



Fit for a Royal Commission? The Marble Relief *Landscape with King Numa and the Nymph Egeria*

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The Rijksmuseum's collection includes a sixteenth-century marble relief titled *Landscape with King Numa and the Nymph Egeria*, which had previously been attributed to Alexander Colin (Colyn, 1526/29-1612) (fig. 1).¹ Although Erica Tietze-Conrat, who dated the work to around 1560, was the first to mention Colin in connection with it, she nevertheless suggested that it was made by another sculptor working in a manner similar to that of the Mechelen master's youthful work.² Jaap Leeuwenberg, on the other hand, seemed to be convinced of Colin's authorship, but dated the work much later, to around 1600.³

Although no specific arguments have been put forward to support this thesis, one might attempt to reconstruct what they would be. Firstly, the small, meticulously carved figures set in a landscape with *all'antica* architecture outlined in bas relief, which point to a northern artist's interpretation of ancient and Italian Renaissance models, are to a certain extent consistent with the style of the Mechelen *cleynstekers* (small carvers) and *antyksnijders* (antique carvers), the circle in which Colin was trained.⁴ Secondly, these features are executed with the sort of proficiency in marble carving that Colin demonstrated in his works for German and Austrian patrons. It is clear, however, that Colin would not

Fig. 1
*Landscape with
King Numa and
Nymph Egeria*, 1600.
White marble,
38 x 43.5 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BK-18016.

be the only sculptor to fit this very broad profile.

What's more, a meticulous comparison of the Amsterdam work with marble reliefs by Colin and his collaborators, such as those on the tomb of Emperor Maximilian I in the Hofkirche in Innsbruck (fig. 2), reveals a clear discrepancy between his style and sculptural technique and that of the anonymous maker of the relief of Numa Pompilius.⁵ To begin with, the principal characteristic of Colin's reliefs is the dense, multiplane, figural

Fig. 2
ALEXANDER COLIN
AND
COLLABORATORS,
*Marriage of Emperor
Maximilian and Mary
of Burgundy*, detail
of the relief on the
tomb of Emperor
Maximilian I, 1562-83.
Innsbruck, Hofkirche.
Photo:
Ethan Matt Kavalier.





Fig. 3
ALEXANDER COLIN
AND
COLLABORATORS,
*The Battle of
Guinegate*, detail
of the relief on the
tomb of Emperor
Maximilian I, 1562-83.
Innsbruck, Hofkirche.
Photo:
Ethan Matt Kavalier.

composition (fig. 3).⁶ Secondly, there is a clear difference in the execution of the gradation on the relief to achieve spatial effects between the works of the Mechelen sculptor and that of the creator of the Amsterdam work. Colin does not greatly differentiate the height of the relief in successive planes, and this causes the density of his compositions. Moreover, his relief drawing is sharp, while the maker of the Amsterdam work employs a much softer line and uses painterly effects, resulting from the rich gradation of the relief. The 'sharp chisel' also allowed Colin to enrich the surface of his works with meticulously depicted patterns on the brocade fabrics (see fig. 2), a motif absent from the Amsterdam relief, although King Numa's robe would have provided space for such decoration.

Viewed in this light, the Rijksmuseum work cannot be attributed to Colin. I consequently present a hypothesis in this paper as to its provenance, and an interpretation of its programme in the context of its probable intended function.

The Scene

In the first publication on the Amsterdam relief, Tietze-Conrat suggested that the scene was of 'Numa Pompilius and Egeria in the grove in front of the Capena Gate'. Leeuwenberg confirmed this identification, slightly modifying the title (*Landscape with Numa Pompilius and the Nymph Egeria*).⁷ While one may generally agree with this reading, it is wise to point out that it is far from obvious, since the correspondence of some of the motifs with the main protagonists, Numa and Egeria, is not clear at first glance. This is why a detailed description of the work is required to demonstrate that every little detail of this quasi-emblematic work is crucial to its interpretation.

The rectangular white marble relief depicts Numa Pompilius, the Sabine successor of Romulus to the throne of Rome, celebrated for his wisdom and piety (see fig. 1).⁸ According to Roman beliefs as recorded by Cicero, Livy, Ovid and Plutarch,⁹ this great civil and sacred lawgiver, who brought Rome its longest-ever period of peace, was inspired direct-

ly by the deities, first and foremost by his divine consort, the nymph Egeria, also represented in the relief.

Numa and Egeria are portrayed against a background of the suburban landscape of the Eternal City. The king, clad in a long Renaissance robe and a cap of the kind worn by scholars or clergymen, stands in front of a trellis, head thrown back and arms raised in a gesture of prayer or worship (fig. 4). Two putti embrace on the archway of the trellis, which is overgrown with laurel and flanked by horns of plenty (see fig. 4). Numa stands on a small foot-bridge that leads to a garden, whose parterre is embellished with two large vases. The garden is enclosed on three sides by low walls and on the fourth by a brook flowing from beneath a city gate, probably the Porta Capena, which gives onto the sacred forest of Aricia,



Fig. 4
Detail with Numa
(fig. 1).



Fig. 5
Detail with Egeria
(fig. 1).

where according to Roman tradition Numa Pompilius and Egeria would meet. In the foreground the nymph – facing Numa – sits on the garden wall with her right arm raised (fig. 5). The wall is covered with reliefs depicting tritons, dolphins and a trident (fig. 6), and on the left-hand section there is a large crab (see fig. 4). Sheep graze by the Porta Capena, and further to the left, at the edge of the forest in the background, two bulls are at pasture and four horses gallop (fig. 7).

Adjacent to the garden on the right are two domed buildings: the front one circular and the rear one square with an arcaded portico (see fig. 1). These should be identified as the temples of



Fig. 6
Detail with the garden
wall (fig. 1).

Fig. 7
Detail with horses
(fig. 1).



Vesta and Janus, which were founded by King Numa. Further in the background are four towers, two of which are surmounted by crosses. Mercury flies down on to a domed building between the towers (fig. 8). The messenger of the gods is depicted with his attributes: a caduceus, petasus and talaria, a trumpet and a rooster.¹⁰ Above him three cherubs sit in clouds from which fiery rays emanate.

Let us return to the question of the literary sources of the composition. The point of departure must have been provided by Ovid and Plutarch, who devote more attention to Numa's contacts with the supernatural powers than does Cicero, for instance.¹¹ It is therefore safe to assume that while the Amsterdam relief presents an overall image of this model priest-king, the *Pontifex Maximus*, whose wise and pious reign was inspired by the gods, at the same time it alludes to one particular episode in Numa's history – his negotiations with Jupiter to appease him and to stop the thunderbolts and lightning terrifying the people of

Rome (see fig. 8).¹² Ovid describes how the king wished to inquire what sacrifice would please Jupiter, but the god remained unreachable in his heavenly realm. Following Egeria's advice, Numa craftily trapped the demi-gods Picus and Faunus, who disclosed the secret of how to call forth Jupiter from the heavens. First though, the forest deities themselves had to be lured, which was achieved (again thanks to a hint from the king's wife) by sacrificing a sheep and offering some wine. When the king of the gods, seduced by the trick revealed by Picus and Faunus, appeared before Numa, he demanded a head as a blood sacrifice to charm the thunderbolts. Numa – prompted by Egeria – succeeded in persuading Jupiter to agree instead to a sacrifice of an onion, the hair of a man and some sprats.

This part of the story – telling how a man outwitted a god – is represented, though indirectly, by allusive motifs including the rays and flames in the sky, the vases of 'fragrant Bacchus' set out by 'a rill of perennial water', and sheep grazing nearby, ready to be sacrificed.¹³

Fig. 8
Detail with Mercury
(fig. 1).



The same strategy of allusions was chosen for another related story, that of Hippolytus, which follows the story of Numa in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.¹⁴ After Numa died, Egeria was beside herself with grief and 'hid herself deep in the forest of Arcia's vale',¹⁵ where Hippolytus – by then in his posthumous form known as Virbius – tried to console her by telling her the tragic story of his own death. The youth was dragged to his death by the horses pulling his chariot, which were terrified by a wild bull sent by Dionysus at the request of Theseus, Hippolytus's jealous father.

Since Virbius was worshipped in the forest of Aricia, alongside Diana and Egeria, the galloping horses and the bull depicted in the Amsterdam relief hint at both his story and at Egeria as an inconsolable widow. Another example where these two stories have been combined is the engraving by Matthäeus Merian the Elder for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1619) (fig. 9).

