



Fantasy, Form and Function

POSTGRADUATE RESEARCH PAPERS IN GARDEN HISTORY

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Front cover

Above: Vue de la Galerie des Bains du côté du jardin pittoresque, detail, watercolour by Blarenberghe from *Chanteloup: un moment de grâce autour du duc de Choiseul*, p. 59. Original in private collection.

Below: Pastel impression of 'A Hillside House', *The Studio XXXIV* (1905), p. 331.

Back cover

Barbara Hepworth's *Winged Figure* on the side wall of the Oxford Street store of the John Lewis Partnership in Holles Street. Photograph: Carole Musson

Page 2.

The *giardino segreto* of the Villa Medici at Fiesole in the 1960s. Georgina Masson, *Italian gardens* (London: Thames and Hudson), p. 223. Courtesy: The American Academy in Rome

The Life of Étienne Dupérac, Franco-Italian Renaissance Man

Kristina Clode

Étienne Dupérac¹ was born in Paris² c.1525-35³ and died, also in Paris, at the end of March 1604.⁴ An accomplished painter, engraver, antiquarian, architect and garden designer, Dupérac's career spanned Italy and France, working with some of the most influential artists and patrons of his day. At the pinnacle of his career Dupérac became one of Henri IV's principal architects⁵ and a man of great renown⁶ and high social standing,⁷ whose contribution to garden design was acknowledged by the eminent royal gardener Claude Mollet. He is best known for his engraving of the Villa d'Este gardens in Tivoli, for the introduction of the *parterre* to France from Italy and as the probable designer of the gardens of the Chateau Neuf, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, for Henri IV. Few scholars have examined Dupérac's accomplishments in France, and fewer still have analysed the extent of Italian influence on his projects. This article makes this assessment, while providing a much-needed chronological overview of Étienne Dupérac's known works in both Italy and France.

Dupérac in Italy

Little is known of Dupérac's early training in France, although records improve following his move to Italy c.1559⁸ where he assumed the name Stefano.⁹ In December 1560 a 'Stefano Franzese', thought to be Dupérac, was engaged to design maps for the back wall of the *Loggia della Cosmografia* at the Vatican Palace, part of an iconographical program devised and overseen by the Papal Architect¹⁰ and antiquarian Pirro Ligorio.¹¹ By 1565 Dupérac had made contact with Antoine Lafréry,¹² at that time the most influential printer and publisher in Rome, who was to issue the majority of his work in Italy.¹³ The first known dated works by Dupérac also appeared in that year; three engravings¹⁴ of the Cortile di Belvedere during a tournament of 5 March 1565¹⁵ featuring the recently completed lower court designed by Pirro Ligorio (Figure 1).¹⁶ These engravings were included together with many more of Dupérac's works, in *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (1574), a collection of Lafréry's most important topographical plates.¹⁷

Dupérac worked from 1565-66 in the service of Onofrio Panvinio, a leading Roman scholar,

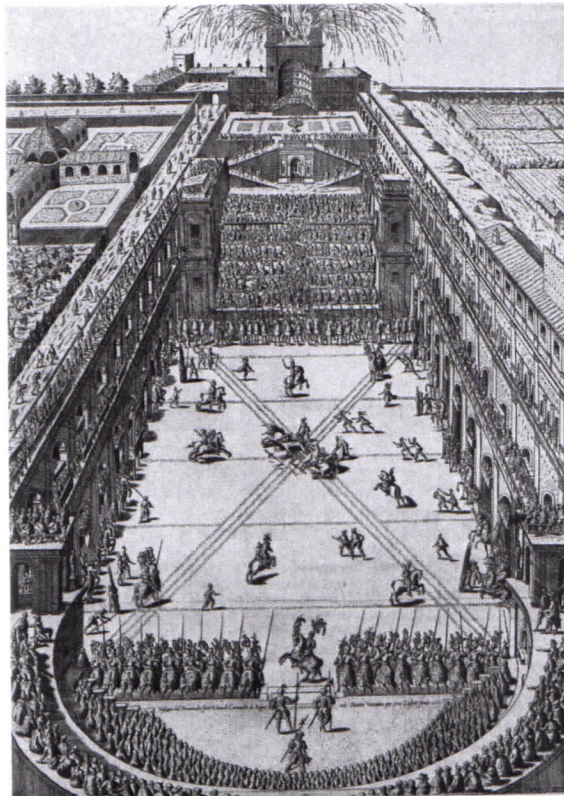


Figure 1. Belvedere Court, engraving by Étienne Dupérac (1565); published in Antoine Lafréry's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Rome, 1574), III, no. 73.

humanist¹⁸ and antiquarian to the Farnese,¹⁹ for whom he engraved and possibly painted the archaeological reliefs²⁰ that illustrated the works *De ludis circensibus*²¹ and *De triumpho commentarius*.²² Panvinio left a lasting impression on Dupérac, awaking in him a passion for antiquities²³ that was to change the course of his career. He is also likely to have introduced him to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, whose patronage²⁴ gained Dupérac the position of Architect to the Papal Conclave in 1572.²⁵ Between 1567 and 1569²⁶ Dupérac engraved plans²⁷ and views, published in 1569,²⁸ of Michelangelo's Roman architectural projects, some of which had been works-in-progress since the architect's death in 1564. In his views of St Peter's Dupérac included alterations proposed by Vignola and Ligorio that were still under consideration, thus it is thought that he may have made the illustrations in support of their projects.²⁹

Between 1570 and 1572 Dupérac worked as a painter in the service of the Cardinal of Ferrara, Ippolito d'Este.³⁰ Cardinal Alessandro Farnese may well have recommended him; the two cardinals were

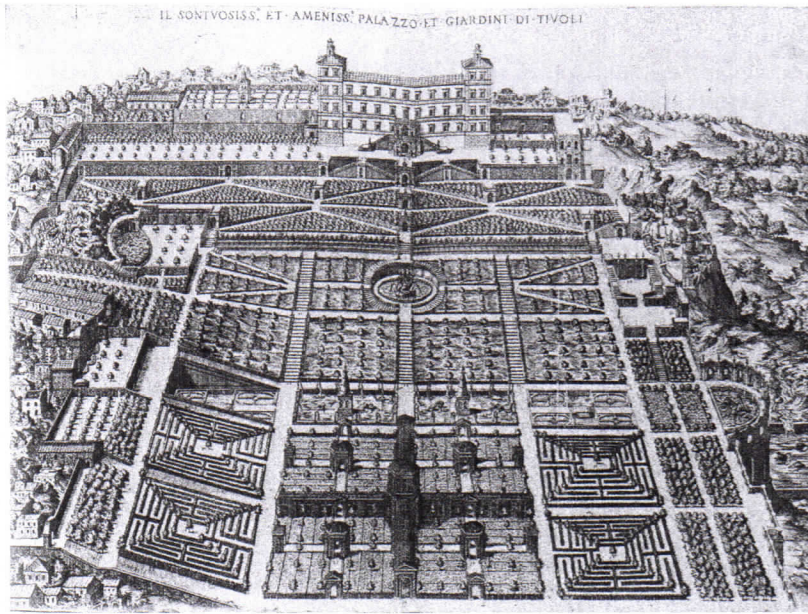


Figure 2. Villa d'Este Gardens, Tivoli, engraving by Étienne Dupérac (1573), published in Lafréry's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Rome, 1574), III, pl. 64.

