

A Watch for Monsieur Hesselin

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ON AUGUST 31, 1662, after the death of the owner, an inventory was begun of the contents of a house in the Île Saint-Louis, Paris, that belonged to Monsieur Louis Hesselin. Among many other riches on the list (the inventory took four months to complete!) is a “cassette” with personal jewelry, including six watches. The document (Figure 1) describes them as follows:

Item a watch in a gold case enameled with several figures both inside and out, made by Fatry.

Item another gold watch enameled with several figures thought to represent Europa, on which is the best known portrait of the deceased.

Item another watch with a plain gold case, made by Martineau.

Item another watch set in a death's-head of gold, made by Martinot.

Item another watch in a silver case with figures, by Donnerque, having an alarm.

Item another watch in a gold case shaped like a death's-head, made by Martinot.¹

In itself this list is not of outstanding importance, although the two skull-shaped watches by Martinot, which would appear to have formed a pair, are certainly unusual.² What makes the inventory unique is that the second watch, “esmaillée de plusieurs figures reputans leurope sur laquelle est le pourtrait plus connue dudit desfunct,” can now be identified: it is a superb enameled watch (Figure 2) in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.³ There can be no doubt about the identification: the back of the case has a representation of Europa and the Bull, inside the case is a portrait painted after a known portrait of Hesselin, and the dial of the

watch is emblazoned with his coat of arms. Although it is sometimes assumed that owners did not carry their own portraits, here we have an example of an object with the owner's likeness and arms, accompanied by the evidence that the object was in the owner's possession when he died.⁴ Indeed, this is the first time that the original owner of a seventeenth-century painted enamel watch can be established with complete certainty.

The case of the Metropolitan Museum's watch is circular, about two and one-half inches in diameter, and made of gold. It is suspended from a gold pendant and bow (Figure 3) ornamented with enameled leaves reminiscent of the “peapod” style that was pervasive in French goldsmiths' work during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. The case has a hinged cover that snaps shut at the bottom, and when open, it reveals the dial (Figure 4). The dial is hinged to the case and attached to the movement, so that dial and movement can be made to swing out together to reveal the back plate of the movement and permit access for winding the main-spring by means of a key (Figure 5).

The case and cover are ornamented, both inside and out, with painted enamel miniatures that are among the finest to be found in a group of comparable watchcases known to have been produced in Blois and Paris during the middle years of the seventeenth century.⁵ These watchcases include among them many of the most magnificent ever made. The outside of the cover of the Metropolitan Museum's watch (Figure 2) depicts the myth of Europa and the Bull (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book II). The maiden Europa, arrayed in mustard yellow with light blue drapery, is seated on the back of an unusually docile bull and is attended by two handmaidens dressed in vermilion, pearl gray, gold, and pink, who are bedecking her with floral wreaths and

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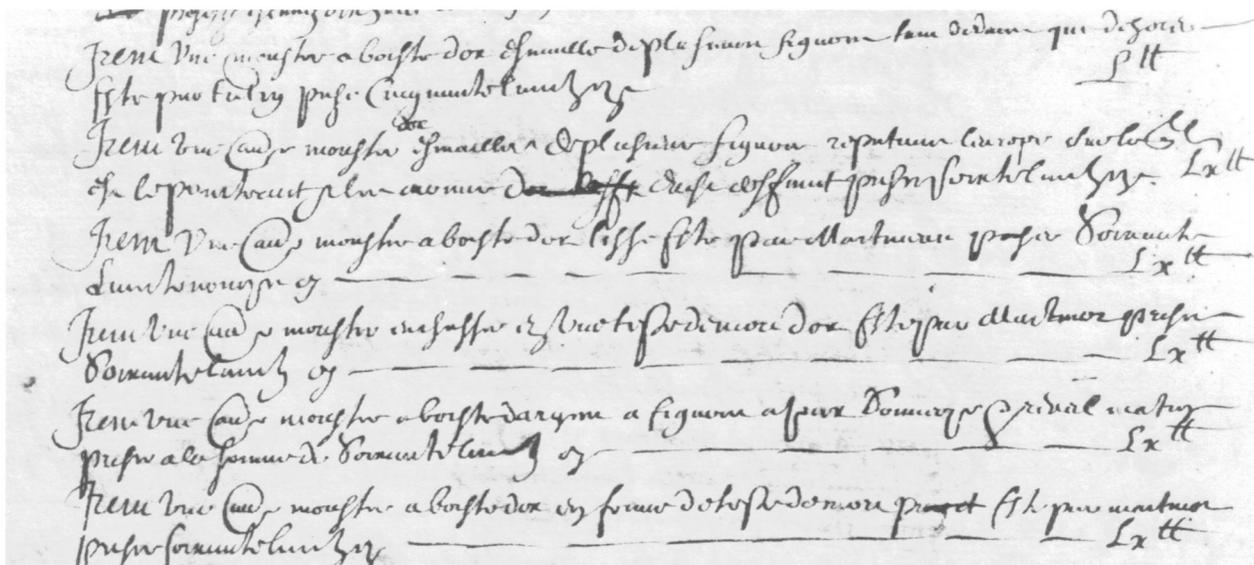


Figure 1. Page from the inventory of Louis Hesselin estate (detail) Paris, Archives Nationales (photo: Archives Nationales)

swags, assisted by a playful putto. The bull, an astonishing pure white with pink snout and golden brown eyes, reclines among the trees of a rural landscape and gives little hint of his ultimate intention, except for the lascivious look in his eye.

While there is much to admire in the exquisite colors and the Pointillist-like technique by which the enamel painter produced the subtle gradations of color used to model form and create shadow, the design is not an original creation. It is, with the omission of two flying putti in the upper left-hand corner, a miniature version of a painting by one of the foremost *grande manière* artists of the period, Simon Vouet (1590–1649), now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum in Madrid (Figure 6).⁶ The Vouet painting, in turn, owes much to *The Abduction of Europa*, a painting by Paolo Veronese in the Doge's Palace in Venice.⁷ Indeed, Vouet went to Venice in 1612 and remained there for a year, so he undoubtedly knew the paintings in the Doge's Palace.

An engraving (Figure 7) of Vouet's *Europa and the Bull* was made in 1642 by his son-in-law Michel Dorigny (1617–65).⁸ While the engraving would certainly have been available to the painter of the miniature on the Metropolitan Museum's watch, it seems likely that he must have known the original because he reproduced the colors as nearly as it would have been possible to do in a different and technically difficult medium. In addition, the scene

appears as it does in the painting rather than reversed as it is in the print.⁹

Another miniature appropriated from a Vouet painting is on the back of the Metropolitan Museum's watchcase (Figure 8). It was undoubtedly painted by the same anonymous hand as the one on the cover of the case, and like the *Europa and the Bull* miniature, it faithfully reproduces the style of the painting rather than exhibiting the sensibility of the enamelist. This miniature depicts *Mercury and the Three Graces* after a now-lost painting, but there exists at least one preparatory drawing for it in the Musée du Louvre,¹⁰ as well as a Dorigny engraving, dated 1642 (Figure 9).¹¹ As with *Europa and the Bull*, the scene of *Mercury and the Three Graces* was probably taken from the original painting, for when compared to the engraving, it too is reversed.