Some of the motifs depicted on the relief, however, are not easily explained on the basis of classical literary sources. Although Mercury could be interpreted in this context as an intermediary between King Numa and Jupiter, none of the classical texts mention his appearance at that particular moment nor can the meaning of the embracing putti figures be easily explained. Given the very unusual interpretation of a classical theme rarely depicted in the sixteenth century, the possible motivation of the person who commissioned it and the original function of the work must consequently be studied in depth. To this end we need to broaden our range of visual and literary comparative sources.

The Tradition of Representation of King Numa Pompilius

In contrast to the imagery of his predecessor Romulus, there is only a modest body of iconography on Numa. Pliny mentions a statue of Numa on the Capitoline Hill,¹⁶ but his image could not have been particularly popular, since only one full-size statue (second century AD, Basilica Aemilia, Forum Romanum) and one bust (Villa Albani) of the king – in both cases represented as a high priest – have survived. Numa is also depicted in one of the reliefs of the *Ara Pacis* (13-9 BC).¹⁷ This was not discovered until the 1930s, however, so it cannot have directly influenced the development of the king's medieval or Early Modern iconography. Nonetheless it is quite possible that other representations that were based on the *Ara Pacis* relief, but no longer survive,

Fig. 9
MATTHÄEUS MERIAN
THE ELDER, *King Numa Pompilius and the Tale of Hippolitus*, engraving from *Metamorphoses*, Frankfurt 1619. Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, shelfmark 8° Rawl. 535, p. 320.





Fig. 10
Numa, coin of
Pompey the Great,
49 BC.
<http://museumvictoria.com.au/collections/items/54758/coin-denarius-pompey-the-great-ancient-roman-republic-49-bc>.

may have been known and may have had such an impact.

More widespread and influential were images of Numa on Roman coins from the first century BC in profile as a bearded and diademed man accompanied by a depiction of him performing a sacrifice (fig. 10).¹⁸ There are some sixteenth-century printed 'portraits' of Numa (fig. 11) based on these coin images.

Sculptural representations of Numa Pompilius in the Middle Ages are very rare. Given its exposed location in a public space, the example of the 'Capital of Justice' in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice (1422-38) is important. There, Numa – accompanied by Egeria – is

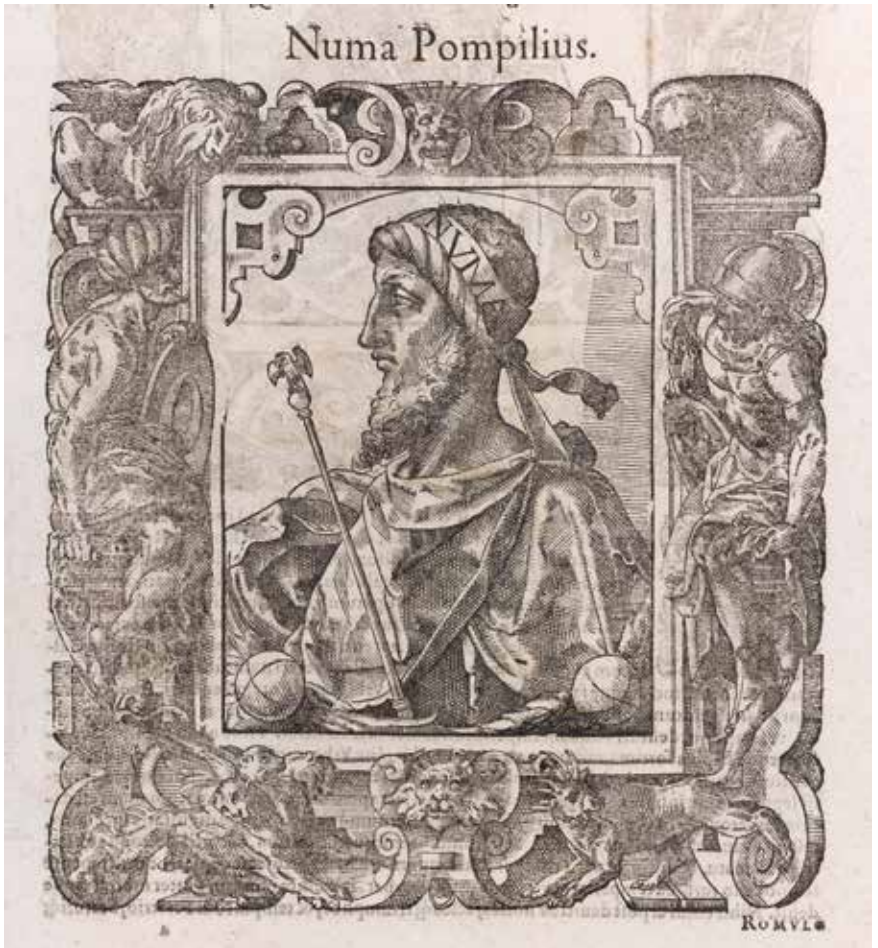


Fig. 11
Numa Pompilius,
woodcut from
Paolo Giovio, *Elogia
Virorum bellica
virtute illustrium*,
Basel 1596.
University of
Amsterdam, Special
Collections, inv. no.
OTM KF 61-1609.



Fig. 12

Numa and Egeria on the Capital of Justice, 1422-38. Venice, Palazzo Ducale. Photo: A. Lipińska.

depicted standing next to a church tower, and an inscription emphasizes his merits as a builder of temples and churches (fig. 12).¹⁹

The second king of Rome is featured far more frequently in illuminated manuscripts,²⁰ especially in the Franco-Flemish world. In a French translation of Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (*Des faits et dits mémorables*, Loire valley, c. 1470)²¹ the king is depicted twice: ordering the people to observe religious ordinances, and meeting (or marrying) the nymph Egeria at night (fig. 13). An interesting representation of the coronation of Numa Pompilius, set in scenery with a central domed temple with a portico, is to be found in the manuscript of *Tite-Live de Rochechouart* (Jean Bourdichon, 1470-80).²² The most extensive ensemble – consisting of seven miniatures representing the history of the second king of Rome by Maître François – is to be found in Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (*La Cité de Dieu*, Paris, c. 1475, 1478-80) (fig. 14).²³



Fig. 13

Numa Pompilius Meeting (or Marrying) Egeria, miniature in Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (*Des faits et dits mémorables*), Loire valley, France, c. 1470. Photo: The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands.



Fig. 14
 MAÎTRE FRANÇOIS,
Numa Pompilius
Teaches the Cult of
the Gods, miniature
 in Augustine's *De*
civitate Dei (*La Cité*
de Dieu), Paris,
 c. 1475, 1478-80.
 Photo: The Hague,
 National Library of
 the Netherlands.

A literary portrait of King Numa in Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* (1340) provided the inspiration for a number of *trecento* and *quattrocento* Italian fresco paintings (fig. 15).²⁴ While he

usually features in these depictions as a single figure or among other famous men of antiquity, narrative portrayals came to the fore in the following century. *Numa Giving the Law to the*



Fig. 15
 PIETRO PERUGINO,
Numa Pompilius
among Famous Men
of the Antiquity
(Prudence and
Justice), 1496-1500.
 Fresco. Perugia,
 Collegio del Cambio
 (Sala di Udienza).



Fig. 16

COLLABORATOR OF GIULIO ROMANO, *Numa Erecting the Temple of Janus*, 1518-31. Fresco. Rome, Palazzo Zucarrì. Photo: Rome, Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institute for Art History. Sourced from www.bildindex.de.

Romans appeared in a series of monochrome frescos by Polidoro da Caravaggio executed between 1524 and 1527 on the façades of the Palazzo Milesi in Rome.²⁵ Another cycle, including three scenes from the history of Numa (*Numa as High Priest Performing a Sacrifice for Vesta*, *Numa Erecting the Temple of Janus* and *the Finding of Numa's Secret Books and his Grave on the Janiculum*), was made by a collabo-

erator of Giulio Romano in Villa Lante (1518-31, since 1891 in the Palazzo Zuccari in Rome) (fig. 16). The motif of Egeria discussing matters of religion and justice with Numa appeared in the fresco of *Stanza della Solitudine* in Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola by Taddeo and Federico Zuccari (1563-65).²⁶

To sum up, until the sixteenth century Numa Pompilius featured more frequently as a single 'portrait' or figure



Fig. 17

The Reign of Jupiter, France, 1550-70. Marble, 37.8 x 48.3 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1997-23; The Annenberg Foundation Gift, 1997. Photo: Florence, Scala Archives.

in groups of representations of famous men of antiquity. Among the less frequent narrative scenes, depictions of Numa as a lawgiver or a sacrificer are prevalent, while pieces that are direct illustrations of literary works tend to depict other scenes, among them the king with Egeria, though this is relatively rare.

