardin montant à vingt deux mil livres

Commencer à travailler a la sculpture des groupes de chevaux, le fonds pour cette année, dix mil livres

Commencer la sculpture des quatre groupes des nappes, seize mil livres

Commencer la Sculpture des quatre groupes du tour de la piece du grand jet, le fonds pour cette année est de douze mil livres.¹⁵

But on January 11, 1700, the execution in marble of all but the equestrian groups of Coysevox was postponed:

Le 11 Janvier 1700

Sa Majesté a retranché des ouvrages quelle avoit ordonnez pour la presente année 1700

Et a remis en 1701 les quatre grouppes des nappes, les quatre groupes du tour du grand jet, les quatre vases des Escalliers circulaires et La Cascade du bois de la Princesse dont la dépense montoit a quatre vingt onze mil six cens livres.

10. "Estat où sont les Ouvrages de Marly le 12 septembre 1699," in O¹1473.

11. "Estat auquel sont les ouvrages de Marly le 19 Septembre 1699," in O¹1473.

12. O¹1473, fol. 138.

13. "20 septembre-15 novembre (1699): à Jean LePilleur, Sculpteur, sur le moule qu'il a fait en plâtre du groupe du côté gauche des nappes du jardin de Marly (5 p.) 1300^l." Jules Guiffrey, ed., *Comptes des Bâtimens du Roi sous le règne de Louis XIV*, IV (Paris, 1881-1901) col. 517; "20 septembre-30 decembre (1699): à Pierre Varin, Jacques Desjardins, Pierre Langlois, Jean Thierry, et Jean Robert, sculpteurs, à compte des modelles de groupes qu'ils moulent en plâtre dans le jardin de Marly (7 p.) 5600^l," *Comptes*, IV, col. 517; "4 avril (1700): à Jean LePilleur, sculpteur, parfait payement de 1800^l pour deux modelles de groupe en plâtre qu'il a moulez dans le jardin de Marly en 1699 500^l," *Comptes*, IV, col. 651; "7 février (1700): aux nommez Varin, Desjardins, Langlois, Thierry et Robert, sculpteurs, parfait payement de 6000^l à quoi montent les modelles de six groupes qu'ils ont moulé en plâtre dans le jardin du château de Marly en 1699 400^l," *Comptes*, IV, cols. 651-652.

14. 23 October 1699. Dangeau, VII, p. 174.

15. This and the following quote are from O¹1474, fol. 41.



FIGURE 4
Drawing after The Loire and Loiret by Corneille van Clève. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 5127

On September 17, 1700, the Swedish architect Daniel Cronström listed in a letter to Nicodème Tessin the Younger a group of plans and elevations of the château of Marly; these drawings have been identified in the collection of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.¹⁶ In the same letter, Cronström mentioned “plusieurs desseins de statues de Versailles, etc.,” that are also in the Nationalmuseum.¹⁷ They are by the same hand as

16. Ragnar Josephson, “Le Plan primitif de Marly,” *Revue de l'Histoire de Versailles* (1928) pp. 27–44.

17. Roger-Armand Weigert and Carl Hernmarck, *Les Relations Artistiques entre la France et la Suède, 1693–1718* (Stockholm, 1964) p. 280. The statues of Versailles are portrayed in drawings THC 3720 to 3764.

a group of drawings that I believe must have been made after statues at the Marly of 1700.

The Stockholm drawing THC 5128 (Figure 3) is inscribed in pencil on the verso in an eighteenth-century hand, “Groupes de pommone Et Vertumne fait par C Solst.” According to the 1701 edition of Piganiol de la Force’s guide to Versailles and Marly, the pairs of gods and goddesses seen around the Grande Pièce d’Eau were Zephyr and Flora by Poirier, Vertumnus and Pomona by Slodtz, Bacchus and Ariadne by Prou, and Apollo and Daphne by Pouletier.¹⁸ This drawing must represent the group by Slodtz.

THC 5127 (Figure 4) is a view of the Loire and Loiret of Corneille van Clève, a group now in the Tuileries Gardens. In this drawing the group is seen from the short side of the rectangular base, rather than from the long side, as both it and its pendant, Nicolas Coustou’s Seine and Marne, usually appear in photographs.¹⁹

THC 5126 (Figure 5) is inscribed in an eighteenth-

18. Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle Description des Châteaux et Parcs de Versailles et de Marly* (Paris, 1701) p. 381.

19. Jeanne and Alfred Marie, *Marly* (Paris, 1947) figs. 125, 127.

FIGURE 5
Drawing after Nymphs by Simon Hurtrelle. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 5126





FIGURE 6
Drawing after Nymphs by Anselme Flamen.
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 5129

century hand "Groupes de Nimphe fait par hutrel," and THC 5129 (Figure 6) is inscribed "Groupes de Nimphe faits par flamen." The statues represented correspond almost perfectly to the inventory descriptions of the two lost groups from les Nappes (see Appendix 2). The nymph on the left in Hurtrelle's composition holds up a bouquet of flowers, while the inventories describe her raised arm as being entwined by a lamprey; undoubtedly this detail was changed when the marble version was executed.

The plaster models of the groups for les Nappes, the Grande Pièce d'Eau, and the terrace over the Abreuvoir were thus in place by the winter of 1700. The casts of two of the four groups for the Grande Pièce d'Eau were made over the summer of 1701, in conformity to the contract of August 31, 1699.²⁰ But on August 21,

1701, the commissions of Slodtz (Vertumnus and Pomona) and Prou (Bacchus and Ariadne) were transferred to Coustou and van Clève.²¹ On August 31, 1701, money was appropriated for:

fonds pour les 2 groupes de chevaux 6000^{fr}
Nouveaux modèles pour les groupes de bacchus et de
vertumne 1200^{fr}
Entretien des modes de platre du jardin 400^{fr}²²

Then, on September 15, 1701, money was once again set aside to execute all the groups in marble during the coming year.²³

Only the marble equestrian groups were anywhere near completion. The King was so eager to see them in place that he ordered the marble versions placed on the terrace, even if they were not quite finished.²⁴ On August 2, 1702, Fame was finally set up on its pedestal in the King's presence; Mercury followed on August 8.²⁵

During the following week, there was uncertainty about the fate of the rest of the commission. The expenses and difficulties of executing yet eight more complicated marble groups must have been painfully evident. The

20. "3 juillet (1701): à Poultier, sculpteur, pour avoir réparé un groupe en plâtre, représentant *Apollon et Daphné*, placé au jardin des Thuilleries 85^{fr}," *Comptes*, IV, col. 734; "19 juin–3 juillet (1701): à luy [Robert], sur un groupe qu'il a moulé et posé dans le jardin des Thuilleries, représentant *Apollon et Daphné* (2 p.) 240^{fr}," *Comptes*, IV, col. 736; "3 juillet (1701): à Poirier, sculpteur, pour avoir réparé le groupe en plâtre, représentant *Zéphire et Flore*, placé au jardin des Thuilleries, en 1701 85^{fr}," *Comptes*, IV, col. 734; "16 juin (1701): à la veuve et héritiers du S^r Le Pilleur, fondeur, pour un groupe qu'il a moulé, représentant *Zéphire et Flore*, qu'il a posé au jardin des Thuilleries en 1701 240^{fr}," *Comptes*, IV, col. 735; "6 may (1703): à Langlois, mouleur, pour la figure de *Zéphire* et partie de celle de *Flore*, qu'il a moulé et livré au jardin de Marly 155^{fr}," *Comptes*, IV, col. 994; "25 février–6 may (1703): à Desjardins et à Thierry, Varin et Langlois, sur un deuxième plâtre des quatre modèles de groupes qu'ils ont livrés à Marly (2 p.) 500^{fr}," *Comptes*, IV, col. 994.