close friends and often shared architects³¹ and artisans.³² It is also possible that the connection was made via Pirro Ligorio³³ who was the probable designer of the Tivoli Villa d'Este gardens³⁴ and who had previously worked with Dupérac. In February 1571 the Cardinal of Ferrara sent a letter to the Emperor Maximilian II in Vienna containing a drawing of the Villa d'Este gardens by Dupérac. This drawing has since been lost but is known through Dupérac's engraved version of 1573 (Figure 2) which he dedicated to the French Queen³⁵ Catherine de Médicis and which was published in Lafréry's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (1574).³⁶

This was an idealized view of the gardens, presented 'not as it is, but as it would be when completed' according to Nicholas Audebert³⁷ a traveller who stayed at the Villa d'Este late in 1576 or early 1577.³⁸ It contains several features that were never created in the garden, such as the Fountain of Neptune³⁹ and four large labyrinths of which only two were executed.⁴⁰ Dupérac later re-issued this engraving on his return to France c.1582, under the title *Vues perspectives des jardins de Tivoli*, which he dedicated to Queen Marie de Médicis.⁴¹

In 1573 Dupérac published his first solo antiquarian work, a birds-eye view of Ancient Rome's contoured hills and valleys with a few buildings.⁴² Next followed his *Urbis Roma Sciografica* (1574), a monumental⁴³ bird's-eye reconstruction of Ancient Rome, in the style of Pirro Ligorio's *Antiquae Urbis Imago* of 1561.⁴⁴ He dedicated the view to Charles IX of France, and also acknowledged Cardinal Alessandro Farnese⁴⁵ for granting him access to the fragments of the *Forma Urbis Romae*, an ancient marble plan of Rome excavated in 1562,⁴⁶ kept in the Farnese Library. He

is thought to have collaborated on this project with Fulvio Orsini, the Farnese Librarian,⁴⁷ a learned humanist, antiquarian and friend of Pirro Ligorio.⁴⁸

In 1575 Laurent de la Vacherie published Dupérac's best known work *I Vestigi dell'Antichità di Roma*, a collection of thirty-nine engraved views of Ancient Rome⁴⁹ arranged in an ordered itinerary.⁵⁰ The views are highly regarded for their accuracy and testify to Dupérac's thorough architectural understanding and antiquarian knowledge.⁵¹ In the same year he prepared a manuscript of antiquarian drawings known as *Illustration des fragments antiques*, which remained unpublished until recent times.⁵² Not all of the drawings are by Dupérac; some are thought to be by Raphael and sixty-five leaves depicting Ancient Roman altars are by Pirro Ligorio, most of which appear in his manuscript held at the Farnese Library, which was probably Dupérac's source.⁵³ A contemporary bird's-eye plan of *Rome Nova Urbis Romae Descriptio*, dedicated to Henry III of France, was published by Dupérac in 1577 and is considered one of his greatest works.⁵⁴ His last dated Italian work was an engraving of the Pope in the Sistine Chapel, published in 1578 by la Vacherie.⁵⁵

Dupérac's return to France

It was originally thought that Dupérac had returned to France in 1582, the date given by the King's gardener Claude Mollet (c.1564-c.1649)⁵⁶ in his treatise *Le Théâtre des Plans et Jardinages*, published posthumously in 1652.⁵⁷ However, two documents attest to his presence in France as early as 1578, and so Mollet may well have misremembered the exact date of his return.⁵⁸ A document in the Caen archives records payment to 'Duperac Stephenot maistre architecte' for his visit and evaluation of the town's architectural features in 1578.⁵⁹ Another concerns a baptism dated 6 October 1580 at St Nicholas des Champs, Paris, where 'Estienne Duperac architecteur' is recorded as godfather.⁶⁰ Dupérac seems to have returned to France an Italophile; indeed he had an Italian wife Livia Libienti and children with the Italian names Octavio and Artemisia. Perhaps it should not be surprising that he was often referred to as Stephanot, the French translation of his Italian pseudonym Stefano.⁶¹

Unfortunately few documents survive concerning Dupérac's life in France following his return.⁶² However enough exist to piece together his general movements and establish some of the works he was involved in, although the extent of his influence is often subject to conjecture.

Château of Anet

Soon after his return to France Dupérac was appointed architect to Charles de Lorraine, Duc d'Aumale, with responsibility for all his properties, particularly the Château of Anet where he also redesigned elements of the garden.⁶³ It is here that he first worked with Claude Mollet, son of the head gardener Jacques.⁶⁴ According to Claude Mollet it was the Italian-inspired⁶⁵ Dupérac who taught him at Anet how to lay out the 'first parterres and compartments en broderie that had been made in France'.⁶⁶ He explained that for the previous forty to fifty years⁶⁷ it had been customary to lay out a garden in individually designed square beds whereas Dupérac treated the entire area as a single compartment with a universal design divided by large walks. From this time onwards Mollet worked only on 'large-scale' designs, abandoning the 'little squares' approach for good.

Mollet explained that the early *compartiments en broderie* had been constructed in a variety of green garden plants, such as myrtle, lavender, rosemary and santolina, but their lack of suitability to the French climate had led to costly replanting every three years.⁶⁸ He therefore experimented with box instead, despite previous objections to its smell,⁶⁹ planting it in monoculture to create *broderies* of a uniform green that stood out against a sand or crushed tile base.⁷⁰ The result was so successful that in 1595, following his appointment as *Jardinier du Roi*,⁷¹ Mollet planted box in the royal gardens of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Montceaux-en-Brie and Fontainebleau.⁷² Young gardeners imitated his style and from there it spread through France.⁷³

Unfortunately there is no post-Dupérac view of Anet showing the precise nature of Dupérac's *compartiment en broderie*, although illustrations do exist of some of Claude Mollet's later compartments at Fontainebleau (Figure 3), Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Figure 4) and the Tuileries (Figure 5).

Since Mollet adopted Dupérac's technique these compartments should be representative of his style, particularly when it is considered that Dupérac also worked at these chateaux at this time and may have continued to advise him. Mollet's substitution of box had no Italian precedent and may have been his own innovation. Box, although a staple in sixteenth-century Italian gardens, was limited to use as a low hedge and even then it was usually combined with other sweeter-smelling shrubs; it was never clipped to form a design in beds.⁷⁴ Therefore it does not follow that Dupérac transferred this idea from Italy.

