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respond with the sitter in the Auckland drawing – particularly the high cheekbones of the latter. It likewise does not resemble a portrait of Ottavio by Ippolito in the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome,[19] which corresponds with Ottavio's features as he himself depicted them in his franker moments, as seen for instance in the self-portraits in Karlsruhe and Florence as well as B.9. Missing from fig. 69 is the distinctive cross of knighthood of the Order of Christ with which Ottavio had been invested by Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621–23). With the possible exception of the self-portrait profile in B.13, this is found in each of Ottavio's known self-portraits as well as in the Accademia likeness, and as a mark of social and professional esteem it is unlikely to have been excluded. Moreover, the sitter appears to be dressed for the outdoors, wearing across his right shoulder a cloak on which the cross of knighthood might otherwise appear. (See, for instance, B.9 and the portrait of *Giovanni Baglioni*, B.14.) Finally – and Ottavio's toying with his own image notwithstanding – the sitter in the Auckland drawing appears much older than even the frank Karlsruhe self-portrait of 1624. For these reasons it seems unlikely that this is a portrait of, and still less a self-portrait by, Ottavio Leoni.

The discovery of the Auckland counterproof appears to shed new light on the work of Ottavio Leoni as he developed as a printmaker. The use of parallel hatching found in the counterproof, prior to the reworking in stipple, suggests that the artist was still exploring the solutions available to the demands of depicting skin tone at the time the print was made. And while Ottavio evidently abandoned such hatching in favour of his successful use of stipple, the effect of the counterproof remains quite striking, perhaps more so in comparison to the weak result of the published state. Having failed to complete the plate before his death in 1630, it seems that Ottavio bequeathed it to Ippolito along with his other plates of artists and poets. The unfinished plate was then completed by Ippolito and published in 1636. The crude quality of the work here attributed to Ippolito is evidence of the fact that he was not a printmaker – a point he emphasized in his signature in the published state. Given all of this, the traditional attribution of the *recto* drawing to Ottavio Leoni should also be called into question. While the authorship of that work currently remains uncertain, it may also prove to be the work of Ippolito. What does seem clear, and is demonstrated through comparison to other likenesses of Ottavio, is that the *recto* drawing is not a further self-portrait by that artist.

19. Inv. 591. An old inscription attached to the *verso* of the portrait indicates that it was painted and donated to the Accademia by Ippolito in 1633. The portrait's memorial purpose is comparable to Ippolito's decision to complete his stepfather's unfinished self-portrait in 1636.

The Cartographic Origins of Adam Frans van der Meulen's Marly Cycle

Robert Wellington

From 1660 to 1680 Louis XIV's glorious military victories defined the long-contested borders of France and brought peace to the nation, heralding a new Augustan age in which the arts and sciences flourished. Great writers and artists were engaged by the King to produce an official record of this new golden age in both written and pictorial histories that cast the King as the central historical actor, and the seventeenth century as 'le siècle de Louis le Grand'.[1]

Many will be familiar with the grandiose royal commissions that celebrated the historic acts of the Sun King – not least of which is Charles Le Brun's ceiling

1. Peter Burke noted that the project of recording the King's history gained momentum in the late 1660s, after the King's first victorious campaign in Flanders: P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, New Haven, 1992, pp. 86–87. See also G. Walton, *Louis XIV's Versailles*, Chicago, 1986, pp. 98–100.

73. Adam Frans van der Meulen, *Arrival of Louis XIV at the Siege of Lille, View from the Priory of Fives*, 1680, oil on canvas, 2,300 x 3,280 mm (Versailles, châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon © RMN (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot).

in the Hall of Mirrors at the palace of Versailles. But there are other ambitious history cycles that have received little scholarly attention. This essay examines the origins of one of the less famous, but more significant royal commissions of the 1680s: the cycle of fourteen paintings known as the *Conquêtes du Roi* (fig. 73). These representations of King Louis XIV's victories were created for the King's pleasure palace at Marly and represent the masterpiece of the Flemish artist Adam Frans van der Meulen (1632–90).[2] Recent studies have shown the key role that this cycle played in the development of the genre of military painting in France.[3] But one point of chronology that sheds more light on the source of Van der Meulen's influential compositions has been overlooked. It was previously presumed that certain prints of territories that capitulated to the

2. The most significant study on van der Meulen to date is I. Richefort, *Adam-François van der Meulen (1632–1690): peintre flamand au service de Louis XIV*, Paris, 2004. See also id., 'L'oeuvre gravé de Van der Meulen', in *A la gloire du Roi: von der Meulen, peintre des conquêtes de Louis XIV*, edited by E. Starcky, Dijon and Luxemburg, 1998, pp. 322–27; id., 'Van der Meulen, sa vie, son œuvre', in Starcky, op. cit., 1998, pp. 35–43; id., 'Nouvelles précisions sur la vie d'Adam-François van der Meulen, peintre historiographe de Louis XIV', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1986, pp. 57–80. Van der Meulen listed fourteen paintings under the title of *Conquêtes du Roi* in his memoirs, all of which were painted for Marly. However, further works were added later by Van der Meulen and his followers, with the cycle eventually comprising more than twenty paintings. See Richefort, 2004, op. cit, pp. 98–119.

3. For Van der Meulen's influence see Richefort, 2004, op. cit.; J. Plax, 'Seventeenth-Century French Images of Warfare', in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles; Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, edited by P. F Cuneo, Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2002, pp. 131–158. Jerome Delaplanche has demonstrated Van der Meulen's influence on the painter Joseph Parrocel: J. Delaplanche, *L'œuvre Révélé De Joseph Parrocel*, Paris, 2005, and J. Delaplanche, *Joseph Parrocel 1646–1704: La Nostalgie de l'héroïsme*, Paris, 2006.