21. François Souchal, *Les Slodtz* (Paris, 1967) p. 596.

22. O¹1474, fol. 144.

23. "1701. Le 15. 7^{bre} Sa Majesté a réglé et signé de sa main le mémoire des ouvrages quelle a projeté de faire en laditte année pour laditte Dépendance dans lesquels sont compris, sçavoir . . . Le fonds en ladite année pour travailler aux groupes de figures et vases de marbre dont les modèles sont en platre dans le jardin trente quatre mil livres, sçavoir, pour les groupes de chevaux 6000^{fr} pour les quatre groupes des nappes 12000^{fr} pour les quatre groupes de la grande piece 8000^{fr} et pour les quatre vases des escaliers circulaires des nappes 8000^{fr} cy 34000^{fr}," O¹1474, fol. 115.

24. O¹1474, fols. 155–156; quoted in Keller-Dorian, II, p. 37.

25. Dangeau, VIII, p. 466; p. 473.

day the Mercury was set in place, new orders were given:

Le 8. aout sa majesté a ordonné de peindre en couleur de bronze les modelles de groupes qui sont a la piece des nappes, et que l'on fonderoit lesd. groupes l'année prochaine en plomb et étain au lieu de les faire de marbre.²⁶

One imagines a new version of the Parterre d'Eau of Versailles. The experiment must have been considered a success, and was repeated on the other groups two days later:

FIGURE 7

Corneille van Clève, Bacchus and Ariadne. California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1931.154 (photo: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco)



Du 10: dud. Sa majesté a ordonné de peindre aussy couleur de bronze Les modelles de groupes qui sont autour de la grande piece, et que l'on fonderoit lesd. groupes en plomb et étain l'année prochaine.

For some reason, there was soon a return to the original plan:

Le 14. dudit Sa Majesté a ordonné de repeindre en beau blanc de trois couches les groupes des nappes et du tour de la grande piece qui avoient été peints en jaune par son ordre pour être bronzes.

Sometime before 1707, the groups at the Grande Pièce d'Eau were removed.²⁷ Only the figures of rivers and nymphs at les Nappes were executed in marble, and then with a notable delay. In the eighteenth-century inventories of the royal sculptures, the works of Coustou, van Clève, Flamen, and Hurtrelle are listed as works of 1705 and 1707. In the *Comptes des Bâtimens*, the payments to the sculptors extend from 1703 to 1712.²⁸ But this dating is misleading, for the works were conceived as part of the ensemble of 1699. A comparison of the plaster model of the Loire and Loiret, as recorded in THC 5127, and the marble version now in the Tuileries shows the 1699 compositions were reproduced with no important changes.²⁹

The four groups for the Grande Pièce d'Eau that were never executed in marble seem to have had an afterlife only as bronze reductions; van Clève's Bacchus and Ariadne (Figure 7), shown in the Salon of 1704 with a pendant of Diana and Endymion, has been identified.³⁰ In the same Salon, Pouletier exhibited an

26. This and the following two quotations are from o¹1474, fol. 164.

27. Souchal, *Les Slodtz*, p. 596.

28. A payment was made to Nicolas Coustou for the wax model of his river, said to have been made in 1699, on December 4, 1701. The other payments date between 1705 and 1712 (*Comptes*, IV, cols. 882, 1184; V, cols. 40, 143, 510, 609). The payments to Corneille van Clève date between 1703 and 1711 (*Comptes*, IV, cols. 964, 1183; V, cols. 40, 143, 525). The payments to Flamen date from 1703 to 1711 (*Comptes*, IV, cols. 963, 1184; V, cols. 36, 40, 538), as do those to Hurtrelle (*Comptes*, IV, cols. 964, 1184; V, cols. 40, 143, 538).

29. The original gesture of the nymph holding up a bouquet of flowers was preserved in a small bronze statuette, in which Hurtrelle's nymph and the child beside her have been transposed to represent Flora and a putto (see the exhibition catalogue *French Painting and Sculptures of the 18th Century* [Heim Gallery, London, 1968] no. 46).

30. Souchal suggested the group of Bacchus and Ariadne exhibited by van Clève at the Salon of 1704 reflected the artist's composition for the Marly commission (*Les Slodtz*, p. 138, note 1),

Apollo and Daphne that we can assume was closely related to his composition for Marly.³¹ Thus in a different medium and scale than was originally intended, these compositions became accessible to a wider public than that which saw them during the brief time they were at Marly.

In 1701, while the statues for the lower section of the garden were being executed, an order was given for sculptures of sphinxes to decorate the terrace of the château:

Le 15 (avril, 1701) Sa Majesté a réglé de faire des Sphinx sur les huit gros pieds d'estaux des perrons, qui montent au milieu des terrasses du pourtour du château et des groupes d'enfants sur les 8 autres pieds d'estaux des rampes des encoignûres desdites terrasses et a ordonné d'en faire incessamment des modèles en plâtre sur tous lesdits pieds destaux.³²

On May 20, two additional groups to flank the steps leading to the groves of clipped hedges known as the appartements verts were ordered:

Le même jour sa Majesté a ordonné de faire deux groupes de figures sur les deux gros pieds d'estaux a la tête du perron qui descend de la terrasse au dessus des appartemens verts.³³

On August 31, it was specified that these figures, called shepherds, as well as the ornaments for the terrace, should be of lead:

Les sphinx, groupes d'enfans et de bergers a faire en plomb et étain 20400^{†34}

Orders were left to cast the lead versions during the autumn while the court was at Fontainebleau, but apparently this was not done:

2500^{††} Mouler incessamment les Sphinx, et les petits groupes denfans au pourtour du chateau pour
Neant les jetter en plomb
800^{††} pareillement les deux groupes de bergers et bergeres qui sont sur les pedestaux du grand peron.³⁵

Payments for the lead versions were made to Coustou, Lespingola, and Hardy only between 1702 and 1704.³⁶

Descriptions in eighteenth-century inventories indicate that the so-called "shepherds" were in reality a group representing Mercury and Argus, with a group of shepherdesses as a pendant.³⁷ Through inventory descriptions I was able to recognize the sphinxes in three drawings in the Nationalmuseum; this identification was corroborated by an engraving by Blondel of the royal pavilion in which the sphinxes appear in silhouette against the façade.³⁸

Four of the eight sphinxes are depicted in THC 7137 (Figure 8). In THC 8612 (Figure 9), by a different hand, the sphinx seen at the lower left of THC 7137 is shown from two angles. THC 8613 (Figure 10) shows yet another sphinx.³⁹

while James I. Rambo identified the bronze Bacchus and Ariadne and Diana and Endymion in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor as van Clève's entries in that Salon through a second, documented Diana and Endymion in Dresden ("A Note on Two Bronze Groups by Corneille van Clève," *Bulletin of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor* 1 (1968). I would like to thank Mrs. S. DeRenne Coerr for this reference.) In a lecture on "Florentine Baroque Bronzes," given March 30, 1974 at the Frick Collection, Dr. Jennifer Montagu accepted the documentary value of the bronze Bacchus and Ariadne as an indication of the lost Marly composition.