However, Dupérac is likely to have derived the actual *compartiment en broderie* from Italian flower

gardens. At their simplest these were a regular square or rectangular plot called a *compartimento* quartered by two central intersecting pathways and then further divided by equidistant paths into regular units, usually squares, that were planted with flowers.⁷⁵

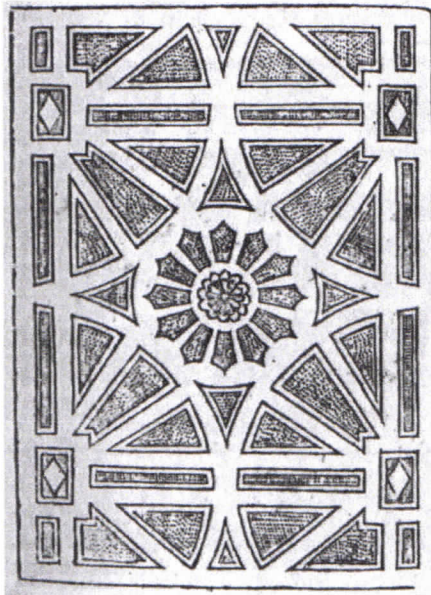


Figure 3. Fontainebleau compartment design by Claude Mollet, woodcut from Olivier De Serres, *Le Théâtre d'agriculture et mesnage des champs, dans lequel est représenté tout ce qui est requis et nécessaire pour bien dresser, gouverner, enricher et embellir la maison rustique* (Paris: A. Saugrain, 1603).

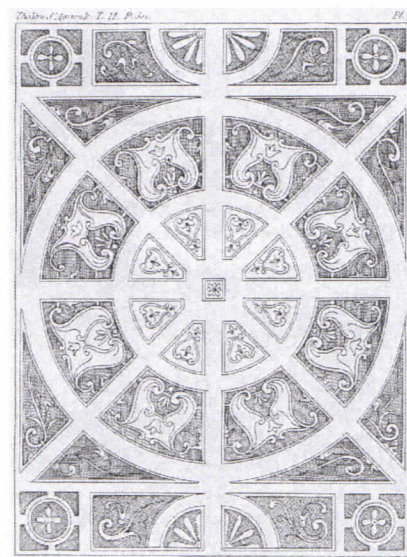


Figure 4. Parterre design for the Chateau Neuf, Saint-Germain-en-Laye by Claude Mollet, woodcut from from Olivier De Serres, *Le Théâtre d'agriculture ...* (Paris: A. Saugrain, 1603).

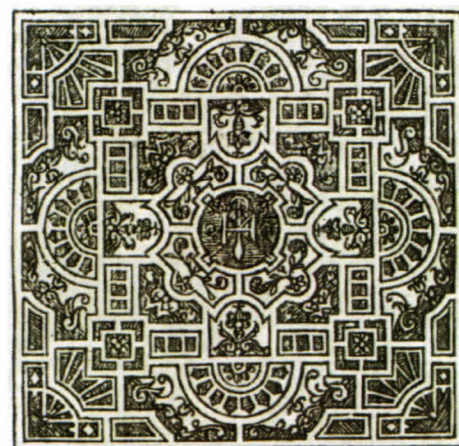


Figure 5. Tuileries parterre design by Claude Mollet from from Olivier De Serres, *Le Théâtre d'agriculture ...* (Paris: A. Saugrain, 1603).

Square grid designs such as these made up the flower gardens of three of the grandest Italian estates in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Villa d'Este (Tivoli), the Farnese Palace (Caprarola) and the Villa Lante (Bagnaia).⁷⁶ Dupérac would have been familiar with each of these gardens; he had engraved those of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este at

the Villa d'Este, had visited the palace of his patron Cardinal Alessandro Farnese on several occasions, and would have known of, if not visited, Cardinal Gambara's garden at the Villa Lante. Cardinal Gambara was an artistic rival and close friend of both cardinals; he had frescos of their properties painted in his loggia at the Villa Lante and also

Figure 6. Villa Lante, Bagnaia. Fresco from the Villa's *Palazzina Loggia* (1574-78). Reproduced in Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (Hong Kong: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 29, photograph by Ralph Lieberman, courtesy of Yale University Press.