74. Jan van Huchtenberg and Adrien-François Bauduins after Adam Frans van der Meulen, *View of the Town of Lille near the*

King, designed by Van der Meulen, were reproductions of his famous Marly *Conquêtes* (fig. 74).[4] However, a re-examination of archival evidence proves that in some cases the reverse is true, and that certain paintings were in fact produced after their corresponding prints. Indeed, it is my contention that Van der Meulen's compositions developed from a format appropriate to the medium of print that was derived from chorography – a mode of mapping that was well known in seventeenth-century France and can be traced back many centuries earlier – and was well suited to supporting the ideological claims encoded within Van der Meulen's images.

Van der Meulen was born the son of a respectable notary in Brussels in around 1632 and was apprenticed at the age of fourteen to Pieter Snayers, court artist to the Habsburg Regents of the Spanish Netherlands.[5] By 1662 he had gained an excellent reputation, so much so that he was lured to the court of Louis XIV during a call for talented artists to be brought to France to work for the King on all manner of sumptuous deco-

4. Although Richefort provides much of the material for the dating of the paintings and prints, she and other scholars have presumed the *Lille* print to be reproduction of the painting. See P. D. E. Guerra, *La peinture d'histoire à Marly sous Louis XIV*, Louveciennes, 1993; Richefort, 'L'œuvre gravé', 1998, op. cit.; Richefort, 2004, op. cit., pp. 133–53, and Plax, op. cit., p. 141.

5. The biographical notes are taken from Richefort's studies, for which see note 2.

6. '*La permission de faire graver et imprimer les veues de villes et places conquises, et maisons royales, marches.*' The document granting this patent is listed in the *inventaire après décès* of Adam-François Van der Meulen, Archives Nationales, MC, XVI, 597; cited in Riche-

Priory of Fives, 1670, engraving, 500 x 1,320 mm (London, The British Library, 561 H 14).

rations for royal palaces. Van der Meulen's career in France began at the Gobelins manufactory, working on tapestry designs under the King's principal artist Charles Le Brun. He soon proved his talent and was rewarded with a patent to 'engrave and print views of towns and places of conquest, royal houses, and marches' – a privilege strictly controlled by the royal administrators.[6]

His earliest prints of *Louis XIV's Entry to Dunkirk* or the *View of the Château of Versailles* are evidence of the formula that he developed to present either an historical or everyday event in the life of Louis XIV within a topographically accurate setting. Such a formula was used to great effect in the series of prints that show the territories conquered by the King in his first two successful military campaigns in the Netherlands, such as the *View of Lille*, of c. 1670 (fig. 74).[7] Each of these images makes use of the compositional conceit of a populated high foreground before a plunging panoramic view, which was to become Van der Meulen's signature composi-

fort, 2004, op. cit., p. 133. The production of prints in which the King was (directly or indirectly) the subject was strictly regulated, and on 22 December 1667 it was announced by royal decree that engravings of royal buildings, paintings, sculpture and antique statues in the King's collection, and all other objects of the same nature, could only be made by those named by the King's minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert; A. Jammes, 'Louis XIV, sa Bibliothèque et le Cabinet du Roi', *The Library*, XX, 1965, p. 5.

7. My examination of Van der Meulen's prints is based on the original copies held in the British Library, which has a 22-volume set of the *Cabinet du Roy*, bound in the eighteenth century, three of which are dedicated to Van der Meulen's prints.

tion and the one that he later used for his Marly *Conquêtes*.

This grand cycle of paintings was commissioned specifically for Marly, which was to become Louis XIV's retreat, where he could escape from the strictures of his court. The château comprised a central pool with a large pavilion for the royal apartments at one end and six smaller buildings on either side to house the King's guests. Its diminutive size – at least in comparison to Versailles – meant that only a select group of the King's favourites could accompany him there, and thus it was a place to rest and recuperate from the rigours of public life.[8] At Marly a pastoral theme prevailed, and Van der Meulen's paintings suited this perfectly, with their depictions of the lush provinces newly annexed to France. They were an integral part of the decorative scheme of the royal pavilion, and a contemporary cross-section of the château shows two of Van der Meulen's canvases in perfect proportion to their surroundings at either end of the lower storey (fig. 75).

Construction of the Marly complex began in May 1679 and proceeded with spectacular speed. So much so that by September 1686 it was ready to house a small royal retinue. Prior to this visit, and shortly after a number of Van der Meulen's paintings had been hung, the artist re-released the whole catalogue of his engravings. These received a glowing review in the *Mercure Galant*, where the connection between the prints and the Marly *Conquêtes* was the reason for their recommendation to the reader. The writer enthused:

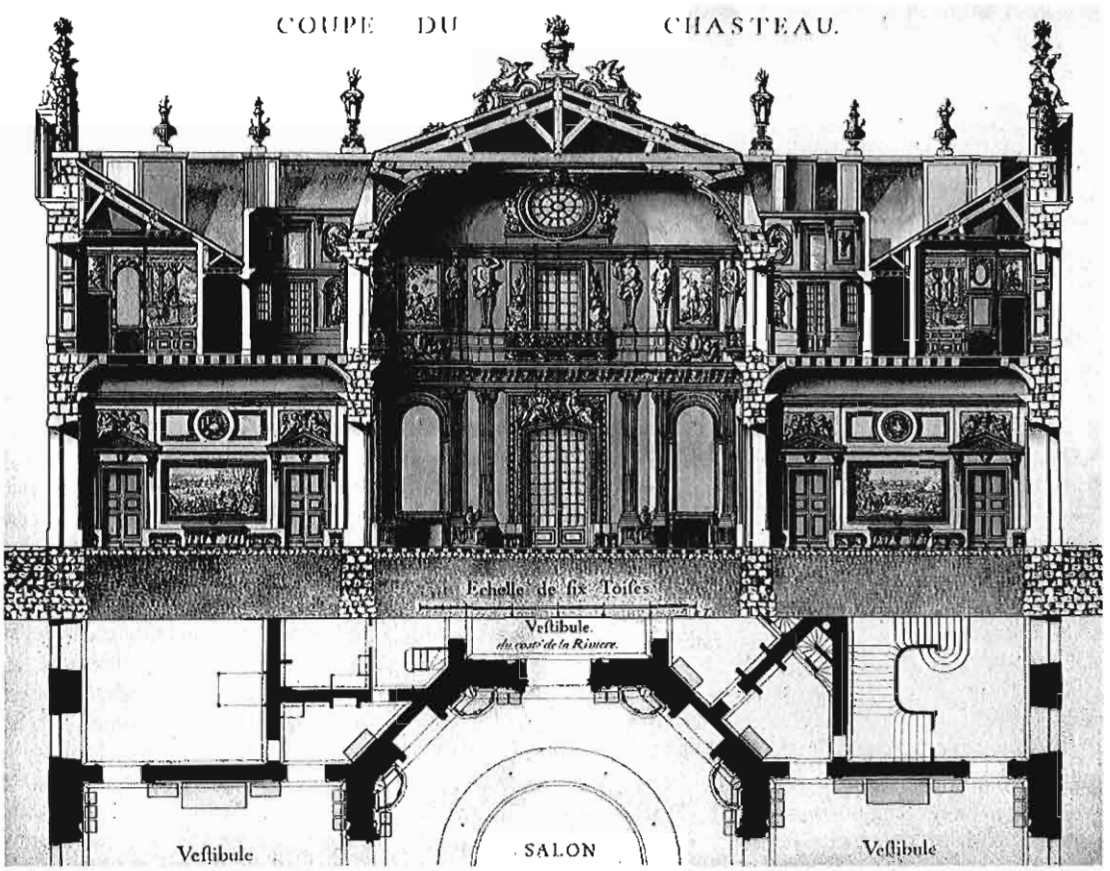
> Of the paintings that he has made in such great number that they could fill apartments in the most sumptuous palaces, a great part are already placed in the Château of Marly, where they have [received] the admiration of connoisseurs [curieux].[9]

Such a write-up was sure to have encouraged the amateur keen to keep abreast of the very latest in contemporary art to buy the prints after the paintings that decorated the King's new palace. If the reissued prints were successful for this reason it is somewhat ironic, as a number of them did not reproduce the paintings – the paintings reproduced them.

The *inventaire après décès* (an official inventory of the household of the deceased) of Van der Meulen's wife, taken on 26 November 1680, describes 'a large painting representing *L'Isle en Flandres* [Lille], ten feet long and seven feet high.'[10] This matches the description of the Marly canvas of Lille (fig. 73) given by Van der Meulen in his memoirs, and it is confirmed as the painting that once hung at Marly by Piganiol de la Force's description of the château's decorations in 1701.[11] Considering that this canvas, made to the dimensions specified by the design of the new château, was found in the artist's studio so soon after building had commenced at Marly, it is likely that this was one of the first of the *Conquêtes* to be produced. It also allows us to date the picture to 1680, ten years after the corresponding print had first been released.

The print of Lille can be firmly dated to 1670 because Jan Van Huchtenburg – one of the engravers to whom it is attributed – left France for good that year.[12] Further, a *View of Lille* appears in an inventory of prints that entered the royal library between 1670 and 1678.[13] The date *1685* that appears on a version of the print found in a volume of the *Cabinet du Roy* in the collection of the British Library is a red herring. It corresponds to a second edition of Van der Meulen's prints released in 1685, as noted above.[14] The print and painting are so similar there is no doubt that the latter was based on the former.[15] They are both bordered by the same trees: to the left are two tall sinuous boughs that wind upwards, and to the right another has broken, the stump still planted, with its branches lying beside it. At the centre of both works the abbey dominates, and in every detail the building is the same. The

8. See R. W. Berger, 'On the Origins of Marly', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, LVI, 1993, p. 534, and B. Rosasco, 'The Sculptures of the Château of Marly during the Reign of Louis XIV', PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1980, pp. 1–66.
9. '*Outre les tableaux qu'il a faits en si grand nombre qu'ils peuvent remplir plusieurs appartemens dans les palais les plus somptueux, un grande partie estant déjà placée au Chasteau du Marly, où ils font l'admiration des curieux.*' *Mercure Galant*, May, 1685, cited in Richefort, 2004, op. cit., p. 139.
10. *Inventaire après décès de Catherine Huseweel, Paris, 26 novembre 1680*, Archives Nationales, MC, XCII, 232 ; cited ibid., pp. 250–55.
11. Piganiol de la Force's description of Marly from 1701 noted these as the dimensions of the Marly canvases: '*Ils ont ordinairement sept pieds de haut, sur dix pieds deux pouces de large.*' His description of the Marly canvas also matches '*L'isle. Le Roi y paroist accompagné des princes et des grands de sa cour. Il est monté sur un cheval isabelle. Dans le lointain on voit une abbaye.*' cited ibid., p. 117.
12. Ibid., p. 134.
13. Two documents have been cited by Richefort that record the dates that Van der Meulen's prints entered the Royal Library from the *Archives Nationales de France, Série OI. Maison du roi, OI 1964. Mémoires de toutes les planches qui ont esté gravés pour le roi depuis l'année 1670 jusques au mois de juin 1678*. The *View of Lille* is among the second list of sixteen works that are recorded as entering the King's library between 1670 and 1678; ibid., p.134.
14. *Mercure Galant*, May, 1685, ibid., p. 139.
15. I have made a detailed analysis in the British Library of the 41 prints in *Cabinet du Roy*, XIV and XV, and found that twelve correspond to paintings that hung at Marly.