How does the representation of Numa on the Amsterdam relief relate to this tradition? It seems to be only loosely connected to its predecessors. It constitutes one element of a wider trend of growing interest in ancient history in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and is symptomatic of a quest for model characters in antiquity. It seems that the concept of this portrayal was, however, based more on direct readings of classical authors and their contemporary commentators than on existing iconographic traditions.

The Reign of Jupiter: A Parallel

In this context we need to look into the circumstances that might have prompted the making of this singular work. To do so we must refer to another piece: the marble relief *The Reign of Jupiter* in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET) in New York (fig. 17).²⁷ This non-narrative representation features a central enthroned Jupiter above a globe, flanked by Mercury and two putti embracing on one side, and a circular domed temple and a centaur on the other. And the material and the motifs of the gods' messenger and children hugging are not all that the Amsterdam and the New York reliefs have in common. A fountain depicted on the globe features dolphins and a trident, a motif we encountered on the garden wall where Egeria is sitting (see fig. 6). A final similarity is the very similar dimensions of the two reliefs (Numa: 38 x 43.5 x 3.5 cm; Jupiter: 37.8 x 48.3 x 3.8 cm), and both show signs of having been excised from a larger setting.



Fig. 18
Detail of *The Reign of Jupiter* (fig. 17).
Showing the sphere with fountain.

A stylistic comparison of the two works reveals analogies in the detailing of the architectural and floral motifs (see, for instance, the foliage of the trellis and in the sphere, figs. 18, 4). Another characteristic feature of both reliefs is the use of a very fine drill to densely 'perforate' the foliage on the trellis (Amsterdam) and the hair of the figures (New York). Although the figural parts of the two reliefs are not products of the same hand, these discrepancies could be explained by team work, especially if we consider that the two pieces were probably originally elements of a larger ensemble that also included other reliefs. When comparing these two works one should also bear in mind that the Numa relief is in a worse state: its surface, especially in the higher parts of the relief (the figures of Numa, Egeria and the putti), is very worn.

The MET work, with its exquisite quality and unusual programme, has attracted scholarly attention. Following his meticulous analysis of its emblematic structure and its relationship with the literary and historical ideas of the *Pléiade* poets and their visual realizations (for example the decorations of royal entries,

Fontaine des Innocents), Michael Mezzatesta formulated the hypothesis that the relief originated in the milieu of the French court of Henry II around 1550. According to Mezzatesta's interpretation, Jupiter's presence in the relief stood for the king as the Father of the Muses and inspirer of poetry, as defined by Pierre Ronsard in his *Eclogues* and *Fontaine Bellerie*.²⁸ This identification would be strengthened by the depiction of dolphins wrapped around a trident, a royal emblem that appeared on the keystones of the *Fontaine des Innocents*. In this context Mercury would be 'not only a messenger but also the god of eloquence and the arts'.²⁹ At the same time, being a symbol of a constellation, he would be part of an astrological thread within the programme of the relief that would also embrace the representations of the heavenly twins Castor and Pollux – Gemini, the zodiacal attribute of Mercury – as well as the centaur for Sagittarius, a constellation in the house of Jupiter. This favourable conjunction of constellations, arranged by Jupiter, would assure the optimum conditions for the education of a poet, whose role – according to Ronsard – 'was to enrich the cultural heritage of the nation, bringing honour to France ... celebrate the virtues of the king, and immortalize the heroic deeds of France's greatest men'.³⁰ Seeing a relic of an 'elaborate iconographical scheme ... dedicated to Henri II' in the Metropolitan relief, Mezzatesta proposed the grotto at the château of Meudon, a residence of Charles de Guise, Cardinal de Lorraine, as the presumed original location of the work.

While accepting the main points of Mezzatesta's interpretation and argument as to where the MET relief might have originated, Colin Eisler formulated a competing hypothesis concerning its original function and location. He suggested that the relief might have been part of an as yet unknown heart monument to Charles IX, commissioned by Catherine de'

Medici around 1575 in the tradition of erecting monuments to the hearts of the French kings. According to Eisler, the 'heart monument would pay tribute to the monarch's spiritual virtues' like those of Francis I (Pierre Bontemps, 1550) and Henry II (Germain Pilon after a design by Francesco Primaticcio, 1561-65).³¹

Finally, Ian Wardropper, more inclined to follow Mezzatesta's interpretation than Eisler's, confirmed that although neither the destination nor the maker of the MET relief can be determined exactly, 'this exquisitely carved marble ... must have been intended for a particular location, and surely for a noble if not a royal complex', and dated the work to around 1550-70.³²

Jupiter and Numa: Being a Divine King

None of these scholars mentioned the Amsterdam Numa relief, which might have supplied them with additional arguments to support some of their hypotheses and correct others, because this work fits perfectly into the literary and political context outlined by these scholars in reference to the Jupiter relief. While the MET relief, alluding to issues of politics, metaphysics and astrology, depicts Jupiter as the Father of the Muses, and at the same time as a model and 'prefiguration' of the French king (Henry II or Charles IX) as patron and source of the arts, its Amsterdam counterpart develops this programme further. It presents another aspect of the royal paragon: the priest-king, the anointed representative of God on earth and consequently the guardian of an ecclesiastical and social order. Numa Pompilius provided an example of a ruler who 'put fear into the Romans that they became not merely law-abiding citizens but a virtual sacred society'.³³ In view of the position of the French kings during the Wars of Religion (1562-98), legitimization of royal prerogatives in the domain of religion was of particular importance

as justification for the persecution of the Huguenots. In this context, evoking an analogy between the French ruler and the Roman king – the wise restorer of peace – was highly desirable.

The common origin of the two works may be further supported by the fact that they both illustrate the notion of a divine king as created and promulgated by poets in the orbit of the French court, with Pierre Ronsard as its most influential exponent. In his *Ode à Michel de l'Hospital* (1553) Ronsard emphasizes that 'the pre-eminent role of the Muses is to confer divine status on monarch', whereas in his *Odes* he creates an Olympus in which Henry II was Jupiter and Catherine de' Medici Juno.³⁴ The poet, who lived long enough to loyally serve three successive French monarchs, 'cast a divine aura' around the sons and heirs of Henry II.³⁵ In the *Panegyrique de la renommée*, dedicated to Henry III, he advocated a monarchy modelled on Numa's and depicted the last Valois as 'a latter-day Numa Pompilius'.³⁶ It is worth stressing that some elements of the sculptural representation of Numa in the Amsterdam relief point to the parallel drawn between the kings: he has been given a contemporary garment, and there are church spires among the *all'antica* temples (see figs. 4, 8).

The figure of the second king of Rome, the religious institutions he founded and the strategies he developed to discipline his subjects were widely discussed in France in relation to contemporary political issues, and the debate encompassed criticism of this model of a ruler. The lively discussion, documented in literature by such authors as Claud Cottereau, Jacques Thureau, Louis Le Roi and La Boétie, might have been instrumental in the development of a Numa iconography in France.³⁷ Guillaume Du Choul in his *Discours De La Religion Des Anciens Romains* (1556), for example, provided a description of the temples erected by Numa, illustrated with woodcuts depicting Roman coins featuring those

buildings.³⁸ The square temple of Janus and the circular one of Vesta represented on the Amsterdam relief match the descriptions in Du Choul's popular work.³⁹

As the destruction of the majority of sixteenth-century French monuments has deprived us of comparative material, a haut relief depicting a *Sacrificer* (Musée du Louvre), possibly King Numa Pompilius himself, is of crucial importance (fig. 19). In its original place

Fig. 19
ATELIER OF
JEAN GOUJON,
Sacrificer (Numa
Pompilius?), 1560-62.
Relief.
Paris, Musée du
Louvre, inv. no.
R.F. 4293.
Photo: RMN –
Grand Palais
(Musée du Louvre) /
Daniel Arnaudet.



on the attic of the southern elevation of the *Cour Carrée* of the Louvre, it formed an element of sculptural decoration also featuring the figures of Zaleucus, Caritas romana (Cimon and Pero) and Cambyzes, executed by Jean Goujon's workshop for Charles IX between 1560 and 1562.⁴⁰ As Geneviève Bresc-Bautier demonstrated, this sculptural ensemble communicated the personal motto of Charles IX, '*Piété et Justice*'.⁴¹ Completing the programme of the *Cour Carrée* initiated by Henry II, it visualized 'the universal power of the warrior king in union with Nature and Knowledge, as foundations for piety and justice, which justify his religious function and the execution of justice'.⁴² Bresc-Bautier also mentioned other commissions by Charles IX whose purpose was to propagate an image of him as a '*roi très chrétien sacré*'.