31. The famous and puzzling late seventeenth-century bronze version of this subject, variously attributed to Coysevox or an Italian artist (for previous literature, see M. Knoedler and Co., *The French Bronze 1500-1800* [New York, 1968] no. 33) seems to be excluded from consideration; the example in the Green Vaults in Dresden was already bought by Leplat in 1699 (Walter Holzhausen, "Die Bronzen Augusts des Starken," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 60 [1939] p. 176). In addition, in the *Inventaire après décès* of Jean Poultier, made on December 12, 1719, partially published by Mireille Rambaud in *Documents du Minutier Central Concernant l'Histoire de l'Art [1700-1750]* II [Paris 1971]

p. 1037) are an "*Apollon et Daphné*, modèles en plâtre" said to have been made for and to belong to the Crown, and another "*Apollon et Daphné*, groupe en marbre d'un pied de haut 15 [livres]." The latter could be the group shown in the Salon of 1704; a bronze version may never have existed.

32. 0¹1474, fol. 129. On April 27, Dangeau reported, "Le roi a fait mettre ici à l'entour des terrasses du château une balustrade de fer parfaitement belle, et fait faire des sphinx et de beaux groupes d'enfants pour mettre dans les angles." Dangeau, VIII, p. 88.

33. 0¹1474, fol. 133.

34. 0¹1474, fol. 144.

35. 0¹1460, piece no. 169, fol. 6.

36. *Comptes*, IV, cols. 852, 965, 1073.

37. 0¹1968, piece no. 5 (see Appendix 3). These groups are visible in the watercolor illustrations of the garden of Marly, 0¹1472, fols. 25, 26.

38. Marie, *Marly*, fig. 1.

39. 0¹1968, piece no. 5 (see Appendix 4). It would seem that the first sphinx corresponds to that at the upper left of Figure 5; the third, to Figure 7; the fifth, to that at the upper right of Figure 5; the sixth, to that at the lower right of Figure 5; and the eighth, to that at the lower left of Figure 5 and in Figure 6.

The same hand responsible for THC 7137 also copied groups of children. THC 7151 (Figure 11) corresponds perfectly with the inventory description of one of the groups of children that occupied the corner pillars of the terrace. THC 7138 (Figure 12) shows two groups of children that are more difficult to relate to the written descriptions.⁴⁰ However, corroboration that they should show statues from Marly is provided by three other drawings by the same hand on identical tracing paper—THC 7136, which shows the bronze cast of Magnier's Aurora; THC 7150, which shows Barrois' copy after the ancient Venus Callipygos; and THC 7153, which shows Pouletier's Companion of Diana—all of which were at Marly.⁴¹

On July 23, 1701, Louis XIV spent the entire day enjoying the gardens of Marly. Dangeau wrote, "il nous dit à sa promenade qu'il n'imaginait plus de pouvoir faire aucun embellissement à Marly, le lieu étant fort petit et aussi orné qu'il est." One phase of the decoration had ended.⁴²

From this examination, certain facts stand out clearly. First, the statues discussed were conceived, designed, and meant to be executed together, whatever vicissitudes may have intervened. The statues of Neptune, Amphitrite, the Seine, and the Marne made by Coysevox for the Rivière may have been foreseen in 1699, or even 1697, but since the plaster models could only be begun after the sculptor had finished Fame and

Mercury, and figure nowhere among the documents to which we have referred, they represent a later phase of the garden decoration. Thus the statues made to decorate the three lower basins, and, in a subsidiary manner, those for the terraces of the château, were part of a single program.

Second, during this phase Mansart had decisive power over the sculptural decoration. He became *Surintendant des Bâtiments du Roi* on January 8, 1699, and while he had previously exercised a powerful artistic control over the royal architectural projects, there is some evidence that his accession to his new post affected not only the sculpture of Marly, but also the sculptors active there.

A clue to the changes between 1699 and 1702 is found in another affair related to Marly. On October 10, 1699, the Marquis de Sourches wrote:

Le 10, on apprit que Ruzé, contrôleur des bâtiments, qui faisoit cette charge à Marly et à Saint-Germain depuis dix-sept ans, avec l'approbation de toute la cour, avoit été renvoyé à Saint-Germain, avec les appointements qu'il avoit à Marly, et que le Roi avoit mis à sa place un nommé Dujardin, parent de Mansard.⁴³

In reality, it was Mansart who replaced Ruzé with his nephew, Jacques Desjardins, the son of Martin Desjardins. The following week it was reported of Ruzé's interview with Louis XIV:

departure for Spain in 1721. The groups of children decorating the terraces of the two châteaux reinforce Bottineau's observation about the deliberate choice of Marly as a model (*L'Art de Cour*, p. 419).

41. There is evidence to argue that the Aurora of Magnier shown in this group of drawings was the bronze version at the Marly Belvedere. The copy after the Venus Callipygos can only be that of Barrois, as it alone had the extra piece of drapery that is clearly visible on the drawing, and which was added to it by Jean Thierry (Dargenville, *Vie des Fameux Sculpteurs* II [Paris, 1787] p. 242). The Companion of Diana by Pouletier was placed at Marly in 1714 (Furcy-Raynaud, "Les Statues du Jardin Public de Bolbec," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* [1909] p. 87). The bases seen in the drawings of the Aurora and Venus Callipygos correspond in style to those visible in the illustration of the *Place du Bas d'Agrippine* as it was in 1714 in the watercolor illustration in the album 01471, fol. 30; the base seen in the drawing of Pouletier's Companion of Diana is that which it still occupies.

42. Dangeau, VIII, p. 155.

43. Gabriel-Jules de Cosnac, Edouard Pontal, eds., *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches*, VI (Paris, 1882–1893) p. 192.

40. 01968, piece no. 5 (see Appendix 5). Figure 8 is identical with the fourth group described. The two groups shown in Figure 9 are less easy to read; the lower group might correspond with the sixth group. Another record of the appearance of the Marly groups is provided by the groups of children decorating the terrace of La Granja in Spain; a clue to the closeness of the relationship between the French and Spanish groups is the virtual reproduction of the children with the fawn (Figure 8; compare Jeanne Digard, *Les Jardins de la Granja et leurs sculptures décoratives* [Paris, 1934] pl. xxiii, fig. 3, and Yves Bottineau, *L'Art de Cour dans l'Espagne de Philippe V, 1700–1746*, [Bordeaux n.d.] fig. LVI-A). The copyist, René Frémin, misinterpreted the gesture of the little girl who, in the Marly inventory and in Figure 8, was about to chastise the little boy for teasing the animal; at La Granja, her gesture is unmotivated. Others among the Spanish groups correspond to the descriptions of the Marly groups: the children with the dogs (Digard, *Les Jardins*, pl. xxiii, fig. 1) seem to be related to the eighth group at Marly, while the children with the eagle (Figure 2) seem to be inspired by the fifth Marly group. The use of compositions closely patterned on those at Marly, and serving the same function, is not at all surprising since Jean Thierry worked in the circle of Coysevox, and René Frémin was active at Marly before their