The Three Graces, in various stages of undress, are shown seated and kneeling. Their draperies of blue, vermilion, and white and Mercury's of mustard yellow echo the colors of the *Europa and the Bull*, but in the absence of the original painting it is impossible to know whether these were the colors used by Vouet, whether they were chosen by the enamelist to complement the colors of the miniature on the front of the case, or whether the colors harmonize simply because they are repeatedly found in Vouet's palette. The iconography of this scene also displays Vouet's familiarity with Venice. This time a painting by Tintoretto in the Anticollège at the



Figure 2. Watchcase with a scene depicting the Rape of Europa, French (probably Paris), ca. 1645. Painted enamel on gold, Diam. 6.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.1413



Figure 4. Watch in Figure 2 with the cover of the case open to show the dial



Figure 3. Detail of watch in Figure 2 showing the gold pendant and bow

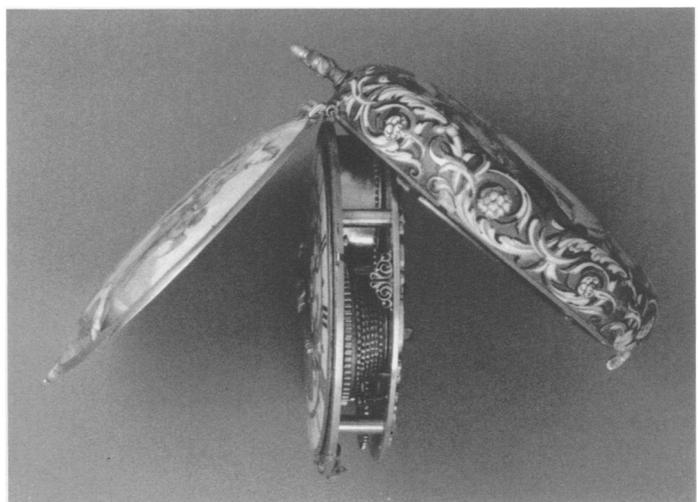


Figure 5. Watch in Figure 2 seen from the side, with the cover, dial, and movement partly visible



Figure 6. Simon Vouet (French, 1590–1649), *Europa and the Bull*, ca. 1641–42. Oil on canvas, 179.1 x 141.6 cm. Lugano, Switzerland, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (photo: Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection)



Figure 7. Michel Dorigny (French, 1617–65) *Europa and the Bull*. Engraving dated 1642, after the painting in Figure 6. 34 x 24.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1945, 45-97

Doge's Palace probably provided his model.¹² In the Tintoretto painting *Mercury*, with his winged hat and caduceus, watches over the seated Graces, one of whom holds a die, the second a rose, and the third a sprig of myrtle. The meaning has been explained as an allegorical representation of government officials who “are accompanied by Mercury since officials have to be appointed with wisdom.”¹³ It is an unusual representation and is believed to have derived from Vincent Cartari's *Imagines decorum*, in which Mercury is described as “the guide of the Graces who show reason and prudence.”¹⁴ Whether by error or by design, the enamel painter substituted ears of wheat for the traditional myrtle.

Both miniatures—*Europa and the Bull* and *Mercury and the Three Graces*—are surrounded by a narrow border of gold. The convex sides of the case are enameled in blue with a continuous band of white acanthus scrolls and acanthus flowers and with a mask at the bottom (Figure 10). The technique here is *champlevé* enameling, a technique in which large areas of gold are gouged out and filled with enamel, but in which visible sinuous scrolls of the gold are left to separate the painted enamel acanthus orna-

ment from the blue enamel ground. Acanthus scrolls and masks were common enough in the vocabulary of seventeenth-century ornament, but the robust character of those on the Metropolitan Museum's watchcase has much in common with the ornamental designs of Vouet, such as those in the murals he painted for the queen regent of France, Anne of Austria, at the Palais Royal in Paris (Figure 11).¹⁵

A third miniature (Figure 12), revealed when the cover of the Museum's watch is opened, is of a wholly different character from the two on the exterior, although it is painted with the same consummate skill and the same technique, in which tiny dots of color are used to create subtle shadings in the enamel. This is a minute battle scene in which mounted warriors, clad in what might pass for classical armor, wreak havoc on one another against a distant background where men and horses continue the struggle. No specific painting has been identified as the source of this miniature, but it displays a compositional style that is most likely not that of the enamel painter. There was, in fact, a tradition of battle-scene painting in French Renaissance



Figure 8. Back of the watchcase in Figure 2 with a scene depicting Mercury and the Three Graces.



Figure 9. Michel Dorigny, *Mercury and the Three Graces*. Engraving dated 1642, after a lost painting by Simon Vouet. London, The British Museum (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 10. Detail of the side of the watchcase in Figure 2 showing the mask and acanthus ornament

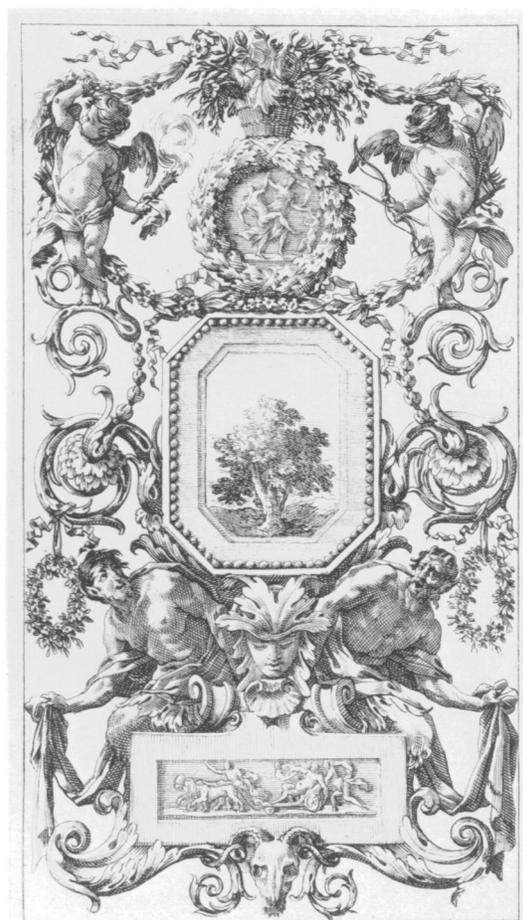


Figure 11. Michel Dorigny, *Ornament*, after a mural painting. Detail of plate 8 from the *Livre de Diverses Grotesques . . . gravées par Michel Dorigny* (Paris, 1647). Engraving, 24 x 13.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1934, 34.70.3(8)

enamels that grew out of the work of Luca Penni (1500–1556), his brother Giovanni Francesco Penni (1496–1528), and Giulio Romano (1499–1546) and that had its ultimate model in one of the frescoes in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican in Rome. The representations belonging to this tradition are nearly always organized in dense compositions that fill the entire foreground, with either no depth beyond the mass of struggling humanity or a peaceful landscape in the distance.¹⁶ The pyramid-shaped group with a strong, left-leaning thrust in the foreground balanced against a deep, open background in which the battle continues, found in the miniature on the Metropolitan Museum's watch displays a compositional device that is a favorite of the seventeenth-century French painter Jacques Courtois, called *Le Bourguignon* (1621–76).¹⁷ Courtois specialized in battle scenes, and while most of his paintings depict warriors in contemporary dress, there are a few in which he has shown them in antique armor. The Detroit Institute of Arts has one of the better examples of the type (Figure 13),¹⁸ although an etching (Figure 14) in the British Museum's collection¹⁹ is perhaps equally useful in documenting the style, if not the exact model, for the enameled miniature.²⁰

The dial of the watch (Figure 15) consists of a gold disk with white champlevé enameling attached to a circular brass plate, or sink, bordered by an engraved and gilded pattern of leaves alternating with gadroons. The chapter of hours, in pristine white enamel, is painted with black Roman numerals to mark the hours and a double-dotted ornament to mark the half hours. The outer edge and



Figure 12. The interior of the cover of the watchcase in Figure 2 showing a battle scene

the gold ring, which is interrupted at each hour within the chapter ring, are raised portions of the gold plate. The Hesselin coat of arms is painted inside the chapter: quarterly, 1,4, *gules a griffin segreant or* (Cauchon); 2,3, *five bars azure and or, charged with 14 crosses flory, four, four, three, two, one, or and azure* (Hesselin). Two griffins proper (that is, in natural colors) support the shield, and above it is a closed helmet supporting the crest, a griffin segreant erased.²¹ The manteling is in red, blue, and



Figure 13. Jacques Courtois (French, 1621–76) *Cavalry*, mid-17th century. Oil on copper panel, 40.6 x 56.5 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of James E. Scripps (photo: Detroit Institute of Arts)



Figure 14. Jacques Courtois, *Battle Scene*. Etching, mid-17th century. London, The British Museum, Cracherode Collection (photo: Trustees of the British Museum)

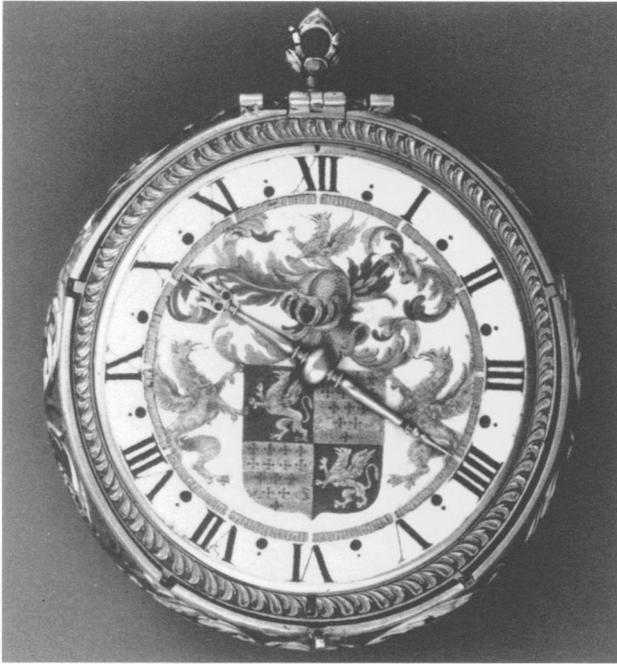


Figure 15. Dial of the watch in Figure 2 showing the coat of arms of the original owner, Louis Hesselin

gold, and the gold of the manteling and the arms is gold dust fired into the surface of the enamel.