Other important evidence of the presence of Numa and Egeria imagery with relation to the French royals are the ephemeral decorations of the triumphal entry of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici into Rouen in 1550. A platform representing the Elysian Fields, where the royal couple encountered various personages, was erected in the Place de Robec.⁴³ In this *tableau vivant* King Francis I, embraced by Good Memory (Bonne Mémoire), was glorified as an *imperator litteratus*, who led his people from barbarism to civilisation and encouraged Henry II to follow in his footsteps.⁴⁴ Wintroub argued that 'the entry cast Henry in a messianic role of leading the diverse peoples of the world towards the Elysian Fields of peace'. Thus, entering the celestial garden the king figured not only as a second Francis I but also as a second Numa, a parallel underlined by a figure of the nymph Egeria encountering him there and spouting jets of water from her breasts, a symbol of *fons sapientiae*.⁴⁵

The *locus amoenus* in the Place de Robec was depicted in a woodcut included in one of several contempora-

neous accounts of the entry (fig. 20).⁴⁶ Although it cannot be regarded as a graphic design for the Amsterdam work, it is worth mentioning that it features trellis gates similar to those depicted in the relief.

The analogy of the MET relief, the popularity of the motif of King Numa in French literature of the sixteenth century and the traces of Numa and Egeria imagery in various visual media of that time are grounds for assuming that the Amsterdam relief originated in the surroundings of the French court. If, together with the Jupiter relief, it was initially actually part of a larger programme, it must have included depictions of other royal models of virtues sourced from Roman mythology, ancient history and contemporary historiosophy.⁴⁷ An ideal pendant to Numa would be Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks, who, according to certain French traditions, were descendants of the Trojans.⁴⁸ A possible candidate as a representative of the virtue of Justice would be the Greek lawgiver Zaleucus, who also appeared in the *Cour Carrée*. Hercules would have provided an ideal model of strength and eloquence, not only in light of the general tradition, but more specifically with regard to the French kings, who claimed him as their ancestor.⁴⁹ Significantly, Henry II was also glorified as Hercules Gallicus in one of the stations of the Rouen entry.⁵⁰ Moreover in the *Panegyrique de la renommée* – the very same text in which Numa appears as a model of royal virtue – Ronsard compared the eloquence of Henry III to that of his Herculean ancestor.⁵¹ Furthermore, Alexander the Great, Scipio, Hannibal, Caesar and Hector, again not solely as standard *exempla*, but deeply rooted in the French imagery of kings, would be obvious choices.⁵²

The overall meaning of the ensemble can be revealed by reading each element in the context of the others, as in the case of the two known reliefs. In this well-orchestrated whole, the leading



Fig. 20
Ephemeral decoration
in the Place de
Robec, station of
the triumphal entry
of Henry II and
Catherine de' Medici
to Rouen in 1550.
Woodcut in *C'est
la deduction du
Somptueux ordre,
plaisantz spectacles et
magnifiques theatres
dresses et exhibes,
par les citoyens de
Rouen ...*, Rouen 1551.
Paris, Bibliothèque
nationale de
France, inv. no.
OF-TOL-14025084.

motif in one composition could be seen to have been designed as secondary in another. The essential role of religion in the state, being the main subject of the Numa relief, is evoked in the Jupiter relief by the silhouettes of temples in the upper right corner. And conversely, the crucial role of the arts, a central theme of the Metropolitan piece, returns in the Amsterdam work in the figures of Mercury and the Gemini. Repeating symbolic content or motifs forms a link, giving the viewer clues as to how to read successive 'chapters' of the whole set. By way of example, the 'missing' representation of Jupiter in the scene of Numa's vision is to be found in the MET relief. The idea of *locus amoenus*, which in the New York relief is represented by the

fountain surrounded by lush vegetation,⁵³ takes the form of Egeria's garden in its Amsterdam counterpart. Another recurrent motif is that of the dolphins, interpreted by Mezzatesta as an emblem of Henry II (stressing his marine domination) and by Eisler as symbols of the three dauphins (Francis II, Charles IX and Henry III).⁵⁴ In the context of the depiction of Numa, the sea creatures may also be a reference to the king's role as Pontificus Maximus, as they appear in this function on Roman coins.⁵⁵ This image was popularized in De Choul's work.⁵⁶ These three readings of the dolphin motif are not mutually exclusive, but in fact complement one another, as they all refer to the ruler or rulers and his or their divine status.

Original Setting

At this point we should reiterate the question already posed by Mezzatesta and Eisler as to which patrons and artists might have been responsible for the origin of this ensemble, and what its original setting would have been. Mezzatesta's hypothesis, that Cardinal Charles de Guise commissioned the Jupiter relief and La Grotte de Meudon (c. 1552-60)⁵⁷ was its presumed location, seems unconvincing if we accept that the Numa relief was part of the same ensemble. This programme addressed Henry II as the Father of the Muses and glorified the ruler by reference to Roman emperors (busts of Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero and Otho). There is no trace of motifs broaching the issue of religion, which would have been inappropriate in the context of the 'rustic, primal, libidinal associations of the grotto'.⁵⁸

Eisler's hypothesis, on the other hand, which maintains that the Jupiter relief was once part of a heart monument to Charles IX commissioned by Catherine de' Medici around 1575, cannot be ruled out altogether. Judging by the central position of piety, chosen by the young king – alongside justice –



Fig. 21
ÉTIENNE
MARTELLANGE,
*View of the Valois
Chapel at the Saint
Denis Basilica*, 1641.
Pen and brown ink
with brown wash,
39.2 x 52.5 cm.
Paris, Bibliothèque
nationale de France,
inv. no.
OF-TOL-14013437.

as his guiding virtue, the Numa relief would indeed fit into this context. It is important to note however, that the existence of a Charles IX heart monument is highly hypothetical, and that even if the notion of a pious and divine king culminated in the self-image produced by Charles IX, this concept had been discussed and projected on to all of the last four Valois on the French throne for over forty years (1547-89).⁵⁹ In other words, Charles IX would not be the only candidate to be juxtaposed with Numa Pompilius.

In light of the above, I would like to offer another hypothesis which, although it is not possible to prove at this stage of research, is worth considering. The two reliefs might have been destined for the Valois Rotunda attached to the Basilica of Saint Denis. Construction of this sumptuous funeral chapel started around 1560. After Henry II's sudden death in 1559, Catherine de' Medici decided to commemorate her husband, herself and their prematurely deceased children with a funerary chapel. The building work, to a design by Primaticcio, started

around 1560 and continued until 1585, when the chapel was abandoned unfinished. Never surmounted with the planned dome, it was roofed provisionally in the seventeenth century and dismantled in 1719 because of its ruinous state.⁶⁰

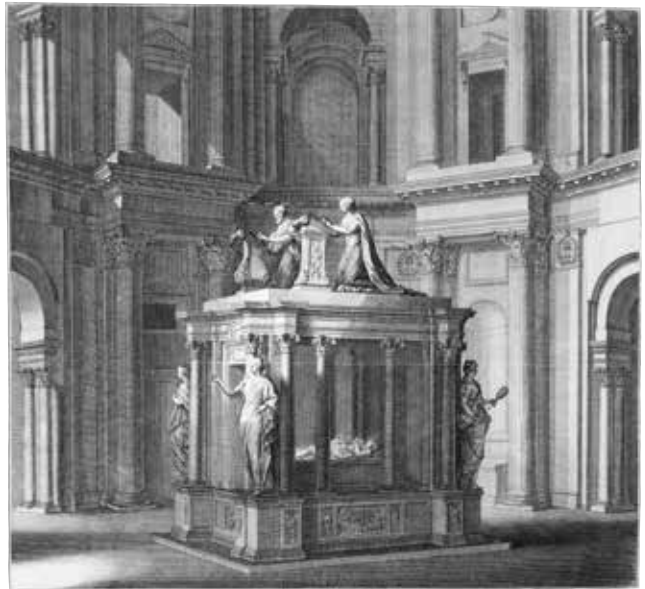


Fig. 22
ALEXANDRE LE
BLOND, *View of the
Interior of the Valois
Chapel with the
Tomb of Henry II and
Catherine de' Medici*,
c. 1700.
Etching in Michel
Félibien, *L'Histoire
de l'abbaye royal
de Saint-Denys en
France*, Paris 1706.
Paris, Bibliothèque
nationale de
France, inv. no. OF-
TOL-14013439.