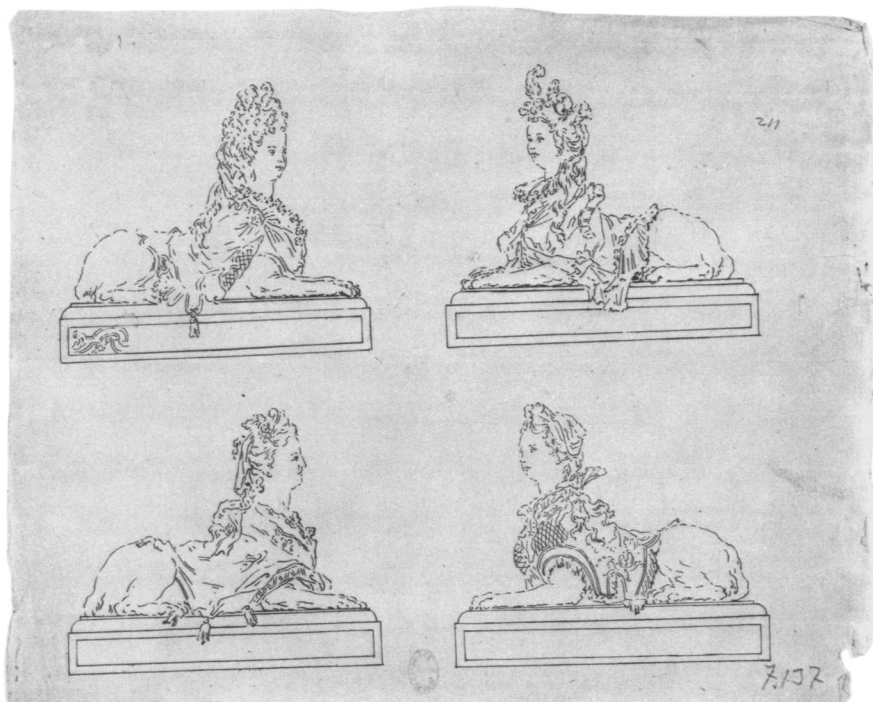


FIGURE 8
Drawing after sphinxes by N. Coustou, F. Lespingola, and J. Hardy. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 7137

FIGURE 9
Drawing after a sphinx. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 8612

FIGURE 10
Drawing after a sphinx. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 8613



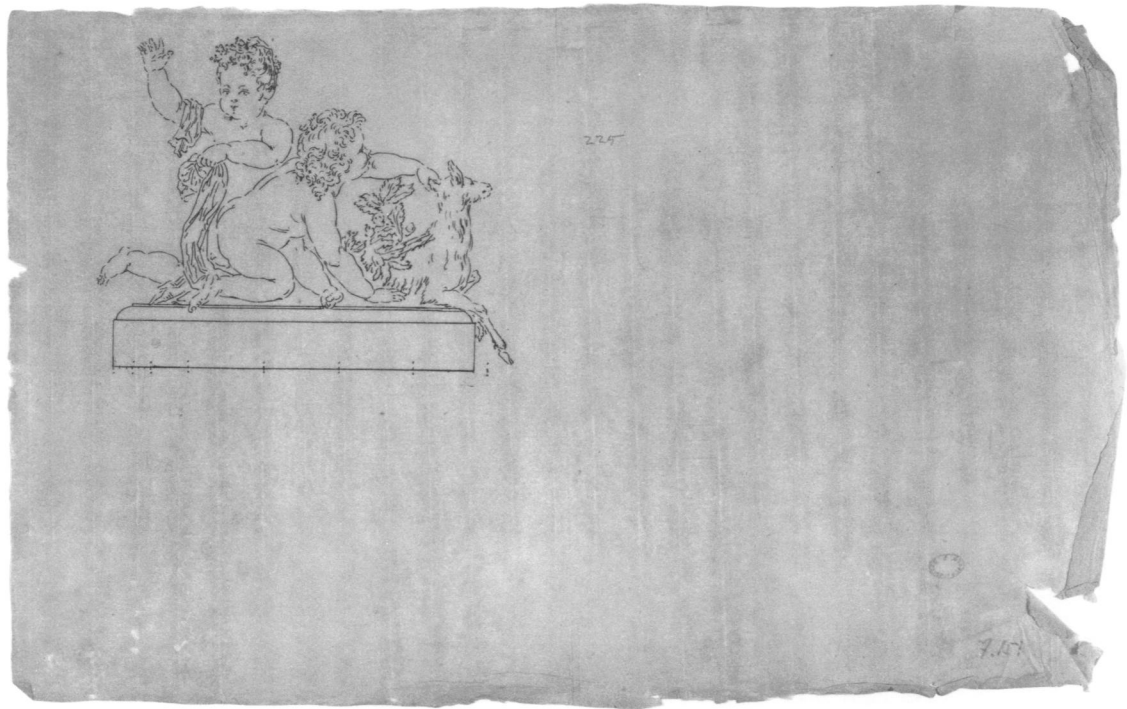


FIGURE 11

Drawing after a group of children by N. Coustou, F. Lespingola, and F. Hardy. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, THC 7151

Le Roi lui mit les mains sur les deux épaules, et lui dit qu'il étoit très content de ses services, et que, s'il en avoit mis un autre à Marly, ce n'étoit que pour empêcher qu'on ne le chagrinât.⁴⁴

Louis XIV himself seems to have understood the futility of opposing the faction of Mansart, who, "habile et heureux courtisan,"⁴⁵ knew the importance of placing members of his family in key positions,⁴⁶ and of surrounding himself with people loyal to himself and his ideas.

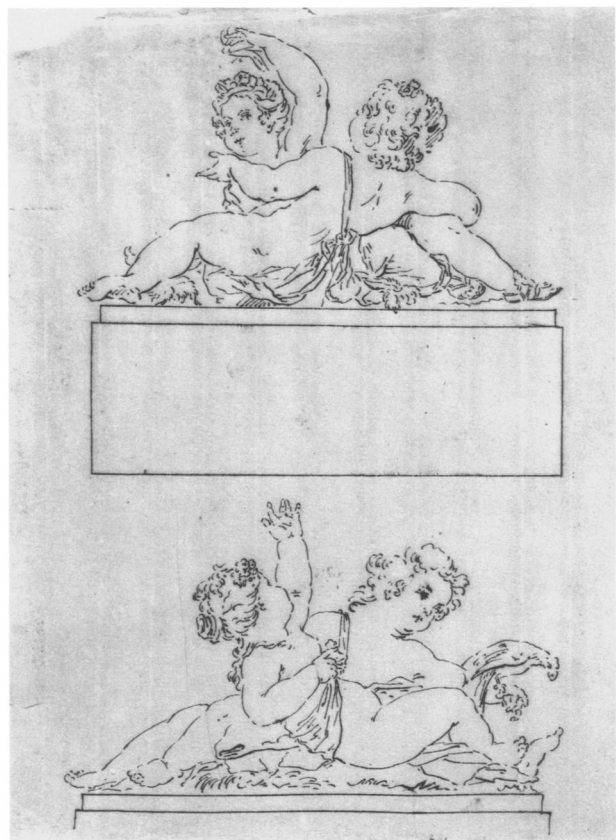
44. *Sourches*, VI, p. 196.

45. Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, I (Paris, 1947-1961) p. 604.

46. After 1699, Robert de Cotte, the brother-in-law of Mansart, and Gabriel, his cousin, held important administrative positions in the *Direction des Bâtimens du Roi*. See Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France* II (Paris, 1948) part 2, pp. 650-652;

FIGURE 12

Drawing after two groups of children. Stockholm. Nationalmuseum, THC 7138



The Fame and Mercury of Coysevox were considered prodigious feats of virtuosity by his contemporaries, and called forth the same sort of comparisons with the sculpture of Antiquity as had Girardon's Baths of Apollo.⁴⁷ Each of these masterpieces occupied a prominent position and served as the sculptor's artistic manifesto. The elevation of Coysevox to a position of this pre-eminence, after a lifetime spent as a member of a royal team largely dominated by Girardon, was surely due to Mansart's intervention. It can be no accident that during his tenure as *Surintendant*, Coysevox and his nephews Nicolas and Guillaume Coustou were closely allied with the great projects at the Invalides, the altar of Notre-Dame, and Marly; Coysevox even executed Mansart's tomb.⁴⁸