The sink to which the disk is attached is hinged to the top of the case and secured by a spring bolt at the bottom. When lifted, the dial opens out from the case, carrying the movement with it and revealing the last of the enameled miniatures within a border of green enamel and gold dust with dark shading (Figure 16). The miniature itself (Figure 17) is a portrait of the owner of the watch as a man of early middle age, with curly brown hair, a well-trimmed mustache, a prominent nose, and pensive brown eyes. The original source from which the enamel painter took the likeness was the earlier of the two engraved portraits of Hesselin (Figure 18) by Robert Nanteuil (1623–78),²² the favored portraitist of many of the most important members of the court of King Louis XIV. Nanteuil's drawings, pastels, and engravings earned for him the appointment of Dessinateur et graveur ordinaire du roi in 1658. In that year Nanteuil made a second, dated portrait (Figure 19), which shows Hesselin as a considerably older man than he had been when the first was made.²³ Both portraits bear out a contemporaneous description of Hesselin as a man with "a quick mind and aquiline nose."²⁴

Who was this Monsieur Hesselin? Louis Treslon-Cauchon, as he was originally named, was probably

born about 1600 into a noble family from Champagne.²⁵ He was the son of Pierre Cauchon, seigneur de Condé, and Elisabeth, or Isabelle, Morin. A wealthy great uncle, Louis Hesselin, made him his heir on condition that he change his name to Hesselin, which he did in 1626.²⁶ Both rich and extravagant, the young Hesselin began to amass a collection that became famous in his own time. The gallery of his hôtel, or town house, in Paris contained a generous portion of his collection of Italian paintings, strongest in works of the Venetian Renaissance, but he also owned paintings by seventeenth-century French artists, such as Vouet, Dorigny, Poussin, Claude Lorrain, and Charles Le Brun.²⁷

The Hôtel Hesselin, demolished in 1935,²⁸ stood at 24 quai de Béthune on the Île Saint-Louis. It can be seen in its former dignity in a view of the west end of Île Saint-Louis (Figure 20) by Adam Perelle

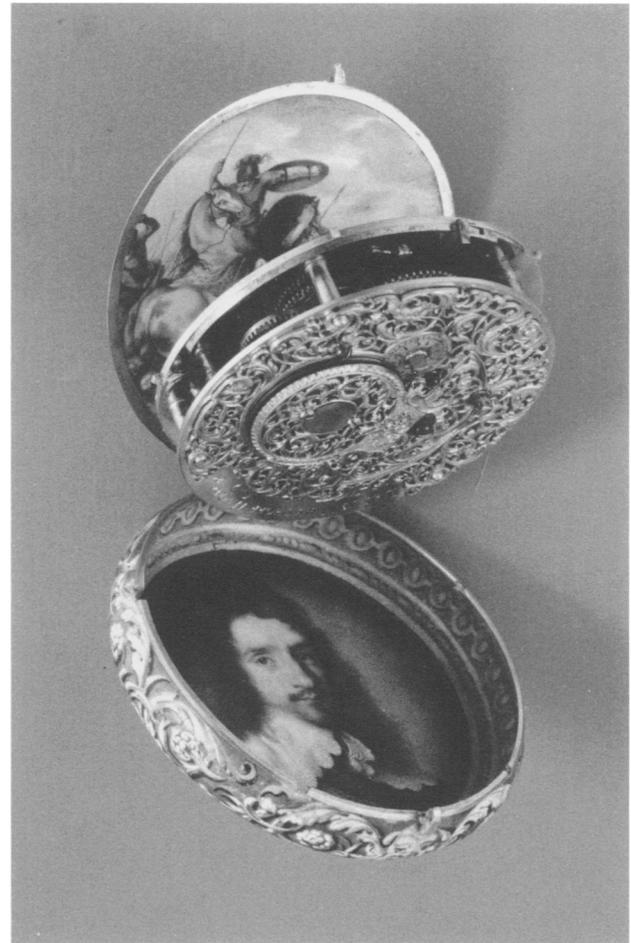


Figure 16. The watch in Figure 2, opened to show the movement and the enamel-and-gold-dust ornament that frames the portrait of Louis Hesselin



Figure 17. The portrait of Louis Hesselin inside the watchcase in Figure 2

(1640–95).²⁹ Hesselin bought the site in 1639 and commissioned the architect Louis Le Vau (1612–70) to build the hôtel. It was under construction by 1641, one of Le Vau's first commissions in the de-

velopment of the Île Saint-Louis.³⁰ Le Vau departed from the usual custom in Paris of setting the main living rooms of the house away from the street and behind a court. Anthony Blunt observed in his discussion of the plan of the hôtel that because the site was on a quiet quay on the Seine, rather than facing a noisy city street, Le Vau could place the main rooms directly along the quay, where the owner might enjoy a fine view of the river.³¹ On the tip of the western end of the quay stood Jean du Cerceau's magnificent Hôtel de Bretonvilliers (visible in Figure 20 as the hôtel with the large open garden at the corner where two quays meet), and around the corner at what is now number 2 rue Saint-Louis-en-l'Île, Le Vau's celebrated Hôtel Lambert still stands, its exterior and most of its seventeenth-century interiors intact.

Elevations and plans of the Hôtel Hesselin (Figures 21–24) were published by the French architect and engraver Jean Marot (ca. 1619–79),³² and the Parisian historian Henri Sauval (1623–76) described parts of the interior.³³ The entrance on the quay led to a courtyard and to the door to the Hôtel Hesselin, which was situated on the right. The door gave access to a vestibule and grand staircase to the main living rooms on the first floor. Both are to be found in the plan of the ground floor, or *rez-de-chaussée*, in Figure 22. The vestibule, *grande salle*, and *salle à l'italienne*, where Hesselin's collection of



Figure 18. Robert Nanteuil (French, 1623–78), *Portrait of Louis Hesselin*. Engraving printed from two plates, ca. 1650?, 30.1 x 37 cm. The device at the bottom center is a burning rocket with the motto SVPEREST DVM VITA MOVETVR (It survives so long as it is impelled by life). London, British Museum (photo: Trustees of The British Museum)



Figure 19. Robert Nanteuil, *Portrait of Louis Hesselin*. Engraving, second state (with text), dated 1658 (portrait) and 1660 (text), 32.3 x 25 cm. London, British Museum (photo: Trustees of The British Museum)

Italian paintings was hung, were decorated by Gilles Guérin (1606–78) and Gerard van Obstal (ca. 1594–1668), both pupils of Jacques Sarrazin (1588–1660) and subsequently collaborators with Sarrazin in carrying out the sculptural decoration for François Mansart's Château de Maisons. Above the courtyard entrance was a bas-relief by Guérin representing Apollo with Virgil and Homer accompanied by personifications of Sculpture, Painting, and Architecture. The vestibule was ornamented with more sculptures by Guérin, notably four paired terms and a figure of Atlas supporting a celestial globe with a clockwork mechanism.³⁴ Facing the grand staircase was a mirrored wall, which was placed so that the vestibule gave the illusion of having a double staircase.