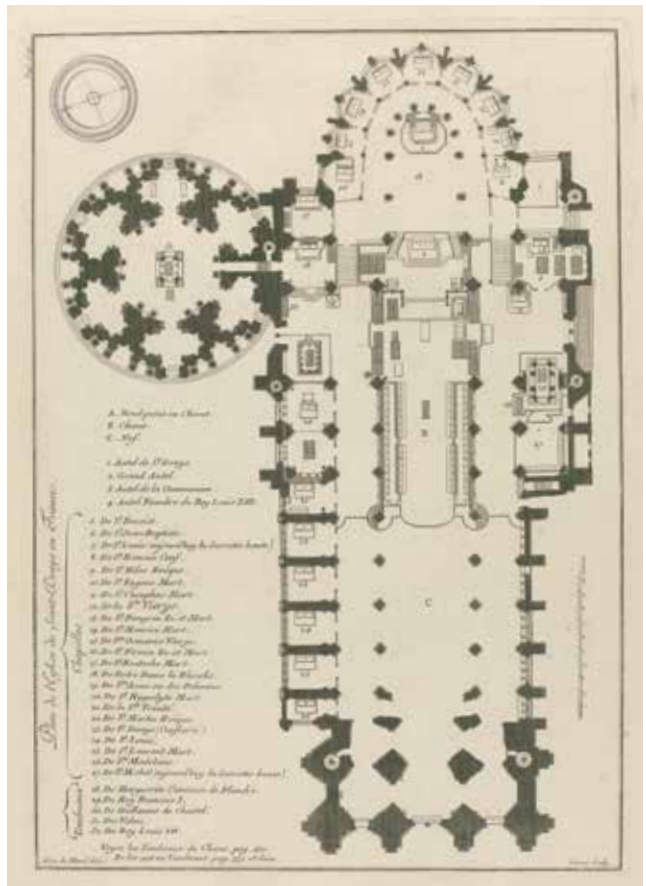
The monumental freestanding mausoleum adjoining the basilica to the north-east was circular, with a two-storey elevation articulated by niches and columns (fig. 21). Its central space, which featured the tomb of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici (1560-73), to a design by Primaticcio, executed by Germain Pilon, Girolamo della Robbia, Dominique Florentin, Ponce Jacquio, Fremyn Roussel⁶¹ (fig. 22), was surrounded by six subsidiary chapels (fig. 23), four of which were destined to house the monuments to the male descendants (and successors) of the royal couple (Louis III, d. 1550; Francis II, d. 1560; Charles IX, d. 1574; Francis, Duke of Anjou, d. 1584). In the 1568 edition of his *Lives*, Giorgio Vasari gave a very informative description of the chapel and the concept for its furnishing, which had not been executed at that time and was probably never completed:

Since the death of Francis II, he [Primaticcio] has continued in the same office, serving the present king [Charles IX], by whose order and that of the Queen Mother Primaticcio has made a beginning of the tomb of the above-named King Henry, making in the centre of a six-sided chapel the sepulchre of the King himself, and at four sides the sepulchres of his four children; while at one of the other two sides of the chapel is the altar, and at the other the door. And since there are going into this work innumerable statues in marble and bronzes and a number of scenes in low relief [my italics, A.L], it will prove worthy of all these great Kings and of the excellence and genius of so rare a craftsman as is this Abbot of Martin [Primaticcio].⁶²

What remains of this sculptural furnishing (besides the royal tomb) are the splendid *Resurrection* group (Louvre) by Germain Pilon and his *Virgin of Sorrows* and *St Francis*, which were

never delivered to the site.⁶³ Vasari's account and another important source, a *Devisé* of 1568, inform us that the sculptural programme was to be expanded: the niches and rectangular fields above them were destined for statues and reliefs glorifying the deeds of the Valois or epitaphs to other members of the royal family buried in the chapel.⁶⁴ According to Lersch, sculptural furnishings were to be placed both in the interior and on the exterior of the chapel. The latter were apparently planned as a set of copper or marble plates with eulogies, based on the literary genre of *tombeaux poetiques* cultivated at the French court, complemented by 'historicizing reliefs [my italics, A.L], meant as a compensation for the absent sculptural representations of the male progeny of Henry II'.⁶⁵

Fig. 23
Ground plan of the Valois Chapel. Drawing in Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royal de Saint-Denis en France*, plate 529, Paris 1706. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Library.



On this basis I am inclined to assert that the two marble reliefs depicting the reign of Jupiter and the reign of Numa might originally have constituted parts of, or have been destined for, the sculptural furnishing of the Valois Chapel. It was Colin Eisler who emphasized that the Italianate style of the Metropolitan relief is closely akin to that of Francesco Primaticcio, whose concept determined the form of the Rotonde.⁶⁶ Regrettably, this observation brings us no closer to determining the maker or makers of the reliefs; their style does not correspond with the linear and painterly manner of Germain Pilon's reliefs on, for example, the pedestal of Henry II and Catherine's tomb at Saint-Denis and the ciborium from Saint-Etienne-du-Mont.⁶⁷ However, many other sculptors were involved in the mausoleum project: aside from the leading figures such as Girolamo della Robbia (d. 1566), Ponce Jacquilot (d. 1572), Dominique Florentin (Domenico del Barbieri, d. after 1570) and Frémyn Roussel (active 1563-70), there were less significant ones.⁶⁸ However, the scarcity of comparative material and the collaborative character of the reliefs I have analyzed means it is not possible to attribute them convincingly to any of the sculptors mentioned.

Nonetheless, there are other arguments to support the hypothesis that the reliefs might have been destined for the Valois Chapel. Firstly, I would argue that the Numa relief in particular chimes with the overall concept of the chapel programme as devised by Catherine de' Medici. As many scholars have demonstrated, the Valois chapel was the climax of the queen's series of funerary commissions intended to communicate the power, continuity and unity of the Valois line in the charged atmosphere of the Wars of Religion.⁶⁹ The task of the Rotonda's sculptural programme was likewise to emphasize the importance of religious belief and devotion to the state, and

the indissolubility of throne and altar, which is, as I have demonstrated, the main subject of the Numa relief.⁷⁰ The importance of the religious function of the Valois Rotunda does not preclude the use of motifs of ancient origin in the mausoleum. On the contrary, it was common practice to combine Christian and classical imagery, especially in monuments with a memorial function.⁷¹

Secondly, the artistic commissions awarded by Catherine de' Medici were one of the means by which she asserted the legitimacy of her position as regent and generated a positive image for herself as the queen mother. To this end she adopted an appropriate model, that of the Persian queen, Artemisia II, a distressed widow who, although overcome by profound grief at the death of her husband King Mausolus, guided the affairs of the kingdom of Caria, oversaw the education of their son and commissioned a tomb for her deceased consort – the famous Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.⁷² The concept of Catherine as the *nouvelle Arthémise* was proposed in 1563 by Nicolas Houël in a manuscript *L'Histoire de la Reine Arthémise*, illustrated with drawings by Antoine Caron and Nicolo dell'Abate, among others.⁷³ It is worth mentioning in this context that one of these illustrations, a scene of priests surrounding a temple, depicts a circular building resembling the Valois Rotunda (fig. 24). This indicates that various media were employed to spread the image of the mausoleum in order to legitimize this costly undertaking by referring to its ancient antecedents.