75. Anonymous artist, *Cross-section and Elevation of the Vestibule of Marly on the East-west Axis of the Vestibules* (detail), 1714 (Paris, Archives Nationales, O1 1472.5).

King's party to the right of both the painting and print are nearly identical, and in both an expansive landscape dominates the composition. The limitations of the building at Marly may account for the difference in proportion between them.

The Marly painting of *Lille* has a height-to-width proportion of roughly 2:3, whereas the print is approximately 1:3.[16] Due to this difference, the Marly *Lille* uses the main elements of the print's design, but reduces certain groups and contracts other elements on the painting's horizontal axis. The large processional group that accompanies the King in the print has been significantly reduced in number in the painting, and a small group of figures at lower left has been omitted; indeed, a significant portion of the left side of the print was cropped out of the painting. On the vertical axis of the painting the skyline has been raised considerably, which in turn causes the horizon line to lower, allowing for a picturesque treatment of sky, lending the painting the appearance of a pastoral scene with atmospheric observations reminiscent of Claude Lorrain's idealized arcadian landscapes.

The bird's-eye view of landscape in the *Conquêtes* has often been attributed to the artist's Flemish roots, and no doubt works such as Philips Wouwerman's *The Cavalry Camp*, c. 1660s, which shows a group of military figures on a raised foreground before a landscape that stretches into the distance, influenced Van der Meulen.[17] To be sure, there are many examples of Northern European landscape artists who could be

16. This and the following observations can also be made for the prints of Dole and Oudenarde and the corresponding paintings from the Marly cycle.

17. Plax has noted that Wouwerman was a likely source for Van der Meulen (2002, op. cit., p. 135).

76. Charles Le Brun, *Personification of Chorography*, brush and grey ink over black chalk, 269 x 124 mm (Paris, Musée du Louvre © RMN / Madeleine Coursaget).

cited as influential, including Cornelius Vroom or Philips Koninck, both of whom produced topographically accurate landscape panoramas. However, Van der Meulen's *Conquêtes* and the prints on which they are based have a peculiar binary format: the raised populated foreground before a panoramic vista is viewed from above, as if from the hill on which the foreground figures stand. This is a composition commonly found in chorography.[18]

In the age of Louis XIV, chorography was held up as one of the exemplary arts and sciences. On the garden-side façade of Versailles, opposite the symmetrical flower beds and circular fountain of the parterre du Midi next to the Orangerie, are 24 statues designed by Charles Le Brun that were installed in the early 1680s.[19] These sculptures of the muses, personifications of government and the arts and sciences are organized in to four groups of three pairs. In the last of these groups the figure of *Painting* is paired with *Chorography* (fig. 76).[20] The latter addresses the globe under her arm with a pair of compasses, referencing the cartographic application of mapping towns, cities and localities. There is logic in the pairing of these statues: just as *Force* is joined with *Courage* and *Poetry* with *Music*, the coupling of *Painting* and *Chorography* is not arbitrary. Both of these disciplines hold a mirror to the world. Yet a distinction can be made in relation to their purposes: whereas the landscape paintings of Claude or Poussin fashioned a territory to the poetic ends of beauty, with allegories and metaphors aimed at some higher moral or intellectual value, chorographies reproduce the world literally and factually, as maps.

Like many pursuits of the courtly age, chorography has a classical lineage. The earliest description of the term is from the second-century Greek geographer Ptolemy, and it returned to use in the fifteenth century with the first modern translation of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*.[21] One of the points made by the ancient geographer that later cartographers seized on was the distinction drawn between two modes of mapping. The first, 'geography', describes maps that delineate vast land masses, nations, continents, or all of the known world; the second, 'chorography', refers to regional views that retain elements of the world as it appears to the eye.[22] Because of this, Ptolemy believed that these modes of mapping required different sets of skills:

> Chorography requires landscape drawing, and no one but a man skilled in drawing would do chorog-

18. For the history of chorography see D. Friedman, '"Fiorenza": Geography and Representation in a Fifteenth Century City View,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, LXIV, no. 1, 2001, pp. 56–77; N. Miller, *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance*, London and New York 2002; L. Nuti, 'The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language.' *The Art Bulletin*, LVI, 1994, pp. 105–28, and T. Frangenberg, 'Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century,' *Imago Mundi*, XLVI, 1994, pp. 41–64.
19. For Le Brun's designs for sculpture at Versailles see J. Montagu, 'Charles Le Brun and His Sculptors: A Reconsideration in the Light of Some Newly Identified Drawings', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, 1976, pp. 88–95. A comprehensive website dedicated to *Versailles décor sculpté extérieur: aile du midi sur le parterre du midi* that has been put together by the Réunion des Musées nationaux dates these 24 statues to 1681–83, http://www.sculpturesversailles.fr/html/5b/plans/index.htm, accessed on 23 September 2009.
20. The sculpture is identified as Chorography by Le Brun's inscription *Corographie* on the design drawing.
21. The influence of Ptolemy is discussed in almost every study relating to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cartography, including those cited in note 18.
22. The distinction between geography and chorography is regularly observed by scholars studying fifteenth- and sixteenth-century city views, see for example Frangenberg, 1994, op. cit., p. 41.

raphy. But geography does not [require this] at all, since it enables one to show the positions and general configurations [of features] purely by means of lines and labels.[23]

The boundaries can blur between chorography and the landscape genre because both require a skilled draughtsman to visualize a territory. But, unlike most seventeenth-century French landscape paintings, chorographies are functional descriptions of places and this is reflected in their composition.