The staircase led to the resplendent *grande salle*, with a painted ceiling by Fioravente³⁵ and a chimneypiece with sculptured figures: a Venus and Cupid in plaster, a Bacchus and Satyr in plaster, and two stone satyrs by Guérin and van Obstal from models by Sarrazin. The two-storied *salle à l'italienne* had a chimneypiece by Guérin and van Obstal ornamented by two Vestal Virgins, which Sauval considered to be of “very considerable beauty.”³⁶ The room was elaborately decorated with a mirror, a perfume burner, a silver plaque, and large porcelain vases, and it was hung with Hesselin's collection of Italian paintings, which Sauval estimated to be worth thirty thousand *livres* in all.³⁷ Some of the furnishings of the Hôtel Hesselin ended up in the possession of the Garde-Meuble de la Couronne,³⁸ which was founded by the king's minister Colbert in 1663, the year after Hesselin's death. Sauval also noted that Charles Le Brun (1610–90) was commissioned to paint one of the salons and Eustache Le Sueur (1616–55) the chapel, but these commissions were apparently still unfulfilled at Hesselin's death.³⁹

As early as 1638 Jean-François Nicéron (1613–46), the French mathematician who had a special interest in optics, extolled Hesselin's *cabinet* in an earlier residence as being “the quintessence of all Parisian *cabinets*,”⁴⁰ and noted not only the excellent mirrors and an extraordinary mirror cabinet (in which Nicéron was particularly interested), but also the paintings, sculpture, and scientific books. In fact, very little is known about Hesselin's library except that he had his coat of arms stamped on the bindings of his books.⁴¹ Nicéron referred to Hesselin as *conseiller du roy et maître de la chambre aux deniers*; by 1655 Hesselin had apparently also become *surintendant des plaisirs du roy*,⁴² a role for which this splendor-loving man must have been



Figure 20. Adam Perelle (French, 1640–95), *View of the Isle Notre Dame*, second half of 17th century. Engraving, 18.7 x 28.4 cm. The building at the far right is the Hôtel Lambert; the L-shaped Hôtel de Bretonvilliers stands on the corner, and the Hôtel Hesselin is on the near corner of the next block. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.84

particularly well fitted. These appointments made him an important and influential person at court, even though his role in history was ephemeral, and it is perhaps not surprising that the best and certainly the most vivid source on his life is in the chatty letters of Jean Loret (1595–1665), with their endless tidbits of gossip about high society. From Loret's letters we learn that Hesselin, whose “noble instinct for the magnificent” Loret praises, received with great pomp in his Château de Cantemesle at Essonne the prince de Conti; La Grande Mademoiselle, Anne-Marie d'Orléans, the king's cousin; Queen Christina of Sweden; and the king himself.⁴³

The grand reception for Christina, the former queen of Sweden, whom Louis XIV had decreed should be received everywhere in France with all the formalities due a reigning monarch, took place at Essonne in 1656. The guests were entertained by a *divertissement* that began with a ballet and continued with a theatrical performance, followed by a display of fireworks. The occasion merited the almost immediate publication of a memoir by the Abbé Lescalopier recounting the day's events.⁴⁴ Abbé Lescalopier praised Hesselin's organizing talent in particular: “And what is even more remarkable is the tranquillity with which this marvelous man, within this incomparable magnificence, makes more than two hundred persons act out their various roles.”⁴⁵ The most astonishing feature of the entertainment seems to have been provided by the stage machinery, believed to have been the design of the Italian engineer and mathematician Giacomo Torelli da Fano (1608–78), who was both *ingénieur*

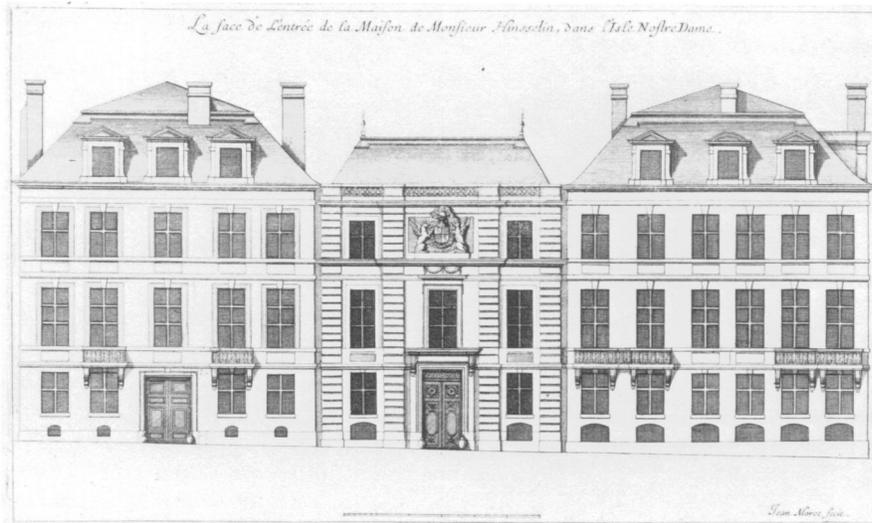


Figure 21. Jean Marot (French, ca. 1619–79), The Hôtel Hesselin and the Hôtel Saintot, ca. 1670. Engraving, 18.1 x 31 cm. The single façade is actually that of two hôtels, or townhouses. The Hesselin house, on the right, includes the entrance from the quay and the floors above. The smaller house on the left was built by Louis Le Vau for Nicolas de Saintot, Master of Ceremonies at the court of King Louis XIV. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.186

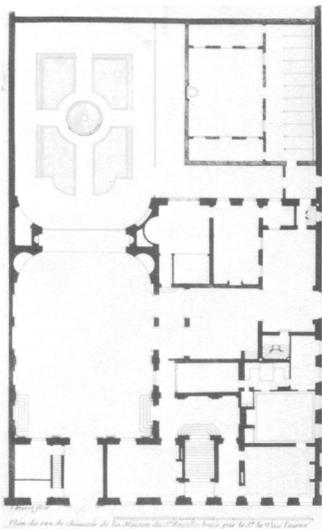


Figure 22. Jean Marot, Plan of the ground floor of the Hôtel Hesselin by Louis Le Vau (1612–70), begun ca. 1640. Engraving, 27.3 x 17 cm, included in *L'Architecture française* (Paris, ca. 1670). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.185

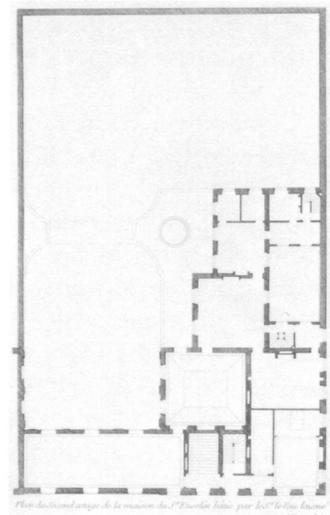


Figure 23. Jean Marot, Plan of the second floor of the Hôtel Hesselin. Engraving, 27.6 x 17.5 cm, included in *L'Architecture française*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.186

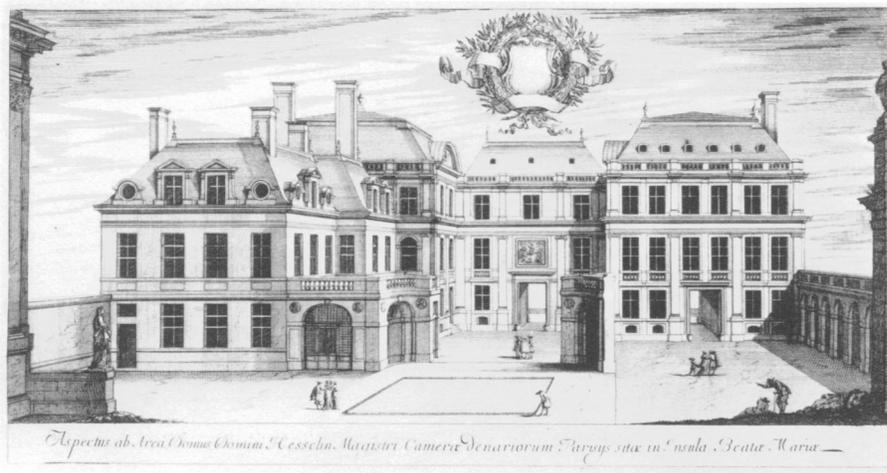


Figure 24. Jean Marot, The Hôtel Hesselin from the courtyard. Engraving, 21.3 x 40.5 cm, included in *L'Architecture française*. The steps to the main entrance of the Hôtel Hesselin can be seen on the left side of the inner court. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.519.185.

ordinaire to the king and a personal friend of Hesselin's. Scene changes were numerous and rapid, and at one point a *grande salle* filled with what seemed an infinite number of people vanished, giving immediate place to a deserted room ornamented with Doric columns (perhaps achieved with mirrors of the type that Niceron had admired). When the ballet was over, a deep grotto appeared. Above it two streams of water fell in cascades down a cypress-covered mountain and below a fountain played jets of water that formed a fleur-de-lis.⁴⁶