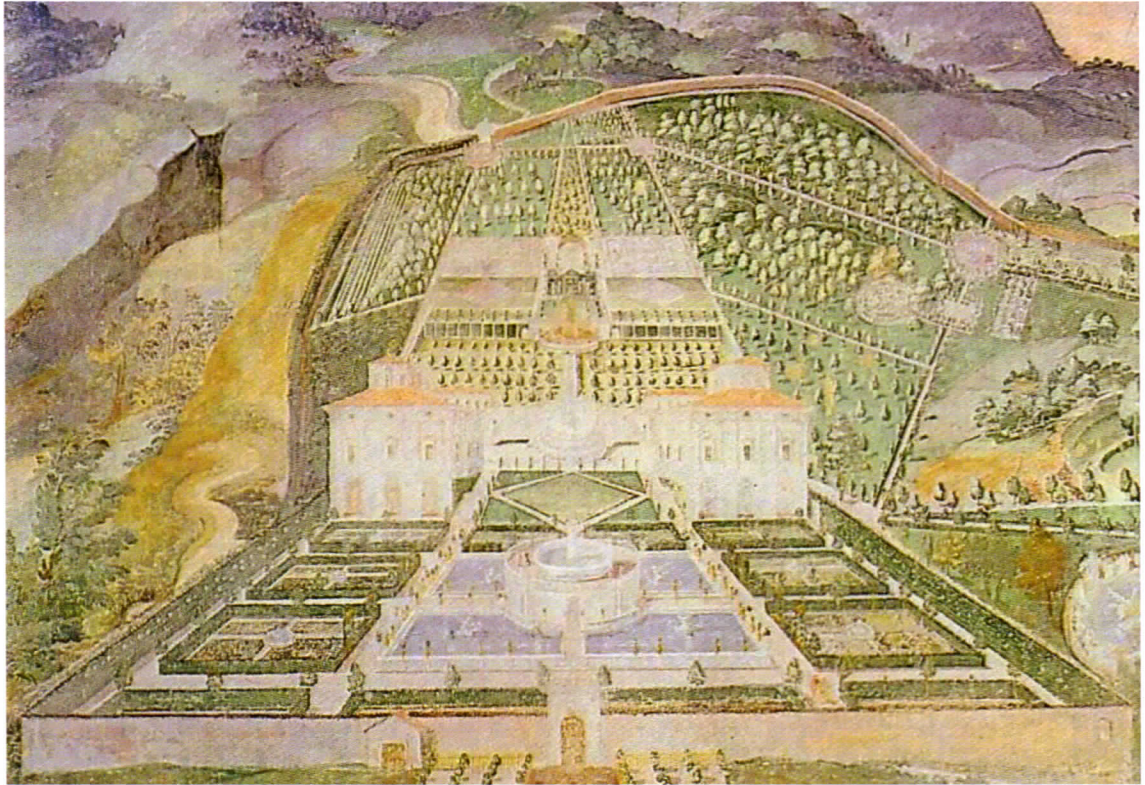
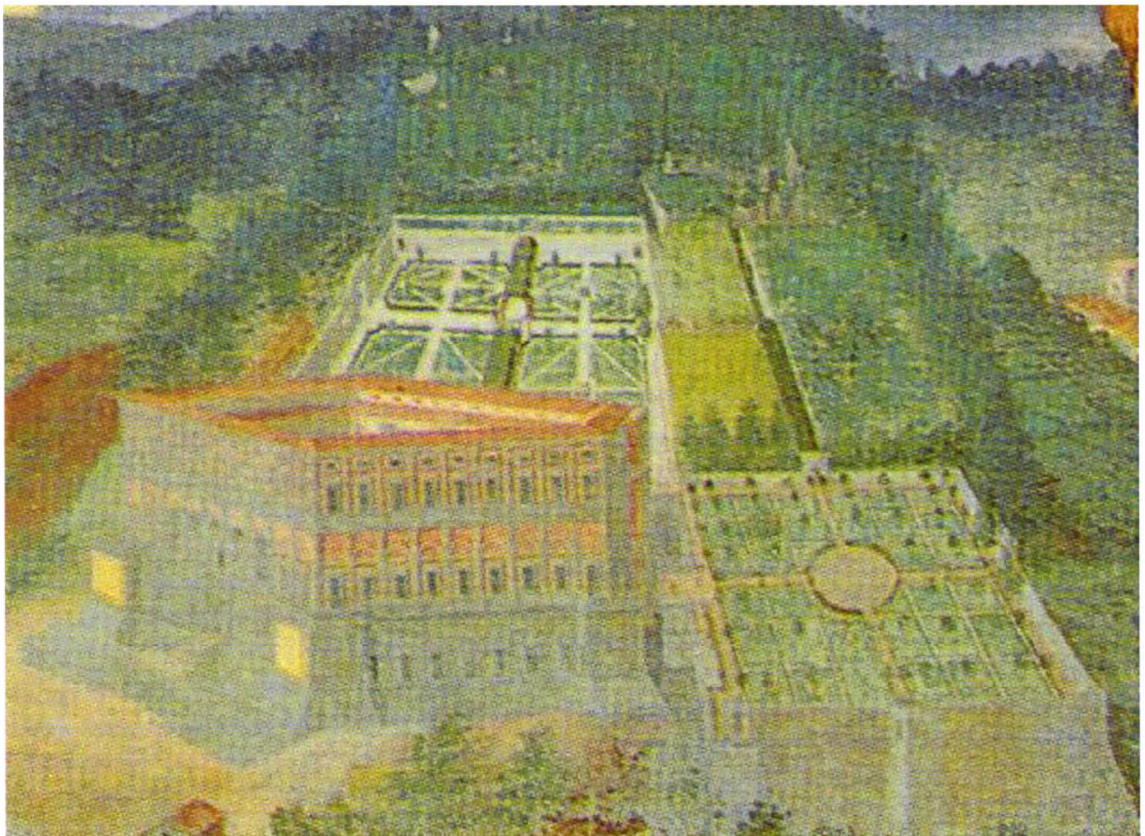


Figure 7. Farnese Palace, Caprarola. The West Garden is on the far side of the Villa and the North Garden to its right. Fresco from the Villa Lante's *Palazzina Gambara Loggia* (1574-78). Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (Hong Kong: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 35, photograph by Ralph Lieberman, courtesy of Yale University Press.



shared their architects.⁷⁷

Each square would be bordered with a hedge of various tightly clipped, sweet-smelling herbs (sometimes in combination with box) two to three foot high and often backed by a low lattice fence, as at Tivoli (see Figure 2) and Bagnaia (Figure 6).⁷⁸ Further sub-divisions within these squares were edged by even lower closely trimmed herb hedges, as depicted by a narrow green line around each bed in the frescos of the Villa Lante and the North Garden at Caprarola (Figure 7).⁷⁹ A variety of flowers of different heights, shapes and colours⁸⁰ were planted within these beds, and were described by Audebert at the Villa d'Este as 'rare and foreign' simples planted beneath rows of ornamental fruit trees.⁸¹

At Caprarola the square compartments in the West Garden were subdivided by diagonal paths, creating a symmetrical arrangement of triangular beds.⁸² *Compartimenti* designs could also be much more complex combinations of geometric motifs, requiring the input of an architect.⁸³ Sebastiano Serlio and Giorgio Vasari the Younger both wrote treatises on the subject, unpublished in the sixteenth century, but well known nonetheless. Four of Serlio's designs were published in Italy in 1537 (Figure 8), in which he clearly indicated paths as the light areas and flowerbeds the dark.⁸⁴ If these designs are compared with those of Claude Mollet (Figures 3-5), there are obvious similarities in the style of geometric motifs used and their symmetrical arrangement.

Dupérac therefore created complex Italian *compartimenti* at Anet transforming the unrelated emblematic knots⁸⁵ of the earlier garden into a single comprehensive design of symmetrical geometric motifs, in which the paths defined the design itself. The compartment would be linked to the chateau by its proportions and by the alignment of its main paths to the chateau's significant axes, creating both a visual and physical bond with the garden. As the complexity of the compartment designs increased there was a corresponding decrease in the size of each individual planting bed. Since a low hedge edged each of these beds it can be understood how the hedge became the dominant element of the design. With Mollet's switch to box, the contrast of unvarying dark-green foliage to the light sand of the paths would have further underlined this dominance, ultimately eclipsing the floral element.

Villa of Chaillot

Dupérac has recently been credited with the design, sometime before November 1585,⁸⁶ of an antique-style villa with terraced gardens for Catherine de

Médicis at Chaillot. A plan and bird's-eye view of this villa were discovered in 1998 amongst a collection of works by Jacques 1er Androuet du Cerceau (Figure 9).⁸⁷ This previously unknown project has been identified with the hillside site of the 'Hotman Property' that Catherine purchased in 1588 following lengthy negotiations.⁸⁸ It neighboured another of her properties bought in 1583 whose existing buildings were in the process of redevelopment by Baptiste and Jacques II du Cerceau, in the style of a 'Hermitage'.⁸⁹ It seems that Catherine was planning the antique villa far in advance of the land purchase, perhaps even as early as her initial purchase of the hermitage; however neither project came to fruition following her death on 5 January 1589.⁹⁰

There are three reasons why the project has been credited to Dupérac. Firstly, the Chaillot drawings are annotated in the Italian of a non-native, using French paper and units of measure. It has already been noted that Dupérac was affected by Italophile tendencies on his return from Italy; he had after all spent at least the past nineteen years of his life there. He signed his name Stefano Duperac Parigino and was also known to speak to the Queen in Italian, despite the fact that she insisted on speaking her kingdom's language of French. Secondly, the handwriting on the drawing matches other examples of his hand and, thirdly, the project has marked similarities with the terraced gardens of Saint-Germain-en-Laye for which he is also credited as architect.⁹¹