The synthesis of three-dimensional modelling with elements seen in plan is a common feature of chorographies. The blending of plan and view (the plan-view format) retains elements of the world of appearances, while providing more comprehensive information about a place than could be gained from a single viewpoint.[24] Many early city views were drawn in this way, so that the canonical format for depicting towns and cities from a high oblique perspective developed long before the two Dutch map-makers Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg published their compendium of chorographies, the *Civitates orbis terrarum* (*The Cities of the World*) between 1572 and 1615.[25] By the seventeenth century this publication had run to many volumes in several European languages, including maps from a wide range of sources, and defining the chorographic format as it would have been known to a seventeenth-century audience.[26]

In the *View of La Rochelle* from the *Civitates* the architectural elements are drawn and shaded to give them volume (fig. 77).[27] The plasticity of the town's landmarks roughly approximates the appearance of buildings, giving the impression that the print was designed from studies taken *in situ*. The scene is viewed from the high oblique perspective of the figures that stand on a hilly outcrop in the foreground. There is a dizzying transition from the populated foreground to the background, which shows La Rochelle in plan. Details are visible that would ordinarily be obscured if one were able to look down upon the place – if such a vertiginous vantage point were to exist. The planar aspect provides a wealth of information about the town, its streets and the location of various monuments that allows the viewer to become fully orientated, making it a functional and informative document. This is chorography as Louis XIV and his circle would have known it.[28]

Van der Meulen's large-scale engravings retain the compositional binary of the plan-view format, but the transition between perspective and plan is far less disjunctive than this earlier chorographic image. The fortified town, so central to the *View of La Rochelle*, is set further back and viewed in a distant elevation in the *View of Lille*. Rectilinear architectural elements – providers of orthogonal lines that construct pictorial depth – are thus removed from the problematic area, so the spatial discordance caused by buildings in earlier chorographic images is not a problem here. Like the trees at either side of the image, the abbey blocks the point where the foreground makes a sharp descent. But the giddy drop is still palpable in the path to the right that seems to defy the logical perspective of the building that it borders. Nevertheless, the movement into pictorial depth is naturalistic overall, in part due to a horizon line that is relatively low in comparison to the *View of La Rochelle*. The artist employed these techniques to resolve the most jarring aspect of the plan-view format, resulting in an even more literal description of the territory as it would appear to an eyewitness, and this is exactly what Van der Meulen's works were purported to be.

23. I have used this recent translation of Ptolemy's text and replaced chorography for 'regional cartography' and geography for 'world cartography'. J. L. Berggren et al., *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*, Princeton, 2000, p. 58.
24. The chorographies that I have analysed to define the plan-view format date from as early as the tenth century and are found consistently up to the sixteenth. The first are hand-drawn maps, such as the Rateriana Map of Verona, c. 900, or Bartolino de Novarra's fourteenth-century view of Ferrara. The earliest printed example is a Map of Florence attributed to Francesco Rosselli, known as the *View with the Chain*, c. 1485. For further examples see Frangenberg, op. cit., and Nuti, op. cit.
25. It is widely acknowledged that Brann and Hogenberg's work was the most complete and successful of the chorographic collections of the sixteenth century; see in particular J. Keuning, 'The "Civitates" of Braun and Hogenberg', *Imago Mundi*, XVII, 1963, pp. 41–44.
26. There were Latin, German and French translations of the *Civitates*, each of which was published in several subsequent revised editions; ibid., pp. 42–43.
27. Of the 546 prints that make up the six volumes of the *Civitates*, 283 have been digitized by the Historic Cities Centre in the Geography department of the University of Jerusalem. I have found that of 283 images, 278 are viewed from a high oblique 'plan-view' perspective, and 136 – roughly half of the sample – include figures standing on hilly outcrops in the foreground. Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572–1617, Historic Cities Center of the Department of Geography, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Jewish National and University Library, http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/mapmakers/braun_hogenberg.html, accessed on 20 March 2009.
28. It seems likely that some of the many copies of the *Civitates* in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France came from the libraries at Versailles that were removed to the BnF during the 1789 revolution. For the transference of books from the royal libraries see P. Lemoine, *Guide to the Museum and National Domain of Versailles and Trianon*, translated by M. Delahaye, 3rd edn., Paris, 2002, p. 23.

77. Anonymous artist, *La Rochelle*, hand-coloured print, from G. Braun and F. Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, II, Cologne, 1575 (Jerusalem, National Library © Courtesy of Historic Cities Research Project, The National Library of Israel, Shapell Family Digitization Project, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

Described from nature and drawn for the very Christian King, by F. Vander Meulen appears in French beneath each of Van der Meulen's prints, prescribing the reception of the image.[29] In this case the wording reiterates the artist's status as a reliable eyewitness, who presents an image that reproduces his personal experience of the sites of the King's conquests. An activity encouraged by the King, who on one occasion wrote in missive from the front 'send me Van der Meulen there are some interesting things here for him to see.'[30] An article from the August 1679 issue of *Mercure Galant* recommends Van der Meulen's prints for precisely this reason:

> [because] Van der Meulen transported himself all over the place especially to make his drawings, one must never doubt that all that is represented has not been observed with the greatest and most exact regularity.[31]

The authority given to Van der Meulen's visual accounts affects 'all that is represented', and thus not only are the topographical aspects of the image to be believed, but also the elements of his prints that are used to construct an official history of the King's deeds.