Monsieur Hesselin's organization of fêtes and ballets for the king caught Loret's attention also.⁴⁷ As early as 1651 Hesselin danced the role of Harlequin (Figure 25) in the "Ballet du Roy des Festes de Bacchus" given at the Palais Royal on the second and fourth of May.⁴⁸ "The Ballet du Temps," which Hesselin organized in December 1654, included a personification of the Golden Age danced by the king himself.⁴⁹ Bonnafé mentions several sets of designs for ballets that were once in Hesselin's possession,⁵⁰ one of them for the "Ballet de la Nuit" in which the king also danced. This was the spectacle that Cardinal Mazarin, the king's minister, ordered to amuse the fifteen-year-old king, who was himself a talented dancer. The first performance took place on February 25, 1653, but the ballet proved such a success that it was given again on February 27 and four more times in March. The poet Isaac de Benserade (1612–91) composed verses to accompany the dancing; Jean de Cambefort composed some of the music; and Giacomo Torelli designed the decor.⁵¹ If Bonnafé was correct, the costumes were designed by Stefano della Bella.⁵² The ballet consisted of forty-five entrées, ending with the rising sun, which both symbolized the king and was danced by him.⁵³ The ballet was one of the more memorable examples of this favorite form of entertainment at the French court, and its portrayal of the king as the rising sun was the earliest in which the young Louis XIV was apotheosized in a court entertainment as *Le Roi Soleil*.⁵⁴ In the even more successful "Ballet des Nopces de Pélée et de Thétis" Hesselin is reported to have directed activities while astride a camel.⁵⁵ Elsewhere we are told, however, that because live animals had proved unreliable on stage, the animals in these productions were really machines,⁵⁶ perhaps rendering Hesselin's performance a little less risky than it might otherwise have been.

The last ballet that Hesselin is known to have organized for the king was the "Ballet de l'Impatience," which was given at the Louvre on February



Figure 25. Workshop of Henry de Gissey, *Louis Hesselin as Harlequin*. French, ca. 1651. Pen, wash, and gouache, 33.7 x 22.5 cm, from a folio of 71 designs for costumes and 4 for scenery for the "Ballet des Festes de Bacchus" that came from Hesselin's library. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

4, 1661. The accompanying verses were by Benserade, and some of the music was composed by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1633–87),⁵⁷ better known as the composer of opera for the French court and later to become director of the Académie Royale de Musique. The spectators included the queen, the king's brother, the foreign ambassadors, as well as court dignitaries.⁵⁸ In the same year Hesselin also lent assistance to the king's surintendant des finances, Nicolas Fouquet, in organizing the fateful festivities for the king at Fouquet's newly completed château, Vaux-le-Vicomte, the unprecedented lavishness of which was said to have contributed materially to Fouquet's almost immediate disgrace and imprisonment.⁵⁹

Hesselin's end was appropriate for a man who had made the pleasures of life into a vocation. He died of a surfeit of half-ripe walnuts (*cerneaux*), considered a great delicacy, having eaten some three hundred of them for a bet.⁶⁰

Of the six watches listed among Monsieur Hesselin's jewelry only the one now in the Metropolitan Museum's collection is described without mentioning the maker's name. This omission is particularly unfortunate because the original movement has not survived. It was discarded in the eighteenth century, to be replaced by the present movement (Figure 26), which was made especially to fit the case and the dial and is signed "Lamb' Vrythoff Hagae 241." Lambertus Vrijthoff became a citizen of The Hague in 1724 and was presumably a member of the Clockmakers' Guild from about that time. He was a prominent watch- and clockmaker, who served many times as officer of the guild, and he died in 1769.⁶¹ Several of his watches survive, all of very good quality. His number 169 has gold cases hallmarked 1737;⁶² number 241 probably dates from about 1750. By that time watches had grown considerably smaller than was usual in the mid-seventeenth century, and it is interesting to note that Vrijthoff utilized the extra space in the large case by providing a movement that will go for eight days at a single winding. (This eighteenth-century "modernizing" of an enameled watch, incidentally, should not be confused with the later "marrying" of a case with a previously unassociated movement.)⁶³

The case of the Metropolitan Museum's watch is unsigned and undated, but it is possible to propose a date on the basis of accumulated evidence. While neither of the Vouet paintings from which the miniatures on the exterior of the case are derived can be dated with absolute certainty, both the *Europa and the Bull* and the *Mercury and the Three Graces* must have been earlier than 1642, the date on the engravings. The engraved portrait of Hesselin on which the portrait on the watchcase is based is usually dated about 1650, but the internal evidence provided by Hesselin's approximate age, as well as the certainty of what he looked like in 1658 when the second, dated portrait was engraved, indicates that a date of about 1645 would be more nearly correct. Thus, it is likely that the watch also dates from about 1645.

The place of origin of the watchcase is fairly certain. Similar cases that still house their original movements are usually signed by watchmakers in Blois or Paris, and that is where the enameler is most likely to have worked. As to the maker's identity: in this case that must remain a matter of conjecture. The problem with attempting to identify the painter of an unsigned enamel by its style is made particularly evident when the present watch



Figure 26. Lambertus Vrijthoff (Dutch, recorded 1724–died 1769), Back plate of the movement made for the watchcase in Figure 2. The Hague, ca. 1750. Gilded brass and steel, partly blued, Diam. 5.4 cm

is examined, for the styles of the two miniatures based upon Vouet paintings and the miniature of the battle scene are markedly different. Yet there is no reason to believe that all three were not executed by the same enamelist. His ability to produce a brilliant vermilion and his facility in using the pure white enamel of the *fond*⁶⁴ to great effect (for example, in the bull on the front of the cover) have their nearest parallel in a watch with a painted enamel case signed by Henri Toutin (1614–ca. 1683) of Châteaudun and, after 1636, of Paris. The Toutin watch bears representations referring to the marriage of the stadtholder William II of Orange and Mary Stuart in 1641.⁶⁵

Whatever his identity, the enamelist of the Metropolitan Museum's watchcase was a craftsman of the highest order. His skill in reproducing the work of some of the better artists of his time must be regarded as a considerable achievement.

ABBREVIATIONS

Blunt—Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700* (Baltimore, 1957)

Bonnaffé—Edmond Bonnaffé, *Dictionnaire des Amateurs français aux XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1884)

Cardinal (1989)—Catherine Cardinal, *The Watch from its Origins to the XIXth Century*, Jacques Pages, trans. (Bristol, 1989)

Christout—Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de Cour de Louis XIV, 1643–1672* (Paris, 1967)

Crelly—William R. Crelly, *The Paintings of Simon Vouet* (London / New Haven, 1962)

de Crèvecoeur—R[obert] de Crèvecoeur, “Louis Hesselin: Amateur Parisien, Intendant des Plaisirs du Roi, 1600(?)–1662,” *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Île-de-France* XXII (Paris, 1895) pp. 225–248

Galerias nationales—Galerias nationales du Grand Palais, *Vouet*, exh. cat. by Jacques Thuillier, Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, and Denis Lavalley (Paris, 1990)

Loret—Jean Loret, *La Muze Historique*, new ed. by J. Ravenel and Ed[ward] V. de la Pelouse, 4 vols. (Paris, 1857–91)

Musée Carnavalet—Musée Carnavalet, *Île Saint-Louis* (Paris, 1980)

Petitjean and Wickert—Charles Petitjean and Charles Wickert, *Catalogue de l’oeuvre gravé du Robert Nanteuil*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925)

Robert-Dumesnil—A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le Peintre-Graveur Français IV* (Paris, 1839)

Wildenstein—Georges Wildenstein, “L’Inventaire de Louis Hesselin (1662),” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 49 (January 1957) pp. 57–63

NOTES

1. Archives Nationales, Paris, *Minutier Central*, XX, 310 (unpaginated). The text of Figure 1 reads:

Item vne montre a boiste dor esmaille de plusieurs figures tant dedans que dehors faite par Fatry . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre dor esmaillee de plusieurs figures reputans leurope sur laquelle est le pourtraict plus connue dudit defunct . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre a boistre dor lisse faite par Martineau . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre enchassée en vne teste de mort dor faite par Martinot . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre a boiste d’argent a figures par Donnerque a reveil matin . . . Lx livres

Item vne autre montre a boiste dor en forme de teste de mort faite par Martinot . . . Lx livres

The writing is not very clear and the reading of the names Fatry and Donnerque is not entirely certain; no makers of these names are recorded.