Since Catherine desired a villa of antique inspiration, who better to employ than a well-connected and accomplished antiquarian recently returned from Rome? Dupérac also had in his favour his in-depth knowledge of the celebrated terraced gardens of the Cortile de Belvedere and the Villa d'Este, the engraving of which he had dedicated to Catherine in 1573 following her request to see the gardens depicted.⁹² It seems that Dupérac had contacted the Queen several times from Italy to remind her of his homecoming,⁹³ and he sought to please her with other

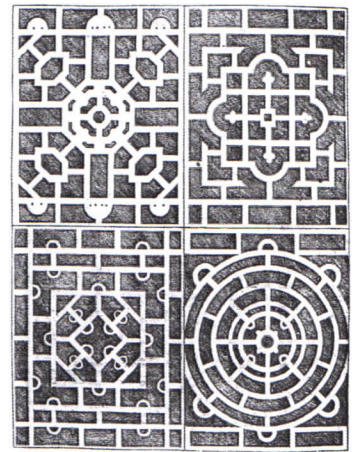
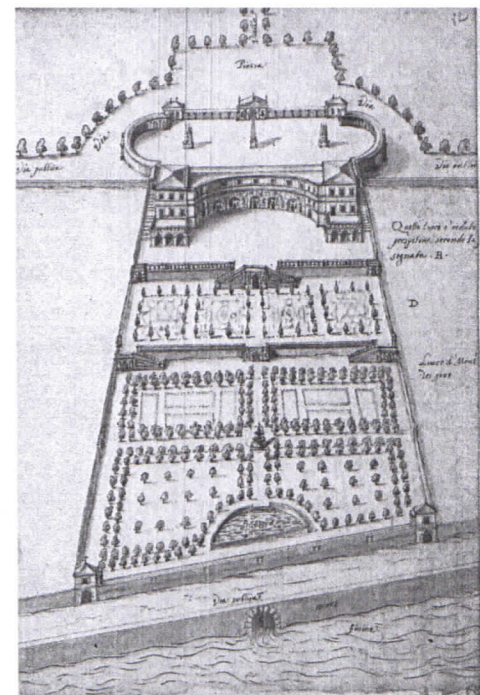


Figure 8. *Compartimenti* designs by Serlio, first published in Italy in 1537. The light areas are paths and the dark flowerbeds. There are clear similarities to Mollet's compartments (Figures 3-5). Sebastiano Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva* (Venice, 1619).

Figure 9. Bird's-eye view of the antique-style villa designed for the hillside of Chaillot for Catherine de Médicis; Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Ms 6246, Dessin 82, photograph by Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, Didier Nicole.



dedications to her sons Charles IX in *Urbis Romae sciographia* (1574) and Henry III in *Nova Urbis Romae Descriptio* (1577).

One of the most striking elements of the villa design was the entrance courtyard in the style of an ancient hippodrome, complete with two *meta* and a central *spina* punctuated by an obelisk. Roman circuses had been the subject of much research by Dupérac and his fellow antiquarians Pirro Ligorio and Onofrio Panvinio. Dupérac had from 1565-66 engraved reconstructed and contemporary views of Ancient Roman circuses including the Circus Maximus (Figure 10) for Panvinio's *De ludis circensibus*, and had included similar views in his own *I Vestigi dell'Antichità di Roma* (1575) and as part of his *Sciographia* map of ancient Rome (1574).⁹⁴ This was a dream project for a humanist such as Dupérac, a chance to recreate the splendour of Ancient Rome not just on paper, but in three dimensions.

The villa and garden are symmetrically arranged along a dominant central axis, which extends all the way from the tree-lined approach road to the end of the garden where it borders the River Seine at an angle. A staircase on either side of the villa descends from the hippodrome directly to the first of three garden terraces. Shaped into an exedra form by the villa façade, an idea possibly inspired by the *Nicchione* of the Belvedere Court, this upper terrace would have been ideal for theatrical display.⁹⁵ It would also have offered spectacular views over the garden terraces below to the Seine and the plain of Grenelle beyond – a prospect that Sauval described in the seventeenth century as ‘one of the finest views in the world’.⁹⁶

A balustrade borders this upper terrace and is interrupted by a central diverging staircase with a grotto built in beneath. This leads down to the terrace below decorated with four *compartment en*

broderie with geometric designs made up of squares, circles, triangles and stars, bordered by neatly spaced cypress trees. There are two grottoes built into the far sides of this terrace, with two more in the same position on the terrace below, but this time housed beneath the descending staircases which face one another in a ‘converging’ arrangement. Another grotto marks the centre of this final terrace, which is quartered by paths with a central fountain, creating four compartments that are bordered by double rows of trees occupied by the kitchen garden and orchard. At the far end a central semicircular fishpond echoes the exedra form of the villa. The wall terminating the end of the garden has a belvedere walkway on top with access from two corner pavilions, which also have doorways to the public path bordering the Seine.

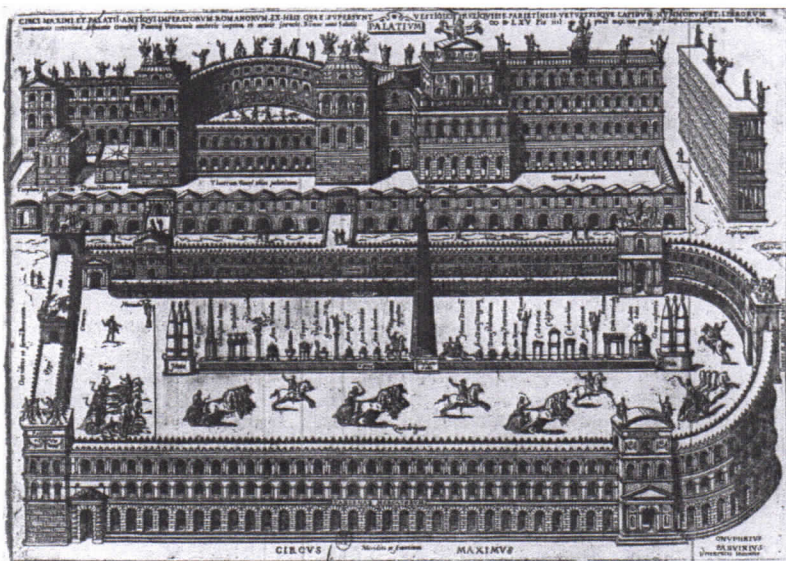
The enclosed, rectangular shape of the garden recalls that of the Belvedere Court (see Figure 1), as does the staircase and grotto arrangement of the middle terrace and the use of exedras at each end of the garden (although at the Belvedere they are mirrored). Dupérac's allusions to the Belvedere Court are not surprising when it is considered that Ligorio's work there was also inspired by the Ancient Roman circus. Similar arrangements are also present in the Villa d'Este gardens (see Figure 2) where a number of grottoes mark the central and side axes of the garden and converging and diverging staircases are used to elaborate effect.