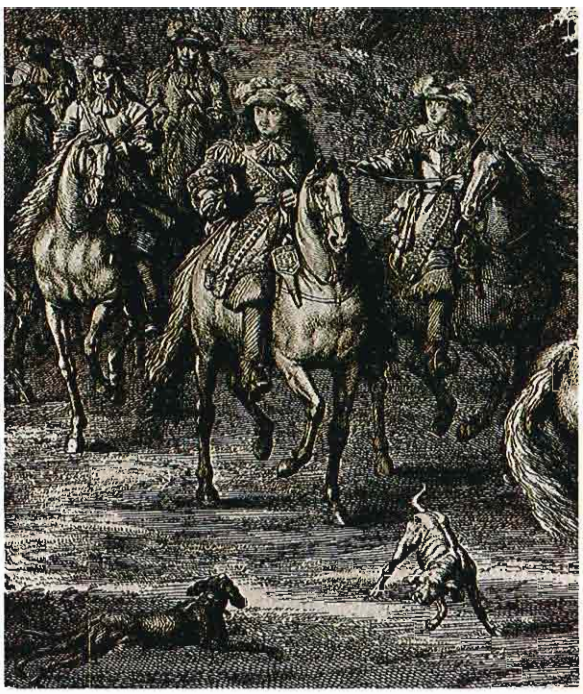
In the *View of Lille* Louis is on horseback facing the viewer, holding the baton of command and dressed in

29. *Désigné sur le naturel, et peinte pour le Roy tres-Chretien, par F. Vander Meulen. Se distribue a poris par l'Auteur, en L'hostel des manufactures Royales des Gobelins, Et en la rue St Jacques, avec Privilège du Roy.* An alternative version that begins with '*Designée sur les lieux*' is also used on some of Van der Meulen's prints.

30. '*envoyez-moi Van der Meulen, il y a des choses intéressantes a voir ici pour lui.*' This letter was sent from Cambrai in 1677 and is cited in Richefort, 1998, op cit., p. 41.

31. '*Van der Meulen s'est exprès transporté partout sur les lieux pour en faire les desseins, on ne doit point douter que tout ce que elles représentent n'ait esté observé, avec les plus grande et la plus exacte régularité.*' Sébastien Mabre Cramoisy, *Mercure Galant*, August, 1679; cited in Richefort, 2004, op. cit., p. 137.

the most lavish costume (fig. 78). Gestures and gazes of man and beast alike converge on him: at lower left, a dog races into view but turns in his direction; the figure to his right gestures to Louis and his horse nods at the same target. The King's features have been rendered more carefully than those of the other figures, save the pointing gentleman who bears a strong family resemblance. In fact, this is just one of many ways in which he mirrors the King (note the horse, and the costume in particular) suggesting that he is the second-in-command, the King's brother Philippe. The placement of the King and his brother corresponds to the absolutist ideology of Louis XIV's era that has received much scholarly attention.[32] Without wishing to repeat its best-known aspects, it suffices to say that during his reign he was at the apex of political power, he ruled on all matters and his decision was final. In Van der Meulen's images the King is given compositional primacy, which supports the thesis – well demonstrated by scholars of this period – that artists commissioned by the French crown composed their images in service of the King's glory.[33] The schematic placement of figures in Van der Meulen's prints is of particular significance to the current study, however, as it contradicts the claims made in the *Mercure Galant* that these images were indisputably factual.



78. Detail of fig. 74.

The plan-view composition of chorography postulates the accuracy of the image, and the figures in the foreground in both of Van der Meulen's images (and the *Civitates* prints before them) reinforce this, functioning as proxies for the viewer, as eyewitnesses who seem to corroborate the accuracy of the scene. Building the scene's viewpoint into the foreground of the image invites the spectators to take part in the process of surveying the region for themselves. The survey from such a vantage point is the same kind that Anton Francesco Doni suggested in his book *Mondi*, of c. 1552, where he wrote about how a local person might show their town to a visitor:

> ... when he guides someone who has just arrived in this city to see everything beautiful ... he leads him up some building which rises above the city, or up some small mountain; and from here he shows him the [city's] site, width, and length, and points out to him the public buildings, the streets, and everything [else]; thus, from this high vantage point, he forms an image of this place in his mind.[34]

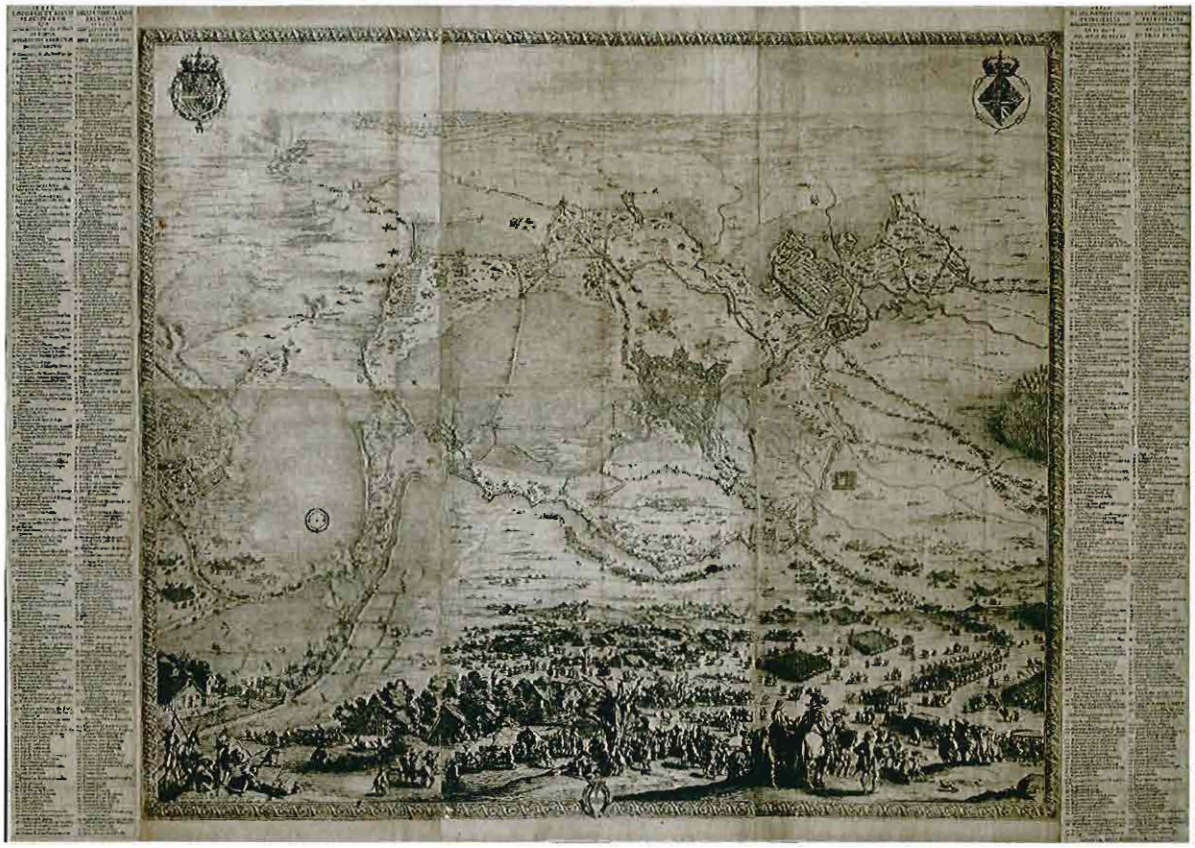
By seeing all of the landmarks of Lille from a raised position in Van der Meulen's image the viewer gets a sense of the spatial relationships between them, giving an impression of the territory as a whole. The trope of the eyewitness makes a persuasive claim to truth that is transferred onto the other visual information that is presented, particularly when this format is used to narrate an historic event, as in Van der Meulen's prints and in the Marly paintings that followed them. It should come as no surprise, then, that this mode of mapping was used to stage productions of historic conquests of Louis XIV.