2. There were many Paris watchmakers of this name. The maker of two skull watches may have been Gilles Martinot, who was born in 1622, was married and therefore probably worked independently in 1643. He occupied the third *logement*, or workshop and boutique, in the Louvre between 1662 and 1670. See Tardy, *Dictionnaire des horlogers Français* (Paris, n.d.) II, pp. 439–440, and J. J. Guiffrey, “Logements d’artistes au Louvre: Liste générale des Brevets de logement sous la grande galerie du Louvre,” *Nouvelles Archives de l’Art français* (1873) II pp. 72–73, and 129. Tardy states that Martinot received various payments between 1670 and 1685 and that he died in 1688, but the *Brevet de logement* granting his son Henri Martinot the same workshop in 1670 (O I, 1055, p. 328) speaks of the late Gilles Martinot (“feu Gilles Martinot”).

3. Acc. no. 17.190.1413. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917. The watch was not included in G. C. Williamson’s *Catalogue of the Collection of Watches: The Property of J. Pierpont Morgan* (Paris, 1912) and was perhaps, therefore, a subsequent acquisition.

4. Mid-17th-century watches with portraits are rare. Notable examples are a watch with portraits of both King Louis XIII of France and Cardinal Richelieu, possibly a present from the former to the latter, in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (see T. P. Camerer Cuss, *The Camerer Cuss Book of Antique Watches*, rev. ed. [Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 1976] p. 66, pl. 18, and Cardinal [1989] pp. 152–153), and a watch with an equestrian portrait and the arms of Louis XIV in the Robert Lehman Collection in the MMA. The latter watch will be discussed at a later occasion. In addition, there is a watch with a painted enamel portrait of King Philip IV of Spain on the cover in the collection of the Musée International d’Horlogerie, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland (see Catherine Cardinal, *Watchmaking in History, Art and Science* [Lausanne, 1984] pp. 30–31. Cardinal identified the source of the portrait as an engraving of 1663 by Balthasar Moncornet [ca. 1600–1668]). Another watch with a portrait of an unidentified man on the interior of the cover is in the collection of the Umelčokoprúmské Muzeum in Prague (see Libuše Uřešová, *European Clocks, An Illustrated History of Clocks and Watches* [Prague, 1986] pp. 174–175).

5. See E. Develle, *Les Horlogers Blésois au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle* (Blois, 1913) pp. 87–93; Pierre Verlet and Pierre Mesnage, *La Mesure du temps* (Paris, 1970) pp. 44–47, 58, 62, 63; Catherine Cardinal, *Catalogue des montres du Musée du Louvre I: La collection Olivier* (Paris, 1984) pp. 31–32; and Cardinal (1989) pp. 27–32.

6. See Rudolf J. Heinemann, *Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza* (Castagnola-Ticino, 1969) pp. 405–406 and pl. 303; Crelly, p. 206, no. 222, and fig. 173; and the Galeries nationales exh. cat., p. 320, no. 55, and p. 321, fig. 55. All three state that Albert Bloch-Levallois was a previous owner of the painting, but know nothing certain about the original owner. In the catalogue of French engravings in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1954) III, p. 485, no. 88, Roger-Armand Weigert states that the painting had once hung with a group illustrating scenes from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* at the Château de Chilly (Seine-et-Oise), where Vouet is known to have been employed in the 1630s, but Crelly (p. 95 and p. 95 n. 48) refuses to equate any of Vouet’s extant paintings with those (among them a *Europa*) that are known to have been at Chilly. Neither does the painting appear among the ones described in the portion of the inventory of Hesselin’s collection published by Wildenstein, pp. 59–63, although Hesselin did own several portraits (pp. 59 and 62) and a painting of the Virgin (p. 62) by Vouet. Wildenstein’s publication, however, refers almost entirely to the paintings in Hesselin’s Paris residence. On a visit to Hesselin’s château in Essones in 1644, the English diarist John Evelyn was impressed by the “many good paintings” he saw there. See John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence* (Fontainebleau, 1644; rev. ed. London, 1850) p. 59.

7. See Crelly, p. 206. *The Abduction of Europa* is, in fact, so atypical of Vouet’s style that in the earlier years of the 20th century it was mistaken for a work of the 18th century. Crelly noted also that when the painting was sold at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris (March 25–26, 1924, no. 11), it was attributed to an un-

known painter of the French School and dated to the early 18th century. Louis Dimier recognized it as a work by Vouet and subsequently published it in his *Histoire de la peinture française du retour de Vouet à la mort de Lebrun 1624–1690 I* (Paris / Brussels, 1926) p. 9 and pl. II. For an illustration and discussion of the painting by Veronese, see Rudolfo Pallucchini, *Veronese*, 2nd ed. (Bergamo / Milan / Rome, 1943) pp. 39, 51, no. 110, and fig. 110.

8. Acc. no. 45.97. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1945. Signed "Simon voüet pinxit/ M. Dorigny Sculpsit" and dated 1642. See Bibliothèque Nationale, *Inventaire*, p. 485, no. 88, and Robert-Dumesnil, pp. 284, 285, no. 88.

9. The engraving did, however, serve as a model for at least one painter of enameled watchcases. There is an example signed by the well-known Geneva enamelist Jean-Pierre Huaud (1655–1723) in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva (Inv. no. AD 430) in which the subject is both reversed and much more drastically abbreviated. See Hans Boeckh, *Emailmalerei auf genfer Taschenuhren von 17. bis zum beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1982) pp. 284–285, no. 11, and pl. 24, figs. 61 and 62.

10. Inv. no. RF 14720. See Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, *Inventaire général des dessins, École française: Dessins de Simon Vouet, 1590–1649*, cat. by Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée (Paris, 1987) p. 140, no. 133. The author dates the lost painting about 1640. There is another drawing in the Louvre (Inv. no. RF 28.161), as well as several elsewhere, including one in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris and another in the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Inv. no. M128) in Paris that have been associated with the painting of *Mercury and the Three Graces*, but Brejon de Lavergnée thinks it is less than certain that these are, in fact, related to the painting. See also Galeries nationales, pp. 394, no. 87, 395, fig. 87, p. 458, no. 125.

11. Signed "Simon voüet pinxit/M. Dorigny Sculpsit" and dated 1642. See Bibliothèque Nationale, *Inventaire*, p. 485, no. 89, and Robert-Dumesnil, p. 285, no. 89. This engraving also inspired the Geneva enamel painter Jean-Pierre Huaud. A signed example in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli in Milan (Inv. no. 716) is illustrated in the chapter titled "Orologi Meccanici" by Giuseppe Brusa in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli catalogue *Orologi-Oreficerie* (Milan, 1981) p. 197, fig. 72; see also p. 144, no. 51. The scene was obviously taken from the Dorigny engraving, as Catherine Cardinal has previously recognized. See Cardinal (1989) pp. 172–173, figs. 136 and 137. Another watch with the same scene on an enameled case signed "Les Deux Freres Huaut Les Jeunes," the signature used by Jean-Pierre Huaud when working with his brother Amy (1657–1724), and with a movement signed "J. van Ceulen Hague," probably the work of Johannes van Ceulen the Elder (working in The Hague 1677; d. 1715), appeared in Christie's sale cat. *Fine Watches and Clocks* (Geneva, Nov. 7, 1977) p. 46, lot 161, and fig. 161.

12. See Eric Newton, *Jacopo Tintoretto, The Four Allegories of Venice in the Doge's Palace, Venice* (London, 1951) p. 3, fig. 2, and pp. 6–9.

13. *Ibid.* p. 9.

14. *Imagines deorum, qui ab antiquis colebantur . . . a Vincentio Chartario* (Lyons, 1581) quoted by Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et Symboles dans l'Art profane, 1450–1600* (Geneva, 1958) pp. 178–179.

15. Vouet's designs were engraved by Michel Dorigny and published in the *Livre de Diverses Grottesques peintes dans Le Cabinet et Bains de la Reyne Régente au Palais Royal par Simon Vouet, peintre du Roy* (Paris, 1647).

16. *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1986) pp. 216–218, no. 138, and fig. 138.