Chateau Neuf

In 1595 Henri IV appointed Dupérac *Architect du Roi*, a position he maintained until his death in 1604.⁹⁷ Claude Mollet was also appointed the King's Gardener around this time,⁹⁸ which was probably no coincidence. One of the first royal projects with which they were both associated was the terraced gardens of the Chateau Neuf, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, that were laid out by Henri IV from c.1594⁹⁹ to 1604.¹⁰⁰ Claude Mollet laid out a box parterre at Chateau Neuf in 1595 and mentioned, in *Le Théâtre des Plans et Jardinages*, Dupérac's presence there¹⁰¹ but without specific reference to his activities.¹⁰² However, Henri IV would surely have capitalized on Dupérac's experience of Italian terraced gardens and antiquarian design by involving him in these gardens and for this reason Dupérac is generally credited with the design,¹⁰³ or at least supervision,¹⁰⁴ of the project.

The Château Neuf was first built as ‘La Maison du Théâtre’, designed by Philibert de l'Orme for Henri II and Catherine de Médicis in 1557 as an entertainment annex to the old chateau. It is thought

Figure 10.
Reconstruction of the
Circus Maximus,
engraving by
Dupérac (1565-
66) from Onofrio
Panvinio, *De Ludis
circensibus* (1600);
Bibliothèque
Nationale de
France.



that De l'Orme had intended to landscape the eighty-metre slope between La Maison and the Seine, but his dismissal following Henri II's sudden death in 1559 brought the project to an end. Other than the single terrace shown in a view by Du Cerceau, it is not known how much of this original garden scheme was in evidence when Henri IV began his works.¹⁰⁵ Alexandre Francine's 1614 view of the Château Neuf and its monumental terraced gardens shows the extent of Henry IV's project (Figure 11). The chateau and six terraces were symmetrically arranged along a dominant central axis descending to the River Seine. Two extra wings enclosing courtyards of quartered grass plots were added to the chateau, each terminating with a two-storey pavilion built up from the first terrace and known as the King's Chapel (north) and the Queen's Oratory (south).¹⁰⁶ These pavilions were repeated three terraces down, named 'Le Pavillon du Jardinier' (south) and 'Le Pavillon du Peintre' (north), perhaps in honour of Mollet and Dupérac who also painted frescos for Henri IV. Dupérac's inspiration may well have been the two symmetrical garden pavilions that punctuate the garden of the Villa Lante.¹⁰⁷

A hemicycle staircase descended from the centre of the chateau to the first terrace, encasing the Fountain of Mercury within its arms, with parterres incorporating two fountains decorating the remainder of the terrace. From here the Doric Terrace of two simple grass plats was reached by a wide diverging staircase. The grottoes of Neptune, the Dragon, and the Lady Playing the Organ were housed in a portico built into this stairway's spreading form. A converging staircase led to the narrow Tuscan Terrace below, which skirted a massive retaining wall faced with rusticated marble columns and housing the grottoes of Orpheus, Hercules and Perseus.¹⁰⁸ From here a further diverging stairway with a grotto beneath led down to Mollet's parterre of 'Le Jardin en Dentelles', that could also be viewed from two narrow promenades above, accessed from the Tuscan Terrace and terminated by the pavilions.

Château Neuf's deep terraces buttressed by such large staircases¹⁰⁹ recall the monumental antique terraces of Praeneste with their huge built-in porticoes and dominating, diverging staircase. Dupérac must have been familiar with this site, which was the original Italian terraced garden model. Another source of inspiration may have been the hemicycle staircase around the Fountain of the Dragons at the Villa d'Este and its sequence of diverging and converging staircases, or the set of

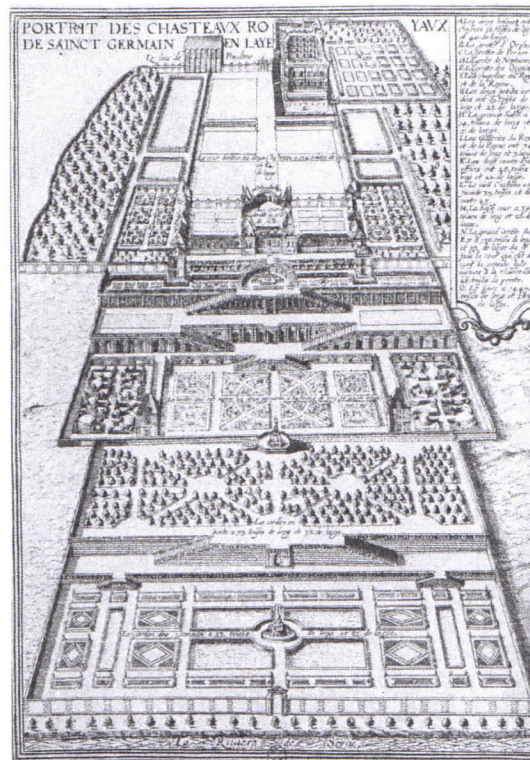


Figure 11. Château Neuf, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, engraving by Alexandre Francine (1614); Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

similar staircases that fronted the Farnese Palace, Caprarola.¹¹⁰ Of course, the Belvedere Court also incorporated a diverging/ converging staircase with a grotto beneath. Dupérac's superior knowledge of all of these gardens must underline his likely authorship of the garden of Château Neuf.

The grottoes, fountains and automata of the Château Neuf were engineered and ornamented by the Francine brothers who were brought from Italy to France specifically for this purpose. Houdard also considers the Francine to have designed these features,¹¹¹ but since the subject matter of the grottoes was inspired by Ligorio's iconography for the Villa d'Este¹¹² Dupérac probably at least directed their design.

A small central diverging staircase with an octagonal landing and sculptural fountain descended from 'Le Jardin en Dentelles' to the 'Jardin en Pente', where the ground dramatically sloped toward the river. Here fruit trees were planted in a design of diagonal walks and central clearings in the manner of the steeply sloping wooded area below the Villa d'Este. A further diverging staircase descended to the final terrace of 'Le Jardin des Canaux', where Francine depicted a central quartered water parterre and meta-sudans fountain, with monogrammed parterres and two flanking canals, which appear to be closely derived from the lower terrace at the Villa Lante (see Figure 6).¹¹³ However, another c.1615 view of the gardens by Claude Chastillon shows an entirely different arrangement of knots and berceaux on this terrace, with only the meta-sudans common