That the compositions used by Van der Meulen in his cycle of paintings for Marly originated as prints is significant. The chorographic plan-view format was an appropriate formula for print, one that had a long graphic tradition. Indeed, Van der Meulen was neither

32. See for example P. W. Fox, 'Louis XIV and the Theories of Absolutism and Divine Right', *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXVI, 1960, pp. 128–42, H. H. Rowen, '"L'état C'est à moi": Louis XIV and the State', *French Historical Studies*, II, 1961, pp. 83–98.

33. Particularly J-M. Apostolidès, *Le Roi-Machine: spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1981; P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, New Haven, 1992, and L. Marin, *Portrait of the King*, Minneapolis, 1988.

34. Anton Francesco Doni from *Mondi*, 1552, cited in Frangenberg, op. cit., p. 48.



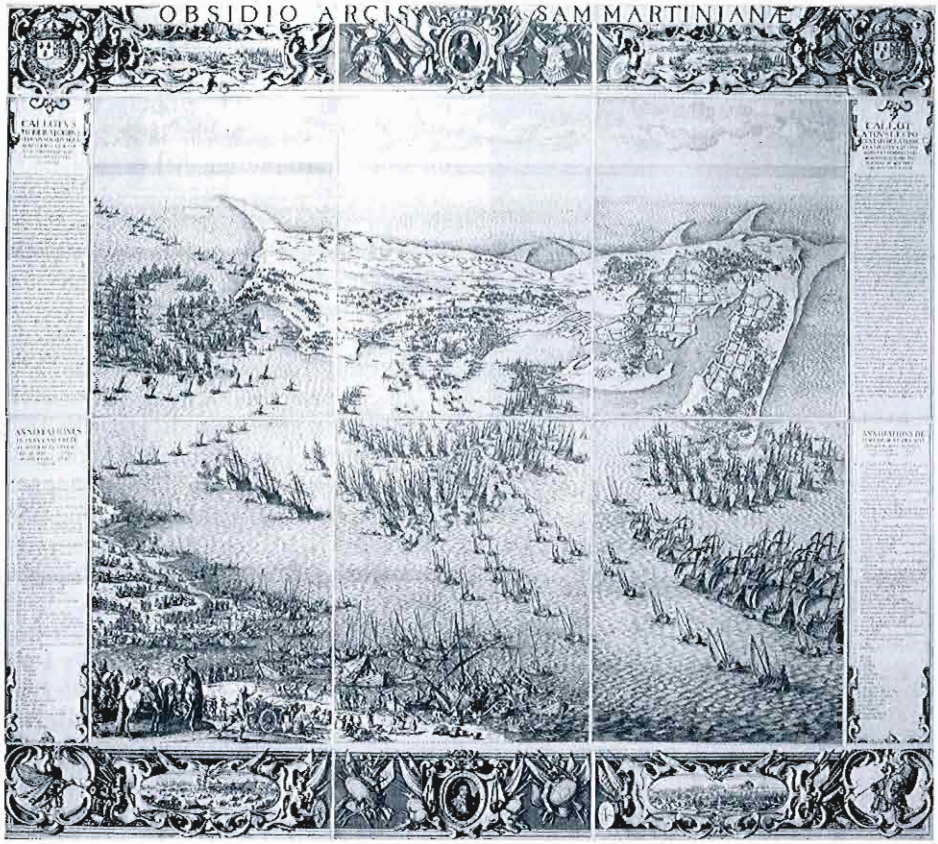
79. Jacques Callot, *The Siege of Breda*, 1628, etching, 1,270 x 1,790 mm (London, British Museum).

80. Detail of fig. 79.

the first artist to create chorographic military prints for a French King nor the first to translate such an image onto canvas.

The most significant precedents are Jacques Callot's celebrated siege prints, made some 30 years before Van der Meulen began his career in France. The siege prints were commissioned by the two powers that dominated European politics in the seventeenth century. For the Habsburgs, he produced the first and most magnificent of the three, *The Siege of Breda*, in 1628 (fig. 79). On the strength of this piece he was called to France by Louis XIII to make works of the same kind representing the sieges of *L'île de Ré* (fig. 81) and *La Rochelle*.[35] *The Siege of Breda* is constructed on the same compositional binary as Van der Meulen's designs and those of the *Civitates*.