It has been suggested the replacement of Sébastien

Slodtz and Jacques Prou by Nicolas Coustou and Corneille van Clève for two groups at the Grande Pièce d'Eau of Marly had political overtones.⁴⁹ Coustou and van Clève had already been favored with the second-best groups of the commission, the Seine and Marne and the Loire and Loiret; by concentrating the commissions in the hands of the Coysevox circle, it could be argued, Mansart attempted to consolidate his control of the sculptural activity, and thereby totally dominate both the design of the gardens and their sculptural decorations.⁵⁰

In the career of Nicolas Coustou during these years, the pattern of favoritism is unmistakable. On July 27, 1700, the painter René Houasse, the director of the French Academy in Rome appointed by Mansart, wrote to the *Surintendant*:

for Robert de Cotte, see Bertrand Jestaz, *Le Voyage d'Italie de Robert de Cotte* (Paris, 1966). For the ennoblement of de Cotte and Gabriel in 1702 and 1704, as well as that of Jacques Desjardins in 1704, see Jules Guiffrey, *Lettres de noblesse accordées aux artistes français (XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris, 1873) pp. 9–15. Desjardins is called Mansart's nephew in his *lettres-patentes*, but in reality he was the husband of Mansart's niece, Marie-Julie-Radegonde Hardouin (Lorenz Seelig, "L'Inventaire après décès de Martin van Den Bogaert dit Desjardins, sculpteur ordinaire du roi (7 août 1694)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* [1972] p. 163, note 7). Florent LeComte wrote in his notice on Martin Desjardins, "Il a laissé un fils fort habile dans la Peinture, d'un esprit enjoué, d'un génie éclairé, et qui est des plus entendus dans les Bâtimens." (*Cabinet des Singularitez* III [Paris, 1700] p. 135). This Jacques Desjardins, then, should not be confused with his cousin and homonym, Jacques Desjardins "sculpteur et mouleur" (for his career, see Seelig, "L'Inventaire de Martin Desjardins," p. 167, note 1); it is the latter who has been mentioned in connection with a series of bronzes representing the Seasons, but for a dissenting opinion, see Lorenz Seelig in the exhibition catalogue *Europäische Barockplastik am Niederrhein: Gruppello und seine Zeit* (Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, 1971) nos. 365, 366.

47. See Fremel'huis, *Eloge de Coysevox* (Paris, 1720) p. 21. In his description, Fremel'huis emphasizes the tour de force of the sculptor who carved each figure from a single block of marble. The Baths of Apollo were admired by Dézallier d'Argenville (*Vies des Fameux Sculpteurs*, II, p. 216) for the number of figures combined in one composition, and evoked comparisons with the Farnese Bull and the Niobid Group.

48. Keller-Dorian, *Coysevox*, II, pp. 55–56, and François Souchal, "Notes sur les monuments funéraires du duc d'Angoulême à La Guiche et d'Hardouin-Mansart en l'église de Saint-Paul à Paris," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1972) pp. 158–159.

49. Souchal, *Les Slodtz*, p. 139.

50. The question of Le Nôtre's possible participation in the garden designs of Marly has been discussed by Runar Strandberg,

"André LeNôtre et son école, dessins inédits ou peu connus dans la Collection Tessin-Harleman au Musée National de Stockholm," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1960) pp. 109–128; Liliane Chatelet-Lange, "LeNôtre et ses Jardins," *Art de France*, 4 (1964) pp. 302–304; and Gerold Weber, "Ein Kaskadenprojekt für Versailles, Zur Frage J. H. Mansart—A. Le Nôtre," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 37 (1974) pp. 248–268. Whatever may have been the case earlier, by the late 1690s Le Nôtre's position as garden designer had so eroded that Mansart should be considered the garden architect at Marly. Chatelet-Lange cites Florent-LeComte's inclusion in the list of works by Mansart "Le Palais de Marly avec tous les jardins" (p. 303, and LeComte, *Cabinet des Singularitez* I [Paris, 1699] p. aaij), which was probably more than mere flattery in a book dedicated to Mansart. It is true that Claude Desgots, a nephew of Le Nôtre, was granted a continuation of his uncle's charge, which was considered an extraordinary honor, on January 14, 1699, six days after Mansart became *Surintendant* (*Sourches*, VI, p. 110). However, his field of activity seems to have lain in private commissions and lesser royal châteaux. For an account of his career, see Runar Strandberg, "Claude Desgots und sein Projekt für den Garten in Schleissheim," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 15 (1964) pp. 177–194, and, by the same author, "The French Formal Garden after Le Nôtre," *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* III, *The French Formal Garden* (Washington, D.C., 1974) pp. 41–67. The 1694 statement of Cronström that Mansart had taken over the garden design at Marly (Weigert, Hernmarck, *L'Art en France et en Suède*, p. 44), the 1741 statement by Gabriel that at Marly "tous bâtimens, jardins, et fontaines ont été faits par les dessins et par les soins de M. Mansart" (cited by Chatelet-Lange as well as Pierre Bourget and Georges Cattai, *Jules Hardouin-Mansart* [Paris, 1956] p. 19), and the stylistic evidence support this view. Finally, Le Nôtre's visit to the gardens of Marly upon the invitation of Louis XIV, about a month before his death in September 1700, makes sense only if he was unfamiliar with the new embellishments (Dangeau, VII, p. 373, and repeated by Saint-Simon, I, p. 755).

Le S^r Coustou, mon gendre, m'a annoncé les bontés et l'estime dont vous l'honorez et luy donnez des marques continuelles, et, ressamment, la grâce que vous luy avez faite de luy donner l'ouvrage et l'atelier de M. Girardon. Je ne peux, Monsieur, vous exprimer les sentiments de notre reconnaissance; toute ma famille ressent les effets de votre bonté.⁵¹

The "ouvrage" referred to may be the statue of Saint Louis for the façade of the Invalides, given to Coustou sometime before 1701, and which he finished after Girardon's model.⁵² Meanwhile, Sébastien Slodtz, whose career had begun auspiciously due to his association with Girardon, was being denied the opportunities to distinguish himself. At the Invalides, while Coustou finished the statue of Saint Louis, Slodtz worked on interior reliefs. While Coustou executed the monumental Pietà for the altar of Notre-Dame, Slodtz's religious works for the Crown were made as part of the team at the Chapel of Versailles, or for *pompes funèbres*. While Coustou created his three famous seated figures for the *fer à cheval* of Marly, Slodtz was assigned one of a group of six figures for the Cascade Champêtre. LeLorain, another disciple of Girardon, and also the author of one of these figures, had enough sense of the situation to direct his career toward private commissions. Likewise, Jacques Prou, who was replaced at Marly by van Clève in 1701, worked only marginally for the royal projects directed by Mansart.⁵³

51. Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les Surintendants des Bâtiments*, III (Paris, 1857–1908) p. 57. It is difficult to substantiate this transaction. It is known that in 1703 Nicolas Coustou replaced the geographer Guillaume Sanson in lodgings beneath the Grande Galerie ("Brevets de Logement dans la Galerie du Louvre," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 2 [1873] pp. 82, 116). Only in the 1706 edition of Germain Brice's *Description de Paris* is Coustou said to have an atelier in the courtyard, next to that of Girardon (see "Artistes occupant les ateliers du Louvre cités par Germain Brice," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 2 [1873] p. 118, and the concordance table of Germain Brice in Pierre Codet, ed., *Description de la Ville de Paris* [Paris, 1971] p. 35).

52. François Souchal, "Les Coustou aux Invalides," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 83 (1974) p. 258. The precise moment when the statue was given to Coustou is not known. But Girardon's eclipse could be dated in 1700, when his pension was reduced by half (Pierre Francastel, *Girardon* [Paris, 1928] p. 35, and Ragnar Josephson, "Les projets pour la Place Vendôme," *L'Architecture* 41 [1928] p. 91).