17. Courtois spent most of his adult life in Italy, so he is known also as Cortese or Il Borgognone. He has been little studied in the 20th century and much of his work remains unidentified. A catalogue raisonné of the paintings in European collections outside France, unfortunately with only three illustrations, was published by Georges Blondeau ("L'Oeuvre de Jacques Courtois, dit le Bourguignon des Batailles," *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements* 28 [1914] pp. 114–156). See also the Musée de l'Orangerie, *Les Peintres de la réalité en France au XVII^e siècle*, intro. by Charles Sterling (Paris, 1934) pp. 32–34; Francesco Alberto Salvagnini, *Il Pittori Borgognoni Cortese (Courtois)* (Rome, 1937); Edward L. Holt, "The Jesuit Battle Painter Jacques Courtois," *Apollo* (March 1969) pp. 212–223; and Cleveland Museum of Art, *From Fontainebleau to the Louvre: French Drawing from the Seventeenth Century*, exh. cat. by Hillard T. Goldfarb (Cleveland, 1989) pp. 94–96.

18. Acc. no. 89.68. Gift of James E. Scripps. See the Galerie nationales du Grand Palais exh. cat. *La peinture française du XVII^e siècle dans les collections américaines* (Paris, 1982) p. 350, fig. 11; and Christopher Wright, *The French Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (Boston, 1985) p. 169.

19. Inv. no. V. 9.–51

20. Battle scenes were a popular subject for French 17th-century enamel-cased watches. One of the most prodigious examples was formerly in the delle Piane collection in Italy. The watch has a movement signed "Goullons à Paris" (probably Josias Goullons, working 1640–70), three battle scenes, one signed "Vauquer Fc" (probably the enamel painter Robert Vauquer, 1625–70), and two additional miniatures with military subjects. See Bruno Parisi, *Catalogo Descrittivo della Collezione delle Piane di Orologi da Polto e da Tasca* (Milan, 1954) pp. 19–21, no. 20, and pl. 1, figs. 20a–20d. The scene on the exterior cover is a direct copy of the central portion of the fresco after a design by Raphael depicting the Victory of Constantine over Maxentius in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. The miniature on the back of the case is a somewhat freer adaptation of the left side of the fresco.

21. The engraved portrait of Hesselin dated 1658 by Robert Nanteuil displays this coat of arms, though not with the tinctures. See also Joannis Guigard, *Nouvel Armorial du Bibliophile* (Paris, 1890) pp. 259–260, and Eugène Olivier, Georges Hermal, and R. de Roton, *Manuel de l'amateur de reliures armoriées françaises XVII^e* (Paris, 1929) no. 1687. De Crèvecoeur states that the coat of arms on the façade of Hesselin's town house in Paris was heraldically incorrect, but Jean Marot's engraving of the façade (see Jean Marot, *L'Architecture française* [Paris, ca. 1670]) shows the coat of arms correctly.

22. See Petitjean and Wickert, I, pp. 205–206, no. 87, and II, no. 87. Two versions of this portrait are described, one without a frame, signed “Nanteuil *faciebat*,” and one with an ornamental frame inscribed “*Ludovicus Hesselin/Regis a seretioribus Consilijis Palatij & Camerae/Denariorum Magister*.” Two of the plates for these engravings were in Hesselin’s possession and were listed in the 1662 inventory, where the ornamental frame of one of them is described as being by Dorigny (“2 planches du portrait du défunt gravées par Nanteuil, avec aornemens du dessing de Dorigny prisée avec leur boîte de bois blanc, 20 livres”). See Wildenstein, p. 60. Wildenstein was convinced that the inventory is correct and that the engraved frame for this portrait is, indeed, the work of Dorigny and not that of Jean Boulanger, as Petitjean and Wickert, I, p. 205, and Robert-Dumesnil, p. 109, no. 109, had believed.

23. See Robert-Dumesnil, p. 109, no. 110, and Petitjean and Wickert, I, p. 208, no. 88. As the first portrait is not dated, there is some question about its date or whether, in fact, Nanteuil might have taken it from an earlier portrait by another artist. Petitjean and Wickert (p. 206) believed that the portrait is an original work by Nanteuil, and they dated it around 1650. However, if we consider the date of Hesselin’s birth to have been about 1600, the possibility that the earlier portrait was made well before 1650 should not be excluded.

24. Loret, II (Paris, 1877) p. 166, letter dated March 4, 1656, “Monsieur Hesselin, Esprit adroit, nez aquilin.”

25. The first to draw attention to Louis Hesselin as a patron and collector of art was Bonnaffé, pp. 139–141. The main biographical source, however, is de Crèvecoeur, pp. 225–248. De Crèvecoeur convincingly argued that he was not a member of the old Parisian family of Hesselins, as was recently stated in the Musée Carnavalet exh. cat., p. 80. De Crèvecoeur’s contention is supported by the genealogy of the Cauchon family published by E. de Barthélemy, “Généalogie historique de la famille Cauchon,” *Revue d’histoire nobiliaire et d’archéologie héraldique* I (1882) pp. 207–229 and 324–342, but the date of Louis Hesselin’s death was here (p. 341) given incorrectly as 1664. De Crèvecoeur also believed (p. 225) that Hesselin was born about 1600. A document found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris by Petitjean and Wickert (I, p. 206) led them to believe the actual year to have been 1597, but this date seems to make him too old to have been the man in the first Nanteuil portrait. Moreover, in his *Les Mémoires* (Paris, 1656) p. 31, Michel de Marolles, who knew him personally, mentioned Hesselin, a fellow student at the Collège de la Marche in Paris in 1616, as though he were nearly the same age or somewhat younger than himself. “I’auouë que ce me fut vne grande consolation, d’auoir trouué des esprits sociables, tels que mes chers compagnons d’Etude que i’ay desia nommez, & que d’autres encore qui n’estoient gueres plus auancez que nous, comme . . . M. Hesselin Louys Cauchon, Seigneur de Condé, depuis Maistre de la Chambre aux deniers, & l’vn des plus honnestes hommes de nostre temps. . .” De Marolles is known to have been born in 1600.

26. De Crèvecoeur, pp. 226–227.

27. See Wildenstein, pp. 57–63.

28. See Musée Carnavalet, p. 80. For photographs of the courtyard taken before the hôtel was demolished, see Paul Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels de Paris: L’Île Saint-Louis* (Paris, 1937) pl. II.

29. Acc. no. 52.519.84. Rogers Fund, 1952. Another state of this print is illustrated by [Jules] Vacquier, *Les Vieux Hôtels de Paris: L’Hôtel Lambert, par Louis Le Vau* (Paris, 1913) p. 4.

30. See Blunt, p. 132.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Marot, in *L’Architecture française*, referred to as the “Grand Marot.” See also Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels*, p. 2, and Musée Carnavalet, p. 83, fig. 123.

33. Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1724) III, p. 14. Sauval obtained permission to publish his *Histoire* in 1654, but the work did not, in fact, appear until 1724, after considerable revision and editing by a friend of Sauval’s named Rousseau. See Pierre Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1875) XIV, p. 278. Bonnaffé (pp. 139–140) quoted Sauval extensively, as did Jarry, *Les Vieux Hôtels* (p. 2), but Blunt (p. 132) seems not to have known of Sauval’s description.

34. While most of this description is taken directly from Sauval’s account of the Hôtel Hesselin, certain details, such as the globe with a clockwork mechanism and the eight terms, rather than four that came to Sauval’s attention, are taken from Bonnaffé (p. 139). The confusion in the number of terms may, in fact, have arisen from the likelihood that they were paired, perhaps in similar fashion to Jacques Sarrazin’s caryatid figures for the Pavillon de l’Horloge at the Louvre, which were executed in part by Guérin about the same time as were the interiors of the Hôtel Hesselin. See Marthe Digard, *Jacques Sarrazin: son oeuvre—son Influence* (Paris, 1934) p. 144 and pl. xv, and Blunt, pp. 181, 276–277 n. 274, and pl. 150A.

35. An artist seemingly unknown to the modern compilers of biographical dictionaries of artists. Sauval mentioned also that Michel Dorigny was responsible for something to be seen in the vestibule and that Vouet was responsible for the original design, but he omits to say what the designs were for. Aside from the paintings that he owned described in the inventory of his estate and the enamels on his watch, Hesselin can be connected with Vouet in a still more direct fashion, for de Crèvecoeur (p. 227) cites a document showing that in 1637 Hesselin was a witness to the baptism of Vouet’s son. See also *Galeries nationales*, pp. 122–123.