All Caron's drawings feature Catherine's motto: 'Ardorem extincta testantur vivere flamma' (After the flame has died out, the tears testify to the ardour that lives on) in their framing cartouches. These words could also easily be applied to the nymph Egeria, who – inconsolable after the death of Numa – left Rome, hid in the forest of Aricia, drowning in tears, and was turned into a spring by



Fig. 24
 ANTOINE CARON,
*Priests Surrounding
 a Temple.*
 Pen and brown ink,
 wash with black and
 white chalk highlights.
 In Nicolas Houël,
*L'Histoire de la
 Reine Arthémise,*
 Paris 1563-70.
 Paris, Bibliothèque
 nationale de France,
 inv. no.
 OF-TOL-14013438.

Virbius. Hence Egeria constitutes a typological equivalent of Artemis, while at the same time standing for another exemplary value. For the nymph was not only a widow devoted to the memory of her consort, but – in his lifetime – a wise, divine advisor to a pious king, guiding his activities for the sake of the religious order of the state. This role of hers was visualised in the *tableau vivant* in Rouen. It is clear that the *exemplum* of Egeria could have provided Catherine with the additional argument of her advisory role towards her royal sons.

Conclusion

To conclude, the marble relief *Landscape with King Numa and the Nymph Egeria* in the Rijksmuseum and the relief in the Metropolitan Museum of Art depicting the *Reign of Jupiter* might both have been parts of a larger ensemble representing royal virtues and role models embodied by characters sourced from mythology and ancient history. The highly specific emblematic narration of these works, taken in conjunction with the fact that they

reflect ideas circulating in the French *belles lettres*, historiography and imagery in the circle of the royal court during the reign of the last four Valois, underscore the idea that the reliefs originated in this milieu. The parallels between the programme of the reliefs I have analyzed and that of the Valois Chapel, as well as the very particular motifs referring to the French kings and pointing to Catherine de' Medici as the person who commissioned them, permit the cautious suggestion that the two marble works might have been destined for this mausoleum. If this is the case, they were probably to have been set on the pedestals in front of the niches, possibly corresponding in iconographic terms with the figures to be placed in them, though an intended location on the analogically articulated elevation cannot be ruled out. Moreover, it is impossible to confirm whether the reliefs – even if they were destined for the venue – were ever installed on the site. Like the figures of *Virgin Mary* and *St Francis* by Germain Pilon, they might never have been delivered to Saint-Denis.

As to the question of their authorship: both these reliefs are in an Italianate style closely resembling that of Primaticcio and his circle. Their composition resembles the narrative style of the drawings by Antoine Caron and Nicolò dell'Abate in the *L'Histoire de la Reine Arthémise*. No direct stylistic analogy with the work of the sculptors executing the sculptural furnishing of the Valois Chapel can be determined. This, however, cannot be regarded as an argument against my hypothesis, given the fragmentary survival of

French Renaissance sculpture, which precludes the precise attribution of many exquisite works. In this situation only the reconstruction of the cultural and political circumstances that might have produced such an intricate intellectual programme can offer us clues as to its original intended destination. This programme and such fine artistic quality would surely have been fit for a royal commission, would they not?

NOTES

- 1 J. Leeuwenberg, in collaboration with W. Halsema-Kubes, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum*, cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1973, no. 194. For Colin see D. von Schönherr, *Alexander Colin und seine Werke: 1562-1612*, Heidelberg 1889; R. Seelig-Teuwen, 'Barthélemy Prieur, contemporain de Germain Pilon', in G. Bresc-Bautier (ed.), *Germain Pilon et les sculpteurs français de la Renaissance*, Paris 1993, pp. 365-85; H. Dressler, *Alexander Colin*, Freiburg 1973; F. Smekens, 'Andermaal over Alexander Colyn, Mechels beeldhouwer (tussen 1526/1530-1612)', in G. Dogaer and R. de Smedt (eds.), *Studia Mechliniensia. Bijdragen aangeboden aan Dr. Henry Joosen ter gelegenheid van zijn vijftenzestigste verjaardag*, Mechelen 1976, pp. 191-205; and V. Rödel, 'Alexander Colins Wirken am Ottheinrichsbau des Heidelberger Schlosses', in J. van der Auwera (ed.), *Liber amicorum Raphaël de Smedt*, Louvain 2001, vol. 2, pp. 233-51.
- 2 'Auf der etwa durch die Jugendwerke des Alexander Collin bezeichneten "Stilstufe"', in *Ausstellung der Vereinigung Bildender Künstler Wiener Secession. Drei Jahrhunderte vlämische Kunst 1400-1700*, exh. cat. Vienna (Verein der Museumsfreunde in Wien) 1930, no. 145.
- 3 Leeuwenberg, op. cit. (note 1).
- 4 Cf. A. Lipińska, *Moving Sculptures: Southern Netherlandish Alabasters from the 16th to 17th Centuries in Central and Northern Europe*, Leiden/Boston 2015, pp. 96-123.
- 5 Cf. Dressler, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 46-60, 84-9, figs. 89-111, 169-72; D. Diemer, 'Kaiser Maximilians Kenotaph in der Innsbrucker Hofkirche: seine Vorgeschichte, seine Entstehung und seine Künstler', in C. Haidacher and D. Diemer (eds.), *Maximilian I. Der Kenotaph in der Hofkirche zu Innsbruck*, Innsbruck 2004, pp. 32-64; C. Haidacher, 'Maximilians Leben und Taten in 24 Bildern: die Marmorreliefs am Grabdenkmal des Kaisers', in *ibid.*, pp. 81-188.
- 6 Dressler, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 49-50.
- 7 Exh. cat. Vienna, op. cit. (note 2); Leeuwenberg, op. cit. (note 1).
- 8 On Numa see K.W. Nitzsch, 'Numa', in A.F. von Pauly et al. (eds.), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 5, Stuttgart 1848, pp. 724-25; and M. Silk, 'Numa Pompilius and the Idea of Civil Religion in the West', in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 72 (2004), pp. 863-96.
- 9 Cicero, *On the Commonwealth and On the Laws* (transl. J.E.G. Zetzel), Cambridge 1999, book 2, 23-30; Livy, *The Rise of Rome* (transl. T.J. Luce), Oxford/New York 1998, chapters 18-22; Ovid (eds. and transl. A.J. Boyle and R.D. Woodward), *Fasti*, London et al. 2000, vol. 3, pp. 151-54, 260-392; Ovid (transl. A.D. Mellville), *Metamorphoses*, Oxford 1986, vol. 15, pp. 29-59, 479-96; and Plutarch, *Parallel Lives* (transl. B. Perrin), London/Cambridge 1914, vol. 1, pp. 306-383.
- 10 Such an interpretation seems obvious, as the rooster is depicted close to Mercury, and it is one of a group of typical attributes of this god. Leeuwenberg, op. cit. (note 1), however, believed it to be a symbol of Asclepius. The rooster, a sacrificial animal of the god of medicine, does indeed feature as his

attribute. It is reasonable to ask, though, what the meaning of Asclepius's rooster would be in the context of a representation of Numa Pompilius. In fact, there is a connection between the king of Rome and the patron of doctors. Firstly, Asclepius was removed from the dead body of his mother Coronis by his father Apollo; in other words he was born by caesarean section. Numa Pompilius is credited with the Lex Regia, which prohibited the burial of a pregnant woman before the child was removed from her body. Lex Regia later became Lex Caesarea, and that is why this method of delivery is called caesarean section (*sectio caesarea*). Secondly, in this relief Numa is depicted turning with his prayer to Jupiter, and the sacrifice to the superior god was to be made at *secundum gallicinium*, the second cock-crow. Thirdly, I present below the argument that the relief includes elements relating to the story of Hippolytus, who in some versions of the myth was raised from the dead by Asclepius. Cf. C. Nauerth, 'Hahn', in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 13, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 360-72, esp. p. 363.

11 Ovid 2000, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 260-348; Plutarch, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 1, 15.