53. Little is known of the career of Prou. His *morceau de réception* at the Academy (1682) seems to have been devised as a tribute to Le Brun, to show the superiority of painting over sculpture and

If political reasons were definitely present, it is more difficult to judge if there was an aesthetic basis for the dismissal of Slodtz's model for Vertumnus and Pomona. Out of a total of six models made for the commission, only the drawing after Slodtz's composition and the small bronze version of van Clève's Bacchus and Ariadne remain. Yet, taking into account different media and scales, we can make certain observations. The most obvious is the different attitude toward the interrelationship of the two figures. Slodtz utilizes standing figures on a single plane; van Clève makes use of a floating figure that curves in a circular motion to confront a solidly anchored, seated figure. In illustrating a dramatic moment, the two artists betray totally different sensibilities. In Slodtz's composition, Vertumnus lowers his mask and reveals himself as the handsome suitor of the nymph Pomona, identified by her pruning hook, who leans on the stump of one of her fruit trees. The artist strives to reduce the narrative to the simplest elements. The van Clève group, on the other hand, exploits the divergence of the two figures to convey an erotically charged atmosphere and a sense of the mingled attraction and recoil in Ariadne's reaction to the sudden apparition of Bacchus. The origin of such a composition can be traced to Bernini's Ecstasy of Saint Theresa, either through a Genoese group of Time Unveiling Truth that was bought by the Crown in this period,⁵⁴ or, more probably, through van Clève's

architecture (see "Jacques Prou, par Guillet de Saint-Georges," Louis Dussieux, Louis Soulié, eds., *Mémoires Inédits sur la Vie et les Ouvrages des Membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture* II [Paris, 1854] pp. 80–85). In at least two documents, Prou was called "sculpteur ord^{re} du Roy et valet de chambre de Monsieur, frère unique de S.M." (1691) and "feu Jacques Prou, écuyer et valet de chambre de S.A.R. feu Monsieur" (1707), (Henri Herluison, *Actes d'état-civil d'artistes français* [Paris, 1873] p. 363), from which one might infer that he passed into the service of the Orléans branch of the royal family, perhaps after the death of Le Brun. At the end of his life, after a lengthy absence from the *Comptes des Bâtiments*, however, Prou appears in 1704 as the author of "une Nimphe, pour le bassin des carpes de Marly" (*Comptes*, IV, col. 1184; V, col. 41); this statue was acquired by the Louvre in 1974 (*Revue du Louvre* [1975] p. 58).

54. The payment to Jérôme Derbais was made December 20, 1702 (*Comptes*, IV, col. 853). Piganiol de la Force reports the work was brought from Genoa (*Nouvelle description des châteaux de Versailles et de Marly* [Paris, 1713] pp. 257–258); one inventory says "on le tient de l'école de Puget" (01968, piece no. 4, fols. 55–56); an inventory of 1788 calls it a "groupe qui paroît avoir été fabriqué a Carare" (01965, fol. 3). See Furcy-Raynaud, "Les Statues du Jardin Public de Bolbec," p. 87.

own study of Bernini in Rome.⁵⁵ In his will to master the idiom of the Baroque group in his Bacchus and Ariadne, then, van Clève shares the preoccupations of the Coysevox circle.

Not the least important aspect of the commission of 1699, as reconstructed here, is the predominance of *groupes*, as opposed to single figures. This generic distinction was observed in eighteenth-century terms of classification, but the proper modern designation for the statues of les Nappes would be multifigure groups.⁵⁶ The size of these groups is indeed noteworthy. By 1702, when the Rivière was being decorated, the groups used consisted of only one adult accompanied by children, with the addition, in the case of Neptune and Amphitrite, of a hippocamp and dolphin respectively. This smaller format was subsequently exploited in the figures of Coysevox and Coustou for the *fer à cheval*, where the anecdotal relationship between the adult and single child was developed.

The commission of 1699 was distinctive in its use of four multifigure groups, and in the subtlety with which the figures were formally linked. The paired rivers of Coustou and van Clève differ from the paired gods and goddesses on the pillars of the Versailles Orangerie,⁵⁷ where little attempt was made to vary the pattern of two figures seated laterally, meant to be seen from either the front or the back. The Coustou and van Clève groups, on the contrary, are carefully disposed on their bases to form pleasing pendants when seen from their main points of view (an angle or the short side of their bases, as seen in Figure 4, rather than from their long sides). THC 5127 thus provides a valuable clue to the effect these ingeniously composed groups were meant to convey in their original site. Now, when they can be circumambulated, it is useful to recall how the vantage points from which one saw them were further controlled by the system of terraces and narrow walkways around the water (Figure 2).

The extent to which the intended site influenced the formal solutions of Coysevox's Fame and Mercury has also been insufficiently emphasized. The preternatural lightness of the riders and their strange sliding postures have attracted more attention. In fact, these qualities are functions of the skillful compositions, which must have accorded perfectly with the converging diagonals leading to the terrace above the Abreuvoir.⁵⁸ Once

again, the visitor was channeled along a path circumscribed by a basin of water on one side and a steep precipice bounded by a wall on the other. There was only one angle from which he could first approach the statues. While the winged horses seemed to precede the viewer on a course parallel to his path, the equestrian figures, operating on an independent axis, turned back to address themselves to him. The subtle interplay of axes could only be adjusted at the site itself and on a full-scale model. The delay requested by Coysevox, from January or February 1699, to March 1699, to finish the large models on the terrace was said to be required by "des études importantes." Most likely it was this problem he was attempting to resolve.⁵⁹

In my opinion, the figure of Fame should be seen ideally from a 135° angle, and Mercury from a 45° angle. This observation marks the gulf that divides them from Girardon's pictorial Aristaeus and Proteus and Ino and Melicerte, which, set against a background of clipped hedges, can be viewed from any point between 45° and 135°, although 90° is perhaps the most satisfactory. The late Girardon groups are tableaux, rivaling paintings, and like paintings, can be appreciated against virtually any neutral background. The Marly statues, on the contrary, suffer when removed from their original setting.

A greater tragedy than the loss of any part of Marly was the loss of the whole. A unity was achieved there between the sculpture and its setting that we can now perceive only in a fragmentary way. The main characteristic of the lower garden of Marly was precisely its openness.⁶⁰ After the 1699 reform of les Nappes, when

55. Describing van Clève's stay in Rome, the Comte de Caylus wrote, "Il y demeura six ans, et s'occupa principalement de l'étude du Bernin." *Mémoires Inédits* II, p. 74.

56. This term was used in connection with Florentine and French late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century bronze statuettes by Dr. Jennifer Montagu in her lecture on Florentine baroque bronzes.

57. Simon Thomassin, *Recueil de figures, groupes, termes, fontaines, vases et autres ornemens tels qu'ils se voyent à présent dans le château et le parc de Versailles* (Paris, 1694) nos. 72–75.

58. The same section of the garden represented in Figure 1 appears in the watercolor album o¹1472, fol. 35 (reproduced in Charles Mauricheau-Beaupré, "Le Château de Marly," *La Gazette Illustrée des Amateurs de Jardins* (1926–1927) pl. xiii).

59. o¹1474, fols. 17–18.