36. Sauval, *Histoire*, III, p. 14, “La cheminée porte sur le manteau deux Vestales d’une beauté très-considérable.”

37. In the portions of the inventory published by Wildenstein, the most expensive single paintings were valued at 200 *livres*. These were a *Nativity* by Tintoretto (p. 60) and a painting with an undescribed subject by Pietro da Cortona (p. 61).

38. P.-T.-N. Hurtaut and Magny, *Dictionnaire Historique de la Ville de Paris et des ses Environs* (Paris, 1779) III, p. 113, describe among the royal possessions “Lits et autres Ameublements” the following: “des pièces détachées très-riches, qui viennent d’un nommé Hincelin, où il est lui-même représenté.” The passage

was quoted by Bonnaffé (p. 141), who added that the name “Hincelin” is surely Hesselin. Bonnaffé’s supposition is confirmed by the use of a similar spelling of the name on one of Marot’s engraved elevations showing the hôtel on the quai de Béthune.

39. Musée Carnavalet, p. 80.

40. Jean-François Niceron, *La Perspective curieuse* (Paris, 1638) p.77, “on a peut dire l’abbregé des cabinets de Paris.” The 2nd edition (1663) slightly abbreviates the passage.

41. See Bonnaffé, pp. 140–141; Guigard, *Nouvel Armorial*, pp. 259–260; and Olivier, Hermal, and de Roton, *Manuel de l’amateur*, no. 1687.

42. De Crèvecoeur (p. 236) states that the title was never official, although it appeared contemporaneously in the *Gazette de France* without apparent retraction.

43. Loret, I (1857) pp. 492–493, letter of May 9, 1654, and p. 570, letter of Nov. 28, 1654. The quotation is from the latter, from which it also appears that Loret had firsthand experience of Hesselin’s hospitality. Another visit of the king is recorded in the *Gazette de France*, Sept. 28, 1658.

44. [Nicolas Lescaplier], *Relation de ce qui s’est passé a l’arrivée de la Reine Christine de Suede a Essaune en la maison de Monsierr Hesselin* (Paris, 1656). This rare book exists in several versions. The more common is the quarto edition cited here, but the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has a folio edition and a 12th edition has been recorded in Skokloster Slot, Sweden (Inv. no. III, 120–1175 19:1). See *Christina: Queen of Sweden*, exh. cat., Nationalmuseum (Stockholm, 1966) pp. 285–286, no. 647.

45. Lescaplier, *Relation*, p. 10. “Et ce qui est encore de plus admirable est la tranquillité avec laquelle ce marueilleux personnage fait agir dans cette incomparable magnificence, plus de deux cens personnes en des occupations toutes differentes.”

46. See Christout, pp. 81, 82, 96 n. 120; and 262, 1656, 6-ix. Christout notes that there is a copy of the 4^e edition of the *Relation* in the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris (B.3770 [12], Ra 4 279).

47. Loret I (1857) p. 573, letter of Dec. 5, 1654; II (1877) p. 17, letter of Feb. 13, 1655; p. 57, letter of June 5, 1655; p. 98, letter of Sept. 18, 1655; pp. 121–122, letter of Nov. 13, 1655; pp. 165–166, letter of March 4, 1656; pp. 239–241, letter of Sept. 9, 1656; pp. 444–446, letter of Feb. 16, 1658; III (1878) pp. 325–326, letter of Feb. 26, 1661; and pp. 391–393, letter of Aug. 20, 1661.

48. Christout, p. 65 n. 152.

49. Loret, I (1857) p. 573, letter of Dec. 5, 1654. See also Christout, pp. 77–78, 93 n. 72, 93 n. 75, 261, 1654, 3-ii.

50. Bonnaffé, p. 140.

51. Christout, p. 68, and p. 259, 1653, 23-ii. See also de Crèvecoeur (p. 234), who identified the drawing of Harlequin (Figure 25) as a representation of Hesselin in the role.

52. Bonnaffé’s remarks are supported by the tradition that some of the designs by Stefano della Bella for ballet costumes that were in Hesselin’s possession were among those later recorded in the collection of André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732). See Richard Real, A.-L. Lacordaire, and M.-A. de Montaignon, “Pierre et Charles-André Boulle: Ébénistes de Louis XIII et

Louis XIV,” *Archives de l’Art français* IV (Paris, 1855–56) p. 339 and p. 339 n. 2. Christout (p. 68) pointed out, however, that della Bella left Paris before 1653, and she suggested that the costumes for the “Ballet de la Nuit” may instead have been the design of Henry de Gissey.

53. For a more complete description, see Christout, pp. 68–71 and p. 259, 1653, 23-ii.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 70–71 and p. 91 n. 32. In the same year (1653) Gilles Guérin portrayed the king in the guise of the sun god, Apollo, in a sculpture erected in the Hôtel de Ville in Paris to commemorate the king’s victory over the forces of the Fronde. See Louis Hautecoeur, *Louis XIV: Roi-Soleil* (Paris, 1953) p. 7 and pl. opp. p. 10. Hautecoeur (p. 7) made it clear, as did Christout (p. 91 n. 32), that there were, in fact, many allusions to the sun in connection with the young king prior to his appearance in the “Ballet de la Nuit.”

55. Loret says nothing of this, but see de Crèvecoeur, pp. 234–235 and p. 235 n. 1.

56. Michel de Marolles, *Suite des Memoires* (Paris, 1657) p. 171.

57. Christout, pp. 103–104 and p. 264, 1661, 19-ii.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 103. Among the guests was the Dutch mathematician Christiaan Huygens, who made a separate visit to inspect the stage machinery. See the entry for Feb. 16, 1661, in Huygens’s diary of his visit to Paris in 1660 to 1661, published in the *Oeuvres Complètes* XXII (The Hague, 1950) pp. 554–555.

59. See Loret III (1878) p. 393, letter of Aug. 20, 1661, “Le renommé Monsieur Le Brun, / . . . / A, dit-on, bien prêté les mains, / Ou plutôt son sens et sa Teste, / Aux apareils d’icelle Feste: / où l’Ingenieux Hensselin, / Aux sumptüozitez enclin, / Pour à ce Grand Fouquet complaire, / Se rendit, aussi, nécessaire.” See also de Crèvecoeur, p. 241, where the reference is given in note 6 instead of the incorrectly numbered note 5. For a lively account of the affair, see Nancy Mitford, *The Sun King* (New York, 1966) p. 18, and for a more complete account of the ballet given for the entertainment of the king, see Christout, pp. 105–106, and p. 264, 1661, 17-viii. Hesselin seems to have escaped disgrace, but his friend Torelli was not so lucky. He was banished from the kingdom for his role that evening. The inventory of Hesselin’s estate (Wildenstein, p. 60) records that Hesselin had stored some paintings that belonged to Torelli, or Thorely, as Hesselin’s porter referred to him, and that Torelli had gone back to Italy.

60. Loret, III (1878) p. 536–537, letter of Aug. 13, 1662. Later accounts say that he was poisoned by a servant (see Bonnaffé, p. 140). De Crèvecoeur (pp. 228–229) has shown that Hesselin never married, but had a natural son, Louis, whom he subsequently legitimized. It seems likely that this son died before his father. The son was certainly still alive on Jan. 12, 1662, when he appeared in the ballet “Hercule amoureux” (see Christout, pp. 106, 128 n. 60), but as the senior Hesselin made a new will on the day before his death (see de Crèvecoeur, p. 243) leaving his estate to a cousin, it is likely that his son had quite recently died. The inventory of the senior Hesselin’s estate was drawn up at the request of Henri Godet, a cousin, and the succession of the property became very involved, partly because the heir died soon after Hesselin and partly because Hesselin’s estate appears to have been financially much embarrassed (see *ibid.*, pp. 244–245).

61. Municipal Archives, The Hague, OA 1057, fol. O^v, OA 4897, OA 4898, Klapper Overlijden.

62. Gemeente Museum, The Hague.

63. In a future article, the authors intend to deal more fully with the use of painted enamel watchcases in the Netherlands.

64. The base coat of enamel to which colors are subsequently applied.

65. The movement is signed "Antoine Masurier / A Paris" (working 1637–49). The watch is illustrated by Tardy, *Dictionnaire des horlogers*, II, p. 454; Cardinal (1989) pp. 138, 139, figs. 104a, 104b; Giuseppe Brusa, *L'Arte dell'orologeria in Europa* (Milan, 1978) color pls. xvii–xx, and p. 105, nos. xvii–xx.