12 'Look, the father of gods spurts red flames through the clouds...'
 'Do not panic,' the goddess [Egeria] says.
 'You can appease
 The thunderbolt and deflect fierce Jove's
 wrath.
 Picus and Faunus can tell you the rite of
 appeasement...
 They won't tell it without force: capture and
 bind them.'
 And she revealed the trick of their cap-
 ture.
 A grove lay beneath the Aventine, black with
 shady oak:
 An observer would proclaim it divine.
 Its centre was grass, and a rill of perennial
 water
 Flowed over a rock encased in green
 moss.
 Faunus and Picus drank from it, all but alone.
 King Numa comes here and kills the
 sheep
 For the spring, sets out cupfuls' of fragrant
 Bacchus,
 And hides with his men deep in a cave.
 The woodland spirits come as usual to the
 spring,
 And slake their dry throats with copious
 wine.
 Rest follows wine. Numa irrupts from the
 cold cave

And ties the sleepers' hands tight with
 thongs.
 When sleep departs, they fight hard to burst
 the thongs,
 Which increase their grip as they struggle.
 Then Numa: 'Gods of groves, pardon what I
 have done,
 If you know my mind is free of evil,
 And reveal how the thunderbolt can be
 appeased.'
 So Numa. So Faunus shaking his horns:
 You ask great things – but things not lawful
 for you to learn
 By our telling...;
 The control of his house belongs to Jove.
 You could never by yourself drove him from
 the sky;
 But perhaps you might with our assis-
 tance.'
 Faunus said this; Picus had the same opinion.
 'But remove the thongs from us,' Picus
 says.
 'Jupiter will come, seduced by a powerful
 trick;
 The foggy Styx will witness my promise.'
 What they do when released from the trap,
 what spells they chant,
 The trick which hauls Jupiter from on high,
 Is unlawful for man to know. We'll sing per-
 mitted songs
 And what poet's pious mouth is allowed.
 They 'elicit' you from heaven, Jove; hence
 posterity
 Worship you now too, as *Elicius*
 Men agree the Aventine forest top quivered
 And the earth sank under Jupiter's
 weight.
 The king's heart flutters; his entire body
 Drained from blood and his shaggy hair
 spiked.
 He wits returned: 'King and father of high
 gods,
 Grant sure appeasement of the thunder-
 bolt,
 If we have touched your offerings with pure
 hands
 And a pious tongue solicits this.'
 The god nodded at his prayer but hid truth in
 dark
 Riddles, and scream scared him with
 baffling speech:
 'Cut off a head', he said; 'We shall obey' says
 the king;
 'We'll cut an onion, dug from my garden.'
 Jove added, 'A man's;' the other replied,
 'His hair.'
 He demands a life. Numa says, 'A fish's.'
 Jove laughed and said: 'Expiate my weapons
 with these,

- Mortal worthy to converse with the gods.
When Cynthius lifts his full circle tomorrow,
I shall give you the tokens of empire.'
He spoke, and climbs the quaking sky with
loud thunder
And leaves Numa to his adoration.
After Ovid 2000, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 62-64.
- 13 See note 12.
- 14 Ovid 1986, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 479-556.
- 15 Ibid., p. 491, after p. 366.
- 16 Pliny, *Natural History*, book 23, chapter 4.
- 17 A. Longo, 'Numa Pompilio', in *Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica*, Rome 1963, vol. 5; P. Rehak, 'Aeneas or Numa? Rethinking the Meaning of the Ara Pacis Augustae', *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001), no. 2, pp. 190-208.
- 18 E.g. a denarius of L. Pomponius Molo (c. 97 BC) or a coin of Pompeius the Great (49 BC), cf. Rehak, op. cit. (note 17), pp. 197-98.
- 19 'Numa Pompilio i(n)perador edifichador di te(n)pi e chiese', cf. A. Lermer, *Der gotische Dogenpalast in Venedig. Baugeschichte und Skulpturenprogramm des Palatium Communis Venetiarum*, Munich/Berlin 2005, pp. 192-97.
- 20 One of the earliest examples is a bust of the king that appears in the *Stammheim Missal* (Hildesheim, c. 1170), in a representation of February (Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 64, fol. 4). The portrayal in a calendar is a result of crediting Numa with the reform of the Roman calendar, see <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=112647> (consulted 3 October 2014).
- 21 Translated by Simon de Hesdin and Nicholas de Gonesse. The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands, KB 66 B 13, fol. 2r.
- 22 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. no. Fr. 20071.
- 23 Translated by Raoul de Presles. The Hague, RMMW, 10 A II. The seven scenes are: King Numa on the throne; Numa Pompilius installs the feasts of January and February before the statue of Janus; The Golden Age (Peaceful times during the reign of Numa); A servant ploughing Terentius's field on the Janiculum finds books and the sarcophagus of Numa Pompilius; Numa Pompilius and Pythagoras; Numa Pompilius teaches the cult of the gods; and Numa Pompilius's books are hidden under his sarcophagus. See http://manuscripts.kb.nl/search/images_text/extended/page/1/titleImage/Numa (consulted 3 October 2014).
- 24 The earliest frescos with representations of Numa Pompilius were executed in the Paduan palace of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara (cf. T.E. Mommsen, 'Petraarch and the Decoration of the Sala Virorum Illustrium in Padua', *The Art Bulletin* 34 (1952), vol. 2, pp. 95-116). The subject was also included in two *Quattrocento* cycles, by Masolino da Panicale (Rome, Palazzo di Monte Giordano of Cardinal Giordano Orsini, 1431-1432) and by Pietro Perugino (Perugia, Collegio del Cambio, Sala di Udienza, 1496-1500).
- 25 Partly destroyed during the sack of Rome in 1527, known on the basis of a drawing by Polidoro Caldara and prints by Giovanni Battista Galestruzzi, c. 1568, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=69590&objectId=1448283&partId=1 (consulted 3 October 2014).
- 26 C. Dalliard, *Imagebildung italienischer Fürsten im 16. Jahrhundert – die d'Este, della Rovere, Medici, Gonzaga und Farnese im Vergleich*, Freiburg 2012 (diss.), pp. 224-25.
- 27 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1997.23. M. Mezzatesta, 'The King, the Poet, and the Nation: A French Sixteenth-Century Relief and the Pléiade', in M. Aronberg Lavin (ed.), *IL 60. Essays Honoring Irving Lavin on his Sixtieth Birthday*, New York 1990, pp. 227-42; C. Eisler, 'Fit for a Royal Heart? A French Renaissance Relief at The Metropolitan Museum of Art', *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 38 (2003), pp. 145-56; I. Wardropper, 'The Flowering of the French Renaissance', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 62 (2004), no. 1, pp. 31-32; I. Wardropper, *European Sculpture, 1400-1900, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, cat. New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2011, no. 21, pp. 71-73.
- 28 Mezzatesta, op. cit. (note 27).
- 29 Ibid., p. 235.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 235, 237.
- 31 Eisler, op. cit. (note 27), p. 150.
- 32 Wardropper, op. cit. (note 27), p. 74.
- 33 Silk, op. cit. (note 9), p. 866.
- 34 M.C. Smith, 'Opium of the People: Numa Pompilius in the French Renaissance', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 52 (1990), no. 1, pp. 7-21, esp. p. 13.
- 35 Ibid., p. 15.
- 36 'Tels estoient les bons Roys de l'âge plus fleurie,
Numa le sacerdote instruit par Egerie; ...
Dont les sceptres estoient des peuples redoutez
Par la laoy, que portoient leurs glaives espoincez?
Ayant en lieu du fer la douceur pour leur marque.'
Panegyrique de la renommée, after Smith, op. cit. (note 34), pp. 15-16.