35. For Callot's siege prints see J. Lieure, *Jacques Callot*, New York, 1969, D. Ternois, *L'art de Jacques Callot*, Paris, 1962, p. 195; S. Zurawski, 'New Sources for Jacques Callot's Map of the Siege of Breda,' *The Art Bulletin*, LXX, 1988, pp. 621–39; J. Vichot, 'Les Gravures des Sièges de Ré et de La Rochelle', *Neptunia*, CIX, 1973, pp. 1–20, 27.



81. Jacques Callot, *Siege of the Citadel of St Martin on the Isle de Ré*, 1631, etching, 570 x c. 430–57 mm (Chicago, The Art Institute, William McCallin McKee Memorial Endowment Fund, 1959.229).

Figures are placed on a hilly escarpment in the foreground, and the background – filling most of the picture – shows the region of Breda from above. As with the *View of La Rochelle*, the plasticity of architecture jars with the planar view creating an awkward pictorial space. The now familiar trope of the eyewitness found in the foreground figures is extended by Callot with a vignette of the artist drawing the siege *en plein air* (fig. 80).[36]

A number of seventeenth-century painters borrowed from Callot's siege prints to a greater or lesser extent. The topographical features of the landscape backdrop to Velasquez's *The Siege of Breda (Las Lanzas)*, c. 1634–35, have been shown to correspond to Callot's *Siege of Breda*.[37] Scholars have also noted that Claude Lorrain's *Siege of La Rochelle by Louis XIII*, of c. 1631, borrows from Callot's work, in this case leading to a pastoral landscape with a plan-view format.[38] *The Siege of Breda* of c. 1630, by Van der Meulen's master, Peter Snayers, retains the literalness of chorography, with the prosaic description of topographical and architectural detail being the primary subject of the canvas.[39] The mapped landscape corresponds exactly to Callot's *Siege of Breda* and is also viewed from the same perspective, which in itself is compelling evidence that the print was

36. Zurawski, 1988, op. cit., p. 625.
37. J. M. Brown, 'On the Origins of *Las Lanzas* By Velasquez', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXVII, 1964, p. 240, and Zurawski, 1988, op. cit., pp. 621–39.
38. H. Langdon, *Claude Lorrain*, Oxford, 1989, p. 23, and Zurawski, op. cit., p. 623.
39. Richefort has suggested that Callot and Suayers may have met in the Court of Archduchess Isabella during the time Callot spent in Antwerp to produce his print of the *Siege of Breda*. She suggests that Snayers 'did not hesitate' to copy Callot's design; Richefort, 2004, op. cit., pp. 54–55. Plax has suggested that Van der Meulen's compositions were inherited from Snayers (op. cit., pp. 136–40).

82. Attributed to Nicolas Prévost, *Siege of the Citadel of St Martin on the Isle de Ré, in 1625*, oil on canvas, 3,230 x 2,550 mm (Versailles, châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon) © RMN (Château de Versailles) / Daniel Arnaudet.

the source for the painting. Further, there is a canvas that has been attributed to Nicolas Prévost of the *Siege of l'île de Ré*, dated c. 1630s (fig. 82), that translates Callot's work almost entirely. Prévost's painting is one of a cycle of twenty that once decorated Cardinal Richelieu's château in Indre-et-Loire.[40] Almost every topographical and figural detail of this painting corresponds to Callot's print when the two are seen together.

Perhaps there were once many examples of chorographic history paintings that decorated seventeenth-century châteaux. It is tempting to speculate that one of these was the now lost 'large painting representing the whole town [during the] siege of La Rochelle' that appears in the 1630 inventory of Versailles when the château was still the modest hunting lodge of Louis XIII.[41] From these several examples of paintings after Callot's prints it is apparent in any event that the iconographic relationship between chorographic prints and paintings that is evident in Van der Meulen's *Conquêtes* was not unprecedented.

The revised chronology of Van der Meulen's print of *The View of Lille* before the painted version for Marly has significant ramifications for a study of French military paintings, demonstrating the key role of graphic iconography in its formulation. Van der Meulen's *Conquêtes* were immensely influential, starting a fashion for decorating palaces and public buildings with military scenes. In the 1680s the refectories of the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris, a hospital for war veterans, were decorated with chorographic frescoes by Joseph Parrocel, an artist heavily influenced by Van der Meulen.[42] Mlle de Montpensier, known as 'la Grande Mademoiselle', ordered copies of the Marly paintings for a small cabinet at the château of Choisy.[43] Likewise, the King's chief advisor, the Marquis de Louvois, had a set copied for his château at Meudon,[44] and Louis de Bourbon, the Grand Condé, commissioned one of Van der Meulen's students, Saveur le Conte, to produce a series of paintings for a room at Chantilly.[45] What must have made this mode of painting compelling to these ancien régime patrons was the fact that it encoded, naturalized and legitimized their convictions with cartographic accuracy. It placed viewers as eyewitnesses to the great military victories of their sovereign, whose history was mapped in the plan-view format of chorography.

40. Vichot, op. cit., p. 16.
41. '*une grand tobleau représentant tant la ville que siège de La Rochelle*' is noted in the inventories of Versailles taken on 24 September 1630 (documents A.D.Y. 1,32F and A.D.Y. B3586) cited by J-C. Le Guillou, ' Les châteaux de Louis XIII à Versailles', *Versalia*, VII, 2004, p. 151.
42. Delaplanche 2005, op. cit. and Delaplanche 2006, op. cit.
43. For information on the commissions for la Grande Mademoiselle at Choisy, see Richefort, 2004, op. cit., pp. 124–30.
44. For the commissions of Louvois at Meudon see ibid. pp. 130–31.
45. See Plax, op. cit., 153.