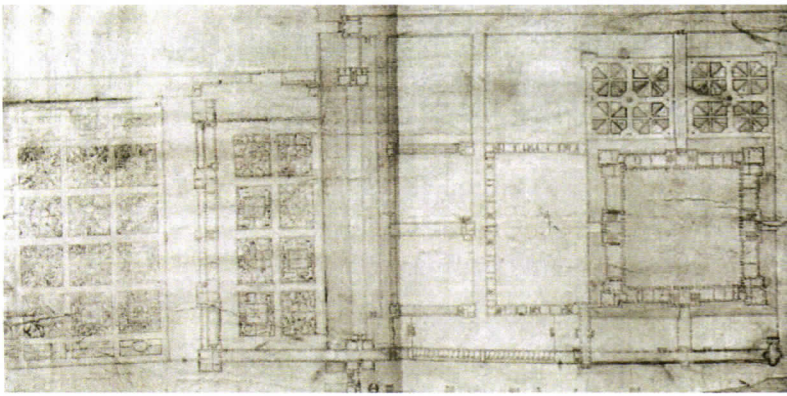


Figure 12. Plan of the Tuileries and Louvre, with the Jardin Neuf towards the centre, attributed to Jean de Fourcy; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ve 53 h. Res vol. 6.

to both. It would seem likely that this final terrace was never laid out as seventeenth-century visitors described this area as just meadow, and Sylvestre's plan of 1666 depicts only the two canals from Francine's view.¹¹⁴ It is possible that Francine and Chastillon used known garden models to concoct a design for the final terrace and provide a fitting finale for the gardens.¹¹⁵

Fontainebleau

Dupérac also worked at Fontainebleau in 1595, where he decorated the bathroom with frescos of 'Marine Deities' and the 'Loves of Jupiter and Calisto'.¹¹⁶ His presence coincided with a period of great garden activity there for Henry IV by architect(s) unknown. Mollet was also at Fontainebleau at this time, planting out a box parterre in the new 'little garden on the pond',¹¹⁷ otherwise known as the 'Jardin de l'Etang'. These circumstances have led some scholars¹¹⁸ to credit Dupérac with the garden works, but unfortunately there is no direct evidence to support this.¹¹⁹

Tuileries

Henry IV also employed Dupérac at the Tuileries, but there is patchy evidence concerning his exact works there. A number of scholars assert that Dupérac completed the Bullant Pavilion c.1599-1601;¹²⁰ it seems certain that he at least provided the ornamentation.¹²¹ He is also credited with the design of the *tribune du roi* in 1603¹²² and either Dupérac or Jacques II du Cerceau was architect of the western half of the 'Grande Galerie'¹²³ and 'Pavillon de Flore'¹²⁴ that linked the Tuileries with the Louvre.

A new garden, known as the 'Jardin Neuf' or Petit Parterre, was laid out in 1600 to the east of the Tuileries, where it could be seen from the windows of the new section of the Grande Galerie. A plan attributed to Jean de Fourcy (Figure 12) depicts this garden containing eight elaborate compartments. They were tended by Claude Mollet¹²⁵ and may well have included the design shown in Figure 5. Pallisades of cypress originally surrounded the

squares, as per Dupérac's design for Chaillot, but Mollet replanted with box following their death in the severe winter of 1608. In 1601 a Dinan marble merchant supplied the Tuileries with a white and red marble fountain basin, eight 'piedz' in diameter, carved and ready for polishing, according to the brief of 'le sieur Dupérac architecte ordinaire du roy'.¹²⁶ This fountain became the centrepiece¹²⁷ of this garden, and so it is possible that Dupérac was responsible for the garden's design.¹²⁸ He was also the architect of the orangery built 1602-1605 by the master mason Jean Coing, located at the far end of the 'Allée des Mûriers' in the 'Grand Jardin of the Tuileries' and embellished with an ornamented portico on the side facing the Allée.¹²⁹ Dupérac would not have seen this project to completion as he died at the end of March 1604.¹³⁰

Conclusion

Dupérac was a true master of the arts whose remarkable career saw him move in the highest circles and become a man of substance in both Italy and France.¹³¹ His life seems to have been shaped in large part by his acquaintance with Pirro Ligorio, whose name repeatedly appears in connection with his Italian works. Dupérac obviously held Ligorio in high esteem, immortalizing his works in engravings and following his lead first into antiquarian pursuits and then to garden design. Onofrio Panvinio's mentorship honed Dupérac's antiquarian skills, providing the impetus for his solo antiquarian works in which he built on Ligorio's research, making ancient and modern maps and views of Rome, and compiling a manuscript that incorporated his work. Dupérac was clearly highly regarded in Roman artistic circles, eventually being engaged as architect to the Papal Conclave, quite an achievement for a Frenchman.

Dupérac's first known foray into garden design was at the Château of Anet but he used his dedication of the Villa d'Este engraving to Queen Catherine de Médicis as a way of introducing his talents to her, underlining his Italian connections and superior knowledge of one of the most celebrated gardens in Italy. By gaining his first royal commission of the Antique Villa in Chaillot he made a successful transition into the service of the French Court who were at that time captivated by Renaissance Italy, in particular its gardens and antiquarian lore. In the steeply sloping gardens of Chaillot and Saint-Germain-en-Laye Dupérac developed ideas from Ligorio's Belvedere Court and Villa d'Este designs, and drew on his antiquarian

knowledge to produce harmonious and memorable gardens of a distinctly Italian flavour.

Mollet and Dupérac formed a close partnership that saw them both promoted to the service of Henri IV. Despite the lack of records of Dupérac's work for the King, enough exist to mark him out as an architect who was a specialist in both interior and garden design. Dupérac's appearance at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Fontainebleau and the Tuileries all coincided with large-scale garden works of undetermined designer(s), where Mollet was simultaneously engaged. It would seem likely that Dupérac had more than a passing involvement in these gardens, a situation that is borne out by the

fragmentary records linking him to the gardens at the Tuileries.

By the time of his death in 1604 Dupérac was a key member of the King's entourage.¹³² He was highly renowned and considered a 'très excellent architecte'¹³³ and esteemed painter.¹³⁴ To have achieved such fame in the twenty-six years following his return to France, Dupérac must have undertaken works of a superior and celebrated nature. It seems certain that he was one of the most accomplished French Renaissance artists of his day, whose significant contribution to the French formal garden may be even greater than originally thought.

Notes

¹ Also spelt Du Pérac, Pérat or Péyrac; Kenneth Woodbridge, various entries in Geoffrey Jellicoe, Patrick Goode and Michael Lancaster (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Gardens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 149; and J. S. De Sacy, *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* vol. 12 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1970), p. 326.

² Most authors agree that he was born in Paris, although the following say it was Bordeaux: Dana Arnold, 'Dupérac, Etienne' in Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art* vol. 9 (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 398; E. Benzit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays / par un groupe d'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers* vol. 4 (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1976), p. 30; Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* vol. 1 (London: George Bell, 1886), p. 437.

³ De Sacy, *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, p. 326.

⁴ Thomas Ashby (ed.), *Topographical Study in Rome in 1581; A series of views with a fragmentary text by Étienne Du Pérac in the library of C.W. Dyson Perrins Esq.*, printed for the Roxburghe Club (London: J. B. Nichols & Sons, 1916), n.1, p. 28; and De Sacy, *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, p. 326.