60. In relating an incident that took place in the spring of 1708, Saint-Simon characterized the lower garden: "M. de Beauvillier,

upper and lower basins were conflated into a vast, architectural paraphrase of shallow rapids leading to a lake,⁶¹ Mansart designated sites for statuary groups where their vertical accents would emphasize the essential points of articulation.⁶² The 1701 decoration of the terrace of the château of Marly was also the product of an architectural imagination: the lead sphinxes and groups of children, and also the shepherds and shepherdesses flanking the staircases by which one passed from one level of the terraces to another, were also three-dimensional counterparts to the ornaments painted in trompe-l'oeil frescoes, or false *stucchi*, on the façade of the royal pavilion. The progression from feigned sculpture to real, the distinction between the masculine Seine and Loire who, with scepterlike rudders seemed to loom over the rushing rapids, while the gentle river nymphs presided over the still waters of the lower level of les Nappes,⁶³ the ingenious exploitation of the terrace site of Fame and Mercury, such that in the *contre-jour*

the supporting trophies appeared to dematerialize and the wings of the horses seemed to blend with the sky in a simulated apotheosis⁶⁴—all these effects could be realized only because in 1699 the responsibilities for architecture, garden design, and sculpture were united under one hegemony.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article was prepared during the course of a two-year fellowship, during which I did preliminary research for a doctoral dissertation for the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, on the statues of the château of Marly. I want to thank the Chester Dale Foundation, and to express my appreciation of the support and encouragement of my advisors, Olga Raggio and James Parker. In addition, I am grateful for the generous help of Pierre Verlet, Bertrand Jestaz, Françoise Jestaz, Irving Lavin, Jacob Bean, Guy Walton, James Draper, and Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort.

qui avoit envie de causer avec moi, me mena dans le bas du jardin vers l'Abreuvoir, où tout est à découvert, et où on ne peut être entendu de personne." Saint-Simon, II, p. 1013.

61. Mansart's use of rocaïlle work is a discreet reference to the natural motifs of rustication he otherwise represses. It is confined to carefully defined areas of his basins, and recalls Bernini's remark after visiting Antoine LePautre's cascade at Saint-Cloud: "il faut cacher l'art davantage et chercher de donner aux choses une apparence plus naturelle, mais qu'en France généralement en tout on fait le contraire," in Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal du voyage en France du cavalier Bernin* (Paris, 1930) p. 100.

62. Mansart's use of statuary with bodies of water has been

lucidly characterized by Weber ("Ein Kaskadenprojekt für Versailles," pp. 264–265).

63. Curiously, the groups represented in the views of 011472, fol. 35 and in Figure 1 do not seem to be identical; one can only conclude they are free interpretations by the painters. I base my contention that the Rivers occupied the upper positions on the description of Piganiol, who lists them before the Nymphs, and on Rigaud's later, engraved "Vue du Chateau de Marli Prise de bas du grand parterre," in which, although the Rivers have already been removed and transported to the Tuileries, the Nymphs are seen in the positions I believe they had always occupied.

64. Fremel'huis, *Eloge*, p. 22.

Appendix 1

31 aout 99

Devis des ouvrages que le Roy veut faire faire a Marly pour mouler les groupes de figures qui sont autour de la grande piece deau, aux nappes et a la teste du mur de Terrasse proche la breuvoye le tout pour estre fait a la fin du mois doctobre mil six cent quatre Vingt dix neuf suivant Les conditions cy apres declarées

Premierement

Les Entrepreneurs seront obligez de fournir de tous materiaux Ustancils et fers pour rendre lesdits ouvrages d'ans l'entiere perfection, feront les voiturier de Marly a paris

Les deux groupes faites par monsieur Coisvox seront moulez et les moules voituriez a paris avec un platre livre audit sieur Coisvox dans son atelier et les creux mis dans la salle des antiques ou aux Endroits qui seront marquez et si en Moulant les dits groupes il se detruisoit quelque partie les mouleurs seront obligez de faire restablir a le. frais sous la conduite dud. Sieur Coisvox Les autres groupes aux nappes et au Tour de la grande piece d'eau seront moulés et un platre jetté sur le lieu pour remplacer sur les pieds d'Eaux au lieu et place des figures qui ont esté moulez et les dits platres seront reparez par les sculpteurs qui auront fait les groupes comme'aussy sera fourny a chaque sculpteur un platre des groupes qu'ils ont faits les dits mouleurs seront obligez de leur fournir le dit plâtre dans leur atelier et le creux aux endroits qui seront aussy marquez a paris Tous Lesquels ouvrages seront bien et deum. faits et parfaits en sorte que monsieur Le surintendant en soit content les Entrepreneurs seront obligez de fournir de Tous materiaux de platre pur en pierre cuite batue, passé au sacs le plus fin non Evanté, tous les fers necessaires et assés fortes les huilles et mastic, cordes ficelles ustancilles equipages et tout ce qu'il conviendra pour rendre les dits ouvrages faits et parfaits dans le vingt du mois D'octobre prochain moyennant le prix et somme cy apres declarées

Sçavoir

Pour chacun creux avec un platre des groupes faits par le sieur Coisvox le creux voituré a paris et le platre dans l'atelier du sieur Coisvox la somme de Douze Cens Livres

Pour Chacun Creux et deux platres des groupes autour

des nappes et au Tour de la piece d'Eau La somme de neuf cent Livres

Pardevant Les conseillers du Roy notaire gardenottes au Chastelet de Paris soussignez furent presens Jean le pilleur moule. demeurant rue champfleury au Louvre, Pierre Langlois demeurant rue neuve saint denis paroisse S^t Laurent, Jacques Desjardins demeurant au Louvre, Pierre Varin demeurant sus dites Rue Saint Denis, Jean Thiery demeurant au vieux Louvre et Jean Robert Tous sculpteurs demeurant au dit Vieux Louvre les quels ont promis et se sont obligez solidairement l'un pour l'autre un seul pour le tout sans discussion et fidejussion renonceans auxdits benefices Envers Sa Majesté acceptant par Messire Jules Hardouin Mansart conseiller du Roy en ses conseils surintendant Et ordonnateur general des Bastimens jardins arts Et manufactures de Sa Majesté Chevalier de l'ordre de saint Michele Conte de Sagonne a ce presant de faire bien et deument comme il appartient Et a la satisfaction de Mon dit Seigneur surintendant, Tous les Ouvrages mentionnez au devis de l'autre part et de la miere qu'ils y sont specifiez moyennant les prix y declarez les quels prix mon dit seigneur surintenda. Promet faire payer aux dits entrepreneurs au fur et a mesure de la perfection des dits Ouvrages par les sieurs Tresoriers Generaux des Bastimens de Sa Majesté Et pour L'exécution des presentes les dits Entrepreneurs ont esleus leur Domicilles a paris ou ils sont demeurants aux quels lieux Nonobstant. Promettant. Obligeant. Lesdits Entrepreneurs solidairement Renonceans. fait Et Passé a Paris En l'hotel de Mon dit Seigneur surintendant scis rue des tournelles Le dernier Jour du mois Daoust Mil Six Cent Quatre Vingt dix neuf Et Ont signé ainsy signé hardouin Mansart, J. Lepilleur, Langlois, P. Varin Dejardin, Thierry Jean Robert, Bailly, Sainfray

L'an mil sept Cent le douze Mars la presente Colla'on Acte faite par Les Conseillers du Roy Notaires gardenottes et gardescelles au Chastelet de paris soussignez sur la minutte originale dudit Devis et marché est a. en la possession de De Mahault L'un des dits notaires co'e subrogé a l'office et pratique de Maitre Charles Sainfray cy devant notaire/.