- 37 Ibid., pp. 10-12.
- 38 'Pour la paix fut fermé anciennement le temple de Janus, fait par Numa de la grandeur d'une chapelle (comme recite Procopius) fait de forme carrée, & tout de broze ...'; 'Quant au temple de Vesta, les Romains le firent de forme ronde, estimants que c'estoit la Terre: le faisant faire Numa, apres que par armes il eut accoustré la cité de Rome, pour adoucir la ferocité & rudesse du peuple ...', in G. Du Choul, *Discours De La Religion Des Anciens Romains*, Lyon 1556, pp. 15, 20, 216, 238, figs. on p. 216.
- 39 Ibid., p. 216. This work also provided a model for the depictions of the provinces on the *Monument of the Heart of Connetable de Montmorency (1571-73)* by Jean Bullant, Barthélmy Prieur and Martin Leuffort (Paris, Musée du Louvre). Cf. Seelig-Teuwen, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 381-82.
- 40 The other figures in this ensemble are Zaleucus, Cimon and Pero (*Caritas romana*), Justice of Cambyses. J.R. Gaborit, *Sculpture Française, Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures du Moyen Âge, de la Renaissance et des Temps Modernes*, vol. 2, Paris 1998, p. 407; G. Bresc-Bautier, 'La sculpture de l'attique du Louvre par l'atelier de Jean Goujon: a propos de la Piété et de la Justice remontées sous la Pyramide', *Revue du Louvre* 39 (1989), no. 2, pp. 97-111.
- 41 This subject was also depicted on a medal in 1570. Frémin Roussel received payment for sculptures for Fontainebleau castle depicting 'Religion catholique, apostolique et romaine' and 'Justice'; Bresc-Bautier, op. cit. (note 40), p. 109.
- 42 Bresc-Bautier, op. cit. (note 40), p. 110.
- 43 M. Wintroub, 'Civilizing the Savage and Making a King: The Royal Entry Festival of Henri II (Rouen, 1550)', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998), no. 2, pp. 465-94; L. Capodiecì, 'Sic itur ad astra. Narration, figures célestes et platonisme dans les entrées d'Henri II (Reims 1547, Lyon 1548, Paris 1549, Rouen 1550)', in N. Russell and H. French (eds.), *Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century*, Toronto 2007, pp. 73-109.
- 44 Wintroub, op. cit. (note 43), p. 487.
- 45 Capodiecì, op. cit. (note 43), p. 98; cf. Wintroub, op. cit. (note 43), p. 487.
- 46 *C'est la deduction du Somptueux ordre, plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dressés et exhibés, par les citiens de Rouen...*, Rouen 1551; for the online edition see <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb37300054s>. For other accounts of the Rouen entry and their editions, see Wintroub op. cit. (note 43), p. 466, note 4.
- 47 On the practice of the systematic comparison of contemporary French rulers with their alleged ancient prototypes, see J. Blunk, *Das Taktieren mit den Titen. Die französischen Königsgrabmäler in den Frühen Neuzeit*, Cologne and elsewhere 2011, pp. 142-47.
- 48 C. Beaune (transl. S. Ross Huston), *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1991, pp. 231-44.
- 49 Capodiecì, op. cit. (note 43), pp. 81-82, note 36.
- 50 Wintroub, op. cit. (note 43), pp. 489-91.
- 51 R.E. Hallowel, 'Ronsard and the Gallic Hercules Myth', *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962), pp. 242-55, esp. pp. 250-51.
- 52 Cf. e.g. B. Franke, 'Ritter und Heroen der "burgundischen Antike"'. Franko-Flämische Tapisserie des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Städte-Jahrbuch* 16 (1997), pp. 113-46; Blunk, op. cit. (note 47), pp. 144-45.
- 53 Mezzatesta, op. cit. (note 27), pp. 231-32.
- 54 Ibid., p. 233; Eisler, op. cit. (note 27), p. 152.
- 55 Cf. e.g. a silver coin of Vitellius depicting a Delphic tripod with a dolphin on it, complemented by an inscription stating that 'the emperor has been one of the *virii* appointed to the care of sacrificial ceremonies', cf. S.W. Stevenson et al., *Dictionary of Roman Coins*, London 1889; J. Thirion, 'Observations sur les sculptures de la chapelle des Valois', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1973), pp. 266-81, esp. pp. 338-39. A trident beneath a dolphin is also seen on a denarius of the Pompey family, who claimed descent from Numa Pompilius, cf. Stevenson, op. cit. (this note), p. 811.
- 56 Du Choul, op. cit. (note 38), p. 241.
- 57 C. Bourel Le Guilloux, "'Le palais de la grotte" de Meudon, les jardins en pente en France et en Italie au milieu du xv^e siècle, quelques précisions', in G. Venturi and F. Ceccarelli (eds.), *Delizie in villa. Il giardino rinascimentale e i suoi committenti*, Florence 2008, pp. 317-33.
- 58 Cf. the argument of Eisler against this location: '... the venue would be an unlikely venue for such a finely carved work'. See Eisler, op. cit. (note 27), p. 148.
- 59 Smith, op. cit. (note 33).
- 60 T. Lersch, 'Remarques sur quelques sculptures de la rotonde des Valois', in Bresc-Bautier, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 89-111; T. Lersch, *Die Grabkapelle der Valois in Saint Denis*, Munich 1995 (diss. 1965); M.B. Bassett, *The Funerary Patronage of Catherine de' Medici: The Tomb of Henri II, Heart Monuments and the Valois Chapel*, New York 1999 (diss.), pp. 64-288; S. Frommel, 'La Rotonda dei Valois a Saint-Denis', in S. Frommel (ed.), *Primiticcio architetto*, Milan 2005, pp. 304-16.

- 61 T. Gaetgens, *Zum frühen und reifen Werk des Germain Pilon. Stilkritische Studien zur französischen Skulptur um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bonn 1967, pp. 35-64; G. Bresc-Bautier, 'Observations sur la "Vierge de douleur" et quelques oeuvres de Germain Pilon, au musée du Louvre', in Bresc-Bautier, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 16-21, 215-35.
- 62 G. Vasari (transl. Gaston Du C. de Vere), *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, vol. 9, London 1912-14, p. 150.
- 63 Thirion, op. cit. (note 55); Bresc-Bautier, op. cit. (note 61), pp. 24-25, 36-37; Lersch 1993, op. cit. (note 60); M. Levkof, 'Précisions sur l'oeuvre de Germain Pilon et sur son influence', in Bresc-Bautier, op. cit. (note 61), pp. 61-88. Lipińska, op. cit. (note 4); Lersch 1995, op. cit. (note 60), pp. 24-25.
- 64 'Les impostz, corniches, arquivres, plinthes, épitaphes et aultres saillies qui seront ordonnez pour l'ornement de dehors oeuvre d'icelles chappelle porteront saillies de moullures qui seront faictes de telle ordonnance et ainsy qu'il sera advisé ey ordonné, sans aucun aultre enrichissement que moullures seullement', *Devis et marché des ouvrages de maçonnerie et taille nécessaires à faire pour la construction de la sépulture du feu roy Henry encommancée à faire en l'église St. Denis en France*, 1582, Archives Nationales, Paris, K 102, 2-4, fol. 3r, after Lersch 1995, op. cit. (note 60), p. 276. Cf. A. de Boislisle, *Choix de pièces extraites des Registres des décisions du roi*, Paris 1876, p. 286 ('Il y a entre les colonnes de l'ordre corinthien des niches destinées à placer des figures plus grandes que le naturel, et au-dessous des manières de tables d'attente, où il semble qu'on ait eu dessein de mettre des bas-reliefs ou des inscriptions, pour faire connoistre à la postérité les principales actions des rois inhumez dans ce lieu.').
- 65 Cf. Lersch 1995, op. cit. (note 60), p. 24.
- 66 Eisler, op. cit. (note 27), p. 145.
- 67 Bresc-Bautier, op. cit. (note 61), figs. XIII-XV, xxxv-xxxvi; Gaborit, op. cit. (note 40), p. 530.
- 68 E.g. Michel Gautier, Laurent Regnaudin [Lorenzo Naldini, d. 1567], Louis Lerambert, Marin le Moyne, Antoine Jacquet, Jean des Touches, Jean Pointcard and Pierre Mambreux. Cf. Boislisle, op. cit. (note 64), pp. 247-48.
- 69 Lersch 1995, op. cit. (note 60), p. 24; Basset, op. cit. (note 60), p. 13. More generally on Catherine de' Medici's patronage of art, cf. Frommel, op. cit. (note 60).
- 70 Basset, op. cit. (note 60), p. 287.
- 71 By way of example: Louis XII and Francis I were stylized in the reliefs depicting their victorious battles on their tombs as *all'antica* heroes, cf. Blunk, op. cit. (note 47), pp. 142-47. These two monuments, like the tomb of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici, include figures or reliefs depicting virtues, a clear motif of classical origin, juxtaposed with Christian imagery (e.g. the apostles), cf. E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*, New York 1964, pp. 73-76.
- 72 S. Foliot, 'Catherine de' Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Woman', in H. Wunder and G. Engel, *Geschlechtsperpektiven. Forschungen zur frühen Neuzeit*, Königsstein 1998, pp. 227-41; cf. also Blunk, op. cit. (note 47), pp. 250-53.
- 73 G. Lambert, 'L'École Française', in *Dessin de la Renaissance. Collection de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, Barcelona 2003, nos. 88-95, pp. 237-54.