⁵ Henri Zerner, 'Étienne Dupérac en Italie', *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, IV^e section Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, Annuaire 1963-64 (Paris, 1963), p. 325.

⁶ Édouard-Jacques Ciprut, 'Études et Documents: Nouveaux Documents sur Étienne Dupérac', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, Année 1960 (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1961), n. 5, p. 162.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁸ Ashby, *Topographical*, p. 18, although Arnold, 'Dupérac, Etienne', p. 398 says 1550 and Pierre Marot, 'Séance du 13 Juin; Tombeau du Cardinal de Vaudémont', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1951), p. 191 says 1554.

⁹ Ciprut, 'Études et Documents', n. 1, p. 161.

¹⁰ David R. Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio: The Renaissance Artist, Architect, and Antiquarian* (China: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), pp. 27, 78.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹² Zerner, 'Étienne', p. 325.

¹³ Thomas Ashby, 'Plan of Rome', *The Classical Review* vol. 23, no. 4, (June 1909), p. 127.

¹⁴ Coffin, *Pirro*, p. 62.

¹⁵ Ashby, *Topographical*, p. 18.

¹⁶ Coffin, *Pirro*, p. 60.

¹⁷ Ashby, 'Plan', p. 127.

¹⁸ Coffin, *Pirro*, p. 20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁰ Henri Zerner, 'Observations on Dupérac and the Disegni de le Ruine di Roma e Come Anticamente Erono', *The Art Bulletin* vol. 47, no. 4 (December 1965), p. 509.

²¹ The first known edition was 1600, but individual plates were published in 1565 and 1566 - Zerner, 'Étienne', p. 325 & 'Observations', p. 509.

²² *Ibid.* The plates are dated early 1566, but the first known edition was 1571.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 325-26.

²⁴ Marot, 'Séance du 13 Juin', p. 191.

²⁵ C. H. Bauchal, *Nouveaux Dictionnaire Biographique et Critique des Architectes Français* (Paris: André Daly, 1887), p. 201.

²⁶ Zerner, 'Étienne', p. 326.

²⁷ Ashby, *Topographical*, p. 18.

²⁸ Arnold, 'Dupérac, Etienne', p. 398.

²⁹ Henry A. Millon and Craig H. Smyth, 'Pirro Ligorio, Michelangelo, and St. Peter's', in R. W. Gaston (ed.),

Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian (Milan: Cinisello Balsamo, 1988), p. 239 and n. 158, p. 262.

³⁰ Zerner, 'Étienne', p. 326.

³¹ Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (Hong Kong: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 245. Cardinal Farnese also employed Pirro Ligorio; see Coffin, *Pirro*, p. 81.

³² The *fontaniere* Curzio Maccarone was employed by Cardinal Farnese at Caprarola following his work at the Villa d'Este in Tivoli; Coffin, *Pirro*, p. 86.

³³ Although Ligorio left Ippolito's service in 1568 he was still in touch with the Cardinal in November 1569; *ibid.*, p. 99.

³⁴ David R. Coffin, *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 94.

³⁵ Coffin, *Pirro*, pp. 84-85.

³⁶ Germain Bazin, *Paradisos: The Art of the Garden* (London: Bullfinch Press, 1990), p. 88 and Coffin, *Pirro*, p. 85.

³⁷ Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, p. 219.

³⁸ R. W. Lightbrown, 'Nicholas Audebert and the Villa D'Este', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* vol. 27 (1964), p. 164.

³⁹ Coffin, *Villa*, p. 142.

⁴⁰ Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, p. 95 and Coffin, *Villa*, p. 17.

⁴¹ Arnold, 'Dupérac, Etienne', p. 398.

⁴² Ashby, *Topographical*, p. 18.

⁴³ It covered 8 sheets, measuring 1.56 x 1.04m in total; *ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Coffin, *Pirro*, p. 25.

⁴⁵ Thomas Ashby, 'An Unknown Sixteenth Century Topography of Rome', *Archaeological Journal* vol. LXV, no. 259 (London: The Archaeological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland, 1908), p. 260.

⁴⁶ Coffin, *Pirro*, p. 25.

⁴⁷ Ashby, *Topographical*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁸ Coffin, *Pirro*, pp. 6, 130.

⁴⁹ Ashby, *Topographical*, p. 21.

- 50 Ibid., p. 22.
- 51 Zerner, 'Étienne', p. 326.
- 52 Three copies exist and fragments of a fourth; Ashby, *Topographical*, p. 23.
- 53 Ashby, *Topographical*, p. 25.
- 54 Ibid., p. 26.
- 55 Ibid., p. 27.
- 56 Sten Karling, 'The Importance of André Mollet and His Family for the Development of the French Formal Garden', in Elisabeth B. Macdougall and Hamilton F. Hazlehurst (eds), *The French Formal Garden*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium of the History of Landscape Architecture III (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974), p. 5.
- 57 Kenneth Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens: The origins and development of the French formal style* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), p. 100.
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- 59 Zerner, 'Observations', p. 507, n.2 and Ciprut, 'Études et Documents', p. 161, n. 1.
- 60 Ciprut, 'Études et Documents', p. 161, n. 2.
- 61 Ibid., p. 161, n. 1.
- 62 Ibid., p. 162.
- 63 Ibid., n. 1, p. 162.
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- 65 Marie Luise Gothein, *A History of Garden Art* vol. I edited by Walter P Wright (London: J. M. Dent, 1928), p. 421.
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- 68 Louis Hauteccœur, *Les Jardins des Dieux et des Hommes* (Paris: Hachette, 1959), p. 140.
- 69 Mark Laird, *The Formal Garden: Traditions of Art and Nature* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), p. 25.
- 70 Louis Hauteccœur, *Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France* vol. II *Le Règne de Louis XIV*, edited by Auguste Picard (Paris, 1948), p. 370.
- 71 Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p. 100.
- 72 Ibid., p. 108.
- 73 Hauteccœur, *Histoire* vol. II, p. 370.
- 74 Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, p. 26.
- 75 Ibid., p. 33.
- 76 Ibid., p. 34.
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- 83 Ibid., p. 37.
- 84 Ibid., p. 39.
- 85 Laird, *The Formal Garden*, p. 14.
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- 87 Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, 'Duperac et la villa a hippodrome de Chaillot', *Revue de l'Art*, No. 150 (2005), p. 32.
- 88 Grodecki, 'De l'Ermitage', pp. 23-24.
- 89 Ibid., p. 22.
- 90 Ibid., pp. 25-26.
- 91 Deswarte-Rosa, 'Duperac et la villa a hippodrome', pp. 38-39.
- 92 Coffin, *Villa*, p. 141.
- 93 Deswarte-Rosa, 'Duperac et la villa a hippodrome', p. 39.
- 94 Ibid., p. 38.
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- 96 Ibid., p. 21.
- 97 Ciprut, 'Études et Documents', p. 162.
- 98 Woodbridge, *Princely Gardens*, p. 100.
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