Scellé lesd

Maln'igne

D Mahault

J^e jan

(01465, piece no. 337)

Appendix 2

Un Grand Groupe de deux figures de femmes assises sur un Rocher repn'tant deux Rivières assises une des-
quelles est appuyée sur le Roc où elle est assise, tenant
de la main gauche qu'elle a élevée, une Lamproye
entortillée autour de son bras, sur la plinte est un Enfant
couché qui luy présente un raiseau, lequel a plusieurs
poissons derrière luy. L'autre figure de femme aussi
presque nuë est en action de prendre de ses deux mains
une grappe de raisin dans une Corbeille remplie de
melons, grenades, et autres fruits et feuilles. sur le Roc
est couché un Amour dont les ailes sont de Zephir,
lequel de la main gauche luy presente du raisin, la
droite appuyée sur son Carquois et à ses pieds son Arc,
un grand aviron, des roseaux et Coquilles ornent le Roc
et accompagnent la plinte qui a 8 pi. 3 po. de long sur
6 pi. 4 po. de large, les figures sont de la proportion de
8 pi. par M. Urterel.

Un Groupe de deux figures de femmes assises sur des
Roches repñtant deux Rivières, dont une tient de la
main gauche un grand feston de feuilles d'eau et de la
droite qu'elle a baissée une Corne d'Abondance pleine
de bled et de fruits différents. Elle est coëffée de feuilles
de Roseau, ayant derriere elle une petite fille couchée
sur le Roc. Elle est appuyée sur la main droite et met
la gauche dans l'eau qui sort de dessous le roc, sur lequel
sont de grosses plantes et Coquilles. L'autre figure aussi
presque nuë ayant la main droite sur l'Epaule de la
premiere tient du bras gauche a baissé un Aviron et est
coëffée de roseau de grandes feuilles. Derriere elle est
un Enfant qui tient un poisson en attitude d'en avoir
peur. Il manque cinq doigts à la main gauche et un à
la droite. La plinte et proportions comme cy devant
par M. flamand.

(o'1969^A, fols. 168–169)

Appendix 3

Marly grand peron devant le Chau	Un Groupe en plomb repn'tant deux femmes assises sur une Terrasse, Lune Tenant une guenouille de la main droite a le bras gauche appuyé sur un mouton couché aupres d'Elle, de l'autre Costé un panier remply de Fuseaux et Chamire,
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Lautre femme tient une Simbale antique
a la main gauche, et le Coude apuyé sur
une draperie posé sur un tronc d'arbre,
et une houlette aupres, et tenant de la
main droite une baguette qui touche la
simbale, une levrette Couchée a ses pieds
qui pose la patte sur sa cuisse droite;
figures de huit pieds ou environ, Le tout
sur une Terrasse de unze pieds deux
pouces de Long.

Un Groupe en plomb representant mer-
cure et argus assis, mercure tient de sa
main gauche un hautbois, un Bouc a
costé de luy qui se moue La patte de
derriere, argus est couché, Le bras droit
apuyé sur une roche couverte d'une
draperie, Tenant le Bout de ses Cheveux
de Sa main, et écoutant Mercure ayant
le bras gauche alongé sur le genouil
droit tenant son baton, et la jambe
gauche et le genouil appuyé sur son
chien couché, Figures et plinte de même
que le precedent, qui sont Ceintrez par
les deux Bouts a oreille.

(o'1968, piece no. 5.)

Appendix 4

Marly autour du Chateau	Un sphinx coëffée d'un diademe avec des plumes, couverte dune draperie avec une Campanne et des fils de perles et pierreries pendues au Col, ayant trois pieds huit pouces de haut y Compris sa plinte.
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Idem	Un autre Sphinx coëffée Idem ayant une draperie sur Le Dos avec des phalbalats et une fraize au Tour du Col, ayant Trois pieds huit pouces de haut y Com- pris sa plinte.
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Marly autour du Chateau	Un autre Sphinx coëffé d'un diademe en Coquille, une draperie brodée par le bord et des houpes tombantes de distance en distance, une chaine garnie de pier- reries qui luy pend sur Lestomac, et Va sur L'épaule droite ayant de hauteur, Trois pieds, six po.
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Idem Un autre Sphinx ayant une écharpe autour de la Teste, Sa draperie fourée et une maniere de Teste avec des brandebourgues, ayant de haut trois pieds six pouces.

Idem Un Sphinx coëffée dun diademe, dans le milieu est un Ruby, entouré de perles, une boucle de cheveux luy pend sur lepaule liée avec des perles, une Chemise sur le Col ou paroist une dantelle avec sa draperie nouée sur le devant ou pend deux houpes, ayant de hauteur trois pieds six pouces.

Marly
autour du
Chateau Un sphinx Coëffé dune draperie a frange avec une houe, une housse sur le Corps a frange et a broderie une maniere de Colletet gottique hauteur Idem.

id. Un Sphinx Coëffé avec des fleurs et un Bandeau garny de pierreries sa housse ornée de baton rompu Ayant de hauteur, Trois pieds six pouces.

Marly
autour du
Chateau Un Sphinx coëffé d'un diademe une perle entreles deux rouleaux et deux bouts d'écharpe qui luy tombe par derriere le rond de ses cheveux une housse brodé sur Le Corps avec trois houpes de chaque Costé, et un fleuron d'ornemens sur lestomac ou est attaché un ruban qui soutient sa draperie, ayant de hauteur trois pieds six pouces, Les plintes ont dix pouces de haut, et de larg^r quatre pieds neuf pouces, Longueur deux pieds, quatre pouces.

(O¹1968, piece no. 5)

Appendix 5

Idem Un Groupe d'enfans, representant une Jeune fille (qui tient un Scept de Vignes) et un petit garçon qui se joue avec un Singe, ayant de hauteur trois pieds quatre pouces, y Compris la plinte, Les enfans de 4 pieds ou environ.

Marly
autour du
Chateau Un Groupe d'enfans representant une jeune fille qui tient un Ceps de Vignes et raisins a un petit garçon qui fait manger

du raisin des feuilles a un Bouc qui est entr'eux mesures Idem

Idem Un Groupe idem representant une jeune fille qui montre de la main droite une grape de raisin a un Panterre et le Bras gauche apuyé sur un tambour de basque, Et le Garçon tient le panterre du bras droit, et a dans Le bras gauche un Cept ou est une pome de pin, entouré d'un cept de vignes id.

Marly
autour du
Chateau Un Groupe representant un jeune garçon qui tient un chevreuil par Loreille. une jeune fille qui a la main droite levée pour donner sur la fesse du garçon et Levant de la gauche un bout de draperie.

Marly
autour du
Chateau Un Groupe representant (deux enfans) un garçon Tenant un arc levé ayant un Carquois attaché derriere le Dos, et Lautre est apuyé, Soutenant Laisle dun aigle, et un feston de fleurs par dessus le corps de laigle mesures Id.

idem Un Groupe representant une jeune fille qui se joie avec un Cigne et le garçon tient un oiseau sur le point gauche, et de la main droite Tient des filets dans lequel sont des oiseaux mesures Id.

Marly
autour du
Chateau Un Groupe d'enfans representant une jeune fille coëffée ayant une draperie sur la Teste avec une plume, apuyée du bras gauche sur un Coffret remply de pierreries, et de la main droite, Tenant un diamant ou pend une perle, le garçon a une épée a sa Ceinture et montre un miroir a la fille, Mesures id.

idem Un Groupe Idem representant une jeune fille qui tient un arc dans sa main droite, elle est coëffée avec des fleurs, le bras gauche levé regardant une levrette. Tenant de la main droite un arc et un Carquois remply de fleches a Son Costé, Le petit garçon Tenant La levrette d'une main, un faisan entre deux et un Corps de Chasse derriere sa fesse gauche mesures idem.

(O¹1968, piece no. 5)